Report on the 2010-12 Survey of the Galilee Cemetery in Sarasota, Florida: Community, Race, and Commemoration



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I. Introduction: The Research Design

Community-based cemeteries face a crisis of maintenance and the older graveyards have the additional challenge of historic preservation. Sarasota, like many communities across the United States, has cemeteries significant for history, heritage, and community members. Some are owned by the City and others by churches but the ones set for African Americans during the era of segregation are community-owned. In April 2009, staff from the City of Sarasota contacted Uzi Baram, a professor of Anthropology at New College of Florida, about the possibility of documentation and research at the Woodlawn and Galilee cemeteries. This report describes the process of research, relevant scholarship, and the public archaeology as civic engagement for a Survey of the Galilee Cemetery and is meant to highlight the potential for community-based historic preservation of the cemeteries of Sarasota.

Public archaeology has gained traction as a framework for relevant and significant research in Americanist archaeology. First used to describe publically-financed excavations in the early 1970s, by the end of the 1990s the term became important as social scientists in the USA became engaged with discussions on civic renewal and social justice; archaeologists fixate on the significance of their craft and with the expansion of interest in heritage over the last quarter of the 20th century and continuing through the start of the 21st century, public involvement, public engagement, and public popularity all have became part of the discourse in archaeology. Some discussions focus on outreach, others on engaging stakeholders; the dynamics are still in process for the many directions possible in public archaeology. While there is a wide range of activities within public archaeology, the New College Public Archaeology Lab opened in October 2010 with a

focus on civic engagement: encouraging community partnerships and historic preservation organizing as training in contemporary ethic for the college's undergraduates.

The Survey of the Galilee Cemetery in Sarasota is an example for such partnerships and organizing in public archaeology. The burial ground is also an example of a hidden history. As a resident of Sarasota since the late 1990s, I regularly drove down one of main north-south transportation channels but without noticing the cemetery; other residents and visitors have affirmed the same experience. Yet the Galilee Cemetery is not unknown; it is numbered 8So2581 in the Florida Master Files and is an important locale for generations in Sarasota. The cemetery is located on Washington Boulevard between Myrtle Street and Dr. Martin Luther King Way, but on the east side of the highway in an industrial area, separated from homes and businesses.

The Survey of the Galilee Cemetery in Sarasota is a partnership between the Woodlawn/Galilee Cemetery Restoration Task Force and Professor Uzi Baram of New College of Florida to bring together public archaeology and restoration by documenting, revealing, and organizing the history of the cemetery. The community is the Woodlawn/Galilee Cemetary Restoration Task Force, named for its central role in cleaning up and maintaining the two traditionally black cemeteries in Sarasota. The Survey was a challenge logistically and required several segments to meet its goal of documenting all the grave markers through volunteer efforts. The Survey recorded grave markers through descriptions, sketches, and photographs for inscription, motifs, material, condition, and relationship to other graves and landmarks, with an ethic that every single grave marker was important because it represented a life relating to the history of

Sarasota. One student (Wolf 2010) collected oral histories of the cemetery and all the New College students documented their insights into the place and its meaning (see details in a later section of this report). From Spring semester 2010 to January 2012, the Survey documented 1544 marked burials.

All research was above ground for the cemetery established in 1932. The archaeology focused on documenting visible material culture. The director's approach was less executive leadership and more community organizing (Baram 2011), with community service-learning as a central goal for the New College students (Baram 2009).

The Survey of the Galilee Cemetery has three layers. The first is documenting of the historic significance for a traditionally African-American cemetery in Sarasota: an example of public archaeology as civic engagement. The second is training in civic engagement and the techniques of historic preservations for students at New College of Florida and State College of Florida (Baram 2010): community service learning with a stress on the contemporary ethics of Anthropology. The third is a research orientation on the materialization of memory, a new step for the anthropology of cemeteries (a later section in this report reviews the literature on cemeteries).

More expansively, the goals for the Survey in terms of historic preservation include:

- 1. Documentation: The Survey documents the extant cultural landscape of the Galilee Cemetery, having recorded the grave markers including motifs, inscriptions, materials, and relationship to neighboring graves as well as empty spaces, in a manner significant for Sarasota and its communities, in order to create an archive of information on the cemetery's details.
- 2. Revealing Hidden Histories: The Survey created an archival record (photographic, spatial, and detailed) for the Galilee Cemetery, a graveyard given to the African-American community of Sarasota during segregation.
- 3. Organizing Heritage: The cemetery in 2010 was closed to new burials beyond the plots already purchased, requiring a shift in its maintenance, which includes encouraging members of the Sarasota communities to sustain the place as a

historical locale, with a keen responsibility for its representation and presentation for today and the future, hopefully with local and national recognition.

By documenting and stressing the significance of the material details from the cemetery, arguing that every life represented in the cemetery deserves documentation as well as by revealing the history of segregation and its legacies, the project seeks to make the region's heritage more inclusive. The project never shied away from segregation and its legacies and this report is part of a continuing process of remembering that era in a productive manner.

The divide of Race is a primary concern, both socially and academically, for understanding the cemetery and honoring its dead. The research goals focus on commemoration in terms of materializing memory, examining, as Paul Shackel (2003) demonstrates, that seeing commemoration through the lens of Race should help us understand what is remembered and imprinted on the cultural landscape. Wilson (2010) lays out the recent interest in archaeology for social memory, noting that memory is a social phenomenon subject to negotiations, representation, and materialization. Since social memory is public, it is political. The Galilee Cemetery illuminates the memories of struggles and segregation materialized at a community-owned graveyard. For students, the project was an opportunity to wrestle with community and race (see Baram 2009); the partnership focused on community and commemoration, and the potential of the Galilee Cemetery to be a localized site of conscience (see http://www.sitesofconscience.org/en/), a place to remember the individuals buried there but also larger issues from Sarasota's past that continue to haunt its present. For the researcher, the goal is the possibility for a cosmopolitan canopy (a term employed by Anderson 2004 for places where diverse peoples come together) to be created, one that moves away from plural monoculturalism

to build constituencies for historic preservation and to expand understandings of the past for the present.

II. Between Past and Present

In January 2010, the Woodlawn and Galilee Cemeteries Restoration Task Force decided to close the Galilee Cemetery; purchased deeds will be honored but no new plots will be offered, as the *Sarasota Herald Tribune* reported on January 21, 2010: "Interments at 2 historic cemeteries are suspended amid a crowding controversy." January 2010 becomes an interesting moment; surprisingly, the literature on heritage is silent on this type of transition. As the Survey commenced, the Galilee Cemetery shifted from an active place to becoming history. The transformation was not easy, especially with funeral homes needing the cemetery for burials, but the moment allows reflection on how memory is materialized, both on the individual level with burials and for a community-based cemetery.



Figure 1 – map from *Sarasota Herald Tribune* January 21, 2010 credit: Jennifer F. A. Borresen

The Galilee Cemetery is not unique in facing the challenges of the 21st century.

And it fits within the dynamics of Sarasota, which has several cemeteries from its Anglo-American settlement period. The Whitaker Pioneer Cemetery, maintained by the Daughters of the American Revolution, was founded in 1879 and is located on 12th Street. The Rosemary Cemetery on Central Avenue by downtown, was granted by the City of Sarasota in 1886 and is listed as the resting place of the founding parents of Sarasota. In 1905, the trustees of the colored community of Sarasota received land for a burying ground: the Woodlawn Cemetery is located by 10th Way. As Newtown developed, the Galilee Cemetery was formed in the early 1930s on Washington Blvd between Myrtle and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Way. All the cemeteries are within a few miles of each other but are in different states of historic preservation.

For the Galilee Cemetery Survey, the goals intertwine historic preservation, scholarship on the materialization of memory, and preserving regional heritage in a socially meaningful manner. The volunteer endeavor was drawn-out but productive, facing obstacles but overcoming all with time. The academic potential in studying a twentieth century cemetery was more challenging, as the below literature review will indicate. But the social significance of commemoration of a place hidden from view and a history muffled is clear. The approach to documenting the Galilee Cemetery followed the model for the Rosemary Cemetery. The state Division of Historic Resources uses the Rosemary Cemetery as a case study on its website

http://www.flheritage.com/archaeology/cemeteries/index.cfm?page=Case_Studies:

"The Concerns: Over the years, as families of those buried at Rosemary Cemetery moved away or died, and as public interest in the cemetery declined, the site became over-grown with vegetation and was sometimes used as a dump for the surrounding neighborhood. A number of the gravemarkers deteriorated because of natural weathering.

"The Response: In 1983 a group of concerned citizens from local civic and preservation organizations began a campaign to clean up the cemetery. The Sarasota Alliance for Historic Preservation formed a committee to address the special needs of Rosemary Cemetery. The Alliance's accomplishments included installing a sprinkler system, planting a row of oak trees along one side of the cemetery, placement of entrance gate posts for the center drive, and restoration of the pergola. In 1990 and 1991, the Alliance funded studies that made preservation recommendations for the cemetery. A private trust offered funds for a restoration program that would be supervised by the Sarasota Historical Society; since 1999, resetting and restoration of markers is done on a periodic schedule. In addition, Rosemary Cemetery has been listed in the National Register of Historic Places and archaeology students at Sarasota's New College have completed a grave-bygrave Survey of the site. Rosemary Cemetery borders on the city's arts and cultural district, and is a significant area of green space within its revitalized neighborhood."

The same approach was used for the Galilee Cemetery, improved through engagement with the increasing scholarship on civic engagement and collaboration; the community involvement and the grave-by-grave inventory are intertwined toward historic preservation. The dynamics of community involvement, confronting the legacies of Race in its complexities, and the relevance of archaeological techniques for heritage are significant for the methodology in Sarasota and neighboring regions. Ultimately, the cosmopolitan nature of the civic engagement means that integration of histories stresses the positive potential of revealing hidden histories, and of acknowledging the past to sustain the future for the community united toward social justice. The lasting result of the Survey is the database included with this report; the public attention and the student engagement are difficult to delineate; the academic potential of the Survey is reviewed in the next section.

III. Scholarship on Cemeteries

a. historical archaeology, ethnography, and commemoration

The Galilee Cemetery was a challenge for documenting, as a later section will explain, but while the social significance of the cemetery is clear, the academic contribution is less so. In historical archaeology, studies of cemeteries focus on the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, but the themes are relevant for a twentieth century cemetery. Since the Survey of the Galilee Cemetery focused on the contemporary context, ethnography and oral history were important tools but, as the below will show, there is little in the scholarship for American cemeteries. As the Survey illustrates, historical archaeology and ethnography, when combined as a dual lens, can reveal a 'history from below' that gains contemporary attention. The below sections will review the scholarship on historical archaeology, ethnography, and commemoration.

b. historical archaeology of cemeteries

James Deetz (1996) centered cemeteries for historical archaeology through a seriation analysis of motifs on the grave stones of historic cemeteries in New England. The simple elegance that he recovered from 1720-1829, a sequence of death's heads, cherubs, and willow-and-urn motifs (Deetz 1996:97), addressed theoretical concerns in anthropological archaeology regarding ideology and material change as well as opened up the materiality of cemeteries for addressing history and heritage. As Deetz (1996:89) states so nicely:

There is no better place to stand face-to-face with the past than in the old burying grounds of New England. They have not been significantly altered since the time

of their use...(they) look out on us just as they did on the people of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. From the designs of these stones, and the way they vary in time and space, we may learn much.

That imagery should hold for any grave stones. Edwin Dethlefsen (1981), who worked with Deetz on the original study of New England grave markers, attempted a program in Florida relating gravestone variables and their spatial arrangement to religious views, status, and kinship. That type of statistic study is possible with the database from Galilee, but not in line with the social archaeology of the Survey.

Deetz used historical archaeology to expand understandings of the recent past; much of contemporary historical archaeology seeks to open up assumptions about the past. For instance, Lever (2009:464) explored the Jewish section of the Melbourne General Cemetery in Australia and noticed that his findings on the nineteenth century burial practices "do not sit well with existing communal histories or memory." The absence of grave markers becomes an insight about the variation within the Jewish community of the frontier city. He (2009:481) concludes with "a very different story of Jewish life in early Melbourne." There lies the potential of sustained study of the cemetery data.

Beyond the markers themselves, Michael Parker Pearson (1982) examined British cemeteries to illustrate the dynamics of material culture for archaeological theory at the start of the post-processual movement. His contribution led to continuing case studies on the relationship between things and ideology. Randall McGuire (1988) followed up on ideology through an intensive study of the cemeteries in Broome County, New York. McGuire (1988:441) organized the intersection of death, family, and social status as being a discourse with the nineteenth and twentieth century grave markers (using two

thousand examples from twenty-seven cemeteries). The dialogues with the dead remind scholars to expect contradictions, tensions, and idealized presentations at cemeteries.

James Garman (1994) also analyzed the cemetery as a cultural landscape at the Common Burying Ground in Newport, Rhode Island. Exploring spatial relations and the audience for grave markers, Garman (1994:77) noted that the graves of African Americans were "scattered north of the main burying ground" and asserted the "cultural landscape of the city's Common Burying Ground was a visible material reminder of Euroamerican control of ritual space." The eighteenth-century cemetery was divided by the color line; the insight is a reminder to consider the spatial dimensions of burying grounds.

Historical archaeology has gone further in conceptualizing cemeteries. Sarah Tarlow, in a study of cemeteries in Orkney, Scotland, noted that the themes in the archaeology of death in Great Britain are different from those in the USA and tried "to make a case for an emotional archaeology. Subtle and nuanced social archaeologies cannot be achieved without incorporating the feelings, understandings and experiences of people in the past." (1999:183). In making the case that:

To erect a monument is a way of showing how much an individual has meant to you, and showing that to the rest of the community. It enables you, by marking the grave, to go on making gestures of grief such as visiting the beloved remains, laying flowers, and being able to indulge in, and be seen to indulge in mediation and prayer, essential activities of man or woman of feeling. The stone is also about the relationship between a living and a dead individual (1999:131),

Tarlow expanded on the possibilities for material expressions. The scholarship on cemeteries cannot help but be touched by what Tarlow (1999:20) noted:

...conducting research in a graveyard presents one not only with the fact of death, but with enough information to build a history, to become acquainted with something of the individual: their name, age, partner, parents and children.

Moreover, the existence of the monument itself, erected by a person or persons who experienced their loss, is testimony to bereavement. It is hard to remain unaffected

Seeing the materiality should not overtake other observations. Tim Sorenson (2010:115) included empty spaces through "a view of cemeteries as places of highly complex incorporations of presence and absences." He explained (2010:117):

"...commemoration is most often understood as a means of pointing back in time to deceased individuals or to past events and experiences. However...absences and voids in commemorative practices have the capacity to instantiate an amalgamation of past, present, and future." Those dynamics allowed him to model the cemetery as "a place for presencing the absent" (2010:128). While seriation, dialogues, the color line, emotions, and absences are themes for the historical archaeology of cemeteries, others (e.g., Sorenson 2010) have approached cemeteries for an archaeology of the contemporary that takes seriously the materiality of graveyards, the archaeological approach to cemeteries. The ethnographic approach focuses on observing and asking the living about those buried at cemeteries.

c. ethnography on cemeteries

While archaeologists have productively explored cemeteries since the 1960s, there is much less in the ethnographic literature for cemeteries in Western countries. The recent *The Secret Cemetery* makes a signature study of contemporary cemeteries in London. Doris Francis, Leonie Kallaher, and Georgia Neophytou (2005) examined what the foreword by Raymond Firth called "a rich field for anthropological study, because they illustrate the emotional and symbolic meaning attached to material objects in human

cultures..." (2005:xv). Firth noted "In Western society a cemetery is usually a place for collective burials set apart from the ordinary living and working places of the folk" (2005:vii), and that in public cemeteries "the populations... are almost random" (2005:xix). Francis et al (2005:1) studied "... what people do when they visit cemeteries." The research team surveyed eight cemeteries including those of long-time English residents, Orthodox Jews, Greek Orthodox from Cyprus, and Muslim Bangladeshi and Gujarati immigrants. Their conclusion was provided early in the book (page 3): "What we discovered there was that for the bereaved who visit cemeteries, these burial grounds are special, sacred places of personal, emotional and spiritual reclamation where the shattered self can be `put back in place.'" They found the links between home, garden, and burial that allows exploration of the cultural meaning of cemeteries in London. As social anthropology, the results were clear, compelling, and richly empirical. The volume concluded on two points. One, that "Though cemeteries are ostensibly public places with responsibilities to the neighboring community, they exist to obscure the terrifying fact of death through ritual practice. This is the central secret of the cemetery..." (2005:214). Second, "...each and every cemetery is the most concentrated repository of mystery and secret that is available to modern, urban, twenty-first-century people" (2005:215). Those mysteries include the nature and dynamics of memory.

d. commemoration

Francis et al (2005) focused on cemeteries; others have examined similar issues in terms of memory. Studies of the intersection of materiality and memory are growing in anthropology. For the cemeteries of Sarasota, the concept of heterotopia from Michel

Foucault proved useful: "the cemetery is certainly a place unlike ordinary cultural spaces" (1984 as cited in Baram 2009:113), providing a productive link between studies of memory and the cultural landscape of cemeteries.

Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey (2001:1) in *Death, Memory and Material Culture* examined the "relationships among death, memory, and material culture." They (2001:1) scrutinized embodied practice from mourning attire to writing wills, from funeral effigies to photographs within the anthropological framework that death is a social crisis. While they were not focused on cemeteries, or grave markers, the point they reach is significant (2001:2): "Material culture mediates our relationship with death and the dead; objects, images and practices, as well as places and spaces, call to mind or are made to remind us of the deaths of others and of our own mortality." But the focus on the dead was not only a view on the past: the "practices provide perspective on the past as well as inflecting views of the future, situating us in time as well as social space" (2001:2). They (2001:3) recognized "the threat of death is very much bound up with the possibilities of oblivion. ... Memories of the dead...are as much a bulwark against the terror of the forgettable self as an inescapable aftermath of lives which have come to an end."

Andrew Jones (2007:1), in Memory and Material Culture, recognized

Human memory is fragile and finite. We mentally store our experiences as memories. However, memories are easily forgotten, and the retrieval of memories, through the act of remembering, is inexact and faulty. Due to our finite ability to mentally store our memories, human societies have produced a series of devices for storing memory in extrabodily form.

He (2007:4) went on to "argue that while considerable attention has been paid to the relationship between objects and society, insufficient attention has been paid to the way

in which material forms come into being and the extent to which things are interstitial to the process of social reproduction." Jones' (2007:2) goal was "to propose a more complex and satisfying analysis of the relationship between human memory and material culture." Jones' critique of material culture as storage for memory (what he labels external symbolic storage) is useful for studies of the materiality of cemeteries, following his statement: "I am interested in not only 'how societies remember' but also how things help societies to remember" (2007:5). As an archaeological study, the book focused on the Neolithic to Bronze Age in Europe, mostly Scotland, but the framework is relevant for recent history as much as for the distant past.

Although Jones (2007) created his own formulation, the active role of material culture in memory follows Wobst (1999) on material interventions nicely. For Jones (2007:32), the approach focused on physical engagements, the "effects things have on the person." He (2007:44) noted "commemoration highlights the way in which individual and collective memory and material culture are seemingly interwoven." Following Wobst (1999), the epithets, stones, and cultural landscape of the Galilee Cemetery communicate a sense of place, one that exposes the history of segregation in Sarasota history as well as opens up opportunities for creating new understandings of the community. Through commemoration that intervenes to challenge the silences over the successes and achievements of African Americans in the region, the material details from the cemetery is recognized as significant for remembering what happened in Sarasota.

e. setting the pace: public archaeology as civic engagement

Historic preservation at a cemetery is not a passive endeavor. Descendants are concerned over graves, local community members are invested in the presentation of cemeteries, and the community benefits for having its heritage accessible. Remembering the achievements of minorities expands potential participation in history; heritage can be a vehicle for community involvements in the public sphere. The African Burial Ground excavations in the early 1990s provided an important lesson on the intersection of archaeology, heritage, and communities. The excavations in New York City on the colonial-period graveyard were part of the process that transformed Americanist archaeology over the last two decades. LaRoche and Blakey (1997:100) wrote based on that project:

For many African Americans, (archaeology) is a conduit, an avenue leading to spiritual rebirth and renewal of our history. Our history is in the bones and in the artifacts excavated from the African Burial Ground. It is tangible, it is real, and it lives through the dead...

The emotions, concerns, and politics of the past require the Survey to sustain a commitment to education and respect, a cosmopolitan ethic that focuses on responsibilities to communities and individuals. Those politics of the past have been organized as civic engagement (Little and Shackel 2007) and for an archaeology committed to building social justice and community (Little 2009).

The public archaeology at the Galilee Cemetery employed the techniques of historical archaeology and ethnographies of the past, building on the insights from community-based research that has the subjects of research as partners and collaborators in research. The families and friends of those buried at the Galilee Cemetery, as well as the community that sustains them, are not only a source of information but part of the

research process. Leah Powell and Helen Dockall (1995:352) faced a situation where the archaeologists were facilitating the movement of burials but, through listening and engaging visitors and descendants, were able to include "the community's narrative history into the interpretation of the archaeological assemblage in order to arrive at a more accurate and complete representation of the archaeological record." The goal of accuracy offers the opportunity to reveal hidden histories, to represent parts of the past that are muffled or avoided. For the above studies, and for the Galilee Cemetery Survey, Race haunt the endeavors, particularly in recognizing the legacy of segregation.

Studies in African Diaspora Archaeology have required engagement with vindicationalist scholarship (Mullins 2008), recognizing the politics of the past and the potential to offer a more accurate and nuanced version of history. In addition, building community moves public archaeology from outreach and collaboration to an active involvement in sustaining historic preservation organizations (Baram 2011), with the hope of the scholarship encouraging continuing community support for historic preservation and commemoration. The Survey sought to remember survival and success during a period of legally-enforced segregation through commemorating the cemetery as the means toward that public memory. The challenge was great, as the next section will illustrate, but the dual lens of historical archaeology and ethnography revealed the dynamics of community and implications of Race in productive ways, and the database should be useful in building new chapters on the region's heritage. The history at the Galilee Cemetery illuminates larger patterns for the Sarasota community.

IV. Moments of Crisis When the Deceased Should Rest in Peace a. community-based cemeteries

When the Survey of the Galilee Cemetery began, the *New York Times* highlighted the turmoil at burial places in New York. The opening example –

When Mrs. Marmor visited her deceased husband's cemetery plot in Flushing, Queens, one afternoon, she found that someone had been freshly buried in the spot next to his, where she had planned to rest someday. No one could tell her why.

Strange and wrenching discoveries like that have sprung up repeatedly in Jewish communities over the past few decades as families have discovered that the cemetery properties where they expected to be buried among spouses, children and parents are caught in a legal knot that no one can untangle. (Vitello 2009).

The *New York Times* reported that there are tens of thousands of such examples in the Northeast where the administrators of burial grounds have died and the records are incomplete or gone.

When information and administrators vanish, burial grounds are more easily forgotten. In Florida, Sumter County planned on moving a cemetery, even though it dated back to the 1830s (Mims 2009); community pressure preserved the site (Ives 2009). In Miami, the Lemon City cemetery was accidently found and, after community activism noting many of the five hundred buried were people who pioneered Miami, received commemoration (Charles 2009). While the media might refer to these stories as grave problems (e.g., ABC Action News in Sarasota, January 21, 2010), they point to the dynamics of development, amnesia, and politics. The phrase "Rest in Peace" is elegant but is surprisingly unrepresentative of burials in many cemeteries across the USA. In June 2010, the news that Arlington National Cemetery has misplaced burials is a reminder of the larger context for the Galilee Cemetery challenges.

Conditions of the Rosemary, Woodlawn, and Galilee cemeteries at the start of the 21st century were not good. Euline Myrick (Hawes 2010) explains that as a UPS driver, he drove past the Galilee Cemetery for 19 years. In 2004, he retired and decided to organize a clean-up of the overgrown bush and trash. As a community leader, he became the sexton for the Galilee Cemetery. The restoration of the cemetery is a credit to community-minded individuals and their supporters; their efforts were the crucial steps allowing an important history to be revealed.

b. History of the Galilee Cemetery – a hidden history

Although there are pre-Columbian burial grounds in the region, the cemeteries are fairly recent. In Sarasota, the Whitaker Pioneer Cemetery starts in 1879 and the Rosemary Cemetery 1886. The first cemetery for African Americans – Sarasota was a segregated town – opened in 1905 as the Woodlawn Cemetery. The opening of the Galilee Cemetery, as the second African American cemetery in Sarasota, received attention on page two of the *Sarasota Herald* in August 13, 1932 (figure 2).

Yet one of the legacies of segregation in Sarasota is the paucity of written histories for the African American community (the key exception is McElroy 1986). The Sarasota County History Center, surprisingly, only documents the late 1990s restoration work at the Galilee Cemetery but community engagement like the Survey will change that soon.

NEW CEMETERY CREATED HERE FOR COLORED

One of the notable improvements in Sarasota is the organization of the Galifee cemetery out Gashington boulevard at the north eastend of Newtown. The colored people of this community have besetofore either used a neglected Lurial ground or taken their dead for interment to Tampa or other points. Galilee cemotery is to be developed in keeping with the latest ideas on the subject. The cemetery itself is plotted acientifically and lots of generous size made available to the colored people. Records will be kept of burials and the grounds will be mutatained in good order. The cemetery is now ready for inspection. The development of the cemetery has been made possible through the generous co-operation of William L. Van Dame, of the Van Dame estates, who has not only set aside the ground, but given the development of it his personal supervision. In addition to the cemetery, Mr. Van Dame has given a plot of several acres for a ball park and a community play ground for the colored people. A motor trip out Washington boulevard will well repay any one who is interested in seeing a really substantial improvement. Two views of the cemetery are herewith roproduced.

Figure 2 - Sarasota Herald 1932

Sarasota was platted in 1885 by Florida Mortgage and Investment Company (filed in 1886 with Manatee County). As early as the 1890s, African Americans settled north of downtown in the area then known as "Black Bottom;" by the 1920s, it was known as Overtown. African Americans living in Overtown were instrumental in Sarasota's construction projects and the Seaboard Air Line Railway, with community leaders like

Rev. Lewis Colson and Leonard Reid. As Annie McElroy (1986:121) points out, on "26 September 1905 Florida Mortgage and Investment Company for \$1 sold to the trustees of the colored community 5 acres of land off 10th Way" for the Oakland Cemetery, also known as Woodlawn Cemetery; the trustees were John May, Willis G. P. Washington, Lewis Colson, Campbell Mitchell, and J. P. Carter. In 1915 Newtown opened three-quarters of a mile north of the Sarasota city limit. Overtown continued to be a center for African American life in Sarasota until the Great Depression. In the 1950s, Overtown became the Rosemary District and Newtown became the center of African American life in segregated Sarasota.

Since the first burials at the Galilee Cemetery were in the 1930s, it is useful to imagine the era as described in the *WPA Guide to Florida* (Federal Writers Project 1984:269): "The local Negro settlement, east of the railroad, has it shops, churches, recreation centers, and rows of shacks. The majority of inhabitants, 30 per cent of the city's total population, are engaged in agricultural pursuits, and a few find employment as hostlers and roustabouts with the circus, returning to Sarasota in the fall to pick up odd jobs in canning factories, packing houses, and as gardeners." Some of those inhabitants are buried at the Galilee Cemetery.

V. Plats and Aerials

According to *Cemeteries of Sarasota County*, and confirmed by the Survey, the first burial date at the Galilee Cemetery is 1932. Aerial photographs (Figure 3 and 4) show the development of the area by the Galilee Cemetery.



Figure 3 – 1940 aerial



Figure 4 - 1951 aerial

The first plat (Figure 5) for the cemetery was found in the *Sarasota Herald* of August 13, 1932 and the second is dated to 1956 (Figure 6) and shows an organized layout. While the main walkways have been maintained, even an aerial photograph (Figure 7) shows the density of the rows and the disappearance of rows between areas of burials.

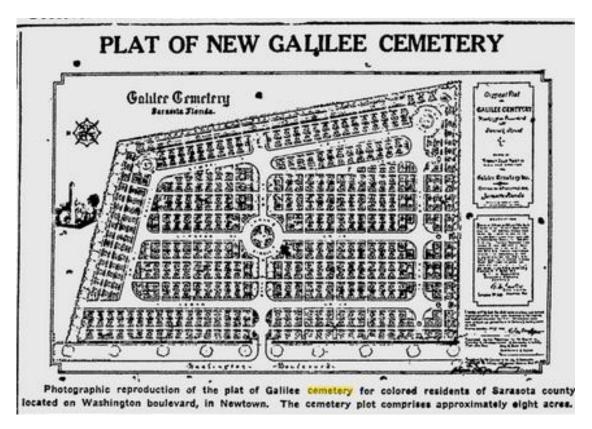


Figure 5 - 1932 plat

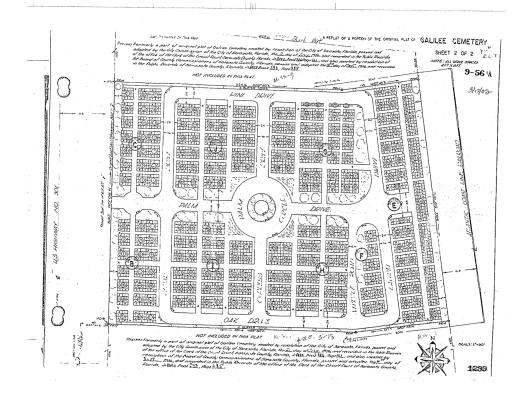


Figure 6 - 1956 plat



Figure 7 - 2010 aerial, facing north

Not only was the cemetery filled with burials beyond the organized area, to its north is an equipment rental company and to its immediate south is a Waste Management recycling plant. By 2010, the Task Force had cleaned up the cemetery so that the grass was cut and area maintained. But the cemetery was crowded with vaults and the noise from Washington Boulevard and the recycling plant made recording details on each and every grave marker uncomfortable. But the civic engagement and the cosmopolitan ethos sustained the students toward meeting the project's goals. The Survey documented the grave markers but also encouraged an ethnographic investigation, to have the New College students reflect on what they were observing while participating in the documentation project.

VI. Student Impressions of the Cemetery

Community service learning offers the opportunity to expand research and to make social contributions (Baram 2009). The contribution of the Survey is clear for historic preservation: the documentation of all the grave markers provides a rich, robust database of information as well as evidence that the community cares about the commemoration of the Galilee Cemetery. The research, particularly for addressing the emotive aspects of cemeteries advocated by recent anthropological scholarship comes from two layers. First, visitors to the Galilee Cemetery come to commemorate someone they knew; there are graves, burial places, at the cemetery and most, if not all, visitors focus on an individual or group of individuals. The research team looked at the entire cultural landscape, envisioning the place in its details through documentation of individual grave markers, but thinking about the place in its entirety. Roz Crews offered a sketch of the cemetery (Figure 8) that abstracts the aerial views nicely.

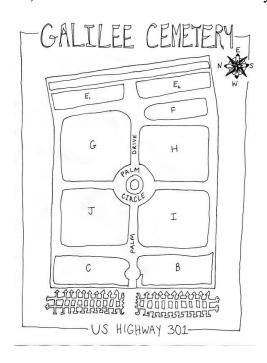


Figure 8 – sketch of the Galilee Cemetery by Roz Crews

Second, the undergraduate research allowed creative perspectives on the place. For instance, when Roz Crews called the cemetery beautiful, that remark helped to crystallize a set of diverse impressions.

In April 2010, the students of the Survey provided a series of impressions to the professor:

Michael Waas: shocked at the state of the cemetery, the lack of order

Alexis Santos: overwhelming due to the crowded nature

Bailey Howard: sobering place, graves remind you that it is a resting place but there is no escape

Jehan Sinclair: community members visiting the cemetery are casual

Evan Giomi: no organization to the cemetery; focuses on the individual not the whole

Chelsea Montgomery: functional, no room to pay respect at most grave sites, a place for burial not commemoration

Liz Usherwood: comfortable at the cemetery since she played in one as a child

Michelle Leahy: only gate and trees are taller than a person, feels two-dimensional

Lee Bloch: uniformity but there are individual decorations

Lee Bloch expanded on his observations in a May 21, 2010 paper on the cemetery where explained:

As I filled out Survey forms, I focused on individual graves one at a time, I saw embossed metal markers with crosses and wreaths. I saw wear or lichen on domed or stepped vaults. Sometimes I saw patrilineal kinship in graves that shared a last name with others nearby, or a person who had a particularly long or short life. I began to see other things when I began the photography project. Maybe it was the methodological focus on each person's name as I photographed each grave's marker (at least, for those that had them). Maybe it was the mechanical way of moving across the entire north side of the cemetery grave by grave: traveling in straight,

rationalizing lines that I could later organize easily by grave number and block. Or maybe it was the times when I lifted my gaze and snapped a shot of the landscape. But I moved from seeing the details of graves to seeing the space around them and connected atomized vaults to a community of the dead. I saw the creative and emotional labor of mourners remembering the dead within the conditions of capitalist mass production and racism.

Those emotions led Lee to invoke Toni Morrison's "rememory" for her 1987 *Beloved* and he concluded: "...when we look at those graves left bare with only a small marker with a name and two dates-the graves without an abundance of goods-we should not see an absence of rememory. Rather, we see onlookers' longing gaze as they read the names of those they have lost." Those dynamics of memory unite the theoretical and practical aspects of research at the Galilee Cemetery.

The impressions and outreach materials were shared and discussed with the Task Force members at a meeting in May 10, 2010 at the Selby Goodwill office on Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Way. The results were positive, encouraging the furthering of the partnership and continuing community engagement. That exchange was recorded in a video by the Sarasota Educational Channel (discussed below).

VII. Community Outreach: Expanding Insights into the Galilee Cemetery

The Woodlawn-Galilee Cemetary Restoration Task Force has created a positive community presence for the Galilee Cemetery. With Survey joined their goal is to raise the profile of the cemetery in local consciousness. That goal required going beyond the typical public outreach of public archaeology. While I gave a public lecture on the Survey to the *Sarasota Alliance for Historic Preservation* on April 9, 2010 ("Honoring the Dead, Keeping History Alive: Sarasota's Galilee Cemetery" at the Ringling College of Art and Design) and included explanations of the project as part of the activities of the

New College Public Archaeology Lab to many audiences, the more significant presentations came through the media and student projects. And by decentering my role, a space was open for motivated undergraduates to make creative contributions and for community members to represent the project in their own ways.

a. media attention

The Galilee Cemetery has received local attention. The 2002 clean-up of the cemetery received positive newspaper notice. But the Survey encouraged stories in the local newspaper, the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*. Two stories on the cemetery, one in January 2010 and another in March 2010 focused on the challenges facing the Survey (figures 9 and 10).



Figure 9 - Sarasota Herald Tribune January 21, 2010



Figure 10 – Sarasota Herald-Tribune, March 22, 2010

b. Sarasota Educational TV program

More creatively, in July 2010, Kimberly Stocker of the Education Channel (Sarasota County School District) produced a twenty-eight minute video "Galilee Cemetery - Beauty in a Forgotten Space." The website (http://www.theedchannel.net/programs/programdetails.cfm?proID=279) states: "This program shows the partnership with New College of Florida Professor Dr. Uzi Baram to document the lives of the interred and the Task Force. In February of 2010, Dr. Baram assembled anthropology students from New College of Florida and State College of Florida to assist members of the Task Force in a project that will systematically record the location of as many graves as possible. This is the first step in a research effort that is expected to add several new chapters to our knowledge of Sarasota's black community."



Figure 11 – The Education Channel Website, accessed February 5, 2012

The program highlighted the student- Task Force interactions, the techniques of the Survey, and explained the potential when a cemetery is commemorated. Seen on local cable television, the program provided a productive vehicle for the Galilee Cemetery commemoration and remembrance.

c. student projects

i. web site

It is common practice today to turn to the internet for information on places.

Alexis Santos created a website for the Survey at

http://galileecemetery.ncpalSurveys.org/ with images, video interviews, and several of

the outreach projects. The front page (figure 12) is inviting and the content productive for education and information.



Figure 12 – Website, created by Alexis Santos

ii. 'zine

Roz Crews created a 'zine with her sketches and impressions of the cemetery.

Through the 'zine, Roz expressed the beauty of the cemetery, which otherwise is overwhelmed by the noise of traffic and a recycling plant. The style of the 'zine is seen in the exhibit Roz Crews created, discussed below (and see figure 15).

iii. obituaries

Liz Usherwood organized several obituaries from those buried at the Galilee

Cemetery. By bringing them together, insights into the lives lived are stressed. Figure 10

has one example of her work, which is available at

http://galileecemetery.ncpalSurveys.org/obituaries/

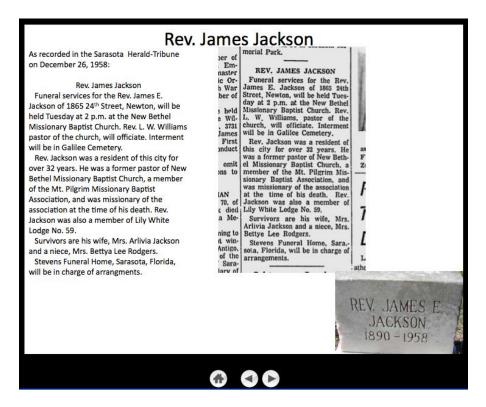


Figure 13 - Obituary

Obituaries are an interesting phenomenon. Marilyn Johnson (2006) offers a funny, engaging tour of obituaries in Britain and the United States. Among her observations, Johnson (2006:31-32) notes that while there are standard devices for obituaries, the thumbnail sketches as she calls them, there is no vocabulary so she creates one:

- The tombstone "an economical point or two designed to give the deceased a memorable label" (Johnson 2006:33)
- Then comes the circumstances of their death, which she calls the "bad news" (Johnson 2006:34)
- After the bad news, an expansive paragraph or two illustrates the turning points in the subject's life; she calls it "the song and dance" (Johnson 2006:35)

- Then comes the chronology of the subject's life "the desperate chronology" (Johnson 2006:36)
- Sprinkled through might be colorful quotes from experts, relatives, or friends
- The obituary ends with a list of survivors; for Johnson (2006:41) they are the "lifeboat."

The pattern in obituaries follows the search for patterns that is the hallmark of the anthropology of cemeteries.

v. teaching materials

Evan Giomi and Chelsea Montgomery created teaching materials based on the cemetery Survey.

Archaeology at Galilee Cemetery

Vocabulary

Vocabulary
archaeology – the study of people who lived before us. Archaeologists study
people through the things they left behind.
reflection – when you stop and think shout something
report – treating others how you would want to be treated
surgey – a type of archaeology where you record only what you can see. There
is no digging.
teamwork – working with other people to get a job done

Archaeology at Galilee Cemetery
Archaeology can help us learn about Galilee Cemetery. Archaeology is the study of people who lived before us. Archaeologists are people who study archaeology. They study people through the things they left behind. At Galilee Cemetery, archaeologists can study people through the graves that they have left



ry, archaeologists can study people through the graves that they have left.

They can learn something about the people buried at Galilee Cemetary and he community that those people lived in.

Archaeologists are busy at Galilee recording everything. They are taking pictures of all of the graves. They are writing down everyone's name and birthday. At Galilee Cemetery, there is no digging. This type of archaeology is called a survey. Surveys need good observation skills but not shovels. The survey will tell us who is buried at Galilee and

survey will tell us who is buried at Gatilee and where they are buried.

Archaeology – Not Just Digging A Archaeology is not just digging. Do you know Indiana Jones? He is an archaeologist, too. Yet archaeologists at Galilee Cemetay are not like Indiana Jones. They do not look for head to the control of t not have included by the form long ago. There are many types of archaeology. Some archaeologists study people who lived 500 years ago and others study people who lived 5 years ago or even 1 month ago.

What is archaeology all about?

- Understanding
- Teamwork
- Respect Reflection

What is archeology about?

All types of archaeology have four things in common. They are all about understanding, teamwork, respect, and reflection. All archaeologists want to understand the past better. They can excavate, or dig, or os curveys so that they can learn about the past from the things people left behind.

Archaeology is about teamwork, too. Teamwork means working with other people to get a job done. You can work together to win a soccer match or you can work together to do a narchaeological survey. You need to work together to do a narchaeological survey. You need to work together to do a narchaeological survey.

to work together to do a survey because it is too much to work together to do a survey because it is too much work to do alone.

Archaeology is also about respect. To respect someone means to treat them how you would want to be treated. It is important to respect the people buried at Galiles. The survey helps us to respect the people of the past. Not bothering burials is one way of showing respect. To do that, we need to learn where everyone is buried so that no one is ever moved or disturbed. By learning about the past, we can learn to respect the people who lived before us. Understanding is the first stem to respect

everyone is oursed so that no one is ever moved or aristurosed. Dy learning about the past, we can learn to respect the people who lived before us. Understanding is the first step to respect.

Archaeology is about reflection. Reflection is when you stop and think about something. It is important to stop and think when you are doing archaeology. Sometimes how you feel is the same way that others feel. By thinking about how you feel, you may learn how people of the past felt. Other times, you feel differently from other people. You can also learn about the people of the past by thinking about how you feelings may be in the free lings. Thinking about peoples' feelings is important. Our feelings make us human.

Stop and think about what you have learned about Sarastoa history. Stop and think about what you have learned about sarastoa history. Stop and think about what you have learned about?

What can I do?

Archaeologists arenot the only ones who can help. You can, too! Come out to visit the cemetery. Tryto understand the lives of the people buried at Galilee. You can help keep take care of the cemetery, too! Plant some flowers, or trees, there, Ask friends or family if they knews omeone buried in Galilee. If so, learn about that person's life. Do you think their life was very different from yours?

there, Ask triends or family it they knews omeone buried in Calilee. It so, learn about that person's life. Do youthink their life was very different from yours? Why or why not?

Think about it!

1. What else do you know about archaeology? Where else have you learned about it? From movies, books, or television? From someone you know?

| Write About It! | |
|--|-----------|
| Archaeology is not just about the way a name is carved on a granker or about what items are left on a grave. It is about how the past is to the present, too. That means that it is important how you felt about cemetery and what you were thinking while you were there. To reflect means to stop and think about something. Stop and the about your trip to the cemetery. What did you like the most? How did feel while you were there? What made you feel that way? | th inl |
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Figure 14 – teaching materials

vi. exhibit at the North Sarasota Public Library

For Black History Month in 2011, Friends of the North Sarasota Public Library organized an exhibit "Newtown Then and Now" and asked for materials on the Galilee Cemetery. Peter Elrod initiated the project and Roz Crews created three panels that were displayed at the library.



(photograph by author)



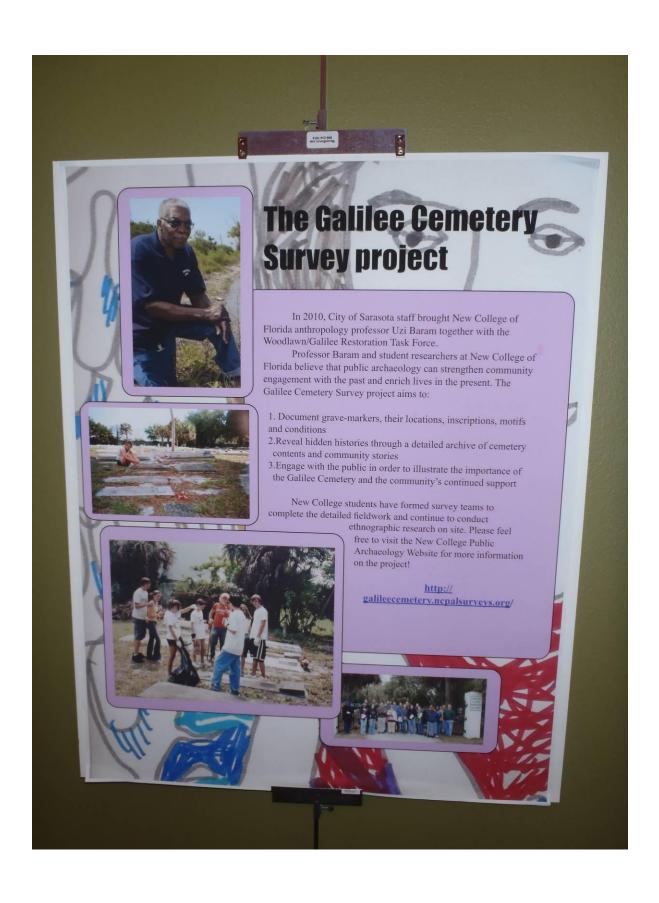




Figure 15 – Galilee Cemetery Exhibit at North Sarasota Public Library

vii. Florida Public Archaeology Network workshop

On January 13, 2012, the Florida Public Archaeology Network west central region led a Cemetery Resource Protection Training at the Goodwill office on Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Way and then in the Galilee Cemetery. The training organized the legal issues for historic preservation of a cemetery and brought New College students, Task Force members, government officials, and community members together.

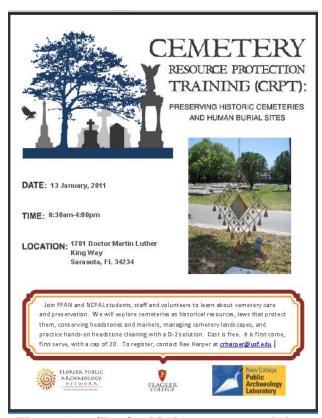


Figure 16 – flier for 2012 cemetery workshop

VIII. The Database

The Survey wrapped media attention, creative student projects, and a workshop around the documentation of each and every grave marker. The form used for the Survey

offered many types of descriptions for the grave marker and vault (Figure 17). The two yearlong Survey recorded 1544 grave markers and organized them into an electronic database. A printed version is available in Appendix B of this report; the Task Force has a copy as does the Sarasota County History Center and the New College Public Archaeology Lab. In addition to the descriptions on the Survey forms, each grave marker was photographed. The Survey is a snapshot of the cemetery in 2010-12. As my previous experience at the Rosemary Cemetery suggests, this will provide a baseline for the changes that are inevitable at any cemetery. Even if time fades or destroys markers, the database and photographic record will preserve the evidence of a fascinating cultural landscape of the Galilee Cemetery in Sarasota.

The public outreach marked the Survey's excursion into community, race, and commemoration. The student involvement demonstrates the volunteerism of this generation of undergraduates, with hopefully a lasting legacy of civic engagement. The database is the important contribution of the partnership between the New College Public Archaeology Lab and the Task Force. Hopefully the collection of information on each and every grave marker will serve multiple audiences, from seeking relatives to those building up the history of the region.



2010-11 Field Survey – Individual Markers Galilee Cemetery, Sarasota

| Block # | _ Lot # | _ Neig | hbor mai | ker N | S | E | W |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| Name on the | ne Marke | r | | | | | |
| Date of bir | th | | ate of de | ath | | • | |
| Field Sketch of IN | | D | aic of uc | atii | | on technique: | |
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| | | | | | | | Painted |
| | | | | | | | Other |
| | | | | | | | Gravemarker material: |
| | | | | | | | Marble |
| | | | | | | | Granite |
| | | | | | | | Concrete/cast |
| | | | | | | | Concrete/stucco |
| | | | | | | | Concrete/shell |
| | | | | | | | Brick |
| | | | | | | | Wrought iron |
| | | | | | | | Gravemarker size: |
| | | | | | | | Height |
| | | | | | | | Width |
| | | | | | | | Gravemarker design: |
| | | | | | | | Bible Flowers |
| | | | | | | | Hands |
| | | | | | | | Lamb |
| | | | | | | | Dove |
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| Grave orientation | | _ north/sout | h other | _ | | | |
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| Vault cover: Mate | rial Desi | gn: Belled_ | Poured | Other | | | |
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| Field sketch of | f entire grav | e markei | on back of | sheet. Please | indicate n | orth on ske | etch. |

Figure 17 – the Survey Form

IX. Assessment of the Cemetery

The scholarship on cemetery focuses on patterns. The key pattern seen in the grave markers at the Galilee Cemetery comes from the funeral homes. The three funeral homes serving the cemetery produced their own markers. As Deetz (1996) noted for the colonial-period grave markers, the stone carvers were the key for the variation. Similarly, the mass-produced attachments to the stones tell us about the variation in funeral homes. More robust information came from the remembering seen by the students – the objects left at the graves demonstrating the continuing significance of the cemetery in people's lives. The media attention and television program have raised the profile of the cemetery, and started the process of including the Galilee Cemetery in the history of Sarasota.

The Survey brings to the fore the legacies of Race through the comparison between Rosemary Cemetery and Galilee Cemetery. While both fell into disrepair in the latter parts of the 20th century, both received community volunteerism that restored their landscapes. The plat held for the Rosemary but not for Galilee, which made the Survey challenging but ultimately more socially satisfying. As Wyeneth (2005:40) explains for the historic preservation of segregation, the materiality "would most likely be invisible unless one knows the "before and after" stories." The Galilee Cemetery's history is haunted by segregation. But the hidden history is refreshed by the extent of grave offerings at the Galilee Cemetery, which is greater in terms of frequency, materials, and impact on the landscape than those at the Rosemary. Separated by segregation, both have a positive trajectory for historic preservation at the end of the first decade of the 21st century.

While there is a flatness to the Galilee Cemetery, the Survey is bringing out the diversity of commemorations, the dynamics of remembering for Sarasota, which is otherwise hidden from view. The beauty of the cemetery deserves recognition through the registry of historic places.

The key insight into the Galilee Cemetery is a simple ethnographic observation. While the Survey teams studied a cemetery, the Galilee Cemetery is understood mostly as a site for individual commemoration. There is a tremendous amount of remembering at the cemetery but it seems to be individualistic rather than collective. The Task Force is the collective force for restoring the graveyard, and their efforts have been fruitful. The next step is commemoration of the cemetery as a whole.

X. Next Steps

The Galilee Cemetery is one of several cemeteries in Sarasota that tell the history of the area's communities. Organizing those cemeteries, highlighting the connections, is an important goal for preserving regional heritage on the Florida Gulf Coast. The next cemetery that deserves attention is the Woodlawn Cemetery by 10th Way in downtown Sarasota. Ultimately these cemeteries can be united in an analysis of Race and its legacies for Sarasota; there is a rich even if so far hidden history of success and survival that can come from the grave yards of this southwest Florida community.

Finally, one of the challenges for cemeteries is preservation of grave markers and vaults. The harsh environmental conditions of subtropical Florida, vandalism, and time lead to worn conditions; the Survey documents the conditions of the individual graves and a list can be drawn up for conservation work on the ones most in need of repair.

Hopefully the community outreach and involvement, the public outreach, and the scholarship will encourage support for the preservation and commemoration of the Galilee Cemetery in Sarasota, Florida.

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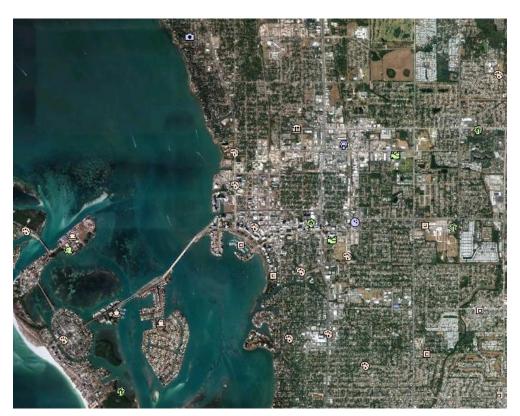
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Appendix A: The Cemeteries of Sarasota County



Whitaker Pioneer Cemetery 1879



Source: http://sarasotadar.org/saradesotodar_cemetery.html

Rosemary Cemetery 1886



Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Sarasota_FL_Rosemary_Cem01.jpg

Woodlawn Cemetery 1905



Source: http://www.sarasotahistoryalive.com/markers-and-designations/historical-marker/oaklands-woodlawn-cemetery/

Galilee Cemetery 1932



Source: http://galileecemetery.ncpalSurveys.org/