

An Archaeological Exploration of Leisure and Consumption in Early-Twentieth-Century Florida Tourism

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The phrase ‘Archaeological Studies in Florida’ may conjure visions of exploring ancient Native American mounds or the excavation of historic settlements such as European or early American forts, missions, and plantations where objects of material culture, including prehistoric pottery sherds or historic pipe fragments are recovered (Guzzo 2019; Katz 2019). While this study is not about those kinds of ancient settlements, I follow similar protocols in the identification, exploration, and study of archaeological sites in Florida’s more recent past, in particular, resorts and hotels of the early twentieth century. This strategy allows for interpretation of a wide array of phenomenon related to the tourism experience such as the type of ceramic and glass tableware that resort hosts furnished their dining rooms with, the methods of food and beverage procurement and service to guests, the role that consumer goods such as alcoholic beverages, cosmetics, and medicines played in leisure settings, as well as the processes of waste disposal.

In this paper, I present two case studies, the Fort George Club in Duval County, and the Oakland Hotel in Orange County (Figure 1) that served as the basis for my doctoral dissertation, *Staging Tourism: Leisure through Consumption in Florida’s Early-Twentieth-Century Resorts* from the University of Florida (Wenzel 2018). I present brief historical outlines of each resort, followed by discussions of the field and laboratory methods used in their study, and from the results I discuss insights into the relationship between leisure and consumption in the context of tourism when compared to similar sites throughout the state.

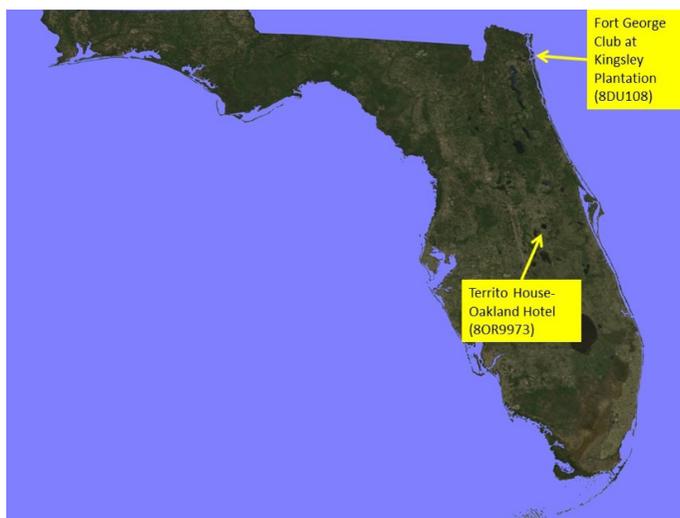


Figure 1. Locations of the Fort George Club and the Oakland Hotel.
Graphic by author.

The Fort George Club

The Fort George Club was originally chartered as the Army and Navy Country Club of Florida by Rear Admiral Victor Blue in 1923 on the former Kingsley Plantation site on Fort George Island, Duval County. Blue, a five-star U.S. Navy veteran, sought to culturally replicate the Army and Navy Club of Washington, D.C., the New York Yacht Club, and several other veteran and elite clubs where he had been a member (Stowell 1996, 95). Further, Blue's new project on the former estate of Zephaniah Kingsley was an effort to emulate the Jekyll Island Club (1886-1942), an earlier resort located on the site of an antebellum Georgia Sea Island cotton plantation that had catered to elite northern capitalists (Stowell 1996, 95). The nascent club on Fort George Island initially operated out of the Kingsley Plantation main house (built in 1798), but in 1927 the club was moved into a larger, newly constructed facility immediately to the west (Figure 2). What would eventually become the Fort George Club offered its members amenities such as golfing and boating (Stowell 1996, 96) (Figures 3 and 4). The 1927 club-house, which continues to be used today as office space by the National Park Service, is a two-story facility dressed with an exterior coating of oyster shell and concrete, which has an appearance similar to the aggregate tabby mixture, the construction material of some of the Kingsley Plantation

structures, such as the slave cabins and barn. The 1927 clubhouse had room for up to 26 occupants, about double the amount of the earlier 1798 plantation house.

The elite dominance in Fort George Club membership began to change as a result of a host of internal and external factors that crippled the club financially and hindered the growth in attracting new members.



Figure 2. East side of the 1927 Fort George Club main house taken in 2007. Photograph by author.

These factors include the end of Florida's land boom, the deepening Great Depression, increased competition among other resorts throughout the state, the club's increasing financial debt, and fire damage to the entire second story of the 1927 clubhouse (Stowell 1996, 104). To counter declining membership, the club opened its doors to the general public in 1947; however, this was met with little success (Stowell 1996, 104). The State of Florida purchased the property as a state park in 1955, and eventually the site became acquired as a National Park Service property in 1991.

In 2006, James M. Davidson, anthropology professor at the University of Florida, in cooperation with the National Park Service, offered an historical archaeology summer field school that would run concurrently through 2013. I attended the field school as a graduate student in 2007 and worked as a graduate teaching assistance during the 2009 season. The main objectives of the field schools were to provide practical training for students in



Figure 3. Golfers playing on Fort George Island. Courtesy State Archive of Florida, Florida Memory.



Figure 4. "Maiden trip of the Fairform Flyer," c. 1920s. The vessel is docked at the Fort George Club. Courtesy State Archive of Florida, Florida Memory.

archaeological field methods primarily through the survey and excavation of features directly associated with the enslaved Africans of Kingsley Plantation. An opportunity to study the cultural history of the later Fort George Club presented itself. However, due to the co-occurrence of Fort George Club related debris in close proximity there is a requisite that archaeologically recovered items of at least fifty years of age be documented and studied whether they are associated with the early-nineteenth-century-enslaved Africans of Zephaniah Kingsley or the elite, white vacationers associated with the early-twentieth-century Fort George Club.

The Oakland Hotel

The Oakland Hotel opened in 1910 as a three-story hotel in the Town of Oakland, Orange County. With a capacity to house up to 75 guests, the hotel was equipped with modern conveniences such as telephones, electric lights, water drawn from an artesian well, and the option for rooms accompanied with baths (Bacon 1974, 39). The Oakland Hotel served as a “hostelry” and “mecca” (Bacon 1974, 39) for sportsmen throughout the United States, drawn to the highly touted fishing qualities of Lake Apopka, which was only about 1,200 feet from the hotel. Originally founded in 1857,



Figure 5. Excavations at Cabin West 12 at Kingsley Plantation in 2007. Photograph by author.

Oakland is one of the earliest towns in Central Florida and it served as a center for commerce and social life for the region (Bacon 1974). The hotel was located off Tubb Street, Oakland's major thoroughfare between Lake Apopka and the town core, which at the time included municipal offices, stores, and a train depot. Adjoining the 1910 three-story hotel was a smaller two-story structure built prior in 1890 as a private residence that later served as the hotel's kitchen and dining hall (Figure 7). In the 1950s, the 1910 Oakland Hotel building was demolished, and the earlier 1890 structure was repurposed as a private residence.



Figure 6. The Oakland Hotel, 1912. Courtesy State Archive of Florida, Florida Mercury. Courtesy State Archive of Florida, Florida Memory.

The story of the Oakland Hotel is intertwined with that of Lake Apopka, and archaeology can help inform on this relationship. In the early twentieth century, it was Florida's second largest freshwater lake (FOLA 2017), and advertisements from the Oakland Hotel touted "An Ideal Place to Spend the Winter on Lake Apopka. Finest Fishing in Florida" (Figure 8). Within a few decades, perceptions about the lake changed in response to its deteriorating quality due to increasing sewage, pesticide, and orange juice plant discharges, as well as the conversion of 20,000 acres of marsh or flood-plain wetlands along the north side of the lake into intensive vegetable muck farms in 1941 (Garland 2017). From the early to mid-twentieth century, Lake Apopka's reputation changed from a "world-class bass fishery" to "Florida's most polluted large lake" (FOLA 2017; Garland 2017).



Figure 7. The 1890 Territo House, 2009. Photograph by author.

In 2010, the author, serving as part of the anthropology faculty for Valencia College, led two semester field schools at the site of the former Oakland Hotel in cooperation with the Territo family, the family who has owned and resided in the extant 1890 house since 1993. The main objectives of the project were to provide students with exposure to archaeological field methods prior to more formal training at the university-level, as well as to collect data that can help inform on the historical relationship between tourism and the ecology of Lake Apopka.



Figure 8. 1913 Advertisement for the Oakland Hotel appearing in the *St. Cloud Tribune*, Vol. 13 (16), 9 December, 1920.



Figure 9. Laboratory assistant Marc Zikofsky recording items from the Territo family's collection. Photograph by author.

Methods

Neither the Fort George Club nor the Oakland Hotel had access to municipal trash collection, and for the duration of the resorts' operations, garbage was either openly dumped onsite or buried in pits originally dug to receive waste. The Fort George Club was located on a remote, sparsely populated coastal island, and for at least two decades, waste was deposited out of sight of patrons in areas of heavy vegetation toward the boundaries of the resort, including over the ruins of several Kingsley Plantation-era slave cabins. Overtime, much of this material became covered with vegetation and soil. The Oakland Hotel was located on an approximate two-acre parcel near the center of town and it would have been necessary to bury the waste to avoid creating a nuisance for the town's citizens - as well as the guests.

Controlled excavation at these sites involved setting test units in areas where the resorts had originally deposited trash, either at one square meter (Fort George Club) or one-by-two-meters (Oakland Hotel). Soils were excavated horizontally in both numeric and natural levels and screened through wire-mesh shaker screens. All artifacts collected from the screens

were noted on test unit forms and placed into bags labeled with provenience information (location and number of test unit, depths recovered, and date of collection). The floors of each test unit and associated walls were carefully examined to delineate the presence of features (such as discrete trash pits) and drawn and photographed as part of the site's curatorial records. In addition to the recovery of the rich material culture through controlled excavation, many artifacts used in this study were recorded on-site, a process which involved making descriptive notations and taking photographs of each specimen. At the Fort George Club site, I recorded 367 individual artifacts in-situ on the grounds. At the Oakland Hotel site, I recorded 128 individual artifacts in the Territo family's possession that they had acquired through various ground disturbing activities on their property.



Figure 10. Close-up of Fort George Club artifacts recorded on the Kingsley Plantation grounds. Photograph by author.

After the completion of fieldwork, all excavated materials were brought to a laboratory for processing. The Fort George Club artifacts were processed in the Historical Archaeology Laboratory on the University of Florida campus in Gainesville, and the Oakland Hotel artifacts were processed at the museum of the Oakland Nature Preserve in Oakland. Artifact processing involved gently washing excavated materials free of dirt and sand with water, then sorting, and if possible, mending specimens. Then, artifacts were identified, cataloged, labeled, and returned to clean, labeled bags to prepare for curation. The Fort George Club artifacts have been returned



Figure 11. Project personnel excavating a test unit in a trash burial area on the former Oakland Hotel grounds. Photograph by author.

to the National Park Service and, at the time of this writing, the Oakland Hotel artifacts were recently put on display at the Oakland Nature Preserve Museum in a new exhibit.

After processing the excavated materials, data derived from this phase was combined from previously collected information from specimens studied in the field (the Fort George Club materials in-situ and the Oakland Hotel materials that had been collected by the Territo family). The artifact assemblages for both sites are diverse and massive consisting largely of glass bottles and jars, ceramic and glass tableware, animal bones, metal tools, hardware, and architectural debris.

Laboratory methods employed in the study of the Fort George Club and Oakland Hotel artifacts allowed for the decipherment of patterns of consumption, commodity and resource acquisition, and social status. Consumption was measured by the functional distribution of all the artifacts (mostly manufactured consumer goods) and the distribution of these items into the following categories based on use, or purpose (function): activities, foodways, grooming/health, labor, and personal. The analysis was narrowed further to examine patterns within these categories by various subcategories. For example, foodways-related items can be enumerated by beverages, condiments, and tableware. Beverages can be further broken down by type such as alcoholic or nonalcoholic. Further, alcoholic beverages can be

reduced to types such as beer, gin, or whiskey. This provides a direct measure for the types of items procured, served, consumed, and eventually discarded on the grounds.

Commodity and resource procurement patterns are assessed by examining the source of production, through maker's marks (Figure 12) or embossing on ceramic tableware, soda bottles, or mayonnaise jars. This analysis provides a direct measure for understanding market access to the national economy for each resort. The study of animal bones can inform on both patterns of procurement and consumption. For example, the identification and quantification of animal species present, and the discernment of marks on bones, such as bandsaw cuts, can illuminate dietary contributions by type and whether the resorts were serving meats captured from the local environment such as fish or deer, or market items such as beef (Figure 13) or pork cuts. Further, estimating market cuts of meat can be used to ascertain cost expenditures to infer relationships with social status. For instance, beef loin cuts generally cost more than pork ham cuts (Szuter 1991). Social status can further be inferred through the study of the quality of ceramic and glass tableware that furnished the dining rooms.



Figure 12. The left image is a Capstan brand maker's mark dating 1919-1938 on a glass jar base from the Fort George Club site. An illustration of this mark appears to the right. Photograph at left by author. Illustration to right courtesy of Byron Holbrook.

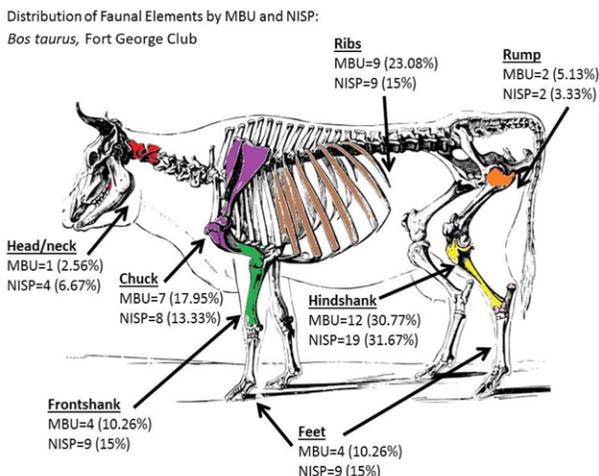


Figure 13. Illustration showing the distribution of butchery cuts on *Bos taurus* (beef) remains from the Fort George Club by minimum butchering units (MBU) and the number of identified specimens (NISP). Illustration by author.

Results

The material data used in this study is derived from refuse items recovered from trash pits accrued from routine disposal of the Fort George Club and the Oakland Hotel’s kitchen and dining room waste (such as empty sauce bottles, broken dishes, and fish bones), private suites (clothing buttons, lipstick containers, and medicine bottles), as well as debris associated with maintenance or demolition activities of the structures (bleach bottles, hardware, masonry fragments). At the Fort George Club, this material data includes 367 artifacts, primarily glass bottles and jars, 20 ceramic vessels, and 2,943 vertebrate faunal specimens (individual bones), all deposited on the grounds primarily between 1935 to 1955. At the Oakland Hotel, 2,020 individual artifacts primarily consisting of glass, ceramic, and metal were either recorded or excavated. In addition, 1,469 vertebrate faunal specimens and six kilograms of construction and demolition materials (such as fragmented concrete, wall plaster, and window glass) were also excavated. Most of these materials at the Oakland Hotel are contemporaneous with those studied from the Fort George Club dating 1935 to 1942.

Similar artifact patterning was observed at both resorts including a mass of alcohol-related containers and the presence of medium to high-price butcher cuts of meat (bone), various condiment bottles, local faunal remains, and common glassware and ceramic vessels. Occurring at both sites were glass bottles from an assortment of liquors and beers, condiments including catsup, mayonnaise, mustard, pickles, preserves, vinegar, and ceramic tableware in the form of bowls, cups, dishes, plates, and platters. In addition, the same broad types of meat were served at both locations including beef, chicken, lamb, pork, and fish, the latter locally captured. However, some minor differences exist between the two sites. The Oakland Hotel had a much higher proportion of architectural hardware such as nails and construction and demolition debris such as brick and masonry fragments, most likely associated with the tear down of the 1910 facility. Another key difference is that most of the Oakland Hotel's ceramic vessels were primarily thick white ironstone vessels either undecorated or showing simple, green-banded rims (typical of most restaurant wares). This type of ceramic tableware is largely absent from the Fort George Club where most here are vessels with decal or transfer printed polychrome floral designs.

Discussion

The presence of trash middens at the Fort George Club and the Oakland Hotel sites was expected, as these types of facilities accommodate a large amount of occupant consumers discharging waste. High volumes of waste deposited on-site has been observed at other resort sites in Florida concurrent with the Fort George Club and the Oakland Hotel such as the DeLeon Springs Hotel in Deland (Polk 2008), the Collier Inn on Useppa Island (Walker 1999), and the Hampton Springs Hotel (Cockrell and Morrell 2005). In the archaeological study of garbage, Rathje and Murphy (2001, 236) argue that “waste generation of great magnitude has historically been a sign of economic and social vitality;” therefore, the presence of large trash middens at these facilities may indicate a thriving Florida tourism industry.

The Fort George Club was within close vicinity to Jacksonville, one of the state's manufacturing and trade bases. The Oakland Hotel was within proximity to one of central Florida's major railroad depots at the time. Most

of the consumer goods at the Fort George Club and the Oakland Hotel, such as disposable glass food and beverage containers, were traced to production in the American Manufacturing Belt of the north-eastern and midwestern United States with most of the remaining goods sourced to production throughout the southeastern United States.

Both facilities acquired meat from butchers, as band saw cuts were observed on taxa such as pork and beef. Extraction of wild resources from each site's immediate environment is evident from the faunal remains. Deer bones were present in the Fort George Club refuse; whether the venison consumed at the resort was procured through the guest's hunting activities cannot be determined, but the presence of band saw cuts indicates that the meat somehow was temporarily in possession of a butcher, perhaps located nearby.

At the Oakland Hotel, fish remains comprise a larger proportion of the faunal assemblage (represented by 688 bones), and this figure is understandable since the facility marketed itself as a fishing hotel. Sunfish, bass (Figure 14), and catfish would have likely been ensnared by vacationers from Lake Apopka. In addition to fish, the assemblage includes turtle, alligator, and bullfrog, indicating that these could have been extracted from the lake as additional aquatic food items. Bony fish also comprised a bulk of the meats served at the Fort George Club and include taxa likely caught from the Fort George River: drums, marine catfish, and sea trout. These three taxa could have been captured directly from the grounds or via watercraft that could have been launched from the property into the river.



Figure 14. Largemouth bass bone elements excavated from the Oakland Hotel site. Photograph by Caroline DImmer.

At the Fort George Club, beef was the most common meat item consumed and catsups and mustards were the most common condiments. Together this may represent some type of plated meat and sauce combination. In contrast, at the Oakland Hotel, mayonnaise was the most common condiment and likely served along with the fish (Figure 15), possibly mixed with other ingredients such as pickles to create tartar sauce. In terms of beverage consumption, alcohol-related vessels were three to four times more common than nonalcoholic beverages at both sites.



Figure 15. Blue Plate Fine Foods brand mayonnaise jars excavated from the Oakland Hotel site. Photograph courtesy of Gregg Harding.

The dense volume of food and beverage-related artifacts in the extensive trash middens of the Fort George Club and the Oakland Hotel is material evidence of consumption associated with these facility’s dining rooms. This could represent a form of feasting among the resorts’ patrons. As Manning (2012, 152) writes, “since the Renaissance, it has been a commonplace that feasts have mediated the opposed spheres of cosmology and social life, uniting talk and consumption, the moral and material, the spiritual and carnival and the individual and the social.” In a ritual setting such as a feast, interpersonal differences along the lines of status, wealth, and friendship are indexed while simultaneously signaling the status and wealth of the hosts (Manning 2012,155). Elite socialites at the Fort George Club may have conducted business or reflected on the affairs of the day over high-quality liquors and foods while in the Oakland Hotel’s dining room, traveling anglers would have bonded over the day’s catch on the lake.

The presence of alcohol containers at the resort facilities is expected, as these types of artifacts have also been found at the Collier Inn (Walker 1999), the Hampton Springs Hotel (Cockrell and Morrell 2005) and the Panama Hotel (Wenzel 2019). Further, as Federal alcohol prohibition ended in 1933, the resorts would have taken advantage of acquiring and serving newly legal beverages, as most of the bottles date post-Prohibition (Figure 16). Alcoholic beverages comprise 32.11% of all food-related items at the Fort George Club (96 bottles) and 12.55% at the Oakland Hotel (34 bottles). Anthropological and sociological studies have addressed the role of alcohol consumption in leisure settings and how the consumption of intoxicating beverages has facilitated industrial escapism, the reproduction of sociality, and the signaling and affirmation of social status (Chrzan 2013; Douglas 2010; Garine and Garine 2001; Manning 2012; Smith 2008; Wilson 2006).



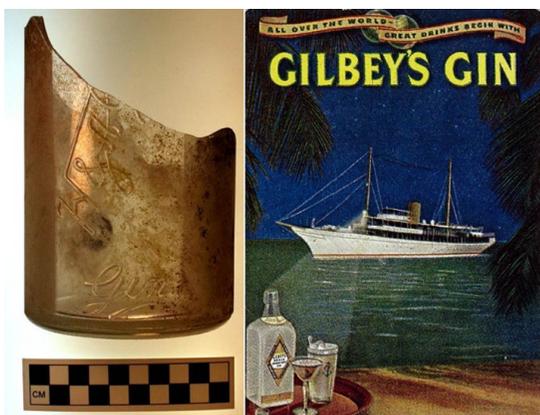
Figure 16. Fort George Club era post-Prohibition liquor bottles collected from the Kingsley Plantation grounds. Photograph by author.

Figure 17 is an image dating to the 1920s with the accompanying note “shown at the ABC Yacht Club on Fort George Island.” The identity of the individuals is unknown, but what is clearly visible is engagement in leisure regarding boating and the consumption of alcohol. One of the gin bottles from the Fort George Club was identified as Gilbey’s brand. A contemporaneous Gilbey’s advertisement shows an ocean liner off-shore from an unidentified beach with palms in the foreground (Figure 18). To the



Figure 17. Man standing next to boat holding whiskey flasks - Fort George Island, Florida, c. 1920s. Courtesy State Archive of Florida, Florida Mercury. Courtesy State Archive of Florida, Florida Memory.

Figure 18. Fort George Club era Gilbey's brand gin bottle (left) courtesy of James M. Davidson and 1930s advertisement (right) courtesy of *quarttoknows.com*.



top are two ribbons reading “ALL OVER THE WORLD” and “GREAT DRINKS BEGIN WITH” hovering over “GILBEY’S GIN.” Manning (2012,19) writes “when one drinks a gin and tonic now, one can vicariously participate nostalgically in an exotic lost world of empire.” Gin served, in the form of a martini or other cocktail, can index the modern and metropolitan while also representing a civilized middle-class expressive of communal relations (Manning 2012,60,61,63).

Three of the whiskey bottles from the Oakland Hotel were identified as Old Quaker brand; a contemporaneous advertisement is featured alongside the specimen (Figure 19). The advertisement shows a middle-aged man in the forefront dressed in traditional Quaker attire, and in the back four other men

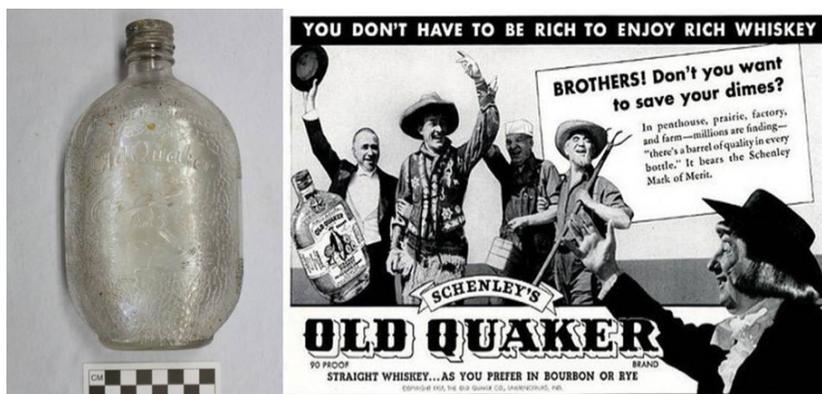


Figure 19. Old Quaker brand whiskey bottle excavated from the Oakland Hotel site with advertisement from 1937. Photograph and advertisement property of author.

(possibly the same model) dressed in distinctive array of socioeconomic based attire (e.g. tuxedo, overalls, trousers). From left to right this group presumably represents an individual associated with executive, ranch, industrial, and agricultural sectors of employment. The heading reads: “You don’t have to be rich to enjoy rich whiskey.” Additional text below reads: “Brothers! Don’t you want to save your dimes? In penthouse, prairie, factory, and farm—millions are finding—‘there’s a barrel of quality in every bottle, it bears the Schenley Mark of Merit.’”

Drinking in various cultures is embraced as “heroic, masculine or desirable” (Heath 2000, 6-7) where alcohol has been incorporated into rituals as a way to “consolidate and display economic and social power” while simultaneously signaling these characteristics at the level of self (Chrzan 2013, 7-8). Within military contexts, drinking functions to “unite men of the warband and promotes in-group sociality, but it also serves to separate the warriors from the citizenry” (Chrzan 2013, 45). Abstinence from alcohol consumption is highest among working-class white women and lowest among upper-class white men (Chrzan 2013, 82). Considering this, several factors may contribute to a high proportion of alcoholic beverage containers at the Fort George Club and the Oakland Hotel based on sex, socioeconomic status, and regional residence. Most of the Fort George Club membership consisted of white, upper-class males who either were retired military officers or executives in various professions. The Oakland Hotel

may have accommodated many male guests who were of at least middle-class status, though some during the 1930s could have possibly been military cadets associated with the boys' school that operated in the facility. As winter destinations, the Fort George Club and likely the Oakland Hotel hosted many patrons from the northern United States.

Analysis of grooming and health-related artifacts informs on how the guests of the Fort George Club and the Oakland Hotel attended to personal care issues regarding self-medication and beautification. Antacid and aspirin containers were recovered at these resorts as well as other leisure facilities such as the Collier Inn (Walker 1999), the Hampton Springs Hotel (Cockrell and Morrell 2005), and the Panama Hotel (Wenzel 2019). The antacids and aspirin may have been part of a therapeutic regime for alleviating the symptoms of heavy alcohol consumption. Figure 20 shows one example of several blue glass Phillips Milk of Magnesia brand bottles that were found interspersed with dozens of alcoholic beverage bottles in the Fort George Club refuse dump. While some of the original purposes for travel to Florida was oriented towards recovery from illness, especially by the social elite (Revels 2011), this was not likely a major reason for guests patronizing the Fort George Club or the Oakland Hotel. There is currently no historical evidence suggesting these facilities served as destinations for medical treatments or therapy, such as the sanatoriums that had catered to traveling tuberculosis patients in the nineteenth century.



Figure 20. Phillips Milk of Magnesia brand bottle with close-up of base from Fort George Club refuse dump. Photograph and graphics by author.

Cosmetic-related artifacts, such as rouge, lipstick, and cold creams, were much more common at the Oakland Hotel (31 bottles) (Figure 21) than at the Fort George Club (2 bottles). This raises questions about beautification and the role of gender in leisure settings. In a review of 1920s Florida advertising, Cox (2010, 186-187) notes, “women also played a specific role in Florida image and mythmaking, interacting with and frolicking in a human-constructed or imagined nature.” Author and abolitionist Harriet Beecher Stowe, a winter resident of Florida in the late-nineteenth century, writes, “each fisher-woman has her fish to exhibit, and her exploits to recount; and there is a plentiful fish-breakfast in each of the houses” (1873, 258). As fishing was a sport enjoyed by both women and men (Youngs 2005, 65), the recovery of cosmetic artifacts at the Oakland Hotel, and thus the inference of the presence of women at the facility, is predictable given the promotions and accommodations for traveling anglers. from the Oakland Hotel site.



Figure 21. Select cosmetic artifacts excavated from the Oakland Hotel site. Photograph by author.

Figure 22 shows a Pond’s brand face cream jar alongside a 1930s advertisement. From the Oakland Hotel refuse, 1/3 of cosmetic artifacts were face cream jars, many identified as Pond’s brand. It is likely that these containers were filled with cold cream for make-up removal or used as a vanishing cream to treat sun and wind exposure as shown in the accompanying advertisement. The purpose of the contents, whether for make-up removal or sunburn alleviation, cannot be determined.



Figure 22. Pond's face cream jar excavated from the Oakland Hotel site with accompanying advertisement. Photograph by author. Ad courtesy of vintageadbrowser.com.

Because the archaeological data for this study dates towards the later operations of both resorts, it is important to consider the temporal nature of the materials under study. Artifacts such as food containers and meat bones are generally more ephemeral in that they are deposited not long after consumption, whereas furnishings such as ceramic and glass tableware tend to be conserved longer, or at least until some event such as breakage forces discard. Therefore, the examination of the food containers and food remains reveals what was being served to guests during this period of transition, while the ceramic tableware and glassware acquired any time back to the resort's founding may have continued to be used. It is expected that the food and beverage containers and faunal remains would represent the immediate byproducts of the club's service to either a modest, middle-class clientele, while some of the furnishings, most particularly the ceramic tableware, may have been on hand since the initial opening of these facilities that exclusively catered to those of elite (or upper middle-class) status. Even if both facilities continued to attract upper-class and elite guests, the broad economic constraints in the Depression-era would have impacted the host's ability to service the guests. Consumer desire, however, may have been heightened

after the Depression due the material deprivations Americans experienced during this period (Fox 1983), though this may have changed later with the advent of World War II-era rationing.

In both sites, many of the alcoholic beverages were lower quality wines and liquors, except for a few higher cost scotch and whiskeys at the Fort George Club. At the Fort George Club, beef was the most consumed meat item (18,112.4 grams, 62.41% of estimated edible meat weight) and much of this was medium-priced cuts (\$1.63 per pound) on average. The Oakland Hotel was serving on average much higher-priced cuts of beef (\$2.72 per pound), though a lesser amount overall (3,822.9 grams, 35.1% of estimated edible meat weight). In a reverse fashion, the Fort George Club served slightly higher-priced pork cuts (\$1.60 per pound) than the Oakland Hotel (\$1.44 per pound) (Wenzel 2018).

Both the Fort George Club and the Oakland Hotel furnished their facilities with newly purchased ceramic tableware. There may not be any major differences in terms of cost expenditures as wares associated from each site were moderately priced, but they were qualitatively different in terms of type. The Fort George Club's ceramics include a predominance of floral transfer-printed or hand-painted whitewares and iron-stones (five vessels) common in middle-class domestic contexts, in a variety of different but complimentary patterns (Figure 23). Hotelware, akin to those recovered at other contemporaneous resorts and hotels, were much more common in the Oakland Hotel's ceramic assemblage (25 vessels) (Figure 24), but much less at the Fort George Club (3 vessels).



Figure 23. Demitasse and saucer with matching polychrome floral transfer design, recovered from excavations of Fort George Club material. Photo courtesy of Karen McAvoy.



Figure 24. Hotelware sauce bowls and butter dishes excavated from the Oakland Hotel site. Photograph courtesy of Greg Harding.

Very little glass tableware was recovered overall from either the Fort George Club or the Oakland Hotel sites (Figure 25). Walker (1999) found higher cost ceramics and glassware were present in the refuse middens of the Collier Inn on Useppa Island, an elite resort in southwestern Florida contemporaneous with the Fort George Club and the Oakland Hotel. There was less difference, however, between the types of glass drinking vessels between the latter two sites, with most being undecorated or minimally decorated.

Figure 25. Select glass drinking vessels excavated from the Oakland Hotel site. Photograph courtesy of Greg Harding.



Based on a review of the historical development of tourism in America, O'Donovan (2011) argues for a pattern of conspicuous consumption by elite tourists who simultaneously produced and reproduced class relations through ritualized social displays, and this pattern can be seen in the archaeological record. If tourists seek to reproduce patterns of sociality and the signaling of social status in leisure settings, then the resorts may furnish guests with goods to enable this. Further, the Fort George Club and the Oakland Hotel could have continued to offer the same types of accommodations to later middle-class (and possibly working-class) guests akin to what had originally been available to the earlier elite guests.

Summary and Conclusion

Florida's tourism hosts furnished their facilities with material goods that would have complemented the social aspirations and expectations of their guests. Archaeological study of the Fort George Club and the Oakland Hotel sites have generated a considerable amount of data from refuse primarily dating to the 1930s to the early 1940s. Both sites contain discards of food and beverage containers used in preparation and service in communal dining settings, including drinking vessels, ceramic tableware, animal bones, along with nonfood artifacts such as grooming and health-related items including aspirin and bleach bottles.

The Fort George Club and the Oakland Hotel are situated in two distinct social and natural environments, although both sites originally were developed to accommodate winter guests who were at least part of middle to upper-class society. Both venues were in subtropical climates with much of the activities of guests centered around bodies of water. The Fort George Club operated on the site of a former antebellum slave plantation located in an estuarine, salt-water environment, whereas the Oakland Hotel was located between Florida's second-largest freshwater lake and a bustling rural town center.

The acquisition of goods by the resorts, whether wild prey or manufactured commodities, was shaped by their geographic and environmental positioning. The guests were served a breadth of different

types of foods, with some costly meat cuts that would have complemented the socially mediated expectations of the upper-classes, or the aspirations of the middle and possibly working classes. The service of alcoholic beverages provided a way for hosts to demarcate a socially sanctioned space for drinking where fellow patrons could socialize and confer status. The advertising associated with the recovered beverage brands signified modernity, exoticism, and empire (at the Fort George Club) or as drinks where differences in socioeconomic difference could be transcended through their consumption (at the Oakland Hotel). Guests of the Fort George Club and the Oakland Hotel used a variety of personal care products for health or beautification purposes. Antacids and aspirins may have been consumed to manage the ailments associated with heavy alcohol consumption, or perhaps used for some other type of condition associated with old age or winter travel. A variety of cosmetics were used at the Oakland Hotel which may indicate the societal pressures placed on women for beautification and presentation of self in a leisure context, or as a way for men and women to alleviate the effects of heavy sun exposure from outdoor recreational activities.

The Fort George Club opened in 1921 as an elite winter resort and the Oakland Hotel opened earlier (in 1910) and likely accommodated upper-class travelers. The Florida land bust and the Great Depression may have caused economic hardships for these resorts, but into the 1930s these places would have taken advantage of the changing economic times by serving newly legal alcohol to an emerging cohort of American travelers enabled by the granting of vacation days, regular wages, and improved modes of transportation. The Fort George Club and the Oakland Hotel likely continued to use tableware that had been acquired decades prior and served costly meat cuts that likely reflected a continuing tradition in dining service. Therefore, in the face of economic downturns and a changing clientele, these resorts may have strived to maintain the upscale or state-of-the-art facilities they had lauded during their initial openings.

This project makes important contributions on several fronts. First, the archaeological studies furnish unique material data that provides a holistic understanding of each site's cultural history when paired with archival and ethnographic sources. This is especially important when the quotidian habits of leisure and consumption in resort settings avoids being formally recorded

in a site's written history. The research also contributes to the overall body of research on leisure and tourism studies, within and outside of Florida, through a novel archaeological approach.

The Fort George Club project, both its discoveries and its conclusions, contributes to a growing picture of Florida's tourism since it expands and enhances the knowledge of this early period of leisure on Fort George Island. Continued research may render more visible the African American presence during this time. For example, after the former plantation and later tenant farm was transformed into an elite white resort, African Americans, some possible descendants of the Kingsley Plantation, may have been employed by the club, thus handling, preparing, serving, and eventually disposing of the latter excavated consumer items that initially facilitated the guests' leisure experience. Locating information on who these laborers were and what their lives were like, may provide a more complete picture of the social history of the site. To expand on the studies in Oakland, archaeological information from the 1930s era trash pits at the Oakland Hotel can contribute to broader research on the historical ecology of Lake Apopka, as evidence from aquatic prey can inform on the change of the distribution of lacustrine species before and after the lake's ecological decline. All together this demonstrates the importance and need for continued archaeological exploration into Florida tourism.

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