


# The Need for Academic Integrity in Mass Media: A Perspective from Nautical Archaeology in The Bahamas

Abigail Darville

 0000-0001-9227-4882

University of Southampton

---

## Abstract

The Bahamas has a rich history of shipwrecks, piracy and treasure hunting; however the academic discipline of nautical archaeology is largely unfamiliar to Bahamians. Unfortunately, treasure hunting is still a common practice in The Bahamas and piracy is not relegated to the past. Illegal looting and damage to shipwreck sites constitute a serious threat to the country's underwater cultural heritage. Accordingly, this study contributes to the discussion by conducting a critical analysis of two television documentary series, *Treasure Quest* and *Cooper's Treasure*, as well as local media coverage of nautical archaeology and treasure hunting in The Bahamas. The study finds that media discussions incorrectly interpret treasure hunting to be part of nautical archaeology and perpetuate the widespread feeling in The Bahamas that treasure hunting is necessary.

---

## Introduction

Much like the enigma of the American dream, treasure hunting is often associated with the attainment of riches and glory. This lure is especially strong in the Caribbean due to its authentic history of piracy and wrecking. Many historical shipwrecks are thought to contain millions of dollars' worth of gold, silver, and jewels in the capsized ships lost at sea (Gately & Benjamin, 2017, p. 1). This narrative presents a romanticized perspective of nautical archaeology as studies of previous expeditions of treasure hunting continue to dominate academic discussion.

Treasure hunters, collectors, and antiquarian dealers were the forerunners of the discipline of nautical archaeology. However, their contribution no longer represents the

scientific and academic approaches of the field today. The distinction between treasure hunters or salvagers and nautical archaeology is rarely made in the popular media. Instead, the media continues to interpret treasure hunting as a romanticized and glamorized component of the academic discipline of nautical archaeology (Gately & Benjamin, 2017, p. 13; Sperry, 2008).

The Bahamas, a country in the Caribbean, continues to view treasure hunting and marine salvage as a core component of nautical archaeology because many citizens are not aware of the difference between the two. This misconception is so pervasive that in 2011 the Government of The Bahamas amended legislation and passed regulations that effectively conflates the two activities in

the Antiquities, Monuments and Museum (Amendment) Act (2011) and the Antiquities, Monuments and Museums (Underwater Cultural Heritage) Regulations (2012). This paper serves as an introduction to the possibilities for correcting these misconceptions by presenting case studies using examples from the visual (television) and print and online news media.

### **Nautical Archaeology on Television**

Television is “often cited as the primary source for public information and learning” (Gately & Benjamin, 2017, p. 21) and plays a central role in conveying representations about archaeology due to the discipline’s evolution being captured through the lens of the camera (Sperry, 2008, p. 335). The need to differentiate between the scientific process and entertainment has created disengagement between filmmakers and archaeologists. This results in the alienation of archaeologists from their filmmaking practice (Rogers, 2019, p. 230). This formerly symbiotic relationship has become fractured, which position creators (who are invested in popular culture) use as representational modes to portray nautical archaeology as merely entertainment. This situation reinforces improper interpretations of the field to those lacking the background knowledge to make more astute, research-based distinctions which could positively impact the portrayal of the field in the media (Sperry, 2008, p. 335).

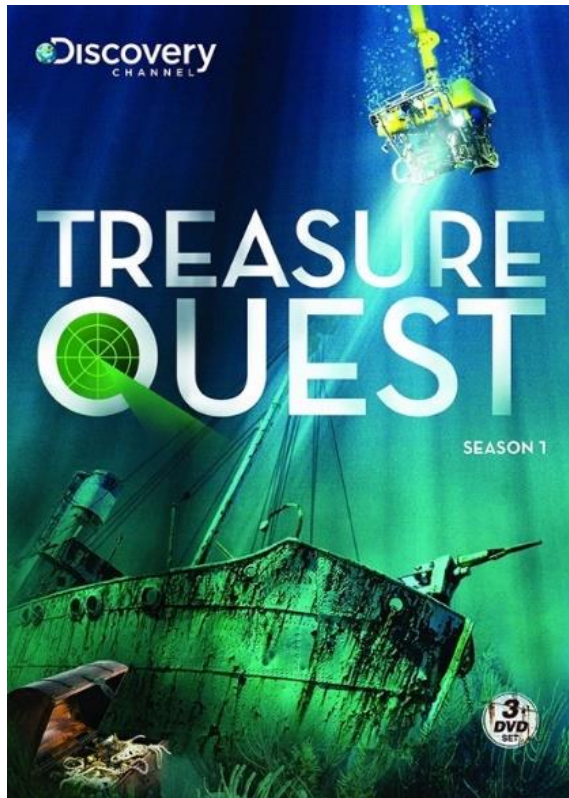
Without the symbiotic relationship, approaches rooted in the 1950s to the 1970s will continue to prevail. These approaches are characterized by fanciful narratives of misadventures of explorers and treasure hunters which are orchestrated by murder, misfortune, and mischievous deeds as the protagonist searches for riches with his objectified, seductive, female companion (Gately & Benjamin, 2017). These narratives

position salvagers as key agents who incite the public’s imagination and zeal for viewing the misadventures. These compelling narratives therefore gain popular support (Gately & Benjamin, 2017, p. 9) which yields commercial success as evident in the examples presented as case studies in this paper—two successful television series released by the Discovery Channel: *Treasure Quest* (2009) and *Cooper’s Treasure* (2017).

First released in 2009, the television series *Treasure Quest* (Figure 1) focuses on the work of Odyssey Marine Exploration, a salvaging group. They are depicted in their search for historical wrecks in marine environments around the globe. This series received criticism from academic archaeologists. Zorich (2009), for example, briefly described the series capitalistic treatment of the discipline as portraying “underwater heritage as a commodity to be mined from the seafloor” (p. 1). Furthermore, the series demonstrates to the international public the processes of systematically looting and salvaging historic shipwrecks as a business (Zorich, 2009, para. 1). Throughout the series of episodes, the producers openly expressed their interest in the gold over the history of the unidentified wreck, code-named the *Black Swan* (Zorich, 2009, para. 2). This series was a commercial success predicated on presenting treasure hunting through destructive and unsystematic methodologies (Zorich, 2009). As such, the series displayed several layers of academic dishonesty. First of all, the producers displayed a level of secrecy regarding the nature of the vessel. The team misrepresented the value of the treasure found; they drastically decreased the estimated value from \$500 million to \$4 million. The producers did not display respect for the natural and cultural formation processes which characterized the ship’s context which thereby limited scientific and academic understandings of the object. Finally, the

producers made no efforts to preserve the wreck or other aspects of the excavation (including publishing and further scientific or academic exploration and analysis). This removed any responsibility for historic preservation or culpability for physical damage of the cultural artifact (Zorich, 2009).

**Figure 1**  
Cover for Season 1 of the TV Series *Treasure Quest*.



Note: *Treasure Quest*, W. Garder. Copyright 2009 by the Discovery Channel.

The series neither educated nor provided the viewers with accurate information regarding all aspects of the Black Swan salvage. This was because the “Odyssey’s interpretations are the first, last, and the only word on the archaeology of the wrecks they loot” (Zorich, 2009, para. 5).

The producers of the show also disregarded the integrity of the archaeological site, which will limit the ability of scholars to conduct

further research on it (Nutley, 2008, p. 16). Frequently, treasure hunters solely interested in valuable artifacts found in a shipwreck tend to destroy the integrity of the site and key characteristics that nautical archaeologists find most salient.

This destructive approach was again demonstrated in Discovery Channel’s more recent television series, *Cooper’s Treasure* (2017). In this series, the narrative follows the work of Darrell Miklos and his team as they search for treasure around The Bahamas and other territories guided by a treasure map which they received from NASA astronaut Gordon Cooper.

A critical analysis of this series written from an academic or nautical archaeology perspective has not yet been published. The series presents visual and written media as having an intertwined relationship. Articles discussing *Cooper’s Treasure* regularly reflect the ideology, that is, the necessity for treasure hunters to conduct salvage operations in The Bahamas. However, media coverage of narratives which entail cultural artifacts should maintain a balance between educating and entertaining the public. Regrettably, in nautical archaeology too much focus on entertainment often incorrectly depicts treasure hunting as an academic component of the field (Rogers, 2019).

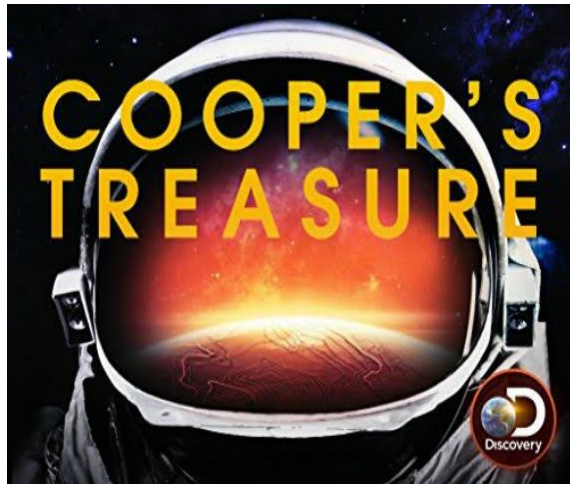
When pseudo-archaeology shows such as *Cooper’s Treasure* are filmed in The Bahamas (and elsewhere), they send erroneous messages about nautical archaeology. Without professionals and academics correcting misrepresentations (Rogers 2019, p. 230), how can the value of archaeological labour be established alongside the entertainment presented by film and television?

### Cooper's Treasure: A Brief Evaluation

In *Cooper's Treasure* (Figure 2), the cast depicted in the series constitute a treasure hunting group. The shipwrecks of interest are all characterized as potential sites of treasure. There are also constant references to the monetary value of the wrecks, similar to *Treasure Quest*. In the latter, the crew searched for the wreck of the *Merchant Royal*, supposedly containing treasure worth billions of dollars (Zorich, 2009, para. 3). Supporting this connection, was Darrell Miklos's father, Roger Miklos, a controversial treasure hunter from Key West who had interests in treasure hunting in The Bahamas in the 1990s (Miles, 2018). There are several publicly acknowledged issues with Darrell Miklos's methods, such as his penchant for pushing the boundaries of diving, transgressing the limits of general health and safety, and obfuscating the legality of obtaining permissions (Miles, 2018).

**Figure 2**

Cover of *Cooper's Treasure* Season 1



Note: *Cooper's Treasure*, D .Frank et al. Copyright 2017 by the Discovery Channel.

In Episode 1 of Season 2 (titled "The 500 Million Dollar List"), Miklos's crew are seen lifting artifacts from the seabed both in Turks and Caicos (as a recap) and in The Bahamas (as an introduction). In The Bahamas,

according to Dr. Keith Tinker, the Director of the Antiquities Monuments & Museum Corporation, the crew were given a permit to film and research only and they were not "permitted to disturb or salvage wreck sites" (Turnquest, 2018).

According to the current regulations and legislation, Miklos and his crew should have acquired an exploration permit to determine non-intrusive evidence of underwater cultural heritage (UCH), followed by a recovery license, which would have allowed them to recover artifacts from the Bahamian seabed (Antiquities, Monuments and Museum [Underwater Cultural Heritage] Regulations [2012], p. 2).

The Turks and Caicos Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the other hand, granted Miklos a salvage lease. However, the extent of the permit is unclear. Regardless, the review of the recap demonstrated the team's success in raising a Columbus-era anchor (Figure 3).

**Figure 3**

Cast of *Cooper's Treasure* Raising a Columbus-era Anchor in the Turks and Caicos



Note: *Cooper's Treasure*, D .Frank et al. Copyright 2017 by the Discovery Channel.

This resulted in the involvement of the marine police, which further resulted in Miklos's furious monologue where he concluded that his actions were justified. The anchor was forcibly returned. In conclusion, the team was denied further exploration in the

Turks and Caicos Islands pending further investigation, and Darrell shifted his focus to The Bahamas instead in an attempt to find 290 tons of silver.

Within the very same episode, the team lifted nails (Figure 4), a deadeye (Figure 5), a cannonball, a cargo hook, and a cannon. They were interested in selling the latter for their personal gain. In response, Bahamian individuals reported their concerns to *The Tribune*, one of the local newspapers, which later published an article titled “Discovery Channel Treasure Hunters Had Permit to Film and Research Only” (Turnquest, 2018).

**Figure 4**  
Darrell Miklos with Nail Raised from the Seabed in The Bahamas



*Note: Cooper's Treasure, D. Frank et al. Copyright 2017 by the Discovery Channel.*

Standard procedure in The Bahamas dictates that artifacts are to be left where they are found during exploration. Explorers must procure a second permit to lift the artifacts (Antiquities, Monuments and Museum [Amendment] Act [2011]; Antiquities, Monuments and Museum [Underwater Cultural Heritage] Regulations [2012]). However, Miklos's team appeared to be more interested in collecting and selling the artifacts, thereby transforming UCH into a commercial item. This scenario directly contravenes the provisions of the UNESCO 2001 Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage. This was also found in many other cases where treasure hunters were more interested in the monetary

value of other countries UCH, such as in Florida, Panama, France, Africa, the Dominican Republic, the South China Sea, and Malaysia (Villega Zamora, 2008).

**Figure 5**  
Darrell Miklos with a Deadeye Raised from the Seabed



*Note: Cooper's Treasure, D. Frank et al. Copyright 2017 by the Discovery Channel.*

The series descends into pseudo-archaeology on a number of occasions. Pseudo-archaeology is alternative, interpretive narratives about the past having no scientific basis. The key characteristics of pseudo-archaeology include hyperbolic claims; selective/distorted presentation; the expectation of a reward at a quest's end; dodged adherence to outdated theoretical models; vague definitions; superficiality, sloppiness, grossness of comparison; appeal to academic authority; and a farrago of failings (Fagan, 2006).

The first example of presenting pseudo-archaeology within the series pertains to the plot itself, as it “blend(s) space exploration and treasure hunting into a single show... [bringing a] multidimensional aspect” (Schwindt, 2017). The second example is the focus on an unidentified submerged object in Season 2.

Concepts such as unidentified submerged objects in a putative nautical archaeology

documentary suggest a story of aliens and other science-fiction narratives. This is despite the claim that the multidimensional aspects make the series more authentic, according to Ari Mark, co-founder of production company AMPLE, one of the companies which produced the series (Schwindt, 2017). Therefore, the authenticity and realism of the series is questionable. Indeed, the overall identity of the series is a genre of factual television that has been restyled as hybrid by combining fiction and non-fiction, therefore blurring the lines between the two (see, for example, Hill, 2007; Parker, 2016).

Once again, it is necessary to reiterate Discovery Channel's position. In the 1970s, new regulations in the United States permitted educational programming to show less concern for public good (Parker, 2016, p. 164). Uncertainty in the future of educational organizations such as the Smithsonian Institution and the National Geographic Society, led to cutbacks in their mass audience productions (Parker, 2016). As a result, new commercial educational networks emerged including the Discovery Channel. This positioned entertainment above education, reducing the possibility of this media to serve the public good, because these new programs "must adhere to the conventions set by the standards of profitability, that is, the ability to entertain, even at the risk of misinforming" (Parker, 2016, p. 162). This also includes the need for drama (Parker, 2016), which was plentiful within the two seasons of *Cooper's Treasure*, including dangerous diving, encounters with sharks, exclusive conversations with locals, threats issued, and the presence of guns.

### **The 'Necessity' for Treasure Hunters in The Bahamas: An Article Analysis**

Perspectives on treasure hunting in popular media lead to the central issue that this paper

intends to address. There is a mistaken, local belief within The Bahamas regarding the necessity for treasure hunters. This case study analyzed 17 articles found on Bahamian news websites relating to treasure hunting and UCH. The study included both mainstream print newspapers (i.e., *The Tribune* and the *Nassau Guardian*) and digital medium tabloid sites (e.g., *Bahamas Press*). Out of 17 articles related to treasure hunting and UCH in The Bahamas, only four (24%) were either concerned about the protection of shipwrecks in The Bahamas, or about the concern of theft of artifacts. Although the most recently published article in *The Tribune* on treasure hunting mentioned public concerns about Miklos's team raising artefacts (Turnquest, 2018), 25% of articles had positive headlines about treasure hunters, who they also referred to as salvagers.

On the one hand, it is the general view of Bahamian news articles (at 47%) that permitting salvage licenses is an opportunity to introduce significant amounts of money into the public treasury (Hartnell, 2013a; Pridmore, 2007). These articles note from a salvaging perspective that the Bahamian Government would receive 25% of the profits retrieved from the treasure. This sum would derive from shipwrecks which departed from elsewhere in the Caribbean and wrecked in the shallow waters of The Bahamas. Articles about the most exciting finds have sensational headlines (Pridmore, 2007, p. 19) and can lead to headlines such as "Govt Seeking to Cash in on Shipwrecks" (2011) or the somewhat preposterous "Treasure Salvaging Can 'Wipe Out National Debt'" (Hartnell, 2013a). These sensationalized headlines reinforce the lure of treasure hunting and greed to seize the loot for economic gain regardless of any damage posed to underwater cultural artefacts.

Despite the good intentions of the authors of the newspaper articles, there is more

emphasis on the potential economic gain from the found treasure compared to a discussion of the historical importance of the underwater cultural heritage sites. This demonstrates the author's complicity in reinforcing the treasure hunter's desire to seek personal gain through adventure and expedition.

For example, there are concerns regarding The Bahamas potentially losing aspects of its cultural heritage sites by not having proper regulations. However, most of the concerns expressed within *The Tribune* articles are aimed towards the salvager's confusion between the moratorium and the 2012 regulations (Antiquities, Monuments and Museum [Underwater Cultural Heritage] Regulations [2012]). About half of *The Tribune* articles addressed salvager's frustration with the government following the announcement made by the Minister of Youth, Sports, and Culture, Charles Maynard, who expressed that "the new [2012] legislation has lifted an almost 20-year moratorium of salvages in The Bahamas" ("Govt Expects Big Boost from Undersea Salvage Industry", 2012). *Tribune* business editor Hartnell (2013c) quotes the salvagers view on the matter, claiming that "the Government's failure to comply with its own legislation has left wreck salvagers and their financiers 'frustrated and disillusioned with The Bahamas,' and this could cost this nation both its heritage and multi-million dollar industry" (2013c). Furthermore, in a 2014 article, Hartnell presents claims by Anthony Howorth, the former chairman of the Bahamas Association of Treasure Salvors that The Bahamas is threatening "a potential multi-million dollar industry" (Hartnell, 2014). Howorth further claimed in the article that the Bahamas Association of Treasure Salvors intended to help the government protect sites through proper scientific methodology, although the organization's name suggests otherwise. Indeed, both

*Treasure Quest* and *Cooper's Treasure* have demonstrated that employing an archaeologist did not guarantee that the professional used proper methods and practices to preserve cultural artifacts in a manner consistent with best practices in nautical archaeology.

Most of the critical perspectives on treasure hunting and UCH come from tabloid-type digital publications. *Bahamas Press* openly discussed some of the serious issues that The Bahamas faces regarding treasure hunting. In February 2011 the outlet reported that an American resident of The Bahamas was suspected of looting a Spanish galleon in waters around Walker's Cay, Abaco. The article also discussed the treasure hunter's breach of protocol because they did not possess licenses permitting the salvaging expedition. Even more egregious, the collected artifacts were exported outside of the country ("American Arrested," 2011). A second *Bahamas Press* article ("Permission to Collect Gold", 2018) contended that gold was being harvested from wrecks in Bahamian waters without proper authorization. Lastly, unlike *The Tribune* which expressed positive information and opportunities about treasure salvaging, the *Bahamas Press* demonstrated that they were well aware of salvaging companies exploiting gold in The Bahamas, calling it the "backside rape of our national treasures" ("Does the Minnis Cabinet," 2012, para. 8).

One could potentially tie these opposing perspectives to the biases of specific Bahamian media outlets toward particular political parties. *Bahamas Press* is a famously pro-Progressive Liberal Party outlet, whereas the mainstream newspapers in The Bahamas, such as *The Tribune*, are generally believed to support the traditionally more free-market-oriented Free National Movement. These issues should be kept in mind when considering that the *Bahamas*

Press article, "Permission to Collect Gold" (2018) was directed toward then Prime Minister, Hubert Minnis of the Free National Movement. In contrast, an article published in *The Tribune* addressed the impropriety of former Prime Minister Perry Christie of the Progressive Liberal Party, who met with Odyssey Marine Exploration (the same group involved with *Treasure Quest*) about conducting salvaging operations in The Bahamas, despite them having a controversial record (Hartnell, 2013b).

### **Alternatives to Treasure Hunting**

There are key statistics which indicate a more economically beneficial system built on sustainable preservation by maintaining proper nautical archaeological standards. A case example from the Thunder Bay National Marine Sanctuary, specifically the Great Lakes Maritime Heritage Center and/or Alpena Shipwreck Tours, demonstrated both direct and indirect economic contributions of properly maintained UCH (Schwarzmann et al. 2018). Over four months, it was determined that 467 jobs were supported annually, generating an annual "\$14.8 million in labor income and \$39.9 million in output" (Schwarzmann et al., 2018, p. 17).

The narratives of shipwrecks in Bahamian waters tell an exciting history of accidents due to the country's shallow waters and frequent storms and hurricanes. These narratives are intriguing even when there was no commercially valuable cargo. Not enough information is currently available about the wrecks within Bahamian waters, and even less will be known if they are all destroyed. Regardless of their history, cargo, or age, the preserved wrecks would be a huge attraction for tourists and locals alike. (An example of a submerged historical vehicle that is already a successful attraction for scuba divers in The Bahamas is the submerged plane near Norman's Cay.) If treasure hunter's quests

ruin the prospect of adequately preserving the sites, their actions will destroy the viability of the wrecks to serve as cultural heritage sites.

Each wreck presents a unique insight into a country's economy, culture, and society. Reconstructing the history and events is a fascinating endeavour when studying shipwrecks. This is particularly the case for wrecks that are undocumented or untouched. Nautical or maritime archaeologists persist in undertaking these important efforts. Additionally, the lack of knowledge and awareness regarding the unknown numbers of wrecks within the country positions filmmakers as having an opportunity to portray fantastic stories about understudied archaeological sites. In addition to the numerous different ways that the nearby islanders employ that to their advantage, be it from fishing, tourism, local historical relations, or international connections, without the involvement of treasure.

As Dr. Tinker noted, salvagers come to The Bahamas "and ruthlessly take but call it exploration...destroy[ing] many shipwrecks in search of treasure...looking to recover what they deem valuable" (McKenzie, 2014). Despite the interests that some locals may have to invest in the efforts of foreign salvagers based on the possibility of economic gains, not all perspectives were considered before promoting foreign investment.

An example of this oversight resonates in the case of a Bahamian citizen, Nicholas Maillis, president of the salvaging group Maillis Marine Research & Recovery based in Long Island, Bahamas (Hartnell, 2009). Many benefits can result from investing in The Bahamas's UCH, such as its capacity to bolster the economy based on the monetary value associated with certain wrecks. However, promoting salvaging as a method for such an investment should not be viewed



as a welcomed asset. Maillis may be promoting local involvement in the salvaging business, but his work could also encourage foreign salvagers to work in The Bahamas. This would only exacerbate the current problem. As Maillis indicated, removing an artefact from the water can prevent it from being worn away by the environment (Hartnell, 2009), but this also removes the other possibilities that are available for protecting UCH, such as in-situ preservation via underwater museums as suggested by the UNESCO 2001 Convention. However, clarifying the true purposes of the exploration is vital because salvors often justify intervention instead of in-situ preservation by presenting their efforts as legitimate attempts to mitigate environmental destruction and enhance human development (Halls, 2007, p. 3).

While there is some validity to using intervention as a method for protecting wrecks from further destruction, there is equal justification for not disrupting a wreck on the seabed. In some underwater environments once a state of equilibrium is established it slows the rate of deterioration of the wreck (Halls, 2007).

It can be further assessed that, from a local perspective, citizens do not appreciate the difference between nautical archaeology and marine salvage. This is also true from the policy level, as in 2011 and 2012 the Bahamian government passed laws and regulations that combined commercial salvaging with nautical archaeology

(Antiquities, Monuments and Museum [Amendment] Act [2011]; Antiquities, Monuments and Museum [Underwater Cultural Heritage] Regulations [2012].

## Conclusion

The lack of understanding of the difference between treasure hunting and nautical archaeology by the Bahamian public stems largely from media coverage of treasure hunters and salvagers that does not offer alternate academic or scientific perspectives. In countries such as The Bahamas, nautical archaeology is incorrectly interpreted as treasure hunting, which creates the impression that treasure hunters are indispensable to the Bahamian economy. As Sperry explains, archaeologists do not control the media's communication of archaeology and therefore "cannot lay any claim to [the media] as a source of academic archaeological communication. This is still true even if the majority of archaeological television documentaries feature academic archaeologists" (2008, p. 336). Indeed, reasonable indications for salvagers to promote cultural heritage and economic sustainability, along with the promotion of nautical archaeology via media outlets, are positive outcomes. However, the lack of nautical archaeologists providing alternative commentary within the media will only continue the persistence of treasure hunting for economic gain in The Bahamas. Only by equally combining education, information, and entertainment will the gap between media makers and archaeologists be rectified.

## References

- American arrested after being suspected of looted sunken Spanish galleon in The Bahamas. (2011, February 26). *Bahamas Press*. <https://bahamaspress.com/american-arrested-after-being-suspected-of-looting-sunken-spanish-galleon-in-bahamas/>
- Antiquities, Monuments and Museum (Amendment) Act (2011) Bahamas (No. 63). <http://laws.bahamas.gov.bs/cms/images/LEGISLATION/AMENDING/2011/2011-0063/AntiquitiesMonumentsandMuseumAmendmentAct2011.pdf>
- Antiquities, Monuments and Museum (Underwater Cultural Heritage) Regulations (2012) Bahamas (No. 23). [http://laws.bahamas.gov.bs/cms/images/LEGISLATION/SUBORDINATE/2012/2012-0023/AntiquitiesMonumentsandMuseumUnderwaterCulturalHeritageRegulations2012\\_1.pdf](http://laws.bahamas.gov.bs/cms/images/LEGISLATION/SUBORDINATE/2012/2012-0023/AntiquitiesMonumentsandMuseumUnderwaterCulturalHeritageRegulations2012_1.pdf)
- Fagan, G. G. (2006). *Archaeological fantasies: How pseudoarchaeology misrepresents the past and misleads the public*. Routledge.
- Fishman, T. (2014). *The fundamental values of academic integrity*. International Center for Academic Integrity. <https://academicintegrity.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Fundamental-Values-2014.pdf>
- Frank, D., Falve, J., Mark, A., Lott, P., Henshaw, J., & Goldman, J. (Producers.). (2017). *Cooper's treasure* [Film]. Discovery Channel.
- Garder, W. (Producer.). (2009). *Treasure quest* [Film]. Discovery Channel.
- Gately, I. & Benjamin, J. (2017). Archaeology hijacked: Addressing the historical misappropriations of maritime and underwater archaeology, *Journal of Maritime Archaeology*, 13, 15–35. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11457-017-9177-8>
- Govt seeking to cash in on shipwrecks. (2011, March 29). *Nassau Guardian*. [https://www.bahamaslocal.com/newsitem/18593/Govt\\_seeking\\_to\\_cash\\_in\\_on\\_shipwrecks.html](https://www.bahamaslocal.com/newsitem/18593/Govt_seeking_to_cash_in_on_shipwrecks.html)
- Halls, J. L. (2007). *The fig and the spade: Countering the deceptions of treasure hunters*. Archaeology Institute of America. <https://www.archaeological.org/pdfs/archaeologywatch/figandspade.pdf>
- Hartnell, N. (2009, February 23). No 'open doors' for \$8bn-\$10bn industry. *The Tribune*. <http://www.tribune242.com/news/2009/feb/23/no-open-doors-for-8bn-10bn-industry/>
- Hartnell, N. (2013a, March 8). Treasure salvaging can 'wipe out national debt.' *The Tribune*. <http://www.tribune242.com/news/2013/mar/08/treasure-salvaging-can-wipe-out-national-debt/>
- Hartnell, N. (2013b, March 15) PM embarking on treasure 'Odyssey.' *The Tribune*. <http://www.tribune242.com/news/2013/mar/15/pm-embarking-on-treasure-odyssey/>

- Hartnell, N. (2013c, June 25). Wreck salvage 'disillusion' on year-long approval delay. *The Tribune*. <http://www.tribune242.com/news/2013/jun/25/wreck-salvage-disillusion-on-year-long-approval/>
- Hartnell, N. (2014, March 18). Wreck salvage fuming on 2-year licence delay. *The Tribune*. <http://www.tribune242.com/news/2014/mar/18/wreck-salvagers-fuming-on-2-year-licence-delay/>
- Hill, A. (2007). *Restyling factual TV: Audiences and news, documentary and reality genres*. Routledge.
- McKenzie, N. (2014, April 9). Treasure salvage licence hopes are 'wrecked.' *The Tribune*. <http://www.tribune242.com/news/2014/apr/09/treasure-salvage-licence-hopes-are-wrecked/>
- Miles, K. (2018). *Cooper's Treasure* and the gray area of wreck hunting. <https://www.outsideonline.com/2319386/reality-tv-enters-gray-area-shipwreck-hunting>
- Nutley, D. (2008). Submerged cultural sites: Opening a time capsule. *Museum International*, 60(4), 7-17. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000181554>
- Parker, E. (2016). The proliferation of pseudoarchaeology through 'reality' television programming. In J. J. Card & D. S. Anderson (Eds.), *Lost city, found pyramid: Understanding alternative archaeologies and pseudoscientific practices*. University of Alabama Press. [https://www.academia.edu/27505670/The\\_Proliferation\\_of\\_Pseudoarchaeology\\_through\\_Reality\\_Television\\_Programming](https://www.academia.edu/27505670/The_Proliferation_of_Pseudoarchaeology_through_Reality_Television_Programming)
- Permission to collect gold out of Bahamian waters? Does the Minnis cabinet know about this? (2018, April 30). *Bahamas Press*. <https://bahamaspress.com/permission-to-collect-gold-out-of-bahamian-waters-does-the-minnis-cabinet-know-about-this/>
- Pridmore, R. (2007). *The representation of archaeology in the media during the 20th and 21st century, and the impact it has had on the field of archaeology* [Unpublished undergraduate thesis]. University of Winchester. <https://tinyurl.com/pridmorethesis>
- Rogers, K. E. (2019). *Off the record: Archaeology and documentary filmmaking* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Southampton. <http://eprints.soton.ac.uk/id/eprint/437261>
- Schwarzmann, D., Knapp, L., Ondatje, C., & Tagliareni, M. (2020). *Market economic contributions of recreating users of the Great Lakes Maritime Heritage Center and Alpena Shipwreck Tours in Thunder Bay National Marine Sanctuaries*. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Office of National Marine Sanctuaries. [https://webauth.soton.ac.uk/idp/profile/SAML2/Redirect/SSO?execution=e1s1&eventId\\_proceed=1](https://webauth.soton.ac.uk/idp/profile/SAML2/Redirect/SSO?execution=e1s1&eventId_proceed=1)
- Schwindt, O. (2017). Independent studio AMPLE bets on the authenticity of uncertainty with *Cooper's Treasure* for Discovery. *Variety*. <https://variety.com/2017/tv/news/cooper-s-treasure-discovery-ample-darrell-miklos-1202011043/>

- Sperry, J. A. (2008). Giant strides in documentaries, ‘ascents’ in archaeology: Nautical archaeology’s relationship with and place within popular culture. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 37(2), 335–346. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1095-9270.2008.00184.x>
- Turnquest, A. (2018, July 23). Discovery Channel treasure hunters had permits to film and research only. *The Tribune*. <http://www.tribune242.com/news/2018/jul/23/discovery-channel-treasure-hunters-had-permits-fil/>
- UNESCO. (2001). *Convention on the protection of underwater cultural heritage*. <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/underwater-cultural-heritage/2001-convention/official-text/>
- Villega Zamora, T. (2008). The impact of commercial exploitation on the preservation of underwater cultural heritage, *Museum International*, 60(4), 31-41. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf000018155>
- Zorich, Z. (2009) Television: Finding treasure and losing history, *Archaeological Institute of America*, 62(2). <https://archive.archaeology.org/0903/trenches/odyssey.htm>