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Reviving Heritage in a Historic Gem City: Examining the Management of History at the Colonial Quarter in St. Augustine, Florida

Madeline Bonner

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Abstract

The Colonial Quarter is a living history venue of Spanish and British colonial heritage in St. Augustine, Florida. Since 1966, the site has housed interpretive structures and programming related to St. Augustine's colonial history. Over time, management of the site has fallen under the purview of the state of Florida, the city of St. Augustine, and the University of Florida Historic St. Augustine (UFHSA) Direct Support Organization, which functions as a managing agency for the state. In 2013, the UFHSA Board entered into a public-private partnership with the Colonial Quarter, LLC. This marks the first instance of private sector involvement at the site. Through a critical heritage studies lens, this thesis investigates the effect of partial privatization at the site as well as the functionality of the public-private partnership model for mitigating funding issues faced by heritage sites across the nation. It considers how different actors in the site's public-private partnership influence the presentation of history at the Colonial Quarter as well as the benefits and challenges of this model. This research found that elements of the site demonstrated both change and continuity following partial privatization. Additionally, there are notable benefits and challenges of the Colonial Quarter's management model. Ultimately, I argue that the public-private partnership formed between the University of Florida Historic St. Augustine Board and the Colonial Quarter LLC. is a viable management model for mitigating the challenges faced by heritages sites struggling to rely solely on public funding in the United States.

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Bonnie Clark

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Madeline Bonner

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Advisor: Dr. Christina Kreps

Author: Madeline Bonner
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Abstract

The Colonial Quarter is a living history venue of Spanish and British colonial heritage in St. Augustine, Florida. Since 1966, the site has housed interpretive structures and programming related to St. Augustine's colonial history. Over time, management of the site has fallen under the purview of the state of Florida, the city of St. Augustine, and the University of Florida Historic St. Augustine (UFHSA) Direct Support Organization, which functions as a managing agency for the state. In 2013, the UFHSA Board entered into a public-private partnership with the Colonial Quarter, LLC. This marks the first instance of private sector involvement at the site. Through a critical heritage studies lens, this thesis investigates the effect of partial privatization at the site as well as the functionality of the public-private partnership model for mitigating funding issues faced by heritage sites across the nation. It considers how different actors in the site's public-private partnership influence the presentation of history at the Colonial Quarter as well as the benefits and challenges of this model. This research found that elements of the site demonstrated both change and continuity following partial privatization. Additionally, there are notable benefits and challenges of the Colonial Quarter's management model. Ultimately, I argue that the public-private partnership formed between the University of Florida Historic St. Augustine Board and the Colonial Quarter LLC. is a viable management model for mitigating the challenges faced by heritages sites struggling to rely solely on public funding in the United States.

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Chapter One: Introduction

The Colonial Quarter stands on two acres between Castillo Drive and St. George Street in historic downtown St. Augustine, Florida. Across Castillo Drive lies the Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, operated by the National Park Service. On the other side, visitors and locals strolling down St. George Street pass the site's three commercial restaurants and the Colonial Oak Music Venue. The Colonial Quarter is on the north end of St. George Street, within a few minutes' walk to the Visitor Center and the Old City Gates. In 1959, the state of Florida established the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission. The Commission spearheaded a large-scale restoration project in an attempt to emulate the ongoing restoration in Williamsburg, Virginia. Between 1960 and 1966, modern residences and commercial spaces along St. George Street were replaced with reconstructions of Spanish colonial buildings. The small number of original colonial structures were restored, and the built environment of St. George Street became a reproduction of Spanish colonial St. Augustine. Following the restoration, a museum was established in the area of 21-37 St. George Street to provide interpretive programming related to the lives of early St. Augustine colonists. The site was named San Agustín Antiguo. Subsequently, the same interpretive area was known by the names Spanish Quarter Museum, Spanish Quarter Village, and the Colonial Spanish Quarter. Today it is called the Colonial Quarter. The interpretive area has been perceived as a significant contributor to the sharing of St. Augustine's story since the origin of San

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Agustín Antiguo in 1966. A 2005 editorial published by the *St. Augustine Record* argued:

"The Spanish Quarter Museum cannot be allowed to falter. It is the centerpiece of St.

Augustine's past, and the lynchpin of its future in terms of heritage tourism" (St.

Augustine Record 2005).

Those tasked with managing and preserving St. Augustine's heritage believe in the

city's national significance. The University of Florida Historic St. Augustine (UFHSA)

Board, a Direct Support Organization (DSO) of the University of Florida, became the

managing agency for the state for St. Augustine's historic properties in 2009. A Strategic

Plan drafted in the same year identifies the Board's priority to "first and foremost, focus

on the state-owned historic properties and artifacts as valuable heritage resources of the

state and nation" (Economic Research Associates et al. 2009). The Strategic Plan also

features a quote from UF Professor Emeritus Michael Gannon summarizing the

significance of St. Augustine's history:

> The story of St. Augustine is more complex, more variegated, more
> interesting, and more rich than a few headlines might indicate. Here is no
> short-lived Plimoth Plantation, no brief candle like Williamsburg, and no
> several days-long smoking meadow at Gettysburg. Here is a dynamic,
> international, constantly changing, endlessly fascinating, compact city existing
> nearly 450 years in time (ibid.).

Faith in the value of the city's historical resources has not wavered since the St.

Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission began the restoration of

St. George Street in 1960. State support, expressed via funding, has fluctuated over time.

Today, there is a concerted effort to maintain the historical aura of the Spanish colonial

city via regulations for the built environment and maintenance of historical sites.

I became interested in how living history sites and historic downtowns shape national

and regional narratives due to personal childhood experiences. I grew up visiting such

sites and romanticizing them as relics of the past, a window into another time. As an

adult, I began to think critically about the possible implications of reconstructing the past.

Anthropologist Michel Rolph-Trouillot's (1995) work *Silencing the Past: Power and the*

Production of History presented arguments regarding the power of grand historical

narratives that forced me to reconsider my interest in United States history. I had once

been fascinated by studying the thirteen colonies, the Civil War, and manifest destiny.

Rolph-Trouillot's (1995) work made me weary of recreating the practices of power that

begin "at the source" of every historical narrative (29). My interests and subsequent

graduate study of museum anthropology naturally brought this question into the sphere of

heritage institutions. St. Augustine's claim to be the oldest continually occupied

European settlement in the U.S. and the Colonial Quarter's role as the "centerpiece of St.

Augustine's past" drew me to the field site (St. Augustine Record 2005). Though places

such as Colonial Williamsburg, the Plimoth Patuxet Museums, and Monticello have been

studied extensively, St. Augustine's heritage institutions are generally untouched by

critical scholarly literature.

My interest in the site's management model and its viability for mitigating funding

challenges faced by heritage sites nationwide is based on my experience working at the

Door County Historical Society in Fish Creek, Wisconsin. The historical society is a

small operation with the mission to preserve the history of an area where I spent most of

my childhood. I witnessed first-hand the funding challenges faced by a small, state-

supported organization that struggled to keep the Lake Michigan Lighthouse at which I

was working open. The uniqueness of the management model at the Colonial Quarter and the site's revitalization resulting from entrance into a public-private partnership encouraged me to investigate this model further.

I would like to acknowledge my positionality as this project's principal and sole investigator. A portion of this research discusses the lack of the Colonial Quarter's incorporation of the "hard truths" of colonialism (Lonetree 2012) in the site's interpretive programming. It also considers the site as one of difficult or dark heritage due to the impact of Spanish colonization on Indigenous Floridians and the Black experience in colonial America. I must acknowledge that I work within the settler colonial paradigms of American anthropology and the academic university. Sylvia Yanagisako (2005) outlines how the configuration of American anthropology is built upon the "project of knowing the Native American 'other' and the project of defining the nation-state" (81). Furthermore, I am operating within the university sphere, particularly the University of Denver, which occupies the ancestral homeland of the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes and whose founding member, John Evans, is known to have been culpable in the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre (Clemmer-Smith et al. 2014). As I turn a critical lens to one of St. Augustine's heritage institutions, I must consider ways in which my positionality makes me complicit in the settler colonial project (Macoun and Strakosch 2013).

This research examines a living history site at the nexus of education, entertainment, and heritage tourism made unique by its management model. Public-private partnerships (PPPs) are becoming more prevalent in the heritage sector as increasing demand and decreased funding make sole reliance on public funds unsustainable (MacDonald and Cheong 2014). However, there is a limited understanding of the specificities of PPP

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models. This lack of knowledge contributes to a fear that involving the private sector may compromise conservation ideals and values in pursuit of short-term profit (ibid.). My research sought to investigate the effect of partial privatization at the Colonial Quarter upon entrance into a PPP management model. It was also designed to assess the functionality of the public-private partnership to mitigate funding issues other heritage sites in the United States may face. Through interviews, document review, archival research, and participant observation, I found that elements of the site, such as a focus on public education of school groups and the use of an edutainment model, have remained consistent through partial privatization. Other elements, such as the site's interpretive programming, stewardship of the property's reconstructed/restored buildings, and a focus on food and beverage revenue streams, shifted upon entrance into the public-private partnership. There are benefits and challenges within the PPP model, such as the exchange of expertise and resources as well as tension between competing needs within the partnership. The Colonial Quarter LLC. has needs related to running a profitable business that have shown to conflict with the historical authenticity demanded by University of Florida Historic St. Augustine Board members. However, moments of tension are resolved by effective communication and trust in the same objective. Actors from both public and private parties believe that the ultimate and most important goal of the Colonial Quarter is to tell the story of St. Augustine's history.

Funding is one of the most significant resource additions achieved by the public-private partnership between the University of Florida and the Colonial Quarter LLC. The business provided an initial investment of approximately three and a half million dollars in the property. The Colonial Quarter began to increase its profit annually after breaking

even from this investment in 2015. Following hundreds of thousands of dollars of financial loss brought about by site operation between 1997 and 2009, the Colonial Quarter is self-sustaining. In addition, the Colonial Quarter LLC. pays the UFHSA DSO 100,000 dollars annually, or 5% of their profit, whichever is greater. This money goes back into fulfilling the DSO's mission of education and historic preservation in St. Augustine (Linda Dixon, personal interview, August 11, 2022). Removal of the site as a financial burden for the city of St. Augustine has allowed municipal funds to be directed toward critical infrastructure maintenance.

This research has two primary limitations: limited source material from 2000 and 2010 and the inability to thoroughly investigate representation of the Native American and Black experience in the Colonial Quarter's interpretive programming. These limitations will be discussed further in chapters six and seven.

Chapter Summaries

Chapter two provides a background for my research project. It explores the evolution of 21-37 St. George Street and the creation of the public-private partnership model. Following a brief history of historic preservation in St. Augustine, I provide descriptions of each establishment that occupied the site between 1966 and 2009. Next, I describe the legal basis for the creation of the University of Florida Historic St. Augustine Direct Support Organization and the public-private partnership with the Colonial Quarter LLC. Lastly, I provide a description of the Colonial Quarter as it appears today.

Chapter three contains a review of the literature that I consulted while designing this project. It begins with a consideration of the definition of heritage and how it has changed over time, informing heritage management practices in the process. Next, I discuss the

heritage industry critique, heritage tourism, and research regarding authenticity and the past in the heritage experience. This discussion is followed by a review of the literature regarding public-private partnerships in heritage management and urban heritage conservation.

In Chapter four, I focus on theoretical concepts that directly inform my research project and the rationale for their utilization. I discuss Critical Heritage Theory and key topics such as heritage as a process, the heritage industry, difficult heritage, and constructivist authenticity. Then, I explore values-based management theory as well as partnership theory that will inform my assessment of the public-private partnership model.

Chapter five summarizes the methodology utilized to investigate the project's research questions. I explore the impetus for selecting the site and my reliance on methodological principles from museum ethnography. Next, I discuss participant selection as well as the specific methods used to collect and analyze my data.

Chapter six presents the results and findings of my data analysis. First, I investigate the effect of partial privatization on the site's public education focus, edutainment status, and interpretive programs. Next, I consider the benefits and challenges of the public-private partnership model.

Chapter seven offers reflections regarding this research project. I discuss the limitations of the project and provide recommendations for further research.

Chapter Two: Background

Preservation in St. Augustine

St. Augustine's campaign to preserve its Spanish colonial heritage has been ongoing since Florida's statehood was declared in 1845, becoming the dominant theme post-World War II (Weaver 2019). In 1935, St. Augustine Mayor Walter Fraser moved to organize a national committee in hopes of adopting the model of the ongoing restoration at Williamsburg, Virginia (Adams 2018). However, this effort was interrupted by World War II. Approximately two decades later, in 1959, the state of Florida established the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission. North St. George Street was selected as the focal point for commission restoration projects (Weaver 2019). Today, St. George Street remains the heart of St. Augustine's historic district and is home to the Colonial Quarter. It was not until the 1970s that preservation initiatives were turned to sites outside the old colonial city, embracing historic neighborhoods belonging to other periods of significance. When the Preservation Commission was sunset in 1997, historic buildings and property were leased to the City, and St. Augustine was tasked with the management of its museums. At this time, the Department of Heritage Tourism and Historic Preservation was created to take on the city's new responsibilities. Due to financial reasons, the state of Florida transferred the lease of the historic properties under their purview from the City of St. Augustine to the University of Florida (UF) in 2007.

UF's statutory responsibility was fully assumed in 2009 when the state finally provided the university with the promised recurring Plant Operation and Management Funds.

History of Activity at the Site (21 – 37 St. George Street)

Over time, the two-acre plot on which the Colonial Quarter now stands has housed several different establishments. Between 1960 and 1966, the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission sponsored a large-scale restoration project on St. George Street during which the foundations of formerly colonial buildings were excavated and restored or reconstructed to resemble their colonial appearance. The built environment of St. George Street, which was a modern downtown area with retail shops and residences in 1960, now stood to represent St. Augustine's Spanish colonial history. This large-scale effort was inspired by the desire to emulate a colonial city like Williamsburg, Virginia. However, St. Augustine was unable to find a wealthy donor such as John D. Rockefeller to fund the operation as in the case of Williamsburg. Publicity material published by the Preservation Commission on the restoration describes a "five-year blood transmission" in which "old St. George St.... came back to life – a colonial Hispanic life" and became San Agustín Antiguo (St. Augustine Preservation Commission 1966). This large-scale reconstruction and restoration project of the 1960s is what provides St. Augustine with the architectural Spanish colonial aura that exists today and forms the basis of the city's heritage tourism.

The San Agustín Antiguo program included a robust web of living history demonstrations depicting life in the eighteenth century, such as blacksmithing, silversmithing, carpentry, candle making, cooking, and sewing. San Agustín Antiguo, an

institution accredited by the American Alliance of Museums, was known for its

dedication to authenticity and captivating tour guides.

Figure 1: **S**an Agustín Antiguo Publicity Material, Courtesy of the St. Augustine Historical Society.

In 1987, the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission, now

called the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, renamed the San Agustín Antiguo

museum the Spanish Quarter Museum. The interpretative material remained the same,

utilizing living history methods to allow visitors to "stroll from house to house and meet

residents and craftspeople of [the] unique neighborhood" and "experience what life was

like for hardworking settlers who struggled to survive in St. Augustine" (San Agustín

Foundation 1988). The property featured eleven areas where visitors could explore

reconstructed colonial houses or visit craftspeople in their shops.

Figure 2: Spanish Quarter Museum Publicity Material (1990), Courtesy of the St. Augustine Historical Society.

Figure 3: "31 Saint George Street - Triay House," Courtesy of the St. Augustine Historical Society.

After the dissolution of the St. Augustine Historic Preservation Board in 1997, the

city's Department of Heritage Tourism and Historic Preservation was created and became

the managing agency of the Spanish Quarter Museum. Briefly renamed the Spanish

Quarter Village to advertise its living history nature; the site became the Colonial Spanish

Quarter in 2003. At this time, the Taberna Del Gallo was established as a retail addition

to the property. A 2003 Visitors Guide from the Department of Heritage Tourism

describes the site as a living history village waiting to welcome visitors. The Colonial

Spanish Quarter offered village stops such as an herbalist, leatherworker, blacksmith,

copper, and carpenter. Visitors could also enter and speak with an interpreter at four

residential restored or reconstructed houses. "Living history interpreters who are dressed

in period clothing and who are performing period tasks" were at their station at all times

to answer visitor questions or share details about colonial life (Department Heritage

Tourism 2003).

Figure 4: Spanish Quarter Museum Publicity Material (2001), Courtesy of the St.
Augustine Historical Society.

When the University of Florida's Direct Support Organization (DSO), UF Historic St. Augustine (UFHSA), formally took over management of the properties in 2009, the university leased the site to the City for an additional two years. In 2011, the University of Florida began the process of finding a private partner to operate the site. Pat Croce, a Florida businessman with commercial properties in Key West and St. Augustine, and his team proposed a plan to occupy and manage the site as the Colonial Quarter LLC. Upon selection of the Pat Croce Team's proposal, the area became known as the Colonial Quarter. At this time, the site's interpretive program was expanded to include the history of St. Augustine's British and second Spanish periods. This differs from previous iterations of the site that only portrayed the first Spanish period. Additionally, the Colonial Quarter is not a museum.
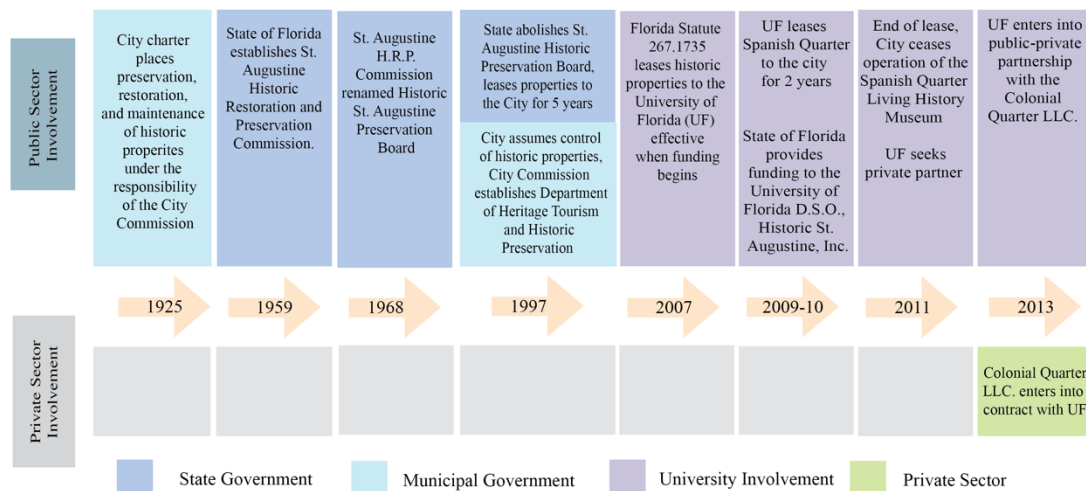
Figure 5: Management of Historic Properties in St. Augustine.

Partnership with the University of Florida and the Colonial Quarter LLC.

The legal basis for the partnership between the University of Florida and the Colonial Quarter LLC. was formalized by several Florida statutes enacted in 2007. Through this legislation, the state subleased thirty-three historic properties in St. Augustine to UF, at which time the university became the managing agency for the state. Chapter 267.1735 of the Florida Statutes states that the goal of the contract is to ensure the preservation and interpretation of state properties, support UF educational programs in relevant fields (i.e., archaeology, cultural resource management, and cultural tourism), and help fulfill an identified need for the city and the state (Historic Preservation [SPCC] 2007). As a result of the contract, the University of Florida Historic St. Augustine Board was formed as a direct-support organization to the university under Chapter 267.1736. This DSO is legally directed to aid in fulfilling the university's "dual historic preservation and historic preservation education purposes and responsibilities to the City of St. Augustine, St. Johns County, and the state" (Historic St. Augustine 2007). Additionally, the above statutes form the basis of the DSO's mission that ultimately guides all decisions made by the board.

The UFHSA Board sought a partnership for the operation of the Colonial Spanish Quarter via an Invitation to Negotiate (ITN) process, one of the legal processes for selecting a vendor used by government agencies. The ITN process involves an initial presentation of written materials, interviews by the selection committee, and the creation of a final proposal referred to as the Best and Final Offer (Linda Dixon, personal interview, August 11, 2022). The board's invitation resulted in three proposals, from which the Pat Croce and Company/Colonial Quarter LLC. were selected to present their

Best and Final offer. Ultimately, the selection committee voted unanimously to partner with the Pat Croce Company contingent on successful contract development. Selection committee member Ed Poppell, Vice President for Business Affairs & Economic Development at the University of Florida at the time, cited the Pat Croce and Company's comprehensive interpretative plan as a distinguishing characteristic (UFHSA 2012). Additionally, selection committee member Linda Dixon recalls the Croce team's finance resources, innovative interpretation strategies, and site design as strengths of their proposal (personal interview, August 11, 2022). Ms. Dixon currently serves in UF's Planning, Design, and Construction Division, as she did at the time of selection.

UFHSA oversight of the interpretive elements of the Pat Croce Team's proposed Colonial Quarter falls within the purview of the Board's Education, Interpretation, and Facilities Committee chaired by Roy Hunt. Hunt is a former member of the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board and has been a UFHSA Board member since its inception. He has served on state and national committees related to historic preservation since 1976. The Education, Interpretation, and Facilities Committee was created upon entrance into a contract with the Pat Croce Team for the "express purpose of reviewing authenticity in the Colonial Quarter" with historians and members of the St. Augustine Research Institute (UFHSA 2012). The committee was heavily involved in approval of interpretive efforts during the site's establishment and maintains the function of interpretive oversight. Furthermore, the contract identifies the Colonial Quarter as an essential revenue source for the DSO, as mentioned previously. The Croce Team's ten-year contract was up for a renewal vote in fall of 2022. The minutes of this meeting are not yet publicly available, but it is reported that the contract has been renewed. In August

2022, Executive Director Cindy Stavely, along with UFHSA Board members Linda Dixon and Herschel Shepard, stated that both sides were eager for renewal (personal interview, August 11, 2022).

Colonial Quarter, LLC. Today

Today, the Colonial Quarter occupies two acres of property in the heart of downtown St. Augustine. The site sits across from the Castillo de San Marcos, a heavily trafficked national monument managed by the National Park Service. One property entrance faces Castillo Drive and the national monument, while the other sits directly on St. George Street. At present, St. George Street is a pedestrian walkway lined with commercial properties as well as preserved or reconstructed historic buildings. It is considered the tourist center of downtown St. Augustine. The living history site itself is designed to represent three periods of St. Augustine's history: the first Spanish period (1565-1763), the British period (1763-1783), and the second Spanish period (1783-1821). To this end, the site includes several reconstructed features such as a watchtower (Appendix A, Figure 1), leather-working station (Appendix A, Figure 2), blacksmith shop, shipyard (Appendix A, Figure 4), and cannon-firing station. The property also includes a historic home, the De Mesa Sanchez house, dating to the 1740s, that includes interior display items. Executive Director Cindy Stavely states that the team intends to add several interpretive features to the site in the near future, including an agricultural exhibit on cattle ranching in Florida as well as a colonial family life program in the reconstructed Gallegos House (personal interview, August 3, 2022).

Figure 6: Colonial Quarter Publicity Material, Colonial Quarter LLC.

Beyond the area within the ticketed Colonial Quarter Living History Tour, the Croce

team owns a number of properties open to the public on the two-acre plot. Along the west

side of the property, facing St. George Street, there are three fast-casual and full-service

restaurants, as well as an outdoor music venue, Colonial Oak Music Park. These

properties form a critical part of the Colonial Quarter's revenue stream to supplement and

support the museum, according to Stavely (personal interview, August 3, 2022).

Therefore, site operation extends beyond living history interpretation to include three

other central elements: food and beverage, retail, and events, as described by Pat Croce in

2015 (UFHSA 2015a). It is important to note that the Pat Croce team also owns and

operates the St. Augustine Pirate & Treasure Museum, located adjacent to the Colonial

Quarter. Cindy Stavely is the Executive Director of both sites and tour guides shift fluidly between the two depending on staffing needs.

The Colonial Quarter offers four guided tours throughout the day, during which demonstrations such as iron welding in the blacksmith shop and gunpowder cannon firing come to life. Outside of the guided tour, patrons are welcome to explore the property and read over fifty text panels that provide interpretation regarding St. Augustine's colonial history. The tours are popular for families, middle age and older couples, and children's field trip groups. During the academic year, fourth-grade school groups make up the bulk of the Colonial Quarter's visitation (Cindy Stavely, personal interview, August 3, 2022). This is due in part to the Florida state standards for grade four social studies curricula that include knowledge of pre-Columbian Florida as well as exploration and settlement of the state (Florida Department of Education 2021). Fourth-grade field trips to St. Augustine from across the region have been a tradition in the area since at least the 1990s. UFHSA Board Member Linda Dixon, based in Gainesville, recalls her children's field trip to St. Augustine as a part of a long tradition highlighting the public education function of historic downtown St. Augustine (personal interview, August 11, 2022).

Chapter Three: Literature Review

The Definition of Heritage

It is challenging to determine a definition for the word heritage because it holds various meanings and serves different purposes depending on the historical, geographical, and social context. In its most literal form, heritage means something that is inherited or inheritable (Prentice 2005). Heritage Studies scholar Rodney Harrison (2013) offers another definition: "heritage is not a 'thing'... but refers to a set of attitudes to, and relationships with, the past" (14). Such relationships can create connections between people, places, objects, and practices that vary with time and place. There is "work" that is done to produce and maintain these connections (Harrison 2013; Smith 2006). Furthermore, Laurajane Smith (2006) asserts that heritage is not something in and of itself, but a social and cultural process shaped by contemporary values. It is also partially defined by its perception of being under threat in contemporary society (Harrison 2013; Smith 2006; Wright 1985). This conceptualization of heritage is one generally held by scholars following Critical Heritage Theory. I have chosen to follow this definition in my own research.

Various meanings of heritage have held prominence in changing historical contexts. Laurajane Smith (2006) traces the particular discourse surrounding heritage that began in late nineteenth-century Europe and is now the dominant discourse of the twenty-first century. Within the context of growing European nationalism of the mid-nineteenth

century, a new concern for heritage emerged in which citizens, organizations, and governments sought to define and protect what they believed to constitute their identity. The conservation ethic at the time held that the "duty of the present is to receive and revere what has been passed on and in turn pass this inheritance, untouched, to future generations" (Smith 2006, 19). In the United States, the preservation movement was spearheaded by those seeking to strengthen American patriotism. Objects considered heritage at this time were tangible, grand, monumental, and aesthetically pleasing testimonies to the past. This idea of heritage is part of what Laurajane Smith (2006) has termed the "authorized heritage discourse" (AHD). According to Smith, the AHD originated in early European and American conceptualizations of heritage and was "naturalized" through actions such as the *Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments* (1931) and the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (1964). Both of these charters are documents created to establish guidelines for heritage conservation and management practices. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (1964)*, commonly referred to as the Venice Charter, serves as the canonical text for modern heritage practices (Harrison 2013).

Smith (2006) provides the following definition for the AHD:

The authorized heritage discourse (AHD) focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations 'must' care for, protect and revere so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their 'education,' and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past (29).

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The consequences of this discourse are significant. The AHD defines who can be a "legitimate spokesperson" for the past, disengages heritage from individuals and communities, disempowers the present from making meaning in the past, and ignores the "diversity of sub-national cultural and social experiences" (ibid., 30). Furthermore, it privileges the values of the elite and creates a top-down relationship between heritage expert and visitor (ibid.). The authorized heritage discourse that Laurajane Smith proposes characterizes perceptions of heritage until challenges gained momentum in the 1960s. The danger of propagating the AHD is evident:

> Traditional and authorized definitions of heritage tell nationalizing stories that simply do not reflect the cultural or social experiences of subaltern groups. This is problematic as it discounts the historical legitimacy of the experiences of these communities and thus the social, cultural, and/or political roles they play in the present are ignored or trivialized" (Smith 2006, 36).

As Smith (2006, 2007) makes clear, heritage is also a powerful political resource.

The authorized heritage discourse is challenged by subaltern discourses, as dominant structures are generally challenged by the subaltern. Rodney Harrison (2013) identifies the UNESCO's 1972 World Heritage Convention as a pivotal moment in the shifting definition of heritage and management practices. A key aspect of the convention was the idea of "universal heritage value," that some heritage was "part of the World Heritage of mankind as a whole," and therefore was the responsibility of the collective international community (UNESCO 1972). Critical heritage studies scholars have labeled the language of the convention as "totalizing discourse," hegemonic in nature, that "forc[es] what are essentially Western notions of heritage onto countries that might not otherwise hold such interests in heritage" (Harrison 2013, 64). Indeed, Indigenous peoples and other non-Western cultures have criticized these universalizing principles as "failing to incorporate

culturally relevant concepts of heritage" (Smith 2006, 36). Furthermore, heritage

definitions that stress materiality, such as that of the 1972 convention that identifies

heritage as buildings, monuments, and sites, do not acknowledge forms of intangible or

non-material heritage. Therefore, "the resources or processes used in subnational group

identity work are denied or marginalized" (ibid.). The 1972 World Heritage Convention

was a watershed moment for the definition of heritage, according to Harrison (2013):

> In attempting to apply a model of heritage that had developed in Euro-
> American contexts during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries globally, to
> countries with radically different conceptions of heritage, the foundations and
> assumptions on which the Convention and its particular model of heritage
> rested would be challenged and ultimately transformed. These challenges and
> shifts in the definition of heritage and the practices associated with its
> preservation and management have had profound effects on the way in which
> heritage is defined, classified, managed, and experienced in the contemporary
> world (115).

Since the 1972 World Heritage Convention, UNESCO's definition of heritage has

expanded to include an increasing number of objects and places, including intangible

heritage and cultural landscapes. UNESCO created the class of 'cultural landscape'

within World Heritage places in 1992. This decision was heavily influenced by the work

of the Aṉangu people that criticized UNESCO for failing to recognize the cultural value

of Uluṟu-Kata Tjuṯa National Park in Australia. Introducing the class of cultural

landscapes required redrafting the World Heritage Convention's cultural criteria to

recognize the ability of landscapes to embody cultural values, particularly for Indigenous

people (Harrison 2013). Such revisions "represented an important broadening of the

concept of heritage as embodied in the [World Heritage] Convention text" (ibid., 123)

and resulted in a "clear shift in the definitions employed in relation to World Heritage in

the years that followed" (ibid., 126). Conceptualizations of heritage that previously saw a

clear distinction between natural and cultural heritage gave way to an alternative model in which both elements could coexist in the same place and embody intangible cultural heritage. At this time, the definition of heritage was broadened beyond the material and monumental, acknowledging forms outside of Smith's (2006) authorized heritage discourse that "had to be taken seriously and given equal consideration" (ibid., 126).

UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage defines intangible cultural heritage 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, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage (UNESCO 2003).

Expansion of the definition of heritage beyond the material and monumental occurred within the context of a multicultural and postcolonial critique in heritage studies and anthropology. At this time, the heritage 'canon' was reassessed with questions related to representation and Eurocentrism. Heritage management practices were affected in tandem with a call for community participation and co-management models that return increasing control to host communities that have historically had their heritage defined by external bodies following the authorized heritage discourse (Smith 2006). It is important to note the efforts of Indigenous groups worldwide that have been fighting to assert the right to recognition and control of their heritage since the 1960s (Smith 2006, 277). In order to examine the heritage sector and the evolution of heritage management, it is necessary to consider how the contemporary conceptualization of heritage came to be and how its shifting definition has influenced management practices over time.

Heritage Tourism & the Heritage Industry

Writing in 1994, Raphael Samuel (1994) identifies an "extraordinary and, it seems, ever-growing enthusiasm for a recovery of the national past" in the previous thirty years. More specifically, there is a "preservation mania" that first appears in the 1950s following the Second World War and infiltrates all areas of life, including music, numismatics, pop memorabilia, archaeology, and museums (ibid., 139). At this time, practitioners are looking to the increasingly recent past for preservation (Harrison 2013; ibid.). For example, Industrial Archaeology, a term coined in 1955, was concerned with the ruins of deindustrialization, a relatively recent process in the historical past. It is clear that the "past," in a vague sense, was beginning to take on a new meaning for those in the present. According to Robert Hewison (1987), this "nostalgic impulse" became the "dominant characteristic" in British and American society after WWII (28).

The nostalgic turn is evident in policy as well. The 1960s and 70s saw increasing regulation and legislation related to heritage, such as UNESCO's Venice Charter (1964) and the 1972 World Heritage Convention discussed above. In the United States, the government introduced various pieces of legislation related to the conservation of natural heritage, particularly through the development of the National Park System. The National Historic Preservation Act (1966) established the National Register of Historic Places and created a Federal Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. Furthermore, the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (1979) provided updates to the Antiquities Act (1906) to establish penalties for interference with archaeological resources on federal lands. Simultaneously, developments relating to heritage management and preservation were occurring at the state and local level (Harrison 2013). This is evident in St. Augustine, where the first official body responsible for historic preservation, the St.

Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission, was created in 1959 by the State of Florida. Prior to this action, preservation projects in the city were primarily spearheaded by the National Park System, private persons or groups, and the St. Augustine Historical Society (Adams 2018). Furthermore, the Commission began its large-scale restoration of St. George Street to its Spanish colonial appearance between 1960 and 1966. Samuel's (1994) identification of the "historicist turn in national life" in the 1960s included a notable rise in historic cityscapes, a prideful countermove to the streamlining effects of modernity. St. Augustine was no exception to the national trends identified in heritage regulation and movements in the 1960s and 70s. Heritage-related legislation of the era proved significant in establishing state and federal control over heritage and increasing regulation of the field (Harrison 2013).

The Heritage Industry

The 1980s brought a "heritage boom" (Dicks 2003; Harrison 2013; Hewison 1987). Harrison (2013) uses statistical analysis to demonstrate this concept that early heritage scholars David Lowenthal (1985), Robert Hewison (1987), and Patrick Wright (1985) observed in their 1980s U.K. surroundings. Data regarding visitor statistics and membership to preservation societies in the U.S. indicate rapid growth in the interest in and visitation to sites of natural and cultural heritage in the decades following 1970 (Harrison 2013). Furthermore, there was a significant increase in the number of sites being managed and exhibited as heritage destinations (ibid.). Harrison tracks the same trend in the U.K. The early writers mentioned above described this phenomenon with phrases such as "creeping heritage," creating an environment where "the past is... pervasive in its abundance of deliberate, tangible evocations" (Lowenthal 1985, xv).

According to Lowenthal, the 1980s landscape was saturated with "the trappings of history" (xv). Robert Hewison (1987) coined the term "heritage industry" to describe a new "cultural force" (9) that absorbs public and private resources and is expected to replace real industry. In the heritage industry, "we are manufacturing *heritage*, a commodity which nobody seems able to define, but which everybody is eager to sell" (ibid., emphasis in the original). Hewison notes a particular connection between cultural institutions that no longer receive the level of government funding that they did in the past and the tendency to participate in the heritage industry. He is critical of the heritage industry because many products are "fantasies of a world that never was" (10), cheapened in the process of their commodification. The theoretical consequences of the heritage industry concept are vast and will be explored further in the discussion of authenticity.

Hewison (1987) notes that his writing is in conversation with Patrick Wright's work on British heritage in the same decade. Wright (1985) writes of history as a "unifying spectacle," "abstracted and deployed" (65) for a "political conscription of the past" (25). Britain's heritage "crisis" is based on the country's sense of decline and a yearning for the simple, pastoral countryside of England's past propagated by the political powers that be. The U.K.'s National Heritage sites are there "only to provide that momentary experience of utopian gratitude in which the grey torpor of everyday life...lifts" (ibid., 72). For Lowenthal, Wright, and Hewison, the heritage boom of the 1980s indicates the commodification of heritage and the sanitization of the past in its production.

Heritage Tourism

Since the 1980s, the heritage industry critique and its implications for heritage tourism have been discussed widely. Richard Prentice (2005), who began publishing

about heritage tourism in the 1980s and served on the editorial board of the *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, critiques the heritage industry concept for masking the diversity of heritage products. In 2005, Prentice identifies a "new heritage tourism" characterized by increasing "segmentation and diversification" that make it impossible to formulate generalizations (266). He develops a typology of twenty-three divisions of heritage attractions designed to demonstrate the diversity of the heritage product. Prentice takes the heritage industry concept from the 1980s and adopts it to the new tourism landscape he identifies as one of increasing fragmentation and specialization. Smith (2006) agrees with Prentice's assessment of the heritage industry critique, arguing that "little conceptual room is made for alternative uses of heritage" within its original generalizing language (41). Bella Dicks, a sociologist interested in heritage, museums, and cultural display, considers the political and social context of the heritage industry via a case study in Wales. Dicks (2003) notes the competing interests encapsulated in the heritage industry where planners view sites as an opportunity for local economic development and growth in enterprise, and critics view sites as "selling out, shoe-horning history into a standardized industry and turning local culture into a commodity" (30). According to Dicks, the heritage product must be considered as something embedded in social relations, local governance, and a particular economic context. Dicks' research involves ethnography at the Rhondda Heritage Park in South Wales, a living history heritage site. Her methodology includes interviews with planners and tour guides, document review, textual analysis, and visitor studies.

The study of heritage tourism gained ground in the 1980s, spearheaded by scholars such as Richard Prentice, as mentioned above. Another key figure in the study of tourism

is Edward Bruner, anthropologist, and author of *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel* (2005). Bruner is a leading scholar in the anthropology of tourism known for his constructivist approach (Bruner 1994). In his study of New Salem, a reconstructed village in Illinois where Abraham Lincoln spent several years of his life prior to his political career, Bruner stresses the need to understand the context of a particular site to learn how the heritage product is actually produced. To determine this context, Bruner utilizes and advocates for an ethnographic approach. He identifies a "soft struggle over meaning between the 'official' interpretation of the site and how that official view is undermined by the processes of its own *production*" (ibid., 15, my emphasis). At New Salem, the way the site is produced, interpreted, and experienced challenges the effort of scholars and professionals to tell the "authentic" story. The different meanings of authenticity in heritage tourism will be discussed in the next section. Bruner uses publicity materials as well as audio, visual, and written interpretation materials to determine the key interpretive themes at the site. He also identifies the value of the 'dialogic interplay" between interpreter and visitor as a space in which learning and fun can occur (23). Bruner's fundamental argument is that the site must be understood as a space where multiple audiences (historians, tourists, local residents, staff) coalesce with various interests and values.

In collaboration with Anne Clarke and Alison Allcock, Laurajane Smith (1992) writes about the complicated relationship between cultural heritage management and tourism. The authors define cultural tourism as "the industry which services visitor activity at places of cultural significance or which involves some visitor interaction with identified cultural groups" (Smith et al. 1992). This places the tourist in "some form of intellectual

engagement with the past," whether recent or distant (44). The overlap between cultural tourism and heritage tourism is so extensive that the terms are often used synonymously (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000). The authors note that the growth of the tourist industry has the potential to result in heritage managers under pressure to present "palatable views of the past" as they are more marketable (45). However, Smith et al. argue that the relationship should not always be viewed in a negative light– increased tourism can result in revenue being directed toward the host community, research, or preservation projects. Smith et al. (1992) call for additional research at the "interface" of cultural tourism and management in order to develop "meaningful and enjoyable public interpretations of the past" (46).

Subsequent research has explored the interface of cultural or heritage tourism and management extensively. Some of this literature will be explored below, particularly the study of living history sites of colonial heritage that is most relevant to this project. I'd like to note that research related to heritage tourism studies has featured an exploration of visitor interests, including why they visit heritage attractions, what they expect, and how they receive/interpret the heritage product. At times this perspective is included in museum and/or site ethnographies (Benjamin and Alderman 2017; Gable 2006; Handler and Gable 1997; Smith 2006). Others operate within visitor studies more exclusively. Jan Packer and Roy Ballantyne (2016) provide a comprehensive review of the visitor experience literature, and Kempiak et al. (2017) demonstrate the use of visitor experience studies at heritage tourism sites specifically.

Authenticity & the Past in the Heritage Experience

    The Past

Anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995) argues that every contemporary historical narrative is a renewal of the practices of power that began "at the source" of the story (29). In sites of learning (often outside academia), this renewal continues and, when popularized, becomes "a product of power whose label has been cleansed of the traces of power" (ibid, 114). Rolph-Trouillot follows a constructivist view of history, which gained popularity in academia in the 1970s. A constructivist view of history considers all historical narratives as "emergent, always alive and in process" (Bruner 1994, 407). Therefore, any given historical narrative is as much shaped in the present as it was in the past and reflects the sociocultural context of the given era (Harrison 2013; Hewison 1987; Lowenthal 1985; Rolph-Trouillot 1995; Samuel 1994; Smith 2006; Wright 1985). According to Rolph-Trouillot (1995), "any historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences" (26) assembled at the origin and propagated by various formal and informal avenues of learning. History for mass consumption, such as at popular heritage attractions, "has thus become increasingly manipulative in spite of the participation of professional historians as consultants to these various ventures" (ibid., 137). The past, constituted by an infinite network of historical narratives, can only be known as a process, constantly being remade in the present.

Smith's (2006) authorized heritage discourse has implications for the concept of the past. Often used synonymously with heritage, the vagueness of the "past" in the AHD is what defines who is able to speak about it (ibid.). Due to its nature, only experts in the fields of history and archaeology have the authority to subject it to study.

> The important point here is that terms like 'the past,' when used to discuss and
> define heritage, disengage us from the very real emotional and cultural work

that the past does as heritage for individuals and communities. The past is not
abstract; it has material reality as heritage, which in turn has material
consequences for community identity and belonging – the past cannot simply
be reduced to archaeological data or historical texts – it is someone's heritage
(ibid., 29).

The notion of the past is complicated for those who view it critically. It can be

manipulated knowingly or unknowingly, directly or indirectly, to achieve certain aims.

Following Rolph-Trouillot's (1995) logic, the past is constantly being shaped by those

who interact with the narrative. Importantly, there are tangible consequences of these

manipulations. As discussed earlier, heritage can be viewed as a political resource

affecting claims to legitimacy and access to resources in the present (Harrison 2013;

Smith 2006, 2007). The "nostalgic impulse" (Hewison 1987) has contemporary

consequences as "the focus on The Past often diverts us from the present injustices for

which previous generations only set the foundations" (Rolph-Trouillot 1994, 150).

Without reflecting on how we come to define and know the past, the power structures at

the source of the story will continue to be renewed in the present (ibid.). This perspective

has clear implications for heritage interpretation and management that claims to teach and

protect the past.

Authenticity

The concept of authenticity in the heritage sector is significant as it is a "key concept

informing the preservation, curation, management, and presentation of the historic

environment" (Jones 2009, 133). Bruner (1994) identifies four types of authenticity:

historic verisimilitude, genuineness, originality, and authority. Authenticity related to

historic verisimilitude means its aim is to be "credible and convincing," whereas

genuineness aims to be historically accurate. Furthermore, authenticity related to

originality implies it is not a copy, which is fundamentally incompatible with historical reproductions. Authenticity related to authority views the authorized, legitimized, or legally valid as authentic. The conceptualization of authenticity at any given site is context-specific and may involve more than one type (ibid.). According to Bruner (1994), authenticity, like the past, "is a social process, a struggle of competing interests – not a property inherent to an object" (408). Bruner takes on the constructivist perspective of authenticity in which it is viewed as a subjective cultural construct. This is in opposition to the materialist perspective, which views authenticity as something objectively inherent to an object (Jones 2009). Adopting the materialist perspective generally involves separating the object "from the wider social and historical context" (ibid., 136), a practice not often supported by contemporary anthropologists. The question is not what is authentic, but who has the power to authenticate. Representations of authenticity "cannot be divorced from particular belief and knowledge systems" (Waitt 2000, 836). The political power of various groups often plays into control over whose definition of authenticity will prevail (Richter 2005). Beyond internal belief systems, decisions may be made based on what is most easily marketed to and consumed by the visitor.

The fear that the past might be made more palatable for the consumer, and therefore comprise authenticity in the eyes of some, is expressed in the early heritage industry literature (Hewison 1987; Lowenthal 1985; Wright 1985). It is also discussed by other theorists of the past (Rolph-Trouillot 1994; Samuel 1994). Additionally, critical research on popular heritage attractions has confirmed this hypothesis (Bardnt 2007; Bruner 1993; Dicks 2003; Gable 2006; Greenspan 2002; Handler and Gable 1997; Tyson 2008; Waitt 2000). The specifics of this research regarding living history sites of colonial heritage

will be discussed in the next section. Neel Kamal Chapagain (2016) calls for a contextual approach to the question of authenticity in heritage management and tourism. His logic echoes Bruner (1994), who calls for a context-specific analysis of authenticity due to its changing conception from site to site. Chapagain (2016) notes that "often, in an effort of negotiating between the conservation process and tourism needs, the nature of heritage sites gets (re)interpreted opportunistically" (162). This statement provides an interesting perspective regarding the Colonial Quarter LLC.'s decision to introduce interpretation of St. Augustine's British period at the site and the subsequent introduction of the Bull & Crown Publick House, a commercial British pub. There is a possibility that the site was "(re)interpreted opportunistically" in order to facilitate the introduction of an additional revenue stream at the site. Furthermore, Chapagain argues that some conservation decisions may be influenced by a desire to cater to the "quest for exoticism" (161) or romantic historical narratives. Visitors are accused of wanting to transport to another time, to "escape to the past" and land in a "fictitious yesterday purged of historical guilt, where people act out fantasies denied them in the contemporary world" (Lowenthal 1985, 301). People also visit heritage sites to learn, feel a sense of the past, and have fun (Malcom-Davies 2004). Whether seeking to fulfill the effort to escape the present or entertainment, sites that prioritize their commercial interests have been found to compromise some of the less palatable historically accurate aspects of the depicted heritage place or period.

The heritage experience today can be viewed as a "paradox of authenticity" in which the visitor, seeking an authentic cultural experience, is met with an experience that is designed and marketed as authentic by the provider (Smith 2006). In a similar paradox,

"visitors now have an unprecedented opportunity to interact with and make an impact on the sites at many heritage destinations. But at the same time, the place itself has an increased ability to control and manipulate the tourist's visit" (Richter 2005, 294). The heritage experience is multi-faceted and involves numerous competing interests, including the local community, managers, visitors, sponsors, and "those whose history is on display" (Dicks 2003, 30). There is no definition of authenticity because it is created by particular actors in a given context and responds to the standards of the era (Bruner 1994). However, to only view heritage tourist attractions as inauthentic appeals to the masses is a "narrow and distorted view" (ibid., 412). As Laurajane Smith (2006) reminds us, there is "very real emotional and cultural work that the past does as heritage for individuals and communities" (209). Furthermore, some heritage attractions use management models that provide an opportunity for local and source communities to regain control of their heritage and continue this emotional and cultural work. As noted by several scholars, the diversity of heritage tourism experiences calls for a contextual approach.

Living History Sites & Colonial Heritage

The first outdoor or open-air museum appeared in the United States in 1913. However, It was not until the 1960s that the outdoor museum became widely popular in the U.S. (Rentzhog 2007). European and American open-air museums developed independently, differentiated by the fact that "preservation and collection were seen to be the main task in Europe, while in America it was education and making the past come to life" (ibid., 260). Many U.S. outdoor museums were developed based on the models of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, and Old Sturbridge Village, Massachusetts, which

opened in 1932 and 1946 respectively (ibid.). According to Rentzhog (2007), Colonial Williamsburg "became in inspirational center, and a forerunner in terms of interpretation and education, craftwork, and building conservation" (150). The use of historical costumes, craft demonstrations, and focus on a singular historical period that are common to American outdoor museums was established by the Colonial Williamsburg model and repeatedly replicated (Anderson 1982). Rentzhog (2007) credits Plimoth Plantation in Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connor Prairie Historic Settlement in Indianapolis, Indiana, as the first to incorporate the "roleplay" method, in which costumed interpreters act as if they live in the era portrayed. This was a new type of outdoor living history museum that emerged in the 1960s as the open-air model rose in popularity. Jay Anderson (1982) notes that, at the time, "living history was considered a good way of making 'history come alive' at museums and historic sites often considered stuffy and dull" (295). Living history methods were regularly adopted by open-air museums to "enliven their programs and to foster a more comprehensive understanding of their sites' historical significance" (ibid., 296). In addition, Freeman Tilden's 1957 book, *Interpreting Our Heritage*, influenced the rapidly developing sector of U.S. outdoor living history museums. Tilden's interpretive methodology argued for foregoing the concept that learning facts was the most important outcome of a museum visit. This text took Colonial Williamsburg, among other museums, as a starting point for teaching interpretive methods that stimulate visitor interests by creating a joyful experience while communicating "enthusiasm and insight" (Rentzhog 2007). According to Tilden, interpretive methods should not be a "matter of 'instruction' but of 'provocation'" (ibid.,

281). Handler and Gable (1997) describe Tilden's *Interpreting Our Heritage* as the "virtual bible of frontline work for Colonial Williamsburg, and other sites as well" (174).

The Colonial Quarter is one of many living history sites of colonial heritage in the United States. Sites that have been subjected to previous research include but are not limited to Colonial Williamsburg (Greenspan 2002; Handler and Gable 1997), the Plimoth-Patuxet Museums (Hughes 2019; Peck 2018), Monticello (Gable 2006; Wilkinson 2019), and southeastern U.S. plantation museums (Benjamin and Alderman 2017). Most significant to this project's design is the work that has been done at Colonial Williamsburg. Namely, *Old History in a New Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg*, one of the first museum ethnographies by Richard Handler and Eric Gable (1997). In this work, Handler and Gable investigate the production and consumption of museum messages at Colonial Williamsburg (CW) in their institutional context. To do so, they examine elements of the corporate culture at CW, a site "operating on the border between mass education and mass entertainment" (Handler and Gable 1997, 5). Handler and Gable find that balancing CW's image between "respected cultural institution" and "theme park" (29) has been an ongoing challenge for the museum. Ultimately, the authors argue that the commercially oriented need to appease the customer eliminates the possibility of critical pedagogy at CW, as visitor discomfort is avoided at all costs. Critical pedagogy is a method that can be utilized in museum exhibits and interpretation to critically assess prejudicial "cultural myths" and exploitative social relations (Lindauer 2007). According to museum scholar Margaret Lindauer (2007), this is achieved by engaging the visitor through questioning and active participation that may, because of the subject matter, place them in a state of discomfort. However, this discomfort is ultimately

productive because it prompts earnest consideration of the exercise's objectives. Following new museum ethics, which places social responsibility at the heart of museums (Marstine et al. 2015), critical pedagogy is a valuable method through which to achieve this directive. Handler and Gable (1997) find that because of CW's perceived responsibility to appease the visitor, critical pedagogy is avoided, and therefore the museum teaches escapism rather than history. The need to find an appropriate balance between education and entertainment is a critique leveled often at living history sites of colonial heritage.

This critique was extended to a growing number of sites following the heritage boom of the 1980s. Critical assessment of the balance between education and entertainment is often applied to sites of colonial heritage due to their nature as dissonant (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1994), difficult (MacDonald 2009), or dark heritage. Site interpretive programming often directly references this nature. For instance, Thomas Jefferson owned slaves that lived and worked on the Monticello property, and the slave quarters are included in the museum's interpretive program. Additionally, the Plimoth-Patuxet museum's interpretive program recounts interactions between the Puritans and the Wampanoag Natives that occurred upon Puritan colonization (Peck 2018). Well-known sites, such as those listed above, have benefitted from the critical eye that museum and heritage scholars have turned to their interpretive practice. In a recent assessment of Monticello's interpretive program related to slave heritage at the site, Wilkinson (2019) found that Monticello presents a comprehensive and critical discussion of slavery at the site. This includes an exhibit on Sally Hemmings that centers her experience and resistance efforts, connects historic and contemporary racism, and discusses the

complexities of slave life without "sugar-coating." Wilkinson's (2019) assessment is vastly different from that of anthropologist Eric Gable conducted in 2006, which accused Monticello of dismissing questions about Sally Hemmings as rumor, celebrating Jefferson seemingly unequivocally, and avoiding radical honesty in an effort to appease the visitor. Such critical assessments, then, are key to holding sites of colonial heritage to their social responsibility (Marstine et al. 2015) to share the complete and honest experience of all people affected by colonization.

The sites mentioned above, Colonial Williamsburg, the Plimoth-Patuxet Museums, and Monticello, incorporate living history elements in their interpretative program. This is relevant to their critical assessment, as the "service exchange" at living history sites "shapes how the historical meaning is produced" (Tyson 2008). In line with what Handler and Gable (1997) find at Colonial Williamsburg, Amy Tyson (2008) determines that the interpretive product of the Historic Fort Snelling (St. Paul, Minnesota) living history site, which holds a historical connection to slavery, accentuates the positive to avoid causing discomfort to visitors. Tyson found that this was due to the living history interpreters' state of being on a payroll, leading to an environment where "concern over visitors' emotional comfort had trumped (though not erased) the concern over history's pedagogical effect" (258). It is interesting to note that both Handler and Gable (1997) and Tyson (2008) find a direct connection between what they perceive as compromised pedagogical practices and concern with visitor comfort in different settings. From Tyson's perspective, the market context of the living history museum has taken precedence over the educational and pedagogical responsibility of the museum.

However, living history interpretive techniques hold positive value in the realm of informal education. Sandra Shafernich (1993) argues that objects placed in context via living history methods can be more comprehensively experienced than those in isolated cases. Furthermore, Shafernich identifies open-air museums and living history sites as "more casual and less forbidding" displays that bring an engaging component to the visit and break down some of the perceptions of museums as elitist and alienating. This may allow museums and heritage attractions to reach a wider audience (ibid.). Inger Jensen (2008) also believes in the ability of open-air living history museums to contextualize, arguing that the possibility to present buildings in situ, "in their original context or in a context that show how time changes in an area," contributes to their importance relative to other cultural institutions.

Jane Malcom-Davies (2004) has shown the connection between the introduction of living history techniques and pressure to develop "competitive commercial operations" at vulnerable historic sites (1). Through visitor studies, Malcom-Davies sought to define what benefits incorporating interpretive techniques such as living history demonstrations can bring to a site. She determined that marketing managers often use costumed interpretation as "it is assumed that the promise of color and liveliness will broaden the appeal of the site beyond its traditional visitors and differentiate it from its competitors" (279). Therefore, costumed interpretation and living history techniques are often a marketing *and* interpretive strategy. In museums and galleries, research has demonstrated that costumed interpreters can have a positive impact on achieving visitor learning objectives (ibid.). Through mapping several international sites that use paid costumed interpreters as a daily feature, Malcolm-Davies determines costumed interpretation was

introduced primarily to add educational benefit (82%), to enhance entertainment value (60%), and/or to attract more visitors (59%) at the surveyed locations. From the visitor perspective, Malcolm-Davies finds that guests associated costumed interpreters most strongly with a "sense of the past" and "helpfulness" (283). Ultimately, Malcolm-Davies argues that the assumption that education and entertainment at heritage sites are fundamentally incompatible is not necessarily true. To avoid the situation in which "entertainment will strangle education" (278), Malcolm-Davies argues that management should invest significantly in interpreter training programs that present entertainment as a "means to an end, not the end itself" (286). Both education and entertainment are required for many visitors to believe that their visit was worthwhile.

The previous research conducted at living history sites of colonial heritage discussed above serves as the methodological inspiration for this research. In their work at Colonial Williamsburg, Handler and Gable (1997) established general guidelines for conducting museum ethnography that have since been adapted and expanded by museum scholars. Now, museum ethnography is considered a valuable tool to "expan[d] our knowledge of the diversity of museum models and museological behavior" and an established method for their critical examination (Kreps 2020, 39). Handler and Gable conducted in-depth interviews with leadership, secretaries, and lower-level management to establish an institutional context for their research. Additionally, they interviewed groundskeepers, interpreters, and retail staff in an effort to capture what was happening "on the ground." The authors toured buildings, attended and recorded programming, tours, and events, and conducted archival research to determine changing policies and attitudes at the organization. Colonial Williamsburg holds an extensive archive of external publications

as well as internal documents which served as a significant data set upon which the authors built their argument. While many of the scholars listed above conducted research at living history sites of colonial heritage using similar methodological elements, they did not investigate the site's managerial model to the extent of Handler and Gable (1997). Their use of archival and public documents to investigate this aspect of CW, which is relevant to my work, and subsequent integration of the data set with other qualitative data has served as a valuable model.

Heritage Management

Public-Private Partnerships in Heritage Management

The use of public-private partnerships (PPPs) in the heritage sector has been reviewed by Susan MacDonald and Caroline Cheong (2014) in the Getty Conservation Institute research report *The Role of Public-Private Partnerships and the Third Sector in Conserving Heritage Buildings, Sites, and Historic Urban Areas*. The authors focus on PPP research related to heritage conservation; however, their findings are relevant to PPPs within the heritage sector at large. In general, PPPs can be defined as "contractual arrangements in which the private sector assists in delivering a public facility or service by providing funding or operating leadership" (ibid., 2). In addition, a PPP should involve at least one participant that pursues "non-commercial ends and interests" (Mackintosh 1992, 212). In any given PPP, there may be three branches involved in the arrangement. This includes the public sector, private sector, and third-party agencies such as community-based or nongovernmental organizations. Public-private partnerships have become increasingly popular since the 1990s due to the growing diversification of responsibilities that public agencies are tasked with. Increasing fragmentation of duties

has prompted publicly funded agencies to seek partnerships through which they can "fulfill their responsibilities efficiently and with accountability" (McQuaid 2000, 10). PPPs are particularly popular at the local level, where economic resources are often especially constrained. This has proved true in the city of St. Augustine, where the local government has historically struggled to balance costs related to infrastructure maintenance and operating its historical sites within a limited budget.

Today, public resources are not sufficient to fulfill the growing financial demands facing local government(s). Traditional conservation theory, which holds that the government is the "primary guardian" of a nation's cultural heritage resources, is undermined by local, regional, and national funding challenges (MacDonald and Cheong 2014, 2). In fact, MacDonald and Cheong argue that reliance solely on public funding in urban heritage conservation efforts is "unviable and unsustainable" (9). As a result, heritage conservation has become a field of "multisectoral coordination" in that it often engages public, private, and third-party sectors in some capacity (ibid.). Overall, declining budgets and increasing demand within the heritage sector have resulted in a rise of public-private partnering to complete quality projects.

MacDonald and Cheong (2014) discuss the potential benefits of PPPs within the heritage sector specifically:

> As identity-building public assets, heritage buildings, sites, and areas play a vital role in the community's social, cultural, and economic health. For city planners and developers, PPPs have the potential to revitalize neighborhoods and produce revenue through long-term leases and other income-generating activities. For conservationists, PPPs can attract funding and focus attention on the value of conserving a community's past" (32).

The social and cultural significance of heritage sites results in a unique benefit analysis. Heritage sites can be spaces of identity formation and negotiation (Harrison 2013; Smith 2006). Therefore, control over these spaces must be viewed in the larger context of struggles for political legitimacy and resources (ibid., Smith 2007). In the heritage field, there has been some resistance to PPPs due to a fear of the private sector. MacDonald and Cheong (2014) clarify that PPPs are not the equivalent of privatization, with the fundamental difference being that the public sector maintains "bottom-line accountability" for the project (16). However, the authors draw attention to the danger of PPPs without proper oversight, resulting in an "unchecked private sector" whose interest in profit may be placed above interest in maintaining the integrity of the asset's cultural and historical significance (33). Due to their "values-based nature," MacDonald and Cheong argue that PPPs in the heritage sector require above-average levels of oversight. Unchecked private entities can take actions that reduce public access to heritage sites or compromise their perceived historical, cultural, and social significance.

However, fear of PPPs in the heritage sector based on skepticism of privatization is not productive, according to MacDonald and Cheong (2014). Properly organized contractual PPPs can result in partnerships with private entities that do not compromise the values and goals held by the public sector entity while providing an avenue for financial viability. For instance, through "very clear, shared objectives and criteria" (43), PPPs can prevent the exploitation of heritage resources by corporations in the business of heritage tourism that may be seeking short-term profit (ibid.). Ultimately, public-private partnerships in the heritage sector have become necessary in certain economic contexts and can provide meaningful advantages if the necessary steps are

taken to create well-organized and transparent models. Notably, MacDonald and

Cheong call for an expansion of their investigation into conservation-related activities

such as interpretation, stewardship, and maintenance in their concluding remarks. This

research project aims to contribute to the understanding of PPPs in the heritage sector by

examining the public-private partnership formed between the University of Florida

Historic St. Augustine Board and the Colonial Quarter LLC.

Management in the Tourist-Historic City

Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) explore heritage management practices in the

"tourist-historic city." The tourist-historic city exists at several different scales, including

"historic gem" cities, mono-functional demand-based cities such as Disneyworld, and

large multi-functional resource-based cities such as London or Paris (ibid.). Regardless of

the scale, the tourist-historic city is "a contemporarily created phenomenon which, like

the study of history itself, can be recreated anew by each generation according to the

prevailing attitudes towards the past" (ibid., 51). This logic echoes those who view

heritage, and the past as a whole, as a cultural phenomenon created and shaped by the

present. The authors review common justifications for conservation, such as socio-

psychological, political-ideological, and economic justifications. Ashworth and

Tunbridge (2000) note that conservation management in practice is often a combination

of several justifications, or all applied subsequently over time. Challenges in heritage

management arise with the increasing designation of heritage in need of conservation, as

the care requires funding that is not provided at a proportionate rate. In North America,

the "acceptance of the profit model has been fundamental to urban conservation activity,"

and there has been a focus on enhancing private investment through partnership models

(ibid., 33). Additionally, regulation of heritage management has shifted from national to local control following the "realization that the short-term future rests with decentralized, destandardised, and largely ad hoc planning and management at the local scale, rather than the more Olympian visions that motivated central government actions in the 1960s and early 1970s" (ibid., 34). The contemporary tourist-historic city is a "fundamentally unstable equilibrium" (ibid., 136) in which the cities different residential, commercial, and cultural functions exist in tension. Beyond assessing the practicalities of managing tourist-historic cities, Tunbridge and Ashworth (2000) discuss issues such as residential displacement, gentrification, employment, and access to benefits. Ultimately, they call for the "systematic development of a less dissonant and more multilateral conception of [a] city's historic identity" that can broaden a tourist-historic city's well-being (302). The city in which my research is located, St. Augustine, Florida, is identified as a historic gem city by the authors. Therefore, its heritage management practices must be considered in the context of the tourist-historic city.

Eduardo Rojas (1999) has conducted research regarding the preservation of Latin American urban heritage through various partnership models. Rojas identifies the positive value of preserving urban heritage, namely furthering social cohesion and "enhanc[ing] a society's capacity to build a shared future" (foreword). He advocates for a collaborative approach to preserving urban heritage as the task expands beyond the resources available from the public sector (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000; MacDonald and Cheong 2014; Rojas 1999). Additionally, reliance on public funding places preservation and management "at the mercy of the ever-changing political support and always uncertain availability of government resources" (Rojas 1999, 35). Motivating the

private sector to invest in urban heritage can be challenging and often requires the public

sector to take an initial leadership role in the revitalization of deteriorating spaces. Only

after the preservation process has been established and achieved some level of continuity

will the private sector be willing to get involved (Rojas 1999). Rojas uses case studies of

Latin American cities to establish a spectrum of theoretical public-private partnerships in

the preservation and management of urban heritage. Between full public control and a

free-market strategy lies the public-private partnership, where actors can join forces to

"mak[e] full use of their respective skills and strengths" (ibid., 36).

The management of heritage more broadly has been explored by anthropologists

Lynn Meskell and Barbara Bender. Meskell (2018) has conducted extensive ethnographic

work tracing the bureaucratization of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and

Cultural Organization and the organization's impact on heritage management practices

throughout time. In her discussion regarding English Heritage's management of

Stonehenge, Barbara Bender (1998) explores the propensity to insulate heritage sites. She

argues that those involved in heritage management often attempt to "'freeze' the

landscape as a palimpsest of past activity," allowing it to be "packaged, presented, and

turned into museum exhibits" (26). In this practice, one past, selected from the many, is

chosen to be roped off and presented to the public, effectively erasing lived experiences

and the dynamism of the landscape.

Chapter Four: Theoretical Framework

This project was created from a broad question seeking to develop a greater

understanding of public-private partnerships in the heritage sector. The Colonial Quarter,

located on the property between 21-37 St. George Street in historic downtown St.

Augustine, Florida, is considered a heritage "site" for the purposes of this project. The

property contains tangible heritage, such as the De Mesa Sanchez home dating to 1740

and reconstructions of colonial buildings atop their original foundation. It also

encapsulates heritage via place association (Fredheim and Khalaf 2016) with significant

people, groups, and events throughout history. Taylor (2015) provides a useful

framework for conceptualizing the heritage "site," referring to "anything that embodies

what is valued as heritage, whether this is an object, collection, song, building, oral

tradition, or landscape" (66). Embodiment does not require a physical form (ibid.).

Following this logic, the Colonial Quarter is considered a heritage site comprised of

tangible and intangible heritage connections. Practically, this classification of the

property is most useful due to management changes over time. The site was a museum

between the years 1970 and 2011. Since 2011, it has been described as a historical and

educational experience. Despite changing designations, the site's connections to the

heritage of St. Augustine have remained the same. Reference to the property as a heritage

site embodying tangible and intangible heritage ties helps to highlight the permanence of

the city's heritage in the face of financial, political, and managerial challenges. Central to my work are Critical Heritage Theory and theoretical concepts in the area of heritage management. The anthropological concept of "studying up" also frames my project (Nader 1972). As I have provided a general review of literature in each of these theoretical fields in the previous chapter, this chapter is centered on the concepts that will be key in my own work and the rationale for their utilization.

Critical Heritage Theory

In general, Critical Heritage Studies promotes heritage as a field for critical inquiry and takes heritage as a political, cultural, and social phenomenon (Gentry and Smith 2019). By doing so, it moves beyond the focus on technical issues of practice that characterize the traditional heritage studies literature. Critical Heritage Theory has been influential in questioning hegemonic discourses regarding the definition and management of heritage. Some of the field's key tenets related to my research will be discussed below.

Heritage as a Process

Critical Heritage Studies identifies heritage not as a thing, in and of itself, but as a phenomenon constantly being shaped in the present. According to Harrison (2013), heritage is a process, "constantly chosen, recreated, and renegotiated" (27). Viewing heritage as a process highlights its nature as necessarily selective and fundamentally interpretive. This selective nature has implications for issues of representation, including Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) concept of "dissonant heritage." If heritage is a process, then it can be shaped by the social, political, and cultural influences of a given moment. It can be used strategically by those in power to silence and marginalize. It can also be adapted by subaltern groups as a form of resistance. When heritage is viewed as a

process, it can no longer be seen as self-explanatory or constitutive of itself. The processual view of heritage is central to this project. Actors in management are considered to have the ability to influence the presentation of history at the site and, therefore, the presentation of St. Augustine's heritage. This presentation perpetuates particular narratives, highlights certain individuals, and prioritizes specific stories. The evolution of the site's interpretive program over time speaks to the processual nature of heritage.

The Heritage Industry

The heritage industry has been the topic of interest across the disciplines of tourism studies, critical heritage studies, urban planning, and beyond. Early theorizations by Lowenthal, Wright, and Hewison came to fruition in a growing heritage industry that forms a key part of the contemporary tourism sector (Prentice 2005). The Heritage Industry Critique (Hewison 1987) argues that the commodification of heritage has resulted in the offering of "sanitized, false, and inauthentic history to a gullible audience of tourists" (Smith 2006). Some scholars have identified this phenomenon in action at heritage tourism sites (Bardnt 2007; Bruner 1993; Dicks 2003; Gable 2006; Greenspan 2002; Handler and Gable 1997; Tyson 2008; Waitt 2000). Others argue that the critique is simplistic and generalizing (Prentice 2005; Smith 2006). Today, the heritage industry is a robust market with a diverse variety of heritage products. This project will consider the Colonial Quarter, a popular heritage tourism in a tourist-historic city (Tunbridge and Ashworth 2000), from the perspective of the heritage industry critique.

Dissonant, Difficult, & Dark Heritage

Dissonance inevitably results from the processual nature of heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). It is the selectivity of heritage that creates "dissonant heritage" and "disinherits someone completely or partially, actively or potentially" (ibid., 21). Those who value and understand the past differently than those with the power to select and interpret are effectively "disinherited" of their connection to place in any recognized sense. Harrison (2008) expands the idea of dissonant heritage to "predatory heritage," arguing that heritage management in settler societies such as the United States is necessarily predatory in nature. Specifically, this involves the "metaphorical and/or physical erasure of traces of prior Indigenous occupation and emphasizing the roots of nationhood in colonial settlement" (ibid., 178). A related term, "difficult heritage," describes "a past that is recognized as meaningful in the present but that is also contested and awkward for public reconciliation with a positive, self-affirming contemporary identity" (MacDonald 2009, 1). Difficult heritage includes aspects of national histories such as war, colonization, and genocide. Sharon MacDonald (2009) explores Nazi heritage in German history as an example. MacDonald distinguishes "difficult heritage" from "dissonant heritage" in that it specifically "threatens to trouble collective identities and open up social difference" (4).

In the heritage tourism literature, such sights are referred to as "dark attractions" (Wyatt et al. 2021). The realm of "dark tourism" has "become an increasingly significant component of the wider heritage tourism industry" (ibid., 434). These places can be viewed as sites of exploitation of historical tragedies or opportunities for learning and reflection through interpretation (ibid., Richter 2005). Wyatt et al. use the term "lighter dark visitor attractions" (LDVA) to describe dark tourism edutainment experiences that

utilize either a "heritage-centric approach...or a fun-centric approach" (435). "Edutainment" is generally understood to lie at the intersection of education and entertainment and encompasses a unique combination of methods to achieve both aims. Two LDVA sites identified by Wyatt et al. (2021) include Gettysburg and Colonial Williamsburg. By this logic, the LDVA label could be extended to the Colonial Quarter in St. Augustine. The context of the site as one of dissonant, difficult, or dark heritage is important to understand. It may be identified as such due to the effect of Spanish colonization for Native peoples, the establishment of mission systems in and around St. Augustine, and the site's celebration of colonialism.

Constructivist Authenticity

This project follows Bruner's (1994) constructivist view of authenticity, in which authenticity is a "social process" negotiated in the present based on contemporary values. The constructivist view is in opposition to materialist conceptions that consider authenticity as a property inherent to an object (Jones 2009). The Nara Conference on Authenticity, held in relation to the 1972 World Heritage Convention, established authenticity as a measure of "reliability, credibility, or truthfulness in heritage" (Fredheim and Khalaf 2016, 475). A Critical Heritage Theory approach would argue that there is no truthfulness to be found in heritage because various individuals might seek a different "truth" from the same heritage site. Within the same vein, a constructivist approach argues that there is no one Authenticity (intentional capitalization) to be found in heritage. Even Bruner's (1994) four types of authenticity are site-specific and often mixed in complex ways. When viewing authenticity as a subjective cultural construct, the question becomes who has the power to determine what is authentic. This approach

allows for the investigation of power structures and hegemonic heritage discourses within the heritage management system. The conception of authenticity within management bodies at the Colonial Quarter has a direct impact on heritage management practices. My own assessment of the site and its management will be informed by a constructivist view of authenticity.

Heritage Management

Theoretical shifts in academic heritage studies have influenced conceptualizations of heritage over time and, therefore, their management. Often, it is a challenge for heritage professionals to operate between management rationales at the policy level and realistic needs on the ground (Avrami et al. 2019). The management of heritage sites involves various stakeholders such as the funder (public or private), institution (museum or site), community (local, regional, or national), and those whose heritage is on display (Dicks 2003). In addition, heritage sites owe a responsibility to visitors (ibid.). Over time, heritage management practices have come under scrutiny for promoting Euro-centric values that fall within Laurajane Smith's (2006) authorized heritage discourse. This critique and some of its consequences have been discussed previously. To assess the public-private partnership management structure and its consequences at the Colonial Quarter, I will use a values-based theory of management as well as partnership theory.

Values-based Management Theory

A values-based approach to heritage management is defined by Fredheim and Khalaf (2016) as "one that seeks to identify, sustain, and enhance significance, where significance is understood as the overall value of heritage, or the sum of its constituent heritage values" (466). The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS),

one of the functional arms of UNESCO, facilitated the *Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance*, commonly known as the Burra Charter, in 1979. The Burra Charter was the first document to formally recognize that heritage should be managed and identified based on particular values. The document has been amended over time (1999, 2013) to respond to emerging issues in the field and expanding notions of heritage. Article 1.2 outlines the message of the 1999 charter:

> Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations. Cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects. Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups (Australia ICOMOS 1999).

Values-based approaches gained popularity in the twenty-first century following relative obscurity in the 1990s. Today, values-based approaches to heritage management dominate professional and academic discourse (Fredheim and Khalaf 2016).

The process of heritage valuation is significant as it shapes decisions regarding what is protected, conservation and management strategies, public policy, and the evaluation of environmental impacts (Avrami et al. 2019). Traditionally, and following the AHD, heritage values have been tied to the materiality of places. The reality of heritage management today is that "decision making revolves less around a fixed set of values reflected in fabric and is increasingly influenced by a broader range of values reflective of contemporary society" (ibid., 4). With increasing recognition of the diversity of heritage values held by a multicultural society, traditional heritage values are expanding. Heritage management practice reflects this expansion as "concepts of value directly shape modes of practice" (ibid., 6).

Fredheim and Khalaf (2016) call for an understanding of how heritage is valued in order to manage, use, and conserve it appropriately. By nature, values-based theory "calls into question the notion that what is valuable about heritage is self-explanatory and uncontested" (ibid., 466). According to the authors, the weakness of this theory lies in an incomplete assessment of the significance of complex and multi-faceted heritage sites. Fredheim and Khalaf present a framework for understanding the heritage significance assessments outlined below.

Stage 1
- **Features of significance**
What is the heritage in question?

Stage 2
- **Aspects of value**
Why is this heritage valuable?
(Associative, sensory, evidentiary, and functional aspects)

Stage 3
- **Qualifiers of value**
How valuable is it?
(authenticity, rarity, condition, etc.)
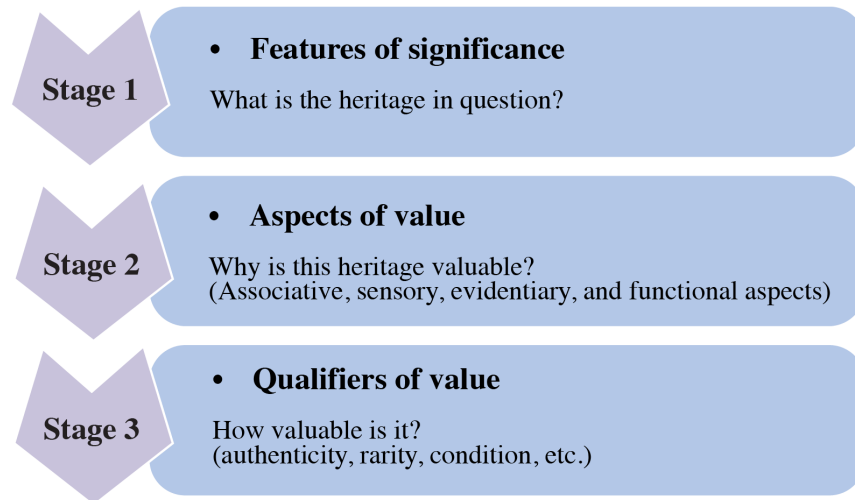
Figure 7: Adapted from Fredheim and Khalaf (2016, 472- Figure 2).

In this model, the significance assessment is broken into three stages. Various typologies for cultural heritage utilized to determine features of significance in Stage 1 have been developed in the heritage literature. The Burra Charter's 1999 amendment identifies aesthetic, historic, scientific, social, or spiritual value as typologies. Many subsequent typologies have extended this list of values. According to Fredheim and Khalaf (2016), values-based theory makes the values implicit in conservation explicit, thereby enabling informed and strategic decisions. Values-based management decisions

can be complex and contested, particularly regarding urban heritage, due to the variety of stakeholders involved (ibid.). Stakeholders are likely to conceptualize and express heritage values differently, making clear communication of values key in the management of urban heritage. The tendency of the urban environment to fluctuate must be reflected in dynamic values related to urban heritage (ibid.).

In their work, *The Tourist – Historic City: Retrospect and Prospect of Managing the Heritage City* (2000), Ashworth and Tunbridge identify St. Augustine, Florida, as a resource-based historic gem city. This is a type of "tourist-historic city" in which "the historic resource is both so dramatic, extensive, completed and also so valued as to dominate their urban morphology, their identity and policy options" (ibid., 155). I mention this here to draw attention to the Colonial Quarter as an urban heritage site located within a historic gem city. Fredheim and Khalaf's (2016) claim that values-based heritage management can be particularly challenging in the urban heritage setting is directly relevant to my research site.

A values-based theory of heritage management will be utilized in my project to consider what influences heritage management decisions made by both parties of the public-private partnership. As Fredheim and Khalaf (2016) note, various stakeholders often hold different conceptualizations of heritage values in a given place, particularly in an urban environment. In order to assess the functionality, benefits, and challenges of the public-private partnership as well as the management of the site itself, I will take on the lens of values-based theory utilized by those in management leadership.

Partnership Theory

It is nearly impossible to define a successful partnership, as success is subjective and varies by field. In the heritage sector, success can be reflected in visitor numbers, site sustainability, or educational initiatives, among other forms of measurement. In order to assess the functionality, benefits, and challenges of the public-private partnership (PPP) model, I borrow theoretical insights from the partnership literature called upon by MacDonald and Cheong (2014) in their research regarding PPPs in the heritage sector.

Maureen Mackintosh (1992) identifies three types of public-private partnerships: synergetic, transformational, and budget-enhancing. The synergy model, also discussed by McQuaid (2000), describes a PPP in which the collaborative sum is greater than the parts. Formed through public and private sector actors with "different assets and compatible aims" (Mackintosh 1992, 210), synergetic partnerships bring together the skills, knowledge, and resources of two parties to achieve better results than they would independently (Figure 1).

Diagram 1   Synergy
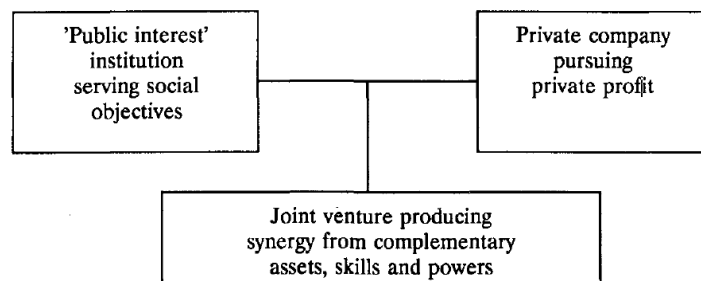
Figure 8: Synergy Diagram from Mackintosh (1992).

In the transformational model, PPPs involve actors from each sector with mixed agendas and the goal to learn from each other to achieve their own aims. Lastly, budget-enhancing partnerships are designed with the primary goal of securing financial resources

not available independently (MacDonald and Cheong 2014). Any given PPP may be a combination of several partnership styles, and partnership theorists note that generalizations should be avoided as each PPP is grounded in a particular social, economic, and political context (McQuaid 2000, MacDonald and Cheong 2014).

Although generalizations are largely not productive, scholars have identified potential advantages, disadvantages, and successful characteristics of most PPPs. Advantages include greater access to financial and intellectual resources, increased efficiency, breakdown of stereotypes between sectors (McQuaid 2000), and growth in community engagement and empowerment (MacDonald and Cheong 2014). Potential disadvantages of PPPs include unequal power structures, organizational problems, and differences in philosophy between sectors or agencies (McQuaid 2000). In general, characteristics of successful partnerships include clarity of objectives, effective communication, supportive infrastructure, and trust (ibid.). Within the heritage sector, successful PPPs involve "partners [that] have undergone a 'paradigm shift' in which the public partner becomes more market sensitive, and the private partner accepts more social responsibility" (MacDonald and Cheong 2014, 26). This paradigm shift displaces the traditional mistrust between the government and private sector in which the government believes the private sector will act to prioritize the bottom line, and the private sector views the government as unnecessarily bureaucratic (ibid.).

Studying Up

In "Up the Anthropologist: Perspectives Gained From Studying Up" (1972), anthropologist Laura Nader calls for the study of the institutions, processes, and people who exercise power and responsibility in the United States bureaucracy. Writing in

1972, Nader identifies a need to flip the traditional dominate-subordinate anthropologist-subject relationship on its head and study "the culture of power rather than the culture of the powerless" (ibid., 5). This is one way in which to make the familiar unfamiliar. For example, Nader advocates for studying the effects of the insurance industry, transportation systems, and municipal officials in a city instead of the urban poor. When studying up, questions change, and the theories develop more fully (ibid.). Behind the "facelessness of bureaucratic society", those in power make decisions that affect our daily lives (ibid., 5). This is one of the reasons the practice of studying institutions, industries, and agencies and "describing unwritten customary behaviors" is important (ibid., 6). Their study and description are what will allow the civilian (the power-less) to understand and, ultimately, access the bureaucratic stratum of society. This access is fundamental within a democratic framework (ibid.). Because areas of power may be exclusive, Nader identifies interviews as well as internal and public documents as significant methodological tools where opportunities for participant observation are limited. As mentioned earlier, anthropologist Lynn Meskell (2018) exemplifies answering Nader's call by conducting extensive ethnographic work regarding the bureaucratic backrooms of UNESCO.

The Colonial Quarter LLC. has been managed by the state of Florida, the city of St. Augustine, and the University of Florida (UF). Since 2013, it has been co-managed by the Pat Croce Company via a public-private partnership with UF. The site has been a significant installment in historic downtown St. Augustine since the 1970s. Local residents have expressed mixed opinions regarding the evolution of the site over time. The expansion of the heritage tourism market in St. Augustine has direct consequences

on the quality of life for local residents related to crowding and environmental sustainability concerns. Studying the management body of St. Augustine's historic properties, UFHSA, is intended to help the St. Augustine community understand and access the organization that holds extensive influence in the city's heritage tourism-based economy. This study is also intended to help community members that may feel that their heritage is not represented equally or accurately do the same.

Chapter Five: Research Design

The primary aim of this study is to understand the effect of the public-private partnership established at the site now known as the Colonial Quarter in St. Augustine, Florida. From 1960 to 2011, the site was under public control through city or state organizations. This period encompasses management by the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission (renamed the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board in 1968) via the state and the Department of Heritage Tourism and Historic Preservation via the city. It also includes the period from 2009 to 2011 when the properties were under University of Florida (UF) management but were being operated by the city of St. Augustine. After fifty years of public management, the University of Florida sought a private partner to operate the site. To assess the effect of the public-private partnership, several research questions were asked:

- How has the transition from state and/or city operation to partial private management affected the sites' presentation of history?

- How do different actors in the site's public-private partnership influence the presentation of history at the Colonial Quarter?

- What are the benefits and challenges of the public-private partnership management model between the University of Florida Historic St. Augustine Direct Support Organization and the Colonial Quarter LLC.?

Through visits to the Colonial Quarter (Appendix A) and semi-structured interviews with the Executive Director, members of the UF Historic St. Augustine (UFHSA) Board, and site staff, I attempted to understand how the public-private partnership between UF and the Colonial Quarter functions on the ground. This understanding was supplemented by a review of the publicly available UFHSA Board minutes. Then, by using archival material related to the site dating back to the 1960s, I built an understanding of how the site functioned throughout time prior to entrance into partnership with a private entity. With this point of comparison, I was able to analyze the current public-private partnership within the historical context of the site's management. Semi-structured interviews, public documents, and archival material were analyzed thematically, allowing me to make conclusions regarding the effect of the public-private partnership at the Colonial Quarter.

Selection Impetus

The public-private partnership between the University of Florida and the Colonial Quarter LLC. was chosen for this research project due to the unique nature of the management model. When the UFHSA DSO was created in 2007, Florida Statutes 267.1735 and 267.1736 were based on a law that had created an almost identical structure of management at the University of West Florida (UWF). The University of West Florida established a non-profit DSO, the UWF Historic Trust, in 2001 to manage state-owned properties in Pensacola, Florida. Aside from UWF and UF, it is uncommon that a university is deemed a managing agency of the state for over thirty urban properties. This model has operated for twenty-two years in Pensacola and fourteen years in St. Augustine. UF's takeover of historic properties from the city of St. Augustine in 2009

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likely prevented the semi-permanent closure of my field site, named the Colonial Spanish

Quarter at the time. I selected the Colonial Quarter in order to investigate the public-

private partnership that was formed between the Colonial Quarter LLC. and the

University of Florida in an effort to restore the site's sustainability. MacDonald and

Cheong (2014) call for more case studies of PPPs in the heritage sector that examine how

they've been used, including pros and cons, in order to assist the sector in developing

sustainable management models (74). This project is designed to analyze the potential of

the Colonial Quarter's specific management model for mitigating funding issues

experienced by heritage sites across the nation.

Museum Ethnography

The research methodology for this project follows the approach of museum

ethnography. The Colonial Quarter is no longer a museum. However, it features written

and verbal interpretive information that accompanies exhibition spaces in an area

covering two acres. In this way, it is comparable to the Colonial Spanish Quarter, the

museum organization that occupied the site from 2003 to 2011 under City management.

Museum Anthropologist Christina Kreps (2020) asserts that for museum ethnographers,

"the museum and related spaces are multifaceted field sites for exploring internal

processes behind the making of collections, exhibitions, and educational programming

besides subjects such as the politics of cultural representation, identity construction, and

nation-building" (39). Handler and Gable's (1997) *Old History in a New Museum:*

Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg, one of the first museum ethnographies, has

served as a methodological model for this project. Museum ethnography methods such as

in-depth interviews with front-line interpreters and leadership, transcription of

programming and interpretive material, and institutional archival research are utilized in this project. The above methods are borrowed from Handler and Gable (1997) in particular as the ethnographers explore CW's managerial model, an element of investigation less common in the literature regarding living history sites of colonial heritage. As sites of difficult heritage (MacDonald 2009), ethnographic research conducted at sites of colonial heritage is often focused primarily on interpretive information and the politics of cultural representation (Benjamin and Alderman 2017; Gable 2006; Hughes 2019, Peck 2018; Tyson 2008; Wilkinson 2019). Utilizing museum ethnography methods in this project allowed me to assess how statements made by leadership have or have not come to fruition "on the ground" (Handler and Gable 1997), as well as gather contextual information about the site that was not shared during the interview process.

Participants

Participants were selected based on their involvement with the Colonial Quarter site and their role as an actor in the site's public-private partnership. The list includes two individuals from the private branch of the partnership and two from the public branch. To understand the day-to-day operation at the Colonial Quarter, its organizational structure, and the details of the partnership, I spoke to Cindy Stavely and Ariel Brestin. Cindy Stavely is the Executive Director of the Colonial Quarter and has been involved in the partnership with UF since the initial proposal in 2011. Stavely oversees all site operations except the management of the food and beverage entities. Additionally, her husband, John Stavely, is a substitute tour guide at the site and assists in training new guides.

Ariel Brestin is a tour guide at the Colonial Quarter and has been employed at the site for the past eight years. She is also a tour guide for other businesses in St. Augustine. Ms. Brestin has several years of experience leading tours for St. Augustine visitors and particularly the school groups that make up a significant amount of the Colonial Quarter's visitation.

To understand the values of the UFHSA board and the details of the partnership, I spoke to Linda Dixon and Herschel Shepard. Both individuals are members of the University of Florida Historic St. Augustine Board and have been involved in the partnership since the initial proposal in 2011. Linda Dixon is the Director of Planning for the University of Florida and serves as the Director of Operations and Administration for the UFHSA Board. She was on the selection committee during the Invitation to Negotiate process required for UF's selection of a private partner. She remains at the University of Florida and in her role on the UFHSA board at the time of writing.

Herschel Shepard is a Professor Emeritus at the University of Florida who taught Architecture and Historic Preservation. He retired from UF in 1997 but has remained involved in the community and joined the UFHSA Board at its inception in 2009. He also served on the Board's Education, Interpretation, and Facilities Committee, responsible for overseeing the Colonial Quarter interpretative material. Mr. Shepard remains on the UFHSA Board at the time of writing.

It is important to note the limitations of this selection process. There are currently fourteen members on the UFHSA Board. Linda Dixon was chosen for her intimate knowledge of the Invitation to Negotiate process as well as the technicalities of the public-private partnership. Additionally, Herschel Shepard was chosen due to his historic

involvement with preservation in the city of St. Augustine and role on the UFHSA Board's Education, Interpretation, and Facilities Committee. As Ms. Dixon mentioned to me, each board member might have a different answer to some of the questions that were asked in the semi-structured interview (personal interview, August 11, 2022). According to Mr. Shepard, there are differing views on the Board due to the diversity of professional backgrounds and specializations (personal interview, August 18, 2022). This limitation should be acknowledged but does not diminish the valuable perspectives provided by the participants.

Research Methods

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the chosen four participants. The interviews with Cindy Stavely and Ariel Brestin were conducted on-site in St. Augustine, in a private area of the Colonial Quarter. The interview with Linda Dixon was completed via zoom due to her location in Gainesville, Florida. Similarly, the interview with Herschel Shepard was conducted via telephone due to his location in Jacksonville, Florida. All of the interviews were conducted in July and August of 2022. All participants opted to waive anonymity and signed informed consent forms prior to questioning.

A set of sixteen questions were written prior to arrival in the field (Appendix C). These questions served as a template from which the exact set of prompts utilized in each interview was built. The majority of questions remained the same between each interview, though some were omitted based on the role and scope of knowledge of the interviewee. For example, the participant employed as a tour guide was not asked specific questions about the public-private partnership as they were not aware of the details. The

opportunity to probe allowed by semi-structured interviewing was utilized to explore

further certain details or experiences mentioned by the interviewees.

Document Review

I utilized publicly available documents from the University of Florida Historic St.

Augustine website. These documents included Board and Committee minutes dating to

the first formal meeting in 2011. Each record of the meeting was reviewed and approved

by the Board prior to release. The documents provide invaluable information about the

timeline of the public-private partnership, who was involved, and the challenges or

successes that arose in the process. The Board and Committee documents help to mediate

the limitations presented by the interview selection process by offering other Board

members perspectives on various situations.

Archival Research

During my fieldwork, I utilized the robust resource that is the St. Augustine Historical

Society. Established in 1883, the St. Augustine Historical Society holds records dating to

1594. I was able to review the archives by street address, which presented me with

newspaper articles, publicity materials, and other public documents related to my field

site since the St. George Street restoration in 1960. Through newspaper articles and

publicity material related to the living history interpretive program at San Agustín

Antiguo, Spanish Quarter Museum, Spanish Quarter Village, and Colonial Spanish

Quarter, I was able to reconstruct a picture of how the site operated throughout time prior

to the site being leased to the Pat Croce Company. It was necessary to establish this

picture to consider how the site may have changed due to the public-private partnership.

All archival source material is provided generously by the St. Augustine Historical Society.

Participant Observation

In order to understand the Colonial Quarter's day-to-day operation as well as its historical product, I incorporated participant observation into my research design. I attended and audio-recorded five tours with permission from the Executive Director. Each tour was led by a different guide at varying times of the day. This was done to gather a representative sample of the Colonial Quarter's interpretive program (Handler and Gable 1997; Tyson 2008; Wilkinson 2019). Each tour guide is given a basic outline of what they should discuss on their tour, but much of the content, form of delivery, and style is at their discretion. It was important to understand the historical product of each tour guide in order to have a holistic view of the information that the Colonial Quarter provides for its patrons. I participated as a member of the tour group, recording the guide's route, highlighted areas, main interpretive points, and visitor questions if applicable. During my fieldwork, I also took photographs of interpretive panels on site grounds, totaling over fifty, to later be transcribed. This data set was collected to serve as a reference during analysis of the site's interpretive programming (Nitikin 2019).

Data Analysis

I used NVivo to analyze and code the transcripts of my interviews, public documents from the UFHSA Board, and the primary source material identified in my archival research. Thematic analysis was employed to search for patterns emerging within the data and create categories for analysis (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane 2006). Themes were determined as they appeared using a data-driven inductive approach to create a list of

emerging themes (ibid.). This list was reduced to a smaller number of prominent themes (Appendix D), at which time a codebook was created. The codebook provided a name for the theme, description, verbatim example, and any notes to clarify differentiation if necessary. From thematic analysis, I was able to synthesize conclusions across documents and identify the answer to my research questions.

Furthermore, I used NVivo to generate a word frequency diagram (Figure 23) for one of my data sets (Luque et al. 2013). The data set (Appendix B) includes fifty-four newspaper articles dating from 1970 to 2013. These articles were located in the St. Augustine Historical Society database. The articles are from a variety of regional and local newspapers, though primarily from the St. *Augustine Record* (38). Other newspapers include the *Times Union and Journal* (2), *The Explorer* (1), *The St. Augustine Compass* (4), *Foilioweekly* (1), *The Gainesville Sun* (1), and an unknown source (7). The lack of source information for seven articles is a limitation, but it can be reasonably assumed that they are from a local or regional newspaper based on the collecting practices of the St. Augustine Historical Society. All fifty-four articles are reporter articles and feature the Colonial Quarter (or one of its iterations) as the main subject. Words excluded from the frequency diagram include common prepositions and conjunctions that NVivo's word frequency query feature does not include by default. The word frequency diagram reflects the fifty most frequent words featured in the fifty-four articles analyzed. Word Frequency Diagram 1 was created with the intention of understanding how management valued and marketed the site between 1970 and 2013.

Ethics

My work is guided by the ethical guidelines for anthropological research outlined by the American Anthropological Association. Prior to entering the field, my research design, including interview questions and consent forms, was reviewed by the University of Denver Institutional Review Board. In the field, I assumed the responsibility of conducting my research without introducing any unjust risks to participants and respecting their autonomy. Prior to each interview, the participant was provided with an informed consent form describing the purpose of the research project as well as the anticipated risks and benefits. Each interviewee was instructed to inform the researcher if they wished to remain anonymous, at which point they chose to waive that option. At the conclusion of the interview, I confirmed that choice with each participant, and they provided further verbal confirmation. Furthermore, I operated with the awareness that one of my participants was an employee vulnerable to punitive action by their employer. I presented the interview transcript to said employee for their review and approval prior to incorporating their words into my research.

Chapter Six: Findings and Results

The Transition from Public to Public-Private Entity

Fear exists in the heritage field that involving the private sector may lead to comprised conservation ideals and values in pursuit of short-term profit (MacDonald and Cheong 2014). This concern is held by both heritage professionals and the public, particularly communities that have a direct connection to heritage places due to geographic proximity or cultural ties. For example, at Quarantine Station in Sydney, Australia, the local population spearheaded a public inquiry to assess the impact of a proposed public-private partnership's development and investigate whether using a PPP would "compromise the site's heritage values" (ibid., 39). MacDonald and Cheong (2014) point to the community concern expressed in the Quarantine Station case study as indicative of "public perceptions" regarding the involvement of private companies in the heritage sector. Informal interviews with local residents introduced me to a similar concern within the St. Augustine community regarding the Colonial Quarter. One individual affiliated with a local St. Augustine historical institution expressed the belief that the site is now a "shadow of its former self" as it was under state and city management. As discussed previously, the site at 21 – 37 St. George Street was under state management from 1966 to 1997 and city management from 1997 to 2009. After 2009, the University of Florida (UF) became the managing agency of the state and leased

the site to the city for an additional two years. In 2013, the University of Florida entered into a public-private partnership with the Colonial Quarter LLC. This marks the first instance of private sector involvement at 21 – 37 St. George Street. In this section, I investigate how the PPP between the University of Florida and the Colonial Quarter LLC. has affected the interpretive programming and functions of the site.

Public Education - School Groups

The site at 21 – 37 St. George Street has a long history of supporting and prioritizing educational programming for school groups from the state of Florida. Most groups are comprised of fourth graders, as Florida social studies curricula standards require state history to be taught in this year (Florida Department of Education 2021). The practice of prioritizing school group education has been part of site management since the origin of San Agustín Antiguo in 1966. Operated by the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission, San Agustín Antiguo conducted approximately 1,654 educational tours for school groups in the fall of 1974 (St. Augustine Record 1974a). Mailable publicity material for San Agustín Antiguo's 1985 interpretive program claims that "a student is able to acquire more knowledge and understanding of colonial America than can be gained by many hours of classroom and book learning" (San Agustín Foundation 1985). San Agustín Antiguo's "Adventures in Learning" program featured a "flexibly designed learning experience that [could] be altered to fit the educational needs of any audience" (ibid.). The site suggests that educators share specific learning needs or goals prior to arrival in order for the tour to best accommodate them. Furthermore, the advertisement claims that the program is "exceptionally effective when experienced in conjunction with a learning unit on Florida history" (ibid.). A St. Augustine Record

article titled "Area students learn history of old St. Augustine through tour" provides a

snapshot of the school tours offered in 1983:

> The next house on the tour was the De Hita House. This house in particular is
> used for "special hands-on learning activities." Señora de Hita, actually Mary
> Cornett, showed the children more about the lifestyle of the past. Señora de
> Hita passed around a bowl of ground cornmeal for the children to touch.
> Later, she gave each child a piece of flax from a big brown wooden bowl and
> a drop spindle that would make the flax into thread. "You twist it and drop it,"
> Señora de Hita instructed. While most of the children stayed inside trying to
> spin the flax, Señora de Hita took three or four boys outside to show them
> how to make wooden pegs. "This is a chore that children had to do in those
> days," she said. After the boys pounded the wood pieces through the shaping
> holes that formed the pegs, Señora de Hita showed them how to use a bow
> drill (Crowell 1983).

This description of a 1983 San Agustín Antiguo tour can be viewed in comparison

with tours conducted at the site today. The following excerpt is from a tour led at

the Colonial Quarter on July 9, 2022:

> Did you get to hold the chainmail young man? Nice, ready- oh, that's heavy.
> All right, let me see that. I'll show you all the power of the chainmail while
> we're waiting for the helmet to get back here- here, young man, try to stab my
> hand through this chainmail-
>
> > [Young audience member stabs chainmail with play sword.]
>
> See, the chainmail is stronger than even his sharp and pointy and dangerous
> sword. There you go, let's keep passing that on forward, and then we can go
> to our Blacksmithing shop where we get to go play with some fire. Thank you
> very much, sir, right this way everybody (personal observation, 2022).

The following is an excerpt from a tour led at the Colonial Quarter on July 13, 2023:

> Now, this is how we load the cargo – the gold, the silver, the iron. This is the
> pulley system. You knew about that right? Invented by the Greeks. This is all
> fifty pounds – that's one pulley, two pulleys, one, two, three pulleys. It's all
> engineering – tension, resistance. One pulley – I can do it, I don't want to
> throw my back out, but I can do it. Two pulleys it starts getting easier. Three
> pulleys you can almost do it with one hand.

[Child audience member tries to lift the three pulleys, two pulleys, one pulley. Encouraged by guide and other audience members.]

Guide: Good job buddy! You don't need a gym membership, you just come here every morning (personal observation, 2022).

The above excerpts are from tours provided for the general public, as I was unable to observe school group tours during the summer. However, they demonstrate the ability of currently practicing Colonial Quarter tour guides to engage young children by employing similar methods as those used in 1983. The children are encouraged to interact directly with the interpretive materials, such as chainmail and the pulley system, as they were Señora de Hita's cornmeal and flax. The living history nature of the site, which has existed since its origin, allows for interactive learning via period-appropriate characters created by the museum.
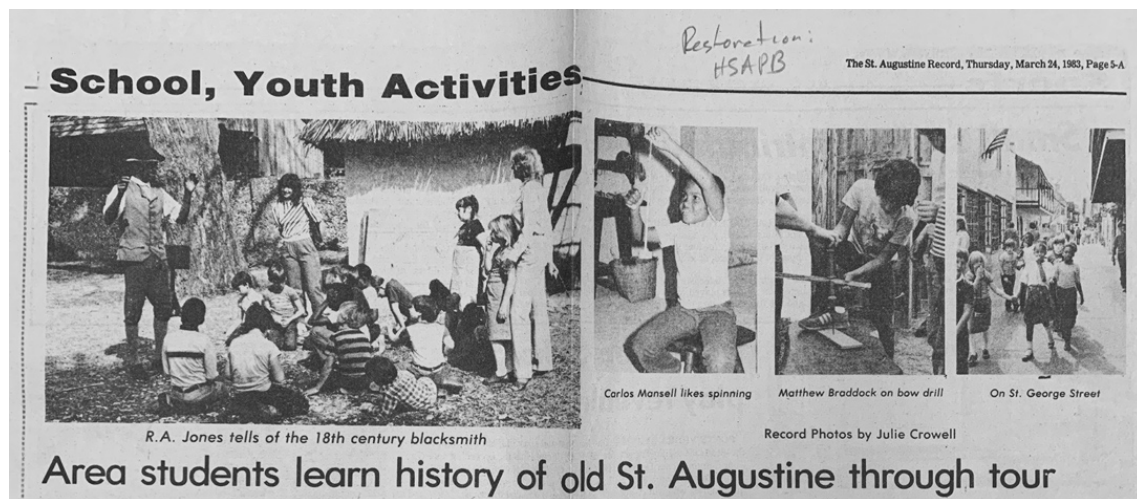
Figure 9: San Augustín Antiguo, 1983, Courtesy of the St. Augustine Historical Society.

Figure 10: Colonial Quarter Interactive Pulley System Display. July 14, 2022.

The site's public education role related to school groups has been a priority since the first iteration of its interpretation. An educator who visited in 1983 provided positive feedback, stating, "Your facilities are like really being there. This was quite an experience, our children absorbed valuable background knowledge and experience... the guides enthusiasm was especially contagious" (Leduc 1983). San Agustín Antiguo's public education effort reached many, as 14,525 students were recorded visiting the site during the 1983-1984 school year (St. Augustine Record 1984). The 12% increase observed from the year prior was credited to the Adventures in Learning initiative described above, developed by museum education program specialist Eloise Cole (ibid.). It was believed to have achieved such popularity due to the program's objective for students to take a hands-on, active role in learning (ibid.).

Visitation by school groups only increased in the following decade. In 1993, 26,102 Florida history students were recorded visiting the Spanish Quarter (Hanley 1993). Reporting by the St. Augustine Record notes that students traveled from as far as Dade County to "learn about the lifestyles of the early colonists" (ibid.). In 1998, approximately 32,000 child school groups toured the Spanish Quarter Village, a statistic happily reported by Museum Manager Tracy Spikes (Merlo 1998). Regarding the 1998 museum programming, Spikes stated, "From a museum standpoint, we are proud of our educational program... we are trying to get the word out... history does not have to be dry and boring. It can be fun and exciting" (ibid.). The following summer, the Spanish Quarter Village held a week-long "Summer History Camp," during which nine fourth-grade St. Johns County students toured St. Augustine historic areas. The program was organized by theme, each day corresponding to a focus such as military, food, archaeology, architecture, and domestic or trade crafts. According to the Ocean Palms Elementary School Teacher who supervised the group, "it [was] perfect for this age group, this is the age when students study Florida history" (Merlo 1998a). In 1999, the Museum Manager reported a 10% increase in the number of school tours to over 46,000 participants during the 1998-1999 school year (Merlo 1999). From 1966 to the turn of the century, it is evident that the site prioritized the education of school groups. The majority of visitors are fourth graders from the state of Florida, though there are also students who travel from out-of-state to learn about St. Augustine's history.

During the first decade of the twenty-first century, the site was plagued with growing financial challenges that will be discussed in more detail below. In sum, visitation was not providing enough revenue to offset the cost of operation, and the city was struggling

to find funding. Throughout this time, visitation by Florida school groups remained strong and provided most of the incoming revenue to the Spanish Quarter Village museum. In 2010, it was reported that only approximately 50,000 visitors attended the site, and most of them were school groups (St. Augustine Record 2010). Though the site suffered from a lack of attendance generally, school group tours remained an important sector of its visitor base. This trend carried over in the transition to a public-private partnership with the Colonial Quarter, LLC. The Colonial Quarter still provides hands-on, interactive tours for school groups led by passionate living history guides with the goal of making history fun. Cindy Stavely, Executive Director of the Colonial Quarter, shares that: "One of our biggest priorities is our educational field trip program. We really like to offer the fourth-grade students that are studying Florida history a fun, interactive yet educational experience" (personal interview, August 3, 2022). The Colonial Quarter also offers tours for fourth graders specifically geared toward their curriculum and "what they need to hear and learn" (ibid.). Beyond fourth grade, the Colonial Quarter dedicates resources to general educational field trip interpretive programming. Stavely describes future plans to bolster this effort:

> We have some plans going forward of expanding our educational field trip program. We have a new program that we are going to add for the 2023 school year. A colonial family life program with a piece of a historic preservation exhibit along with it... in the Gallegos House (ibid.).

Ariel Brestin, a tour guide who has been employed at the Colonial Quarter for eight years, describes how the site accommodates school groups: "The teacher will come up and say, 'Hey, we're doing a unit specifically looking at this or we are tackling this from this angle, can you help us a little bit with that? And then of course, if I've got the info,

I'm happy to give it" (personal interview, August 2, 2022). Both Stavely and Brestin

speak to the Colonial Quarter's readiness to tailor their interpretive programming to the

specific needs of school groups and accommodate requests from educators. Ariel Brestin

describes how important youth education is to her as a tour guide:

> For me, the big thing is outreach towards children and families. Obviously, I want to reach adults as well, but I think kids get so easily discouraged from learning and from history and from asking questions and my tour tries to be very, very indulgent of that. So, for me, in my tour, it is a fun place to learn and a safe place to ask questions (ibid.)

Brestin believes her role as a tour guide for school groups at the Colonial Quarter

extends beyond simply sharing information to supporting their learning outside

the site as well. In response to being asked, "In your opinion, what is the most

important function of the site?" Brestin answers:

> I have met a lot of kids over the years who, especially at first, weren't sure if they should ask a question because they were scared of asking a dumb question. You can tell that either a grown-up or a kid just stomped on this one until they learned that anything they asked would be met with derision. So, sometimes I have to do a little work to get them to a point where they will ask the questions that they want to ask. But unfortunately, we live in a world where, often, adults don't really think too much about what they say to kids or how it might feel to that child and a lot of these kids - sometimes they'll be coming from underfunded schools where they're not getting much attention, and they have kind of come to regard learning as something openly hostile to them. And I have to convince those kids that it's okay, this will not hurt, I promise this will be fun (ibid.).

As a tour guide, Brestin has significantly more influence over the actual educational

outcomes of school group field trips than Executive Director Cindy Stavely. Following

initial training and evaluation, Colonial Quarter tour guides essentially operate on their

own. As long as they discuss the general talking point guidelines from UF, they are free

to develop their personal interpretative tour as they choose. It is clear that Brestin's

dedication to educating school groups does not come from leadership directives but from

a genuine personal desire to contribute to youth public education. Additionally, this effort

is generally well-received by educators and parents. Brestin paraphrases one of her

"favorite reviews that [she] ever got" that encapsulates "what [she]'s shooting for... [her]

big ambition":

> A woman said, 'My seven-year-old isn't honestly interested in anything
> outside of Roblox, but we took this tour, and now he wants to be a blacksmith,
> and he has a million questions about St. Augustine and about the old days and
> what people did before cars, and he's asking me all these questions, and this is
> the first time we've seen him like this' (ibid.).

Brestin considers supporting youth learning and educational field trips to be central to her

identity as a historical tour guide at the Colonial Quarter. Her personal ambition is

supported by leadership that places equal value on this aspect of the site's programming.

Linda Dixon, a member of the University of Florida Historic St. Augustine (UFHSA)

Board, notes how important school group tours are for the Colonial Quarter as part of its

public education function:

> I think the school tours have always been an important component because...
> in Florida, fourth-grade is the year they really get the focus on Florida history
> and so that's not exclusively, but typically, it's a fourth-grade field trip. My
> kids did it back in the 90s when they were in fourth grade. So, that's kind of a
> long tradition in St. Augustine that school field trips come there, and they
> come from all over, you know, they'll come from Orlando, Jacksonville,
> Gainesville, probably points farther than that too. I think that's an important
> part, and that's sort of generally under the public education piece of it
> (personal interview, August 11, 2022).

The Colonial Quarter's practice of accommodating school groups continues a long-

established tradition in St. Augustine and the surrounding region. Dixon notes that "there

had always been a strong school tour component that was something that the city had

done, and...even before then the state... and that the Croce team has continued to do"

(ibid.). Interviews with Executive Director Cindy Stavely, Colonial Quarter tour guide

Ariel Brestin, and UFHSA Board Member Linda Dixon clearly show that school group

education is a primary function of the site today. The identified consensus across actors –

public and private, leadership and front-line – is critical in fulfilling this objective.

Though the interpretive programming itself has shifted as the site transitioned to a public-

private partnership, the site's focus on educating school groups has not. This priority is

understood by the current managing body, Executive Director, and front-line interpreter

at the Colonial Quarter.

Edutainment

Edutainment in the heritage sector is generally considered to lie at the intersection of

education related to cultural activities and the commerce of the entertainment world

(Hannigan 1998). Hertzman et al. (2008) define "edutainment heritage tourist attractions"

as "institutions that intentionally combine entertainment technologies and historic

contents in formats which are characterized as maximizing, simultaneously, the

educational and entertainment values of those contents" (155). Though some may

conceptualize public museums as outside the realm of edutainment, the increasingly

competitive heritage tourism economy has prompted a number of museums to promote

their entertainment value to appeal to visitors. This "hybridization" of education and

entertainment is "challenging traditional definitions of what constitutes an educational

experience and creating new ways heritage representations can be consumed" (ibid.).

Today, those who manage, lead, and work at the Colonial Quarter utilize the word

edutainment to describe the interpretive programming at the site. However, since this

term was not introduced until the 1990s, one must rely on adjacent terminology to

understand the role of edutainment in the site's first several decades of interpretation. For instance, phrases and terms such as "hands-on adventure" (Leduc 1983), "escapism" (Meehan 2002), "history coming alive" (The Explorer 1978), and "for the enjoyment of visitors" (Harvey 1994), indicate a tendency toward edutainment. Furthermore, there are several instances in which a push for "entertainment" is described while the educational purpose of the site is implied. In this section, I will explore the evolution of a focus on entertainment value (later, edutainment value) at 21 – 37 St. George Street.

In 1978, a visit to San Agustín Antiguo is described vividly as follows:

> To some people, history is just a dusty collection of long-forgotten facts and events hidden away inside scholarly volumes on library shelves. But for visitors to St. Augustine, history comes alive. Resurrected like a fabled phoenix risen from the ashes of the past. And history doesn't have to be boring. Or without relevance to present (The Explorer 1978).

The concept that history should be more than just a collection of dates and events is echoed in 1983 by museum tour guide Joan Scott, who states, "The guides don't worry too much about the children remembering dates... the hands-on experience is much more important" (Crowell 1983). This practice appeared to take hold in earnest following the introduction of San Agustín Antiguo's Adventures in Learning programming in 1983. The initiative is described as a "hands-on adventure" in which visitors are able to practice eighteenth-century skills and engage in some "play-acting" as a Spanish colonist (Leduc 1983). The site, which has utilized living history interpretive techniques since its origin, embraced the ability of living history to present more casual displays that can engage visitors in a way that breaks down some of the perceptions of museums as elitist and alienating (Shafernich 1993). By advertising their interpretive programming as an "adventure," the marketing rhetoric implies that the experience will be fun and

exploratory, open to all who would like to join. This is then confirmed by tour guides who prioritize the hands-on experience over the memorization of events and dates, as described above. Living history techniques are often used as a marketing and interpretive strategy, advertising liveliness and excitement to be competitive in the heritage tourism market (Malcom-Davies 2004). In 1983, San Agustín Antiguo was advertising its ability to make history "come alive" in order to attract visitors of all ages.

Living history activities "for the enjoyment of visitors" were still the main interpretive strategy of the site in the 1990s (Harvey 1994). Mike Wells, a blacksmith at the Spanish Quarter Museum for eight years in 1995, shares that "he feels museums are not simply to entertain, but to educate by giving correct and interesting information in an enjoyable manner" (Lane 1995). This statement is particularly interesting as Mr. Wells places entertainment before education in his description of museums ("not simply to entertain, but to educate"). In the popular conception of public museums, most individuals would likely place education before an entertainment function. Following this phrase, Mr. Wells describes what is essentially an edutainment model: "to educate by giving correct and interesting information in an enjoyable manner" (ibid.). This statement by a frontline interpreter indicates that the Spanish Quarter Museum was operating on an edutainment model in 1995, perhaps even placing entertainment ahead of education. The Museum Managers in 1998, Tracy Spikes, and 1999, Lisa Calvert, confirm this theory. Echoing envy of Colonial Williamsburg that has existed in St. Augustine since early restoration efforts in the 1960s, Tracy Spikes states, "Our primary mission is to have an entertaining, educational, and open-air village museum that shows the Spanish colonial side of St. Augustine" (Merlo 1998). The following year under new management, Lisa

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Calvert inadvertently calls back to the 1978 description of San Agustin Antiguo, sharing

that she "doesn't view history as a dry topic that's taught only using books and tests...she

finds ways every day to bring St. Augustine's history alive to tourists and locals" (Merlo

1999). The site has marketed its living history techniques as particularly conducive to

entertaining adventures while encouraging tour guides to provide an engaging experience

with history since its early interpretive programming.

From 2000 to 2010, it is known that the site continued to utilize hands-on, interactive

living history interpretation techniques. Publicity materials from the 2000s confirm this

assertion. Advertising for the Spanish Quarter Village promotes an experience in which a

visitor "will experience what life was like in mid-18th century Spanish St. Augustine"

while they "stroll from house to house and meet the residents and craftspeople of this

unique military garrison community" (Department Heritage Tourism N.d.*a*). The site is

marketed as a "unique experience" in which the visitor is allowed to create their own

interpretive adventure by strolling through the museum at their leisure and engaging with

whichever interpreters they choose. A visitor's guide to the Colonial Spanish Quarter

from 2003 expresses a similar sentiment, instructing visitors to

> Just follow the map and visit with each person for as long or short as you
> wish, or you can come back later and speak with them if you have another
> question... feel free to move back and forth or walk through the gardens or
> have a cool drink at the Taberna del Gallo... the important thing is that you
> have gone back in time, when life was a little more relaxed, and most people
> didn't even own a watch! (Department Heritage Tourism 2003).

The above excerpt appeals to customer comfort, entertainment, and escapism.

Visitors are reminded of their freedom to experience the site as they wish by choosing

when and where to engage with living history interpreters. They are also encouraged to

relax and hydrate with a cool drink at the Taberna del Gallo, a tavern adjacent to the site operated by the museum. Lastly, the visitor is told that the most important thing is that they forgot the time period in which they live, escaping to somewhere in the past in which watches don't even exist. An appeal to escapism has been observed at other living history sites that recreate eras of the past (Handler and Gable 1997; Lowenthal 1985). The demonstrated focus on visitor experience speaks to concern not only with the educational outcomes of their visit but also their general entertainment.

In 2009, the site was leased to the city of St. Augustine by UF. At this time, the daily operation of the site fell under the purview of the Department of Heritage Tourism and Historic Preservation. The department's executive director, Dana Ste. Claire, had the goal of creating a "village atmosphere that [was] green, vital, educational, and inviting," based on his view that "people don't want to be lectured. They want to be engaged, touched" (Guinta 2009). Toward this effort, city officials shared they were not ashamed of the "shameless stealing" of ideas from Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia (ibid.). In subsequent efforts to revitalize the Colonial Spanish Quarter, an "early goal [was] to define what is both educational and entertaining" (Guinta 2011a). City manager Joe Regan stated that the key was to determine what the customers are looking for from a living history site sharing St. Augustine's Spanish colonial heritage. The above statements by Ste. Claire and Regan indicate that efforts to revitalize the Colonial Spanish Quarter were focused on customer satisfaction and entertainment, with an educational component implied. A prioritization of customer satisfaction at living history sites has been found to compromise critical engagement with educational material (Bardnt 2007; Bruner 1993;

Dicks 2003; Gable 2006; Handler and Gabler 1997; Tyson 2008; Waitt 2000). This assertion will be considered related to the Colonial Quarter below.

The Colonial Quarter has continued to demonstrate a prioritization of the site's edutainment status following the transition to a public-private partnership in 2013. Minutes from a UFHSA Board meeting attended by Pat Croce, owner, and president of the Colonial Quarter LLC., note that he was "very interested in authenticity, while delivering an entertaining, learning experience for visitors" (UFHSA 2012c). This was reported by the UFHA's Education, Interpretation, and Facilities Committee, responsible for reviewing the content of the Colonial Quarter's interpretive panels. At the beginning of the partnership, it is evident that the UFHSA Board recognizes and supports the Colonial Quarter's goal for an edutainment experience. In 2013, John Stavely, husband of Executive Director Cindy Stavely and Director of Historic Programming at the Colonial Quarter, stated that the site was going to be an "exciting place, combining entertainment with real history" (Jordan 2013). This excerpt indicates that Pat Croce's edutainment goals were understood and reproduced by staff responsible for the creation and execution of interpretive programming.

Under Colonial Quarter leadership, tours at the site continued to focus on fun and education, with guests "learning and laughing [their] way through" the tour (Kimbleton 2014). In 2015, Pat Croce described the four centers of the Colonial Quarter enterprise as living history, food and beverage, retail, and events (UFHSA 2015a). This model indicates that the major functions of the site extend beyond public education to revenue, entertainment, and customer satisfaction. Indeed, the site is described as "buzzing and fun... getting great reviews" in 2018 (UFHSA 2018e). Today, executive director Cindy

Stavely views a strategic delivery of history as critical to sharing the story of St. Augustine. Stavely states, "I think we will get more and more people in to share that authentic history by making it fun, entertaining, and not like they're going to school. You know, making history fun. That's the most important thing" (personal interview, August 3, 2022). Stavely views the edutainment method as critical to visitor engagement, noting, "You have to put some entertainment and fun in there, you can't just talk right off the script or you're going to lose [the audience]" (ibid.). Ariel Brestin, a tour guide at the Colonial Quarter, makes the same argument based on her experience interacting directly with the audience. Brestin describes her role at the site: "I primarily make history interesting enough for eight-year-olds but also detailed enough for their grown-ups. And it is a lot of fun. It's mostly me, presenting history in a way that they'll pay attention to and hopefully sinks in" (personal interview, August 2, 2022). The strategy for getting them to pay attention, according to Brestin, is making witty jokes, contemporary references, and asking the audience questions. All these methods generally serve to entertain and therefore engage the audience in supplementation to the historical information shared to fulfill educational objectives.

When asked if she was familiar with any mission, vision, or goal statements of the Colonial Quarter, Brestin responded: "We're definitely in the business of edutainment. The way that we educate you is we entertain you first...so it's this vision that is very much we want to teach, we want you to learn, we want to make sure our information is correct, and we want you to have a good time while we do all this" (personal interview, August 2, 2022). This excerpt demonstrates that Brestin's training at the Colonial Quarter included a focus on edutainment values. Beyond her training, Brestin believes in the

efficacy of combining entertainment and education based on her personal experience interacting with audience members. This approach is one taken by each of the four Colonial Quarter tour guides I was able to observe.

Tour Guide 1 on July 9, 2022:

> [At the Blacksmith Shop] Now I know you all didn't come here to see me throw axes. You came here to see me play with fire. Well, okay if you insist. Now if we're going to play with some fire, of course I need to don my safety gear. One singular leather glove… and open-toed shoes [audience laughter]. Now, this is *red hot* black iron. Now the name black iron, because well, it's black and it's iron. That's where we get the term blacksmithing from. From the iron, they used to work with and from the term 'smite,' to smack something with a hammer (personal observation 2022).

Tour Guide 2 on July 13, 2022:

> There is a statue of Pedro Menendez here in Florida. It is a gift from his hometown of Avilés, Spain, to the city of St. Augustine in 1972. It's down by the Lightner Museum. West of the Casa Monica, south of Flagler College. If you go down there, you'll see he's wearing the traditional Spanish dress, he has stockings on and a high skirt. Back then, the higher your rank, the higher your skirt. So, if you go down there and see the statue you might be glad Menendez never got another promotion [audience laughter] (personal observation 2022).

Tour Guide 3 on July 21, 2022:

> So, here's Pedro sailing around at 17 years old, looking for trouble, that's how he makes his living, right? So, he spots in the distance a wedding ship. Now wedding ships should be happy places – there should be dancing and music and there wasn't any of that. This wedding ship was surrounded by three large pirate ships, and they were robbing them of everything they had, including the wedding gifts. Well, Pedro being Pedro sails right up to them and says, 'Gentlemen, my name is Pedro Menendez, and you surrender to me right now there'll be no trouble.' What do you think the pirates say?
>
> Child Audience Member: No way!
>
> G: 'Ha, no way, get him!' They jump on their ships and chase after Pedro, and he sails as quickly as he can away from the wedding ship (personal observation 2022).

Tour Guide 4 on July 11, 2022:

> [At the Blacksmith Shop] So, what you are looking for, and I will flip it around to show you I know this is not a very good angle. But what you are looking for is that glossy, shiny part. That's going to cook-in and waterproof the iron for you. What's way more fun to do, it just won't do the metal any good, is this! [rubs beeswax on iron to create flame]. If you put the beeswax where the metal is too hot, *it bursts into flames!* We call that a colonial sparkler, happy birthday everybody [audience laughter]. So, the main reason I show you that, it is mostly just fun to do, but also it is one of the places where we get the phrase 'mind your beeswax' from (personal observation 2022).

These excerpts demonstrate the methods used to engage and entertain audiences at the Colonial Quarter. Doing so generally involves asking questions of the audience and making jokes regarding interpretive materials. Additionally, tour guides at the Colonial Quarter tend to take on an informal tone, avoiding comparison to a historical lecture, by using casual and accessible language for all ages.

The site's edutainment function is well-known to the UFHSA Board. According to Board member Herschel Shepard, "it's always a balance between what the public will accept as something that is fun to be in and entertaining but at the same time maintains a quality that is acceptable to those people that are interested in heritage tourism" (personal interview, August 18, 2022). Shepard identifies this as a "continuous effort," one that "changes from year to year" based on visitor preferences (ibid.). Fellow board member Linda Dixon notes that the entertainment value of the site is what makes the property an interesting entity to be managed by a university, as they are not traditionally in the business of running attractions or "edutainment" venues (Linda Dixon, personal interview, August 11, 2022). Interviews with Herschel Shepard and Linda Dixon, as well as publicly published UFHSA Board meeting minutes, confirm that the Colonial Quarter's managing agency supports the site's edutainment function.

In 1978, San Agustin Antiguo was described as a place where "history comes alive" (The Explorer 1978). Today, the front page of the Colonial Quarter brochure claims it is a place "where history comes alive!" in bold lettering (Colonial Quarter LLC. 2023). Analysis of publicity material and new articles informs my determination of the site as a nexus of entertainment and education in its earliest interpretive programming. A review of the same sources, supplemented by tour transcripts, UFHSA Board meeting minutes, and interviews, has led me to argue that this focus on edutainment continues to exist today. A concern with entertainment value and customer satisfaction did not arise with the creation of the public-private partnership. It is only a continuation of strategies and priorities that have existed at the site since its origin as San Agustín Antiguo.

Interpretive Programming

Those responsible for historic preservation in St. Augustine have long sought to emulate the colonial village architectural and interpretive atmosphere of Williamsburg, Virginia. The state was able to maintain a similar open-air living history village model until the transfer of site management to the city in 1997. At this time, the city attempted to provide the same level of interpretive programming but struggled to generate revenue to cover the high labor costs of operating such robust and continuously staffed exhibitions. The St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission had received $700,000 annually from the state to operate the site (Bexley 2005); however, following take over by the city commission in 1997, the state ceased to provide funding after 1998 (Pope 1998). Subsequently, the cost of operation fell entirely to the City, which struggled to keep the Colonial Spanish Quarter open after years of financial loss (St. Augustine Record 2005).

Today, Executive Director of the Colonial Quarter, Cindy Stavely, states that striving

for the Colonial Williamsburg model is not financially feasible. A study at the Colonial

Quarter conducted by the University of Florida's Tourism Institute in 2015 found that the

site was "not meeting the expectations of 'living history'" for some visitors (UFHSA

2015d). When asked to clarify what this meant, Cindy Stavely stated, "A lot of people

think of living history as going to Williamsburg and having re-enactors all throughout the

property. Financially that's not sustainable. Williamsburg has a huge endowment, yet

they're still struggling financially just to keep that going" (personal interview, August 3,

2022). Stavely, representing the private entity that is the Colonial Quarter LLC.,

recognizes the financial costs of operating a Williamsburg-esque interpretive model and

has moved away from the traditional open-air living history village. In this section, I will

investigate how interpretive programming has changed at 21-37 St. George Street over

time and with the introduction of the public-private partnership.

As mentioned, San Agustín Antiguo sought to recreate the open-air living history

village model of Colonial Williamsburg. The interpretive focus was the representation of

various aspects of life in eighteenth-century Spanish colonial St. Augustine (St.

Augustine Preservation Board N.d.*c*.). This included residential life, portrayed by

characters such as Señora de Hita, who occupied the De Hita house and shared details

about her life as a St. Augustine resident. Other buildings included in San Agustín

Antiguo's 1980s interpretive program are the Ribera House (residential), Gallegos House

(residential), Gómez House (residential), De Hita/Gonzáles Site

(residential/archaeological site), Silversmith (craft), De Mesa/Sanchez Site

(residential/archaeological site), Carpinteria (craft), Textile Arts (craft), Blacksmith (craft), and Museum Shop (retail/craft) (St. Augustine Preservation Board N.d.*b*).

Those who were employed as craftspeople at San Agustín Antiguo were constantly striving for authenticity in their work and often identified as master craftsmen. For example, Ann Lunestad worked in the restoration area spinning thread from raw wool on an old loom to produce yarn for her craft items. She also made candles from Bayberry wax in a large, heated copper pot. Her husband, Kjetil Lunestad, was a "master hand carver" who created replicas of Spanish furniture to demonstrate the craft and later be used in the restored buildings (Baxley 1970). Potter Gayle Prevatt, who had a degree in fine arts from a local college, could be found "sitting under a spreading live oak in the yard of the Gomez House working native clay into pots the 1740 way" (Heffernan 1982). Prevatt fired pots on a regular basis over a wood fire since kilns were not available in St. Augustine in the eighteenth century. These are just a few examples of the individuals who served as both craftspeople and living history interpreters at San Agustin Antiguo. The site was open from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, and the village area was occupied by staff at all times, allowing visitors to engage with interpreters at their leisure.

In 1988, San Agustín Antiguo was renamed the Spanish Quarter Museum. The Spanish Quarter Museum continued much of the interpretive efforts of San Agustín Antiguo, featuring a "collection of historic houses and guides in colonial clothing, clearly revealing the community lifestyle of the 1740s" (St. Augustine Preservation Board 1990). The Spanish Quarter Museum maintained interpretation of the Ribera, Gallegos, Gómez, De Hita/Gonzáles, and De Mesa/Sánchez houses as well as the Blacksmith shop. In 1989, the Preservation Board built a new orientation center for the Spanish Quarter Museum

with funding from the St. Johns County Commission and the Tourist Development Council (St. Augustine Compass 1989). It was free to the public and featured a simulated archaeological excavation as well as artifacts from homesite excavations such as a belt buckle, iron cooking pot, and fragmentary ceramics (ibid.). In 1988, publicity materials indicate the addition of a "Thatch and Pole Structure" as well as a house from the second Spanish period (1783-1821) (San Agustín Foundation 1988). The Spanish Quarter Museum was populated by similarly passionate craftspeople, such as Mike Wells, a third generation federally certified blacksmith who worked at the site for eight years. Wells makes a point to emphasize that it is "an actual working shop as well as an interpretive tool for the public and not just a demonstration" (Lane 1995). The distinction between craft and show is clearly important to Wells.

The Spanish Quarter Village's interpretive programming remained similar to that of its predecessors, featuring eighteenth-century Spanish colonial life. Visitors are once again invited to "stroll from house to house and meet the residents and craftspeople of [the] unique military garrison community" (Department Heritage Tourism N.d.*a*.). The Spanish Quarter Village now maintained interpretation of the Gómez, Gallegos, De Mesa/Sánchez, Pellicer, and De Hita/Gonzáles houses, a Blacksmith shop, a Woodworking station, and the Taberna. The buildings demonstrated themes such as daily domestic activity and colonial craftsmanship. The Taberna, a new addition, was an exhibit house designed to interpret the social activities of eighteenth-century St. Augustine and a common colonial gathering place. Map comparison of the Spanish Quarter Museum and the Spanish Quarter Village indicates that the "Thatch and Pole Structure" was re-interpreted as a "Ramada," a "thatched roof structure, sometimes

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called a *bohio*, [that] provided a comfortable shelter for working outdoors" (ibid.). In 2001, the Spanish Quarter Village added a Candle-making shop, Herb Garden, and Leather-making shop to its program (Guinta 2001).

The model of constant occupation and demonstration by living history interpreters continued at the Colonial Spanish Quarter. The Taberna house became an operating tavern where visitors were encouraged to "get a cool drink and a little history on the social life of the residents" (Department Heritage Tourism 2003). Friday and Saturday nights, the tavern was open until 9:30 p.m. and featured the "Bilge Rats," "purveyors of Songs of the Sea and other Ditties!" (ibid.). The site has always included a shop for souvenirs and crafts; however, this marks the introduction of food and beverage retail to the property. The Colonial Spanish Quarter featured the De Mesa, Gallegos, Gómez, and Triay houses as well as a Candle shop/Herbalist, Leatherworkers shop, the Taberna del Gallo, Blacksmith Shop, Cooper, Carpenter, a bookstore/gallery, and a gift shop (ibid.). The visitor's center was maintained as a free "mini museum" featuring historic artifacts from the colonial era (Guinta 2001). In the Colonial Spanish Quarter, there were now three buildings on the property dedicated to retail – the Taberna del Gallo, bookstore/gallery, and gift shop. This effort may reflect the city's need to introduce additional revenue streams in the face of insufficient visitor numbers and financial loss on the property. Despite the high cost of labor, the Colonial Spanish Quarter continued to operate on the open-air living history museum model. Stations were staffed at all times. A description of the museum in 2010 sounds similar to the site as described in the 1980s:

Dressed in 16th century garb, Catherine Culver led visitors Wednesday
through the sprawling gardens of St. Augustine's Colonial Spanish Quarter
Living History Museum, past a working carpenter, scribe, and leather-maker
to the delicious aroma of a colonial meal being prepared in a 16th century
kitchen by Charlotte Sims (St. Augustine Record 2010b).

At this time, the Taberna del Gallo and gift shop remained in operation as the site's

"profit centers" (Guinta 2011). Even so, the City was losing hundreds of thousands of

dollars annually operating the site.

Today, the Colonial Quarter is advertised as the St. Augustine Colonial Experience, a

guided living history tour. The site features eight stations: the De Mesa Sanchez House

(Figures 16, 17, 18), Print Shop (Figure 15), Walk of Flags (Figure 13), Shipyard (Figure

14), Cannon Firing (Figure 20), Blacksmith shop (Figure 19), Watchtower (Figure 11),

and Gunsmith & Musket Firing (Figure 12).

Figure 11: View of Castillo de San Marcos from Colonial Quarter watchtower. July 9,
2022.

Figure 12: View of Leather-making Station, Musket Firing, and tour meeting point.
July 9, 2022.

Figure 13: View of Walk of Flags. July 9, 2022.

Figure 14: View of Shipyard. July 9, 2022.

Figure 15: View of Printshop. July 9, 2022.

Food and beverage offerings at the site include the Taberna del Caballo, Bull &
Crown Publick House, and the St. Augustine Seafood Company. The area also includes
the Colonial Oak Music Park, an outdoor music venue with bar service. The retail
offerings above are open to the public and do not require a ticket. To experience the
interpretive elements, visitors purchase tickets to the area, and guided tours are hosted at
10:30 a.m., 12 p.m., 1:30 p.m., and 3 p.m. When a tour is not being conducted, visitors
are invited to explore the property on their own and read over fifty text panels that
provide information on the site and colonial St. Augustine. The interpretive stations are
not regularly occupied and are only actively interpreted by a staff member when a tour is
in session. The Gómez, Gallegos, De Hita/Gonzáles, and Pellicer houses have no
interpretive signage and are not featured on the Colonial Quarter property map. However,
Cindy Stavely has shared that she intends to introduce a colonial family life program and
historic preservation exhibit in the Gallegos house in 2023 (personal interview, August 3,
2022). During training, Colonial Quarter tour guides are provided with a document of
general information that the UFHSA Board requires that they cover. They then shadow
John Stavely, who is responsible for training. Once they feel comfortable, they are
allowed to lead their own tours under the supervision of Stavely, who provides feedback
on their performance. The tour guides are allowed to function independently after
completing training as long as their information is accurate, covers the general guidelines
provided by the UFHSA Board, and does not upset customers (Cindy Stavely, personal
interview, August 3, 2022).

The interpretive programming at 21-37 St. George Street remained generally
consistent with an open-air living history museum model until UF's entrance into a

public-private partnership with the Colonial Quarter LLC. From 1966 to 2011, at which times management was under the purview of the state and city, the site featured interpretation of at least four reconstructed colonial residences and was continuously occupied by staff. At the time of research, the Colonial Quarter provided interpretation for one residence, the De Mesa Sanchez house, which includes minimal signage.

Figure 16: Exterior of the De Mesa Sanchez House. July 22, 2022.

Figure 17: Interior of the De Mesa Sanchez House (1). July 22, 2022.

Figure 18: Interior of the De Mesa Sanchez House (2). July 22, 2022.

It is unknown whether or not the site contained interpretive text panels prior to 2013. There are no panels mentioned in descriptions of the site or publicity materials available for that time period. Today, active interpretation at the Colonial Quarter is only available at four times throughout the day. Additionally, the tour guides at the Colonial Quarter are not necessarily skilled in the craftsmanship they demonstrate. For example, the guides that demonstrate blacksmithing do not specialize in the craft, though one individual noted that he creates ironwork as a personal hobby.

Figure 19: Colonial Quarter tour guide at the Blacksmith Station. July 11, 2022.

At the Colonial Quarter, there is little focus on the residential and/or domestic life of the St. Augustine colonist. Whereas previously one might see an interpreter cooking a meal or tending to the garden, the demonstrations provided on Colonial Quarter tours are limited to cannon and musket firings. Cannon firing occurs reliably at the end of the tour

unless there are technical difficulties. The musket firing occurred on only one of the four tours I observed. The loud, sensational demonstrations clearly engage the audience, who are instructed to yell "Fuego!" as the cannon is fired.

Figure 20: Visitors watching tour guide prepare to fire the cannon. July 20, 2022.

Furthermore, the Taberna del Caballo, formerly the Taberna del Gallo, is now a standard commercial bar and restaurant. There is no interpretation of the social life of St. Augustine or the tavern as a colonial gathering place. The Pellicer House, which housed the museum store in 1988, and featured an exhibit on the Minorcan experience in Florida for a period between 1997 and 2003, is now a commercial restaurant called the Bull & Crown Publick House. The Pellicer House is a reconstruction of two homes built during St. Augustine's British Period (1763-1783) (Department of Heritage Tourism N.d.*a*.). Today it serves to augment revenue for the Colonial Quarter.
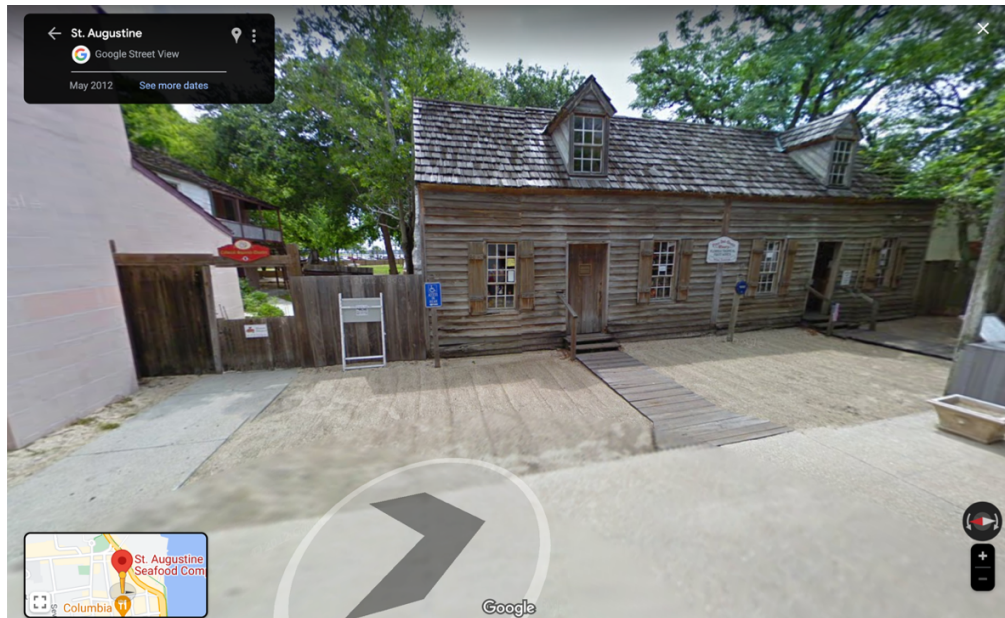
Figure 21: Image of the Colonial Quarter St. George Street Entrance in 2012. The Pellicer House can be seen on the right. Image Courtesy of Google Maps.

Figure 22: Image of the Colonial Quarter St. George Street Entrance in 2023. The Pellicer House (Bull & Crown Publick House Restaurant) can be seen on the right.

The Colonial Oak Music Park is an area open to the public that periodically hosts

music and theatrical events. The placement of open access near areas on the property is

strategic, according to Herschel Shepard. Regarding the commercial areas, Dr. Shepard

shares that:

> These buildings were individually turned into modern retail outlets.
> Restaurants and retail stores. The idea was, however, that the buildings would
> be accurately restored, which they were. The University has done a fantastic
> job researching and restoring what really are reconstructed buildings to begin
> with. So, that worked. For the first time... the public was allowed to wander
> through some of the spaces and really enjoy the property and see what it is.
> The idea was if you have a restored building, people will go in to shop, but
> they start looking at it and they start asking questions about it. You're not
> forcing history down people's throats which is a terrible mistake I think that's
> made in a lot of historic sites. So, that has proved to be very successful
> (personal interview, August 18, 2022).

In this excerpt, Dr. Shepard speaks to the perceived value of developing commercial

and/or entertainment areas on the Colonial Quarter property. He argues that it may be a

subtle way to introduce St. Augustine visitors to the city's history by catering to

recreational activities that tourists tend to enjoy. Fellow UFHSA Board member Linda

Dixon echoes a similar sentiment:

> There are a lot of ways to tell [St. Augustine's] story. There are the
> interpretive plaques all throughout the site, so some of the areas that you can
> go into that are not part of the ticketed venue – take the Colonial Oak Music
> venue – at one time, they were also putting on a little historic play. We have
> talked about the ability to use that stage for some other performances or
> interpretive lectures, we've explored things like that. It's not ticketed to go
> into that space, you can go into that space, you can experience those buildings,
> what would have been the backyards of those houses, there are interpretive
> plaques in those areas that if you're interested you can read and you can learn
> (personal interview, August 11, 2022).

Despite not being actively interpreted, elements of the property have value in

connecting visitors to the story of St. Augustine, according to Dixon.

They also have financial value in generating revenue that supports the Colonial Quarter. Cindy Stavely notes how critical the food and beverage properties are for the site:

> When we first went into it, we thought that the museum was going to be the thing to carry the business, but we quickly found out that the museum itself was not as in demand as we were hoping it would be so we had to switch our revenue stream into more retail, food and beverage, entertainment, events to supplement and support the museum (personal interview, August 3, 2022).

Extensive commercial and retail investment on behalf of a heritage site can be perceived as a prioritization of profit if it comprises a site's educational objectives. However, at sites such as the Colonial Quarter, investing in additional revenue streams may be necessary to keep the site open and create the opportunity for fulfilling educational objectives. A study funded by the UFHSA Board and conducted by UF's Institute of Tourism found that a retail aspect on St. George Street was crucial to pulling people into the museum and generating enough revenue to support its day-to-day operation.

The public-private partnership between UF and the Colonial Quarter LLC. resulted in less robust interpretive programming and an increase in commercial properties at the site. This can be viewed as a compromise of heritage values such as authenticity and education. However, it must be noted that the interpretive programming model of the past was generating losses not believed to be sustainable by the City Manager or the Director of the Department of Heritage Tourism. Additionally, the Colonial Quarter's commercial revenue streams are what have allowed the site not only to remain open but become profitable. The agreement between UF and the Colonial Quarter is a profit-sharing model. According to Linda Dixon, The money goes directly back into education programs, staff

payrolls, and public education initiatives (personal interview, August 11, 2022). In sum, there are a number of changes that occurred to the site's interpretive area upon partial privatization. Though the amount of interpretive programming has decreased, arguably compromising educational value, the Colonial Quarter is a financially viable and self-sustaining operation. Perhaps more importantly, it is open, and it is no longer a significant burden on the city or the state.

Representation within the Spanish Colonial Story

The earliest description of interpretation at San Agustín Antiguo is available via a 1974 article detailing the training lectures to be held by the Research and Interpretation Department of the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board (St. Augustine Record 1974). The lecture series was designed to train interpreters to work in the restoration area over a period of ten weeks. The lectures are described as covering the "European background" of the city, the first and second Spanish periods, the British period, architectural elements, Spanish cultural values and aesthetics, and daily life in eighteenth-century St. Augustine (ibid.). There does not appear to be any training related to the history of St. Augustine prior to colonial occupation.

In a 1982 article, Dr. Amy Bushnell, historian for the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, shared that the board was "made aware of the Indian influence in town" by archaeologist Dr. Kathleen Deagan (Heyman 1982). At the time, Kathleen Deagan served as an archaeologist at Florida State University in Tallahassee. Dr. Deagan has subsequently conducted extensive archaeological research on the Native population of Florida and currently serves on the UFHSA Board, in addition to many other roles. The Preservation Board established an exhibit in the Gallegos House at San Agustín

Antiguo designed to provide an interpretation of the city as a "Mestizo community," a "mixture of Indian and Spanish Culture" (ibid.). Dr. Bushnell notes that this includes guides at the Gallegos House cooking "mullet Indian style" with an oak wood smoker and rack formed by sticks (ibid.). The interpretive element was designed to draw attention to interactions between Native American and Spanish lifeways that occurred in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries following Spanish colonization. The actual interpretive material is not known and therefore cannot be closely examined. However, it is evident that the exhibit highlighted the ways in which the Spanish and Native populations coexisted, not the conflict brought on by Spanish colonization and Native subjugation. A 1985 advertisement for San Agustin Antiguo identifies "Early Indian relations" as one of the general themes encountered on most tours (San Agustín Foundation 1985).

As mentioned, publicity material for the Spanish Quarter Museum created in 1988 includes a new interpretive element labeled as a "Thatch and Pole Structure." It is known that the structure was introduced to site programming in 1985 (St. Augustine Record 1985a). The thatch and pole structure indicates an addition to the built environment intended to represent the presence of Native Americans in the Spanish colonial story. It is described as follows:

> Thatch and pole structures have existed historically in tropical areas
> throughout the Caribbean and Gulf Coast lands and islands. When designed as
> dwellings, they would include thatched walls as well. Thatched houses still
> exist in the tropics of Mexico and Middle America and South America and are
> used by the Seminole Indians in South Florida (San Agustín Foundation
> 1988).

The "Thatch and Pole Structure" is most likely a reference to a chickee, a Seminole dwelling with open sides and a thatched roof made from palmetto and cypress trees (Dilley 2015). Indeed, the interpretive structure is described as made of a palmetto roof and cypress support poles (St. Augustine Record 1985a). Claire Dilley (2015), former architectural historian of the Seminole Tribe of Florida Tribal Historic Preservation Office, notes that thatched-roof huts from the South Pacific Islands and chickees are often referred to interchangeably due to their similarities, but their differentiation is critical. The reference error is due to the rise of "tiki culture" in the United States that began in the 1930s in an effort to fabricate an "escape from reality" via the exoticization of South Pacific culture (ibid., 11). In the 1970s, as thatched-roof huts were still popular in south Florida, "they were viewed as an antiquated form of housing for Seminoles" and "trendy for non-Seminoles" (ibid.,13). When the Seminole began using chickees is a topic of debate. The Seminole Tribe of Florida's website expresses the belief that the chickee evolved during the Seminole Wars (1816-1859) as a result of needing "fast, disposable shelter while on the run" (Tiger n.d.). Dilley (2015) argues that the Seminole Wars may have resulted in the mass use of chickees by the Seminoles, but they were in existence long before this time period. Regardless, the "Thatch and Pole Structure" should be accompanied by interpretation that contextualizes the increased use of chickees in the nineteenth century and forced assimilation practices that have labeled the chickee as an "antiquated form" of Seminole housing (Dilley 2015). The Seminole community "largely trace[s] their ancestry to the ancient Indigenous people of Florida (Calusa, Tequesta, Apalachee, and others) and to Creek and other Native American migrants from Georgia and Alabama who came into Florida in the late 1700s and early 1800s" (Frank 2023, 1).

Non-Native individuals often refer to Indigenous Floridians collectively as "Seminole," though the many Native communities of Florida referred to themselves differently (ibid.).

The above description provided in 1988 publicity material for the Spanish Quarter is the only evidence of this structure that exists in the available source material. Though brief, the description does describe the "Thatch and Pole Structure" as a type of dwelling still in use by "Seminole Indians of South Florida" (San Agustín Foundation 1988). Source material indicates that Native presence was discussed in the interpretive programming of San Agustín Antiguo prior to this time, but there was no instantiation in the built environment until 1985. There is scant information on specific interpretive programming related to the Native population over the next decade. However, it is likely that the site continued to include discussion of interactions between the Native and Spanish communities to contextualize life in St. Augustine.

As previously mentioned, publicity material for the Spanish Quarter Village indicates that at some point between 1997-2003, the "Thatch and Pole Structure" was reinterpreted as a "Ramada," a "thatched roof structure, sometimes called a *bohio*, [that] provided a comfortable shelter for working outdoors" (Department Heritage Tourism N.d.*a*.). *Bohío* is a word used by the Taino, an Indigenous group of the Caribbean, to describe houses made of palm wood and leaves (Cáceres-Lorenzo 2014). After the arrival of Europeans to the Americas, the word was used throughout North America to describe palmetto thatched structures (ibid.). *Ramada* is an American Spanish word meaning "tent, shelter" based on the Spanish word *ramada* meaning "an arbor" (Harper 2023). It is also in the Webster's Dictionary as an American English word meaning "a covered porch for shade, sometimes thatched." In this brief description, the Spanish Quarter Village removes the

dwelling element from the structure, referring to it as a shelter for those laboring

outdoors. This re-interpretation removes recognition of the structure as a representation

of the presence of the Seminole community in nineteenth-century Florida.

It is challenging to understand what interpretive programming at the Colonial Spanish

Quarter entailed beyond publicity material created in 2003 (Department Heritage

Tourism 2003). This guide features no interpretive structures or programming related to

Native history in St. Augustine. Unfortunately, the specificities regarding whether such

interpretation existed between 2003-2013 cannot be known from the source material.

In 2011, as the UFHSA Board was reviewing proposals from the three private

companies seeking to become partners, City Commissioner Nancy Sikes-Kline stated that

the buildings at the site should provide "references or glances to Native American and

African American cultures" (Guinta 2011b). She continues, "It's time we spruce up the

(Spanish Quarter) plan, (this lapse) has been a gap and a disadvantage to us in the past"

(ibid.). There was no mention of African American heritage in St. Augustine in the

primary source material reviewed to analyze interpretive strategies at the site since its

origin. It is not possible to state with certainty that such interpretation did not exist.

However, it is evident that if it was included in the site's programming, it was not

advertised to actual or potential visitors. Today, there are two interpretive panels that

reference African American heritage in St. Augustine and four that mention Native

American presence in the city (personal transcript 2022). Of the four that reference

Native American history, two are brief mentions of the Native population in relation to

the Spanish Mission system. One panel describes the Native population, the Timucua,

pre-Spanish colonization:

The Native Americans of Early St. Augustine.
Before the Spanish arrived, the Timucua Indians lived here.
When 800 Spanish colonists first arrived, the Timucua Indians had already
lived here for thousands of years. The first Thanksgiving celebration
involving a shared meal between Europeans and Native Americans took place
in St. Augustine in 1565. Quote from Father Francisco López de Mendoza
Grajales: "They (the Spanish) went ashore and were well-received by the
Indians, who gave them a very large house of a cacique which is on the
riverbank..." (personal transcript 2022).

The interpretive panel acknowledges the presence of the Timucua in the area for

thousands of years prior to Spanish settlement. However, there is no mention of the effect

of Spanish colonization on the Native population. The panel implies that the most

significant event of their interaction was a Thanksgiving "celebration" involving a

"shared meal." There is no mention of the violent conflict, disease transmission, forced

labor, or forced missionization in and around St. Augustine caused by Spanish colonizers

(Balsera and May 2014). The interpretive panels describing Florida's mission system

state that the "Franciscan missionaries arrived in St. Augustine to bring the Catholic faith

to the Native peoples of La Florida" and the destruction of the system in 1706 was

"devastating for Native Americans" (personal transcript 2022). There is no discussion of

the "hard truths" of colonization (Lonetree 2012), violence, and racism perpetrated

against the Native population by the Spanish Mission system.

The two interpretive panels describing African American history in St. Augustine

depict the city as a sanctuary for the Black community. They tell the story of Fort Mose,

two miles north of St. Augustine, which became the "first government-sanctioned free

black town in the present-day United States" (personal transcript 2022). There is also one

interpretive plaque describing "African Americans in St. Augustine":

African Americans in St. Augustine.

The first documented African American marriage (1598) and birth (1806)
were in St. Augustine.
Freed and enslaved African Americans were an important part of colonial St.
Augustine. In 1693, the Spanish Crown decreed that it would free slaves who
fled to St. Augustine from the English colony of Carolina and fulfilled certain
criteria. Florida became a sanctuary for enslaved people for the next 70 years
(personal transcript, 2022).

Once again, interpretive information provided by the site emphasizes civil

coexistence between marginalized groups and Spanish colonists. Spanish slave codes

considered enslaved persons as persons with certain legal rights, such as the ability to

own property and purchase their freedom (Landers 2014). This is often contrasted with

the system of chattel slavery in which enslaved persons are considered legal property to

be bought, sold, and owned in perpetuity (ibid). African slaves were considered

"indispensable" to the colonization of the Americas by the Spanish Crown, who

established a contract system by which approximately 350,000 African slaves were sent

to Spanish America by the end of the seventeenth century (ibid., 122). Pedro Menéndez

de Avilés and fellow colonists relied on African slave labor to establish the colony now

called St. Augustine. Spanish authorities also created a draft system "that rotated

hundreds of 'Christianized' Guales, Timucuans, and Apalachees into St. Augustine to

work" (ibid., 122). Between 1613 and 1617, disease devastated the Native and enslaved

Black population of Florida. Information provided on the Colonial Quarter's panel refers

to a royal proclamation by Spain's King Charles II in 1693 declaring liberty for Black

slaves fleeing to St. Augustine from Carolina (ibid.). However, it does not reference the

African slave labor critical to the establishment of St. Augustine, the disease that

devastated the population, and those who faced violence seeking their freedom. The truth

is not as simple as sanctuary. This claim is supported by the fact that Florida joined the

Confederacy during the American Civil War. Though this information is presented in the Colonial Quarter's Walk of Flags section via the depiction of the 11-star and 7-star "Stars and Bars" Confederate flags, there is no discussion of how the experience of African Americans in St. Augustine is related to U.S. slavery practices and Florida's role in the Civil War. Furthermore, though these interpretive panels are on the property, only one of four tours that I observed referenced their existence.

Other tour guides preferred to include a discussion of the Native population in St. Augustine in their verbal presentation. Every tour guide that I observed shared that Juan Ponce de León "discovered" Florida with physical denotation of air quotes and mention that the Timucua had long since occupied the land. Tour Guide Ariel Brestin provides more information, sharing that, with her tour groups,

> We talk about [the fact] that we've heard the name Timucua pronounced several different ways. I don't know if I'm any closer than anyone else as far as I'm aware, we don't have anybody who knows how to say it right. But even just that little thing, just letting people know, 'Hey, we don't know how these people said this, they didn't actually use this to refer to themselves, it refers to their language group, they would have considered themselves separate groups.' Even just giving them that information, now I feel like I've done [the visitors] a little bit more of a service than if I just hadn't mentioned it at all (personal interview, August 2, 2022).

Brestin makes a point to emphasize the presence of Native groups in Florida, such as the Timucua in St. Augustine, prior to Spanish colonization. Though the information is not extensively discussed on the interpretive panels at the site, Brestin shares that she is willing and able to shift her tour content to go more in-depth on certain topics: "If I have a family that is specifically interested in Indigenous history or Black history or women's history or something like that, if they tell me they want that – I will focus on that" (personal interview, August 2, 2022).

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When asked, "How important is it to you to share the information related to the Native American experience or the African American experience during colonialism or during the timeframe that you're presenting?" Colonial Quarter Executive Director Cindy Stavely responded:

> C: We touch on that… we do talk about because of Fort Mose and the freed slaves that were given their freedom for coming down and joining the Spanish army. I would say that both of those are a big part of our history. I mean, St. Augustine was a melting pot when everybody came over, it was all kinds of nationalities that came with those first groups, so it's always been a very diverse population since it was founded...So much diversity and a lot of the Spanish married Natives when they first came in so, I mean, we were like the melting pot before there was a melting pot. I love that about the history of St. Augustine, that our population has been so diverse for many centuries.
>
> M: Yeah. Do you think that's an important story to share at a site like your site?
>
> C: Yeah, especially if it's relevant – and it is – and it's true and it's part of our history (personal interview, August 3, 2022).

Stavely's statement of the importance of sharing the story of Native and Black history is not effectively realized on the ground, where the cannon firing and blacksmith shop receive most of the interpretive attention. A full investigation of this claim is outside the scope of this project and will be noted as a suggestion for further research. However, her belief in the importance of sharing this history speaks to the interpretive aims of the Colonial Quarter, whether or not they are realized. It is important to note that Stavely echoes the narrative of civil coexistence and cultural exchange without reference to the violence, racism, and subjugation that ensued upon Spanish colonization. Elsewhere in the interview, Stavely is proud to share the positive reviews that the Colonial Quarter receives from school group leaders and general visitors (personal interview, August 3,

2022). It is possible that avoiding the truths of colonialism maintains a more satisfied customer base.

Linda Dixon notes that sharing the accurate history and experience of Native American and African American communities in St. Augustine is "really important to [the board]" but may not have been "brought into the Colonial Quarter conversation yet" (personal interview, August 11, 2022). However, this would be expected at the November 2022 update. Dixon provided several examples of increased engagement with St. Augustine's Black history on behalf of the UFHSA Board generally. Fellow Board member Herschel Shepard discusses the presentation of Native and Black history in reference to authenticity and Florida's political climate:

> I think that sometimes the authenticity of re-enactments can be a problem. I think that they're very important, however, and I think that those are the types of things that we have to be careful with. In re-enactments in historic settings, there are so many layers of different social problems that – for instance - the problem of slavery, the problem of how the conquistadors treated the Native peoples, how the Catholic Church interacted with the Native peoples – those issues, when we talk about authenticity, those issues need to be addressed as honestly and openly as we can. And we see here in Florida, now, a very strong movement to limit the way in which our school textbooks are written with regard to slavery in particular. We see a restriction in schools with issues that have to do with the LGBTQ community. Those issues are social issues that are not often addressed when it comes to re-enactments of history... and those are things that need to be addressed seriously in our society and in St. Augustine (personal interview, August 18, 2022).

In contrast to Stavely's statement, Dr. Shepard pushes for the open and honest discussion of all aspects of the Black and Native experience in St. Augustine. Both Linda Dixon and Herschel Shepard share their belief in the importance of representation in St. Augustine's Spanish colonial story, but the UFHSA Board has not held the Colonial Quarter to this standard. Some tour guides, such as Ariel Brestin, make an effort to fulfill this objective

independently. However, it is not an interpretive priority for the Colonial Quarter. Executive Director Cindy Stavely states her support for such as objective but does not prioritize it in the site's programming.

Actors in the public-private partnership between the Colonial Quarter and the UFHSA Board state that they believe in sharing the experience of Native and Black communities in St. Augustine's history. Some, such as Tour Guide Ariel Brestin and UFHSA Member Herschel Shepard, indicate that they are committed to telling the whole and honest truth. Stavely claims that it is an important aspect of interpretation to her as well but places the "melting pot" narrative at the forefront of the story. It may be argued that interpretation of the Native American and African American experience in St. Augustine has increased upon entry into the public-private partnership between the Colonial Quarter LLC. and the UFHSA Board. The Colonial Quarter features the most robust interpretation of such topics when considering information shared by tour guides and the provided interpretive panels. However, there is much more to be done on behalf of the Colonial Quarter's interpretive programming to share the Black and Native experience in St. Augustine's history. One of the first steps would require acknowledgment of the harsh realities of Spanish colonization, such as conflict, violence, subjugation, and forced missionization (Balsera and May 2014). I have begun an investigation of this topic here, but a complete analysis is outside the scope of this research. It is considered an important point of further research for those interested in the politics of cultural representation at heritage sites and experts in the subject.

Authenticity

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To understand how the site was valued and marketed at the end of the twentieth century, I generated a word frequency diagram (Luque et al. 2013). The data set (Appendix B) includes fifty-four newspaper articles dating from 1970 to 2013 featuring the site as its main subject. The fifty most frequent words found from the data set are represented in the following word cloud:

Figure 23: Word Frequency Diagram 1, News Articles 1970-2013.

Naturally, words such as "Spanish," "quarter," "museum," "village," "St. Augustine," and "Florida" appear at a high frequency due to the site's location and name. What is significant to note is that alongside words such as "heritage," "tourism," "preserve," and "students," "authentic" appears within the fifty most frequent words. This confirms an early impression I had while reviewing the documents, which was a constant and notable

use of the word "authentic" or "authenticity" in descriptions of the site. It is important to note that the word cloud only reflects the frequency of explicit use of the word. There are several other examples that may be read as implicitly referencing authenticity, such as "historically accurate," "historically appropriate," and "like it really was back then." For the purposes of the word frequency diagram, I chose to count explicit use. The diagram is evidence that in descriptions and reporter interviews conducted with museum managers, clerks, curators, and other site staff between 1970 and 2013, "authentic" was a frequently used word. Furthermore, it is accompanied by terms that can be argued to define the site and its function, such as "heritage" and "tourism." In this section, I will explore the evolving concept of "authenticity" at the site.

This discussion is informed by a constructivist view of authenticity which posits that authenticity "is a social process, a struggle of competing interests – not a property inherent to an object" (Bruner 1994, 408). In other words, authenticity is a context-specific subjective cultural construct. There is no definition of authenticity as it is created by particular actors in a given context and responds to the standards of the era (ibid.). Therefore, conceptions of authenticity held by leadership at the site in 1970, 2000, and 2022 will differ. With the source material at hand, only limited investigation into how the concept of authenticity was understood before 2013 is possible. Word Frequency Diagram 1 indicates that the concept was prevalent. Conceptions of authenticity will be analyzed using the four types of authenticity identified by Bruner (1994): historic verisimilitude, genuineness, originality, and authority. It is important to note that ideas of authenticity may include several of these four types.

Following an analysis of statements made related to authenticity at the site from 1970 to 2022, I determined that there has been a demonstrated verbal commitment to a belief in authenticity as genuineness, which is synonymous with historical accuracy. There are instances where authenticity is conceptualized as historic verisimilitude or an aim to be "credible and convincing" (Bruner 1994). However, they appear in tandem with a belief in genuineness. A 1970 article describing the site notes that craftspeople work in "authentic settings," making "authentic replicas" of Spanish furniture near an "authentic Franklin-type printing press," which adds to the "authentic flavor of the area for visitors" (Baxley 1970). These excerpts from the same article further demonstrate the prevalence of the word "authenticity." The first three instances of the word reference historical accuracy as the craftspeople work in historically accurate dwellings, and the two replicas are expected to be historically accurate. However, the idea that craftspeople are adding to the "authentic flavor" of San Agustín Antiguo infers that authenticity here means historic verisimilitude. The activity of the craftspeople is not only accurate but also makes the whole area a more credible and convincing recreation of life in eighteenth-century St. Augustine.

Source material from 1978 describes tour guides that "wear authentic period dress, depict actual residents of the time, and carry out the daily routine chores of 18th-century life" (The Explorer 1978). The report follows an earlier article stating that historical dressmaker Gudrun Hall was hired at the site to "upgrade personnel in appropriate dress of the Spanish and English periods" (Carlin 1974). In this instance, "authentic" and "appropriate" are synonymous with historically accurate. The hiring of a historical dressmaker at San Agustín Antiguo indicates that this effort was important to leadership.

Two excerpts from a 1982 article demonstrate an interesting dichotomy in the understanding of authenticity:

> (Excerpt one) The change in format is designed to create more of an atmosphere of living history in San Agustín Antigua while keeping interpretation as *pure and authentic* as possible, explained Susan Clark, Visitor Services Supervisor, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board.

> (Excerpt two) In Plymouth, Mass., for instance, a re-enactment of a colonial wedding is staged, while in Sturbridge, Mass., a town hall meeting is enacted. "We want to do more of this sort of thing here to make a visit to San Agustin Antigua more *meaningful and authentic*," Mrs. Clark said (Heffernan 1982, my emphasis).

In excerpt one, "authentic" is paired with "pure," implying that authenticity represents historical accuracy. If pure stands to mean unmodified, then the interpretation would be as historically accurate as possible. In excerpt two, "authentic" is related to a "meaningful" visitor experience. Therefore, authenticity represents historic verisimilitude as it is associated with a credible, convincing, and meaningful visitor experience. It is similar to the use of adding "authentic flavor" to the visitor experience described above (Baxley 1970). The focus on "flavor" and "meaning" refers to the visitor's subjective experience and therefore extends beyond historical accuracy to the experiential effect of the site as a whole.

In 1995, the Spanish Quarter Museum featured a Blacksmith shop created with "historically authentic materials and construction techniques," complete with a "dirt floor... tabby walls and split shingle roof" (Lane 1995). This description of authenticity is in regard to the historical accuracy of material and method. In 2011, there is record that City manager Joe Reagan stated to the UFHSA board that "the City is devoted to the Colonial Spanish Quarter, the authenticity and accuracy of the story it tells" (UFHSA

2011a). Here, authenticity and accuracy are used synonymously. It is possible to speculate that conceptions of authenticity at the site between 2000 and 2010 continued to be in reference to historical accuracy.

At the beginning of the partnership in 2012, Pat Croce, owner and president of the Colonial Quarter LLC., noted that he was "very interested in authenticity," which would be assured via a review of interpretive information by archaeologists and UF historians for "historical accuracy" (UFHSA 2012c). UFHSA Board Member Ed Poppell stated that "the money made by the Spanish Quarter exhibit would pay the salary of a quality control expert to keep things authentic" in the same year (Guinta 2012a). In further discussion of interpretation at the Colonial Quarter, "authenticity" and "accuracy" are attached: "Professor Roy Hunt indicated that the board expanded the [Education/Interpretation] Committee for reviewing and commenting on the content of interpretive panels for the Colonial Quarter LLC. to assure accuracy and authenticity" (UFHSA 2013). Simultaneously, John Stavely of the Colonial Quarter claimed that they were "working closely with the University of Florida historians to maintain historical authenticity" (Jordan 2013). At the beginning of the partnership between UF and the Colonial Quarter LLC., it is clear that both parties understand authenticity is of the utmost importance and to be assured by experts at the University of Florida. Historians, archaeologists, and preservationists from UF are responsible for ensuring the historical accuracy of the information shared at the Colonial Quarter and, therefore, its authenticity.

Cindy Stavely, Linda Dixon, and Herschel Shepard, who were present upon entrance into the partnership, echo the same belief today. Executive Director Cindy Stavely makes this apparent, stating, "The main goal of our partnership with UF is to tell the authentic,

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accurate history of St. Augustine" (personal interview, August 3, 2022). When asked

more specifically, "What does authenticity mean to you in the context of what you do

here?" Stavely responds:

> It's making sure that you've got the right research and the research is
> accredited, so before you even start putting the information out there it's
> already been accredited. Then we have that review process with the [UFHSA]
> board, they're all college professors. We had to have documentation for
> almost every single thing that we had, with footnotes on the side and where
> the source came from. We had to source everything, and it was a long process.
> We had a professor, a doctor, who helped us do all of this... and we feel very
> confident with the authenticity and the accuracy of what we're telling (ibid.).

In this excerpt, it is clear that Stavely associates authenticity with accredited research,

established facts, and historical accuracy. This perspective is in line with a materialist

approach which views authenticity as an objective and inherent property (Jones 2009).

Linda Dixon expresses a similar sentiment when asked the same question, stating, "It's

telling the stories that we have documentation of that are factually based" (personal

interview, August 11, 2022). This is particularly important from a university perspective.

Dixon states that historical accuracy is "of the utmost importance. [UF is] a higher

education institution and we have to be telling the authentic stories" (ibid.). As the

managing agency of the Colonial Quarter LLC., ensuring historical accuracy and

authenticity at the site is key to maintaining the university's reputation and credibility.

Historic Preservationist Herschel Shepard believes there is a difference between

"sticks and stones" authenticity and authenticity within the historical narrative. Sticks and

stones authenticity involves buildings "presented not necessarily in the materials that

were originally used but represented in a way that you know... this is the way it did look,

or the fact that this had been restored, or this is the real thing... and it's been preserved"

(Herschel Shepard, personal interview, August 18, 2022). Essentially, Dr. Shepard

believes that "sticks and stones" authenticity can be achieved through reconstruction,

restoration, or preservation. It does not necessarily have to be authentic as in original, but

nonetheless authentic as in historically accurate. However, the concept of authenticity

becomes more complicated when considering historical narratives. Dr. Shepard shares:

> I think that sometimes the authenticity of re-enactments can be a
> problem...and I think that those are the types of things that we have to be
> careful about because in re-enactments in historic settings there are so many
> layers of different social problems... those issues, when we talk about
> authenticity, those issues need to be addressed as honestly and openly as we
> can.... and those are things that our society needs to take a hard look at and to
> be honest about and that type of authenticity in terms of our country and the
> way we treat and respect and tolerate each other are extraordinarily important
> issues. That is where I think authenticity in re-enactments and in our
> interpretations of the social issues of history are very, very important. And
> those are things that need to be addressed seriously in our society and in St.
> Augustine. That's the way I feel about it... I mean, authenticity, when it comes
> to sticks and stones, its fairly easy to define. But when it comes to social
> interactions, authenticity in history, it really becomes a controversial subject.
> We need to stand up for the historic truth and the historic research that is
> straightforward and honest about those issues (ibid.).

In this context, authenticity is still historical accuracy, but it does not simply require the

inclusion of facts. It requires including all the facts. This can be a controversial

interpretive effort, as Dr. Shepard notes. The practice of including all aspects of the

historical truth at the Colonial Quarter would require including interpretive information

on the "hard truths" of colonization, to borrow once again from Lonetree (2012). It would

require addressing the racism at the foundation of forced missionization, the stealing of

land by Spanish colonists, and the exploitation of the Native population (Balsera and May

2014). The current interpretive information at the Colonial Quarter is historically

accurate, but it is not all of the facts.

Authenticity, in its various forms, has been paramount to interpretation at 21-37 St. George Street since programming at San Agustín Antiguo. It is an expectation of visitors as well as the local community. A staff-composed opinion article in the 2012 *St. Augustine Record* states, "[The UFHSA Board] know[s] the expectation for an operator to have an intense and strict commitment to telling the authentic story of St. Augustine" (St. Augustine Record 2012). Locals show no hesitancy to remind the state's managing agency preparing to seek a private partner that they expect authenticity. At this site, authenticity has always meant reliance on established facts and research to achieve historical accuracy. Interview data demonstrates clearly that this conceptualization and priority of authenticity continues within the public-private partnership model. Dr. Shepard provides an interesting perspective on authenticity in the historical narrative that would have important implications for Colonial Quarter interpretive information if explored further by actors in the partnership.

The Public-Private Partnership

Funding Challenges

MacDonald and Cheong (2014) argue that it is "unviable and unsustainable" to rely solely on public funding in urban heritage conservation and management efforts (9). Declining budgets and increasing demand within the heritage sector has resulted in a rise of public-private partnering to complete quality projects. This proved true at 21-37 St. George Street, where operation under city management was deemed unsustainable. Dana Ste. Claire, Director of the Heritage Tourism Department, admitted it was "time to phase out the city subsidies and seek operating models in a public-private partnership" after years of fighting to keep the Colonial Spanish Quarter operating (Guinta 2011). Prior to

1997, the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board had received $700,000 annually

from the state of Florida to operate the site as previously mentioned (Bexley 2005).

However, state funding ceased when the city took over management. The state provided a

final subsidy of $420,000 in 1998. Revenue from visitation was not sufficient to cover the

high cost of operation required to operate a fully staffed living history village. In 1998,

City Finance Director Tim Burchfield stated that the city was already struggling to meet

its budget projection due to lack of visitation and revenue from the Spanish Quarter

Village (Pope 1998a).

In the 2004-05 fiscal year, Bill Adams, Director of the City's Heritage Tourism

Department, reported a $40,000 deficit (Bexley 2005). Adams proposed closing the site

on Sundays in an effort to slow the problem, but the suggestion was met with opposition

from the St. Augustine community (St. Augustine Record 2005). In 2009, the Department

of Heritage Tourism requested funds from the city reserves to renovate and hopefully

revitalize the Spanish Quarter (Guinta 2009). Director of the Department of Heritage

Tourism in 2011, Dana Ste. Claire, stated, "It's labor intensive to create that village

atmosphere... this (business) model hasn't worked since it began in 1997" (Guinta 2011).

By 2012, the city budget reported a loss of more than $549,000 from the Quarter (Guinta

2011a). Ultimately, Mayor Joe Boles agreed with Ste. Claire that "from now on, [St.

Augustine] should use this very detailed process of public-private partnerships" (St.

Augustine Record 2010a). The failure of the Colonial Spanish Quarter under City

management is generally attributed to a lack of monetary support from the state of

Florida (St. Augustine Record 2011). However, the Colonial Quarter is not the only

outdoor living history museum model to face such challenges. John Caramia, Vice

President of Education at the Old Salem Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, and former Colonial Williamsburg employee noted that many outdoor living history museums in the U.S. faced declining attendance and deficit spending in the first decade of the twenty-first century (Caramia 2008). The long-term financial sustainability of outdoor living history museums became a topic of concern at the Association for Living History, Farm, and Agricultural Museums (ALHFAM) Annual Meetings in 1998, indicating that financial challenges were a widespread issue in the United States at the turn of the century (ibid.).

The increasing financial burden of the Colonial Spanish Quarter on the City directly resulted in the creation of the University of Florida Historic St. Augustine Inc. Direct Support Organization. The City's request to the state for financial support in 2005 resulted in the creation of the DSO through 2007 Florida State Statutes Chapter 267.1735 and 267.1736. The legislation was spearheaded by former Florida State Legislator Bill Proctor in an effort to acquire money for the operation of St. Augustine's historic properties. UFHSA did not receive funding from the state until 2009, at which point the project began to receive $650,000 annually for the maintenance of St. Augustine properties (Schweers 2013). The 2007 to 2009 funding gap is attributed to the 2007/8 national recession, at which point "UF's funding fell off the charts" (St. Augustine Record 2010a). From 2010 to 2012, UFHSA leased the site back to the City, which continued to struggle with visitation and revenue generation as previously mentioned. At this time, City leadership acknowledged that a public-private partnership would be the more sustainable option for keeping the site open. There was some initial resistance from St. Augustine heritage sector officials and residents, but ultimately it was understood that with UF as the managing agency, there would be "much more expertise and money to

develop historically accurate programs that the city would not be able to afford alone" (Guinta 2010b). City Manager Joe Regan reported to the UFHSA Board in 2014 that no longer having the burden of funding the Spanish Quarter allowed the City to direct funds toward pressing maintenance issues such as upgrades to the sea wall and City Hall (UFHSA 2014a). Reagan expressed gratitude for their role in taking over the management of St. Augustine's historic properties.

Three private companies submitted proposals to the UFHSA Board during the ITN process. Ed Poppell, UF's director of business affairs and UFHSA Board member, stated that he sought a company with "staying power" and enough capital to support itself until it became profitable (Guinta 2012). Ultimately, Pat Croce and the Colonial Quarter LLC. were chosen by the selection committee for entrance into partnership. Linda Dixon and Herschel Shepard were present for the selection of the Colonial Quarter LLC. When asked why the Colonial Quarter LLC. was chosen, Dixon shared:

> One of the strengths of their proposal was the financial resources available to put into the facility. I think that we thought they brought some very innovative interpretation... the food and beverage was kind of the way to augment the revenue streams so that there was money to put into the interpretive programs. I think the way they proposed to use the facilities and the site design that they presented us was strong (personal interview, August 11, 2022).

Herschel Shepard also references the Pat Croce Company's financial resources:

> It's because what they suggested was the one that was most in line with the academic interests of the University in preserving these properties as well as seeing if they can become income-producing. They made proposals that sounded to us as if they would make these properties into a tremendous asset for St. Augustine. Not only economically but from an academic standpoint. And they made by far the best presentation on what they intended to do, how they intended to conduct tours, and what they intended to do to bring the properties back into good order (personal interview, August 18, 2022).

The financial resources available for investment in the site were a significant consideration in the Invitation to Negotiate process and proposal review. Over a decade of financial loss experienced by the City cautioned the UFHSA Board from entering into a partnership with an entity that did not have the "staying power" described by Ed Poppell. According to Dr. Shepard, "it had to be self-sustaining" (personal interview, August 18, 2022). The Pat Croce Company demonstrated an ability to secure the financial resources required to re-open the site and ensure it was no longer a burden on the city or the state.

The investment proved significant. The Pat Croce Company spent approximately three and a half million dollars on reviving the property (Cindy Stavely, personal interview, August 3, 2022). A portion of the money was used for business upgrades such as conduits for internet and electricity. The Colonial Quarter LLC. also built a number of new buildings on the property and converted a pre-existing building into a modern restaurant as part of their financial investment. The food and beverage elements have proven to be the main revenue-generating elements to support the museum, according to Stavely (ibid.). All three proposals in the ITN process included a food and beverage element, as it was recognized by all as a necessary element to augment the revenue stream and support interpretive programming (Linda Dixon, personal interview, August 11, 2022). UFHSA carries little financial risk in partnership with the Colonial Quarter LLC., which has always provided the promised payment (UFHSA 2014). The Pat Croce Company reported breaking even from its 3.5-million-dollar investment in 2015 (UFHSA 2015c). Financial growth was recorded in 2016, 2017, and 2018 (UFHSA 2016b, 2017, 2018e). Revenue in 2019 was impacted by Hurricane Dorian, but not dramatically

(UFHSA 2019c). As expected, revenue decreased in 2020 with the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic (UFHSA 2020b), but the Colonial Quarter has made a strong recovery. Ultimately, the financial resources introduced to the site by the public-private partnership are what allowed the Quarter to re-open and become self-sustaining. It is no longer a burden on the City, which allows funds to be redirected to critical infrastructure projects in St. Augustine. Entrance into the public-private partnership has allowed the site to receive a capital investment that was not possible when relying solely on public funds. Without such an investment, it is unknown whether the site would be in operation today.

The Model – Benefits and Challenges

The transfer of management of St. Augustine's historic properties to the University of Florida by legislation in 2007 was "an unusual arrangement but not without precedent" in Florida (Schweers 2013). As previously mentioned, Florida State Statute Chapter 267.1736 was based on a state law that transferred the management of state-owned properties in Pensacola, Florida, to the University of West Florida. This transfer occurred in 2001 when the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board was repealed. The University of West Florida (UWF) Historic Trust owns and manages 32 properties, including museums, in downtown Pensacola in addition to the Arcadia Mill archaeological site. The UWF Historic Trust is a non-profit direct support organization structured almost identically to the UFHSA DSO. University-based DSO models for managing and operating state urban historic properties are not common. There are many instances nationwide of university involvement in operation, preservation, and management of historic properties. For example, the Department of Historic Properties at Clemson University in South Carolina manages two house museums on campus and advocates for

campus-wide historic preservation. However, this effort does not extend beyond campus properties. A university tasked with managing, leasing, and operating another city's historic properties is an uncommon arrangement. Florida Statutes Chapter 1004.28 allows universities to create a DSO able to "receive, hold, invest, and administer property and to make expenditures to or for the benefits of a state university" (UF Historic St. Augustine N.d.). Chapter 267.1736, created in 2007, directed UF to form a DSO "to assist the University in carrying out its dual historic preservation and historic preservation education purposes and responsibilities for the City of St. Augustine, St. Johns County, and the state" (ibid.). As a result, the University of Florida and its DSO, Historic St. Augustine Inc., were tasked with managing thirty-three buildings in St. Augustine. The University of Florida is located in Gainesville, Florida, approximately two hours west of St. Augustine. In this section, I will investigate some of the benefits and challenges of the public-private partnership model resulting from the transfer of St. Augustine property management to UF.

The effect of UF and the UFHSA Board's involvement at the 21-37 St. George Street site has already been introduced. Today, the site is self-sustaining, profitable, and revenue-generating for the UFHSA DSO. The property is open, buildings are being maintained, and St. George Street retains its signature attraction. This unique public-private partnership model between a state-owned University and a private company regarding the operation of a living history colonial heritage site has particular benefits and challenges. I will explore the functionality of this partnership model for mitigating pervasive funding challenges faced by publicly funded historic properties.

Benefits

Exchange of Expertise

There is an exchange of expertise within the public-private partnership that is readily acknowledged and celebrated between actors. UFHSA Board member Linda Dixon notes that "operating a venue like [the Colonial Quarter]... is not really in the core business of a university" (personal interview, August 11, 2022). Therefore, "[UF] look[ed] to a partner who [was] operating a business and particularly a kind of museum and interpretive venue as their core business" (ibid.). Fellow board member Herschel Shepard echoes a similar sentiment, that "the University is not equipped to run a venue like [the Colonial Quarter]... so, the University decided to advertise for existing firms that were in the so-called museum business" (personal interview, August 18, 2022). The search for a partner with expertise in interpretation and business led the selection committee to choose the Colonial Quarter LLC. to operate the site. The Pat Croce Company's expertise in interpretation is subject to question, but the entity's experience in marketing and business is not. The Pat Croce Company operates several hospitality, restaurant, bar, and attractions properties in St. Augustine and Key West, Florida. Croce is known as a successful entrepreneur and businessman, particularly in the state of Florida. In 2012, UFHSA Board member Ed Poppell commented that Croce's "expertise in marketing" was a sign that the "project will result in a great partnership" (UFHSA 2012c). Furthermore, Croce's operation of the St. Augustine Pirate and Treasure Museum was viewed as an indication that he was familiar with the business of heritage tourism, a major sector of St. Augustine's economy (St. Augustine Record 2012). When asked, "What do you believe was or is the purpose of the site's public-private partnership?" UFHSA Board member Linda Dixon responded:

[One] piece that they bring is the business capacity just to do all the day-to-day – the hiring, the marketing, all of those and the investments, having the capital to invest in the property and the programs. Just being able to hand that off to a 3rd party is really the biggest benefit for the University. If we had to operate that the way the city did, we would probably be losing money on it like the city did (personal interview, August 11, 2022).

This excerpt demonstrates that business expertise is an important element that Pat Croce and the Colonial Quarter LLC. bring to the partnership. In fact, without their expertise, Dixon claims the site might still be as unsuccessful as it was under city management.

It is evident that the Colonial Quarter benefits from the expertise provided by UF historians, archaeologists, and preservationists. For instance, Dr. Kathleen Deagan, a widely published and well-known archaeologist in the southeastern United States, has long sat on the UFHSA Board. As mentioned previously, Dr. Deagan is responsible for leading archaeological work that directly informs knowledge of St. Augustine's history shared at the Colonial Quarter. Dr. Deagan has also been part of a UF team of archaeologists that has led an annual historical archaeology field school in St. Augustine since 1968. As Linda Dixon notes, "a lot of [UF's] researchers have discovered these facts and researched these documents or done the archaeological excavations themselves" (personal interview, August 11, 2022). Early on, the Board established an Interpretation, Education, and Facilities Committee "for reviewing and commenting on the content of interpretive panels for the Colonial Quarter LLC. to ensure their accuracy and authenticity" (UFHSA 2013). Dr. Herschel Shepard served as a member of the committee at the time. Shepard shares that "the members of the board that review these things are professors that are in particular disciplines that bear on the changes being made. They are

historians, archaeologists, and myself, an architect. We all have the right to govern the changes" (personal interview, August 18, 2022). The committee underwent hundreds of hours of editing sessions before submitting the final panel content to the full UFHSA Board for review. The following year, Dr. Deagan received affirmation from the Board after inquiring if there was a system in place for continual monitoring of content and information at the Colonial Quarter (UFHSA 2014a). Today, members of the UFHSA Board conduct walkthroughs of the property when they are in St. Augustine and communicate with Executive Director Cindy Stavely if anything appears out of place.

The University has also brought expertise in historic preservation to the partnership. Herschel Shepard argued that "the University has done a fantastic job at researching and restoring what really are reconstructed buildings to begin with" (personal interview, August 18, 2022). Maintenance of the property's historic buildings falls under UF's purview within the partnership. Dr. Shepard argues that the presence of the UF's expertise in St. Augustine has increased the quality of restoration conducted city-wide. Ultimately, the partnership is "a two-way street," in which "[the Board] has to learn from the people who are operating the museum as much as they have to listen to [the Board] as far as academic guidance is concerned" (Herschel Shepard, personal interview, August 18, 2022). This model creates a space where the business and marketing expertise of the Pat Croce Company intersects with UF's "resources in historic preservation, archaeology, tourism... the energy of students and professors, and a national reputation" (St. Augustine Record 2010a).

The resource potential of UF's Tourism Institute was realized in 2015 when the UFHSA Board funded a study focused on visitor experience at St. Augustine's

attractions, including the Colonial Quarter. Cindy Stavely shares that this has been a

significant impact of the partnership:

> They helped us with that study so that was a big impact...if we were just
> sitting out there on our own we wouldn't have had the money to put into that
> study and they were willing to help us with that... we call it Colonial Quarter
> 2.0 – because we had to totally redo our initial plan to what it is now and they
> were instrumental in helping us with that and supportive (personal interview,
> August 18, 2022).

The study resulted in structural changes at the Colonial Quarter, including moving the

main entrance to Castillo Drive across from the Castillo De San Marcos National

Monument. Stavely notes this change made a significant difference in attracting visitors

who were able to see the entrance from the fort. The above excerpt is a clear example of

the Colonial Quarter LLC. benefitting from UF's resources as an academic institution.

Since 2015, there has been no mention of additional research conducted by UF's Tourism

Institute related to St. Augustine's heritage in the publicly available UFHSA Board

Meeting documents. Based on this observation, the full potential of an exchange of

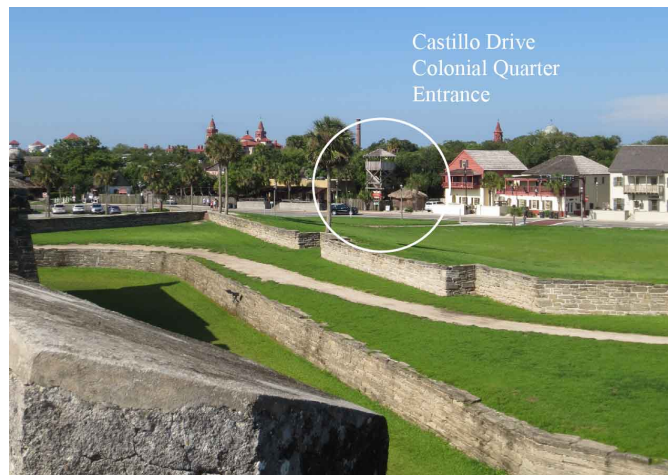expertise within the partnership may yet be realized.

Figure 24: View of the Colonial Quarter entrance from the top of Castillo de San
Marcos National Monument in St. Augustine, Florida.

The exchange of expertise between actors in the partnership is supported by effective communication. Cindy Stavely, Linda Dixon, and Herschel Shepard each described the partnership as a "good working relationship" (personal interviews, August 2022). Stavely noted they have "good communication," and Dixon shares that the Croce team is "open to responding to change" (ibid.). Conflict is minimal between parties, but there is an element of tension between business and historical authenticity roles at the site.

Challenges

When asked about conflicting interests between actors in the partnership, Linda Dixon stated, "I wouldn't call it conflict, but there is some tension between all these different competing needs" (personal interview, August 11, 2022). The competing needs Dixon is referring to are UF's requirement to uphold its reputation through historical accuracy and authenticity at the site and the need for a business to be profitable. In 2013, Pat Croce reported to the UFHSA Board that expenses were higher than anticipated and "there had been a bit of conflict between profiting and maintaining historic presentation authenticity" (UFHSA 2013a). There is little context provided for this statement, but it is likely in reference to the cost of historically accurate material that was required for building construction and structural upgrades on the property. A tension between needs within the partnership is not uncommon at the Colonial Quarter. For example, Linda Dixon shares how the sale of alcohol on the property can be a challenge in the partnership:

> We do have this sort of constant tension between the education side and then the food and beverage side with alcohol being offered at those venues. That's a little awkward - alcohol sales on state-owned property that's operated by a University. You've got to make sure that things are done right. So, we've had

to really lay down the rules about drink specials... just [to ensure] that these things are done very responsibly. I think those are the kind of things that we just have to communicate about and be very open about and sort of understand each other's needs. Clearly, the food and beverage and the alcohol sales are where the profit is – that is the profit center, and we just have to acknowledge that, but we have to make sure it's done responsibly, and we have to make sure enough of those profits are being re-invested in the education which is really the mission of the property (personal interview, August 11, 2022).

Similar to operating the attraction itself, alcohol sales do not generally fall within the core business of a university. The UFHSA Board is careful about oversight of alcohol sales at the Colonial Quarter, as alcohol use can create situations that would not reflect well on the university. In addition, it is difficult to determine how food and beverage businesses connect to the DSO's primarily educational mission. As Dixon states, the connection is generally understood to be based in the fact that the retail offerings provide revenue that is needed to support the site's interpretive function.

Three other instances indicate tension between business needs and historical accuracy at the Colonial Quarter. Herschel Shepard shares that one of the "bumps in the road" occurred when

in one of the little buildings that is a reconstruction of a very early Spanish structure... we noticed that they had an air conditioning unit that was prominent for their staff that really was not a good idea [laughs]. And of course, we brought that to their attention immediately and they took care of it. We know that there are some things that are trade-offs that have to be made and yes, that building did have to have an air-conditioned area in it for staff, sometimes it's just unbearably hot in some of these buildings. So, you have to take care of the people but there are ways to do it where it doesn't become so public and that's the type of change that we recommend, and they certainly took care of it, and we've been very pleased with their response from that (personal interview, August 18, 2022).

This excerpt demonstrates that certain business practicalities, such as an air-conditioning unit for staff, can compromise historical authenticity in a way that is not

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acceptable to the UFHSA Board. As Dixon notes, this appears to be tension, not conflict.

Shepard shares that there was effective communication between parties on this matter and

compliance from the Colonial Quarter. Moments of competing needs such as this do not

escalate into conflict due to the positive working relationship within the partnership.

Linda Dixon provides another example:

> When I'm over there, I'll make a point to kind of walk through or walk by and
> see how things look generally. I'll get in touch with Cindy if I see something
> that is maybe not right. One of the things, just for an example, we all noticed a
> few months ago – they have a gate that's closed. Well, they found a space
> where they put a vending machine in one of the gate spaces that faces St.
> George Street. We noticed that, and we said, 'Hey, you know, we don't think
> that's appropriate. That needs to go.' So, I don't know if that's gone yet, we
> just told them that in July... but that's the kind of little thing. I'm sure they
> thought that that was perfectly harmless, and they had the space and they're
> just thinking people are walking by and they're thirsty and I'll sell them a
> drink. And we just had to say, 'Ehhhh no that's not a good look in front of the
> historic building' [laughs] (personal interview, August 11, 2022).

This excerpt provides an example of the Colonial Quarter LLC. seeking to supplement

profit in a way that is not acceptable to the UFHSA Board because it comprises

authenticity in terms of historic verisimilitude. The presence of a vending machine is

practical for a number of reasons, including the extreme heat of St. Augustine summers,

but it interferes with the historic atmosphere of the site. This was not a major issue,

however, as it was resolved through communication. UFHSA Board members often

conduct "check-ins and impromptu inspections" when they are in St. Augustine to

identify items for discussion (ibid.).

Cindy Stavely identifies another point of contention in the partnership related to

interpretive programming provided at the site. As previously described, Colonial Quarter

tour guides are trained by learning the UFHSA script, shadowing active tour guides, and

then being observed by John Stavely. In their training, tour guides at the Colonial Quarter

are encouraged to incorporate edutainment elements to engage visitors. Stavely describes

the following event:

> We had [a] conversation with them when one of the [UFHSA] staff came and
> overheard some things. We had to explain to them, you have to put some
> entertainment and fun in there, you can't just talk right off the script or you're
> going to lose them. I think after that conversation and giving them feedback
> from teachers and the tour companies they understand that. You have to give
> these tour guides a little bit of personal freedom, creative freedom to tell the
> story in a way that the kids are going to love and listen to instead of zoning
> out and looking at their phones (personal interview, August 3, 2022).

Stavely, with an eye for increased visitor engagement, encourages tour guides to add

their own unique elements to each tour. This may involve singing, playing an instrument,

or acting out a comedic bit, depending on the guide. However, UFHSA Board members

are more concerned with the historical accuracy of the tour than the entertainment

element. This anecdote demonstrates that UFHSA Board members occasionally critique

the Colonial Quarter's interpretive programming for straying from historical accuracy

and possibly too far toward the entertainment element of edutainment. Linda Dixon

echoes this critique, stating, "There's a lot of opportunity to go off script, and that can be

very popular, but we really need to stick to the authenticity. As an educational institution,

we need to make sure we're telling true stories" (personal interview, August 11, 2022).

Speaking on behalf of UFHSA, Dixon confirms that wandering "off-script" is not what

they are looking for in the Colonial Quarter's interpretive programming. Stavely

eventually clarifies that the issue was with a guide playing music on a mandolin at the

beginning of his tour. She shares her reaction: "I'm thinking, 'They love that,' and who's

to say that a mandolin wasn't an instrument here... we got through that little issue" (personal interview, August 3, 2022).

Ultimately, points of tension that arise in an effort to balance competing needs in the public-private partnership are resolved through effective communication. It is facilitated by a positive working relationship based on mutual respect within and between both entities. The Colonial Quarter (CQ) LLC. benefits from UF's expertise, resources, and oversight role. The UFHSA Board values the marketing, business expertise, and financial resources of the Pat Croce Company & CQ LLC. Together, the actors create a product that achieves UF's academic standards for historical accuracy and generates enough revenue to support itself. This partnership may be described as both synergetic and budget-enhancing (Mackintosh 1992). It is synergetic because the partnership brings together the skills, knowledge, and resources of two parties to achieve better results than they would independently. It is also budget-enhancing, as the Colonial Quarter LLC. brings financial resources that would otherwise be unavailable to the UFHSA Board. What I have termed here as an "exchange of expertise" can be understood as the public-private partnership (PPP) advantage of greater access to financial and intellectual resources identified by McQuaid (2000). Effective communication and supportive infrastructure clearly lend to the success of this partnership. Florida State Statutes 267.1735 and 267.1736 provide a legal basis for the DSO's mission and internal processes, such as the Invitation to Negotiate.

According to MacDonald and Cheong (2014), successful PPPs within the heritage sector involve "partners [that] have undergone a 'paradigm shift' in which the public partner becomes more market sensitive, and the private partner accepts more social

responsibility" (26). This paradigm shift displaces the traditional mistrust between the government and private sector in which the government believes the private sector will act to prioritize the bottom line, and the private sector views the government as unnecessarily bureaucratic (ibid.). The examples of tension provided above demonstrate minor episodes in which such elements of mistrust appear. However, they are resolved efficiently through open lines of communication and a working relationship based on trust in the same objective. Actors from both the public and private branches of the partnership speak passionately about the goal of sharing St. Augustine's history. It is identified as the primary function of the site by Tour Guide Ariel Brestin, Executive Director Cindy Stavely, and UFHSA Board Members Linda Dixon and Herschel Shepard (personal interview, August 2022). This shared objective appears to overcome any lingering mistrust between public and private branches to allow for the "paradigm shift" described above by MacDonald and Cheong (2014). The UFHSA Board has become "market sensitive," understanding that food and beverage elements are necessary to generate enough revenue to support the museum. Furthermore, the Colonial Quarter LLC. is committed to sharing the authentic story of St. Augustine, even if it requires additional expenses. Historical accuracy is ensured through a partnership with UF, where distinguished academics have carefully reviewed the interpretive information shared at the site. The PPP model works to negate the heritage industry critique in which authenticity is believed to be compromised upon privatization and commodification (Hewison 1987). This statement is based on conceptions of authenticity held by site leadership and staff since 1970. Namely, that authenticity is based on a collection of established facts and historical accuracy.

Following a constructivist view of authenticity requires acknowledging that authenticity is conceptualized differently depending on the historical and social context of the determiner. Some would assert that authenticity is only achieved once all facts of the story are shared, not only a select few. Based on this logic, one could argue that the Colonial Quarter lacks authenticity due to its avoidance of discussion related to the violent and racist aspects of Spanish colonization (Balsera and May 2014). Following this argument, the site could be said to align with other living history sites of colonial heritage that avoid certain facts due to concern for visitor's comfort and sanitize the history in the process (Tyson 2008; Bardnt 2007; Bruner 1993; Dicks 2003; Gable 2006; Greenspan 2002; Handler and Gable 2007; Waitt 2000). Through this project, I was able to begin an investigation of Native and Black representation within interpretive programming at the Colonial Quarter. However, it should be subject to more in-depth analysis than can be achieved within the scope of this research.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

St. Augustine is proud to be the first continuously occupied European settlement in what is now the United States. Tour guides repeatedly assert that the settlement was established forty-two years before Jamestown colony, Virginia, and fifty-five years before Plymouth colony, Massachusetts. The University of Florida Historic St. Augustine (UFHSA) direct support organization (DSO) responsible for managing over thirty state-owned historic properties in St. Augustine identifies the town as a "state and national treasure" (UFHSA 2011) capable of becoming a "world-class heritage tourism destination" (Economics Research Associates et al. 2009). Heritage sites managed by the UFHSA DSO seek to contribute to St. Augustine's heritage tourism-based economy while maintaining authenticity in the heritage experience.

Colonial Quarter Tour Guide Ariel Brestin summarizes her belief in the importance of the site:

> Every day I get to walk down St. George Street and think, 'People have been doing this for almost 500 years.' There has been someone with a morning routine on St. George Street since there was a St. George Street. That is magical... It's a sense of attachment and connection to the past that in this country I think we are really lacking...learning about the nation's past and how old it is and all the ways that people survived before modern conveniences is really important in helping us respect it.... to try and keep it all here – because we're a coastal city and the water keeps getting higher, and the storms keep getting worse. So, I think in order to properly connect with our present and have any ambition to save the future, you'll have to connect with our past and really appreciate it first. We try to help with that (personal interview, August 2, 2022).

The reporter interviews, editorial articles, and public documents included in the source material for this research demonstrate a continuous belief in the value of sharing St. Augustine's history at 21-37 St. George Street. Evidence for this belief begins with the extensive restoration project conducted by the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission between 1960 and 1966, accompanied by the San Agustín Antiguo Museum created for the purpose of its interpretation. The voices of various individuals involved at the site since San Agustín Antiguo have been included in chapter six. Historically, museum managers, craftspeople, programming directors, and tour guides have spoken about their belief in the importance of sharing St. Augustine's history. Today, Tour Guide Ariel Brestin, Executive Director Cindy Stavely, and UFHSA Board members Linda Dixon and Herschel Shepard express the same conviction.

Informal conversations held with local residents and a several of St. Augustine's heritage professionals indicate a concern with the quality of interpretive programming at the site since the creation of a public-private partnership between the UFHSA Board and the Colonial Quarter LLC. This research sought to investigate the effect of partial privatization at the site as well as consider the possible benefits and challenges of the public-private partnership model. Though some members of the St. Augustine community may have preferred the site under public management, the model was unsustainable. City officials who had dedicated significant resources, time, and energy to keeping the site open went on record stating that the management model at the Colonel Spanish Quarter was no longer viable. When management shifted to the University of Florida (UF), UF allowed the City to be involved in the Invitation to Negotiate process so

they could provide input to ensure the quality of the program was maintained (Linda Dixon, personal interview, August 11, 2022). The Colonial Quarter LLC. was chosen for partnership based on its financial resources, interpretive proposal, and business expertise. The cycle of financial loss that began in 1997 when the City took over management of the Spanish Quarter Museum could not continue.

In addition to achieving increased financial resources, the public-private partnership also created an avenue for an exchange of expertise at the site. The Colonial Quarter LLC. benefits from the expertise of archaeologists, historians, and historic preservationists at the University of Florida. On the other hand, the University of Florida benefits from the marketing and business expertise provided by the Colonial Quarter LLC. The needs of the public and private branches occasionally come into conflict and therefore the public-private partnership model is not without tension. However, moments of tension are ultimately resolved through mutual respect and effective communication. The public-private partnership between the University of Florida and the Colonial Quarter LLC. allows the site to remain in operation and generates revenue for the UFHSA Board to re-invest in St. Augustine's historic properties.

To consider the effect of partial privatization at the Colonial Quarter, I examined the evolution of the site's public education function, edutainment status, interpretive programming, and conceptions of authenticity. Several of these elements were shown to demonstrate continuity not only before and after partial privatization but throughout the history of the site as an interpretive area. The site's interpretive programming was the only feature that appeared to have undergone a notable change. Today, the Colonial Quarter provides less robust living history interpretive programming for its visitors, as it

no longer operates on the open-air village model. Supplemental information is provided via text panels throughout the site. It is not possible to say whether the interpretive information provided on approximately fifty text panels is generally acknowledged by visitors or not. When walking along St. George Street, it is evident that the Colonial Quarter has invested substantial resources in its commercial food and beverage establishments. The St. George Street entrance to the interpretive area cannot be accessed without noticing the Bull & Crown Publick House, which borders the small ticket booth and gate. The Colonial Quarter's food and beverage establishments are acknowledged by all parties in the partnership as critical revenue streams to maintain the interpretive function of the site. However, there is also tension that arises within the partnership related to serving alcohol and not delivering on promises related to environmental sustainability in business practices (Linda Dixon, personal interview, August 11, 2022).

The public-private partnership formed between the University of Florida Historic St. Augustine Inc. Board and the Colonial Quarter LLC. is a viable management model for mitigating the funding challenges faced by heritage sites struggling to survive solely on public funding in the United States. Though there is fear of an unchecked private sector in the heritage field, private organizations generally possess greater flexibility, specialized skills, and capital than the government (MacDonald and Cheong 2014). Without proper oversight, there is a possibility that private-sector actors may compromise heritage values related to the site's cultural and historical significance in pursuit of profit. Indeed, PPPs in the heritage sector generally require "higher-than-average" levels of oversight due to their "values-based nature" (ibid., 33). However, the management model at the Colonial Quarter accounts for this. Expert scholars in the relevant fields review all

interpretive information provided at the Colonial Quarter via an editing process conducted by the Education, Interpretation, and Facilities Committee. UFHSA Board members regularly walk the grounds of the site to check for any features that may compromise the historical authenticity of the site. If a feature is identified, the Executive Director is asked to resolve the issue. The introduction of private-sector involvement has not led to a loss of authenticity due to the structure of oversight put in place by the UFHSA Board. There has been an increase in commercialization at the site, indicated by three fast-casual restaurant options and an entertainment music venue. However, the UFHSA Board has the explicit goal of not allowing increased commercialization to compromise the quality of the site's interpretive programming. In fact, the commercial properties are designed to increase the interpretive experience by providing capital to reinvest in the site's educational objectives.

Board Members Herschel Shepard and Linda Dixon refer to a delicate balance between marketable entertainment and historical authenticity (personal interviews, August 2022). It appears that the Colonial Quarter is able to maintain such a balance. This is due to the structural and intrapersonal nature of the public-private partnership. Sufficient oversight systems are in place, and effective communication resolves issues that arise as a result. I believe the partnership model is ultimately functional due to a genuine belief in the same mission: to share the story of St. Augustine's history.

Critical Heritage Theory, an essential element of my theoretical framework, provides an important perspective from which to view the data collected within this research project. Concepts discussed in chapter three, such as Laurajane Smith's (2006) authorized heritage discourse (AHD) and the concepts of dissonant (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1994)

and difficult (MacDonald 2009) heritage, were central to my understanding of interpretive programming and activity at the Colonial Quarter. When considering the effect of partial privatization on the site's presentation of history, it is necessary to begin by identifying the site as one of dissonant or dark heritage, as this designation has particular implications when placed in conversation with the Heritage Industry Critique (Hewison 1987). The Heritage Industry Critique argues that the commodification of heritage results in the offering of "sanitized, false, and inauthentic history to a gullible audience of tourists" (Smith 2006). At a site of dissonant or difficult heritage, sanitization and falsification can have significant consequences by

> tell[ing] nationalizing stories that simply do not reflect the cultural or social experiences of subaltern groups. This is problematic as it discounts the historical legitimacy of the experiences of these communities and thus the social, cultural, and/or political roles they play in the present are ignored or trivialized (Smith 2006, 36).

Sanitization of difficult heritage can result in inaccurate and insufficient representation of traditionally marginalized groups, which has significant implications when "political struggles over cultural recognition are linked to greater struggles for equity and resources" (Smith 2007, 159). Engaging the theoretical concept of dissonant and difficult heritage in my project resulted in the investigation of the representation of the Native American and African American experience in St. Augustine within my discussion of interpretation at the Colonial Quarter. Not including this subsection would have ignored a critical component of the site and city's history, and contributed to erasure of the Native and Black experience in St. Augustine in favor of nationalizing narratives identifying the roots of nationhood in European settlement.

Telling "nationalizing stories that simply do not reflect the cultural or social experiences of subaltern groups" is also a defining element of Smith's AHD (2006, 36). The AHD, "in providing a sense of national community, must, by definition, ignore the diversity of sub-national cultural and social experience" (ibid, 30). The AHD's role is "forging a common identity based in the past" (ibid., 29). However, this is involves choosing one past or narrative, from the many, to label as *the* narrative. This narrative then becomes the authorized heritage discourse. Traditionally, the authorized heritage discourse has praised the material and monumental, the great men of history, and the elite social classes (ibid.). Sub-national, or subaltern groups, to use Smith's (2006) terminology, are widely excluded from the authorized heritage discourse. As mentioned in chapter four, Rodney Harrison (2008) argues that heritage management in settler societies such as the United States is necessarily "predatory" in nature. Specifically, this involves the "metaphorical and/or physical erasure of traces of prior Indigenous occupation and emphasizing the roots of nationhood in colonial settlement" (ibid., 178). At the Colonial Quarter, the AHD is prioritized in the interpretive material, clearly emphasizing the roots of nationhood in colonial settlement via insufficient representation of Native occupation of the land prior to and during Spanish colonial settlement. In addition, glorification of figures such as Juan Ponce de León and Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, without mention of the violence of colonization brought by the actions of these individuals, "simply do[es] not reflect the cultural or social experiences of subaltern groups" (Smith 2006, 36). The six interpretive panels that mention the Native and Black experience in Spanish Colonial St. Augustine are not enough to challenge the AHD.

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Therefore, the Colonial Quarter continues to operate within the authorized heritage discourse.

Limitations

This project had two primary limitations: limited source material from 2000 and 2010 and the inability to completely investigate the representation of the Native American and Black experience in the Colonial Quarter's interpretive programming. Firstly, the source material dating to the first decade of the twenty-first century was focused primarily on financial problems plaguing the site. As a result, it was more challenging to understand conceptions of authenticity and what interpretive programming was provided. I was required to rely on the limited statements and publications available from this time period. For instance, I primarily utilized material available from 1997 to 2000 to consider the site under City management as specifics of the site under City management from 2000 to 2010 are generally unknown. Second, I was unable to complete a full investigation the Colonial Quarter's representation of the Native American and Black experience in St. Augustine. It is a critical component of the Colonial's Quarter interpretive programming and should be subject to more in-depth analysis than could be achieved this project.

Recommendations for Further Research

For future research, I recommend an investigation of how the UFHSA Board might engage with community stakeholders in the management of the Colonial Quarter and St. Augustine's heritage institutions at large. Elizabeth Crooke (2010) argues that engaging the local community in heritage management decisions can introduce alternative and additional sets of values from a values-based management perspective. As values-based

heritage management is understood to be fundamentally subjective and multivocal in urban settings (Fredheim and Khalaf 2016), I believe it would be productive for the UFHSA Board to explore how to seriously engage with community members beyond patronage.

Furthermore, I recommend that an expert in the history of colonial St. Augustine investigate the representation of the Native American and African American experience at the Colonial Quarter. The Colonial Quarter is a popular tourist destination that reaches a diverse audience of tourists and school groups. Fourth-grade Florida students visit the Colonial Quarter to learn about the colonization of Florida in supplementation to their social studies curricula. It is critical that further assessment of the story being told at the Colonial Quarter is conducted. This assessment may include a comparative analysis with the interpretive information at two other St. Augustine heritage sites, the Castillo de San Marcos National Monument managed by the National Park Service and Fort Mose State Park managed by the Florida Park Service.

In addition, I believe St. Augustine's heritage institutions and my site, the Colonial Quarter, would benefit from the application of additional concepts from Critical Heritage Theory. Particularly, concepts such as the John Urry's (1990) "tourist gaze," Bruce Trigger's (1984) "colonialist archaeology," and the politics of representation in the heritage sector (Harrison 2013). In addition, the extent to which St. Augustine's heritage institutions, as a whole and individually, operate within the authorized heritage discourse is an area in which further discussion would be productive. Investigation of these concepts is outside the scope of this project.

Lastly, I believe it would be fruitful for additional research to focus on the built environment of St. George Street in downtown St. Augustine. Margaret Farrar (2011) discusses the ability of reconstructed historic towns, main streets, and heritage tourism sites to impose a specific memory framework. An imposed memory framework has the ability to deem what memory of a place exists in the public consciousness and exclude others (ibid.). Choices regarding historic preservation in St. Augustine have resulted in a historic main street that celebrates the town's Spanish colonial history. This bounds the city by 1565, the year that Pedro Menéndez de Avilés arrived at what is now St. Augustine. A deeper time perspective would allow space for inclusion of the experience of Native Americans in the area prior to colonization to be included in the St. Augustine story. I believe it would be valuable to explore how the built environment of St. George Street shapes the historical narrative of St. Augustine and interacts with heritage tourism sites such as the Colonial Quarter.

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Appendix A

Visits to the Colonial Quarter site during fieldwork period	
Date	Time (approx.)
July 3, 2022	2 hours
July 6, 2022	1.5 hours
July 9, 2022	1 hour
July 11, 2022	1.5 hours
July 13, 2022	1.5 hours
July 14, 2022	30 min
July 18, 2022	1 hour
July 20, 2022	1 hour
July 21, 2022	1 hour
July 22, 2022	30 minutes
July 26, 2022	1 hour
August 2, 2022	1.5 hours
August 3, 2022	1 hour

Appendix B

News Articles - Word Frequency Diagram 1

DATE	Title	Source
4/12/70	(050) 'Old Skills Thrive in Ancient City'	News Article, Times Union and Journal
5/16/70	(036) 'East Florida Gazette being Printed in Restoration Area'	News Article, St. Augustine Record
2/2/74	(076) 'There's a new 'old look' in historic St. Augustine'	News Article, St. Augustine Record (2 total)
11/13/74	(078) 'Training Lectures Held for Restoration Workers'	News Article, St. Augustine Record
11/16/74	(053) 'Restoration Guide Published'	News Article, St. Augustine Record
7/13/78	(001) 'They're Telling it Like Was in Restored Area'	News Article, St. Augustine Record
7/28/78	(040) 'History Revived in Restored Area'	News Article, The Explorer
8/7/82	(028) 'Aromas of Yesterday Draw All to the Historic Area'	News Article, St. Augustine Record
9/17/82	(047) 'New Look to Restoration Tour'	News Article, The St. Augustine Compass (2 total)
10/19/82	(021) '18th Century Pottery Firing'	News Article, St. Augustine Record
3/24/83	(027) 'Area Students Learn History of Old St. Augustine Through Tour'	News Article, St. Augustine Record
4/1/83	(067) 'St. Augustine Potter Strives for Authenticity'	News Article, Times Union and Journal
11/9/83	(020) 'Adventures in Learning': History is re-lived on St. George Street	News Article, St. Augustine Compass (4 total)
8/29/84	(058) 'School Groups Enjoy Historic Area'	News Article, St. Augustine Record
11/1/85	(024) 'Addition to Museum'	News Article, St. Augustine Record
5/20/87	(052) 'Pottery Demonstration'	News Article, St. Augustine Record
2/4/89	(049) 'New Museum Welcomes Visitors to Spanish Quarter'	News Article, The St. Augustine Compass (3 total)
8/1/92	(083) 'Volunteer recruitment underway for museum education program'	News Article, St. Augustine Record
8/7/93	(077) 'Thousands of kids visit Spanish Quarter'	News Article, St. Augustine Record
11/1/94	(041) 'Its Yesterday Once More…'	News Article, The St. Augustine Compass (2 total)
2/24/95	(037) 'Following Tradition'	News Article, St. Augustine Record
3/28/96	(085) 'Ye old alehouse'	News Article, St. Augustine Record

8/6/96	(048) 'New Minorcan Exhibit Depicts Life 200-plus years ago'	News Article, Unknown Source
7/25/97	(075) 'The Spanish Quarter by any other name…'	News Article, St. Augustine Record
5/17/98	(046) 'Living in the Past'	News Article, Unknown Source
5/17/98	(032) 'City's historic program nears one-year anniversary'	News Article, Unknown Source (2 total)
5/18/98	(064) 'Spanish Quarter Village Needs Attendance Boost'	News Article, Unknown Source (2 total)
9/20/98	(042) 'Keep the change, the quarter said'	News Article, Unknown Source (2 total)
6/14/99	(029) 'Calvert Brings History Alive'	News Article, Unknown Source (2 total)
6/24/00	(069) 'Summer Camp in Spanish Quarter'	News Article, St. Augustine Record
7/13/01	(062) 'Spanish Quarter looks for tourism boost'	News Article, St. Augustine Record (2 total)
1/3/02	(071) 'Tavern re-enactments presented to PZA'	News Article, St. Augustine Record (3 total)
12/17/02	(025) 'American History Redux'	News Article, Folioweekly (6 total)
3/15/05	(081) 'Unable to afford its past'	News Article, The Gainsville Sun (2 total)
4/16/05	(063) 'Spanish Quarter short on visitors'	News Article, St. Augustine Record
4/21/05	(061) 'Spanish Quarter is more than a museum; that story needs telling'	News Article, St. Augustine Record
5/24/05	(060) 'Spanish Quarter Focus on Finance Talks'	News Article, St. Augustine Record
10/27/09	(146) 'City to upgrade heritage tourism'	Online News Article, St. Augustine Record
4/2/10	(139) 'More Spanish Quarter visibility is vital to its future'	Online News Article, St. Augustine Record
4/17/10	(129) 'Spanish Quarter to get new look'	Online News Article, St. Augustine Record
6/13/10	(134) 'Promising signs city and UF will work together on Spanish Quarter renewal'	Online News Article, St. Augustine Record
9/13/10	(130) 'Spanish Quarter Role Elevated'	Online News Article, St. Augustine Record
11/20/10	(145) 'Craftspeople share colonial heritage'	Online News Article, St. Augustine Record
7/14/11	(131) 'Spanish Quarter may close'	Online News Article, St. Augustine Record
8/25/11	(128) 'Spanish Quarter to retool'	Online News Article, St. Augustine Record
10/24/11	(147) 'City to rank ideas for Spanish Quarter'	Online News Article, St. Augustine Record
3/29/12	(141) 'Local Businesses apply to manage Spanish Quarter'	Online News Article, St. Augustine Record
5/8/12	(126) 'Two local companies vie to run Spanish Quarter'	Online News Article, St. Augustine Record
6/12/12	(132) 'Spanish Quarter contract talks start'	Online News Article, St. Augustine Record
10/9/12	(174) "Dig Making Way for Watch tower"	News Article, St. Augustine Record
1/22/13	(133) 'Sneak Peek inside Colonial Quarter'	Online News Article, St. Augustine Record
3/12/13	(135) 'Pat Croce launches St. Augustine Colonial Quarter'	Online News Article, St. Augustine Record
1/0/2000	(023) 'A Week of Hands-on Learning'	News Article, St. Augustine Record (2 total)
n.d.	(045) 'Living History Exhibit Opens'	News Article, Unknown Source

Appendix C

Semi-Structured Interview Questions
1. Please describe, in general terms, your job.
a. *Probe on role within the organization.*
2. In general, what is the role of your organization in relation to the operation of the Colonial Quarter?
a. *Probe on individual role.*
3. Does your organization have any benchmarks or strategic plans related to operation of the site or St. Augustine's heritage sites generally?
a. Can you tell me more about them?
i. *Probe on specifics, process of establishment, success in this area.*
4. Does your organization have any mission, vision, or goal statements?
a. Can you tell me more about them?
i. *Probe on relevancy to activity at the Colonial Quarter.*
5. What or who sets the agenda for public history management in St. Augustine?
a. *Probe on St. Augustine actors (Historic Architectural Review Board, Department of Heritage Tourism, University of Florida, private partners).*
6. What or who sets the agenda for public history management at the Colonial Quarter, specifically?
7. Were you involved in any way in the transition to public-private partnership that occurred in 2011?
a. If so, can you speak to how this transition affected the Colonial Quarter?
8. In your opinion, what is the impact of partnership with the Pat Croce Company and subsequent renovation?
a. *Probe on elements of renovation.*
9. Are you aware of any strong opinions of the renovation?
a. *Probe on critiques or praise.*
10. What do you believe was or is the purpose of the site's public-private partnership?
a. *Probe on purposes, fulfillment.*
11. Do you find that there are any conflicts or conflicting interests between different actors involved in the public-private partnership?
12. Do you find there are any conflicts or conflicting interests within your organization regarding the management of history at the Colonial Quarter?
13. In your opinion, what is the most important function of the site?
a. *Probe on different functions, why.*
14. How important is historical accuracy to the management of information shared at the Colonial Quarter?
a. *Probe on difficult histories, visitor expectations.*
15. What is the role of the Colonial Quarter in sharing St. Augustine's history?
a. *Probe on community role, purpose.*
16. Do you believe the work done at the Colonial Quarter to share St. Augustine's history is important (or meaningful)?
a. Why?

Appendix D

Codes
1. Authenticity/ Accuracy 2. Financial Value of the site (Profit/Revenue) 3. Educational Value of the site 4. Cost of Operation Issues 5. Funding Issues 6. UF Oversight 7. Partnership Tension (Weaknesses) 8. Strengths of Partnership 9. Business & Historical Authenticity/Education Tension 10. Edutainment Status 11. Provider Satisfaction 12. Customer Satisfaction 13. Site transition over Time (Management, Structure) 14. Retail Planning, Implementation, Success 15. Functions of the Site 16. City Historical/Heritage Tourism Value