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The Cultural Tourism of Piracy: A Case Study for Old Providence and Santa Catalina Islands

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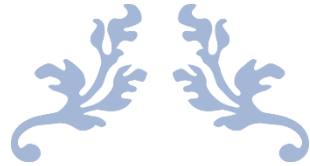
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THE CULTURAL TOURISM OF PIRACY

A CASE STUDY FOR PROVIDENCE AND SANTA CATALINA ISLANDS



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Abstract

This thesis presents a case for how small island communities can utilise the heritage of piracy through cultural tourism initiatives to improve their socio-economic quality of life and their cultural heritage management in a mutually beneficial and sustainable manner. This hypothesis has been supported with comparative evidence from the disciplines of cultural heritage management and tourism management. It has been argued through a case study from the Islands of Providence and Santa Catalina. The result is the production of a preliminary cultural tourism development plan designed around the heritage of piracy specifically for the Islands of Providence and Santa Catalina with the aim to benefit the local community. This thesis therefore brings together archaeological theory, methodology and research to assist the public of these and other island communities in addressing societal problems and issues as is the definition of Applied Archaeology.¹

Preface

This thesis was written with a very particular motivation. It was written to help small island communities, that have relatively few natural resources or domestic industries, to identify potential cultural heritage assets that can be utilised to improve their tourism industry in a way that benefits their local community. The choice of using the cultural heritage of piracy to achieve this was twofold. Firstly, the history and archaeology of piracy is the academic specialisation the author has pursued for over half a decade, granting an intimate level of familiarity with the subject matter. Secondly, and more importantly, the history of Providence and Santa Catalina Islands is defined by piracy, making this cultural heritage the most sensible from which to develop a cultural tourism plan. It is my desire to help these Islands by applying these years of archaeological education and training to create a tailored cultural tourism development plan because it is where I annually do fieldwork. This has created a personal connection to the Islands and their people. As such, this thesis is dedicated to the people of Providence and Santa Catalina Islands. Recognising that there are many other small islands with similar histories that face similar issues (partly due to their geo-cultural nature as islands) that could stand to benefit from such a strategy, this thesis was designed to be adaptable. In order to have an inclusive scope while keeping an applicable focus, it was decided to develop a general theory and methodology for how to utilise the heritage of piracy for sustainable

¹ M. J. Stottman (2018). Applied Archaeology (Including Activist Archaeology). In: Claire Smith (Ed.). *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*. Springer.

cultural tourism and to explore this theory through the case study of Providence and Santa Catalina Islands.

Introduction

This thesis is an enquiry into how small islands can make use of the heritage of piracy to improve the socio-economic quality of life and the cultural heritage management of their local community through cultural tourism initiatives in a mutually beneficial and sustainable manner. In a broader sense, it is an exploration into the relationship between cultural heritage and tourism. This enquiry will explore how heritage can be utilised within the narrative of piracy through the case study of the Islands of Providence and Santa Catalina (hereafter referred to as Providence or the Islands). This case study will grant the thesis a specific focus through which to answer the main research question while offering real-world applications for the Islands themselves. The study will have relevance for a broader audience beyond these specific Islands since the theories and methodologies advanced in this thesis could be adopted and adapted by other island communities that boast a similar history. There is a serious lacuna of research on this topic of responsibly utilising the heritage of piracy considering how frequently small islands and other coastal communities advertise their heritage of piracy for touristic purposes without consideration for the implications to the principles of cultural heritage management. It is proposed here that integrating the objectives of cultural heritage management and tourism management is a more mutually beneficial and sustainable strategy.

Research Design

The methodology implemented in the writing of this thesis was an enquiry into the literature on the subject of cultural heritage management and cultural tourism to explore how cultural heritage and tourism can be integrated in a mutually beneficial and sustainable manner. The theoretical foundation derived from extensive reading helped to devise a methodology for developing a form of cultural tourism that utilises cultural heritage assets in a way that achieves the objectives of both cultural heritage management and of tourism. ‘*Cultural Tourism: The Partnership Between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management*’ by Bob McKercher and Hilary du Cros was especially helpful in giving a foundational theoretical and methodological guideline for how this can be done.² The guideline provided by this text was supplemented and refined with books such as Chris Rojek and John Urry’s, ‘*Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*’³ and Simon

² Bob McKercher and Hilary du Cros (2012). *Cultural Tourism: The Partnership Between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management*. Taylor and Francis.

³ Chris Rojek, John Urry (Eds.)(1997). *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*. Routledge.

Makuvaza's '*Aspects of Management Planning for Cultural World Heritage Sites: Principles, Approaches and Practices*'.⁴ The managerial and economic practicalities involved with formulating a competitive theory for sustainable cultural tourism was informed by J.R.B. Ritchie and Geoffrey Ian Crouch's, 'The Competitive Destination: A Sustainable Tourism Perspective'⁵ and Larry Dwyer and Chulwon Kim's, 'Destination Competitiveness: Determinants and Indicators'.⁶

The heritage of piracy was applied to this theory for cultural tourism and channelled through the case study of Providence and Santa Catalina. Scientific support for this framework came from a comparative methodology whereby commensurate case studies in cultural tourism efforts from other small islands around the world were investigated in order to verify the aptitude of the strategy of cultural tourism postulated in the theoretical section. Due to the nature of the source material for cultural tourism and its perceived effects on a community, it was determined that this qualitative approach was the most suitable for investigating the research question. Many of these comparative examples came from Arianne Reis' '*Island studies and tourism: Diversifying perspectives*'⁷, which brought together social scientists to provide insights into the multifarious roles tourism has on island communities across the globe. The various backgrounds and perspectives of the authors was helpful since the scope of this thesis has been as holistic as possible with regard to how other social sciences come into effect surrounding the core relationship between cultural heritage and tourism. As such, this thesis lends weight to factors from the fields of anthropology, archaeology, economics, geography, history, law, linguistics, politics, psychology and sociology.

The methodological application of this theory for this case study was informed by field work conducted on the Islands of Old Providence and Santa Catalina by the author.⁸ This theory and methodology for the utilisation of pirate heritage for sustainable cultural tourism is brought together to form a preliminary cultural tourism plan in order to showcase the possibilities this strategy offers. The reason for the preliminary nature of this plan is that intended interview surveys could not be conducted in person on the Islands as planned since the 2021 field school

⁴ Simon Makuvaza (Ed.)(2017). *Aspects of Management Planning for Cultural World Heritage Sites: Principles, Approaches and Practices*. Springer.

⁵ J. R. B. Ritchie, Geoffrey Ian Crouch (2003), *The Competitive Destination: A Sustainable Tourism Perspective*. CABI Publishing.

⁶ Larry Dwyer, Chulwon Kim (2003). Destination Competitiveness: Determinants and Indicators, *Current Issues in Tourism*, 6(5), 369-414

⁷ Arianne Reis (2016). *Island studies and tourism: Diversifying perspectives*, *Tourism and Hospitality Research*. 16(1) 3-5

⁸ Old Providence and Santa Catalina Islands Archaeological Project (OPSCIAP), A Report of the 2019 Archaeological Field Research Season (June 22-July 19, 2019)

was cancelled due to the Covid 19 pandemic and could not be conducted virtually due to a recent hurricane devastating the Islands' already insufficient internet access. Without this information, it would be impossible to initiate the pragmatic planning and management stages of such a cultural tourism plan. Therefore, a preliminary plan to be approved and/or amended by the local residents has been put forward. It is recognised that consulting local residents is the first step of any sustainable cultural tourism plan. This preliminary cultural tourism plan was heavily influenced by Della Scott-Ireton's doctoral dissertation on '*Preserves, Parks and Trails: Strategies and Response to Maritime Cultural Resource Management*' which drew from the case study of the nearby Cayman Islands.⁹ This dissertation gave evidence for the effectiveness of the type of cultural tourism proposed here as it was designed for islands of a similar size and character and even alludes to a similar heritage of piracy.

This research was motivated by a genuine desire to help improve the quality of life for those living on Providence and Santa Catalina Islands, while protecting the cultural heritage of those people. As such, this research was designed to provide managers of cultural heritage and tourism with a theoretical and substantive framework for increasing the perceived value of their cultural assets through effective interpretation and marketing, along with a practical reference for initiating and sustaining successful cultural tourism initiatives based around the heritage of piracy. All of this will be achieved with the guiding principle of sustainability in both protecting that cultural heritage for future generations and ensuring long-term socio-economic returns from its utilisation for touristic purposes.

Research Questions and Summary

The main research question of this thesis can be summed up as: how can islands, such as Providence and Santa Catalina, utilise the heritage of piracy to improve tourism in a sustainable manner? In order to answer this main research question comprehensibly, it was explored through five sub questions which each dealt with a component part of this main question. These five sub questions were the guiding focus of each of the five chapters in this thesis, which break down in essence to theory, topic, methodology, discussion, and case study.

Before the main research question could be dealt with, it was necessary to ask: how can cultural heritage and tourism be integrated to formulate a theory for sustainable cultural

⁹ Della Scott-Ireton (2005). *Preserves, Parks and Trails: Strategies and Response to Maritime Cultural Resource Management* (unpublished doctoral dissertation). Florida State University, Florida, U.S.A.

tourism. After the introduction begins with the definition of cultural tourism, it explains the basic terminologies of cultural heritage management that will be used in this thesis. The key objectives of cultural heritage management and tourism are outlined to elucidate their relationship within cultural tourism. The general theory for integrating cultural heritage and tourism sustainably is then elaborated on. This theoretical foundation deals with: the issue of authenticity, the definition of sustainable cultural tourism, components of sustainability, the need for sustainability, the strategy of a community-based cultural tourism, and marketing cultural tourism. Finally, some background information on the case study location is provided to give the reader the geographic and cultural context necessary to understand the remainder of the thesis.

The second chapter addressed the topical question of: what is the heritage of piracy? This chapter begins by defining the term 'piracy' and explaining why it can be considered a matter of perspective. This is necessary to understand the differences, and the similarities, between piracy and privateering. This is of particular relevance to understanding the history of Providence since it is replete with this problem of perspective that is pertinent to distinguishing between piracy and privateering. Varying historical perceptions of pirates have been addressed in the following section before the popular modern views of piracy are likewise addressed.. The chapter then brings these topics together through the case study of Providence and Santa Catalina Islands by narrating their history of piracy. This will allow exploration into the relevance and meaning of the heritage of piracy to the people of Providence today. This chapter gives the basic knowledge required to understand the remainder of the research questions as they are answered with close reference to the case study.

The third chapter asks: how can the heritage of piracy be utilised to attract tourists? It begins by outlining the current way the Islands interact with their heritage of piracy for touristic purposes. The chapter then proceeds to explain the methodology for how the thesis intends to use the heritage of piracy to attract tourists. This starts from emphasising the need for a marketing strategy, which is propounded as fundamental in this proposed strategy for the mutually beneficial integration of cultural heritage and tourism. The chapter then suggests general ways of improving the competitiveness of a tourist destination by creating cultural tourist attractions before delving into the ways individual cultural assets can be transformed into cultural tourism products. Once this is established, the next section outlines how the framework of piracy is well suited for the aforementioned ways to transform cultural assets into cultural tourism products. With this methodology fully explained, the chapter will continue to outline the different types of cultural assets that lend themselves to this strategy of

transformation into cultural tourism products through the contextual framework of piracy, with specific reference to the case study of Providence and Santa Catalina Islands. These cultural assets include the Islands': tangible cultural heritage, such as their historic forts and shipwrecks; intangible heritage, such as their native language, universal outlook, craft traditions and folklore; written records; and natural environment.

The fourth chapter weighs the benefits and the downsides of prominently using the heritage of piracy to attract tourists and asks if it is ultimately a positive strategy to undertake. These benefits and downsides will be categorised for their effect on the cultural heritage of the Islands and the tourism of the Islands for ease of comparison. While this dichotomous approach is crucial to create a balanced, mutually beneficial strategy for cultural tourism, the local community is kept as the focus of each of these topics. This is because the possible effects of this strategy on the cultural heritage of the community are largely dependent on what the community decides is its heritage. Whereas the tourism sector should be understood as it pertains to the quality of life that its growth brings to the local community above all else. The chapter then proceeds to explain why the major benefit of a successful cultural tourism strategy is that it promotes awareness of the cultural heritage of the Islands. The chapter then weighs the downsides of utilising the cultural heritage of piracy to attract tourists since it may lead to the dilution or distortion of that cultural heritage to suit the needs of tourists. The chapter then investigates the economic and social benefits that are often cited as a result of increased tourism. The possible socio-economic downsides of increased tourism are then discussed since it is not always translated into increased quality of life for the locals. The ways these benefits can be ensured, and these downsides can be mitigated against, will be explored in each of these sections. This will give a solid foundation for creating a practical piratical cultural tourism development plan for islands, such as Providence and Santa Catalina, that balances the objectives of cultural heritage management and of tourism in a mutually beneficial and sustainable manner.

Chapter five will elaborate on: how the heritage of piracy can be woven into a cultural tourism plan? This chapter brings together the theories, topical information, methodologies, and comparative arguments that were elaborated on in the previous four chapters through the formulation of practical cultural tourism initiatives. Since these initiatives are designed to have real-world applications for the Islands of Providence and Santa Catalina, they are deeply enmeshed with references to the case study. They are designed to be proscriptive for how an island could implement a cultural tourism plan that revolves around the heritage of piracy. This will help to show the practical implications for many of the theories, methodologies and

scientific arguments that have been expressed; especially those concerning the benefits and downsides that were expressed in the previous chapter. These initiatives have been designed specifically to ensure the benefits and mitigate against the downsides of utilising the heritage of piracy for touristic purposes. The use of a case study to channel these previously discussed topics through initiatives does not mean that such initiatives cannot be adapted by other island communities who have a similar history. On the contrary, by first outlining the scientifically supported theoretical and methodological reasoning behind this cultural tourism stratagem and then giving an exemplary model for how a certain community could practically develop such a cultural tourism plan, it is hoped that the thesis will grant cultural heritage managers and tourism interests a comprehensive guide for how a community could adopt, adapt and implement such a plan. In order to ensure that this guideline is used as intended, the chapter begins by listing a set of principles that should be universally followed to ensure responsible implementation of such a cultural tourism plan. The chapter then proceeds to outline a number of possible cultural tourism initiatives that are designed around the heritage of piracy with specific reference to the case study of Providence and Santa Catalina. The initiatives explained in this chapter are that of: a heritage trail, a marine park reserve, a museum, an academic conference, a public education program, an archaeological excavation program, themed tour guides and traditional catboat cruises. The chapter is brought to a close with a conclusion that deals with the integration of these initiatives to develop the Islands into a well-rounded and more attractive tourist destination.

The conclusion of this thesis draws together all the evidence presented to argue for the strength of this strategy for creating a cultural tourism plan for islands that is based on the heritage of piracy. It will do this in an attempt to encourage the adoption of this proposed strategy by islands who stand to gain from it.

Location Information

When developing cultural tourism for a destination, it is important to understand that area and its people in order to do so in a genuine manner. Providence and Santa Catalina Islands are a small pair of islands that cover only 22 square kilometres. They lie in the Western Caribbean 200km east of Nicaragua at 13.3388° N, 81.3729° W. These Islands were once joined by a narrow spit of sand but it was severed by colonists to make the smaller island of Santa Catalina more defensible and to enable navigation into the main bay, which is formed by these two islands. They are a volcanically formed island chain and have a mountainous terrain

with the highest peak being 360m above sea level. The Islands are surrounded by a large barrier reef which has created an ideal habitat for a multitude of sea creatures. It is also the centre of a UNESCO Marine Protected Area called the Seaflower Biosphere Reserve. The Islands have a tropical climate with a distinct dry season from December to March and a rainy season from May to October. Temperatures vary between 20 and 30 degrees Celsius throughout the year. The most recent census shows a population of 5,500 people. The vast majority of these are native islanders, known as Raizal, who have Afro-Caribbean and European ancestry. Their native language is creole but English and Spanish are also spoken. There are also many Colombians living there since the Islands are under the jurisdiction of Colombia and are governed as part of the Municipality of the Providence, Santa Catalina and San Andrés Islands.

These Islands were struck by a devastating category 5 hurricane, christened Hurricane Iota, in November of 2020. Not only did it destroy 98% of the infrastructure and wipe out almost all of the vegetation on the Islands but it also destroyed cultural heritage such as the old church, which had housed the local museum. Since the Islands heavily rely on their natural beauty to attract tourists, there is a need to diversify their tourism industry. A theoretical model for a cultural heritage focused tourism plan that is especially tailored for the Islands would satisfy this need. The cultural heritage that is most apt for this would be based off the Islands' rich and unique history of piracy.



Figure 1: Satellite image of Providence and Santa Catalina Islands. Courtesy of Google Earth.

Chapter 1: Theory of Cultural Tourism

Introduction

This chapter will introduce the subjects of cultural tourism and cultural heritage management. It will discuss the relationship between these two sectors. It will grapple with the issue of authenticity and how it is perceived by each sector. This will be done to formulate a theory for the integration cultural heritage and tourism. This theory is defined by sustainability, which will be explored in its various guises in multiple sections. The chapter will ultimately end with a section on marketing cultural tourism, which is an important aspect of the overall theory.

Definition of Cultural Tourism

Cultural tourism is defined by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) as:

“A type of tourism activity in which the visitor’s essential motivation is to learn, discover, experience and consume the tangible and intangible cultural attractions/products in a tourism destination. These attractions/products relate to a set of distinctive material, intellectual, spiritual and emotional features of a society that encompasses arts and architecture, historical and cultural heritage, culinary heritage, literature, music, creative industries and the living cultures with their lifestyles, value systems, beliefs and traditions”.¹⁰

Cultural tourism can be defined as broadly as one can define culture, but it will be this definition that is worked from throughout the thesis.¹¹

Cultural Heritage Management

The components of cultural heritage are known as cultural assets and they can be tangible as well as intangible, as expressed in the above definition. What constitutes as cultural heritage is dependent on what people imbue with significance and view as worth preserving. This significance is most often determined by how the cultural asset is reflective of a particular community’s identity. Since the significance of cultural heritage is imbued rather than inherent, what that significance represents, or to what degree, can vary greatly among different people

¹⁰ UNWTO General Assembly, 22nd session (2017), <https://www.unwto.org/tourism-and-culture> [accessed: 30/4/22]

¹¹ See McKercher, *Cultural Tourism* pp.4-6 for different definitions of cultural tourism and the motivations behind them

or interest groups. The term stakeholder is used to describe a person or group of people who view a piece of cultural heritage as significant to them, their identity and/or their interests. Stakeholders can be as varied as local residents, “traditional owners” (indigenous or ethnic community groups who own the intellectual cultural property or land rights associated with a cultural asset), government bodies, businesses, non-governmental bodies (NGOs) and private individuals. Since the views of these various stakeholders can vary and indeed conflict with one another’s, it is important to give all stakeholders a voice regarding any changes that may impact on the cultural heritage they feel entitled to have a say in.¹² Here lies one of the primary paradigms of cultural heritage management (CHM).

Relationship between Cultural Heritage Management and Tourism

Tourism and cultural heritage management share the same assets but they serve different roles and seek different objectives from those roles. CHM is responsible for the conservation of cultural assets while the tourism sector usually assumes the product development and promotion role.¹³ It is important to point out that cultural tourism is a form of tourism, not of cultural heritage management. The former has the objective of creating revenue from tourists experiencing cultural assets while the latter has the objective of conserving those cultural assets for future generations. What is more important to point out, however, is that these objectives are not mutually exclusive but are in fact mutually reliant on, and beneficial to, one another. This is because cultural assets often constitute the primary attractions that tourism is built around and their conservation ensures the long-term capacity for those cultural assets to be experienced and/or consumed by tourists as tourism products and thus to earn stable revenue. The increased revenue derived from tourism can provide pertinent political and economic support for conservation efforts and those conservation efforts often improve the tourist experience, further perpetuating a positive reciprocal cycle. Nevertheless, there is always the risk that the overuse or misuse of a tangible cultural asset for touristic purposes could jeopardise the physical integrity of that asset. Likewise, there is a risk that the inappropriate use or commodification of an intangible cultural asset without regard for the value it represents could jeopardise the meaning that is derived from that asset.¹⁴ Alternatively,

¹² Matthias Ripp, Dennis Rodwell, Chapter 18: Governance in UNESCO World Heritage Sites: Reframing the Role of Management Plans as a Tool to Improve Community Engagement, in Simon Makuva (Ed.) (2017). *Aspects of Management Planning for Cultural World Heritage Sites: Principles, Approaches and Practices*. Springer. pre-publication print with no page numbers.

¹³ Bob McKercher, Pamela S.Y. Ho, Hilary du Cros (2005). Relationship between tourism and cultural heritage management: evidence from Hong Kong, *Tourism Management*, 26(4) 539-548, 539

¹⁴ McKercher, *Cultural Tourism* p. 2

resilience in the view that any touristic transformation of cultural assets has an inherently corrupting effect on cultural heritage compromises the ability of the tourism sector to achieve its objectives.¹⁵ Since the two sectors of tourism and cultural heritage management are built around the same cultural assets, it is imperative that they utilise those assets in harmony with one another's objectives.

The degree to which this is done can vary from relationships of parallel existence to true partnerships, whereas, failure to do so may lead to a relationship defined by open conflict.¹⁶ The type of relationship that can be built often depends on the specific site but the basic requirement for a positive relationship is that each sector needs to be aware and respecting of the other's: managerial role, primary objectives and core principles.¹⁷ For a relationship to be sustainably and reciprocally endeavoured upon, there needs to be a mutual consciousness of the type of relationship (or even an agreed upon level of collaboration) that exists between these sectors with regard to a specific site and reasonable expectations for the rewards derived from such a relationship.¹⁸ The cultural tourism theory of this thesis works off the assumption of a parallel existence between the CHM sector and the tourism sector but could be applied to various relationship types in other site-specific scenarios. As a matter of clarity, this thesis is a theory for the integration of cultural heritage and tourism, not for the integration of the cultural heritage management and tourism sectors, which would require a more logistically proscriptive managerial approach.

The initial decision to embark on cultural tourism initiatives should be based on the touristic principles of the market appeal and commercial viability of a cultural asset as a cultural tourism product. In order to be commercially viable, a cultural asset that is intrinsically valued by the local inhabitants must be transformed into a product that can be extrinsically valued by tourists through experience and/or consumption.¹⁹ This does not change the fact that the cultural assets these cultural tourism products are derived from must be managed by the cultural heritage management principles of protection, conservation and education. These cultural assets are valued by a range of user groups such as local residents and "traditional owners", which means that their transformation into a cultural tourism product must be appropriately in keeping with the values placed upon the assets by these user groups.²⁰ This is necessary from

¹⁵ McKercher, Ho, du Cros, Relationship between tourism and cultural heritage management. 539

¹⁶ McKercher, Ho, du Cros, Relationship between tourism and cultural heritage management. 544-45

¹⁷ McKercher, Ho, du Cros, Relationship between tourism and cultural heritage management. 546-47

¹⁸ McKercher, *Cultural Tourism*. p.59

¹⁹ McKercher, *Cultural Tourism*. p.8

²⁰ McKercher, *Cultural Tourism*. p.6

a CHM point of view since a representation of a cultural asset that ignores or changes the intrinsic value placed upon it to the extent that that value is no longer recognizable, or is even countered, may lead to the transmission of that distorted value to future generations and to the permanent corruption of the cultural heritage that contributes to their identity. It is also necessary from a tourism point of view since a local population that is supportive of the representation of their cultural assets to visitors is conducive to a tourist experience because locals are more likely to positively engage with those cultural tourism products and the cultural tourists themselves.

Issue of Authenticity

Authenticity is understood differently in both sectors because ‘authenticity, just like heritage itself, is a negotiated concept’.²¹ Therefore, since CHM is determined by what a society deems to be their heritage, *authenticity is dictated by the holistic integration of transmitted customs, inherited meanings, and the identity of the practitioner.*²² However, the inherent influence of subjectivity in this dynamic creation of authenticity must be tempered with historical fact, insomuch as stakeholders cannot claim something as authentic cultural heritage without its firm ontological route as an historical event, tradition or place. This ontological route can come from oral histories, written histories or archaeological evidence. The veracity of this contention of authenticity can be confirmed or critiqued by experts in these fields of ethnography, history and archaeology. Their training in accessing and critically analysing these various source materials makes them natural custodians of the historical authenticity of cultural heritage.

This role of confirming or critiquing what a stakeholder, or community, considers to be the authentic interpretation of their cultural heritage should be performed from an objective non-partisan standpoint, as is generally practiced in these academic disciplines. It should also be done with the motivation of collaborating with the community to help constructively and respectfully inform the representation of their cultural heritage to visitors. In doing so, no one source material should be granted inherent primacy over the others. These different source materials can be used in tandem to gain a holistic view of the past and if they irreparably

²¹ Barbara Wood (2020). A Review on the Concept of Authenticity in Heritage, with Particular Reference to Historic Houses, *A Journal for Museums and Archives Professionals*. 16(1) 8-33, 26

²² Somayeh Fadaei Nezhad, Parastoo Eshrati, Dorna Eshrati (2015). A Definition of Authenticity Concept in Conservation of Cultural Landscapes, *International Journal of Architectural Research*, 9(1), 93-107. For an explanation of the evolution of the concept of authenticity in cultural heritage management from an objective understanding of tangible heritage to a more subjective understanding that includes intangible heritage read pages 94-99

conflict with one another, it is possible for parallel narratives to co-exist respectfully. This is important because certain disenfranchised historical groups have not been equally represented in these sources. For instance, in the case of Providence, written records would favour the narrative of the European colonists, whereas oral histories might speak more to the disenfranchised enslaved and maroon communities. It should be recognised that these source materials can have various interpretations and ‘expert’ views should be regarded as an accredited interpretation but not as the final or infallible interpretation. In this way, the community is the progenitor of what it considers to be its authentic cultural heritage, while expert views can serve as a controlling measure to ensure that these views do not veer from historical fact. These expert views can also help to resolve differences between how various stakeholders view what is the authentic interpretation of their shared cultural heritage by granting a base foundation of what is verified by the sources. From this foundation, they can assist in mediating a communal discussion of what interpretations are possible, what evidence there is to support each, and which can be represented to visitors truthfully. This is not for the purpose of challenging people’s beliefs, which are unassailable by their very nature, and it should be recognised that people’s views about their cultural heritage are often deeply personal and should be respected as such. The purpose of this communal discussion is to agree upon an accurate and responsible representation of a shared cultural heritage to visitors.

In the tourism sector, *‘authenticity is a social construct that is in part determined by the individual’s own knowledge and frame of reference’*.²³ These tourists are outsiders by default, and they have varying degrees of knowledge about the culture they are visiting. The creation of a frame of reference is known as indexing, which Chris Rojek explains as ‘a range of signs, images and symbols which make the site familiar to us in ordinary culture’.²⁴ Representational culture is not uniform but is made up of different files of representation, which ‘refers to the medium and conventions associated with signifying a site’.²⁵ Examples of files of representations are brochures, travel blogs, poems, books, TV shows and movies. Cultural tourists are seeking to reinforce, or even challenge, the stereotypical or romantic images of a destination that the indexing of these files of representation have created by travelling to those destinations. Indexing creates the base reference from which their tourism experience will be measured against. More often, tourists are not seeking the reality of a culture’s heritage but a

²³ McKercher, *Cultural Tourism* p.40

²⁴ Chris Rojek, Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist Sights, in Chris Rojek, John Urry (Eds.)(1997). *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*. Routledge. p.53

²⁵ Chris Rojek, Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist Sights. p.53

negotiated and predictable experience of what they perceive to be the reality of that culture's heritage.²⁷

It is the contention of this author that the stakeholders' perception of what is authentic should be considered as the 'core authenticity' and the tourist's perception of what is authentic should be considered as the 'representative authenticity' and they should be treated as such. These are not static views either since changes to or within the host communities and changes of tourist's preferences or frame of references may have an effect on the perception of what is considered to be 'authentic'.²⁸ This theory on the contentious issue of authenticity has engaged with the multivarious opinions within the academic debate on the topic that are expressed in Barbara Wood's 'Review of the Concept of Authenticity'. The theory is in line with Wood's conclusion since it 'allows for the combination of object-based and constructivist/existentialist authenticities based on evidence data and demonstrable context, but also acknowledges the effect of personal experience and changing situation'.²⁹

In order to explain this theoretical model for navigating the issue of authenticity in real-world applications, an example from the case study will be used to illustrate it. During field work on Providence Island, a Raizal man with the middle name 'Morgan' printed on his driving license claimed to the author that he was a direct descendent of Henry Morgan himself. However, having read records that the Spanish scouted the Islands to ensure no one was living there in the years following Morgan's departure from the Islands, this was found difficult to believe. Nevertheless, I did not counter this man's belief in what he considers to be his authentic cultural heritage, as many on the Islands believe to be the descendants of Morgan and even of the Puritan settlers. This decision was informed by the belief that my 'expert' opinion in being an academically trained historian with a specialisation in the subject does not discredit the authenticity of this native Raizal man's belief in his cultural heritage because the extant written records do not ontologically trump the oral history that has informed this belief in what constitutes as authentic cultural heritage. Both beliefs can co-exist because while I might be right in that there are records that the Spaniards never found anyone living on the Islands, that is not to say that there were not communities of either buccaneers or maroons or both hiding on the Islands since the very survival of these communities depended on secrecy. It would be oral histories that would be the most likely to record such a history. This harkens back to how

²⁷ McKercher, *Cultural Tourism* p.40

²⁸ Jennifer Craik, The Culture of Tourism, in Chris Rojek, John Urry (Eds.)(1997). *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*. Routledge. pp.114-116

²⁹ Barbara Wood (2020). A Review on the Concept of Authenticity in Heritage, with Particular Reference to Historic Houses, *A Journal for Museums and Archives Professionals*, 16(1) 8-33, 26

certain sources favour certain narratives or historical groups over others. On top of that, the narrative that the Raizal living on the Islands today are the direct descendants of seventeenth-century buccaneers is a highly attractive representation of cultural heritage for touristic purposes. To discredit this without sufficient evidence or reason may adversely and unnecessarily affect the core authenticity, as well as the representative authenticity, of the Islands' cultural heritage. This could negatively impact on the identity of some of the Raizal and on the tourism of the Islands respectively.

Sustainable Cultural Tourism

This divergence in how authenticity can be viewed poses difficulties to the execution of cultural tourism that integrates the objectives of the CHM sector and the tourism sector in an equitable manner. The core authenticity of cultural heritage strengthens its competitiveness within the broader arena of cultural tourism, which in turn improves the socio-economic benefits for stakeholders.³⁰ However, the benefits that this process of commodification brings can threaten the core authenticity of cultural heritage if satisfying tourists by adapting that cultural heritage to suit their needs becomes more important than safeguarding its integrity for the cultural continuity of the host community. An example of this might be the adaptation of a traditional practice to make it more accessible or amenable to a foreign audience, which can then jeopardise the core authenticity of that practice for later generations of those to whom it means the most. This is why an approach that facilitates the development of cultural heritage as a sustainable tourism resource has been strongly advised by the World Tourism Organisation to ensure that both the cultural and socio-economic values of cultural heritage are safeguarded.³¹ Sustainable tourism, like sustainable development, is 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'.³² Therefore, sustainable cultural tourism is the commodification of cultural heritage in a way that meets the socio-economic needs of the community, without compromising the core authenticity of that cultural heritage for future generations.

The aforementioned 'socio-economic needs' encapsulate bringing a better quality of life to the community by contributing to community empowerment and economic self-reliance through the touristic commodification of cultural heritage. 'Compromising the core

³⁰ Silvia Angeloni (2013). Cultural Tourism and Well-Being of the Local Population. *Theoretical and Empirical Researches in Urban Management*, 8(3), 17-31, 23

³¹ World Tourism Organisation. (2012). *Tourism and intangible cultural heritage*. Madrid: UNWTO.

³² Brundtland, G., Khalid, M., Agnelli, S., Al-Athel, S., Chidzero, B., Fadika, L., ... de Botero, M. M. (1987). *Our common future: The World Commission on Environment and Development*. Oxford University Press. p.43

authenticity' would constitute transforming a cultural asset into a cultural tourism product in a way that ignores, changes or counters the local value placed on that cultural heritage, as explained above. There is a pervasive view that there are two distinct options when it comes to the representation of cultural heritage. That it can be either commodified to satisfy tourists or safeguarded and transmitted to later generations, but these are not mutually exclusive options. The development of cultural heritage as a sustainable tourism resource can be achieved through a positive symbiotic relationship between safeguarding and transmitting the core authenticity of cultural heritage and increasing the socioeconomic value of that cultural heritage through its commodification as a cultural tourism product because the core authenticity of cultural heritage strengthens a destination's competitiveness within the broader arena of cultural tourism.³³ This paradigm is argued by Var and Gunn who postulate that 'if tourism is to achieve a greater economic impact, it must also strive towards goals of enhanced visitor satisfaction, community integration, and above all, greater resource protection. At a time when globalisation poses a risk of greater cultural standardisation, it is important for a country to preserve its own identity, which is a key factor also for touristic competitiveness'.³⁴ With this in mind, the community's choice of which aspect of their cultural heritage to emphasise to visitors can be influenced by what is believed to be most attractive to visitors in order to increase visitor numbers, enhance visitor satisfaction and achieve greater economic impact. This can be done in a way that enhances community integration, protects their cultural heritage resources and preserves their identity if this aspect of their cultural heritage to be emphasised is: communally discussed; dictated by that community's transmitted customs, inherited meanings and identity; and based in historical fact. Once these criteria have been met, a community's cultural heritage can be sustainably utilised for touristic purposes without jeopardising the core authenticity of that cultural heritage.

Components of Sustainable Cultural Tourism

It is imperative that the management of cultural tourism initiatives are in keeping with the cultural heritage management principles of protection, conservation and education in order to be sustainable. Sustainability is a shared goal of each sector since the conservation of cultural assets is the core objective of CHM and ensures the long-term capacity for those

³³ Soojung Kim, Michelle Whitford, and Charles Arcodia (2019). Development of Intangible Cultural Heritage as a Sustainable Tourism Resource: The Intangible Cultural Heritage Practitioners' Perspectives. *Journal of heritage tourism*. 14.5(6), 422–435, 432

³⁴ Gunn, C.A., & Var, T. (2002). *Tourism Planning: Basics, Concepts, Cases* (4th ed.). Routledge. p.1

cultural assets to be experienced and/or consumed by tourists as tourism products and thus to earn stable revenue, which is the core objective of the tourism industry. As such, sustainability should be kept at the forefront of any initiative. This requires a holistic scope since the 2010 Toledo Declaration on Urban Development defined the multiple components of sustainability as ‘economic, social, environmental, cultural and governance’.³⁵ These components were more recently recognised in 2017 by ‘The Second UNWTO/UNESCO World Conference Declaration on Tourism and Culture: Fostering Sustainable Development’³⁶. The commitments set out in that conference were influential in formulating the following components for developing sustainable cultural tourism:

1. Ensure proper legislation is in place to protect cultural heritage.³⁷
2. Ensure the necessary financing for preserving cultural heritage sites and for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage.
3. Ensure equitable returns for the tourism industry from investments into cultural assets. Components 2 and 3 can reciprocally fulfil one another.
4. Ensure that stakeholders are consulted and incorporated into the decision-making process of any cultural tourism development from the outset and throughout to meet their aspirations on safeguarding and transmitting their tangible and intangible culture heritage and values.
5. Seek to enhance the culture, environment, and socio-economic well-being of the local community.
6. Promote sustainable tourism management of cultural sites within the principles of effective visitor management, resource efficiency and the quality of the visitors’ experience.

The commitment to establish and maintain a delicate balance between these components of sustainable cultural tourism should ensure that all of a community’s diverse views and needs are met.³⁹

³⁵ Ripp, Rodwell, Chapter 18: Governance in UNESCO World Heritage Sites, In: Makuvaza (Ed.)(2017). *Aspects of Management Planning for Cultural World Heritage Sites*. Springer. pre-publication text.

³⁶ the Second UNWTO/UNESCO World Conference on Tourism and Culture: Fostering Sustainable Development, Muscat, Oman, 11-12 December, 2017, <http://tourismandculture.cvent.com/events/second-unwto-unesco-world-conference-on-tourism-and-culture/custom-127-b425fc30c73643a7b2d4ea6d54b7755a.aspx> [accessed: 30/4/22]

³⁷ A full list of articles, laws, decrees and resolutions relating to the legal protection for cultural heritage in Colombian territory can be found here: https://en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/colombia_listanormas_engtof.pdf

³⁹ David Ketz, Anne Ketz (13-15 March 2020), Building A Cultural Heritage Tourism Program, Proceedings of the Scientific Symposium, Building peace through heritage - World Forum for Change through Dialogue, Florence, ISBN 978-88-943894-8-7

Need for Sustainable Cultural Tourism

Tourism is the mainstay of many people's livelihoods on small islands that have few monetizable natural resources and a lack of competitive industry. However, the rapid development of a tourism industry on small island communities has commonly led to negative impacts to locals and local landscapes. The ways this can and has transpired can be seen the world over. Skyrise hotels affect the untouched beauty of the natural landscape, the ingress of large numbers of tourists from wealthier countries can superficially raise the price of goods and land making them unaffordable for locals, population pressure from mass tourism can also negatively affect the local environment in the form of increased pollution, resource exploitation and crime. Unfortunately, many of these issues were experienced by San Andrés Island in the same archipelago as Providence and Santa Catalina. Ideally tourism should be developed in a planned manner that has consulted the local community and addressed how they would like to see their local community developed. However, tourism is a demand-driven industry that is more influenced by discrete market forces and private companies than by overarching state management so it can be difficult to control these market forces to realize such a planned development.⁴² A more efficient way to curtail unwanted development is by consulting how a community wants to be branded as a destination and marketing it in that way. In the case of Providence and Santa Catalina, the community is afraid of what has happened on San Andrés being repeated so they want to develop their tourism industry in a way that maintains the serene landscape of the Islands. This sentiment is reflected by a recreational dive tourism booking agent, who recognized that 'The residents take great pride in the natural beauty of this island paradise and are resolute in their determination that it be lovingly cared for and left unchanged. As such, the idea of 'traditional' resort development is not a popular concept, in that the people feel strongly that these enchanted islands are best enjoyed exactly as they are'.⁴³ Rather than market themselves as a paradise beach get-a-way in a region saturated with these types of destinations and bring on the associated rise of resorts, it is propounded here that marketing the Islands as a secluded 'pirate island' would lend itself to a tourism destination dependent on maintaining an underdeveloped isolated aura focused on the beauty of the untouched natural landscape and the fascination of the cultural history that was defined by that island landscape. A concerted effort by the community of Providence to guide the development of their tourism industry is brought into sharp relief with the recent dredging of the main harbour channel in

⁴² McKercher, *Cultural Tourism* p.30

⁴³ *Dive Old Providence*, website (<https://diveoldprovidence.com/about/>) [accessed: 8/5/22]

2020, which will allow larger ships, potentially cruise ships, to dock there. Similarly, plans to open direct flight routes from neighbouring countries such as Belize and Nicaragua, rather than only through San Andrés as is currently the case, has the potential to cause a large influx of tourists on the Islands.

This thesis is based off the assertion that cultural heritage is a valuable, but underutilised, resource in the tourism industry and that marketing is an important aspect of that industry. The UNESCO Underwater Cultural Heritage in Latin America and the Caribbean Dossier states that ‘the reason that cultural heritage should offer so much potential is that tourism and culture are linked, with the latter providing an incentive for the former’⁴⁴. It continues to support this statement with the statistic that ‘at least 37% of global tourism has a cultural motivation’.⁴⁵ The UNESCO Dossier then suggests that ‘Sustainable tourism development should therefore take into account the promotion of distinctive cultures and the protection and promotion of cultural heritage, especially through the development of access to heritage sites’.⁴⁶ This supports the assertion that there is a need to develop sustainable cultural tourism through cultural tourism initiatives. Another supporting element to this assertion is that cultural tourists tend to make preferable tourists. Research from the UNWTO indicates that cultural tourists stay longer and spend more than the average tourist. One study revealed that cultural tourists spend 38% more per day and stay 22% longer than the average traveller. Also, cultural tourists take one more trip than the average traveller and are more likely to share their experience with friends and on social media. The UNESCO Dossier concludes that ‘These numbers show, in clear figures, the great interest that the uniqueness of cultural heritage triggers among nations’ and that ‘They also demonstrate the economic development potential the attraction of these cultural treasures embodies’.⁴⁷ These statements from the UNESCO Dossier and the UNWTO have been cited directly to prove that there is a highly accredited recognition of the need for, and potential in, developing sustainable cultural tourism. This need and potential for developing sustainable cultural tourism was one of the driving motivations for this thesis. It is the interest in the unique cultural heritage of piracy specifically that is being channelled through the style of sustainable cultural tourism that this thesis is postulating.

Piracy has always had a particularly alluring draw to people due to the adventurous nature it evokes as depicted in books, and now movies, that have been released ever since

⁴⁴ UNESCO (2015). Underwater Cultural Heritage in Latin America and the Caribbean Dossier, *Culture and Development*, No. 13, p.13

⁴⁵ Underwater Cultural Heritage in Latin America and the Caribbean Dossier, No. 13. p.13

⁴⁶ Underwater Cultural Heritage in Latin America and the Caribbean Dossier, No. 13. p.14

⁴⁷ Underwater Cultural Heritage in Latin America and the Caribbean Dossier, No. 13. p.14

piracy existed in the Caribbean.⁴⁸ It is a history that has been fantastically fictionalised but in the case of Providence, it is one that is fantastic and factual. The marketability of Providence as a ‘pirate island’ gives it an edge amongst other Caribbean destinations who all compete for tourists. With the recent hurricane devastating the Islands’ natural environment and civil infrastructure, coupled with the recent Covid 19 pandemic crippling the global tourism industry; there is a serious need on the Islands for a competitive advantage in attracting tourists. A renewed tourism industry will help the Islands to recover and prosper. It is proposed here that a sustainable cultural tourism plan that utilises the heritage of piracy could hold the potential for that competitive advantage within the regional tourism market.

Community-based Sustainable Cultural Tourism

The type of sustainable cultural tourism proposed here is a community-based approach, whereby the needs of the local community are placed first and foremost. Ripp and Rodwell write that:

‘Management plans as a methodology are therefore changing. From focusing mainly on policies for preservation and conservation, to the enhancement of communication and ongoing possibilities to implement what Mark Bevir (2013) calls “participatory governance”, thereby placing community needs and benefits more to the fore’.⁴⁹

This trend in CHM naturally extends to cultural tourism management since putting the needs of the local community at the forefront and heritage activities as the means to achieve those needs improves the likelihood of positive outcomes from cultural tourism plans.⁵⁰ This dynamic is reinforced by Silvia Angeloni who argues that the greatest merit of the conceptual model devised by Ritchie and Crouch for determining a destination’s competitiveness was its emphasis that ‘the most competitive destination for tourists is that which most effectively creates sustainable well-being for its residents’.⁵¹ What is even more significant is that the model of Ritchie and Crouch, as well as the model of Dwyer and Kim, both recognised that

⁴⁸ David Cordingly (1995). *Life Among the Pirates: The Romance and the Reality*. Little, Brown and Company. pp.280-83.

⁴⁹ Ripp, Rodwell, Chapter 18: Governance in UNESCO World Heritage Sites, In: Makuva (Ed.)(2017), *Aspects of Management Planning for Cultural World Heritage Sites*. Springer. pre-publication text with no page numbers.

⁵⁰ Ripp, Rodwell, Chapter 18: Governance in UNESCO World Heritage Sites, In: Makuva (Ed.)(2017), *Aspects of Management Planning for Cultural World Heritage Sites*. Springer. pre-publication text with no page numbers.

⁵¹ Silvia Angeloni (2013). Cultural Tourism and Well-Being of the Local Population. *Theoretical and Empirical Researches in Urban Management*, 8(3), 17-31, 19

destination competitiveness is not an ultimate end goal of policy making but is an intermediate goal towards the objective of regional or national economic prosperity.⁵² These models exhibit empirical support for the advantages of a community-based approach to cultural tourism that places the needs of the community as its primary objective.

Marketing Cultural Tourism

One way to achieve a positive symbiotic relationship between tourism and cultural heritage is to minimize the disparities between tourist's perceptions of authenticity (what they expect to see) and host community's perceptions of authenticity (how they expect to be seen) through marketing strategies. Since tourists' perception of authenticity are heavily reliant on their indexing of files of representation, selected elements of these files of representation can be brought together to create new values for a site. Chris Rojek has termed this process 'dragging' and it can be achieved through tourist marketing, advertising and multi-media traveller's tales. Marketing can be a useful tool to manage tourist expectations of a destination's cultural heritage to make it compatible with the community's belief on how it should be represented and experienced.⁵³ A community-consulted marketing strategy can contribute to attracting the desired type of tourists, informing how they should act and ensuring their tourism experience is enjoyable by informing their base reference for what to expect.⁵⁴ This requires market research into the target tourist and what they seek from a tourist experience. While a concerted effort to attract a specific type of tourist is useful in improving a destination's competitiveness to attract such tourists, the disparate nature of the tourism industry means that this is rarely unilaterally achieved. Destinations are always going to have a range of attractions that appeal to a varied range of tourists. While focusing on targeting a specific type of tourist is a reliable strategy for improving tourist satisfaction, multi-layered tourist targeting is a valid strategy if the destination offers a suitable range of activities and attractions to satisfy a range of tourists.

⁵²J. R. B. Ritchie, Geoffrey Ian Crouch (2003). *The Competitive Destination: A Sustainable Tourism Perspective*. CABI Publishing, p.30 and Larry Dwyer, Chulwon Kim (2003): Destination Competitiveness: Determinants and Indicators, *Current Issues in Tourism*, 6(5), 369-414, 372

⁵³ Arianne Reis (2016). Island studies and tourism: Diversifying perspectives, *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 16(1) 3-5, 3

⁵⁴ McKercher, *Cultural Tourism* pp.108-110

Conclusion

This chapter has expounded on the integration of cultural heritage and tourism to create a theory for sustainable, community-based, cultural tourism. It has been devised through critical analysis of the current theoretical perspectives within the broader debate on how to execute cultural tourism. The perspectives of authors such as McKercher and du Cros, Rojek and Urry and Makuvaza have been filtered and fused to create a theory of cultural tourism that can be applied to the heritage of piracy in a way that both increases tourism and positively engages with cultural heritage in a mutually beneficial manner.⁵⁵ It is this theoretical background that has influenced the thought process behind the remainder of the thesis.

⁵⁵ Bob McKercher and Hilary du Cros (2012), *Cultural Tourism: The Partnership Between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management*. Chris Rojek, John Urry (Eds.)(1997). *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*. Simon Makuvaza (Ed.)(2017). *Aspects of Management Planning for Cultural World Heritage Sites: Principles, Approaches and Practices*. Springer.

Chapter 2: The Heritage of Piracy

Introduction

This chapter will begin by first defining what is meant by piracy and will then proceed to engage with the problem of perception as is prescient for the differentiation between piracy and privateering. This has relevance for the core authenticity of Providence's heritage of piracy as well as for the representative authenticity of that heritage, which will be addressed in the sections on the historical and modern perspectives of piracy respectively. Providence's history of piracy and privateering will then be narrated since it is necessary information for understanding the case study which is referred to throughout the thesis. How this history can be considered as heritage for those living on the Islands today will then be discussed. This will engage with many of the issues within cultural heritage management that are outlined in Chapter 1 such as the idea that significance is imbued as it reflects cultural identity, which requires reflection on how people and groups identify.

Definition of 'Piracy'

What constitutes a heritage of piracy? In order for an aspect of history or culture to be considered as heritage, it needs to be valued by those who view it as something worth preserving. This value is often derived from that aspect of history or culture being representative of elements of a person's or a group's identity, although there is no universal criteria for establishing value.⁵⁶ For there to be an authentic heritage of piracy that is valued as worth preserving, there must be a history of piracy present in the first place. This history will be explained before the potential value allotted to it is explored. The definition of piracy this thesis works from is *'an act of piracy is the use, or threat of use, of waterborne violence for the seizure of goods in a way that diverges from a society's widely accepted concept of the legitimate conduct of maritime trade and violence'*.⁵⁷ This definition recognizes that piracy is a relative concept that often changes due to the perspective or motivations of the beholder. The problem of piracy as being a relative concept has been recognised since the early fifth century CE with St. Augustine of Hippo's anecdote of the Pirate and the Emperor. Whereby Alexander the Great captured a pirate decrying "How dare you molest the seas?" to which the pirate

⁵⁶ Martijn Manders (2015). The Invisible Treasures of Our Past, In: Monique H. van den Dries, Sjoerd J. van der Linde, Amy Strecker (Eds.). *Fernhweh: Crossing Borders and Connecting People in Archaeological Heritage Management*, Sidestone Press. p.150

⁵⁷ Matthew Conway (2020). *A Redefinition of Piracy: In Regard to its Use in British Southeast Asia* [unpublished essay]. Leiden University

replied “How dare you molest the whole world. Because I do it with a small boat, I am called a pirate and a thief. You, with a great navy, molest the world and are called emperor”. The phenomenon of piracy begs the question as to who owns the right to legitimately utilise maritime violence and on what grounds.

Piracy versus Privateering

In the early modern period, the state had a monopoly on the use of maritime violence. The state could grant private individuals the right to use maritime violence in service of its foreign policy during time of war in return for keeping a portion of the plunder.⁵⁸ These letters of marque made piracy legitimate as privateering but there were numerous ways of circumnavigating this issue. Pirates often sailed with letters of marque that were out of date since the two European powers in question had made peace. News of this peace took time to cross the Atlantic and longer still to reach ships travelling at sea for months on end, so much so that an international state of ‘no peace beyond the line’ was practiced throughout the early modern period. Even if aware of a peace treaty, this gave these ships plausible deniability in a court of law. Some rovers sailed with letters of marque from indigenous kingdoms or rebellious colonies. However, these were rarely legally or politically recognised as states in the eyes of most European states and provided a weak shield against the legal machines of empire. Privateering and piracy were in most ways the same profession since they involved the forceful seizure of ships and their cargo at sea. They were legally differentiated by an official piece of paper that granted legitimacy, but this differentiation between piracy and privateering was more of a grey area that could be manoeuvred within and around rather than a definitive line to be crossed. As historian Frank Craven explains:

‘throughout the first half of the seventeenth century it was difficult to distinguish between a privateer and a pirate. The legal distinction rested upon the possession of papers warranting their plundering expeditions, but, papers or no papers, there was little difference in their actions. Needless to say the Spanish made no distinction between them’ and so, he concludes that ‘It is necessary to use the terms interchangeably’.⁵⁹

In the second half of the seventeenth century, specifically after 1670, the difference became more distinguishable due to international law and politics steering away from the use of private

⁵⁸ Bryan Mabee (2009). ‘Pirates, privateers and the political economy of private violence’, *Global Change, Peace and Security*. 21(2) 139-152, 140-144

⁵⁹ Frank Craven (1930). The Earl of Warwick, a Speculator in Piracy, *The Hispanic American Historical Review*. 10(4) 457-479, 458-459

navies. The majority of Providence's piratical history occurred prior to this political shift of 1670, when acts of piracy and privateering were fluid with one another. Therefore, it is not inaccurate to market the history of Providence, which is replete with both, as one of piracy. This has the benefit to tourism of drawing greater attention from the popular image that pirates evoke without jeopardising the core authenticity of that heritage. However, that does not mean that the historical complexity of what constituted as privateering or piracy should not be grappled with during cultural tourism experiences.

The term buccaneer is a euphemistic term that evades this issue of legality. It is also more accurate since it is the contemporaneous way these men would have referred to themselves. Buccaneers were the seamen, religious refugees, former indentured servants and other renegades who camped in the backwoods of northwest Hispaniola (now Haiti) in the first half of the seventeenth century where they hunted wild boar, which they cooked on wooden barbecues called 'boucan', to sell to passing ships. They soon turned to seizing those ships until they grew to become a large federation, known as the Brethren of the Coast, that was powerful enough to sack the richest Spanish cities of the New World. Due to these destructive inroads they made against Spain, they were seen as heroes in English, French and Dutch historical narratives and as barbaric in Spanish narratives.⁶⁰

Historical Perspectives of Piracy

The modern concept of what a pirate was or what a pirate looked like derives from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century when piracy reached its Golden Age in the Caribbean. The stories of the crimes and depredations of these infamous bands of violent rovers caused a sensation in the metropolises of Europe and their American colonies through contemporary publications like John Exquemelin's 'The Buccaneers of America: A True Account of the Famous Adventures and Daring Deeds of Sir Henry Morgan and Other Notorious Freebooters of the Spanish Main'⁶¹ and Captain Charles Johnson's 'A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates'⁶², which became instant

⁶⁰ Waters, A. M. (2006). *Planning the past : heritage tourism and post-colonial politics at Port Royal*. Lanham, MD [etc.]: Lexington Books. P.45

⁶¹ John [Alexander Olivier] Exquemelin (2017). *The Buccaneers of America: A True Account of the Famous Adventures and Daring Deeds of Sir Henry Morgan and Other Notorious Freebooters of the Spanish Main* (George Alfred Williams Ed.). Frederick A. Stokes Company Publishers. (Originally published in 1678 as *De Americaeneche Zee Roovers*).

⁶² Daniel Defoe (1972). *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates, and also Their Policies, Discipline and Government, from Their First Rise and Settlement on the Island of Providence, in 1717, to the Present Year 1724* (Manuel Schonhorn, Ed.) Dover Publications. (Originally published in 1724).

best sellers.⁶³ The captains of the most infamous crews became bogymen and the murderous, thieving, blaspheming and drunken ways of pirate crews who had no respect for the hierarchies of class or race became emblematic of everything counter to what makes society civilized. Paradoxically, these self-governing fraternities of men, who were free from the strict social and religious strictures of early modern society and stood against the elitist established order defiantly with an economically and politically egalitarian system of governance, captured the imagination of many who perceived them as Robin Hood figures. This image was particularly fostered by Captain Sam Bellamy who is cited in ‘A General History of Pirates’ as pronouncing: ‘They vilify us, the scoundrels do, when there is only this difference, they rob the poor under the cover of law, forsooth, and we plunder the rich under the protection of our own courage’.⁶⁴ Even the Lt. Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia, who was responsible for bringing an end to Captain Blackbeard’s campaign of plunder around Virginia’s waters, decried how his citizens had ‘an unaccountable inclination to favour pirates’.⁶⁵ It is this inclination that has won out in our modern popular image of piracy as they are often portrayed as anti-heroes or Robin Hood figures.

Modern Perspectives of Piracy

The image of these cutlass brandishing ruffians adorned with loose fitting white shirts, a bandolier of pistols and coloured bandanas, while borne out in first-hand accounts, are most famously derived from the illustrations of Howard Pyle and N. C. Wyeth. This image has been replicated in many forms of media ever since with innumerable plays, books, movies and TV shows based on their adventures.⁶⁶ Pirates can fulfil the role of villain and hero equally, a testament to the variability of how their acts of piracy, and their reasons for it, can be perceived in the eye of the beholder. The anti-establishment position pirates occupied in their time has resonated with modern audiences because their opposition to the ideals of those establishments, such as class elitism and racial hierarchies, has shown them to be revolutionaries in political organisation and social cohesion. For it was pirate crews that were the first European political units to practice democracy as we know it today with the division of power and principles of one man, one vote. They did so over sixty years before the American Revolution.⁶⁷ Pirate ships

⁶³ Colin Woodard (2018). More Than a Pirate, A Revolutionary. *The New York Times*, p. A27.

⁶⁴ Colin Woodard (2018). More Than a Pirate, A Revolutionary. *The New York Times*, p. A27.

⁶⁵ Colin Woodard (2018). More Than a Pirate, A Revolutionary. *The New York Times*, p. A27.

⁶⁶ David Cordingly (1995). *Life Among the Pirates: The Romance and the Reality*. Little, Brown and Company. p.27 for first-hand accounts and p.139 for the influence of these illustrations on Robert Louis Stevenson’s *Treasure Island* and *The Black Pirate* with Douglas Fairbanks.

⁶⁷ Colin Woodard (2018). More Than a Pirate, A Revolutionary. *The New York Times*, p. A27.

were also one of the few places where people from different nations, races, religions and classes could live on equal footings without entrenched hierarchies of power.⁶⁸ Most notably, some pirate crews were recorded for having freed enslaved Africans from captured ships and incorporating those Africans into their crews as active and equal members. Although it must be qualified that many other pirate crews engaged in slavery and held the same prejudiced views that were common for the time.⁶⁹ Many more crews were recorded for having incorporated indigenous peoples. There are examples of women, such as Anne Bonnie and Mary Read, joining pirate crews and finding forms of freedom that would have been impossible within the strict gender roles of early modern society, however, these are relatively rare.⁷⁰ More often, women found levels of agency in the landed communities that hosted pirates. Recent studies have also shown that homosexuality was widely practiced amongst pirate crews, a practice which would have warranted the death sentence in many contemporary societies. These revolutionary actions of liberal democracy and social justice have made pirates pop culture icons the world over. It is often for these reasons that the heritage of piracy is seen as one that is worth finding communal pride in. However, this romanticised image should not stand in place of the fact that pirates could be and often were violent criminals who used terror and torture for their own personal economic gain. Instead they should be understood for the diverse and complex figures they were with reference to the realities of the world they lived in.

Providence's History of Piracy

Puritan Privateer Colony

Providence's heritage of piracy begins with the very inception of the Island's history. It was first colonised by English Puritans after it was discovered by privateers in 1629. This colony was organised by a private venture of the Providence Island Company, which was headed by Robert Rich, the third Earl of Warwick. This man and his family built their fortune off of privateering and the colony was established with this intention.⁷¹ The Island was chosen because of the geographic advantages it offered for this practice. It lay in the 'jaws of the Spanish Main' near busy shipping lanes and made the ideal location for making inroads against the Spanish Empire in the Americas. The Island itself was naturally defensible. A barrier reef

⁶⁸ David Cordingly (1995). *Life Among the Pirates: The Romance and the Reality*. Little, Brown and Company pp.23, 27

⁶⁹ Colin Woodard (2018). More Than a Pirate, A Revolutionary. *The New York Times*, p. A27.

⁷⁰ David Cordingly (1995). *Life Among the Pirates: The Romance and the Reality*. Little, Brown and Company pp.85-89

⁷¹ Frank Craven (1930). The Earl of Warwick, a Speculator in Piracy, *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 10(4) 457-479, 469

surrounds the Islands and dictated the approach of ships. If these reefs could be safely navigated, the Islands had only one large harbour, which could be easily defended at its entrance with minimal fortification. These Puritan venture capitalists saw nothing amoral about stealing from Spanish shipping. It was by this that they would cut off Spain's stream of wealth flowing from the Americas, which was being used to fund wars against Protestants on the European continent.⁷² Through privateering against what they considered to be Catholic papists, these Puritans saw themselves as serving God and Country and saw no issue in earning profit from doing so. Providence represents one of the earliest examples of English colonisation efforts in the Caribbean. At the time, it was believed that Providence would be the germ to a great English empire along the Mosquito Coast that would cut Spain's 'New World' empire in twain. It was thought to be so promising that many investors saw her sister colony, the Massachusetts Bay Colony, as a training ground for a population of hardened colonists that would re-emigrate to these warmer tropical climates that could produce more wealth and have a greater political impact in making inroads against the Spanish. In the end, it was this strategic, economic and political threat that Providence's audacious colonisation presented to Spain's regional hegemony that sowed its destruction. Whereas the isolated northern climate of the Massachusetts Bay Colony allowed it to grow past its embryonic phase and mature into what would become the United States of America.

After a Spanish invasion attempt of Providence in 1636, Charles I saw fit to grant the Company letters of reprisal, akin to letters of marque. From that point on, Providence officially became a privateering colony. That is not to say that illicit privateering activities were not occurring before that date since this Spanish raid was in retaliation to acts of piracy that stemmed from the Island.⁷³ As early as when the privateer captain, Daniel Elfrich, first 'discovered' Providence, he found a small group of Dutch privateers camped in its bay. Dutch privateers continued to use this Island as a port of call while plundering Spanish shipping. The Dutch and English saw this plundering as legitimate since the Dutch held letters of marque from their government, who were at war with Spain. However, with Spain and many other European powers not recognising the United Provinces as a self-governing nation, these letters of marque were considered invalid and so, considered these Dutch privateers as pirates. Few official colonial efforts have ever been as entrenched with the economy of privateering and

⁷² Karen Kupperman (1988), *Errand to the West Indies: Protestant Colonization from Providence Island through the Western Design*. *The William and Mary Quarterly*. Third Series. 45(1), 70-99, 72

⁷³ Frank Craven (1930). *The Earl of Warwick, a Speculator in Piracy*. *The Hispanic American Historical Review*. 10(4). 457-479, 469

piracy as the New Westminster Colony was on Providence Island, bar Tortuga and Port Royal perhaps. It is worth mentioning that Tortuga was within the charter for colonisation granted to the Providence Island Company, which had a hand in its later infamy as a pirate lair; and that Oliver Cromwell's colonial acquisition of Jamaica in the Western Design was partly inspired by the Providence Island venture, making Providence the prototypical piratical colony.

Spanish Occupation

The Spanish could no longer tolerate the threat this Island posed to their shipping and especially to their silver fleet. In 1641, a joint Spanish and Portuguese fleet carrying two-thousand soldiers invaded and overwhelmed the colony of New Westminster.⁷⁴ The Providence Island Company and the English Crown was unable to retaliate due to the outbreak of civil war. Many of the adventurers of the Providence Island Company took a leading role in this rebellion against Charles' absolutist ambitions. For instance, the Earl of Warwick became the lord high admiral of the Parliamentarian Navy.⁷⁵ It was these Parliamentarians who won the civil war. Although the Providence colony ended in failure, it had a lasting legacy. The Puritan dictator that rose out of the civil war, Oliver Cromwell, was inspired by Providence in his Western Design, in which England gained control over Jamaica. Additionally, Providence did succeed as the germination of an English presence along the Mosquito Coast. The colonists had built friendly relationship with the Mosquito Indians and established trade posts along the coast as early as 1631. As a result of these trade posts, Providence began a period of unofficial English settlement on the Mosquito coast that lasted for hundreds of years.

Buccaneer Base

The Spanish kept a garrison and penal colony on Providence for over twenty years to prevent the English resettling it.⁷⁶ However, this struggling colony was overrun by the forces of the Brethren of the Coast under Admiral Edward Mansvelt in 1666.⁷⁷ Mansvelt sought to use Providence as a base for buccaneer raids due to its commodious geographic features and location, the same that were recognised by the Providence Island Company. However, when he returned to Jamaica to petition for support in reinforcing the Island, the governor refused.

⁷⁴ Cyril Hamshere (1972). *The British in the Caribbean*. Harvard University Press. p.46

⁷⁵ Frank Craven (1930). The Earl of Warwick, a Speculator in Piracy. *The Hispanic American Historical Review*. 10(4). 457-479, 473

⁷⁶ Donald Rowland (1935). Spanish Occupation of the Island of Old Providence, or Santa Catalina, 1641-1670. *The Hispanic American Historical Review*. 15(3). Duke University Press. 298–312. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2506336>.

⁷⁷ Exquemelin, *Buccaneers of America* p.51

On his way to find aid in Tortuga, Mansvelt died and the garrison he left on Providence, without hope of reinforcements, was soon defeated. After the death of Mansvelt, Henry Morgan became the Admiral of the Brethren of the Coast, a motley federation of English, French and Dutch buccaneers who operated around the Caribbean. They raided the prosperous towns of Portobello and Maracaibo in 1668 and 1669 respectively but their most daring raid was yet to come. In 1670, Morgan planned to raid Panama, the jewel of the Spanish Empire in the Americas. It was the store house of all the specie that came from their mines in the Americas. On his way to Panama, Morgan sought to use Providence as a base of operations. He arrived off its coast with the largest group of buccaneers ever assembled. The 'fleet consisted of thirty-seven ships, wherein were two thousand fighting men' according to John Exquemelin, who claims to have been present on the voyage.⁷⁹ One thousand of these men landed on Providence and successfully captured it from the Spanish. From there they proceeded to the coast and crossed the isthmus to raid Panama, burning it to the ground.

When they finally made it back to the Caribbean coast, Morgan was defamed for absconding with the majority of the loot.⁸⁰ However, it was more likely that the men were simply disbelieving and dissatisfied with the size of their share of the plunder, which they saw as disproportionate to the hardship it took to gain. Regardless, many believe to this day that Morgan buried some of it on Providence. This may have been due to the news that Jamaica's buccaneering benefactor, Governor Modyford, was replaced by Governor Lynch who was commissioned to enforce a hard line against buccaneering. Morgan was not officially permitted by the crown to attack Panama, although he did have a commission from the governor of Jamaica to defend the colony against an imminent Spanish invasion. This made his actions piracy legally speaking and so, his garrisoning of Providence made it a 'pirate island'. This crime was made worse by the 1670 Treaty of Madrid between England and Spain in which Spain recognised England's current possessions in the Caribbean in return for England agreeing to stop all depredations against Spanish colonies and shipping. This elevated his raid on Panama to an international incident that threatened the hard-won peace between England and Spain. Upon returning to Jamaica, Morgan was arrested and brought to London. Rather than be executed, however, Morgan was eventually knighted for his services and returned to Jamaica as the Lieutenant Governor. By this point, the garrison he left on Providence was defeated by the Spanish.

⁷⁹ Exquemelin, *Buccaneers of America* p.82

⁸⁰ Exquemelin, *Buccaneers of America* p.101

Luis Aury's Revolutionary Privateer Colony

After 1670, privateering fell out of fashion and piracy began its Golden Age. This period of piracy intensified from 1715 until 1725 but petered out after that. There are not many extant references of pirates visiting Providence during this time but it is highly likely that an island like this, that was perfectly suited for careening and watering, was clandestinely used by pirates of this era, considering that it was in the social memory of the pirates. Privateering and piracy only became widespread again in the Caribbean during the Revolutionary Wars that broke out across Latin America in the wake of Spain's fall to Napoleon in 1806. One such privateer was a Frenchman named Luis-Michel Aury. He fought for Simón Bolívar under an array of Latin American Revolutionary flags, such as Buenos Aires. In 1818, he made Providence Island his base of operations. In the report from a naval survey of the Islands conducted in 1835, Captain Richard Owens described how:

'he established a government and repaired the principal fort, which thenceforward took his name. His vessels, commanded by adventurers like himself, annoyed the Spanish trade very successfully. They stormed and took several places along the coast, among the rest Truxillo, which they plundered, and brought the spoil to this island. In consequence many traders resorted hither, and the island was more populous than it has since been'.⁸¹

After Aury died in 1821, his lieutenants voted to pledge allegiance to Gran Colombia in 1822. It is this event that was responsible for Providence's current governance under Colombia. This was ratified by the 1928 Treaty between Nicaragua and Colombia and was recognised in the recent Territorial and Maritime Dispute (Nicaragua vs. Colombia) in 2012.⁸² Therefore, it can be said that it was Providence's history of piracy that was directly responsible for its current governance under Colombia.

The Heritage of Piracy

Cultural heritage can have a strong influence in forming national, regional, ethnic or local identities.⁸³ Cultural assets can be symbols for the myths that are often representative of the core national story. Alternatively, cultural assets can be seen as symbols of a minority group

⁸¹ C. F. Collett (1837). On the Island of Old Providence. *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*. Vol. 7. 203- 210, 209.

⁸² Territorial and Maritime Dispute (Nicaragua vs. Colombia), *Judgement of the International Court of Justice*. Reports 2012.

⁸³ See Catherine Palmer (1999) 'Tourism and the Symbols of Identity'. *Tourism Management*, 20 (3): 313- 322 for academic support for this statement.

who want to exemplify their ‘otherness’ from such a core national story and showcase why and how they are unique from the national identity which that myth reinforces. Due to the influence cultural assets can have on identities, the presentation of that cultural heritage to visitors and locals should remain respectful of that conception of identity.⁸⁴ This can be made difficult if there are multiple stakeholders who view the same cultural assets in contrasting ways. One only has to look at the flurry of academic publications surrounding the recent debates about removing contentious statues, such as those of Confederate generals, who some see as national heroes and others see as racial persecutors.⁸⁵ Open dialogue between stakeholders in order to agree on an appropriate way these cultural assets should be presented is the most promising strategy to navigate these issues in a fair, respectful and ethical manner.

There is a need to investigate whether piracy is an appropriate framework through which to present the cultural assets of Providence and Santa Catalina Islands. The cultural heritage of the Raizal people as being representative of their ‘otherness’ from the national core story is more appropriate since although they are governed by Colombia, the Raizal see themselves as culturally and ethnically other than Colombian. This is due to their unique history of colonisation and independent development, which has been decidedly different than that of Colombia. The Puritan colonists, the buccaneers of Mansvelt and Morgan, the maroon communities and the revolutionary privateers of Luis Aury all sought to establish Providence as a settlement independent from the socio-cultural norms, laws and oversight of bigger political bodies who they felt no longer represented their interests. In a way, so too do the modern Raizal who often express resentment of their Islands’ jurisdiction under the Colombian government, who they feel do not have their best interest at heart. Many Raizal claim to be the cultural descendants of these settlements, which were more often populated by English-speaking, Protestant people of a predominantly African heritage than Spanish-speaking, Catholic people of a predominantly European heritage.⁸⁶ The Hispanic influence on the Islands largely comes from colonial efforts of the Colombian government in the twentieth century. As an example, in 1912, a federal census taker Santiago Guerrero urged the Minister of

⁸⁴ Palmer. *Tourism and the Symbols of Identity*. p.11

⁸⁵ A. A. Bauer (2021), Itineraries, iconoclasm, and the pragmatics of heritage. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 20(1): pre-print. L. G. Bunch (2018), Putting white supremacy on a pedestal. National Museum of African American History and Culture, *Smithsonian Institution*, <https://nmaahc.si.edu/blog-post/putting-white-supremacy-pedestal> [accessed: 06/7/21]. Mark Hauser et al. (2018). “Archaeology as Bearing Witness.” *American Anthropologist*. 120(3). 535–536. R. A. Joyce (16 Aug 2017), Losing the past or changing the future? Archaeologists and modern monuments. *Berkeley Blog*. D. Saitta (24 Aug 2017), Confederate Statues, Archaeology, and the Soul of Community. *Intercultural Urbanism Blog*.

⁸⁶ Shakira Crawford (2011). A Transnational World Fractured but Not Forgotten: British West Indian Migration to the Colombian Islands of San Andrés and Providence. *New West Indian Guide*. 85(1/2) 31-52, 36

Government to take action in bridging the cultural gap between the islanders and mainland Colombians by stating that:

‘There is much to do on these islands, principally teaching the inhabitants that they are Colombians as many do not know it. The language, religion, customs – everything is absolutely contrary to ours’.⁸⁷

Many Raizal seek to explore and project their unique multi-national and multi-ethnic, yet highly Anglo-influenced, Caribbean heritage rather than simply their colonial Colombian heritage. This desire was one of the driving motivations behind the formation of the Caribbean Connections Conference that was founded by a native Raizal man.⁸⁸ This sentiment has parallels with Anita Waters’ findings that ‘rather than alienation from Anglocentric narratives, Port Royalists expressed a pride in their European connections’.⁸⁹ For these reasons, the isolated and independent nature of the pirate-minded settlements and maroon communities that historically existed on the Islands of Providence and Santa Catalina are valued by many Raizal as being representative of their identity of ‘otherness’ from mainland Colombians. This is one major reason behind why framing Providence as a ‘pirate island’ has meaning to the cultural identity of the people living there. It is envisioned that this framework of cultural tourism will provide opportunities for the Raizal to strengthen their cultural identity through celebrating their unique environment, heritage and language.⁹⁰

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the unique history of piracy and privateering on Providence and Santa Catalina Islands can be viewed as representative of certain elements of the Raizal people’s cultural heritage. To reinforce this point, the tourism website designed by the Mayor’s Office of Providence and Santa Catalina espouses that the Raizal people:

‘is a wonderful mixture of the inheritances of the Miskito indigenous people, of the black people of ancestral Africa and of the white people of the conquering Europe who stepped on their lands as puritans, pirates, corsairs and buccaneers. Thus, the mixing and struggle each

⁸⁷ Crawford. *A Transnational World Fractured but Not Forgotten*. p. 46

⁸⁸ The Caribbean Connections Conference, <https://thecaribbeanconnectionsconference.org/> [accessed: 12/2/22]

⁸⁹ Anita Waters (2006), *Planning the Past: Heritage, Tourism and Post-Colonial Politics at Port Royal*, Lexington Books. p.15

⁹⁰ David Ketz, Anne Ketz (13-15 March 2020). Building A Cultural Heritage Tourism Program, Proceedings of the Scientific Symposium, Building peace through heritage - World Forum for Change through Dialogue, Florence.

conqueror experienced has reflected upon the islands, making them a must visit world destination'.⁹¹

This argues for the connection between Providence's history of piracy and the cultural heritage of the people, as well as to the strength this connection lends to Providence as a cultural tourism destination.

⁹¹ Old Providence and Santa Catalina Islas, <https://oldprovidence.co/en/our-wealth/> [accessed: 25/6/22]

Chapter 3: Utilising the Heritage of Piracy for Cultural Tourism

Introduction

To understand how to engage with the cultural heritage side of cultural tourism to a greater degree, it is necessary to explore the methodology behind integrating cultural heritage and tourism. Cultural heritage assets are a non-renewable resource. They need to be protected for this reason but this does not mean that they must be isolated from interaction with the public. Cultural assets can be protected in ways that allow for interaction with visitors on multiple levels. Through this interaction, they can be utilised for the cultural and socio-economic benefit of the community. The possibility of this mutually beneficial relationship between cultural heritage and tourism is supported by Calver and Page who claim that: ‘education and conservation are not exclusive alternatives but are complimentary and can be reconciled with the active involvement of the visitor creating their own service facilitated experience’.⁹²

In the remainder of this chapter, the different elements of the Islands of Providence and Santa Catalina that relate to their cultural heritage of piracy and can be considered assets to be both protected and utilised will be elaborated on individually. Assets that relate to that cultural heritage of piracy include tangible remains such as archaeological sites; intangible remains such as the Islands’ creole, universal outlook, and folklore; the written record; and the environment of the Islands. This will act as a backdrop for Chapter 5 which will explore how these assets can be incorporated into cultural tourism initiatives.

Current Use of Piracy for Tourism

In order to advance a theory and methodology for how the heritage of piracy can be used for tourism on Providence and Santa Catalina Islands, it is first necessary to relate how it is used for tourism on the Islands currently. If one were to search ‘Providencia pirate island’ on Google – taking care to avoid typing ‘Providence’ as this leads to the more pervasive advertising for New Providence in the Bahamas as the pirate island – they might come across one of the few online articles relating how Providencia was once used as a pirate base. However, it is apparent that there is currently no concerted online campaign to advertise

⁹² Jelincic, D. A., & Mansfeld, Y. (2019). *Creating and managing experiences in cultural tourism*. World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte Ltd. p.49

Old Providence's tourism through the theme of piracy.⁹³ That is not to say that this heritage of piracy is not engaged with on the Islands themselves. The very first thing a visitor is greeted with, after stepping out of the tiny single-strip airport, is the image of a pirate. This board with the popular image of a pirate has a hole where a visitor can place their face to take a picture as a pirate. This sets the tone for how the Islands utilise their heritage of piracy because while the thematic trope is enthusiastically engaged with, it is ultimately done so in a superficial manner. One could stay at the Hotel el Pirata Morgan during their stay. The next day they could take a boat tour around Santa Catalina to see Morgan's Head or Morgan's Cave and hear the story of how he is said to have buried his plundered treasure from Panama there, although this story is lacking in historical context and information. Visitors could also walk across the bridge to Santa Catalina and up to Fort Warwick, where they could read a cursory plaque about its various names. However, there is almost no information about its extensive history. Many of the Raizal will happily speak with tourists and tell them that Henry Morgan lived on the Island or that they are his descendants. However, many – although enthusiastic and proud of this heritage – have limited knowledge about him or the era he lived in. This is partly because the local school focuses on national Colombian history rather than on Providencian history. A more general understanding of this heritage would be indispensable in forging an awareness of its relevance and how it can be utilised as a sustainable cultural heritage asset and would subsequently be advantageous to any tourism that is designed to build off of that heritage. Piracy is engaged with around the Islands as a trope but it is rarely engaged with as serious history. This was made apparent by the distinct lack of any mention of piracy in the now-destroyed museum.

⁹³ The Travel, website, <https://www.thetravel.com/what-was-henry-morgan-famous-for/> [accessed: 25/5/22] and The Daily Mail, website, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5531201/Pirates-puritans-treasure-turbulent-past-Providence.html> [accessed: 25/5/22]



Figure 2: Plaque at Fort Warwick. Courtesy of Jairo Archbold Núñez (2014). Fort Warwick/Fuerte La Libertad Santa Catalina y Providencia. Informe sobre su historia.

This thesis argues that in order to utilise piracy to increase tourism, it should be engaged with more deeply as cultural heritage, rather than just a thematic trope. The piratical occupations of Providence by Puritans, and later by buccaneers, had a massive cultural impact on the Islands. It was the progenitor of their Anglo-European cultural routes. This is evidenced by the linguistic English route of their distinctive creole and the prevalence of Protestantism on the Islands. The multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-religious qualities of the Raizal all stem from this piratically fuelled history as the Islands were intrepidly colonised by English Puritan privateers, then garrisoned by Spanish colonials, only to be seized by a cadre of English, French and Dutch buccaneers, until being resettled by Anglo-Caribbean colonists and then bolstered by Latin American privateering revolutionaries of varying nascent nationalities. It was this Puritan colony that brought the very first enslaved Africans to these Islands. It quickly became the first English colony to be populated with a higher proportion of Africans to Europeans and subsequently became the first in the English Caribbean to experience a serious rebellion from an enslaved population. Although suppressed, this rebellion resulted in a large maroon community forming in the Island's

interior.⁹⁴ It is thought that this maroon community may have remained throughout the aforementioned occupation periods, surviving as a stoic example of African resistance at a time of systemic racial oppression throughout the region. The ability to sustain and govern a self-sufficient community and navigate a difficult symbiotic, and simultaneously parasitic, relationship with an institutionally hostile environment draws many parallels with the phenomenon of piracy. Cultural tourism celebrating maroon communities would therefore speak to the Islands' core authenticity of cultural heritage while also falling within the representative authenticity of the cultural heritage of a 'pirate island'. The phenomenon of piracy itself exhibits examples of racial freedom that were impossible anywhere else in the colonial Caribbean since pirate crews were often multi-ethnic. The heritage of piracy can therefore speak to Providence and Santa Catalina's ethnic, religious and cultural composition.

The discussion about the distinction between privateering and piracy being a legalistic matter of perspective also has relevance to the Islands today due to being embroiled in an international legal case between Nicaragua and Colombia. UN declarations on the maritime zones of Nicaragua and Colombia reduced the size of Providence and Santa Catalina Islands' fishing territories, making the maritime activities they have been practicing for years illegal under the jurisdiction of the United Nations International Court of Justice (ICJ).⁹⁵ However, Colombia's refusal to recognise the ICJ's decision begs the question of who decides whether Providencian's maritime activities are legal or illegal and how this decision can be enforced. The Nicaraguan navy have seized vessels fishing in their new territorial waters but Colombian naval vessels patrol to protect what they consider to still be their territorial waters, risking a might is right mentality superseding international legal recourse.⁹⁶ Are Providencians beholden to the laws and law enforcement of the nation that governs them or to the enforcement of international law from a foreign state, considering that the two are at odds with one another? This is reminiscent of historical international debates surrounding who decides on what is piracy and how this decision can be enforced. Territorial maritime rights are a serious issue and have serious implications for those living on the Islands. The

⁹⁴ Alison Games (1998). 'The sanctuary of our Rebell Negroes': The Atlantic context of local resistance on Providence island, 1630–41, *Slavery & Abolition*, 19(3), 1-21, 13.

⁹⁵ Anastasia Moloney (6 December 2018), Their waters wrested away, Colombia's island fisherman lament – and learn, *Reuters*, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-oceans-rights-colombia-feature-idUSKBN1O51A3>, [accessed: 31/5/22]

⁹⁶ International Court of Justice, Territorial Dispute and Maritime Delimitation (Nicaragua v. Colombia), Summary of the Judgement of 19 November 2012, <https://www.icj-cij.org/public/files/case-related/124/17180.pdf> [accessed: 31/5/22]

issue of perspective is spoken to in a general manner in a BBC article on the Islands of Providence and Santa Catalina when one fisherman told the reporter:

“Here you can’t say I’m off to my job because there are no businesses, no multinational companies, none of that...only the ocean. The sea is our biggest economy and it doesn’t matter if it’s legal or illegal. What matters here is that acquiring your money hasn’t involved a crime against another human. In Colombia it’s considered illegal, but to many of us it’s our sole subsistence. So we don’t see it as something illegal.”⁹⁷

Another present relevance is that Providence’s piratical history is repeating itself as the international drug smuggling industry has gained a foothold on the Islands.⁹⁸ The reasons why people engage in piracy and smuggling are largely the same today as they were three hundred years ago: unemployment in maritime landscape communities and a lack of social mobility are universal seeds for the growth of piracy and smuggling. The Islands have recently seen their territorial waters reduced and their fishing industry decline consequently. The lack of employment opportunities has pushed many of the Islands’ men to seek employment in regional cartels as drug runners. This is so prevalent that it has caused a devastating demographic issue on the Islands due to the high rate of emigration, incarceration, disappearance and death that it has led to. Some estimates put the figure as high as 800 men who have been incarcerated abroad or disappeared, which would be one in every four men on the Islands. The Islands still offer the same geographic advantages to smuggling and piracy as it did in the age of sail by being secluded yet lying along shipping lanes halfway between the North and South American continents. For this reason, it is still used within a network of regional drug smuggling, to the extent that Pablo Escobar had his holiday home on Santa Catalina. One BBC article entitled ‘The island where men are disappearing’ wrote that ‘drug smugglers discovered the islanders were excellent mariners, with invaluable knowledge of the surrounding waters inherited from their privateering forebearers’.⁹⁹ For these reasons, the heritage of piracy has resounding relevance to the Islands and to many tourists from the region who may be aware of, and even affected by, this type of criminal activity. With all of this in mind, the heritage of piracy can be engaged with on the Islands in a much deeper way than it currently is. Engaging with historical debates that

⁹⁷ Hernando Alvarez (12 October 2015). ‘The island where men are disappearing’. *BBC*. website (<https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-34487450>) [accessed: 8/5/22]

⁹⁸ Hernando Alvarez (12 October 2015). ‘The island where men are disappearing’. *BBC*. website (<https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-34487450>) [accessed: 8/5/22]

⁹⁹ Hernando Alvarez (12 October 2015). ‘The island where men are disappearing’. *BBC*. website (<https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-34487450>) [accessed: 8/5/22]

have relevance to many of these current situations, may shed light on them and even teach how to overcome them by seeing the errors of solutions in the past in such international disputes. Additionally to this, if the tourism of the Islands can plunge through the thematic trope of piracy to explore it, and what it means to the Islands, on a deeper level it can only serve to engage, enthrall and entice visitors more. This will result in an ultimately more memorable tourist experience, which Jelincic et al. argue is the most important aspect of a successful cultural tourism initiative.¹⁰⁰ Success in improving tourism will also directly help to alleviate the negative economic affects of some of these issues.

Methodology for Creating Cultural Tourism Products

Cultural heritage managers recognize that “asset” carries overtones of commercialization. A paradox of cultural heritage management is that although cultural assets are not commodities eligible for sale or trade, they are often managed like commodities with emphases on the conservation and preservation of these finite and fragile assets and the best use of the asset for the public benefit. When managers promote cultural heritage to encourage and increase tourism, assets are marketed like commodities; the resources are presented as unique cultural tourism products and visitors become customers. Although the assets themselves are not being sold, the experiences they can evoke are.¹⁰¹

Marketing

Marketing offers many benefits to cultural heritage and tourism managers alike with regard to this process of commodification of cultural assets into tourism products. Marketing is a way of ensuring that the presentation and consumption of the tourism product is compatible with the goals of the CHM of the original asset. Many visitors will be ignorant of the significance or meaning of a cultural asset but this strategy of marketing enables managers to shape the way an asset is perceived as a tourism product.¹⁰² Similarly, for those that hold certain expectations for a cultural asset, such that say pirates were always the ‘good guys’, these expectations can be managed from the outset rather than being countered during the experience. It has been contested that tourist travel more often to reaffirm their beliefs rather than have

¹⁰⁰ Daniela Angelina Jelinčić, Y. Mansfeld (2019). *Creating and Managing Experiences in Cultural Tourism*. World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte Ltd. p.47

¹⁰¹ Bower, Mim (1995), Marketing Nostalgia. In: Malcolm A. Cooper, Antony Firth, John Carman, and David Wheatley (Eds.). *Managing Archaeology*. Routledge. p.32

¹⁰² McKercher, *Cultural Tourism* p.107

them challenged.¹⁰³ Failure to set expectations through marketing may result in attracting the ‘wrong’ type of tourist whose needs are not compatible with how the cultural asset was intended to be experienced as a tourism product.¹⁰⁴ A primary user should be identified and catered for to ensure maximisation of: visitor numbers, the right kind of visitors and the visitor’s experience.¹⁰⁵

Market Appeal of Piracy

An important function of destination marketing for managers is to create a destination image, which Kotler defines as ‘the sum of beliefs, ideas and impressions that people have of a place’.¹⁰⁶ In the case of Providence, the destination image being marketed is that of a ‘pirate island’. It is marketing the chance to escape to a pirate island and step back in time to feel what it was like to be a pirate. The appeal that piracy has for tourists is immense. Its marketability is based on escapism and adventure, which is a driving motivation for many tourists travelling. The fact that escapism and adventure are so in line with the theme of piracy and are major qualities many tourists seek in a destination makes the heritage of piracy a versatile tourist attraction since it appeals to a wide variety of people. The most obvious of these people are those who have an interest in the history of piracy of course but broader tourist types that constitute a larger portion of the market share for cultural tourism can be targeted. The larger, more profitable market share is families. Family tourism accounts for 30% of the leisure tourism market and they make for an ideal tourist type in terms of their average length of stay, their average expenditure and their social behaviour.¹⁰⁷ This would require that certain cultural tourism products be made suitable for children along with other considerations and concessions. Backpackers travelling around Colombia frequently take the trip to Providence and these could also be seen as ideal tourists to target. Ritchie and Crouch suggested that: ‘a better target market might be backpackers, who stay longer and stray beyond the coast. They may not spend as much as the other segment in total, but the import leakage might be lower because they consume local crafts, food and locally owned accommodation’.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ McKercher, *Cultural Tourism* p.40

¹⁰⁴ McKercher, *Cultural Tourism* p.201

¹⁰⁵ McKercher, *Cultural Tourism* p.109

¹⁰⁶ Larry Dwyer & Chulwon Kim (2003): Destination Competitiveness: Determinants and Indicators, *Current Issues in Tourism*, 6(5), 369-414, 385

¹⁰⁷ Heike A. Schanzel, Ian Yeoman (2015). Trends in Family Tourism, *Journal of Tourism Futures*. 1(2). 141-147. 141-142.

¹⁰⁸ J.R.B. Ritchie, Geoffrey Ian Crouch (2003), *The Competitive Destination: A Sustainable Tourism Perspective*, CABI Publishing p.28

Each type of target tourist comes with certain considerations and concessions such as those presented here. These types of tourists should be weighed for their suitability to a destination both to ascertain if their presence will benefit the destination and if the destination will satisfy their needs as tourists.

A marketing strategy must also ask which country and/or region is targeted as the major tourist market. Competitiveness is influenced by location and accessibility, but this is relatively based off where the destination's major tourist market is located.¹⁰⁹ If Providence's major market was Colombia, its competitiveness could be improved since it is easily accessible from Colombia via San Andrés Island. However, if Providence's cultural tourism marketing plan was designed towards the Caribbean, its competitiveness could be lowered since tourists from that market could more easily access other similar destinations. What type of tourist, and from which country, that a cultural tourism plan is designed for is largely the preserve of the local residents and should be governed by pre-liminary communal discussions on what kind of cultural tourism the community seeks to pursue. The initiatives outlined in Chapter 5 can all be tailored to suit certain types of tourist at the later stages of cultural tourism planning. The marketing strategy could then reflect this choice of target tourist both in how Providence is presented but also where this marketing is focused. For instance, the younger average age of backpackers compared to parents with children may favour a marketing campaign on social media rather than through television or travel agents.

Piracy can be presented at the marketing level and at the cultural tourism experiential level in any number of ways. While these are too many to recite here, it will be said that piracy is a subject that is vulnerable to being presented in a superficial manner that Richard Price has termed 'postcarding' history. By this he means that the trivial, fun and picturesque take precedence over the actual social relationships that the history encompassed.¹¹⁰ The social relationships of piracy were complex and often contradictory. Pirates of different eras could be varyingly villainous criminals, morally defensible vigilantes and/or social and political revolutionaries. Exploring these complexities offers a more engaging, enthralling and educational experience to tourists than presenting a one-dimensional depiction of these fascinating historical figures. A one-dimensional depiction would essentially undermine the complexity of Providence's heritage, which must be avoided. While piracy can be a fun and adventurous theme through which to attract tourists, it is here believed that the historical

¹⁰⁹ J.R.B. Ritchie, Geoffrey Ian Crouch (2003). *The Competitive Destination: A Sustainable Tourism Perspective*, CABI Publishing p.235

¹¹⁰ Richard Price (1998). *The Convict and the Colonel*. Beacon Press. p.175

complexities of piracy and privateering should be expressed in cultural tourism experiences where possible and practical. This should be reflected in the marketing of these experiences although perhaps not as stringently due to the breviloquent nature of marketing.

Developing Cultural Tourism Products

For a cultural tourism plan to be successful it must be competitive within the broader tourism industry. Hassan defines competitiveness as ‘the destination's ability to create and integrate value-added products that sustain its resources while maintaining market position relative to competitors’. Hassan’s definition of competitiveness has been chosen here because of its inclusion of sustainability, which is lacking in the definitions of Murphy, Pritchard and Smith; d’Hauteserre; and Chon and Meyer.¹¹¹ There are multiple ways of developing competitive cultural tourism attractions. These include building a primary attraction, bundling lesser attractions together to create a themed set of attractions that collectively form a primary attraction, creating tourism precincts, developing linear tourist routes or heritage networks and using events to attract tourists. For Providence, a linear tourist route around the Island in the form of a pirate themed heritage trail, for instance, would be a cost-effective way of increasing the appeal of disparate minor cultural assets by forming one easily consumable primary cultural tourism product.

There are a number of features common to successful cultural tourism attractions. McKercher lists these common features as those that: (1) tell a story, (2) make the asset come alive, (3) make the experience participatory, (4) make the history relevant to the tourist and/or (5) focus on the quality and authenticity of the asset.¹¹² The capacity for the heritage of piracy to fulfil these features will be expanded on with reference to the case study to argue for the strength of this utilising this heritage for cultural tourism.

(1) The expansive and enthralling written records that tell stories of the piracies committed from Providence make this first avenue of transforming a cultural asset into a tourism product by telling a story easily achievable and extremely effective. Examples of these will be narrated in the Heritage Trail Section of Chapter 5.

(2) Similarly, the exciting quality of these stories lends itself to bringing cultural assets to life by framing those assets within an engaging narrative. Re-enactments using historical costumes

¹¹¹ Silvia Angeloni (2013). Cultural Tourism and Well-Being of the Local Population. *Theoretical and Empirical Researches in Urban Management*, 8(3), 17-31, 18

¹¹² McKercher, *Cultural Tourism* pp.122-27

can help towards this. If the cultural tourism product is engrossing and enjoyable, rather than dry and dull, it will encourage the visitor to engage with the cultural asset on a deeper level.

(3) Many activities practiced by pirates can quite readily be made into participatory experiences through various workshops such as sailing, canoeing, sword fighting, jungle trekking, treasure hunting or even cartography and calligraphy classes.

(4) Providence's heritage of piracy is extremely conducive to being made culturally and historically relevant in varying ways to tourists from multiple countries. Providence's colonisation by Puritans and their subsequent extirpation by the Spaniards was responsible for a lasting English presence on the Miskito Coast, present day Honduras and Nicaragua, where English is still spoken in some parts due to this initial colonisation. This New Westminster Colony can be made relevant to Americans since it was the contemporary cousin to the Massachusetts Bay Colony that grew to form their country. It can likewise be made relevant to English tourists as representing their country's earliest colonial forays into the Western Caribbean and the influence it had in their Civil War and subsequent Cromwellian colonisation of Jamaica. Providence's colonisation by Henry Morgan gives it relevance to tourists from Jamaica and from Panama. The privateer colony under Luis-Michelle Aury was responsible for its current governance under Colombia, giving relevance to this major tourist market.

(5) Having genuinely had an extensive history as a pirate island, focusing on the quality and authenticity of the cultural assets that represent this heritage is of little difficulty. For comparison, there are written records which authenticate that Henry Morgan seized and occupied Fort Warwick, granting the site an authentic heritage of piracy and improving the quality of the site as a cultural tourism product. As a comparative example, there is no evidence to support any connection between 'Blackbeard's Castle' on St. Thomas and the infamous pirate captain himself.¹¹³ Although this cultural asset is an authentic and impressive example of Danish fortifications of the seventeenth century, it has been transformed into an inauthentic cultural tourism product. The unique history of Providence grants opportunities to focus on the authentic cultural heritage of piracy, which is an asset to its competitiveness as a cultural tourism destination. These are some examples of the ways in which piracy as a theme can lend itself to transforming cultural assets into cultural tourism products. This has been expressed through the formula of McKercher but it could equally have done so through that of Jelincic and Mansfeld who postulate that the three indispensable factors that make up a great tourism

¹¹³ Blackbeard's Castle, <https://blackbeardscastle.rezgo.com/> [accessed: 23/6/22]

experience are that it is engaging, unique and authentic.¹¹⁴ Providence's heritage of piracy fulfils these three factors and this will be exhibited through the range of cultural assets that will be elaborated on in this chapter. The thesis will then outline the initiatives through which these cultural assets will be transformed into cultural tourism products in the next chapter.



Figure 3: 'Blackbeard's Castle'. Courtesy of Blackbeard's Castle, <https://blackbeardscastle.rezgo.com/> [accessed: 23/6/22]

In order to develop competitive cultural tourism attractions, it must first be understood how to transform singular cultural assets into cultural tourism products. McKercher outlines diverse ways of transforming cultural assets into cultural tourism products as: (1) mythologizing the asset, (2) building a story around the asset, (3) emphasizing its otherness, (4) showing a direct link from the past to the present, (5) making it triumphant, (6) making it a spectacle, (7) making it fantastic and (8) making it fun, light or entertaining.¹²² These will be explored through the context of piracy for the case study of Providence and Santa Catalina to act as a methodological guide for the formulation of the initiatives proposed in Chapter 5.

(1) Mythologizing an asset has a strong role to play in cultural tourism as it can help transform an asset from being relatively mundane to becoming extraordinary.¹²³ This is reinforced by

¹¹⁴ Jelincic, D. A., & Mansfeld, Y. (2019). *Creating and managing experiences in cultural tourism*. World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte Ltd. p.21

¹²² McKercher, *Cultural Tourism* pp.122-127

¹²³ McKercher, *Cultural Tourism* p.129

Barthe who expounds that: ‘Without doubt, the social construction of sights always, to some degree, involves the mobilisation of myth’ and that to ‘establish the proposition that myth and fantasy play an unusually large role in the social construction of all travel and tourist sights’.¹²⁴ Piracy is a historical phenomenon that is particularly mythologized, as has been discussed previously, and so the ability with which cultural assets relating to piracy can be mythologised to become enticing cultural tourism products is made readily available with this type of cultural tourism. The myth of Providence being the resting place of Henry Morgan’s buried treasure from his raid on Panama is a particularly promising contextualisation of many different cultural assets. While mythologizing has a role in transforming cultural assets into exciting cultural tourism products, it is important to differentiate between what is myth and what is fact during cultural tourism experiences so the two are not conflated. Qualification about where the source support for a story ends and the myth begins is important in order to retain the core authenticity of the cultural heritage that the cultural tourism product is built around.

(2) This also ties in to contextualising a cultural asset by building a story around it since the historic records of piracy link the different places of the Islands as well as the different time periods of the Islands together in a useful narrative framework.

(3) We have touched on how the context of piracy can help frame the cultural, linguistic and ethnic ‘otherness’ of the Raizal to mainland Colombians. This is useful in creating a cultural tourism product because a central reason that people travel is to confirm or challenge their cultural frame of references and it thus contributes to cross-cultural understanding of ethnic or national identities. This is made all the more meaningful since the largest likely pool of tourists to visit Providence and Santa Catalina will come from Colombia. The touristic appeal of emphasising otherness through the thematic recontextualization of cultural assets is expressed in the comparative example of the cultural tourism on the Amami Islands in Japan. The author writes:

Visitors are confronted by self-identified exhibits of Amami identity that are recontextualized in the theme park as a way of bringing together the key aspects of local life that are deemed representative of the archipelago’s identity. However, the branding of the Amami islands within the tourism industry offers a sense of otherness that aligns within a national discourse of being an ‘‘other’’ at ‘‘home’’.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Chris Rojek. Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Touring Sights, In Chris Rojek, John Urry (Eds.)(1997), *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory* p.52-53

¹²⁵ Henry Johnson (2016). Amami Park and Island Tourism: Sea, Land and Islandness at a Site of Simulation. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 16(1) 88-99, 97.

It is this ‘otherness’ which allows Providencia to feature its own natural and cultural assets for consumption within the national and international tourism industry.

(4) We have similarly mentioned how the people of Providence and Santa Catalina view themselves as the direct descendants of colonial settlers as far back as Henry Morgan’s buccaneers and even the original Puritan colonists. One local, when enquired by the author about his claim to be a direct descendant of Morgan himself, produced his driving licence that showed his middle name to be Morgan. This speaks to the sincerity and pride with which the Raizal view their link to their piratical past.

(5) Although the piratical settlements of Providence were not ultimately triumphant, their very existence did stand in daunting and daring opposition to the contemporary status quo of political power.

(6/7/8) The ease with which the heritage of piracy can be made into a fantastic spectacle or light and fun entertainment can be seen with shows the world over. As just one example, part of the Port Royal Development Company Limited’s cultural tourism plan from 1998 included ‘an entertainment platform over the sea to provide for entertainment such as re-enactments of pirate scenes’.¹²⁶

These ways of transforming cultural assets into cultural tourism products will be implemented in Chapter 5 but first it is necessary to identify the cultural assets that relate to piracy with references to Providence and Santa Catalina.

Piratical Cultural Heritage Assets

Tangible Cultural Heritage of Piracy

The International Council on Museums and Sites (ICOMOS) states that: ‘Tangible heritage includes buildings and historic places, monuments, artifacts, etc., which are considered worthy of preservation for the future. These include objects significant to the archaeology, architecture, science, or technology of a specific culture’.¹²⁷ The tangible remnants of piracy are particularly difficult to identify in the archaeological record. This is largely because pirates do not possess a distinctive material culture due to the nature of the profession. Pirates used the same vessels and materials as various contemporary nations since these vessels and materials were inherently stolen from different nationalities. Therefore, unlike most

¹²⁶ Waters, A. M. (2003). HERITAGE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND UNOFFICIAL HISTORY IN PORT ROYAL, JAMAICA. *Social and Economic Studies*, 52(2), 1–27, 7. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27865327>

¹²⁷ David Ketz, Anne Ketz (13-15 March 2020), Building A Cultural Heritage Tourism Program, Proceedings of the Scientific Symposium, Building peace through heritage - World Forum for Change through Dialogue, Florence

archaeological enquiries of shipwrecks of a particular national origin, identification of the national provenance of the vessel or its material does not confirm who sailed it. The heterogeneity of material culture found on board pirate ships due to the heterogenous nature of the crew and the pillaging of vessels from multiple nations can suggest a shipwreck's use as a pirate vessel. However, like most archaeological evidence towards the hypothesis of a shipwreck having been used as a pirate ship, it is only circumstantial. This is partly due to the fact that so few confirmed pirate shipwrecks have been excavated and therefore, the data set is rather small to confirm trends within that material record.¹²⁸ While consulting archival records can often help in identifying a shipwreck as a particular ship, pirates rarely left such written records. This relates to the illegal nature of their profession which precludes diligent record keeping of their criminal activities for posterity. Unlike the loss of a merchantman, which would be recorded by the responsible persons or company for insurance or salvage reasons, there are rarely written records available to confirm that an unidentified shipwreck is that of a pirate ship. Beyond shipwrecks, pirates rarely built considerable constructions due to their transient nature.

Although pirate ships and pirate treasure rarely survive, the colonial constructions that more often do can be used to reflect a connection with piracy. Forts that may have once been taken over by pirates or simply used to defend against them make for common touristic attractions on many Caribbean islands. Fort Warwick on Santa Catalina is one such fort. Originally built in 1631 under the supervision of Samuel Axe, a specialist in fortification construction, this fort has gone through many phases of occupation. It was occupied by the English colonists from 1631 to 1641. After Providence was captured by the Spanish, they renamed the fort Santa Teresa and occupied it for the next twenty-five years. The undermanned and under provisioned garrison on the Island was defeated by the Brethren of the Coast under Mansvelt. These buccaneers briefly occupied the fort until Mansvelt's untimely death meant that reinforcements would not be coming from the pirate stronghold of Tortuga. The Island was shortly reoccupied by Spaniards until the 6 December 1670 when Henry Morgan seized it to use as a base of operations for his raid on Panama. After falling out of use for over a century, it was later rebuilt by Luis Aury who named it Fuerte Libertad in reflection of the revolutionary cause for which he fought. This fort thus represents three separate periods famed for privateering. The Protestant privateering incursions of the English and Dutch into the Caribbean in the first half of the seventeenth century, the era of buccaneering in the second half

¹²⁸ See Matthew Conway (2020). *Holistic Maritime History*, Master's Thesis, Leiden University p.30

of the seventeenth century and the eruption of revolutionary privateering in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The current state of preservation of this fort is unfortunately relatively poor. What remains is a stone-built foundation that once supported the fort's superstructures. This structure lays on a prominent rock feature standing fifteen feet above a narrow outcrop that can be walked along once you have climbed a steep modern staircase. This two-teared topography is a vestige of the cannon platforms once in place.¹²⁹ Atop the stone foundation lays an historical set of cannons. The fort's location gives a panoramic view across the bay and was perfectly situated so that any ship entering the harbour would have to run a gauntlet of crossfire between it and the fort on the far side of the bay. The defensive advantages of its geographic attributes were reported by Exquemelin in 'the Buccaneers of America'.

'On the seaside it was impregnable, by reason of the rocks round it, and the sea beating furiously upon them. To the land it was so commodiously seated on a mountain, as there was no access to it but by a path three or four feet broad.'¹³⁰

On this landward side lies a rectangular stone wall that was once a structure within the fort, likely the officer's quarters as labelled in Figure 13.¹³¹ This area is protected under heritage legislation but has never yet been officially excavated. Although there is relatively little extant tangible heritage in the way of imposing defensive crenelated walls or towers, this site does offer promising uses as a cultural tourism product, which will be elaborated on in the next chapter. This was the strongest of the historic forts on the Islands throughout its history due to the strategic advantage awarded by the geographic characteristics of the location, but it was the linchpin within a chain of forts. The positions of these can be identified from physical features in the landscape and by consulting historic descriptions and maps of the Islands.

The maritime cultural landscape of the Islands of Providence and Santa Catalina and the treacherous reef that surrounds them creates an area of high potential for underwater cultural heritage. There are dozens of shipwrecks around the Islands and recently two more wooden shipwrecks have been tentatively identified.¹³² Of the known underwater cultural

¹²⁹ Wilhelm Londoño (2014). Informe del Programa de Arqueología Preventiva del Proyecto de Reconstrucción del Fuerte de la Libertad. Santa Catalina, Municipio de Providencia, Departamento de San Andrés, Colombia. p.13-15

¹³⁰ Exquemelin, *Buccaneers of America* p.85

¹³¹ Wilhelm Londoño (2014). Informe del Programa de Arqueología Preventiva del Proyecto de Reconstrucción del Fuerte de la Libertad. Santa Catalina, Municipio de Providencia, Departamento de San Andrés, Colombia. p.16

¹³² Fundación Apalaanchi (June, 2021). Progress Report on the Implementation of the Archaeological Management Plan for the Project on the Deepening of the Access Channel to the Port of Providence. pp.673-79

heritage, the most fascinating example is the numerous cannon that lay strewn across the seabed just north of Fort Warwick. There is an account that:

‘At a certain place they cast into the sea all the guns belonging thereto, designing to return, and leave that island well garrisoned, to the perpetual possession of the pirates; but he [Morgan] ordered all the houses and forts to be fired, except the castle of St. Teresa, which he judged to be the strongest and securest wherein to fortify himself at his return from Panama’.¹³³

With an underwater archaeological inspection, the dates of these cannon could be confirmed, and this incredible underwater cultural heritage site could become a verified site of the cultural heritage of piracy.



Figure 4: Fort Warwick. Courtesy of Tripadvisor, https://www.tripadvisor.in/LocationPhotoDirectLink-g12549026-d13168805-i393414440-Fort_Warwick-Santa_Catalina_Island_San_Andres_and_Providencia_Departm.html [accessed: 23/6/22]

Intangible Cultural Heritage

Intangible cultural heritage (ICH) is defined by ICOMOS as ‘the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases,

¹³³ Exquemelin, *Buccaneers of America* p.88

individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage'.¹³⁴ ICH can include oral traditions, performing arts, rituals, events, traditional craftsmanship and other expressions of cultural knowledge and skills.¹³⁵ Globally, ICH is fast becoming a significant resource in cultural tourism. At its core, ICH facilitates a deeper understanding of a destination's culture. The people of Providence and Santa Catalina Islands have an array of ICH assets that they can draw from to development sustainable cultural tourism.

The most apparent ICH asset at the disposal of the Raizal people is their native language of Creole. This language has evolved from its English roots to become a distinct language branch that is specific to these Islands. It has been influenced by Spanish throughout the years, as well as by other European and African languages. Although similar Creole languages can be heard across the Caribbean, the isolation of these Islands has created a specific dialect that is truly unique as it can only be heard here.¹³⁶ When asked in an interview which of the three languages spoken on the Islands was most important, one interviewee responded:

“It would be creole, creole definitely. Spanish is worldwide, English is worldwide. Our creole is here, only here and we need to find ways to preserve dat”.¹³⁷

The relaxed lilt of this language is an extremely attractive characteristic that contributes to the relaxing atmosphere of the Islands. Creole can then be viewed as a cultural asset that lends itself to the competitiveness of the Islands within the broader cultural heritage tourism of the region. This is supported by the conceptual definition of Richards who states that cultural tourism covers ‘not just the consumption of the cultural products of the past, but also of contemporary culture or the way of life of a people or region’.¹³⁸ Therefore, more frequent use of this language in everyday life and in the tourism industry can contribute to the objectives of both CHM and tourism by safeguarding/transmitting it and commodifying it to satisfy tourists.

The relaxing atmosphere this language creates is compounded by the shared universal outlook of the Raizal that speak it. When asked in the same interview about the people, the landscape and the creole of Providence, this interviewee replied:

¹³⁴ David Ketz, Anne Ketz (13-15 March 2020). Building A Cultural Heritage Tourism Program, Proceedings of the Scientific Symposium, Building peace through heritage - World Forum for Change through Dialogue, Florence.

¹³⁵ UNESCO. (2003). *Convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention> [accessed: 20/11/21]

¹³⁶ Angela Bartens (2009). A Comparison of the English-based Creoles of Nicaragua and San Andrés and Old Providence, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*. 110(3). 299-318, 302

¹³⁷ Diana Marcela Ampudia Sjogreen (28 Jan 2020). *Providencian Criol*. Interview by Matthew Conway, Facebook, uploaded by Old Providence and Santa Catalina Islands Archaeology Project. <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=477659279586946>

¹³⁸ Silvia Angeloni (2013). Cultural Tourism and Well-Being of the Local Population. *Theoretical and Empirical Researches in Urban Management*, 8(3), 17-31, 24

“them relax, they no care about nutting, they no worry about what might happen tomaarra, but just eat someting today and be good with them friends and be good with them family and then just enjoy the view, the sea, the hills, whateva it is...no agendas, no stressing, no nutting, just go with the wind and the wave of the sea and thas’it”.¹³⁹

The above sentiment encapsulates several of the four major dimensions of cultural attractiveness set out by Ritchie and Crouch: (1) the basic elements of daily life, that is, how people go about their daily living; (2) the more sophisticated elements of the good life of residents, such as art, museums and food; (3) the elements of work in the society; and (4) cultural remnants of the past, with emphasis on museums, architecture and religion.¹⁴⁰ The isolation of these Islands has led to this unique universal outlook, where even time is conceived differently. When the interviewee responded “no agendas”, she meant they have no social agendas or diaries that dictate exact times to work or meet people. People’s reliance on their watches is almost non-existent and it gives the sensation that time runs slower on the Islands. This relaxed universal outlook can also be viewed as an intangible cultural heritage asset that lends itself to satisfying tourists’ expectations of a getaway to a pirate island.

The traditional craft of constructing catboats is another form of ICH that is particular to the region. This tradition derives from early colonial contact and may derive its name from the catamaran, since it also has a bow and stern that have the same shape. The catboat also has a removable mast that stands at the front of the boat, rather than the centre. This in tandem with the identical bow and stern construction can allow the catboat to change direction rapidly. This was required for hunting turtles, which the boats were traditionally used for. Although this resource procurement is no longer practiced for environmental reasons, the catboats are still traditionally painted blue, as this helped to sneak up on the turtles. Although the local practice of building these catboats is dying out, the Raizal people still retain the tradition of sailing them through regattas held between the Islands of Providence, Santa Catalina and San Andrés. The largest of these regattas is held in June during a three-day festival. On the first day, motorbikes are raced around the Island’s one ring road, on the second day horses are raced bare back up and down the beaches and on the third day catboats are raced around the Islands. The catboat is a traditional craft that should be actively preserved and incorporated into any cultural tourism plan for the Islands.

¹³⁹ Diana Marcela Ampudia Sjogreen (28 Jan 2020). *Providencian Criol*. Interview by Matthew Conway, Facebook, uploaded by Old Providence and Santa Catalina Islands Archaeology Project.

<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=477659279586946>

¹⁴⁰ J. R. B. Ritchie, Geoffrey Ian Crouch (2003). *The Competitive Destination: A Sustainable Tourism Perspective*. CABI Publishing. p.117



Figure 5: Three traditional catboats off Providence Island. Courtesy of Old Providence and Santa Catalina Isles, <https://oldprovidence.co/en/cultural-tourism/> [accessed: 25/6/22].

Local folklore can be considered ICH as the stories are passed down from generation to generation. Tall tales abound in pirate folklore, and they make for an exciting story to attract tourists with. There is a legend that Morgan buried his treasure from Panama somewhere on the Islands with the help of a voodoo priestess who placed a curse on it. This legend may be born from the presumption that if Morgan received word that his acts had been condemned as piracy by the English government and he faced arrest upon returning to Jamaica, that he would be likely to bury some of his treasure as insurance. Legends such as this, however, can attract treasure hunters and lead Raizal to have a negative view of archaeologists. It can be difficult for many Providencians to distinguish between the two due to previous bad experiences whereby treasure hunters have masqueraded as archaeologists. This can have the effect of making licensed archaeological excavations more difficult as locals are less inclined to trust archaeologists and offer information or permission for where to excavate. In the worst-case scenario, treasure hunting can lead to cultural heritage being discovered discreetly and being illegally taken off the Islands to be sold on the black market.¹⁴¹ Rich story telling traditions can be seen as an intangible cultural heritage asset that can be used to attract tourists, but they can also have the adverse effect of attracting treasure hunters. Public education programs can help

¹⁴¹ These sentiments were garnered during the 2019 Archaeological Field Research held on Providence and Santa Catalina Islands.

to dispel the distrust of archaeologists and acute the identification of treasure hunters on a communal level. A basic understanding of the tenets of archaeology would show that archaeologists would never seek out treasure and would be ethically bound to keep what artefacts are found on the Islands on the Islands for the benefit of the local community who rightly own that cultural property. This tactic of public education to dissuade against treasure hunting also facilitates, rather than moderates, folkloric traditions of storytelling.

Written Records

Written records that relate historical events to a particular place can be considered an asset of that place within the arena of cultural heritage tourism. This is especially true when it is a history as popular and marketable as piracy. Having been an officially established colony, there are numerous records that report the crown sanctioned privateering exploits of the early colonists of the Providence Island Company. This is incredibly rare within the realm of piracy and privateering because of the nature of the professions. Firstly, these professions were mostly practiced by common seamen who rarely came from a background where reading and writing was the norm. Secondly, although privateers held letters of marque that legalised their roving, they often exceeded the parameters of these letters in ways that blurred the lines between privateering and piracy. Since writing down details of their exploits could risk incrimination, they refrained from keeping such narrative records, as did pirates for the same reason. It is therefore serendipitous that one of the few men who could and did write a narrative account of the exploits of pirates happened to take part in Henry Morgan's capture of Providence and subsequent raid on Panama. One of the very reasons Morgan is so infamous is because this man, John Exquemelin, published the highly popular 'Buccaneers of America' that narrated Morgan's exploits.¹⁴²

Even more rare than records of plundered shipping are records of the haunts from which privateers and pirates operated. This was usually because these places developed outside of imperial oversight in what Jarvis has coined 'the Atlantic commons'.¹⁴³ They needed to do so in order to allow plausible deniability for the imperial powers they pseudo-served and to prevent attention and detection from the hegemonic Spanish Empire. Places such as Bluefields on the Miskito Coast, Tortuga off Hispaniola and then Petite Guave on Hispaniola and later Nassau in the Bahamas were such haunts that sprang up to serve the needs of roving fleets of

¹⁴² Exquemelin, *Buccaneers of America*.

¹⁴³ 'The Atlantic commons' is a term coined by Michael Jarvis that refers to littoral expanses where European imperial authority did not extend but where European subjects interacted and assembled.

maritime marauders. These marauders needed somewhere near to shipping lanes where they could safely harbour, refit and careen their ships as well as to resupply those ships with provisions and personnel. The crews also sought taverns and brothels where they could spend their ill-gotten gains. However, Providence was one of relatively few official colonies throughout history where privateering was officially sanctioned and supplied. There were other official colonies that harboured privateering, such as Port Royal, but their support often became clandestine as the colonies were brought more within the imperial fold and the privateering slipped into piracy. This is why Providence is such a unique case within the history of privateering and piracy.¹⁴⁴

Providence is frequently mentioned in the most extraordinary narrative accounts of piracy from the bible of seventeenth-century buccaneering, 'the *Buccaneers of America*'.¹⁴⁵ One account describes in detail how Edward Mansvelt captured the Islands. It continues the narrative by stating that:

'Mansvelt was very much bent to keep the two islands in perpetual possession, being very commodiously situated for the pirates; being so near the Spanish dominions, and easily defended'.¹⁴⁶

In order to keep possession of the Islands, he left a garrison of one-hundred men to guard them. However, he died while sailing from Jamaica towards Tortuga in search of support to reinforce the Islands. The garrison he left behind was soon overrun. His successor shared his desire and the next chapter of the book begins:

'CAPTAIN MORGAN seeing his predecessor and admiral Mansvelt were dead, used all the means that were possible, to keep possession of the isle of St. Catherine, seated near Cuba. His chief intent was to make it a refuge and sanctuary to the pirates of those parts, putting it in condition of being a convenient receptacle of their preys and robberies'.¹⁴⁷

Most extraordinarily, Exquemelin gives an incredible account of how Morgan captured the Islands from the Spanish governor who:

'desired Captain Morgan be pleased to use a certain stratagem of war, for the better saving of his own credit, and the reputation of his officers both abroad and at home, which should be as

¹⁴⁴ A full list of the archival written records pertaining to Providence's history of privateering and piracy have been included in the bibliography.

¹⁴⁵ Exquemelin, *Buccaneers of America*

¹⁴⁶ Exquemelin, *Buccaneers of America* p.51

¹⁴⁷ Exquemelin, *Buccaneers of America* p.55

follows:...That on both sides there should be continual firing, but without bullets, or at least into the air, so that no side might be hurt'.¹⁴⁸

Through this mock battle, Morgan gained control of the Islands and remained there for several weeks. Once an expeditionary force returned from taking the castle of Charge on the coast, Morgan prepared to leave the Islands. Exquemelin explains:

'At a certain place they cast into the sea all the guns belonging thereto, designing to return, and leave that island well garrisoned, to the perpetual possession of the pirates; but he ordered all the houses and forts to be fired, except the castle of St. Teresa, which he judged to be the strongest and securest wherein to fortify himself at his return from Panama'.¹⁴⁹

Due to 'the Buccaneers of America', Providence was a well-known and well-documented haunt of seventeenth-century buccaneers. This makes it a likely haunt of early eighteenth-century pirates who would have been aware of this contemporary best-seller. While there are no extant records of early eighteenth-century pirates visiting Providence, it can be safely assumed that it would have been known of and utilised for its defensible and isolated harbour. This line of reasoning is shared by Roger Craig Smith who presumes:

'The Cayman Islands, long known by buccaneers for their protecting reefs and secluded harbors, continued to provide a haven for renegades who sought to live outside the rule of law. It is not known exactly how many pirates made their way to the Caymans over the years; indeed, modern outlaws of the ocean still occasionally come ashore with stolen or smuggled goods, as they do on many West Indian islands. However, among those historically notorious freebooters, the exploits of several are tied to Caymanian history'.¹⁵⁰

To have contemporary narratives from people that took part in the piratical raids on and from Providence, gives this Island a highly unique asset when it comes to modern cultural tourism.

Environment

The effect that the environment has on cultural tourism should not be underestimated. Dwyer and Kim postulate that:

'The natural resources of a destination define the environmental framework within which the visitor enjoys the destination. They include physiography, climate, flora and fauna, scenery and other physical assets and they can have a substantial capacity to attract visitors'.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Exquemelin, *Buccaneers of America* p.84

¹⁴⁹ Exquemelin, *Buccaneers of America* p.88

¹⁵⁰ Roger Craig Smith (2001). *The Maritime Heritage of the Cayman Islands*. University Press Florida. p.103

¹⁵¹ Larry Dwyer & Chulwon Kim (2003): Destination Competitiveness: Determinants and Indicators, *Current Issues in Tourism*, 6(5), 369-414, 380

The island landscape of Providence and Santa Catalina is an important asset that should be considered when developing a cultural tourism plan based on the heritage of piracy. The attraction of islands to pirates is a universal paradigm. They offer a safe refuge to careen and gather resources such as wood, fresh water and food since they can be sparsely populated and free of naval, military or political oversight. Islands in general are endemic to piracy but certain places on islands can also refer to their past use as pirate havens or maritime purposes in general such as navigational markers, protected bays, lookout points, hunting grounds, hideouts and so on. One such example of a geographic feature having been given a name that reflects a pirate heritage is ‘Morgan’s Head’. It is described in an 1835 survey of the Island:

‘Morgan’s Head (named after the noted buccaneer) is a very remarkable rock...on entering the harbour it will be found to bear a striking resemblance to the figure of a man’s head, and gradually develops the profile of an elderly-looking ruffian’.¹⁵²



Figure 6: Morgan's Head. Courtesy of Google Images.

Another potential environmental cultural asset is Morgan’s Cave. This small cave is open to the sea and lays along the cliffs directly beneath Fort Warwick. It is rumoured to be the resting place of Morgan’s treasure. Whether these environmental features were named much later is difficult to discern but it does reflect a history that seemingly has been propagated

¹⁵² C. F. Collett (1837). On the Island of Old Providence, *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 7, pp. 203-210 p.206

by those of the Islands since the names are still in use today. The aesthetic value of the Islands' geographic landscape also lends itself to cultural tourism tailored to piracy. After white-capped waves break against the surrounding reefs, they become still, crystal-clear, blue waters until they wash up against the isolated, white sandy beaches that quickly disappear past palm trees into lush, green, tropical forests that rise to cover the entirety of the multiple mountainous peaks. This natural landscape is emblematic of the landscape elicited by the thought of a secluded, paradise, pirate hide-out. Islands, especially those with this type of tropical climate, have always had a place in the tourist imagination due to their geographic isolation from other landmasses since it contributes to the psychological isolation from the everyday life of the tourists' home countries and all its monotony, problems, and social expectations.¹⁵³ These factors contribute to make a highly competitive cultural tourism destination.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown the ways in which piracy can be a useful framework for tailoring the cultural assets of the Islands towards a sustainable cultural tourism plan that integrates the goals of CHM and the tourism sector in an equitable manner. The chapter explained the methodology used to transform cultural assets into cultural tourism products. This was further explained through how the heritage of piracy, specifically Providence's heritage of piracy, is well suited to multiple features that make for successful cultural tourism products and to various strategies of transforming cultural assets into cultural tourism products. The diverse forms of cultural assets that relate to the Islands' heritage of piracy were also inventoried. The fifth chapter will explore how this methodology and inventory can be drawn from to utilise that heritage of piracy to improve the Islands' tourism industry by outlining possible cultural tourism initiatives.

¹⁵³ Reis, Arianne (2016). *Island studies and tourism: Diversifying perspectives*, Tourism and Hospitality Research. 16(1) 3-5, 1

Chapter 4: The Benefits and Downsides of Utilising the Heritage of Piracy for Tourism

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the benefits and the downsides to implementing a cultural tourism plan based on the heritage of piracy, as has been proposed in the previous three chapters with special reference to the Islands of Providence and Santa Catalina. In order to compare the myriad of potential benefits and downsides, the chapter has been split between the cultural heritage management sector and the tourism sector, with each containing paragraphs about the benefits and downsides of implementing such a cultural tourism plan. The reason for this structure is to establish whether this is a worthwhile strategy for both sectors individually and from their own points of view based off their objectives. Without acknowledging this basic prerequisite, it is unlikely that these two sectors will work together to develop such a cultural tourism plan in the first place and even less likely that they will do so in an equitable and mutually beneficial manner. While this is a basic prerequisite, the most important aspect to keep in mind is the community itself.

Cultural Heritage Management Benefits

The major benefit of any successful cultural tourism strategy is that it promotes awareness of a community's cultural heritage and the need to preserve it. On a communal level, this will help preserve the Islands cultural heritage for future generations as more people would have a vested interest in it. The desired outcome of this cultural tourism plan is that it promotes the importance of cultural heritage to the Raizal in the hopes that they may take a more active role in the protection and management of their cultural heritage. If more people from the Islands pursued formal training in history, archaeology or cultural heritage management, they could become the expert authorities on the history of their Islands and the professional custodians of that heritage. This would help grant the Islands more agency over the presentation of their cultural heritage since there would be less reliance on outsiders to provide expert consulting on the interpretation of source material and professional management of cultural heritage sites.

Another desired outcome of this cultural tourism plan is that it promotes that cultural heritage to visitors. This can contribute to greater cross-cultural understanding, which is of significance to the Islands since their major tourist market is Colombia. A successful cultural tourism plan may serve to spread awareness that they have a culture that is distinct and unique

from that of the Colombian mainland. The revenue that comes from increased tourism also improves the political and economic support for cultural heritage management policies. This is beneficial to the cultural heritage management sector because it allows more ambitious and securely funded conservation efforts. These efforts can also further improve the attractiveness of cultural heritage sites to tourists, which in turn can create a positive reciprocal cycle between the two sectors. Successful cultural tourism initiatives have also been known to instigate a reinvigoration of traditional culture in modern communities.¹⁵⁴

Cultural Heritage Management Downsides

The utilisation of a community's cultural heritage for touristic purposes does come with risks in regard to that cultural heritage. Firstly, overuse of any tangible cultural heritage sites may jeopardise its physical integrity, which is extremely counterproductive to both CHM and tourism objectives in the long run. This should be mitigated against by a cultural heritage professional routinely assessing the state of a site and by controlling the number of visitors and how they interact with the site. This can be done by counting admissions and cordoning off certain at-risk areas. Overuse of a cultural heritage site by tourists can also displace local residents, cause overcrowding and create parking, noise and litter problems; all of which can detract from the meaning derived from the cultural heritage site. These can all be mitigated against with proper planning, infrastructure and management. These preventative measures include: providing sufficient parking facilities, providing bins, establishing admission quotas to curtail overcrowding and noise pollution, and perhaps providing a certain time of day when only local residents can visit the site if it has special meaning to them. The recording and analysis of visitor data is extremely helpful in ensuring that there is sufficient planning, infrastructure and management protocols in place to cope with predicted visitor traffic and allow for the responsible utilisation of a cultural heritage site for touristic purposes. Another invidious consequence of increased tourism, and of globalisation at large, is the adoption of Western culture. Although this is likely more impacted by access to TV, the internet and social media, first hand contact with growing numbers of Westerners can lead to the adoption of their style of dress, music and food; all at the expense of local styles of the same. While the adoption of aspects of other cultures is not inherently a negative development, it should not replace existing aspects of culture but instead supplement them. It is important to protect traditional culture amongst young people who will be its custodians of the future.

¹⁵⁴ McKercher, *Cultural Tourism* p.62

The most devastating downside that utilising the heritage of piracy could have for the cultural heritage of the people of Providence and Santa Catalina is succinctly summated by McKercher who writes that:

‘the inappropriate use, representation or commodification of an intangible cultural asset without regard for the value it represents could jeopardise the meaning that is derived from that asset’.¹⁵⁵

As has been explained in the first chapter, this may lead to the permanent dilution or distortion of that cultural heritage for the descendants of those to whom it means the most. This is less likely to happen if a community-based approach to cultural tourism is pursued. This will ensure that the cultural heritage that is being represented to visitors is one that the local residents have agreed to broadcast. There is a possibility, for instance, that some stakeholders will not want to have their heritage of piracy broadcast. Anita Waters has argued that in the case of Port Royal, it is usually Europeans or Anglo-Caribbeans who romanticise piracy and who want to focus on that aspect of Port Royal’s cultural heritage. Whereas Afro-Caribbean Jamaicans tend to view pirates as little more than common thieves and would rather focus on their cultural heritage as a British naval base instead.¹⁵⁶ This is not necessarily a commensurate viewpoint for the case of Providence, which has a different cultural heritage of piracy and a different relationship with that cultural heritage. However, it does show that there are potential issues with focusing on the heritage of piracy in cultural tourism initiatives.

This issue is partly due to the liminal space between the ideals of good and evil that piracy occupies, which makes it susceptible to being misrepresented in either way without cognizance of the complexities of the subject. It is possible for this to occur at the level of core authenticity, if local residents collectively decide to focus on a certain aspect of their heritage of piracy, although this is less likely due to cultural heritage’s close relationship with historicity. It is more likely to occur at the level of representative authenticity since tourism is less beholden to the principles of historicity. If tourists are overly enthralled with the idea of the ‘good’ pirate, as espoused by characters such as Captain Jack Sparrow, this may cause cultural tourism products to emphasise this narrative at the expense of presenting the true complexities for how pirates were viewed in their time.¹⁵⁷ Whereas, if tourists are enticed by

¹⁵⁵ McKercher, *Cultural Tourism* p. 2

¹⁵⁶ Anita Waters (2006), *Planning the Past: Heritage, Tourism and Post-Colonial Politics at Port Royal*, Lexington Books. p.58

¹⁵⁷ In Gore Verbinski (director), (2003). *Pirates of the Caribbean: the Curse of the Black Pearl*, Walt Disney Pictures. the penultimate dialogue exclaims that “He’s (Jack Sparrow) a pirate” to which the hero of the movie, Will Turner, replies “And a good man”, emphasising the belief in popular culture that one can be both.

stories of villainous barbarity then this unfavourable depiction of piracy may unfairly reflect the heritage of a place. This is an especially critical issue for Providence because its history is filled with periods of piracy and of privateering that occupy that liminal grey area between concepts of good and evil. Without giving the proper historical context, the misrepresentation of this history could present an inappropriate view of Providence's heritage to visitors. This type of misrepresentation can be avoided by consulting all stakeholders in a communal discussion mediated by relevant non-partisan experts and integrating their viewpoints into the decision-making process of any cultural tourism initiatives, as has been outlined in Chapter 1.

Although highly unlikely, a cultural tourism plan celebrating the cultural heritage of Providence being a rebellious hive of piracy could have political ramifications in the modern day. If Providence is presented as having always been an unyielding nest of rogues who refused to abide by a metropole's political and societal rules, then perhaps celebrating this cultural heritage will be treated in a similar vein as an act of cultural rebellion by the Colombian government. This could have the political and cultural consequence of seeking to bring the Islands more into the Colombian fold, as has happened before on an institutional level in the twentieth century and even occurs to a degree today, albeit more informally.¹⁵⁸ A strategy of this acculturation may not be to enforce Colombian culture, as happened before, but to assimilate Raizal culture within Colombian culture. This loss of control over cultural property is another potential negative impact of any cultural tourism plan. This can occur if there is not suitable protection under copyright or other special legislation.¹⁵⁹ This is particularly prescient for Providence as they are protective of their distinctive culture and do not want it to be distorted or assimilated by others such as Colombia. Beyond cultural ramifications, the relevance of the heritage of piracy with the involvement of many Providencians in the drug smuggling trade could bring greater military oversight. There is already a naval base on Providence, however, there are plans to build another naval base in the main harbour. This has ardently been opposed by the Raizal people, who have held a sit in on the land intended for the naval base for the past year. Highlighting the history and suitability of Providence as a pirate island may just highlight the need to develop a greater naval presence there. It is highly unlikely that a cultural tourism plan will carry any weight in the geo-political or geo-cultural aspirations

¹⁵⁸ K. de Albuquerque, W. F. Stinner (1977). The Colombianization of Black San Andreans. *Caribbean Studies*, 17(3/4), 171–181. Most of the policies and many of the cultural transitions narrated in this text were felt on Providence and Santa Catalina, which were governed under the same municipality as San Andrés.

¹⁵⁹ McKercher, *Cultural Tourism* p.61

of the Colombian government but, nonetheless, it is a possible downside and must be mentioned.

Tourism Benefits

Economic and social benefits are often cited as a direct result of increased tourism. These can range from employment and entrepreneurial opportunities to better infrastructure and services for the local community.¹⁶⁰ The base objective of tourism is to earn revenue. The public market appeal of piracy and/or visiting a pirate island is proposed to attract a higher number of visitors, which will translate into increased revenue for the related tourism interests such as hotels, BnBs, restaurants, food stalls, guided tours, outdoor activities and so on. The initiatives to fulfil this marketing campaign will give visitors more activities to do, which will additionally increase the revenue brought by tourism. These initiatives will be detailed in the next chapter but suffice it to say that each will provide a different cultural tourism product that can be experienced by visitors, thus granting reason to stay longer which will further fuel the tourism industry. This improved tourism industry should increase the annual number of visitors, especially if this greater level of visitor satisfaction is properly advertised. Sustained growth in annual visitor numbers and increased revenue will encourage existing tourism related businesses to expand operations and/or encourage entrepreneurs to start new businesses to fill gaps in the market. These new businesses will create employment opportunities for locals which will permeate the financial benefits of the tourism industry around the community.

A community with a successful industry based on tourism provides the impetus for that community to improve the appearance and decorum of public spaces since these effect the tourist's opinions on how attractive a destination is. These improvements could range from greater focus on local landscaping to renewed efforts in policing anti-social behaviour. The real benefit of tourism is that it not only provides the impetus for these community improvements, but it can also provide the revenue necessary to accomplish them.¹⁶¹ Local governments receive a share of the financial benefits of tourism in the form of greater income tax from its residents and from more VAT levies due to higher product sales from souvenirs, clothes and other commodities. The taxable base of residents is also positively affected by an improved tourism industry since the cultural tourism initiatives that attract visitors have also been shown to

¹⁶⁰ McKercher, *Cultural Tourism*. p.62

¹⁶¹ Angeloni, Silvia (2013). Cultural Tourism and Well-Being of the Local Population. *Theoretical and Empirical Researches in Urban Management*, 8(3), 17-31, 27

contribute to retaining residents.¹⁶² This is particularly prescient for the Islands, which are losing a massive portion of their young male population to emigration.¹⁶³ Local government also directly benefits from tourism if there are tourist visas and sojourn taxes in place. These taxes earn revenue proportionate to the number of visitors staying in the destination. This revenue could be used to mitigate against the adverse social and environmental affects from this increase in visitor numbers if it is properly redistributed to improve local infrastructure to cope with this influx of people to the local population. In the case of Providence and Santa Catalina, the current nominal fee for a tourist visa to visit the Islands goes to the central government of Bogota. If the Islands are to accept a higher number of visitors, it would be a politically astute decision to allow the municipal government of Providence and Santa Catalina to retain this fee and control how to redistribute it.

Tourism Downsides

When tourism is planned and managed through a community-based approach, with a focus on the distribution of the costs and the benefits derived from that tourism across all stakeholders, it will have an ultimately positive influence on that community. However, if tourism is allowed to grow in an unchecked manner driven purely by market forces, as neoliberal capitalist policy would dictate, it has the potential to exacerbate existing socio-economic inequalities. This is a more likely outcome in the case of lesser economically developed states, such as Small Island Developing States (SIDS), because the global political economy has facilitated foreign investment and the establishment of transnational and multinational companies, which allows for an unfair advantage in the development of a domestic tourism industry.¹⁶⁴ Development of large-scale tourism infrastructure requires vast capital that local entrepreneurs rarely have access to. This is not only monetary capital since transnational and multinational companies also have highly developed marketing skills, managerial expertise and professional networks that grants them a competitive advantage over local companies. The issue with transnational and multinational companies establishing tourism infrastructure is that they are less likely to be respectful of local customs and landscapes and more likely to repatriate profits, which will coalesce to cause negative impacts

¹⁶² Angeloni, Silvia (2013). Cultural Tourism and Well-Being of the Local Population. *Theoretical and Empirical Researches in Urban Management*, 8(3), 17-31, 24

¹⁶³ Hernando Alvarez (12 October 2015), 'The island where men are disappearing', *BBC*, website (<https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-34487450>) [accessed: 8/5/22]

¹⁶⁴ Lauren Duffy et al. (2016). "Tourism Development in the Dominican Republic: An Examination of the Economic Impact to Coastal Households." *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 16(1) 35–49, 35

for that tourism on the local community and landscape. These effects are heightened with the implementation of enclave tourism since self-sufficient properties reduce the need for tourists to leave the resort which in turn reduces the ability of locals to profit from the economic expenditure those tourists bring. There is a pervasive view that any revenue brought into an economy is presumed to “trickle down” to the masses but this has been shown to frequently be propaganda peddled by developers rather than a verified process supported by economic data.¹⁶⁵ It is for these reasons that the author believes that monopolistic, large-scale tourism initiatives developed by transnational and multinational companies should be avoided.

The strength of a cultural tourism based off the heritage of piracy is that this type of tourism is paradoxical to the encompassing theme of piracy. The indulgence in this theme of a secluded pirate hideout favours small-scale, sporadic accommodation rather than monolithic resorts. BnBs, small enposadas and coastal cabins are far more suitable for the piratical image of this destination. These require far less investment and can even be developed out of peoples existing homes, as long as there is some oversight in the quality of accommodation. However, the internet review age through which almost all tourism is now funnelled largely fulfils this criteria since any location providing insufficient quality of accommodation will ward off potential future visitors and eventually lead to closure. The heritage of piracy therefore favours small scale, locally developed accommodation. Ironically, the case study that Lauren Duffy used to examine the negative impacts of tourism, the Dominican Republic,¹⁶⁶ has one of the richest heritages of piracy in the world and so, could implement a form of cultural tourism that if informed by this heritage, would favour this type of dispersed and diverse touristic accommodation rather than the enclave tourism that has developed there. The fact that Providence has seen relatively little large-scale touristic development, there is a better chance of directing how it will develop, rather than having to retroactively reorient how it has already developed, as would be the case for the Dominican Republic.

Although a rise in tourism causes a rise in services to accommodate those tourists, the concomitant rise in employment does not always translate into increased quality of life for locals. All too often, it can lead to seasonal employment and low paying or tip dependent jobs that fail to contribute significantly to stable financial independence for locals working in this industry. This situation was elucidated by the study of Duffy and colleagues who surveyed 360

¹⁶⁵ Lauren Duffy et al. (2016). Tourism Development in the Dominican Republic: An Examination of the Economic Impact to Coastal Households. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 16(1) 35–49, 36

¹⁶⁶ Lauren Duffy et al. (2016). Tourism Development in the Dominican Republic: An Examination of the Economic Impact to Coastal Households. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 16(1) 35–49

households across twelve coastal communities in the Dominican Republic. The authors propounded that ‘this finding aligns with literature highlighting neoliberal practices that promise the creation of income stabilising jobs, but in reality deliver low paying, seasonal, part-time substitutes’.¹⁶⁷

Another issue is that local population may become dependent on the tourism industry at the expense of other domestic industries. The dangers of this dependence have been proven with the recent Covid 19 pandemic that essentially shut down all global tourism for a prolonged period, reaping devastating effects for those whose livelihood was dependent upon it. According to data from UNTWO, the number of international tourist arrivals dropped by 97% globally from 2019 to 2020 and by 61% in the subregion of the Caribbean and have still not recovered to pre pandemic levels.¹⁶⁸ This had a massive impact on small Caribbean islands considering that tourism makes up a massive share of their total exports such as for example: 71% for Antigua and Barbuda, 88% for Aruba, 65% for the Bahamas and 87% for St. Lucia (there are no available statistics for Providence as it is within the Colombian category).¹⁶⁹ It is essential that the tourism industry is not developed in lieu of domestic industry or in competition with it. It must be developed to be supplemental to other domestic industries or at least parallel to them. This ensures that there will be domestic industries independent of the greater tourism industry which will be able to absorb workers during off seasons or down turns in the tourism industry. For Islands such as Providence and Santa Catalina, there are few opportunities to develop domestic industries other than tourism, but communities should still be innovative in ways to diversify their economy. As an example, Providence has been developing a co-op farming program to help veer away from their import dependency on food. Up until recently, Providence was entirely self-sufficient and locals grew or fished for their own food. However, with the advent of a globalised economy reaching their shores, they have become dependent on importing processed food stuffs, without sustaining a sufficient balance in exports. Perhaps certain emphasis on the varied histories of the successes of self-sufficient communities on Providence may encourage more locals to become involved in this reinvigoration of local farming practices.

Rises in employment opportunities must also be weighed against other social consequences of an increased number in tourist traffic. Increased tourism can cause social

¹⁶⁷ Duffy, L. N., Stone, G., Charles Chancellor, H., & Kline, C. S. (2016). Tourism development in the Dominican Republic: An examination of the economic impact to coastal households. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 16(1), 35–49, 45. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1467358415613118>

¹⁶⁸ UNTWO, <https://www.unwto.org/tourism-data/international-tourism-and-covid-19> [accessed: 25/6/22]

¹⁶⁹ UNTWO, <https://www.unwto.org/tourism-data/international-tourism-and-covid-19> [accessed: 25/6/22]

problems such as increases in crime, traffic, noise, pollution and so on. The drunken revelry associated with pirates could lead to the development of a nightlife designed for tourists in keeping with this destination image of a lawless 'pirate island'. The development of a raucous tourism nightlife can provoke these types of social problems and should be pursued only cautiously. That said, many of the bars on Providence are situated on beaches well away from residences which minimises noise problems and have suitable facilities to prevent environmental pollution. They additionally fit very well within the theme of a pirate island. Ultimately, if the social and environmental costs derived from increased tourist traffic outweigh the economic and cultural benefits derived from a cultural tourism plan, then that plan should no longer be pursued.

Conclusion

This myriad of potential benefits and downsides to implementing a cultural tourism strategy based on the heritage of piracy makes it possible to speculate on whether or not doing so would likely be a wise policy to pursue. The cultural heritage management benefits of raising awareness of the need to preserve that heritage, and cultural heritage in general, is difficult to quantify. However, the impact cultural heritage has on the social identity of a community and cross-cultural understanding between communities makes the benefit of this type of cultural tourism plan a highly advantageous attribute in favour of pursuing such a strategy. The additional economic and political support successful cultural tourism brings to the management of cultural heritage assets also serves as a strong argument in favour of pursuing such a cultural tourism plan. The negative influences tourism can have on tangible cultural heritage can range from inconveniences for local residents to existential threats to the assets themselves. However, by identifying these risks, they can be better mitigated against with proper planning, infrastructure and management. The subversive effects of tourism on the intangible cultural heritage are also serious but these can be avoided as set out in the section on authenticity in Chapter 1.

The economic benefits derived from a cultural tourism plan have been explained step by step. Increased tourism leads to more employment and entrepreneurial opportunities. These economic benefits of tourism contribute to government revenue and provides the impetus and the funds to improve local services and infrastructure. However, there is a risk that if this tourism industry is allowed to be developed by foreign transnational and multinational companies, pursuant purely to market forces rather than to community input, that these

economic benefits will not be borne by the local residents but will instead be repatriated out of the country and will likely exacerbate rather than ameliorate socio-economic inequalities. The pirate theme of this cultural tourism plan was designed to favour small-scale, disparate domestic development rather than the large-scale, enclave development that is a common strategy of these transnational and multinational companies. The dangers implicit in overdependence on tourism for economic self-reliance should be stymied by cultural tourism initiatives being designed to be supplementary, or at least not impeding, to other domestic industries.

With the benefits weighed against the downsides to both sectors, and with the aforementioned mitigation measures in place, it is postulated that the objectives of both sectors can be met in a mutually beneficial and sustainable manner through utilising the heritage of piracy for touristic purposes. Therefore, a cultural tourism plan based on the heritage of piracy should improve the socio-economic quality of life for local residents while preserving and promoting that community's cultural heritage in a responsible and sustainable manner. Taking these benefits, downsides and mitigation measures into account will provide a solid foundation for creating a practical piratical cultural tourism development plan for island communities, such as Providence and Santa Catalina, that is culturally and socio-economically sustainable. This will be detailed in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: The Cultural Tourism of Piracy: A Development Plan for Providence and Santa Catalina Islands

Introduction

The vision of this thesis is to create a guide to help small islands develop into a marketable tourist destination that improves the economic situation of the local community and interacts with that community's cultural heritage of piracy in a mutually beneficial and sustainable manner. The draw of piracy as a marketing theme is well established with pirate-themed museums being boasted in St. Thomas, Nassau, St. Augustine, Massachusetts and Salem, with annual pirate festivals taking place in Tampa, Florida and the Cayman Islands, and with a pirate-style cruise around Barbados among many more.¹⁷⁰ The marketability of this theme of piracy is built on escapism and adventure to paradise destinations, which resonates with tourists seeking a break from their normal everyday lives. To market the tourism of Providence holistically as a 'pirate island' would give it a competitive boost amongst the heritage tourism of the region. Many nearby destinations offer paradise sand beaches, but few have a richer claim to fame than Old Providence as an old pirate haunt. As one visitor put it: 'other Caribbean islands may be seeped in pirate lore but Providencia is soaked in it'.¹⁷¹ The various initiatives that could help to channel this heritage and create a cultural tourism development plan for Providence and Santa Catalina will be individually outlined in this chapter.

Principles

Throughout this thesis, certain requirements for the responsible integration of cultural heritage and tourism have been alluded to. For succinct clarity of purpose, these allusions will be expressed here as necessary principles for the implementation of such a cultural tourism development plan. It should be noted that these principles, while independently formulated, are

¹⁷⁰ Waters, A. M. (2006). *Planning the past : heritage tourism and post-colonial politics at Port Royal*. Lanham, MD [etc.]: Lexington Books. p.44. Nora McGreevy (4 Feb 2021). The True History and Swashbuckling Myth Behind the Tampa Bay Buccaneers' Namesake, *Smithsonian Magazine*. (<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/true-history-and-swashbuckling-myth-behind-tampa-bay-buccaneers-namesake-180976918/>). [accessed: 22/6/22].

¹⁷¹ Wendy DeChambeau (2015). *Pirates and Snorkelling on a Forgotten Caribbean Island*, International Living Postcards.

in line with those of international agreements on cultural heritage such as Europe's Faro Convention of 2005.¹⁷²

- The opinion of members of the community should be respected and involved in the planning process of any cultural heritage tourism initiatives that reflect on their identity. Open discussions should be organised as an early step of any planning processes for cultural heritage tourism initiatives that reflect on the identity of the local people.
- Cultural heritage tourism initiatives should be designed to create economic opportunities for locals so that any economic stimulation will directly benefit the local community. Locals should be given priority when it comes to business or employment opportunities that arise from cultural heritage tourism initiatives.
- The dual goals of protecting the Islands' cultural heritage and promoting the Islands' tourism industry should be mutually beneficial. Through investing in the promotion and preservation of cultural heritage, it will be made more interpretable and thus more attractive to tourists.
- The relationship between these dual goals should be defined by sustainability. Sustainability entails utilising a resource to meet current needs in ways that do not negatively impact on the capacity of later generations to utilise that same resource to meet their own needs. Cultural heritage is understood as a non-renewable resource and its preservation must be safeguarded for future generations.
- The interpretation and marketing of cultural heritage assets must be anchored in authenticity. Authenticity is necessary for the reliable transmission of cultural heritage through generations and that should not be inherently jeopardised for the desire to improve its interpretability or marketability.¹⁷³

Cultural Heritage Tourism Initiatives

These initiatives have been envisioned to enhance the aforementioned cultural heritage assets that exist on the Islands of Providence and Santa Catalina. Each initiative will allude to which types of cultural assets (tangible and/or intangible cultural heritage, the written record, or the environment) they incorporate, how they will impact on those assets and the potential

¹⁷² FARO Convention (2005). Explanatory Report to the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, *Council of Europe Treaty Series*, No. 199. pp.3-6. Council of Europe, website: <https://rm.coe.int/16800d3814> [accessed: 25/6/22]

¹⁷³ David Ketz, Anne Ketz (13-15 March 2020). Building A Cultural Heritage Tourism Program, Proceedings of the Scientific Symposium, Building peace through heritage - World Forum for Change through Dialogue, Florence.

they offer the Islands' community. These initiatives have been designed using the methodology laid out in Chapter 3. Cultural assets have been transformed into cultural tourism products through the framework of piracy in order to make them experienceable and/or consumable by tourists.

Dive Heritage Trails

Dive heritage trails have been found to be a useful strategy for improving the public's capacity for interpreting underwater cultural heritage, while simultaneously contributing to the protection and preservation of that underwater cultural heritage (UCH). The UNESCO Training Manual in the Protection and Management of Underwater Cultural Heritage of Latin America and the Caribbean clearly states that: 'To cope with the demand and encourage economic development many countries have had positive experiences with devising [dive] heritage trails; providing information, guidance and monitoring at low cost, and actively contributing to awareness as well as providing unique experiences for tourists and leisure divers'.¹⁷⁴ Dive heritage trails are only pursued if certain criteria are met. The site must have historic significance, it must be accessible in terms of diving conditions and, most importantly, the site must be relatively stable and not at risk to damage from visitors.

All three of these criteria are met by the aforementioned site with the collection of cannon lying on the seabed just north of Fort Warwick. Their exact historical significance would be dependent on their provenance, which could be determined with a non-intrusive study of their maker's marks and manufacture features. If dated to the seventeenth century, there would be a strong argument for their connection to the story of Henry Morgan disposing of all the cannon on the Islands 'designing to return' and so, to their connection to the Islands' heritage as a pirate island.¹⁷⁵ Beyond the potential cultural heritage significance of these cannon, they are strewn amongst beautiful coral in sheltered, shallow, crystal-clear water. This means that the site is accessible to snorkellers as well as scuba divers. and constitutes an amazing environmental as well as cultural heritage experience, all within the framework of piracy. The cannon are at no risk of degradation as they are non-organic and have reached an equilibrium amongst the beautiful coral they reside in. The site has the potential to be a ready-made dive heritage trail as it would require minimal archaeological investigations or infrastructure, besides perhaps an underwater plaque outlining its significance. The location of

¹⁷⁴ UNESCO, Netherlands Ministry of Education, Culture and Science: Cultural Heritage Agency. (2021). The UNESCO Training Manual in the Protection and Management of Underwater Cultural Heritage of Latin America and the Caribbean. Published by UNESCO. pp.55-56

¹⁷⁵ Exquemelin, *Buccaneers of America* p.88

these cannon along the coast of Santa Catalina between Morgan's Head and Morgan's Cave offers the potential for creating a linear dive heritage trail that melds together the Islands' tangible cultural heritage and environmental cultural heritage.



Figure 7: Submerged cannon near Fort Warwick. Courtesy of Wilhelm Londoño (2014). Informe del Programa de Arqueología Preventiva del Proyecto de Reconstrucción del Fuerte de la Libertad. p.25



Figure 8: Submerged cannon off Santa Catalina Island. Courtesy of Wilhelm Londoño (2014). Informe del Programa de Arqueología Preventiva del Proyecto de Reconstrucción del Fuerte de la Libertad. p.29



Figure 9: Submerged cannon off Santa Catalina. Courtesy of Wilhelm Londoño (2014). Informe del Programa de Arqueología Preventiva del Proyecto de Reconstrucción del Fuerte de la Libertad p.30



Figure 10: Semi-submerged cannon north of Fort Warwick, where another fort is known to have been. Courtesy of Wilhelm Londoño (2014). Informe del Programa de Arqueología Preventiva del Proyecto de Reconstrucción del Fuerte de la Libertad. p.26



Figure 11: Mid-seventeenth cannon north of Santa Catalina. Courtesy of Wilhelm Londoño (2014). Informe del Programa de Arqueología Preventiva del Proyecto de Reconstrucción del Fuerte de la Libertad. p.27

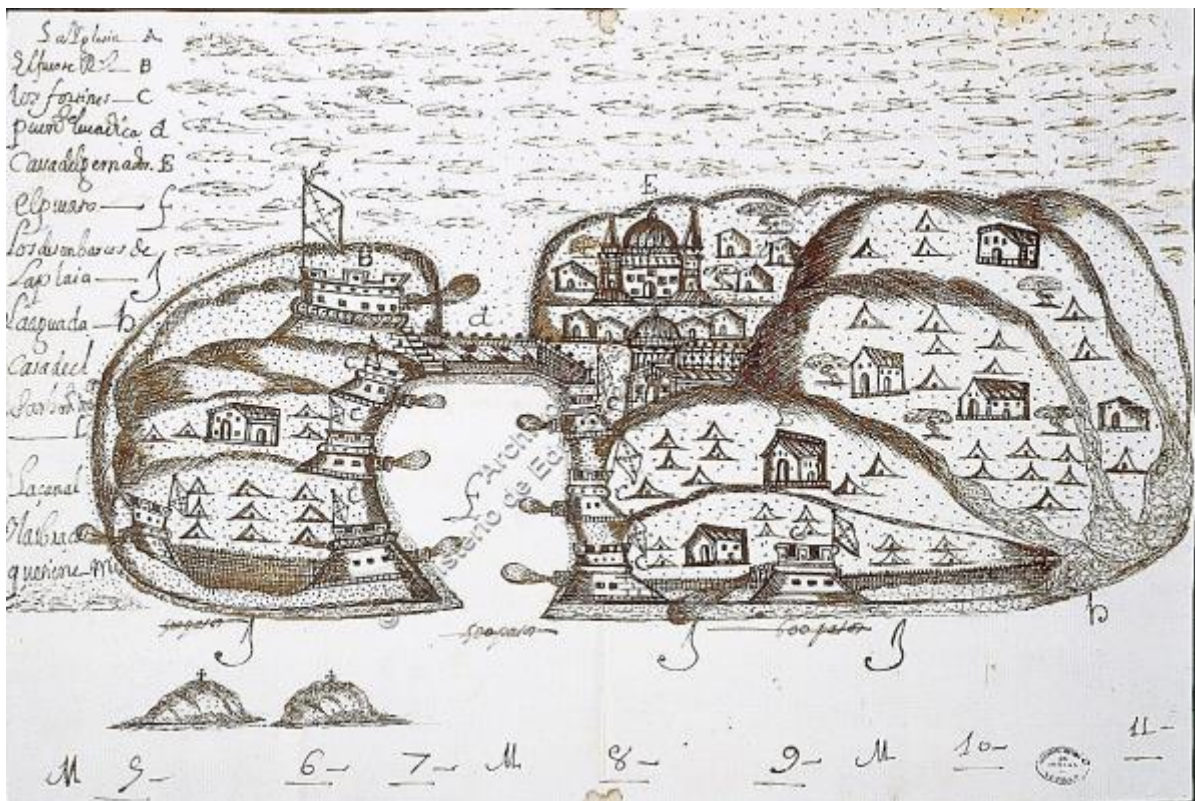


Figure 12: Map of Spanish origin from 1663 indicating the location of several forts around the Islands. Courtesy of Wilhelm Londoño (2014). Informe del Programa de Arqueología Preventiva del Proyecto de Reconstrucción del Fuerte de la Libertad. p.28

This dive heritage trail could be supplemented with two potential shipwreck sites that have recently been identified in the harbour of Providence and Santa Catalina by Fundación Apalaanchi who conducted archaeological surveys in preparation for the dredging of the port

channel in 2021 and who monitored the dredging as it was carried out.¹⁷⁶ The first of these shipwrecks was found due to ship timbers with fastening elements being washed up on Fort Bay Beach in the aftermath of Hurricane Iota. The assemblage of these timbers allowed for a hypothesised beam length of 5m, making this a small, shallow draft vessel that would be well suited to plying these waters. Several shipwrecks were known to be in the harbour due to research from the Archivo General de Indias and these ship timbers are thought to derive from a demarcated zone that indicated the presence of a vessel during initial prospection efforts. The second of these shipwrecks was identified due to ship timbers being brought up during dredging. The timber was likely part of the keel and its provenance in close proximity to an eighteenth-century admiralty anchor may give early indications of its age. Both of these cases only give indications of a shipwreck site. However, archaeological investigations to verify the locations and integrity of these shipwrecks have already been planned for 2022 by Fundación Apalaanchi.¹⁷⁷ If these shipwrecks are located and found to be of a considerable character, a dive heritage trail may be a useful strategy to employ. Neither the Islands of Providence and Santa Catalina or Fundación Apalaanchi have the facilities to properly conserve, store and/or display the structural components and artefacts of these shipwrecks if they were to be thoroughly excavated. A dive heritage trail would help remove the need for conservation facilities as the site could be left *in situ* on the seafloor, pursuant to the shipwreck not being at risk of degradation.

Dive heritage trails have been researched and documented by experts who have established that visitor access to these sites, with constant supervision, does not constitute a threat to the archaeological finds that are a constituent part of a dive heritage trail.¹⁷⁸ Constant supervision is provided by the scuba diving tours that are brought to these sites since those leading the tours (and those taking part to a lesser extent) will be trained in the protection and management of underwater cultural heritage. Of course, this supervision will have to be supplemented by monitoring from professionally trained archaeologists on a regular basis or after extreme weather events. An interpretive *in situ* underwater cultural heritage site could also propagate the history of the Islands that the site represents since, as Manders has stated, ‘shipwrecks are not just coincidental finds without any connection to their environment: they are

¹⁷⁶ Fundación Apalaanchi (June, 2021). Progress Report on the Implementation of the Archaeological Management Plan for the Project on the Deepening of the Access Channel to the Port of Providence

¹⁷⁷ Fundación Apalaanchi (June, 2021). Progress Report on the Implementation of the Archaeological Management Plan for the Project on the Deepening of the Access Channel to the Port of Providence. Pp.673-79

¹⁷⁸ Bekić L. (Ed.)(2001), Ćurković M., Jelić A., Jozić A., Mustaček M., Perin T., Pešić M., *Conservation of Underwater Archaeological Finds—Manual*, Translation to English by Ferencić N., *International Centre for Underwater Archaeology in Zadar*.

always lying somewhere for a reason. The area, location or landscape says something about the wreck, and vice versa'.¹⁷⁹ In this way, a dive heritage trail around these sites would reflect the maritime cultural heritage of the Islands. .

Making this underwater cultural heritage a leisure attraction would make Providence an even more competitive dive destination by combining the growing cultural heritage tourism market with the growing dive tourism market. Scuba diving shows increasing popularity, with estimates of a global growth of 12-14% per annum for newly certified divers.¹⁸⁰ This is favourable tourism because, unlike cruise tourism, it is not *en masse* but attracts tourists who are typically more affluent due to the costly nature of the sport and who typically stay longer. According to a survey performed in 2003 by the Professional Association of Diving Instructors (PADI), divers as a demographic tend to be well educated and affluent, which are attributes that make divers more likely to travel to exotic locations to pursue the sport and to spend more money in those locations than the average visitor.¹⁸¹ Dive tourism can also contribute to environmental protection since ecologists recognize that allowing public access to resources encourages visitors to learn about them which, in turn, promotes appreciation and conservation.¹⁸² There is considerable diving infrastructure already on the Islands by way of locally owned and run dive shops, which positions Providence well to develop a marine park reserve. Pursuant to archaeological research, there would only be need for a local training program in the protection and management of underwater cultural heritage to ensure that verified dive guides conducted tours in a responsible manner. The reef that surrounds Providence and Santa Catalina Islands already makes it a world-class dive tourism destination. This competitive advantage can only be improved by supplementing this existing industry with underwater cultural heritage tourism.

Therefore, dive heritage trails incorporate tangible cultural heritage in the cannon and shipwrecks themselves, intangible cultural heritage in the history they represent and the environment in the natural landscape they exist within. They protect all three of these cultural heritage assets by providing constant vigilance, inspiring interest and promoting the need for protection. In addition to this, dive heritage trails foster sustainable economic development

¹⁷⁹ Martijn Manders (2015), *The Invisible Treasures of Our Past*, In: Monique H. van den Dries, Sjoerd J. van der Linde, Amy Strecker (Eds.). *Fernhweh: Crossing Borders and Connecting People in Archaeological Heritage Management*, Sidestone Press p. 149

¹⁸⁰ UNESCO (2015). *Underwater Cultural Heritage in Latin America and the Caribbean Dossier*, Culture and Development, No. 13, p.14

¹⁸¹ PhD, *Preserves, Parks and Trails* p.29

¹⁸² Richard Andrews (1999), *Managing the Environment, Managing Ourselves: A History of American Environmental Policy*. Yale University Press. p.138

through promoting dive tourism. Della Scott Ireton's conclusion is poignantly relevant to the case of Providence in that she states 'local peoples must decide how their submerged history will be treated: destroyed to make way for cruise ship terminals and harbor expansions, exploited for the personal gain of a few treasure-hunting salvors, or protected to preserve their heritage and to sustain future visitors and the subsequent economic advantages'.¹⁸³ The people of Providence and Santa Catalina must ask themselves the same question since they are currently presented with the same options.

Heritage Trails

Heritage trails are a common way to bring together multiple cultural heritage assets in an easily accessible and interpretable fashion. They also help alleviate the concentration of tourism around certain areas, which is a common issue experienced across the Caribbean. This concentration is often around harbours and can be exacerbated by a lack of infrastructure that makes access to different parts of the Island(s) difficult for tourists. Much of the tourism on the Islands is concentrated on the northern side of Providence and on Santa Catalina where the main harbour and town are located. By creating a heritage trail that will go around the entirety of the Islands, tourists will be encouraged to explore areas they may not otherwise have visited and spread the economic benefits of that tourism.¹⁸⁴ Providence has only one ring road, but it is idyllically situated on the coast around the circumference of the Island of Providence. A heritage trail along this road, that sees very little car traffic, could be designed for walking or cycling. It would necessitate relatively little infrastructure since facilities already exist along the way that make the heritage trail accessible and welcoming to visitors.¹⁸⁵ There is regular access to restrooms, small shops where food and drinks can be purchased and small gazebos that give walkers/cyclists shade from the sun or protection from rain. These gazebos could be adorned with informational panels that highlight the different cultural heritage assets Providence has to offer. Ideas for the information these panels could hold will be listed below.

Shipwrecks: Panels could be positioned pointing out to sea to where a ship was known to have been wrecked with information on the ship, the year it sank and how it relates to the history of Providence. There are a number of wrecking events recorded in the archives and although their remains have not yet been located, their approximate location was

¹⁸³ PhD, *Preserves, Parks and Trails* p.75

¹⁸⁴ PhD, *Preserves, Parks and Trails* p.81

¹⁸⁵ L. Gijanto, B. Ceeseey, Stone Circles and Atlantic Forts: Tourism and Management of Gambia's World Heritage Sites, In: Simon Makuvaza (ed.)(2017). *Aspects of Management Planning for Cultural World Heritage Sites: Principles, Approaches and Practices*. Springer. pre-publication text with no page numbers.

recorded at the time of the event. For example, a naval survey of the Islands conducted by Captain Richard Owen of HMS Thunder in 1835 recounted that ‘on this northern part of the reef, and three-quarters of a mile to the eastwards of the cay, His Majesty’s schooner Jackdaw was wrecked on the morning of 11th of March, 1835’.¹⁸⁶

There are also more recent shipwrecks that have been discovered, and can be visited on dives, which could be highlighted, such as a U.S. freighter that was sunk during the Second World War by a German U-boat. Interestingly, this U-boat, which was charged with patrolling the entrance to the Panama Canal, was refuelled by three German brothers who used Providence as a base for this activity. Although this was not an incidence of piracy, the submarine hunting of the Allies’ merchant navies showed many similarities to that form of maritime predation and so, could be tied into the broader framework of Providence’s history of making a geographically ideal base for predatory and illicit maritime activities.

Historic Forts: Panels could point out the location of old forts with visual representations of what they may have looked like in the past. From the time of the New Westminster Colony, there were as many as three forts around the harbour and fourteen fortified places throughout the Islands.¹⁸⁷ Some of these may have been no more than gun batteries atop earthen mounds but others would have been considerable structures. These forts were situated on prominent land features that offered panoramic views to maximise their defensive capabilities. They therefore make for ideal scenic viewpoints to rest throughout the cycle route.

Written records: Panels could relate historic events that are known to have occurred at certain locations. For example, panels could relate the extensive history of maroonage that occurred on the Islands and point out particular places, such as Maroon Hill, that are recorded as having been the location of maroon communities. Other panels could identify the location of Spanish beach heads during the invasion attempts of 1636, 1640 and 1641 as they were recorded in gripping detail. These events could be recounted with excerpts from primary sources in their original calligraphy-style fonts. As just one example, this excerpt from Exquemelin’s *Buccaneers of America* could be written on a panel beside the bridge that joins the two Islands to narrate the events that transpired there three-hundred-and-fifty years ago:

¹⁸⁶ C. F. Collett (1837). On the Island of Old Providence, *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 7, 203- 210, 204

¹⁸⁷ Alison Games (1998) ‘The sanctuaries of our Rebell Negroes’: The Atlantic context of local resistance on Providence island, 1630–41, *Slavery & Abolition*, 19(3), 1-21, 8.

‘That Captain Morgan would come with his troops by night to the bridge that joined the lesser island to the great one, and there attack the fort of St. Jerome... That on both sides there should be continual firing, but without bullets, or at least into the air, so that no side might be hurt’.¹⁸⁸

Environment: There is a green turtle reserve between Crab Caye and McBean Lagoon on Providence that is a UNESCO recognised biosphere reserve. This panel could give information on the reserve and would raise awareness for the need to protect these animals. Turtles and other creatures abounded across the Caribbean in the early colonial era and were often recorded by explorers and pirates for their numbers and ease of hunting, which resulted in these populations being severely diminished and even extirpated. First-hand accounts by early colonists of the numbers of Monk Seals on Providence that are no longer present today may draw attention to this aspect of the Island’s environmental cultural heritage that is now extinct and convey the need to protect indigenous species through such projects as the Seaflower Bioreserve. Informational panels could additionally explain the plant and animal wildlife that walkers/cyclist are likely to encounter. They could also explain the medicinal properties of these plants as they were historically used since this knowledge has been passed down through certain Raizal women who still practice bush medicine. These panels could equally indicate the direction and distance to other islands and countries around the Caribbean to help place Providence in the wider Caribbean maritime cultural landscape.

Calling attention to these elements of the Islands’ past by featuring them on the heritage trail serves to increase public awareness of their existence and, ideally, encourages public participation in their continued preservation. Due to the current lack of strict preservation laws protecting historic and archaeological resources on Providence and Santa Catalina Islands, public concern and intervention are a key element in their preservation.¹⁸⁹ The execution of the heritage trail project on Gran Cayman by Leshikar-Denton and Scott-Ireton in the early 2000s should stand as an exemplary model for the implementation of such an initiative on Providence and Santa Catalina Islands.¹⁹⁰ The islands share cultural, economic and geographic characteristics that make them commensurate case studies.

Historical Restorations

Historical restorations can be highly successful cultural tourism attractions. They are often costly to undertake but they greatly improve the knowledge about an island and the

¹⁸⁸ Exquemelin, *Buccaneers of America* p.84

¹⁸⁹ Della Scott-Ireton, *Preserves, Parks and Trails*. PhD p.81

¹⁹⁰ Della Scott-Ireton, *Preserves, Parks and Trails*. PhD

attractiveness of the island to tourists. Historical restorations improve knowledge about an island due the necessity of historical research and archaeological excavations in order to execute the endeavour accurately. Restoration projects also promote learning by making the past they represent more interpretable by visitors. Fort Warwick would greatly benefit from being restored and that restoration would in turn benefit the community by providing a more attractive historic site. The site has been threatened by both looting and urban development projects. An officially sanctioned excavation would ensure that the information the site holds is preserved for posterity. Its intermittent occupation for 400 years would produce artefacts that would inform how we understand those occupation phases. Once the site has been thoroughly excavated, the structural foundations could serve as the layout plan for an historically accurate restoration. This would of course be informed by historical sources that describe and depict the site in a particular occupation phase. Which occupation phase to be recreated would be decided by the local community depending on what aspect of their history they wish to celebrate: English, Spanish, buccaneer, or Latin American republican privateer. This restoration project would therefore incorporate the Islands' tangible cultural heritage, intangible cultural heritage and related written record. The excavation and restoration project could also involve many community volunteers and build a stronger community spirit through social cohesion. The call for the restoration of the fort was expressed by a native Raizal historian who conducted an historical report on the Islands.¹⁹¹ In the report of Wilhelm Londoño who carried out a survey of the fort, it is claimed that at a public meeting held on 6 November 2016 'The leaders [of the Santa Catalina community], in unison, stated that they were in agreement with the reconstruction project, as long as they were consulted on every aspect of the project'.¹⁹² Once restored, the fort could serve as a museum to house the artefacts found in the vicinity. Several cannons are already present at the site. However, many more are strewn throughout the island without much care given to their conservation. These could be relocated here to facilitate conservation and protection as well as to exhibit the imposing strength of this fort at the time it was occupied.

¹⁹¹ Jairo Archbold Núñez (2014). Fort Warwick/Fuerte La Libertad Santa Catalina y Providencia. Informe sobre su historia. p.31

¹⁹² Wilhelm Londoño (2014). Informe del Programa de Arqueología Preventiva del Proyecto de Reconstrucción del Fuerte de la Libertad. Santa Catalina, Municipio de Providencia, Departamento de San Andrés, Colombia. p.40, as translated from Spanish using DeepL, <https://www.deepl.com/translator> [accessed: 26/6/22].



Figure 13: Plan map of Fuerte Libertad. Courtesy of Archivo General de la Nación, Colombia. Sección: Mapas y Planos, Mapoteca No.4, Ref.:395-A. Dimensions: 23 x 44cm. 1822. Providencia: Perspectiva del Fuerte de la Libertad

Museum

Museums are important institutions for enhancing a community's cultural heritage. They help conserve, protect and present a community's material past. The way museums do so can inform how that past is understood by both locals and visitors. This process is known as museology and it is an important process to keep in mind when establishing any museum. There is currently an initiative on Providence to found a new museum through private investment. This initiative has gained support after the existing museum housed in the old church building was obliterated by Hurricane Iota. The surviving artefacts that were stored in this museum need a place to be housed. So too do artefacts that were excavated by the Providence Island Archaeological Project in 2019 and by Fundación Apalaanchi in 2021. Both of these projects will have an ongoing presence on the Islands so there is a need for a dedicated facility to store and present the artefacts that are produced by these projects. The themes explored within a museum are largely dependent on the content of the museum itself. With such a rich history of privateering and piracy, it is highly probable that the artefacts produced on and around the Islands will be able to speak to that history. Pirate themed museums and exhibits have proved to be extremely attractive to tourists. These sentiments have been expressed in an encompassing manner by the Centre for Historic Shipwreck Preservation in the case of Saint Marie Island off Madagascar and will be recited at length because of this.

‘A refurbished museum housing a permanent exhibition on pirates of Madagascar, will prove a major tourist attraction that will lead to both a positive and significant contribution to the local economy as well as to the knowledge of the cultural history of St. Marie and Madagascar in general. It provides the unique opportunity to house and curate this unique cultural heritage and provide an educational tool within reach of the actual wreck sites that can reach a global audience virtually. Having a permanent research base set up at the museum ensures that the process of excavation and conservation of artefacts can be made more effective and efficient. It also can lead to empowerment of local researchers and to build up capacity on research and conservation of artifacts and the marine environment of the surrounding area’.¹⁹³

This commensurate case study should serve as a strong advocate for pursuing the proposed strategy for the utilisation of the heritage of piracy for cultural tourism purposes since it argues for both the benefits to the local economy derived from the tourism it attracts and the benefits to local cultural heritage management.

Archaeological Field Work

Archaeological field work serves to expand our knowledge of the maritime cultural landscapes of islands, be it terrestrial or underwater investigations. Properly executed archaeological surveys and excavations can protect cultural heritage for posterity by allowing hidden aspects of the past to be revealed in the context they belong to and to be conserved for presentation to an island’s community and to its visitors. In the same vein, field schools can be a more cost-effective way of achieving the same goal. An annual archaeological field school already exists on the Islands. It is called the Old Providence and Santa Catalina Archaeological Program and it is run by the Institute of Field Research. The co-directors of this program are Dr. Tracie Mayfield and the author. Since its inception in 2018, it has made inroads towards restoring local trust in archaeologists. This has been due to its community-led approach. This has been laid out as one of its three operating principles:

- 1) Scientifically informed analyses of the past, which utilize a variety of independent datasets and collection methods, allowing us to better understand the present and plan for the future.
- 2) Culture-historical research requires preliminary approvals and ongoing input and oversight from the local communities in which we work and a rigorous commitment to reciprocal exchange between all stakeholders.

¹⁹³ The Centre for Historic Shipwreck Preservation, <https://shipwreckcenter.org/sainte-marie-madagascar/> [accessed:2/12/21]

3) Culture history is the intellectual and material property of the communities in which we are invited to do research.¹⁹⁴

This field school will be a continual source of cultural heritage asset production for the Islands since all of the artefacts that are discovered will be kept on the Islands and can be displayed in the local museum, broadening its content. These artefacts represent more than merely display pieces since every discovery will provide new information about the Islands' past. Discovering new tangible cultural heritage assets is only one aspect of this project, which is both archaeological and ethnographical in its outlook. The ethnographical element of the project involves interviewing locals to record their oral histories and traditions, as well as their native creole language. In this way, the project also protects the Islands' intangible cultural heritage for posterity. Although this project is already in place, it has been included in this development plan since it contributes to other initiatives. Its personnel have experience in the history and cultural heritage that is unique to the Islands as well as a strong working relationship with the Raizal people. As such, this personnel could be readily consulted about other initiatives such as establishing the heritage trail and the local museum.

Public Education

Educating and convincing the public of the perception that cultural heritage is a non-renewable resource to be protected and sustainably interacted with, rather than an economic resource to be exploited for immediate monetary gain, is one of the most critical roles of a cultural heritage manager.¹⁹⁵ Without a local population that believes in and is educated in the development of their cultural heritage as a resource for tourism and of the benefits that tourism brings, that resource cannot be utilized in a sustainable manner.¹⁹⁶ This is an extension of the heritage cycle,¹⁹⁷ in what could be considered as a cultural tourism cycle, whereby the improvement of a community's understanding of the benefits of cultural tourism will add value to an aspect of that community's culture, thereby creating cultural heritage assets or increasing the awareness of existing cultural heritage assets. This will provide the impetus for improved preservation and presentation of that heritage to facilitate its enjoyment through cultural

¹⁹⁴ Tracie Mayfield (2021). Old Providence and Santa Catalina Islands Archaeology Project Research Design. p.4

¹⁹⁵ Della Scott-Ireton, *Preserves, Parks and Trails*. PhD. p 33

¹⁹⁶ Silvia Angeloni (2013). Cultural Tourism and Well-Being of the Local Population. *Theoretical and Empirical Researches in Urban Management*, 8(3), 17-31, 26

¹⁹⁷ Amany Ragheb, Ghada Ragheb, Abd ElRahman (2017). Risk Management Strategy for Protecting Cultural Heritage: Case Study of Institute of Egypt. *International Journal of Civil, Environmental, Structural, Construction and Architectural Engineering*, 11(9). 1235-1242, 1236.

tourism products. Through that enjoyment, more visitors will be attracted which will increase the benefits of cultural tourism and further perpetuate the cycle. It is for this reason that a program for educating school children in the value of cultural heritage assets is advised in this development plan. A program such as this was initiated by the Old Providence and Santa Catalina Islands Archaeological Program in co-ordination with the local Junin school in 2019. Students from the field school spent a day teaching local students the basic methods of excavation in an interactive demonstration on school grounds in order to peak the students' interests. This initiative can be built upon by providing archaeological and cultural heritage learning syllabi to be integrated into the school program, which can then be put into practice every summer while the field school is operational.

These types of programs need not be limited to school children as many adults may have a similar desire to learn more about archaeology and cultural heritage. Boxill and Barnwell's socio-economic impact study for a cultural tourism plan developed for Port Royal found that 'Most residents rate their knowledge about Port Royal and Jamaica as limited, and roughly 90 per cent want to be better educated in this regard'. They continued to argue that: 'Presumably then, educational and training programmes would be supported and well-attended. This bodes well not only for tourism development, but also in terms of the strengthened community self-esteem that comes with deeper knowledge of a shared heritage'.¹⁹⁸

It is hoped that through such outreach programs, local individuals will be guided towards careers in cultural heritage management so that local Raizal can be the custodians of their own cultural heritage. This would also improve the Islands' tourism since a local population that is cognizant and knowledgeable of their cultural heritage contributes to the attractiveness of a cultural tourism destination. Tourists can engage with locals and learn from them on an individual and personable level. This grounds a place's cultural heritage by keeping it relevant to the people to whom it belongs.

Themed Guided Tours

Themed tours are cost-effective ways of enhancing an Island's cultural heritage tourism. They incorporate tangible and intangible cultural heritage, the environment, and the local folklore. All of these assets as they pertain to Providence can be combined through the theme of piracy, as has been detailed above. There is a large number of outboard powered open boats on the Islands that could accommodate tour groups. With minimal training and perhaps

¹⁹⁸ Ian Boxill and Garfield Barnwell (1998). Socio-economic Impact Assessment Port Royal Heritage Project Revised Report. p.20

a controlling measure of locally issued licenses, independent tour groups could be established. This would offer economic opportunities to many islanders, especially during fishing off seasons. These tours can be taken from the harbour towards Fort Warwick with a guide explaining its fascinating history. It could stop at Morgan's Head, where Henry Morgan pushed the cannon from a nearby fort into the sea. These can still be seen on the seafloor today and could be easily accessed by tourists who wanted to snorkel around the boat. For those, who are elderly or differently abled, glass bottom boats already in use on the Islands could offer the chance to view this underwater cultural heritage. This is also true for any dive heritage trail that exist in shallow water since it could be enjoyed through the use of a glass bottom boat by those who cannot swim or dive. The tour could carry on around the Islands, essentially replicating the heritage trail from the sea. It can also take more narrative license due to the performative nature of the event by mentioning folk tales and popular culture references. Until the construction of the ring road in the 1970s, most travel around the Islands was done by boat. This mode of travel is apt for narrating the cultural heritage of the Islands since it highlights the maritime cultural landscape through which it can best be understood.

Traditional Catboat Tours

Catboats are the traditional vessel used on these Islands, as has been explained in the intangible heritage section of Chapter 3. However, with cheaper fibre glass hulls and more convenient diesel-powered outboard engines, these vessels have largely become obsolete and so, the traditional craftsmanship required to build them is being lost. While catboats' use as fishing vessels may have become obsolete, a new use may revitalise this boatbuilding tradition. In lieu of any government or public funding, private boat trips to sail tourists around the Islands on the traditional craft of the Islands could serve as a potential source of income for this dwindling craft industry. The popularity of this tourist attraction may just be the impetus for building more boats to accommodate more tours. In doing so, a mutually beneficial relationship between the interests of safeguarding/transmitting intangible cultural heritage and commodifying intangible cultural heritage to satisfy tourists could be reached in a sustainable manner through this cultural tourism initiative.

Conclusion

Providence and Santa Catalina Islands do not have many natural resources or native industries that can offer the population employment opportunities. Once a major exporter of coconuts in the early twentieth century, the Islands no longer contribute any product or service

to the global economy. This situation may have been sustainable in the past when the Islands were almost completely self-reliant. However, they have become more dependent on imported products over the second half of the twentieth century. People used to farm or fish for their own food but now they depend on processed food imported from abroad. This has been part of the rapid process of modernity that Providence and Santa Catalina have experienced in the last sixty years. The Islands first began to use cars in the 1960s and a ring road was built in the 1970s. Before then, all travel around the Islands was by foot, horse or boat. The Islands only gained electricity in the 1980s. This meant that people stayed home throughout the evening before there were streetlights to guide people back home at night. This was a time within most islanders' living memory which many refer to as 'before the light'. The 1990s brought the internet to the Islands and exposed them to a much wider world. So much rapid change to the traditional way of life on the Islands over such a short period of time has meant that the cultural heritage surrounding that way of life has been threatened with being forgotten. It is important that this heritage is preserved for posterity's sake but it can also have the added benefit of contributing to the Islands' appeal as a tourist destination.

Providence and Santa Catalina currently have an underdeveloped cultural heritage tourism industry despite the Islands having a rich array of cultural heritage assets. This thesis has been designed to ameliorate this situation by providing a strategy for the implementation of cultural tourism initiatives that will promote and protect the Islands' cultural heritage and simultaneously improve the economic self-reliance of the Islands. In order to do this, it has outlined the information necessary to understand the history and culture of the Islands. Providence and Santa Catalina have a very rich history. There are an array of cultural heritage assets that can be used to explore this past. There is the tangible cultural heritage in the forts and cannon emplacements that are littered all around the Islands or in the shipwrecks that are strewn throughout their littoral. There are a number of intangible cultural heritage assets including the people's unique dialect of creole, their relaxed universal outlook, their traditional craftsmanship of catboats and their rich oral histories. The extensive written record about the different periods of privateering in which Providence played a central role can also be considered a cultural heritage asset. The environment itself is a profound asset and it should likewise be protected for later generations. These cultural assets all contribute to the Islands' marketability as a 'pirate island' and it is contended here that they should be integrated through tourism initiatives such as those outlined in this chapter. The marketability of this cultural heritage of piracy is of significance to the competitiveness of the Islands in the broader heritage tourism of the region.

This thesis has been designed with the aforementioned principles in order to maintain sight of the desired outcome. This desired outcome is to protect cultural heritage and develop economic opportunities in a mutually beneficial and sustainable manner. The initiatives that have been proposed in this chapter were designed for this purpose. These initiatives should be implemented in a co-ordinated way so that they complement one another. The ultimate goal of this thesis is to encourage the creation of a holistic cultural tourism experience for the Islands. This will increase the Islands' attractiveness as a tourist destination which will translate into more economic opportunities for the local community. It is important that the Islands make a co-ordinated and deliberate strategy for developing their tourism industry so that it does not develop independently of their input and with profit as the driving motivator. It is hoped that this chapter on cultural tourism development initiatives can serve as a model to be adopted and adapted by the cultural heritage managers of the Islands of Providence and Santa Catalina, as well as by any other islands that boast a similar history.

Conclusion

The first chapter of this thesis endeavoured to formulate a coherent theory for the integration of cultural heritage and tourism in a mutually beneficial and sustainable manner in order to help answer the main research question of how small islands can utilise the heritage of piracy in a sustainable manner. It did so by first exploring the relationship between cultural heritage and tourism within cultural tourism. This tackled the conceptual issue of authenticity and how it is comprehended in both the realms of cultural heritage and of tourism. It developed the theoretical foundation for rectifying the disparity between how this concept is comprehended in both sectors. This was namely by ensuring a base level of historicity through the constructive criticism of experts and by controlling expectations through focused marketing. Various components of sustainably utilising cultural heritage for touristic purposes and the need to do so were expounded on. This chapter gave the theoretical foundation from which the rest of the thesis was built upon.

The thesis then grappled with the topic of the heritage of piracy in the second chapter. This was necessary to familiarise the reader with the topic generally and with how it applied to the specific case study of the Islands of Providence and Santa Catalina specifically. This was accomplished by first defining piracy and then exploring the distinction between piracy and privateer, as is relevant for the history of these Islands. The historical perceptions of piracy were dealt with to give context for our modern perceptions of piracy, which inherently influence a cultural tourism based off the heritage of piracy. This tied in with the previous chapter's sections on core and representative authenticity. The piratical history of Providence was narrated to give the background information needed to understand the remainder of the thesis. The discussion on how that history of piracy can be viewed as cultural heritage engaged with broader issues within the discipline of cultural heritage such as the conceptualisation of identity.

This theory for the integration of cultural heritage and tourism and this topical understanding of the heritage of piracy were brought together to postulate a methodology for utilising the heritage of piracy for cultural tourism. This was devised on the predication that piracy is a highly marketable theme through which to develop cultural tourism. This was shown through the various ways of transforming cultural heritage assets into cultural tourism products. It was shown that the heritage of piracy was conducive to many of the features that make for a successful cultural tourism attraction. This methodology was completed by detailing the

potential cultural assets that relate to piracy with special reference to the case study of Providence and Santa Catalina. This chapter dealt with the research sub question of how the heritage of piracy could be utilised to attract tourists through a holistic lense by broaching it from the perspective of multiple disciplines including history, archaeology, ethnography, geography, sociology, psychology, marketing and cultural heritage management.

The research sub question of whether the heritage of piracy is productive to both the objectives of cultural heritage and the objectives of tourism in a mutually beneficial and sustainable manner was investigated in the fourth chapter. This was done by comparing the potential benefits and downsides that this type of cultural tourism would have on the cultural heritage and the tourism of the Islands' community. The ways in which the benefits of this cultural tourism strategy could be ensured, and the downsides could be mitigated against were suggested in each of these sections. With these measures in mind, it was shown that the potential benefits of this strategy for the development of cultural tourism based on the heritage of piracy outweighed the potential downsides of such a strategy. This supposition was primarily based on the assertion that the heritage of piracy advances the competitive advantage of a destination while being conducive to the domestic development of tourism that is in keeping with the socio-economic and environmental aspirations of the local community.

The subject matter of these four chapters was brought together to formulate a preliminary cultural tourism development plan for the Islands of Providence and Santa Catalina that is based on their heritage of piracy. The principals implicit in this thesis were clearly outlined in order to ensure that any attempt at implementing such a cultural tourism strategy is done so responsibly. Various cultural tourism initiatives based on the heritage of piracy have been outlined. These have been designed to commodify the cultural assets of the Islands of Providence and Santa Catalina in a manner that mutually benefits the cultural heritage of the community and the socio-economic quality of life of those living within it.

It is hoped that this thesis will offer cultural heritage managers and tourism interests a strategy for improving the perceived value of certain cultural assets which could be focused on through the contextualisation of piracy. Many small islands or rural coastal communities around the world that have few natural resources or domestic industries exhibit a connection to the history of piracy. This is partly due to the fact that these relatively resource poor areas tended to not be heavily populated and made for ideal secluded places for pirates to rendezvous, establish a base, careen their ships, collect water and/or hunt for food. For SIDS, tourism can often be one of the few industries that can be developed to improve the local economy. This tourism is frequently developed by transnational and multinational companies in ways that

result in disproportionate socio-economic costs and benefits being borne by different segments of the community. It has been shown throughout this thesis that channelling their connection to the history of piracy is one possible way that tourism could be developed in a manner that facilitates small-scale domestic development of tourism. Its engagement with the cultural heritage of the community strengthens the need for a community-based approach to this type of tourism. In this way, the socio-economic needs of the community can be improved and the cultural heritage of the community can be protected in a mutually beneficial and sustainable manner. This thesis has therefore outlined how small islands, such as Providence and Santa Catalina, can utilise the heritage of piracy to improve their local tourism industry in a sustainable manner.

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