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Privies as Portals: A Ceramic and Glass Bottle Analysis of a Late 19th Century Household Privy in Ellenton, FL

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by

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to the Gamble Plantation Historic State Park for being the catalyst that brought this thesis into being. I would also like to thank my advisor, Dr. Diane Wallman, and my committee members Dr. John Arthur and Dr. Anna Dixon for being so wonderful and understanding through all of this as the trajectory of this thesis changed. I would also like to thank my family for always being supportive and cheering me on. Most of all I would like to thank my partner, Shane Armenta, who has the most unfortunate circumstance of living with me and experiencing firsthand my long-winded rants about the Gamble Plantation and the Patten family as I dove deeper into the history of the area. Without his support, and newly acquired coffee making skills, none of this would have been possible. Finally, a huge thank you to the University of South Florida for making this all possible through their Anthropology program.

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Abstract

This thesis uses ceramic and glass bottles recovered from a privy feature at the Gamble Plantation site to examine the manifestations of Victorian ideals and health practices of a wealthy white family living in Florida's "pioneer" landscape. Through the analysis of these artifacts this thesis aims to understand the archaeology of status and consumption while evaluating how class can impact consumer behaviors. Artifacts for analysis were collected in the 2017 and 2018 field seasons using the systematic sampling method which led to the discovery of the privy feature at the end of the 2017 season. From the privy to the lab, each artifact was identified by looking at makers marks, bottle forms, mold type, ceramic type, and ceramic decoration. Many of the artifacts from this assemblage were recovered from either the first 5 levels or in the base layer of the feature where remnants of a wood lining and large metal pieces were found. Most of the ceramics recovered from the privy were identified as whiteware with some more expensive wares such as porcelain. The large number of less expensive wares could be due to the isolated nature of Manatee County in the mid-1800s. Based on the ceramic assemblage the mean ceramic date was calculated to be 1862 which coincides with the Patten occupation of the Gamble property. Of the glass bottles recovered, 16 were found in the privy with half having been identified as medicinal in nature. Many of these patent medicines were advertised to combat malaria, yellow fever, and ailments with the liver. While these medicines did contain components that had medicinal qualities they also used high levels of alcohol and narcotics as palliatives. These medicine bottles tell us that maintaining health was just as important to the Patten family as their public image.

Chapter 1 Introduction

The Central Gulf Coast of Florida was considered part of the frontier of the United States throughout the 19th century, and bore witness to a multitude of changes. Winsberg (1993) looked at settlement patterns in Florida in conjunction with post office openings and concluded that much of Florida remained sparsely inhabited, supporting that Florida remained a frontier well after the Civil War. From the end of the Civil War and throughout Reconstruction, the region experienced a wave of white "pioneer" settlers migrating to the area (Carlisle 2016). One specific family, the Pattens, migrated from Georgia and purchased the Gamble Plantation along the central Gulf coast of Florida, a former sugar plantation situated on the north bank of the Manatee River, in 1873. In the latter half of the 19th century, the United States became immersed in Victorian culture, industrialization, and urbanization, while south Florida remained sparsely populated, with an agriculturally focused economy. As white settlers from the northern states and Upper South migrated into southern Florida, they brought with them particular worldviews and customs, which they adapted within their new circumstances. Archaeology at the Gamble Plantation State Park recovered significant material from the Patten occupation of the estate (approximately 1873-1915). Excavations identified a privy dating to this period, providing a snapshot into the lives of the Patten family, and other residents who settled in the frontier town that became Ellenton, Florida. This thesis uses ceramics and bottles from the privy feature to examine the everyday lives of a white frontier family in Florida. Through the material culture, I explore the manifestation of Victorian ideals in south Florida and how this white, wealthy family navigated their socioeconomic status and health within Florida's "pioneer" culture.

The allure of turning sugar to profit drew wealthy planters south along Florida's Manatee River who were inspired by the success of the sugar industry in Louisiana, and Major Robert Gamble was at the forefront of this movement. He found his spot along the Manatee River and with the impetus of the Armed Occupation Act of 1842, secured 160 acres to call his plantation home (Schene 1981). The Armed Occupation act provided land, weapons, and food for prospective settlers who cultivated five acres or more for five years. These same settlers were also expected to bear arms and ammunitions provided by the government to control the Seminole Native Americans in the area (Covington 1961). Gamble established the plantation in 1844 with sugarcane as the main crop grown for profit, where it was then processed into molasses, cane syrup, granulated sugar, and fermented into cane beer and rum. During the Gamble Plantation's peak operational years, approximately 190 enslaved peoples called this property home, accounting for a majority of the enslaved population in Florida (Weeks 1993:66). However, the plantation was met with misfortune in the form of hurricanes, fires, and economic hardship, which led to the sale of the entire estate to two wealthy planters from Louisiana, John Cofield and Robert Davis in 1858. After foreclosure in 1862, the plantation was re-occupied by Confederate Captain Archibald McNeill who provided supplies for Confederate troops during the Civil War, and aided in the escape of Judah P. Benjamin to England after the end of the war. The property was left vacant yet again until its purchase in 1873 by George Patten who then parceled the land off for farming (Weesner 1980), ushering in the humble beginnings of the town of Ellenton. Migrating from the Georgia low country, the Pattens were used to a particular way of life, living in luxury befitting wealthy planters of the Victorian Era. The aim of this thesis is to understand the archaeology of status and consumption through the ceramic and glass bottle assemblage found during the privy excavations beginning in 2017. By analyzing these artifacts,

it is possible to evaluate how class can impact consumer behaviors and inform on social ideologies that dictated life and status during the Victorian Era.

Ceramics are one of the most commonly used artifacts when trying to understand status due their sensitivity to sociotechnic (social rather than technological) dimensions, and because the quality and variety of ceramic type can give insights in to the relative economic levels of the site occupants (S. M. Spencer-Wood 1987). Spencer-Wood and Heberling (1987:59) define status as "the location of the behavior of individuals or the social positions of individuals themselves in the structure of any group." The Pattens were a white elite family from Georgia, who brought with them the ideals of upper-class "gentility" to Florida. I expect, therefore, that cultural materials will reflect their status, and their attempts to re-create these social structures in Ellenton. In addition, because the Pattens were such a large family, George Patten having fathered thirteen children and Dudley raising five of his own to adulthood, it is safe to say that the sheer number of people living at the Gamble property will have an impact on the abundance of artifacts recovered from the site. Many others stayed at the plantation mansion throughout the Patten occupation as well, further contributing to the number of recovered artifacts as the home remained a boarding house for weary travelers, family, and members of the clergy. Through the analysis of ceramics and glass found in the privy feature we can look at the social and economic circles the Pattens subscribed to.

By analyzing the whole glass bottles from the privy feature, we can also formulate an understanding of how people were navigating health and wellness through the medicinal glass bottles recovered. Archaeologists examine pharmaceutical and patent medicine bottles to identify the ailments which households used to self-medicate, and can also recognize any differences in illnesses and treatments based on socioeconomic status (Harris 2019). Yellow fever and malaria

outbreaks were common in Florida in the 19th century, and the Gamble property may have suffered from both these ailments based on the recovered medicine bottles from the privy. The medicines mentioned in Chapter 4 came about before drug regulation and many contained ingredients such as dangerous levels of alcohol, opium, and other narcotics (Balm of America: Patent Medicine Collection 2021). Many of the medicine bottles recovered were advertised to aid in the fight against malaria, help "awaken" the liver and kidneys, or were said to be a cure-all. Manatee County experienced a yellow fever outbreak in 1887 that coincides to when the Pattens were living at the Gamble mansion which could explain the medicinal bottles recovered from the privy. The epidemic traveled from Key West, a major shipping point between Manatee and Cuba, into Tampa where the hopes of quarantining would stop the spread (Porter 2015). Unfortunately, yellow fever traveled to Manatee County. Porter (2015) points out that approximately half the population of Manatee suffered from the outbreak with several losing their lives. The Pattens were no strangers to illness in Manatee County and with the aid of the medicinal glass bottles it is my hope that we can peer into the past to understand the routes people took while navigating health.

Consumption, Ceramics, and Privies

As stated previously, archaeologists view ceramics as sensitive to sociotechnic dimensions, and therefore very useful in determining status, or examining how status was expressed. According to Stephen McBride and Kim McBride (McBride and McBride 1987:144), there is lack of antebellum studies that focus on wealth, specifically consumer goods. What there is documentation for, however, is income levels. In the antebellum south between 1840 and 1860, income for white southerners was far above the national average and, was on par with the Northeast (McBride and McBride 1987:144). That twenty-year range fits with George Patten

living in Georgia and ended just a few years before he acquired the Gamble Plantation. McBride and McBride point out that ceramics are primarily used for status studies due to their high frequency in the archaeological record. However, other artifacts such as glasses, silverware, clothing, etc. are also good indicators of wealth but are found less frequently in artifact assemblages. Whether that is due to how the material preserves/decays in the archaeological record or other outside forces is unknown. Using these materials, historical archaeologists have explored questions of socioeconomic status, while taking into account other factors of consumption, such as ethnicity, access, and entanglement in market economies (Barker 2006).

George Miller (1980) was one of the first scholars in historical archaeology that examined ceramics by cost, focusing on how these materials reflect status. Miller (1980) looked at decoration of ceramics in the 19th century to identify expenditure patterns. Decoration type became more important than ware type which can explain the high number of less expensive wares found at sites such as Gamble even though they were members of the elite (Miller 1980). Since this time, archaeologists have continued to examine socioeconomics and "status" through materiality. This includes studies that investigate the "elaboration" of dining rituals over time in American households, focusing on what vessels were used in meals (Wall 1994:25). Scholars have also connected the consumption of ceramics to the increasing domestic role of women throughout the 19th century, and the associated "cult of domesticity" (Clark 1987:542; Klein 1991:79 80; Wall 1994). Such research has contributed generally to our understanding of the consumptive behaviors that characterized household economic realities with the staggering increase in the mass production of commodities that defined the late 19th century and beyond.

Mullins (Mullins 2011:3) defines consumption as a conceptual framework that "embraces the agency of consumers and recognizes that goods assume meaning in tension between

structural and localized processes that cannot be described as being either wholly deterministic or disconnected from consumer symbolism." Using this definition, consumption can then be viewed as the purchase of material goods to confirm and reify social status and class. Mullins (2011) also argues that consumption scholarship and the archaeology of consumption should be utilized together due to the ability of the archaeologist to provide commonalities and variation in how goods are consumed over time. Consumption scholarship applied to archaeology specifically looks at the process of socializing goods and defining them in context (Mullins 2011:4). What this area of focus is lacking is looking at not just the white landowners, but also the enslaved who lived on or adjacent to the property. Understanding the consumptive patterns of a disenfranchised group would offer insights in to how this specific group of people were dealing with a horrible situation. Looking at the commodity consumption of freedmen and women in the South can be used to inform on the complicated effects of consumption and how these groups either embraced or resisted consumer culture (Mullins 2011:15). Unfortunately, this area of research is still relatively new and with the number of lost African sites in the South, it is no surprise that such scholarship has not taken root.

Tableware of the Victorian Era held more than just food – it represented social values of piety and purity during a time that Voss calls "a cult of domesticity" (Voss 2019). With the increased production of less expensive wares, middle and working-class groups could now participate in the dining rituals of the upper Victorian class, further spreading these ideas of a Victorian set of values and behaviors. Places that housed several guests, such as the Gamble mansion during the late 19th century, used more plainware ceramics for the guests while saving the more expensive and exotic goods for special occasions. This could account for the high number of Whiteware sherds discovered in the privy, especially knowing that the Pattens were

particular on who was in their social circle. Who one shared food with and in what type of setting acted as an important cultural barometer (Voss 2019). In many ways this belief in the Victorian gentility was passed down to children as well. One such example is a piece of porcelain toy tea set, identified within the privy assemblage, that Dudley Pattens daughters most likely played with growing up. In order to raise genteel children, may women would create the "proper domestic setting" whether that be through books, gender-specific toys, or following the rules of genteel dining (Fitts 1999).

Much of the literature surrounding Victorian-era consumer behavior intersects with discussions of "conspicuous consumption." Conspicuous consumption in broadest of terms refers to a person's use of items as a display of wealth. In The Theory of the Leisure Class, Veblen identifies conspicuous consumption as being the outward display of wealth through the purchase of higher-end goods and that failure to do so was a mark of inferiority and demerit (Veblen 2009). He goes on to state that "high-bred manners and ways of living are items of conformity to the norm of conspicuous leisure and conspicuous consumption" (Veblen 2009:53). Materials recovered from the privy can inform if the Patten family adhered to these Victorian ideals.

While the wealth of information gathered from the privy is paramount to this thesis, so too is the privy itself. Very few studies have been done surrounding the actual architecture of privies, as pointed out by Stottman, and that these features should be looked at more closely. Stottman states that privy architecture can inform on sanitation practices of the time and help understand human behavior (Stottman 2000:40). Up until the mid-to late 1800s, privies were wood-lined and emptied into nearby water sources such as rivers. Most privies were instructed to be brick-lined after the 1850s London cholera epidemic, when people realized water pollution was the cause (Stottman 2000:42). The Gamble privy followed common construction of the time

and was wood-lined. The consensus at the time was that the privy needed to be deep and far from the home as this was considered more sanitary. Stottman does note that many factors affected privy vault architecture: sanitation perception, economics, class, and time (Stottman 2000:58). The privy identified at Gamble Plantation follows this pattern, as it is set back from the mansion, but within a reasonable distance for easy access.

A problem that crops up often in archaeology is what is deemed important in excavations. Everything seen through the eyes of the archaeologist is going to be met with unintended biases. Privies are no different in that regard. In the UK these features are almost entirely ignored or halfheartedly recorded (Smith 2020). This may in large part be due to the abundance of these features in the UK when compared to the United States and may be a large contributing factor as to why so little research on privies has been conducted. The amount of material culture removed from the privy in conjunction to its proximity to the plantation mansion point to two possible events: rubbish disposal thanks to its proximity to the kitchen, and a final dumping event of consumer goods upon closing the vault. Trying to determine primary and secondary fills is difficult though there have been several sites in the United States that showed primary fill as being loose in texture with small items while the secondary fill contained larger items (Smith 2020:459).

Something that needs to change in privy archaeology, especially historical archaeology, is to remove the preconceived biases that these privies are mundane in nature and therefore can be ignored. The number of ceramics and other material culture excavated from this privy feature show how important it is to excavate without biases, otherwise one is liable to miss key information. In the case of the Gamble mansion and the Patten family, without the discovery of this privy we would have missed out on the interpretation of the family and their life in this time.

Construction, longevity, structure, and interpretation of the privy can be as diverse as the artifact assemblage it held. Smith (2020:464) ponders the question "why more recent (post-medieval to 19th century) features often go ignored, simply just because they are 'more recent' and from historically well-recorded periods?" Because the Pattens were in an isolated frontier, the privy offers a unique lens on class and status in an area separated from urban markets. Klein (1991) looks at research done in the Ohio Western Reserve to show how ceramics alone cannot be used as measures of socioeconomic position. This makes the privy at the Gamble Plantation more valuable with its wide assemblage of ceramics, glass bottles, metal, and various small finds. Though this thesis focuses on the ceramics and glass bottles found in the privy they aid in painting a picture of what life on the Florida frontier was like. Further research on the remaining artifacts and soil samples will allow for a more comprehensive analysis of the site and allow for more insight into the lives of Florida settlers.

A Victorian United States

Many remember learning about the Victorian Era (1837-1901) and recall images of Queen Victoria, Darwin's voyage, and The Great Exhibition that showcased the technical and industrial advances of the time. The Victorian Era is in reference to the period of Queen Victoria's reign. This was a time of scientific innovation and people were brimming with an interest in natural history which eventually turned into amateur hobbies (Remembering the Victorian Era 2010). In the United States, the emergence of railways and the evolution of how people traveled from place to place heralded in the beginnings of the Victorian Era (Rinhart 1986). According to Howe (Howe 2012:710), the Victorian Era in the United States is characterized by literacy, industrialization, transportation and communication innovations, and the drive to expand westward. While we see innovations in science and technology, much of the

Victorian Era was also entrenched with religious symbolism and motivations. Humanitarianism, volunteerism, and redemption of humankind were hallmarks of the Victorian Era in both the United States and Britain. Howe likens the need to expand westward in North America with Britain's own imperialism. These motivations can be seen in practices carried out in the Southeastern United States, particularly Florida, with the forced removal of the Seminole Native Americans to allow homesteaders to begin moving south. While the Victorian Era is heavily romanticized in works of fiction today, the realities of this period can be much darker and full of conflict.

This period in United States history is occasionally referred to as Jacksonian America, following Frederick Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis that theorized American democracy was formed by the American frontier (Miller 1999). Turner's thesis, like much of American history, overlooked the experiences of various groups of Americans such as women, minorities, and many who opposed Jackson politically (Howe 2012:711). The Jacksonian Period began approximately in 1824 with Andrew Jacksons' first presidential campaign and found its end somewhere in the 1840s or 1850s. Jackson is most notably remembered for his stance on slavery, his hand in the removal of the Seminole in Florida, and it is implied that Andrew Jackson was a prime representative of America through the imagery of being a "self-made made man of the frontier" (Howe 2012:711).

The Victorian Era in America has referred to historically by many different names: the Jacksonian Period, The Gilded Age (late 19th to early 20th century), Antebellum and Postbellum, in reference to before/after the Civil War, and the Reconstruction era. The Ante/Postbellum terminology is important in that is serves as a verbal marker that separates the institution of slavery from the victory of the U.S. government over the Confederacy (Howe 2012:712). In

retrospect, the Victorian Era is a time marked with transition – transition from an agricultural developing country where reliance on import was heavy into a leading industrial power that even rivaled Britain in forms of urbanism, industrialism, and consumerism.

There were distinct differences between the Northern United States and the Southern United States – in the north there was the rise of cultural values that fell more in line with modernization and urbanization, whereas in the south there seemed to be a sense of stagnation that caused the traditional concepts of the time (family, social influence, etc.) to become unstable (Volo 2004). The rise of a new form of middle class that strove for societal acceptance led to the upper/middle classes looking to reestablish the social order of the Antebellum South as a way to strengthen their foothold in wealthy society (Volo 2004). These distinct differences mark the history of the Antebellum period in the United States that eventually caused the rising tensions between the two regions that led up to the American Civil War.

The Reconstruction Era

After the Civil War, also referred to as Postbellum, the country saw a significant rise in conversations about civil rights, known as the Reconstruction Era (1863-1877), which looked to bring unity to the United States in a myriad of ways. One such effort was to develop an alliance that spanned racial and class differences, made up of former slaves and politically influential whites, that advocated for redistribution of land and equal rights in the South (Ayers 2007:8). Unfortunately, Reconstruction was extremely unpopular, especially in the South, and though many former Confederate congressman begrudgingly accepted the abolition of slavery, they managed to establish state governments that blocked former enslaved people from voting (Carlisle 2009). President Lincoln was lenient with the Confederate soldiers in the South in order to quickly restore the Union, offering a “10 percent plan” in which state governments had to

recognize federal authority, accept that slavery had come to an end, and provide education for the now free enslaved population (Carlisle 2009). Andrew Johnson became president after Lincoln's assassination in 1865 and followed his predecessor in terms of leniency, much to the horror of the more radical Republicans at the time. Though the South was required to rescind their secession ordinances, President Johnson's plan offered little to no guidance on the former enslaved, leaving them with no political rights which proved to be a loophole immediately used by the South to pass laws restricting access to the freedmen and women. "These "black codes" mirrored many of slave codes of the antebellum period. Former slaves were not allowed to serve on juries, testify in court against whites, or hold certain jobs" (Carlisle 2009:10). These codes were a way for the government in the South to maintain the conditions of slavery while giving the federal government the appearance of maintaining the thirteenth amendment, thus perpetuating the cycle of racism in the South.

There were programs curated by the Federal Government that appeared to be beneficial to the newly freed people such as giving freed enslaved 40 acres and a mule. While this seemed generous in the eyes of the government, it left the families with barely enough to survive and no hope for a profit of any kind (Volo 2004:63). The establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau in March of 1865 also sought to assist former enslaved with food, education, and labor contracts (Egerton 2015). Though they were considered free from the shackles of slavery, many Africans in the South (and elsewhere) still experienced the same racism that befell them when toiling in the fields and homes during the height of slavery. The advent of historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) during the late 1860s used the guise of education to push an assimilation agenda through educating ""a number of blacks" and then "send them forth to regenerate" their people, who had been degenerated by slavery (Kendi 2016:243). Even with an education

clutched firmly in their fist, Black and biracial students were only seen as products of white charity and still viewed by the greater (white) public as less than.

The 1880s saw a boom of industrial growth in the South. New towns began cropping up as people of all backgrounds sought to travel where greener grass may grow (Ayers 2007). The southernmost states still suffered, unfortunately, and places like West Texas and Southern Florida were almost forgotten as railroad expansion made a wide range of movement and opportunities possible. Some areas of South Florida, however, became attractive to wealthy northerners seeking cheap land and profit, as the railroad reached Tampa and Orlando in the 1880s (Dovell 1956).

There are many theories as to why Reconstruction came to an end: loyalty to the Confederacy, hostility towards the government in Washington, white supremacy, and going so far as to state that post-1865 black autonomy had a hand in the demise of the Reconstruction Era (Egerton 2015). The most common theme among these theories is the belief that Reconstruction failed, not ended, which in many ways suggests that Reconstruction was flawed and was going to "fail" all along. What did happen during the last quarter of the 19th century is that wealthy Southerners largely maintained their status, focusing on industrializing and promoting white settlement in America's southernmost frontier, Florida (Knight 2010).

Class and Gender

Many women during the Victorian Era were shackled to the "cult" of domesticity (Austen 2007:559). By focusing their time on homemaking, middle to upper class Victorian women were urged to rely on their husbands for support. However, women of the upper class were now being allowed to attend university with their male peers, they were viewed as having ulterior motives – tricking men into a relationship under the façade of seeking a university

education (Myers 2010:158). Even with the acceptance into the realm of an all-white male education system, the co-education of white women's colleges with men's was almost always portrayed as a marriage in college magazines with the female counterpart being absorbed by the male. "The front cover of the magazine, over a number of issues, features an illustration by Madge Wildfire presenting the marriage of the women's college to the university. In this drawing a dour university official is shown presiding over the union in his academic robes, with the male figure representing the university itself graciously kissing the hand of his new "wife"" (Myers 2010:158). Instances of this type of illustration are seen on the cover of C.D. Myers' book *University Coeducation in the Victorian Era* where the female is portrayed as being thoroughly engrossed by the man to the point that a book lay forgotten on the floor.

Education aside, the Victorian Era was also a time of leisure and other such novelties available to the upper class. Novelties such as the stereoscope, camera obscura, and kaleidoscope were devices used to entertain when indoors. The first instances of 3-D images came with the invention of the stereoscope by using double image cards taken simultaneously at different angles (Volo 2004:186). When performing leisure activities outside of the home, the average upper class Victorian family took to travelling with the aid of improved transportation; from horse-drawn carriages to the development of private turnpikes and toll roads due to the poor condition of publicly financed roads (Volo 2004:310). Many Southern families would travel inland from the coastal region to escape malaria and yellow fever seasons (coinciding with the summer season) to an area with less humid of a climate. The natural world became the focal point of travel with things such as waterfalls, beaches, caves, mountains, etc., becoming fashionable destinations (Volo 2004:312). Some 19th century Americans even found ways to travel vicariously through travel letters, sketches, newspapers, and other printed media (*Figure*

1.1) to wet their travel appetite when leaving the home was not an option. As conversations supporting antislavery grew, so too did the public life of middle- and upper-class white women.

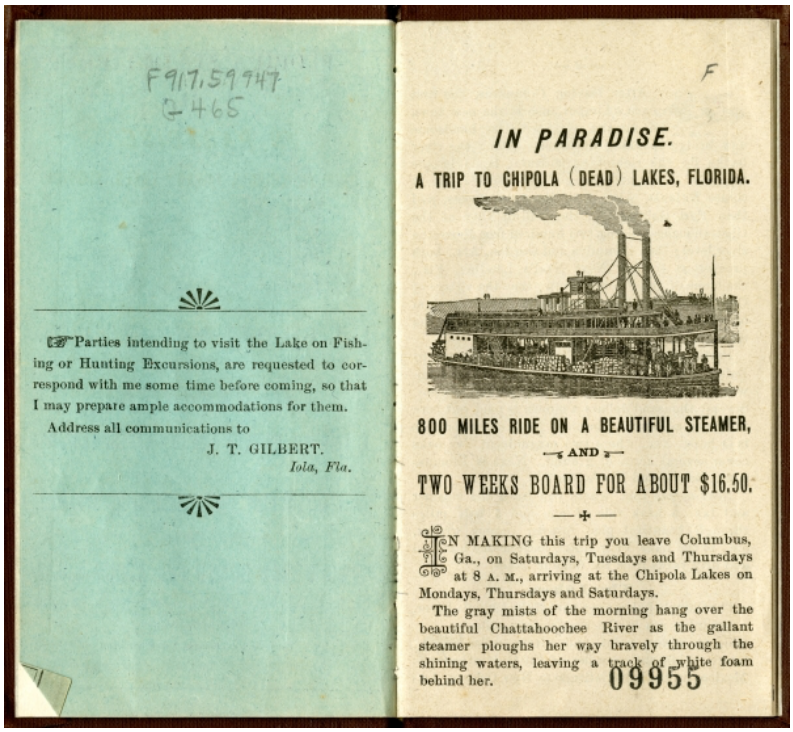

Figure 1.1 Pamphlet promoting Dead Lakes as a tourist attraction on the Chattahoochee River. Credit J.T. Gilbert (1892)

Victorian Florida

Florida did not become a state until 1845 and became a much sought-after haven for settlers. The Armed Occupation Act of 1842 enticed people south by providing planters 160 acres of free land and a year's rations from the Federal Government if they worked the land for five years. The incentive was enough to bring planters such as Major Robert Gamble south to lay their claim on the newly acquired state. Sugarcane and tobacco reigned supreme as cotton began to decline in the 1840s, though these alternatives were also wrought with their own misfortunes caused by weather and conflict (Schene 1981). Malaria and yellow fever were common threats but so too was the armed conflicts of the time: the Second (1835-1842) and Third Seminole Wars

(1855-1858) as well as the Civil War (1861-1865) were key events during this period that would have a powerful impact on life in the United States, especially in the South.

The Victorian South had many of the hallmarks mentioned previously but also maintained a clear divide between white landowners and their Black counterparts. The American Civil War did not change much in the way of how white landowners viewed the previously enslaved. Racism still ran rampant and reconstruction all but failed in the eyes of the government. With the emergence of occupational segregation, a mirror to social segregation happening all over the South, there were marked changes in the classification of occupations with them being specifically white-dominant or black-dominant, which acted as a means to measure the segregation occurring in the workforce (Sowell 1985). Based on this categorial system it is possible to follow and identify how the occupations were classified: more physical occupations, such as manual labor, were typically considered black-dominant jobs whereas managerial and clerical type jobs were white-dominant. According to Sowell (1985:441), the only professional occupations that statistically had a large number of Black careermen/women were preaching and teaching activities centered in the Black community.

Florida saw a rise in investors and immigrants itching to get their hands on a part of the state whether that be for development, resource management, or the eventual installment of railroads (Gannon 2003). Florida Governor William D. Bloxham went to work selling millions of acres of the state to Hamilton Disston which opened land wide for railroad construction. By 1900 there was a whopping 3,500 miles of completed railroad tracks, constructed with the help of various industrialists that connected Jacksonville to Pensacola, and all the way to Tampa. A somewhat unique byproduct of having the railroad go through central Florida was the development of the circus industry in that area (Gannon 2003). John Ringling and his brothers

sought to move their show to Florida to escape the cold from the north while also taking advantage of an improved economy (Weeks 1993:84). *Figure 1.2* shows circus performers in Florida for the winter season. Many of the circus performances were done in areas along the Panhandle, and in central Florida cities such as Bradenton, Eustis, and Sarasota.

Figure 1.2 Circus performers in Florida for the winter circa 1900, courtesy of State Archives of Florida. https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/255571

The expanding railroad was a boon for Florida communications and opened the gates to more commercial and agricultural development. The coasts became much sought-after tourist destinations while Florida's rural areas became agricultural hot spots for citrus and cattle. Florida cattle herders with their eighteen-foot-long braided whips ushered in the emergence of the term "Cracker" due to the rifle-like sound emanating from each crack of the whip as they directed their herds (Gannon 2003). Though the origins of the term "Cracker" are ambiguous, this specific theory stands and is widely accepted as to where this moniker for Floridians came from. Timber, cattle, citrus, and other agricultural adventures replaced the sugar and cotton industries as Florida after the Civil War and became a large part of what attracted people to the state.

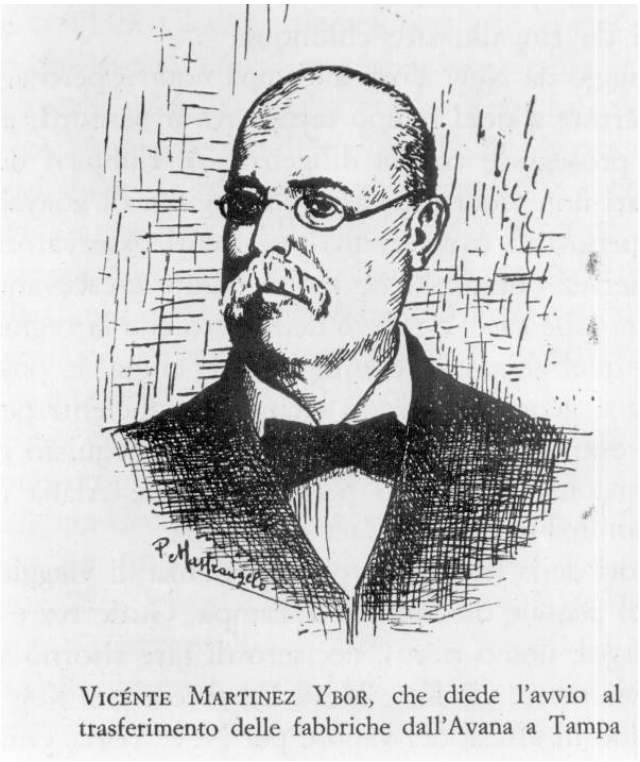

Figure 1.3 Drawing of Vicente Ybor circa 1870. Credit State Archives of Florida. https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/31120

Cigar factories begin to dot the Key West area and Tampa as well, bringing an influx of Cuban businessmen to the state. Most notable is Vicente Ybor (*Figure 1.3*), a Spanish entrepreneur who became the first noted cigar manufacturer in Cuba. Ybor eventually brought his cigar enterprise to Key West initially before moving to the Tampa area and settling in what is now Ybor City in 1885 (Santana n.d.). Ybor City, with its rich Latin culture, became known as "Little Havana" and became an area where Cuban, Spanish, and Italian immigrants settled. In 1888, Tampa annexed Ybor City to profit off of the booming cigar business built by Vicente which led to Tampa becoming a major manufacture and shipping town in the south (Santana n.d.).

In 1898 Theodor Roosevelt and his Rough Riders briefly called Tampa home before setting out towards Cuba during the Spanish-American war (April 1898-December 1898). Soldiers returning from this brief war were enticed by what Florida had to offer and played a

major role in increasing immigration to the state exponentially. This period of immigration, weather fluctuations, and a yellow fever epidemic or two mark what is called the Bourbon Era in Florida. Governor Drew stated in his inaugural address that the government would give its greatest protection to individual and industrial enterprises, meaning Florida was a haven for investors and immigrants that allowed for unrestricted development and state resource management with minimal taxes (Gannon 2003). Florida's Victorian past was colorful, both literally and figuratively speaking, in the way it drew in immigrants from places such as Cuba, Spain, and even Scotland. The state became a place where people spent their cold winters and leisure vacations, took on expensive business ventures that paid off in the end, and heralded in the beginnings of the Florida tourist industry. White investors anywhere north of Florida were enticed by the economic and social independent opportunities Florida presented. In truth, Florida was presented as a "semi-tropical variant of the historic, idealized destination for American migrants: essentially, an 'open' land offering, to the sturdy agriculturist, ample prospects of social mobility and economic and social independence" (Knight 2010:113). Robert Gamble Jr. was no different than many others who moved south. The aim was to stake a claim in this paradise to turn a profit and the Patten family did just that after Gamble had moved on. George Patten moved his family from Georgia to Florida to capitalize on what the Gamble Plantation could offer: an advantage of two to three weeks ahead of the market and a large piece of land that he could, and did, section off to sell. This thesis explores what happened when a wealthy, "gentile" southern family moved to the Florida frontier, and how they adapted to this new life.

Chapter 2 Historical Background

A Brief Look at the Gamble Plantation Through the Years

The Gamble Plantation in Ellenton, Florida (*Figure 2.1*) was established by Major Robert Gamble, Jr. in 1844 – just two years after the Armed Occupation Act was established. Coming from a well-established line of planters from Virginia, Robert Gamble Jr. sought to bring that knowledge south to the Manatee River after gaining experience on his father and uncle's plantations in Middle Florida. His father, John Grattan Gamble, was the president of Union Bank which was utilized by many Middle Florida planters who saw Union Bank as their saving grace when acquiring loans to establish their plantations (Silpa 2012:79). Having a father who was president of a large bank gave Gamble Jr. a leg up on acquiring land along the Manatee River – many others acquired their land through the Armed Occupation Act and loans whereas Gamble had the income to instead pay $1.25 per acre, leading to the eventual acquisition of 3500 acres for approximately $10,000 (Bland 2004). Gamble traveled south with ten bondsmen to establish a sugarcane plantation along the Manatee River with that ace up his sleeve. Gamble's drive to grow sugar specifically could also stem from his previous experience with the crop on his family's plantations (Schene 1981). Upon entering the hammock that would become the groundwork for the Gamble Plantation, Gamble had various artisans teach his enslaved laborers useful skills in blacksmithing, carpentry, and brick laying to construct the mansion house and sugar mill (Gamble 1888). The Property would eventually be home to approximately 190

enslaved peoples that performed duties from creating drainage ditches to cooking, cleaning, and performing the backbreaking labor of harvesting and processing sugarcane.

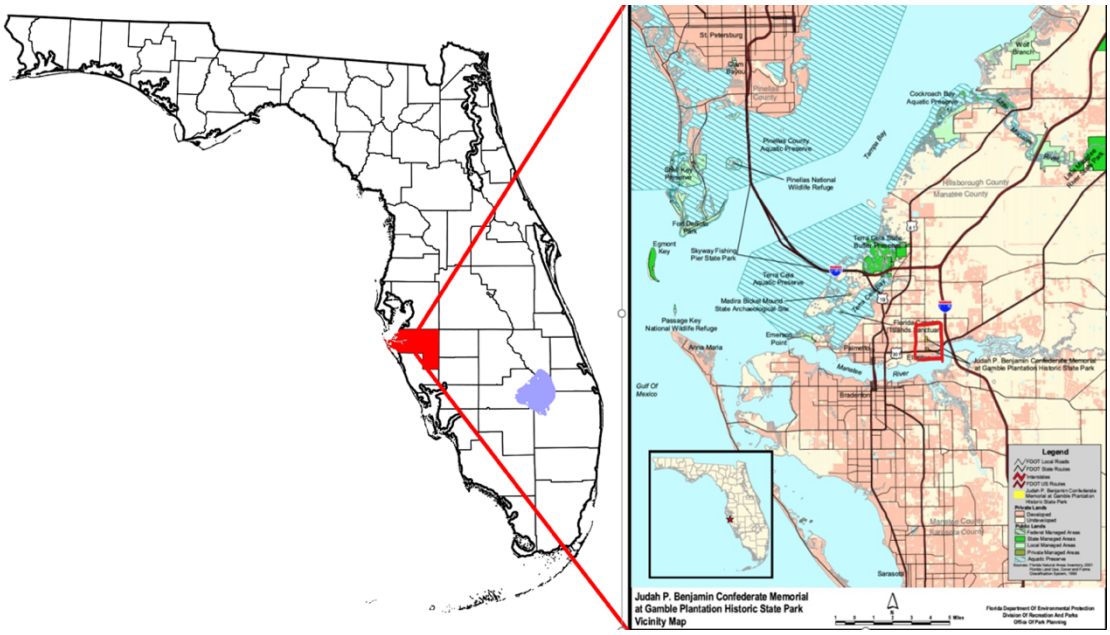

Figure 2.1 Location of the Gamble Plantation Site (8MA100) in Ellenton, FL. Map created by author.

Planting usually happened in December or January and required backbreaking labor by both animal and human. Once mature the cane would be harvested via a controlled burn, cut, pressed, and turned into profitable products such as molasses, sugar, and rum. Processing this crop could spell disaster for those working in the sugar mill – extreme burns from the large processing pots were a risk and could leave the burned victim disfigured. P. A. Champomier, a widely acknowledged arbiter and chronicler on sugar quality, found that during the 1850-1851 season Gamble produced 231 hogsheads of sugar which accounted for 13% of Florida's sugar crop; 1,273 hogsheads total compared to the 262,486 hogsheads produced by Louisiana (Bland 2004).

In 1856 Gamble placed the property in the care of his brother-in-law, Allan MacFarlan, to take care of his father's estate in Leon and Jefferson Counties. In 1858 Gamble sold the whole estate, including all 190 enslaved laborers, and stock to a Mr. John Calvin Cofield and Robert

McGroyson Davis due to accrued debts (Schene 1981). Cofield and Davis were sugar planters from Louisiana who bought the property and all it came with for $190,000. MacFarlan's executors eventually foreclosed on the plantation for nonpayment of the mortgage which led to the eventual purchase by George Patten in 1873 (Silpa 2012:83).

According to an account published in the Floridian Newspaper in 1888, written by Gamble himself, the plantation met with various hardships in the form of frost, fire, hurricanes, and altercations with the local Seminole Native Americans that played a part in the eventual sale of the property (Gamble 1888). Gamble's misfortunes in Manatee, and the Florida sugar industry in general, was the initial driving force behind the sale of the plantation where Gamble was hoping to turn this negative into a positive. This, along with the hardships met by Cofield and Davis, are what led to the eventual acquisition of the property by the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) and their subsequent donation to the state in 1925.

The Third Seminole War

The Third Seminole War, also known as the Billy Bowlegs War (Bland 2004), raged from 1854 to 1856. The United States sought complete removal of Native Americans from Florida as part of the Indian Removal Act of 1830. These efforts were framed as a response to the growing public sentiment against Indigenous peoples, going so far as to where a newspaper in Saint Augustine asked that a bounty of $1000 be placed on every male dead or alive and $500 for every woman or child (Weisman 2013). Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War at this time, seemed to have listened to the cries of the settlers and backed the tribe into a corner. He instituted a policy which included a trade embargo that would force the Seminole to choose; they could leave or stay and fight. On December 18, 1855, thirty Seminole warriors fired upon a group of soldiers found vandalizing Billy Bowlegs's camps which marked the beginning of the

Third Seminole War (Weisman 2013). A depiction of Billy Bowlegs, and other Seminole Chiefs, by Frederick Gleason can be seen in *Figure 2.2.*

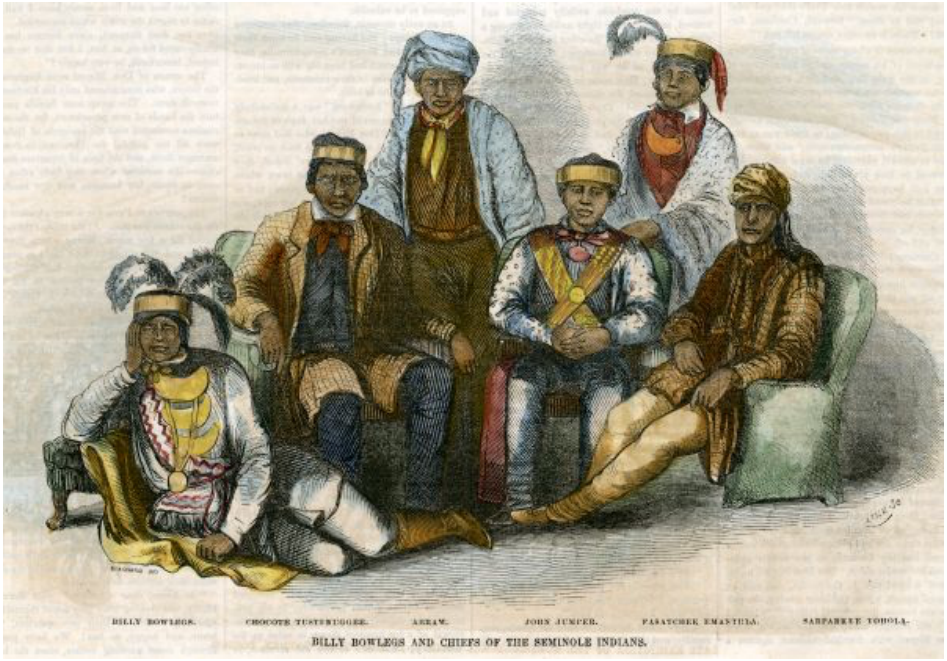

Figure 2.2 Illustration of Billy Bowlegs and Seminole Chiefs by Frederick Gleason courtesy of State Library and Archives of Florida https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/298376

The Gamble Plantation was not safe from these acts of resistance to removal. Gamble was moved to fortify his property yet again, allegedly arming some of his enslaved laborers, and received aid from the military personnel stationed at Fort Brooke (Bland 2004). Gamble's property remained unscathed by the war, either due to luck or land position, whereas the Braden Plantation took a huge hit. Today the Braden Plantation is an easy 8-mile drive south from the Gamble Plantation, located just off Manatee Ave. E. in Bradenton, FL. The two properties are situated almost directly across the Manatee River from one another, making it an easy boat ride to either property for an attack. Gamble, in this instance, just happened to draw the long straw and was left mostly alone. The Braden family was not quite as lucky and though they did manage to hold the Seminole at bay and survive the night. Even with this minor success the Braden Plantation did eventually fail like many plantations in the state.

Gamble recounted the events of the Braden Castle attack in an 1888 article he published in the Floridian Newspaper:

> The family were at supper, the favorite hour for Indian onsets; a servant woman was looking out from an upper window upon the pine forest, which came up almost to the door, a bright moonlight night, when her attention was attracted by many dark objects slowly and silently approaching the house. At first she paid little attention, supposing them to be hogs or calves, but one emerging for a moment from cover, showed her that they were Indians (Gamble 1888).

Just as Dr. Braden's plantation eventually failed, so too did Gamble's. Frost destroyed much of Gamble's crop in 1852 and though he went on to harvest and produce several thousands of pounds of sugar, the crop was still in a state of decline. Competition with the sugar industries in the Caribbean and Europe, coupled with financial troubles and natural disasters, led Gamble to sell the plantation (Wayne 2010). 1858 saw the sale of the property with everything, including all 190 enslaved peoples, to Cofield and Davis who, after some hardships of their own, moved back to Louisiana with the property then being occupied by Confederate Captain Archibald McNeill and his family in 1862.

How the Civil War Changed the Gamble Plantation

Florida's secession occurred on January 10, 1861, by a sixty-two to seven vote (Taylor 2013). Look at any map and one can see that Florida is a weirdly shaped state – it is long lengthwise and horizontally when up in the panhandle, something that can be problematic when

needing to set up defenses from possible attack by Federal troops. Even knowing this, Florida received little to no aid from the Confederate government with this task.

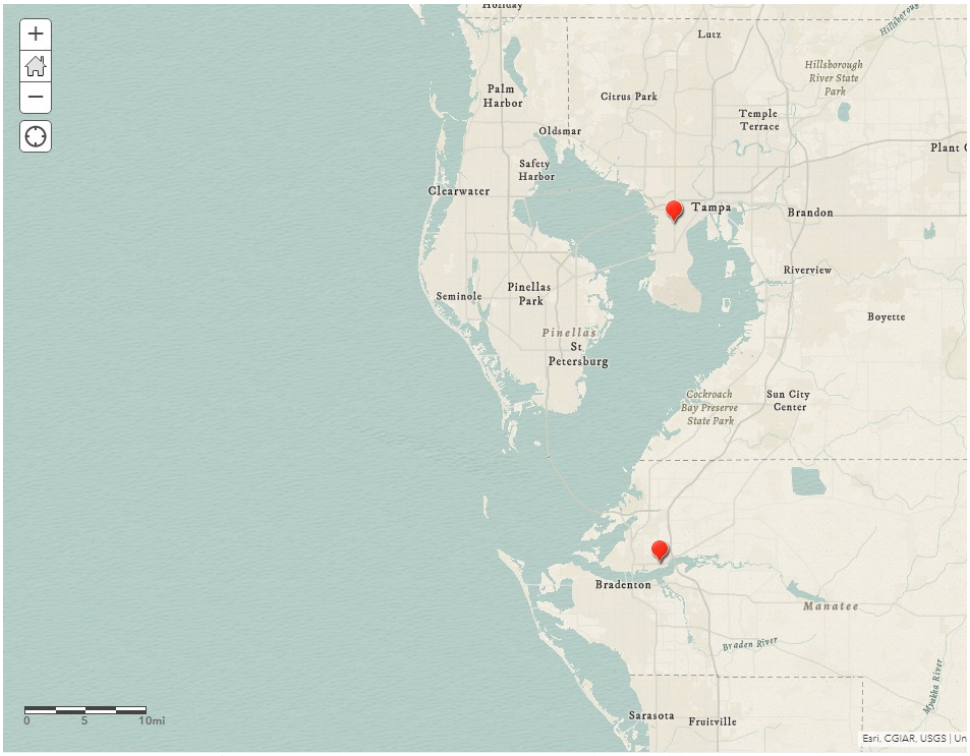

Figure 2.3 Approximate location of Forte Brooke (top pin) in relation to the Gamble Plantation (bottom pin). Map created by author.

Confederate Captain Archibald McNeill was stationed at Gamble Plantation with his wife and children in 1862. The plantation is mentioned several times in the diary of Confederate soldier Robert Watson (1861-1865) who was stationed at Fort Brooke in Tampa, just north of the plantation across Tampa Bay. In *Figure 2.3* we can see just how close the two locations are, and while the name of the sugar plantation is not specified in Watson's diary, the location of the plantation on the map matches the location of the Gamble Plantation. There are several mentions of the plantation in Watson's diary, many of which circle around drinking cane beer or bringing barrels of the beer back to Fort Brooke. On February 10th, 1862, Watson writes how Captain Mulrennan went to the sugar plantation and brought back a barrel of cane beer that was described

as strong due to the sudden merry behavior of the returning soldiers who had already had a taste (Watson 1861).

If one takes a tour of the Gamble Mansion, usually guided by a Park Ranger or a member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, then you will hear about how the property was important to the Confederate Army and of the grand escape of Judah P. Benjamin. Jesse, one of the Park Rangers, explained on our tour that the house during this time was a mere three miles from the Gulf of Mexico which made it easy for boats to take a jaunt down to Cuba for supplies. While the plantation is close to Tampa Bay and the Gulf of Mexico, the distance is more in line with eight miles as opposed to the three-mile trek that was stated in the tour. The plantation mansion was used to house not just McNeill and his family, but also various war supplies such as cannons, boots, muskets, and other items the Confederate Army may need to aide in their efforts to win the war (Jesse 2019).

Figure 2.4 Image of Judah P. Benjamin. Courtesy of State Archives of Florida. https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/34034

Confederate Secretary of State, Judah P. Benjamin (*Figure 2.4*), began his escape at the end of the Civil War in 1865 and eventually found himself at the Gamble Mansion to hide out

from the Federal troops who were hot on his heels. Deemed criminals and traitors, members of the Confederacy were left scrambling to escape. Some were successful, others not so much, though Benjamin could be counted among the more fortunate. Benjamin masqueraded as a Frenchman to get through Georgia and into Florida before shedding this disguise to take on the look of a farmer to remain under the Federal troops radar (Kite-Powell 1996). Though there is some confusion on who brought Benjamin to the Gamble mansion, it is more widely accepted that Leroy Lesley and his son John helped Benjamin get closer to freedom (Kite-Powell 1996:4). After about two weeks and at least one raid by Federal troops, Benjamin left the safety of the plantation house and spend time with a Captain Frederick Tresca – one of the two men behind taking Benjamin to Cuba (Kite-Powell 1996). From Cuba Benjamin made his way to Bimini before taking a ship to his true destination: England.

The end of the Civil War left the property vacant until 1871 when it was bought by a prominent man by the name of George Patten, not to be confused with the famous WWII general, who bought the property in 1873 for approximately $3,000; a fraction of the price the property was originally worth.

The Patten Occupation

George Patten married Mary Scott Thompson in 1835 in Georgia. The couple had a total of thirteen children together, all of whom were born in Georgia, before coming to Florida in 1873 with several of his former enslaved people in tow to work as laborers (Weesner 1978). The purchase of the Gamble plantation came after Pattens interest in acquiring the property became known to MacFarlan and Gamble through various letters and correspondences.

In 1868, MacFarlan wrote George Patten complaining about McNeill's farming abilities and management skills. While lamenting the skills, or lack thereof, that McNeill possessed

MacFarlan offered the property to Patten for a sum of $6,000 (MacFarlan 1868). According to George, the Gamble property was an advantageous purchase, one that would give him an advantage of two to three weeks over other sections in the early market (Patten 1890). Once the purchase of the property was completed via a public auction, Patten made off with the Gamble property for $3,000 which was a mere fraction of the $190,000 the property originally sold for. The Patten family stayed at Braden Castle while awaiting the Gamble property to come into their possession. Once in hand, George Patten began to parcel off the land for farming in the form of 10-to-40-acre plots, ushering in the humble beginnings of Ellenton which was aptly named in honor of his daughter Mary Ellen Patten (Weesner 1978), with some parts of the property allotted to George Patten's children (Silpa 2012).

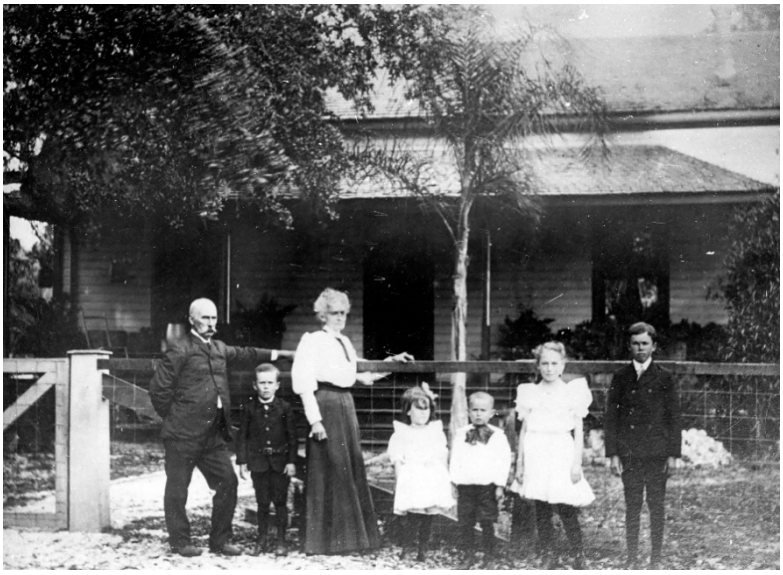

Figure 2.5 Dudley Patten and family in front of the Patten House. Photo courtesy of the Manatee County Public Library Digital Collection

Even though the family was now living in an isolated frontier the children were raised in the ways of Victorian consumer culture. Evidence of this can be found in the ceramics discovered in the privy feature north of the plantation mansion that will be discussed later. George Patten's children stayed in the area, though they left the plantation property, until the

death of their father in 1891 at the age of 85. Dudley (*Figure 2.5*), George's youngest son, inherited the mansion and remained on the property (Silpa 2008). Dudley married Ida Melville Turner in 1891 and moved to the Gamble property with his wife upon his father's death so their mother was not left alone. According to an interview with Ida, Dudley's second child, her brother Roy was born in the same room where Judah P. Benjamin was hidden away from the reach of Federal troops (Weesner 1978).

Mary Scott Thompson, Dudley's mother, died in 1897 and the plantation house became vacant yet again. With a young child in tow, Dudley built a home on an adjoining lot that was left to him by George Patten. This Victorian house became known as the Patten House. During their time in the Patten House, Dudley and his wife had a total of nine children. A set of triplets, a rare phenomenon at the time, and a single child died in infancy while the remaining 5 children lived to adulthood. Two of the triplets, George and Dudley, died a day to several months after birth while the third triplet, Rosa Lee, died half a year later. Their gravestones can be found in the Mansion Memorial Park located behind the park (*Figure 2.6*). One other child who died is un-named and without a grave marker, possibly due to being stillborn. It is hard to be completely certain as to why the un-named child did not have a grave marker, but the possibility of it being stillborn is supported by only eight children being counted in the census records that year. Ida, being young at the time, may not have been keen to that kind of information due to her young age as she only mentions the fourth child born in 1908 when also talking about the triplets (Weesner 1978).

Figure 2.6 Family tombstone of the Patten triplets at Mansion Memorial Park. Photo Courtesy of Manatee County Public Library Digital Collection

The Gamble mansion was left for the most part empty, to age and decay from disuse, only to be filled when people needed a place to rest their tired bodies when visiting Ellenton or passing through while Dudley's family grew in the Patten House. With the Gamble mansion used as a boarding house of sorts (*Figure 2.7*), the once empty rooms saw a wide array of people. In an interview with Libby Warner, Ida reminisces about the many people who stayed in the mansion – family, strangers, anyone who needed a place to stay (Patten 1983). The Gamble mansion remained in the hands of the Pattens for nearly 20 years, witnessing George Patten's children and Dudley Patten's children grow into capable adults but also serving as a magnifying glass into how life on the Florida frontier was for children of a prominent Victorian-era family. The family remained heavily involved in the church though there was no permanent pastor. The plantation mansion was used to house the visiting ministers and a place to board their horses (Weesner 1978). According to Ida's interview, *Growing Up Years of the Patten Children,* once everyone returned from church they would gather in the Patten house and listen to their cousin play the piano. The Pattens were extremely family oriented, from eating together in the dining room to cooking together during mealtime prep. This resulted in the close-knit interactions Ida describes in her interview and how the Pattens became a staple family of the community.

The Patten house grew as the family did, additions such as a kitchen, a dining room, and an enclosed back porch were added while Ida was still young (Weesner 1978). Eventually the second story was added as the children became older and increased in number, causing a need for more space. Though running water is expected to come with every home in society today, back in the late 1800s and early 1900s this was vastly unheard of. It was not until after the second story of the Patten house was constructed that running water became a discussion. Another thing that Dudley struggled with was deciding on in their ever-growing home was the placement of a bathroom. The Gamble mansion had at lease one known outhouse just north of the kitchen but no indoor bathroom – houses today, in comparison, market having more than one bathroom as a huge selling point.

Figure 2.7 People spending time on the porch and balcony of the Gamble Mansion. Photo Courtesy of the Manatee County Public Library Digital Collection

Maintaining the Victorian Flair at the Patten Estate

Living on the Florida frontier along the Manatee River was not without some struggles. Malaria, yellow fever, and other diseases were a constant threat but that did not stop the family from having parties in the early 1900s full of meals made from locally raised animals and crops (Patten 1983). Though the Pattens were a well-known affluent family, they were not without their imperfections. Ida Patten was arrested for drunk and disorderly on multiple occasions,

though in her interviews she mentions how there was no alcohol at family gatherings or parties held on the Gamble property. Her uncle Edward Patten was also brought to court on alcohol related charges which included selling liquor without a license on more than one occasion (Municipal Court Matters 1895). It was clear that the Patten family had a bit of a wild streak in them. Ida recalls that when she was younger, she and her sister Mary would sneak out of their upstairs room to meet their dates without their parents' knowledge (Greer 2004).

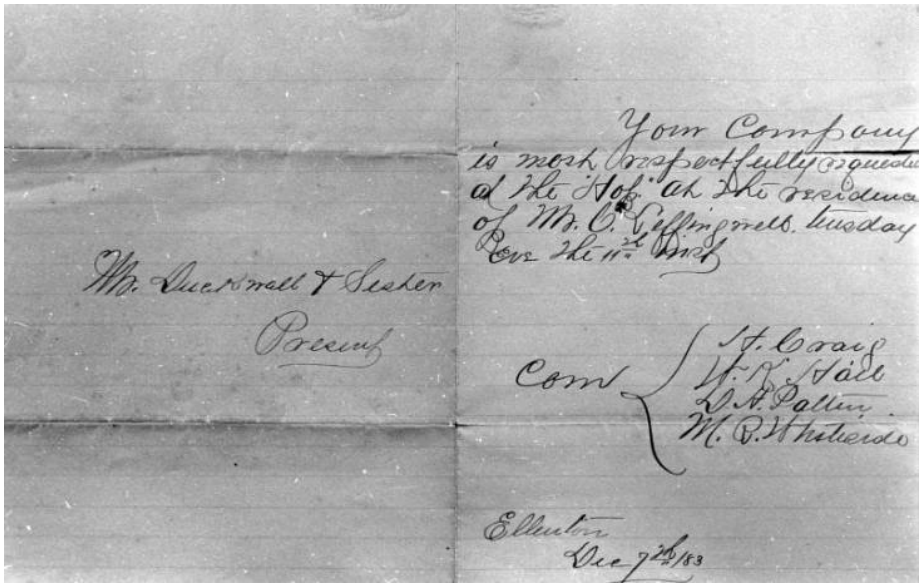

Figure 2.8 1883 party invite in which Dudley Patten was an organizer. Courtesy of the Manatee County Public Library Digital Collection

In 1883 a party invite was sent out and Dudley Patten was one of the party committee members listed on the invite. The invitation (*Figure 2.8*) reads: "Your company is most respectfully requested at the residence of M.C. Leffingwell. Tuesday evening, December 11th, 1883." The Pattens would attend, and host, lavish parties with hearty meals, all the while keeping the children up to date on the latest fashion trends of the time (Patten 1983). Hoop skirts and bustles were out of fashion by this time, but the slim waistline silhouette remained. Women were still expected to wear layer upon layer of clothing – a camisole or fitted layer with ruffles that were designed to hide the outline of the bust (Weesner 1980). Clothing, like ceramics, are

markers in time that can represent socioeconomic status. Many of life's greatest conveniences, such as running water or a car, were markers of status in the Antebellum south and Dudley Patten's family partook in many of these new conveniences.

Ida's interviews become a focal point in understanding Victorian life in Florida. She recalls how her parents were very careful when it came to who the children spent time with: "My parents were very careful as to our friends. Family background was very important to them" (Weesner 1980). The children spent time going to dances, filling up dance cards and following the proper procedure of how the dance cards were meant to be filled when attending with an escort, and maintaining a strict social circle guided by their parents.

Women in such social circles were held to a specific standard of dress, morals, and manners (Weesner 1980). Pregnancy out of wedlock was considered the worst thing that could happen to a young woman, the ultimate disgrace. Only "women of the night" wore blush (otherwise known as rouge) though young girls would pinch their cheeks to achieve the similar appearance of a flushed face. Young ladies were trained to be modest, possess good manners, and harbor respect for their elder (Weesner 1980). These standards of how one should conduct themselves highlight the privilege that was held so gently in the hands of higher-class individuals.

Conclusion

Most, if not all, of the Patten children had moved away from Ellenton and lived long lives in various places across the United States. The exception was Carl, born on June 23, 1901, who died an untimely death in California at the age of 27 in 1928. Many of the children came back upon their mother's death with most of the Patten family being buried in Ellenton at the Mansion Memorial Park located north of the plantation mansion and state park property. The State was

interested in buying the Gamble property while their mother was still alive, having requested multiple times, though the Pattens had no intention of selling while Mary Scott Thompson was still alive and living within its walls. After her death, the mansion was sold in 1925 to the United Daughters of the Confederacy who, after raising the money to purchase it, donated it to the state of Florida as a Confederate memorial to Judah P. Benjamin (Silpa 2008). It was after the sale of the estate that the Patten house was moved to the back of the property to allow for a clearer view of what is now the last remaining Antebellum plantation mansion in Florida.

While the written oral histories offer some insight into the general story of late 19th- early 20th century Ellenton, archaeology offers a more detailed and nuanced perspective of the daily lives of those on the Florida frontier. The various ceramics and glass bottles recovered from the site are the physical material that has stood the test of time and remain to tell their stories long after the people who used them are gone. These artifacts fit together like a puzzle piece, somewhat curious on their own but when pieced together can form a beautiful picture of the lives of those long dead.

Chapter 3 Methods

Previous Archaeological Surveys

The focus of this research is centered primarily around the analysis of ceramics and glass bottles found in the privy feature at the Gamble Plantation site (8MA100) and required a diverse use of archaeological methods to adequately recover, analyze, reconstruct, and identify the ceramic sherds and glass bottles. Previous archaeological work has been done at the Gamble property (8MA100) including the burned down sugar mill (8MA713). In 1978 Henry Baker conducted an archaeological auger survey with limited test excavations under contract for the Florida Department of Natural Resources. The sugar mill survey was conducted in 2004 by Vicki Rolland, Myles Bland, and Sidney Johnston. Both surveys have been instrumental in understanding the processes occurring at the site.

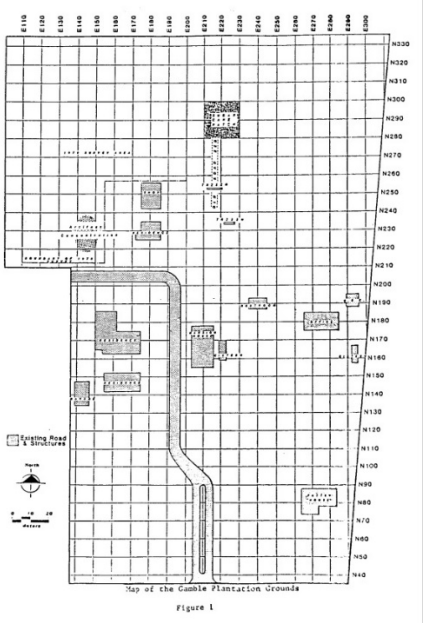

Figure 3.1 Map of Gamble Plantation Grounds. Baker and Peterson 1987 Survey

Very little archaeological fieldwork had been done at the site up until the Baker survey. A portion of the site had little to no archaeological remains, the exception being a concentration of household materials (Baker 1987). In July of 1981, Baker and Peterson conducted a proton magnetometer scan in a 20 sq. meter area behind the mansion house. However, due to the amount of ferrous metal and scattered debris it was decided that an auger survey would prove more useful in data collection (Baker 1987). The discovery of a possible domestic structure was found sometime between 1978 and 1981 when a portion of the property behind the mansion was plowed to plant sugar cane (see red arrow on *Figure 3.1*). The artifacts included nails, ham bones, cookstove pieces, and some ceramic sherds with partial makers marks that date between 1862 and 1891 (Baker 1987). The artifacts in question suggest an occupation beginning around 1880.

A grid beginning from a point north and west of the plantation house 24 meters from the northwest corner and 31.2 meters from the northeast corner of the house was established (Baker 1987). A total of 479 auger holes were excavated at 10-meter intervals at an approximate depth of 75cm with material sifted through a 1/4in mesh cloth with artifacts bagged together. Artifacts were sorted into specific categories: building materials (mortar, brick, and tabby), cut nails, window glass, bottle glass, kaolin pipe stems, 19th century ceramics, and metal fragments. Any specimen identified as modern was discarded. Two trenches were excavated behind the house; the first located at 233N-222E measuring 1 meter by 6 meters comprised mostly of shell fill with a medium grey sand resting atop a layer of mottled grey sand (Baker 1987). The second trench was excavated at 252N-212E measuring 50cm by 9 meters and showed evidence of plowing in the eastern region. Brick fragments were unearthed approximately 30cm below the marked plow area (Baker 1987). The Baker and Peterson auger survey were key in pinpointing where to begin

looking for artifacts during the 2017 archaeological field season. Thanks to their map showing the concentration of artifacts discovered during their survey we were able to determine where might be the best areas to begin excavations.

As seen below in *Figure 3.2*, concentration number 13 is the area just north of the kitchen, dubbed "North Palm" during the 2017 excavations, where the privy was discovered. This particular assemblage consisted of various ceramic types, different glass types, brick, mortar and tabby, nails, and a porcelain doll head fragment (Baker 1987:35).

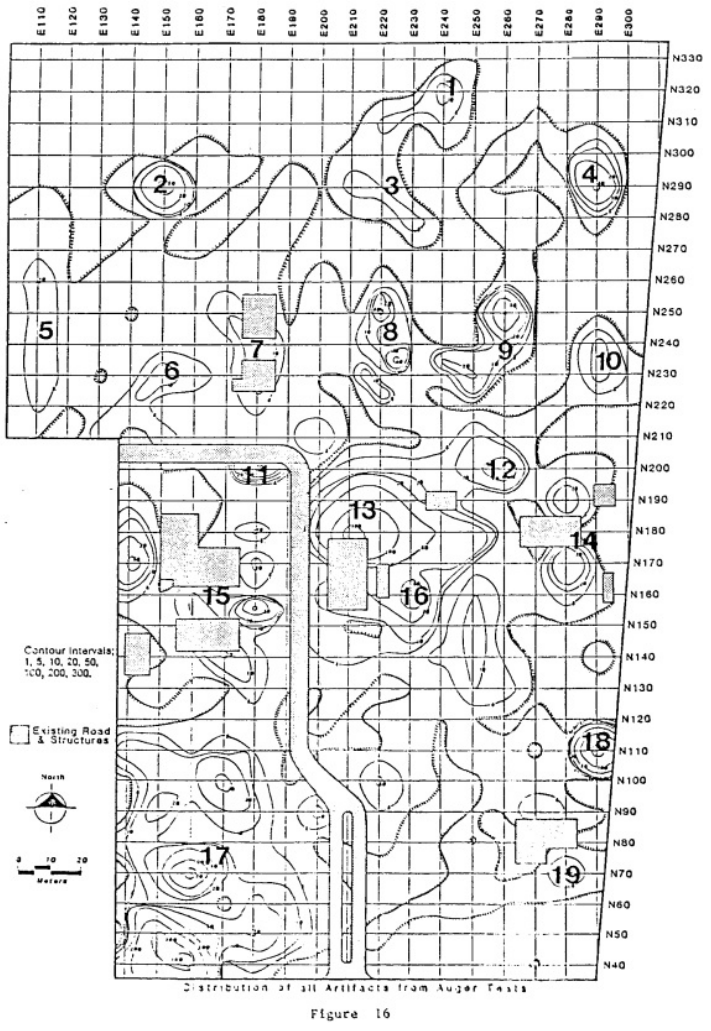

Figure 3.2 Artifact Distribution of Gamble Plantation courtesy of Baker and Peterson 1987 Survey

The 2004 sugar mill survey done by Bland and Associates took a different approach to the 1980s auger surveys. The team completed 306 sub-surface shovel tests at the mill, avoiding the delicate wall structures, with 66 shovel tests coming back positive with cultural material (Bland 2004). Prior to this survey by Bland and associates, no professional archaeological testing had been done while much of the attention went to the Gamble property and its looming mansion. A Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey was conducted to locate any buried structural or cultural features in the sugar mill vicinity (Bland 2004). Another method utilized by Bland and Associates included a metal detector survey which comprised of sweeps on an established 10-meter grid. Unfortunately, much of the objects found during the metal detector survey were identified as being modern in origin though any item dubbed historic in origin was mapped and kept (Bland 2004). Shovel testing was also used in conjunction with the GPR and metal detector surveys. Each shovel test were approximately 50-cm squares with soil being sifted through 1/4in mesh screens on the 10-meter grid system mentioned above. The 1,079 artifacts removed from the 66 positive shovel tests include: refined earthenwares such as Whiteware and Pearlware, iron hardware such as nails, and glass bottle fragments in a variety of colors (Bland 2004). What was also discovered by Bland and associates during this survey was how disturbed the soil was due to various factors: initial land clearing, introduction of orange and tangerine trees, truck farming, and the multiple sheds constructed on the site. It was concluded that as a result of these disturbances over the years, something that is common when land is parceled off, no super-positioning of period sensitive artifacts was observed (Bland 2004).

Contemporary Archaeological Research

In 2017, archaeological field work began at the Gamble Plantation under the direction of Dr. Diane Wallman from the University of South Florida Tampa campus. Testing and excavation

focused on the area directly behind the plantation mansion, due to the indication of a dense concentration of artifacts based on previous surveys done in the 1980s, extending below the water table (approximately 150cmbd).

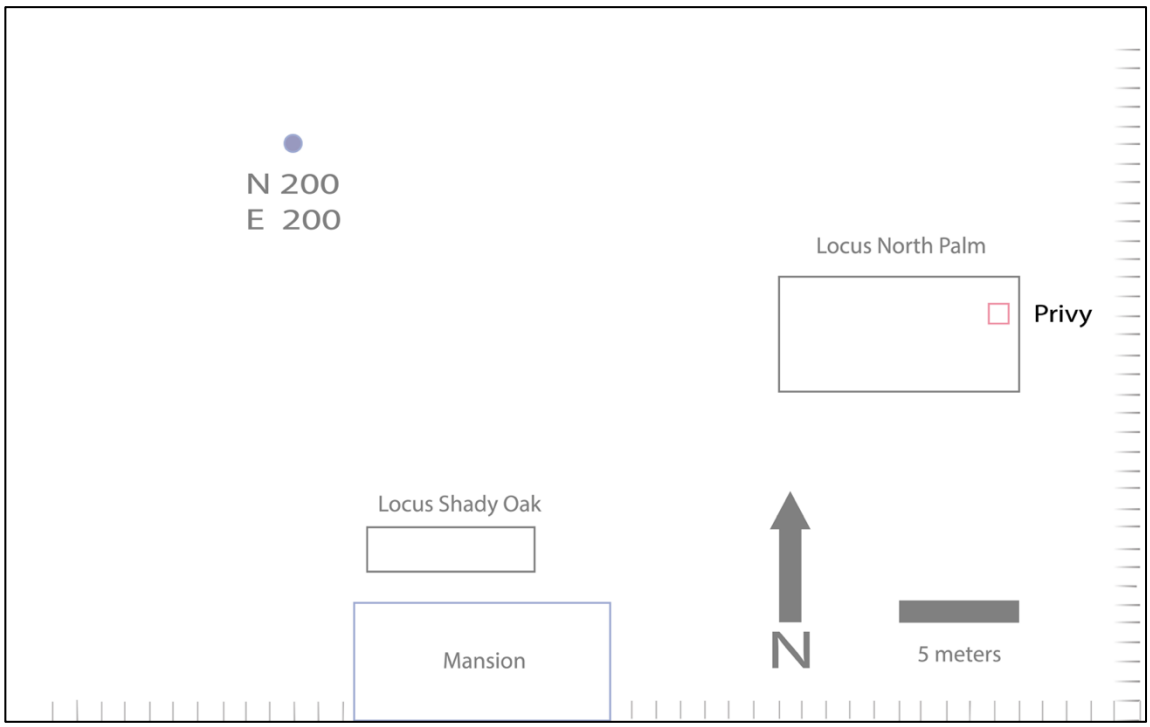

Figure 3.3 Map of 2017/2018 Excavations, Courtesy of Diane Wallman

Figure 3.4 Excavation of 1m x 1m units at "North Palm." Photo by author


Figure 3.5 Left: Locus "North Palm." Right: Locus "Bermuda Triangle". Photos by author.

To ensure a systematic sample, every alternating unit was excavated in 1m-by-1m square units (*Figure 3.4*) at three separate loci (*Figure 3.3)* – "North Palm" (*Figure 3.5*), where the privy was discovered, located slightly north/northeast of the mansion kitchen at 190N-220E to 200N-230E, "Shady Oak", directly behind the mansion kitchen, and "Bermuda Triangle" (*Figure 3.6*) north of the dirt parking lot at 235N-230E to 255N-250E. Excavations were conducted at arbitrary 5cm intervals per level, unless a soil change was identified, from the unit datum point. Students recorded descriptions of artifacts found and their location in-situ, level type, soil texture and color description with the aid of the Munsell soil color charts, and completed drawings of in-situ artifacts. Indication of the privy feature started to show at approximately level 11 in units 9 and 20 (*Figure 3.5*), which contained most of the feature. In all units associated with this feature, the levels 1-5 contained a layer of topsoil and a few recent artifacts with the soil identified as being 10YR 2/1. Levels 6-8 begin to show cultural artifacts associated with the site above the privy with a soil color of 10YR 4/1. Levels 9-11 is where we began to see an amorphous dark stain that later was identified as the privy feature with a distinct square shape and a soil color of 10YR 3/1 with a silty soil texture. Units 9 and 20 is where the bulk of the privy is located and offered up the bulk of the privy materials. The levels of these two units, from levels 12 through 23, contained the bottom of the feature with silty dark soil of 10YR 4/2 to 10YR 5/2. *Figure 3.5*

shows the three vertical posts we encountered that were connected to horizontal wooden beams, and plenty of identifiable artifacts.

Ten-liter bulk soil samples were taken from the privy feature every 5-10cm during the 2017 and 2018 University of South Florida field school seasons utilizing judgement sampling – meaning samples are taken from specific areas or features of interest (Marston 2014). The justification for using this sampling method is due to the rich information, from macrobotanicals to artifact assemblages, that can come from such features and shed light upon the lives of those that inhabited the plantation. The privy was then backfilled and the end of the Summer 2018 field season. The privy appears to date from the 1880s through the early 1900s, working as a time capsule of sorts from when the Pattens occupied the property until its sale to the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Originally the main justification for taking 10L soil samples was to analyze the macrobotanical remains to paint a thorough picture of foodways and health during the Patten occupation of the Gamble Plantation. The trajectory of this thesis changed due to the pandemic, therefore focusing solely on the ceramics and glass bottles found in the privy feature to understand health and the socioeconomic realm the Pattens played in to.

Figure 3.6 Left: Unit 9, Level 11, showing dark staining. Right: Base of privy feature showing wooden beams. Photo courtesy of Diane Wallman

Laboratory Methods

Any indefinable markings such as makers marks, bottle forms, mold type, and ceramic decoration were documented in the field and at University of South Florida after being cleaned in a manner that fit the artifact type: many were cleaned with a brush and water while others were simply dry brushed to maintain artifact integrity. Identification of the glass bottles came from a variety of sources: DAACS glass system, Parks Canada glass system, and occasionally Google. These were used in identifying bottle forms, mold type, and specific makers if makers marks were present. All information was catalogued to BAR standards and with DAACS cataloguing as a supplement. All information was entered into a Google Sheets spreadsheet with several columns dedicated to information such as FS number, ID Number, count, glass color, manufacturing techniques, mold type, body shape, identified form function, any makers marks, and other such observations.

Ceramic identification also stemmed from a variety of sources: DAACS ceramic system, the Florida Museum Digital Ceramic Type Collection, the Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum Ceramic Identification website, Society for Historical Archaeology Ceramic Identification website, Kovel's for identification on several makers marks and registry mark identification, google, and various books loaned by Dr. Wallman. A numbering system was used to catalogue each ceramic sherd in the following format: FS#-CeramicType-ArtifactNumber. An example is shown in *Figure 3.7*: 296RE4 – meaning this was from FS# 296, it is refined earthenware, and is artifact number 4. Abbreviations to identify ceramic types are PN for Porcelain, RE for refined earthenware such as Whiteware, Pearlware, and Semi-Porcelain, SW for Stoneware, and CE for Coarse Earthenware such as Rockingham and Terra Cotta. Other observations included surface displacement such as incising or punctation, glaze type (salt, fieldspar, lead, etc.), and other

decorative techniques. The Prunus Blossom motif, identified in Chapter 4 (*Figure 4.1)*, was popular from 1870-1900 and correlates with when the Pattens came to own and live at the Gamble Plantation. Knowing what a specific decoration motif is, whether it be transfer print or hand painted, can be useful in putting a timeline into perspective for a historic site such as the Gamble Plantation.

Figure 3.7. Flat whiteware ceramic sherd with an I. L. S. W. G. maker's mark. Catalogue number 296RE4. Photo by author.

Quantification and MCD

The purpose of calculating the mean ceramic date is to give a rough indication of the chronological position of the ceramic assemblage. This is estimated as the average of the approximate manufacturing date for the ceramic types recovered from the site (South 1977). To reach this estimation, I calculated the mean ceramic date (MCD) for the entire privy assemblage using the following formula: $MCD = \frac{\sum_{k=1}^{n} m_k f_k}{\sum_{k=1}^{n} f_k}$ where m_k median date for type k, f_k frequency of type k, n total number of types total product (median date times frequency) divided by total frequency (South 1977). For the calculation, I excluded unidentifiable coarse earthenware, due to the long production range. It is very likely that the

resulting MCD is earlier than the dates of the privy feature. This is due to potential curation of ceramics by the Patten family, and to longer production ranges of particular types.

By identifying the ceramic type, decoration, and motif style through the resources listed previously, it is possible to get an approximate site occupation timeline. This is largely due to the consumptive nature of the upper-class Victorian-era family that kept up with popular trends of the era. Utilizing the lens of conspicuous consumption, it is possible to further understand what image the Pattens presented in the local societal climate and how that fit into the larger picture of Victorian consumer culture. I also utilized the Manatee County and Bradenton archives to access interviews with Ida Mel Patten Weesner, Dudley Patten's daughter, that were useful in placing the Pattens in the socioeconomic sphere of the period. These digitized accounts, coupled with archaeological evidence, corroborate how the Pattens viewed themselves in the social sphere, their surroundings, and how they played a part in the consumptive nature of the time.

Challenges

This thesis encountered with several challenges that ultimately led to the focus on ceramics and glass bottles found in the privy feature. Originally this thesis was to utilize the soil samples taken from the privy to evaluate ideas around health, foodways, and subsistence practices in a frontier landscape by analyzing macrobotanical remains. The global COVID-19 pandemic, however, had other plans. The original timeline was to spend the summer 2019 months conducting flotation with the use of a flotation machine, collect live specimens from the site for establishing a comparative type collection, and look at the areas surrounding the plantation for other possible plant specimens. Live specimens were collected and documented during this time, but flotation was not due to some unforeseen hardships in acquiring the necessary components. In March 2020, when everything began to shut down, students were not

allowed on campus in the later summer months and so the shift in focus from macrobotanical remains to ceramics had to occur. Due to having to remove the original focus of the thesis an entire restructuring had to commence, and the glass bottles found in the privy were added to touch on topics surrounding health.

Some ceramics were hard, if not impossible, for me to identify myself. Learning ceramic identification was not without its challenges but thanks to the wealth of material online, in the lab, help from other students in the program, and my advisor I was able to learn quickly. Some ceramics had to be taken to Dr. Lindsay Bloch at University of Florida for proper identification which led to two confirmed yellow ware sherds and fixed any misidentified pieces. This also led to a few more questions regarding some unknown pieces I had found that appeared to be molded but were determined to be non-ceramic. Dr. Bloch suggested doing some further analysis on these pieces at another time. Future work on this site, hopefully including a macrobotanical analysis of soil samples, could be paired with the ceramic and glass bottle analysis to give a clearer look at how people on the Florida frontier thought about health, food, and the part they played in the wider lens of consumerism. It could be used to answer questions about possible diseases, parasites, and the movement of consumer goods to the South.

Chapter 4 Results and Interpretation

Artifacts recovered from the privy feature, which include units 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 19, and 20, comprised a wide array of artifacts. From nails to brass (shotgun shells), ceramics to glass, and bone, the privy presents a wealth of information. This thesis focuses on the plethora of ceramics and glass bottles recovered from the feature that can help tell the story of the Patten family who called this plantation home in the 19th Century into the early 20th century.

Before delving into the ceramic and glass bottle analysis I will include a brief description of artifact frequency by level for the privy feature. Levels 1-5 (stratum 1) consisted of topsoil and a more recent assemblage. These levels contained 152 ceramic sherds and 2 glass bottles. Levels 6-8 (stratum 2) contained the cultural levels above the privy. These levels contained 15 ceramics sherds, far less than the previous 5 levels, and no glass bottles. Levels 9-11(stratum 3) consist of the beginning of the privy feature. These levels contained 46 ceramic sherds, a slight increase from the previous levels, and one glass bottle. Levels 12-17 (stratum 4) comprised the top of the privy and contained 51 ceramic sherds and no glass bottles. Levels 18-23 (stratum 5) was identified as being the middle of the privy feature. These levels contained 28 ceramic sherds and 7 glass bottles. The final levels comprised of the base of the privy and items from FS#560 was identified as the base of the privy at 125-150cmbd. These levels contained 180 ceramic sherds and 6 glass bottles.

Unsurprisingly, a large amount of the artifacts from the privy feature were found in the base layer where the wood lining and various other items were found. What is interesting,

however, is that the top 5 levels also included a large sum of ceramic artifacts. Because of this it is important to keep in mind that the privy feature spans several units which may explain why more than half the ceramics recovered are specifically in the first 5 levels and the base of the feature.

Ceramics

Of the 476 pieces of ceramics identified from the privy feature, the highest percentage of ceramic type is Whiteware at 57.74% (*Table 4.1*). This includes both transfer print

Table 4.1 Frequency of Ceramic Type

Ceramic Type	Count	Percentage
Banded Annular Ware	6	1.36%
Coarse Earthenware	36	8.18%
Ironstone	12	2.73%
Pearlware	60	13.67%
Porcelain	51	11.36%
Redware	3	0.68%
Rockingham Ware	2	0.45%
Semi-Porcelain	3	0.68%
Stoneware	20	4.55%
Unglazed Coarse Earthenware	1	0.23%
Unknown	2	0.45%
Whiteware	276	54.32%
Yellow Ware	6	1.36%
Grand Total	**478**	**100.00%**

and plainwares which were mostly produced in England from 1830 to the present. The two unknown pieces appear to be non-ceramic and will not be included in this analysis though they will hopefully be identified in the future. *Table 4.2* shows that almost all the ceramics were produced in England (98%) and made their way to the United States most likely through import. It was not until nearly the end of the Victorian Era that North America became an industrial power of its own and began to lessen its reliance on goods imported from oversees. *Table 4.3*

shows the privy ceramics as having a mean ceramic date (MCD) of 1862, which is slightly earlier than the Patten occupation of the plantation property. This early date is likely due to ceramic curation, and some longer production ranges. As noted earlier, the Coarse Earthenware is removed from this table as it significantly shifts the MCD to an earlier date that does not reflect the Pattens' occupation of the Gamble mansion. Most of the sherds collected were identified as either body sherds or too fragmented though there were several rim sherds and sherds with partial/almost complete foot rings. *Table 4.4* shows the total number of bowl/hollow ware sherds, flat ware sherds, and cups recovered from the privy feature. Though tea played a major role in the display of status in the 19th century, the lack of obvious tea wares from the privy could lend evidence to it being used exclusively to those boarding at the plantation mansion (Miller 1980).

Table 4.2 Production origin and Date Range of Ceramics

Ceramic Type	Production Origin	Date Range
Banded Annular Ware	England	1785-1840
Coarse Earthenware	England	1490-1900
Ironstone	England	1840-1930
Pearlware	England	1780-1840
Porcelain	England	1830-1900
Porcelain, Bone China	England	1830-1900
Redware	North America	1750-1820
Rockingham	North America	1850-1950
Semi-Porcelain	England	1890-1930
Stoneware	England	1780-1890
Unglazed Coarse Earthenware	England	1490-1900
Whiteware	England	1830-1920 1842-1867
Yellow Ware	England	1840-1900

Even though every day goods were being produced in America, importing items was a way for the upper class to show their wealth. Production of goods in America did not stop families like the Pattens from relishing in their expensive imported goods such as porcelain. As discussed

in previous chapters, the Pattens were a family of affluence who were active participants in the consumer culture of the time and subscribed to the performance of conspicuous consumption.

Table 4.3 Mean Ceramic Date (MCD) of Privy Ceramics

Type	Mid-Date	Count	Product	MCD
Banded Annular Ware	1812.5	6	10875	
Ironstone	1885	12	22620	
Pearlware	1810	60	108600	
Porcelain	1865	51	95115	
Redware	1785	3	5355	
Rockingham	1900	2	3800	
Semi-Porcelain	1894	3	5682	
Stoneware	1835	20	36700	
Whiteware	1854.5	1	1854.5	
Yellow Ware	1875	275	515625	
Grand Total		**439**	**817446.5**	**1862.06492**

The idea that manners and a specific standard of living are beliefs that the Pattens subscribed heavily to is shown through many facets of this thesis. Ida's interviews coupled with the ceramics unearthed from the privy show how important the image they presented of being members of the elite was to their grandfather George and Dudley, their father. The ceramics presented in Figure 4.1 are a prime example of the items the Pattens had on display to showcase their wealth. During the Victorian Era it was extremely common for the wealthy members of society to display items oriental in nature – in the Pattens' case it is exemplified through the Prunus Blossom (*Prunus serrulata)* motif on the Aesthetic Period plates. Displaying items exotic in origin was a way for members of the upper class to figuratively turn their nose up at mass produced wares (Mullins 2011). This was a very common practice among the Victorian Era elite. Other notable ceramic artifacts include banded annular ware, pearlware, porcelain, Rockingham, and yellow ware. Much of the whiteware pieces pulled from the privy appear to be more of the mundane day-to-day use such as chamber pots and the coarse earthenware pieces discovered also

appear to be utilitarian in function as opposed to being designed to attract the eye. *Figure 4.2* through *Figure 4.8* provide a visual example of wide array of ceramic types found in the privy feature from the 2017 and 2018 field seasons.

Table 4.4 Vessel Form by Type

Type	***Bowl/Hollow Ware***	***Flat Ware***	***Cup***	
Banded Annular Ware	4	2	0	
Coarse Earthenware	10	26	0	
Ironstone	4	7	1	
Pearlware	33	26	1	
Porcelain	10	38	3	
Redware	0	3	0	
Rockingham	1	1	0	
Semi-Porcelain	0	3	0	
Stoneware	8	12	0	
Unglazed Coarse Earthenware	0	1	0	
Whiteware	115	154	6	
Yellow Ware	3	3	0	
Total	**188**	**276**	**11**	**475**

Figure 4.1 Aesthetic Period Plates. Motif: Prunus Blossom. 1870-1900. Photos by author.

Figure 4.2 Course earthenware rim sherd with a brown lead glaze, incised outer body, and orange/buff paste. 1490-1900

Figure 4.3 Pearlware rim sherd, ornage molded edge, blue pooling in glaze distinct in pearlware. 1785-1840. Photos by author

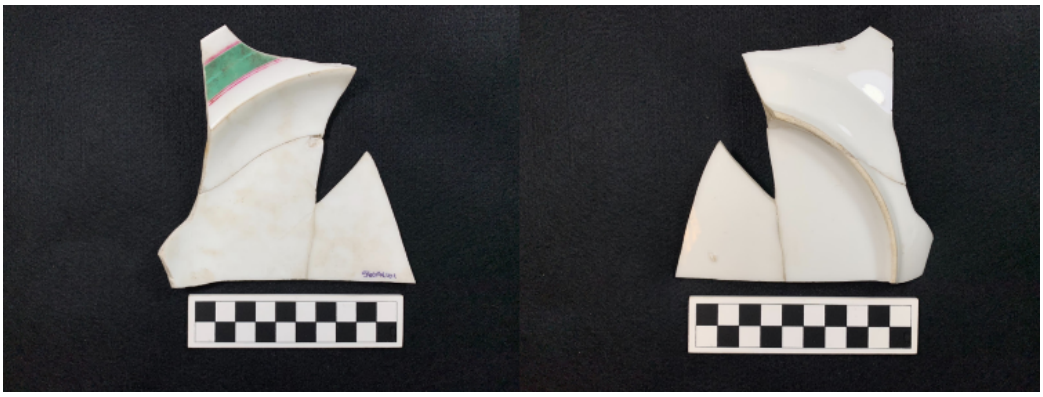

Figure 4.4 Pink and green banded porcelain plate sherd with a ghosting of fold gilding. Mended. Photo by author

Figure 4.5 Small porcelain dish, toy, possibly sugar bowl or cream dish. 1830-1900. Photo by author

Figure 4.6 Rockingham ware. Mottled lead glaze, molded, mended. 1850-1950. Photo by author.

Figure 4.7 Curved stoneware sherd, partial footring. 1780-1890. Photo by author.

By analyzing the consumption patterns of these commodities, we can evaluate how class impacted consumer behaviors (S. M. Spencer-Wood 1987). In some cases, however, displays of wealth were ignored in lieu of isolation from urban markets (Klein 1991). However, isolation from urban markets did not deter the Pattens from maintaining class values. Klein (1991) not only looks at accessibility to ceramics in a rural setting but also addresses how women were in charge of socialization of children and instilling values that aligned with social class and status. The porcelain toy dish, seen in *Figure 4.5*, reaffirms the Pattens' social status and wealth but also informs on social ideology and structures during the 19th Century. Consumptive decisions made by adults, in this case most likely a decision made by Dudley Patten's wife Ida Melville Turner, reinforce specific behaviors that fall into the expected gender roles befitting one's socioeconomic status (Wilkie 2000:101). While many of these ceramic wares are Whiteware, more than 50%, the finer pieces are more than likely the ones brought out on special occassions like holidays, small gatherings, and parties as a way to silently broadcast their wealth. This, in conjunction with maintaining fashion trends and eventually attaining a motorized car, act as a beacon that the Pattens used to draw in affluent people like themselves.

Glass Bottles

A total of 38 glass bottles were unearthed from the Gamble Plantation site (8MA100). Of the 38 bottles, 16 were removed from the privy feature with 8 identified as being medicinal or pharmaceutical in nature. *Table 4.5* shows that most of the bottles are colorless, or clear, with a handful of them ranging from light green/aqua to brown. Colorless glass was historically difficult to produce because it required the use of impurity-free materials and as the chemistry improved, the production of colorless glass grew to be more efficient and cheaper by

the late 19th Century whereas colors like green and blues were the result of impurities and the introduction of chemicals during the glass making process (Lindsey 2020).

Table 4.5 Glass Bottle Diagnostic Information

Glass Color	Vessel Form	Manufacturing Type	Mold Type
Colorless	Bottle, UID	Machine Made	Contact Mold
Colorless	Bottle, UID	Machine Made	Contact Mold
Colorless	Bottle, UID	Machine Made	Contact Mold
Light Green/Aqua	Pharm, Vial	Machine Made	Contact Mold
Light Green/Aqua	Inkwell	Machine Made	Contact Mold
Colorless	Pharm, Vial	Machine Made	Contact Mold
Colorless	Pharm, Vial	Machine Made	Contact Mold
Colorless	Inkwell	Machine Made	Press Mold
Brown	Pharm, Vial	Mold Blown	Contact Mold
Colorless	Bottle, Medicine	Mold Blown	Contact Mold
Colorless	Bottle, Food	Mold Blown	Contact Mold
Colorless	Pharm, Vial	Machine Made	Unidentifiable
Colorless	Bottle, UID	Machine Made	Pattern Mold
Brown	Pharm, Vial	Mold Blown	Contact Mold
Light Green/Aqua	Pharm, Vial	Machine Made	Contact Mold
Green/Olive Green	Bottle, UID	Mold Blown	Contact Mold

Warner's Safe Kidney and Liver Cure, Paine's Celery Compound, Groves Tastless Chill Tonic, and Dr. Kings New Life Pills are just a few examples of the types of medicines available to those of the 19th Century. Paine's Celery Compound, seen in *Figure 4.8*, came into being around 1874 at the hands of Edward Elisha Phelps, M.D. who allowed pharmacist Milton Paine to market the compound as "the best remedy in the world" (Bause 2017).

Figure 4.8 Paine's Celery Compound bottle. Photo courtesy of Diane Wallman

Paine's Celery Compound was comprised of celery seed, calisaya bark, cascara sagrada, senna leaves, prickly dandelion, mandrake, gentian, black cohosh, and yellow dock with its most potent ingredient being alcohol and possibly cocaine (Bause 2017). This medicine was quite easy to acquire and even with the 21% alcohol content it was still viewed as a life-saving medicine. An example of this is in a 1896 interview with Col. Joseph L. Follett (*Figure 4.9*) – "When suffering from mental exhaustion and a generally disorganized system, and overwork, I used Paine's celery compound. The compound acted like a charm on my bowels and kept them in fine condition, and I experienced great relief from my brain troubles….. It is the best general remedy I ever used or knew anything about" (Follett 1896).

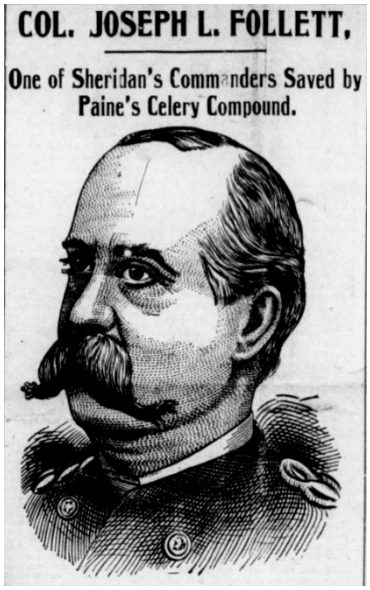

Figure 4.9 Newspaper Image of Col. Joseph Follett from Weekly Kentucky New Era. February 28, 1896.

Other medicine bottles found in the privy, such as Grove's Tastless Chill Tonic, was used as a treatment for Malaria in mosquito dense areas. Grove's Tonic (*Figure 4.10*), though reportedly not tasteless, became standard issue among British soldiers when traveling to areas such as Florida due to the high mosquito population. Unlike the other medicines recovered from this time, Grove's Tonic contained little to no alcohol and was comprised of: reduced iron, cinchonine, cinchonidine, sugar syrup, and lemon flavor. The presense of Grove's Tonic in 19th Century Ellenton makes sense due to the dense population of mosquitoes and several known malaria outbreaks when the Pattens owned the Gamble property.

Figure 4.10 Grove's Tasteless Chill Tonic Bottle. Photo Courtesy of Diane Wallman

Figure 4.11 Warner's Safe Kidney and Liver Cure bottle. Photo courtesy of Diane Wallman

Another high alcohol percentage medicine common in the 19th Century was Warner's Safe Kidney and Liver Cure. Warner's Cure was made of liverwort, bugleweed extract, wintergreen extract, potassium nitrate, 90% alcohol, and glycerine. This medicine was advertised to stimulate digestion, awaken the liver, and restore the kidneys and received raving reviews

from customers, possibly due to the high alcohol content. Warner's products sported a safe on the bottles and packaging (*Figure 4.11*) that possibly alluded to the safety of the medicine.

Figure 4.12 Advertisement for Dr. King's New Life Pills. Image courtesy of U.S. National Library of Medicine, Digital Collections

Figure 4.13 Dr. King's New Life Pills bottle. Photo courtesy of Diane Wallman

The final medicine bottle, Dr. King's New Life Pills, reportedly aided with Malaria, jaundice, fever, constipation, and more. According to the Joseph Bucklin Society, Dr. Kings New Life Pills (*Figure 4.13* and *Figure 4.14*) contained ingredients such as: cascara, podophyllin, aloin, strychnine sulphate, and capsicum. Of all the medicines discussed in this thesis, Dr. King's New Life Pills contain more toxic ingredients. Strychnine sulphate is used as rat poison today and according to the CDC (2018) can cause painful muscle spasms, difficulty breathing, and if exposed to high doses it can cause respiratory failure and brain death.

Conclusion

Figure 4.14 Left: Mended whiteware vessel rim from base of privy. Right: Whiteware mug with handle found at base of privy (125-150cmbd). Photos by author.

What the ceramic analysis shows is that the day to day life of the Patten family was more practical when considering 57% of the assemblage has been identified as whiteware with a few nicer wares sprinkled in here and there. The large percentage of whiteware is also indicative of the plantation mansion being used as a boarding house and therefore having the visitors use the everyday, less expensive, tableware. Of the identified whiteware fragments, at least 4 were pieces of chamber pots (example in *Figure 4.14*) found at the base of the privy feature. Many of

the others were more of the everday variety in the form of cups, bowls, and plates. One such piece is a whiteware mug 90mm in diameter with a 3.28mm thickness at the rim (*Figure 4.14*). The Pattens ate their dinners together as a family which could be when the bulk of the plain tableware was used with the nicer porcelain and exotic wares being saved for special holidays and parties. Another possibility is that the ceramics found in the privy feature were thrown in there as garbage to be replaced.

More expensive ceramics, such as the porcelain which make up 10% of the assemblage, are indicative of the Pattens' wealth. Even some of the ironstone pieces, such as the Prunus Blossom pieces in *Figure 4.1,* act as an indicator of their wealth which were most likely on display when company was over. While ceramics are certainly an important display of wealth the actual expenditure on these items was quite small when compared to most annual budgets, especially when the act of possession outweighed the money spent (Majewski and Schiffer 2009:197).

The bottles recovered from the privy tell a story of their own. Most notable are the medicine bottles which make up 50% of the bottles recovered in the feature. These medicinal concotions were usually high in alcohol content and some even contained cocaine up untilthe 1906 Pure Food and Drug Act which required labeling of the presence of alcohol, opiates, and cocaine (White 2003). The presence of these bottles serves in stark contrast to the early temperence beliefs of the time all the while being promoted as alochol addiction remedies (White 2003). Because medicines were touted as remedies for not just sickness but also addiction, the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 was established to control what went into medications as quack medicines were more commonplace and had little to no health benefits.

These kinds of medicines, as mentioned previously, seemed to have added to the instances of addiction of the time. Most prevelant is the documented public displays of intoxication by some of the members of the Patten family even though early versions of the temperance movement were present. Not all of these medicines contained alcohol, however, and made sense given the climate and fever outbreaks. Grove's Tasteless Chill Tonic was standard issue in high mosquito populated areas like Florida and was relatively harmless whereas Dr. King's New Life pills probably did more harm than good with its list of toxic ingredients.

What these artifacts show is a family who was practical in their day to day but liked to show off when they could in the form of hosting parties where their expensive tablewares would be on display. They also had a bit of a problem with alcohol addiction which is evident in both the artifact assemblage and archival records of the time. This was a family of affluence, as shown by the ceramic assemblage, who was also flawed and a product of their environment.

Chapter 5 Discussion

The Victorian Era is best known as a time of innovation, but it was also a time of great conflict in America. Major Robert Gamble experienced some of this conflict first-hand on more than one occasion in Florida. Though he did not come to Manatee County and establish the Gamble Plantation until 1844, he was well versed in the conflict specific to the area thanks to his participation in the Second Seminole War (1835-1842) and a very close encounter during the Second Seminole War (1854-1856) after establishing his sugar plantation. Gamble eventually left his plantation in the care of his brother-in-law before it ended up being sold to Cofield and Davis in 1858. The home would later become the eventual stronghold for Confederate Captain Archibald McNeill and his family where military supplies were stored and a place where a certain Confederate Secretary of State would come to hide out once the Confederacy fell. Judah P. Benjamin's grand escape would eventually become the key storytelling point for the Gamble Mansion after its donation to the state.

Florida adopted an Ordinance of Secession in January 1861 and was the third state to secede from the American Union (Gannon 2003). From the diary of Robert Watson (1861) we know that the Gamble Plantation was used to frequent visits by Confederate soldiers stationed at Fort Brooke in Tampa and was the main supplier of cane beer for the soldiers. After the end of the Civil War in 1865 the property was left abandoned until George Patten expressed an interest in the property in letters to MacFarlan, stating that it would be an "advantageous purchase"

(Patten 1890). MacFarlan tried selling the property to Patten for $6000 in 1868. That offer was declined until Patten purchased the property in 1873 at auction for $3000.

While the South was recovering from the fall of the Confederacy, America was transitioning from an agricultural hub that relied on import to a standalone country with its own industrialized power. By 1900, railroad tracks spanning a total of 3,500 miles allowed much of Florida to be explored and ushered in the escape of the cold North for a time of leisure in the sun of the South. This also brought more commerce to areas previously inaccessible and allowed for small townships to crop up in the form of agricultural ventures chasing cattle, timber, and citrus farming.

Life on the Florida frontier in the 19th Century was no stroll through the gardens. From the archival documents we know that Gamble met with hardships that led to the sale of the plantation to Cofield and Davis who then went back to Louisiana and left the property in the hands of Confederate Captain Archibald McNeill in 1862. After the end of the Civil War George Patten expressed interest in the plantation to Gamble's brother-in-law MacFarlan before purchasing the property and moving his large family to Florida.

In the end, George Patten put Ellenton on the map when he bought the Gamble Mansion in 1873, unintentionally ushering in the humble beginnings of the city and Manatee County with each parcel of land he sold. Though most of the Patten family descendants have moved away from the area, their legacy remains in the city name, the Patten House on the Gamble property, and in the structural heart of the Gamble Mansion itself. Without George Patten the Gamble mansion would have continued weathering through time, forgotten, until it became nothing more than structural bones and whispers of past elegance.

The Pattens, both George and his son Dudley, lived a life of luxury fit for someone of higher status during the Victorian Era. This life in Florida was not without many hardships – Dudley and his wife losing four children, a yellow fever outbreak, and malaria, yet the family found time to live richly and maintain a firm grasp on a higher socioeconomic status. Outward appearances were meant to be maintained, showing the outside world only your best, though that was not always the case with the Pattens. Sneaking out late at night as teens and cases of drunk and disorderly as adults help humanize the Pattens as everyday people and make their existence tangible.

Dudley raised his children the way his father raised him – with respect, polished manners, and surrounded by higher quality items. For the girls it was posh dresses and blouses that fit the evolving Victorian fashion, playing with toys befitting a girl of status such as porcelain dolls and tea sets, and learning to become women of the house through day-to-day interactions. For the boys it was a strong sense of ethics, the importance of hard work, and learning how to become men of the house which came with the expectation that they were the providers for their future families.

Infant mortality and other hardships, such as Malaria and Yellow Fever, brought on by living in a harsh frontier environment left room for some various acts of rebellion as a coping mechanism. In one of Ida's interviews, she reiterates how alcohol was not allowed at any gatherings yet for many in the community, most certainly the Pattens, drinking was a way to escape the painful realities of their environment. Many of the tonics touted as medicine had upwards of ninety percent alcohol in the ingredients, making it something easy to attain from a physician due to its perceived medicinal value and easy to explain away for the same reason. Medicine with a high alcohol percentage was typically viewed as acceptable and not taboo like

beer or other types of alcoholic beverages like liquor (Behrens 2011). Several bottles of these high alcohol medicines were found behind the Gamble mansion (found in *figures 4.9, 4.11, 4.12,* and *4.14)*, Van Duzer's Jamaica Ginger Essence, Warner's Safe Kidney and Liver Cure, and Paine's Celery Compound to name a few.

The use of patent medicines generally reflects efforts to mitigate the threats to health and wellness in a challenging environment. Many variables impacted sickness and health in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, including access, environment, infrastructure, medical science, and public health initiatives (Harris 2019; Howson 1993). This time, in particular, was characterized by the use of "stimulants," particularly alcohol and opiates, as palliatives (Howson 1993:144). Patent medicines were an acceptable aspect of self-care during this time and were "incorporated into the way people thought about sickness and health" (Howson 1993:145). The bottles recovered tell us that for the residents of the Patten House and Gamble Mansion, maintaining health was a part of daily life in the face of pathogens and illnesses common at the time. The treatments used included patent medicines and remedies used to counter a variety of ailments. The occupants of the site pursued self- treatment for mild issues including coughs, and minor pain, and also chose self-medication for chronic ailments such as stomach and digestive issues, malaria, and more.

The hardships of people in the Ellenton community acted as a sort of glue that brought the people of this once tiny town together and this is evident in how often the Patten children chose to return to Florida for various reasons – ultimately being buried in the Mansion Memorial Park located behind the Gamble Plantation State Park. The life of children in particular, their experiences and participation in consumer culture, is not discussed by historical archaeologists but in the most minimalistic of terms. According to Wilkie (2000), historical archaeologists

grudgingly acknowledge that children contributed to the past. If not for Ida's interviews, much of what life was like growing up as a child in Ellenton would have been left to speculation and preconceived biases through the lens of the researchers own childhood experiences. It is largely due to the rich oral histories and archival documents that we can know the ages, demographics, and the composition of the Patten family. With that information in hand the dynamics of this wealthy Victorian family come to light. Toys found inside and in the periphery units of the privy such as the small porcelain tea set piece and porcelain doll all point to not only the Pattens' social status but also to the reinforcing of gender roles. Toys purchased for children are attempts made by their parents to enforce gender norms associated with social status and reinforce specific behaviors (Wilkie 2000). The Pattens, in this case, were no different in that their daughters had specific expectations of behavior befitting their gender.

The Gamble mansion was home to various people from different walks of life, though most were members of a higher social circle, and the artifact assemblage from the privy feature give credence to the display of wealth at the time of the Pattens occupation of the property. The Prunus Blossom motif on the ironstone plates, for instance, is a bloom from the East Asian Cherry tree (*Prunus serrulata)*. Displaying exotic goods, specifically those oriental in origin, was common among the upper-class in the Victorian Era which could be attributed to ideas surrounding American imperialism and an affront at the mass production of ceramics (Mullins 2011:142). The wide array of ceramic types, which included expensive and uniquely decorated wares, are evidence of the Patten family maintaining their tethers to high society and participating in the perfomance of consumer culture that was so prevalant among the affluent in the Victorian Era. The high number of Whiteware also lend evidence to the plantation mansion being used as a boarding house as it could explain the abundance of plainwares.

The medicine bottles tell a precautionary tale that looms in stark contrast to the images of parties and extravagant dinners the ceramics embody. Many of these medicines were used to treat Malaria and other ailments – whether they worked or not was another story. Based on evidence from the CDC, Dr. King's New Life Pills contained an extremely toxic ingredient that if taken long enough could lead to eventual death. Navagating through life and the frontier with a degree of uncertainty, it is no wonder that many in this community turned to high alcohol percentage medicines like Warner's Safe Kidney and Liver Cure. In a time when consumption of alcohol was frowned upon, medicines like Warner's and Paine's could provide easy access to a momentary escape. While not addressed in Ida's interviews, archival evidence has proven that the Patten's had run-ins with authorities on accounts of drunk and disorderly even while the community remained "alcohol-free". The position of doctors had shifted, perhaps unknowingly, and those in this profession were left "sheltering behind their professional mysteries and a pharmacopeia in which alcoholic drinks, opiates, and mercury based medicaments featured prominently, doctors seemed to have formed an unholy alliance with the drink trade and vendors of dangerous drugs" (Tyrrell 2012). Whether this was a purposful oversight on Ida's part is not known, however it does point to the idea that alcohol in the Ellenton community was viewed in a negative light and consumption of alcohol had to either be hidden or explained away through medicines like the ones mentioned above.

Recommendations

The Gamble Plantation Historic State Park does have a small on-site museum in the visitor's center that showcases items from the previous excavations done at the site, a list of all of the known enslaved during Robert Gamble Jr.'s ownership of the property, and items that were used for harvesting during this period in history. Much of what is housed in the museum

pertains to a particular moment – the time when plantations reigned supreme and the Civil War raged, with little said pertaining to the Patten family. This may in large part be due to the United Daughters of the Confederacy having authority over what image the plantation presents to the public. One thing that should be added is a section after the Civil War when George Patten brought his family to Florida and decided to call the Gamble property home. Using resources to properly preserve the Patten house, currently a dilapidated building sitting at the front of the property just off the main road, would allow for visitors to see how people were living in the late 1800s. I would also suggest adding an exhibit to the visitor's center museum pertaining specifically to the privy and the artifacts found within.

The plantation mansion, the last standing antebellum mansion in Florida, is beautifully preserved and decorated with pieces true to the period. Appearing as a time capsule of sorts, the mansion paints images of a romanticized plantation life in the South. Much of the tour is centered on Gamble but shifts to the park's namesake: Judah P. Benjamin. With the history centered on one specific moment in time the visitors to the park lose out on the rich history of the property and area. Unfortunately, having such a narrow interpretation of the site can act as a deterrent that keeps people of color and minorities from visiting the grounds. What can be done to avoid this is to broaden the site interpretation to include the 190 people who built the house from the ground up and bring that aspect of American history into the conversation. During the Patten era the Gamble mansion was a boarding house for those travelling to, from, and through Ellenton. Highlighting this aspect of the mansion's history could stimulate interest in area development, trade routes, and how locals were navigating through life. With the way it sits now, the Gamble plantation could fall to obscurity due to the narrow interpretation of the site. The best thing the UDC and state could do is loosen the chokehold on Judah P. Benjamin and broaden

their talking points. While the property did play a role during the Civil War it is not the whole story and should not be presented as such.

There is still plenty this site can still tell us outside of the museum and tour. The 10L soil samples taken from the privy are available for identification and analysis. These samples would not only contain macrobotanicals that could show what the Pattens and guests were ingesting, but also evidence of possible micro-organisms that could further expand on the health of the site's occupants. Continuing the analysis of the privy will add more depth to the history of the property and the Patten family.

Conclusion

The history surrounding Florida and Ellenton is colorful and, at times, chaotic. Florida was much sought after by many whether to escape the cold in the North on vacation, something still in practice even today, or to stake a claim on the soil and call it home. With the Armed Occupation Act in play settling down in Florida and creating a homestead became an attainable reality and the increase in tobacco, cotton, and sugar plantations across middle Florida grew substantially. The aid of the Government in the forced removal of the Seminole Native Americans also allowed for more people to move South under the guise of safety and the promise of an agricultural paradise. But within this paradise hid perfect conditions for malaria and yellow fever due to the humid environment that acted as a homing beacon for mosquitos, often taking quite a heavy toll in these small-town communities. Even amid such hardships, families like the Pattens continued to subscribe to Victorian consumer culture and live lives full of extravagance. From hosting and attending parties to keeping up with the latest fashion trends, the Pattens made sure to maintain the lifestyle that fit their socioeconomic status, even in a place

like the Florida frontier. This adherence to a specific lifestyle shows just how prevalent ideas surrounding wealth and power were among well-off planters in the South.

As the Patten occupation of the Gamble property came to an end, the Greek Revival mansion saw a renewed sense of purpose with the aid of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) and the Division of Recreation and Parks, Department of Natural Resources. The Judah P. Benjamin chapter of the UDC purchased the Gamble property in 1925 for $3,200 after the Patten children had all moved away and their mother, Mary Scott Thompson, had passed (Silpa 2008). The UDC transferred ownership of the property to the state as a condition of receiving state funds and the Florida Park Service began to manage the property in 1949 with the guidance of the UDC in site interpretation (Judah P. Benjamin Memorial Nomination Form 1970).

Though this home is advertised as the only Confederate shrine in Florida (1970), the archaeological evidence points to it being so much more. The lives of the people who called this property home, the myriad of visitors, and its historical significance spanning the 19th to the early 20th century overshadow the short occupation of Judah P. Benjamin. By analyzing the ceramics and glass bottles recovered from the privy, we can paint a picture of life on the Florida frontier and understand the sociotechnic dimensions at play. In a sense the privy is acting as a portal through history and with it we can begin to understand what experiences the people who called this property home, Gamble and the Pattens, had and how it can help shape our understanding surrounding ideas of conspicuous consumption of the 19th century South.

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Class or Project: Master's Thesis

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Name: Shana Boyer Date: 11/10/2021

Class or Project: Master's Thesis

Title of Copyrighted Work: In Paradise: A Trip to Chipola (Dead) Lakes, Florida, 1892

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Name: Shana Boyer Date: 11/10/2021

Class or Project: Master's Thesis

Title of Copyrighted Work: Portrait of Judah P. Benjamin

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Name: Shana Boyer Date: 11/10/2021

Class or Project: Master's Thesis

Title of Copyrighted Work: Gamble 1895 - Benjamins hideout at Gamble Mansion

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Class or Project: Master's Thesis

Title of Copyrighted Work: Family tombstone for the Patten Family at Mansion Memorial Park

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Name: Shana Boyer Date: 11/10/2021

Class or Project: Master's Thesis

Title of Copyrighted Work: Drawn portrait of Vicente Martinez Ybor - Tampa, Florida

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From: Shana Boyer <shanab@usf.edu>
Sent: Monday, November 8, 2021 9:31 PM
To: FMSFILE <FMSFILE@dos.myflorida.com>
Subject: Copyright permission request

EMAIL RECEIVED FROM EXTERNAL SOURCE

Good evening,

I am a MA student of Anthropology at the University of South Florida. My thesis is surrounding the Gamble plantation site (8MA100) and I am hoping to gain permissions to utilize the maps from the 1978 survey done by Henry Baker.

Thank you for your time,
Shana Boyer

From: Fowler, Christopher G. <Christopher.Fowler@DOS.MyFlorida.com>
Sent: Wednesday, November 10, 2021 12:19 PM
To: Shana Boyer <shanab@usf.edu>
Subject: RE: Copyright permission request

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Kind regards,

Chris Fowler
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