

Report on the Investigation into the Deaths and Burials at the Former Arthur G. Dozier School for Boys in Marianna, Florida



Submitted to the Internal Improvement Trust Fund
(Florida Cabinet and Governor) and the
Florida Department of Environmental Protection

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Submitted by:

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Summary of Findings on the Investigation into the Deaths and Burials at the Former Arthur G. Dozier School for Boys in Marianna, Florida

Submitted to: Governor Rick Scott; Attorney General Pam Bondi; Chief Financial Officer Jeff Atwater; Agriculture Commissioner Adam Putnam; and David Clark, Acting Director of State Lands, the Florida Department of Environmental Protection

Pursuant to: Land-Use Agreement among the Internal Improvement Trust Fund (Florida Cabinet and Governor), the Department of Environmental Protection, and the University of South Florida, August 6, 2013

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ABBREVIATIONS

C	Carbon
COD	Cause and/or Circumstances of Death
CODIS	Combined DNA Index System
DEP	Department of Environmental Protection
DC	Death Certificate
DJJ	Department of Juvenile Justice
DNA	Deoxyribonucleic Acid
FDLE	Florida Department of Law Enforcement
FEMORS	Florida Emergency Mortuary Operations Response System
FIS	Florida Industrial School for Boys
FRS	Family Reference Sample
GIS	Geographical Information System
GPR	Ground Penetrating Radar
GPS	Global Positioning System
HCSO	Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office
ID	Identification
IFAAS	Institute for Forensic Anthropology & Applied Sciences
JJOC	Jackson Juvenile Offender Center
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples
NAMUS	National Missing and Unidentified Persons System
NOK	Next of Kin
MNV	Minimum Number of Vessels
MNI	Minimum Number of Individuals
MP	Missing Persons
MTDNA	Mitochondrial Deoxyribonucleic Acid
NFYDC	North Florida Youth Development Center
Pb	Lead
PRIDE	Prison Rehabilitative Industries and Diversified Enterprises Inc.
Sr	Strontium
UID	Unidentified Persons
UNTHSC	University of North Texas Health Sciences Center
USF	University of South Florida

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of this investigation was to determine the location of missing children buried at the former Florida Industrial School, also known as the Arthur G. Dozier School for Boys in order to excavate and repatriate the remains to their families. To carry out this goal, permission was granted through a land-use agreement by the Internal Improvement Trust Fund (Florida Cabinet and Governor), the Florida Department of Environmental Protection, and the University of South Florida, August 6, 2013. The specific objectives were divided into several stages including additional testing, excavation of all of the burials identified, human identification and repatriation of the remains to their families, reburial of the unidentified individuals, and a report of the findings to the State. The specific tasks were to:

1. Conduct GRP evaluation in the areas adjacent of Boot Hill Burial Ground and South property to locate graves;
2. Perform archaeological test excavations in the areas marked by GPR anomalies, especially on the east side of the burial ground, to define the boundaries of the burial area and its spatial relationship with adjacent landscape features (roads, historical buildings, etc.);
3. Horizontal clearing through mechanical excavation of the primary burial area to identify the exact number and locations of individual grave sites;
4. Exhumation and skeletal analysis including forensic pathological, anthropological, genetic, and bioarchaeological analysis of individuals from the burial ground for human identification for repatriation and re-interment;
5. Establish if there was one or more burial areas on the property;
6. Excavate the site of the burned dormitory on the south property;
7. Conduct archival research of primary and secondary historical documents, maps, photographs, and related media;
8. Conduct interviews with families, employees, community members, and other key stakeholders associated with the school's history;
9. Repatriation and re-inter unidentified remains; and
10. Submit findings to the State.

During the course of this investigation, 55 graves were excavated. It was determined that not all of the victims who died in a dormitory fire in 1914 were buried together in the area of the Boot Hill Burial Ground. It was hypothesized that more of the burned remains may have been buried on the site of the former dormitory. An extension for fieldwork was provided to USF in order to try to identify the location of the burned site and then to excavate the site to the extent possible in search of additional human remains. In addition to 51 sets of human remains located at Boot Hill, burned bone fragments were recovered from the burned dorm site. To date, we have found 17 families (or 33% of our missing person's pool). Efforts to determine the possible identity of those beyond our missing person pool is being assisted by the Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office, NamUs.gov, UNTHSC, FDLE, and a team of volunteer genealogists. We have made 7 positive identifications and 14 presumptive identifications. An additional 7 families are waiting for a match.

The following report summarizes the findings and interpretation of results from the investigation into the deaths and burials that occurred at the former Arthur G. Dozier School for Boys (ca. 1900-1960). This report builds on the work presented in an interim report (Kimmerle et

al. 2012)¹ and Florida Cabinet update (Kimmerle et al. 2015)². Differences that appear in the documents such as the spelling of names, dates, ages at death, and other demographic information about some of the boys, reflects variation in reporting among the historical records. This summary provides the most updated and corrected information, as available at this time, and provides a summary of the archaeological, ethnographic, biological, forensic, and historical investigations.

Additional and supplemental materials may be found in the Dozier Digital Archive (<http://digital.lib.usf.edu/dozierarchive>). Our team worked with USF Tampa Library to create the archive. The goal of this collaboration was to establish, preserve, and make freely available via the Internet a collection of the materials that document the history of the school and the work of the project team.

The archive contains digital copies and links to project reports, audio/video recordings and transcripts of oral history interviews, maps, photographs, government documents, USF press release videos, and other materials collected and provided by the project team. The archive is full-text searchable and all materials are openly available. This is also an open archive and new materials will be added as they are made available. We further contracted with a production company, Part2 Pictures, to create a documentary that follows the journey of five of the families through this process as their brothers have been identified and has enabled filming and documentation of the site and work.

The Florida State Reform School, also known as the “Florida Industrial School for Boys” (FIS) and most recently as the “Arthur G. Dozier School for Boys”, first opened on January 1, 1900 and grew to almost 1400 acres of land. Children were committed to the school for criminal offenses, such as “theft and murder,” but the law was later amended to identify minor offenses including “incorrigibility”, “truancy”, or “dependency,” which propelled the school to become the largest training and reform school in the country at the time. Originally, the school housed children as young as five years old, including both males and females who were segregated by race and sex. Girls were committed to the school until 1913 when the law was amended and a new and separate school for girls was constructed. Daily activities including dormitory assignments and work and school responsibilities were dictated in the context of a system that racially classified people as “white” or “colored.” From the time the school opened until 1968, it was segregated into two completely separate campuses called “Department 1” for “white” and “Department 2” for “colored” students. Throughout this report, the terms “white” and “colored” are used when necessary following the documentation practices used in historical records and the school documents consulted. Spatially, the south department/school was for whites and was called “No. 1.” The north school was for African Americans and other “races” [e.g., students identified as non-white] and was referred to as school “No. 2.” Beginning as early as 1901, reports of children being chained to walls in irons, brutal whippings, and peonage surfaced. For example, during the first 13 years of operation, there were more than six state led investigations.

¹ Kimmerle EH, Estabrook R, Wells EC, Jackson A. Dec. 10, 2012. Interim Report for the Investigations in the Boot Hill Cemetery, Located at the Former Arthur G. Dozier School for Boys, Marianna, Florida. University of South Florida: www.forensics.usf.edu/boothill

² Kimmerle, EH, Wells EC, Jackson A. Jan. 21, 2015. Update on Research into the Deaths and Burials at Former Florida Industrial School for Boys (aka. Arthur G. Dozier) in Marianna, Florida.

An area designated as the Boot Hill Burial Ground was established on school property in the early days of the school. Located on the north side of the school, the side designated as the colored side, the burial ground was positioned in a small, elevated clearing immediately adjacent to the school's garbage dump (GPS location 30° 45' 59"N, 85° 15' 43"W, Jackson County, Township 4 North, Range 10W, Section 4). Although there are newspaper reports of deaths as early as 1905, the only recorded burials in official school or state records for this location date from 1914-52. Overall, many of the deaths were not recorded in the school's ledgers nor reported to the State through the Biennial reports nor death certificates. The specific burial locations whether on school grounds or shipped away to other locations were not always recorded, nor were death certificates issued in many cases. The lack of documentation and contradictions in the historical record have made it difficult to determine who is buried on school grounds. The effort to identify the children buried at Boot Hill continues.

The site was marked by 31 white metal crosses and surrounded by a wire perimeter, put in place in the 1990s, following disturbance to the burial ground from PRIDE planting activities in the area. Grave markers and delineation of the grounds were constructed in the early 1960s and again in the mid-1990s, long after the interments were made, in efforts to mark or commemorate the burials. However, the markers did not correspond to the actual interments, as burials were not originally marked. Very little documentation about the history of the burial ground or who is buried there exists, and the exact locations of individual burials were never documented until the FDLE investigation in 2009 and the historical summary in Kimmerle et al. (2012). Throughout its history as the school's administrators faced public scrutiny and threats of closure (i.e. following the 1914 fire, the epidemic in 1918, and in the 1950-60s which eventually lead to the end of corporeal punishment in the form of floggings); they would frequently issue press statements and run internal investigations with contradictory findings to State investigative reports. Consequently, at the time that recorded deaths occurred through today, multiple investigations and reports summarize different accounts of who died and varying circumstances about those deaths. Therefore, uncertainty, speculation, and folklore regarding these deaths remain prevalent today. Many family members and witnesses believe children died under suspicious or questionable circumstances. Given the lack of existing documentation (and the incomplete recording of information), many questions persist about who is buried at the school and the circumstances surrounding their deaths.

In 2012, a pedestrian survey and mapping of the Boot Hill Burial Ground along with associated archival research on the history of the burial ground was undertaken with the permission of the Florida Department of Environmental Protection to accomplish the following objectives (permit number 112.023, Division of Historical Resources):

- 1) Register, document, and map the burial ground as a cemetery currently demarcated. The burial ground was surveyed and mapped. It was estimated there were 50 graves present. The site was registered as a cemetery through the Division of Historical Resources, FMSF No. 8JA01860.
- 2) Identify existing and any additional graves through multiple remote sensing and archaeological methods, such as ground penetrating radar (GPR) and soil chemistry.
- 3) Research the site's history, creation, and use based on archival research and ethnographic interviews.
- 4) Research primary and secondary sources to determine who may be buried in the burial ground and the morbidity and mortality patterns of those who died. The school's historical

background and preliminary information about boys who died there was summarized in a 2012 report.

In 2013, our team began excavation of the burials located in the area of Boot Hill. Multiple methods were employed, including those used in forensic anthropology, bioarchaeology, and cultural anthropology. Historical imaging and archival research was supplemented with ethnographic interviews of family members and former students and employees, remote sensing, soil chemistry, archaeological excavation, and human osteological analysis. The bioarchaeological scope of work from 2012-2015 was divided into several different phases:

- **Phase IA:** GPR of north campus, 1A-32 Archaeological Research Permit No. 1112.032 . Summarized in preliminary report Kimmerle et al. (2012).
- **Phase IB:** GPR of south campus, 1A-32 Archaeological Research Permit No. 1213.018.
- **Phase IIA:** Groundtruthing at Boot Hill, prior to excavation. Summarized in preliminary report Kimmerle et al. (2012).
- **Phase IIB-III:** Excavation at Boot Hill. Permission granted through a Land Use agreement by the Florida Cabinet, Florida Department of Environmental Protection, and the University of South Florida, August 6, 2013.
- **Phase IIIA:** Soil coring to locate the former burned dorm (South property, Department No. 1).
- **Phase IV:** Excavation of the burned dorm site.

GENERAL FINDINGS

As a result of this investigation, a record of nearly 100 deaths was found in historical documents, including boys aged 6-18 years and two adult staff members. These deaths occurred from 1900-1973. However, state records regarding cause of death and school ledgers are only public record for the years prior to 1960. Therefore the scope of this investigation was 1900-1960. For this period, historical records indicate that 45 individuals were buried on the school grounds between the years 1914-1952, 31 bodies were shipped to other locations for burial, and 22 cases do not have recorded burial locations. There are also numerous references to unnamed boys that died with no other information available. Based on our research, we believe many (but not all) of these boys were buried at Boot Hill.

Throughout, the historical records are incomplete and often provide conflicting information. The cause and manner of death for the majority of cases are unknown. Infectious disease, fires, physical trauma, and drowning are the most common recorded causes of death when the circumstances surrounding a death were listed. Other mortality patterns show high rates among the boys that died following attempted escapes from the school and a high number of boys who died within the first three months of being remanded to the school (n=20). Records indicate that among our sample, 17 or 26.5% had escaped at least once. Five of these boys had escaped more than once and were returned to the school. Within these cases, 10 boys are white and six 6 are colored (1 boy did not have a listed ancestry).

Two of the boys who had attempted to run away were returned to the school and issued standard punishment including flogging (referred to as spanking by school staff) in the White

House (Earl Wilson and Billey Jackson) followed by isolation (Earl Wilson). The floggings were issued in the White House for both White and colored students. Isolation took place in “dark cells” located in different parts of the grounds, segregated by race. During segregation, African American boys were placed in sweat boxes, such as the one in which Earl Wilson died in 1944.

There was also inconsistency among those who were issued death certificates. Overall, the majority of boys at the institution were African American. The high percentage of white deaths is skewed by the fire of 1914 that single event. If this event is removed from the pool, then the percentages of death among white boys (~25%) vs. colored boys (~75%) is more consistent with what is expected given the overall demographic structure of the school which was predominately African American. Overall there were more African American boys who died and among those, they tended to be younger in age.

- The burial location was unspecified for nearly three times more colored than white boys though all unspecified burial locations occurred prior to 1935.
- Colored boys were more likely to be unnamed in historical records, such as: “11 colored boys died” in the flu epidemic in 1918 or “one unnamed colored boy died in 1911”.
- Among the sample whose burial locations were unspecified, only 3 were issued death certificates in 1932. The three boys for whom there was a certificate issued all died of Influenza and these deaths were certified by Dr. N. Baltzell, the school physician. The causes of death for the remaining boys are undocumented.
- The general trends as to why boys were committed to the school appear the same for white and colored boys, as delinquency, larceny, and breaking and entering which were the most frequent categories. However, the cases of incorrigibility and running away (non-criminal charges) were more frequently assigned to colored boys, consistent with the Jim Crow practices of the time

In 1917, the State of Florida began requiring that death certificates be issued when a death occurred. However, between 1920 and 1941, at least 12 student deaths occurred for which no death certificates were issued. Additionally, there are at least 22 student deaths in the records for which no burial location (whether the burial occurred at the School or some other location) and no cause of death is documented. The absence of records is again suggestive of intent to cloud the causes of students’ deaths and the location of burials. While other State run institutions (such as the Florida State Hospital in Chattahoochee) kept meticulous records of burials made on the institution’s property, the School was notable for the fact that it did not keep any record showing the location of specific graves, nor did the School even mark the graves. This lack of record keeping and absence of grave markers suggest intent to obfuscate the true number of burials located at the School and to hinder later potential investigations into the true causes of specific individuals’ deaths.

We found that throughout its history, the School consistently underreported the number of deaths that occurred in their bi-annual reports to the State. For example, in State and other historical records, there are numerous references to deaths but few details are provided. These references may appear in State investigative reports or newspaper accounts, but differ from the school’s own records. The school’s superintendent and other staff wrote reports for the Board of Managers, who

wrote a summary every two years to the Governor. References to the deaths of at least 14 different colored boys were made, but no names or specific information about the deaths were provided, including burial locations. The lack of documentation and conflicting information in the records makes the identification process more challenging. Other examples include the following boys who died at the school or following escape from the school but were not reported to the State, such as:

- William McKinley, a colored boy died from unknown causes on 7/19/1915
- Thomas E. Curry, a 15 year old white boy died of blunt trauma on 12/11/1925 after running away
- Robert Jerald Hewett, a 16 year old white boy died of gunshot wounds on 4/4/1960 after running away
- The possibility of undocumented deaths at the school is an important piece in the effort to identify the children buried at the school. As described earlier, aside from the fire victims, we have remains for 48 individual children (excluding the fire victims) but only 43 names for possible identification and this is based on the assumption that among all those who died but were not documented, none were sent home for burial. If in fact the reports about the number of deaths and burials at the school during the 1918 influenza outbreak are correct, 11 additional colored boys were buried at Boot Hill, meaning a higher number of boys with unknown burial locations were likely shipped home.
- The 43 names represent the missing person pool.
 - Among the missing person pool, 12 were white and 34 were documented as colored or African American and are 74% of the group.
 - Also within this group, only 19 (41%) were issued death certificates, 22 (48%) were recorded as buried at the school, and 27 (56%) have a listed cause of death in the records. The youngest boy was a 6 year old (**George Grissam**) who had been paroled for labor as a house boy and was brought back to the school unconscious in 1918. His older brother was 8 year old Ernest Grissam and also disappears from the records in 1919 when he is listed in the school ledger as “not here”. Efforts to determine his whereabouts and the relatives of their mother (Peg Grissam from Caryville, FL) have so far been unsuccessful.
 - Like the aforementioned case, **Sam Morgan** (who was positively identified) had also been paroled out for labor from the school. He entered the school at the age of 18 years. The ledger entry states he was first received on 9/23/1915, paroled on 1/18/1918, then brought back again on 2/10/1918 (only 23 days later). The ledger further states under the column “how released” that he was “indentured” which is why we believe he died in the custody of the business or farm who had acquired him. He was buried at the Boot Hill burial ground on the School’s property. However, his burial location had been unknown as the school’s own records do not list him as deceased and provide no information about him, his death, or burial. The

only record of death we have found for Morgan is the report issued by the Florida Department of Law Enforcement (FDLE 2009)³ about the deaths that occurred at the school. The FDLE report lists him as having died at the school in 1921 but outside of this reference, we do not know where this information came from as Morgan was not issued a death certificate nor does his ledger entry reveal his death.

The Morgan example highlights why the identification process is so difficult. In this case, the school's own records don't state that he died. In many cases there is no entry about the how the boy was released though many were paroled for labor. Therefore, the fact that we may have more remains than possible names is not unexpected.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

This investigation took a multidisciplinary approach and used a variety of methods, including:

- Bioarchaeological fieldwork to locate and excavate graves;
- Historical and archival research to document history of school and establish a list of who may be buried at the school;
- Ethnographic witness interviews of former employees, former inmates, local farmers and residents, families of the missing boys, religious and political leaders;
- Skeletal analysis in laboratory for human identification;
- DNA testing of skeletal samples for identification;
- Genealogical research into families of missing boys for next of kin;
- Familial reference sample collection for DNA testing; and
- Education and public engagement to disseminate the results

The specific methods used in this project include the following:

1. Research for possible clandestine graves or burial areas includes analyses of historical images, maps, land assessments, and soil analysis. These materials come from the United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service; the US Geological Survey (USGS); the Map Library at the University of South Florida and the University of Florida; Florida State Archives; and Google Earth®.
2. The archaeological methods include remote sensing includes ground penetrating radar (GPR) and metal detectors. The site is mapped through the use of a Trimble 5600 Series Reflectorless Laser Total Station (electronic distance measuring device). Ground-Penetrating Radar (GPR) has been shown to be an effective and non-invasive remote sensing technique for mapping and documenting buried archaeological sites, including cemeteries (Conyers 2004). GPR was used to investigate the area in and around the Boot Hill Burial Ground to try to better determine the extent of the burials. The surface geology of the area made this investigation somewhat

³ FDLE. May 14, 2009. Florida Department of Law Enforcement, Office of Executive Investigations. Arthur G. Dozier School for Boys Marianna, Florida. Investigative Summary. Case No. EI-73-8455.

problematic. Clays and loamy clays attenuate or absorb radar energy (Connors and Goodman 1994:53) making the use of GPR problematic in areas containing extensive amounts of clay. However, in this case, the mixing of the subsurface clays with the sandy loams from the surface allowed radar energy penetration to depths that allowed the grave shafts to be clearly detected.

A Geophysical Survey Systems, Inc. (GSSI) SIR-3000 GPR system was used to collect spatial data. The GPR configuration included a 400 MHz antenna mounted in a three-wheel cart with distance calibration provided by an on-board survey wheel. Eight grids of varying sizes were used to collect the GPR data. The southwest corner of each grid was the starting point, or grid origin (0, 0). Radar data was collected at 50 cm (20 inch) intervals both diagonally and horizontally across the grid using the “Quick 3D” function built into the SIR-3000 firmware. The perimeters of the grids were staked at 1 m (3.3 feet) intervals and fiberglass survey ropes were used to establish and maintain the transect rows. A zigzag data collection strategy was used to avoid returning to a single starting point. The GPR time window for all grids was determined to be 60 nanoseconds (ns) and the GPR data was collected with the gain (electronic signal enhancement) added to the raw field data.

Fieldwork for this project was carried out over eight trips between 27 February and 16 November 2012. The crew consisted of Estabrook, Kimmerle and Wells (coauthors of this report), and the USF graduate students and volunteers from the Hillsborough County Sheriff’s office listed above. Eight grids of various sizes were established throughout the area to investigate the extent of the subsurface anomalies encountered. Grid A was 26 by 30 meters; Grid B was 6 by 14 meters; Grid C was 6 by 9 meters; Grid D was 20 by 14 meters; Grid E was 14 by 12 meters; Grids G and H were 21 by 15 meters; and Grid I was 4 by 20 meters. Area F was the designation given to the area north of Grid E; this area was not intensively investigated, so there is no “Grid F.” Individual radargrams were also collected in the area north of Grid B to further investigate anomalies discovered in this area. Grid B and the additional “Grid B Addition” radargrams were later re-collected as Grid D.

Grid location and size was dependent on the areas that were cleared. Grid direction was dependent on the locations of the anomalies encountered. The initial grid (Grid A) was off-set from the grid created by the metal crosses standing in the burial ground. Prior to data collection, the metal crosses and metal fencing was tagged, removed, and their locations preserved using 2-inch diameter PVC pipes cut to length. All crosses and fencing were returned to their original locations once the data collection was completed. Grids D, E, G, H, and I were cleared of small trees and understory vegetation by the trustees at the Jackson County Correctional Facility. Larger trees were allowed to remain standing. Only a very large oak tree in the south-central portion of Grid D caused some difficulty during the data collection.

All of the GPR data grids were post-processed using GPR-Slice® software (Version 7). The GPR data were converted from their GSSI file format, regained, and processed through a low-pass (3x3) filter. These data are presented as individual time slices or as an animated sequence of time slices showing how the anomalies vary by depth. In the color ramp scheme selected, red indicates areas of greater density and blue shows areas of lower reflectivity. Yellow and green represent intermediate density grades. Red regions on the time slices represent locations

that reflected more wave energy, and are therefore the strongest indicators of a subsurface anomaly.

A Trimble XH-Pro GPS device was used to document the location of certain features within or near the grids, including metal crosses, fence posts, trees, and the four corners of each of the grids themselves. Combining the GPS locations of these surface features with the subsurface GPR data can be important when analyzing and attempting to interpret results of this investigation. Digital photographs were also taken of fieldwork in progress.

3. Field methods for the excavation of burials from the Boot Hill Burial Ground, burned dormitory site and the subsequent skeletal analyses are discussed in the following sections.
4. Soil analyses were used to prospect for burial locations. By physically and chemically characterizing soils in the burial ground area, the locations of burial shafts are determined when compared to adjacent soils. For this analysis, the following methods were used: color determination using Munsell Soil Color Charts, soil texture analysis using the gravitation method, hydrogen potential (pH) using digital electrodes, acid-extractable phosphate characterization using molybdate colorimetry, and soil organic matter using loss-on-ignition.
5. Demographic data were obtained from the attendance ledgers, death certificates, court documents located in the Jackson County Courthouse, and historical newspaper articles. Copies of the death certificates issued were obtained from FDLE and provide additional information on burial location and the cause and manner of death.

The FIS attendance ledgers (both sets) are currently housed at the Florida State Archives (.S2256, Vol. 1-7, 18-22, and 31). The years present, as referenced in this report are based on commitment dates. Ledgers are segregated for white and colored boys. The earliest entry dates for boys is 1912, though they are not systematically and fully recorded until after March 1919 at which time a roll call was taken and an inventory was made of all of the boys who were present or were known to have been discharged, paroled, or died. For many of the entries, the ledger states “Not Here 3/30/1919” and it appears that those boys’ whereabouts at that date were unknown. There were two sets of ledgers maintained, the “discharge records” ledgers which documented the names and number of boys present daily and the “record of inmates” ledgers that provide more information about the boys admitted such as the name, dates of admittance and discharge, dates of attempted escapes, charge or reason for admittance, parents names, sentencing judge, and county of origin. The latest records we were able to access were April 1960. Anything after this date was not public record. Statistical methods were run in SPSS 20.0©.

The historical information and demographic data summarized here comes from a number of sources including student theses and dissertations (Morris 1949 and Lundrigan 1975), internal administrative documents such as training manuals (Edwards 1969) and personal letters, discharge and inmate record attendance ledgers, legislative notes, biennial institutional reports, newspaper articles, court documents, coroner reports, newspaper articles, ethnographic interviews, and an investigative report by the Florida Department of Law Enforcement (FDLE 2009, Case No. EI-73-8455).

It is common that historical documents provide information that is inconsistent among varied sources or absent all together, and that was the case in this study. For example, it was common for the dates of death to differ by one or several days between the attendance ledgers and death certificates. Age and next of kin information also varied in some instances. In most cases, historical documents were missing or incomplete. Numerous original sources about a single event often varied, including the names and number of decedents. All efforts were made to cross-validate data through the use of multiple sources. When differences were found but could not be reconciled through a third source, official sources (i.e. death certificates) were used rather than local sources (i.e. institutional documents). In cases of major discrepancies, such as the 1914 fire and 1918 Influenza outbreak, data from each source are explained in later sections of the report. Beyond the challenges of working with historical documents, numerous incidents that resulted in deaths lead to multiple investigations by the school, coroner juries, and state officials. In many instances, each of the investigations led to different conclusions, including the number of deaths. Moreover, the school records are often in conflict with reports to the state about the number of deaths. Consequently, the number of deaths and the circumstances surrounding each incident were difficult to quantify.

6. Ethnographic and ethnohistorical research including, ethnographic interview, oral history, casual conversations, participant observation (such as site visits to the school and surrounding town and community), mapping, creation of a database of photographs, and archival work were carried out between January 2012 and November 2013 by USF faculty and graduate student researchers including the coauthors of this report (Kimmerle, Estabrook, Wells, and Jackson) and Brad Lanning and John Powell. The ethnohistorical methodology incorporates anthropology's use of theory as a framework for organizing data and formulating analysis and the historic method for collecting, verifying, and organizing relevant material. The ethnographic methodology involves the direct collection of data from the field via observation or interactive participation with persons being interviewed.

Additionally, preparation of documentation that was submitted to the USF IRB Board for approval was initiated by Kimmerle and Jackson with the help of Meredith Main, a USF graduate student. IRB approval of the research protocol for conducting oral history was secured. This approval will facilitate ongoing efforts to collect oral history and conduct ethnographic interviews with persons associated with the Dozier School including persons who attended the school, worked at the school, or had other relationships with the school such as through familial or business connections.

Structuring a Framework for Interpretation and Analysis

This is a mixed/multi-method research study drawing upon forensic anthropology, bioarchaeology, and cultural anthropology to document the Boot Hill Burial Ground, excavate burials, and identify individuals for repatriation. Theories and methods of archaeology of the contemporary present (Buchli and Lucas 2001), as well as theories and methods of cultural anthropology, including the ethnographic method—aimed at interpreting the present—are useful in this application. Developing interpretations at this intersection of approaches to knowing equips

future generations with dynamic and expanded ways of talking about history. Jackson (2011) stresses the importance of retrieving subjugated knowledge as a critical aspect of any project focused on transcending the status quo and critiquing power in the construction of race, gender, class, and practices of criminalization and punishment for example. Although subjugated knowledge can be found within the historical record, they can also be embodied within individuals and communities that have typically been ignored or disproportionately represented as peripheral (Collins 1991; Foucault 1980). Interviewing former residents of the school and their families as well as former workers and others can expand information about people, processes, and daily activities at the school and challenge long-held characterizations and reveal untold stories that could help shed light on burial sites/practices and punishment methods that can bring closure to families and educate those in positions of authority over youth in state custody and care presently and in the future.

Methodological questions posed by archaeologists, such as those focused on what is sometimes called “the “archaeology of the contemporary past” compel scholars to uncover or make visible what has previously been left out or ignored—to address the “absent present” (see Buchli and Lucas 2001; Wilke 2001). Just as it is critical to include oral history and ethnographic interview to reinterpret the burial ground at the former Dozier School, so too is the importance of incorporating archaeological tools and methods that make available knowledge that cannot be spoken—graves, building remains, tools, bone fragments, and soil samples—but invite discussion. Going forward, the research on Boot Hill burial Ground could invite discussions aimed at extending the dialog on race and racialization to include segregation, punishment and reformation at the former Dozier School for Boys in Marianna, Florida. For example, refer to the work of Orser (2007) who uses material culture findings/excavations such as the archeology of a crowded Irish tenement in New York, to look at the concept of racialization and to show how immigrants negotiated discrimination in their new home country.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Road to Reformation

The State of Florida opened its first juvenile center as the Florida State Reform School on January 1, 1900, which remained in operation until it was closed on June 30, 2011. The institution was originally located on 1200 acres of land south of the town of Marianna in Jackson County, Florida and grew to 1400 acres over time as additional land was purchased. From its inception, the institution was supposed to be a “school” not a “prison”, and the boys who were committed were “students” rather than “inmates”. This dichotomy proved conceptually sound but, in practice, difficult to maintain. Throughout the school’s early history a multitude of narratives seem to contradict the “school” and “student” focus of the institution. These contradictions resulted in many reform measures to the school itself, from its practices of child labor and corporal punishment to its very name. In order to understand the nature and circumstances of those who died at the school, it is important to understand why boys were committed to the school, the use of a convict-lease and peonage systems of corrections rather than prisons during this time, and the early practices of the school itself.

Originally, children were committed to the school after criminal conviction, though this changed to include minor offenses such as “incorrigibility” and “truancy”. Additionally, many children were committed to the school not having been charged with a crime but as wards of the state and orphans. The school housed children as young as five years old including both males and females. Over the course of time, the name changed as did the demographic structure of children committed there: Florida State Reform School (1900-13); Florida Industrial School for Boys or FIS (1914-57); Florida School for Boys (1957-67); and the Arthur G. Dozier School for Boys (1968-2011).

In the beginning, the school was managed by a superintendent who reported to Board of State Directors or Commissioners, a five member group appointed by the Governor. Chapters 4565 and 5398 of the Laws of Florida required that the Board submit reports on the condition and progress of the school. The Superintendent also wrote reports in the form of Biennial reports that were submitted to the Board. Only a limited number of these reports were found during this investigation, ranging in time from 1901-1935. Demographic and financial information does not consistently appear in any detail except in a few of the recovered documents dating 1908, 1911, 1913, 1926-1935. However, the numbers of deaths in these reports are typically not the same as listed in the school discharge and record ledgers and tend to underreport the total number.

Due to over-crowding a second campus was opened in Okeechobee in 1955. Staff from the Marianna campus went to work at the Okeechobee campus where they instituted the same policies and practices. An additional facility also opened on the Marianna grounds, the Jackson Juvenile Offender Center (JJOC), which was a maximum-risk facility for children convicted of felonies or violent crimes and together these facilities constituted the North Florida Youth Development Center (NFYDC).

Nearly all of the documented deaths and the documented burials on the school’s grounds occurred during the FIS years (1914-1957), which may be a reflection of availability of the historical documents from that time for review combined with the lack of documents from earlier periods in the school’s history. Throughout this report the institution is referred to as the “school” or “FIS”.

Until 1968, the school was segregated into two completely separate campuses or “departments” for “white” and “colored” students. Throughout this report, the terms “white” and

“colored” are used when necessary following the documentation practices used in historical records and the school documents consulted. Spatially, the south school was for “whites” and was called “No. 1”. The north school was for African Americans and other “races” [or students identified as non-white] and was referred to as school “No. 2”. Attendance ledgers show that for many boys who may have had mixed ancestry or Latino backgrounds (i.e., Spanish surnames such as Fernandez), administrators were less sure of where to place them, and would transfer boys between the two schools. This is because race is a social construction with no biological association that uniquely identifies one race at the exclusion of all other races. Arbitrary markers used in an attempt to classify people by race often change depending on who is making the decision or attempting to draw lines defining features or characteristics that place a person in particular racial category at the exclusion of another.

Era of Segregation in the New South under Jim Crow

To understand the creation and development of the school, it is important to contextualize the laws and practices at the time with regard to a lack of prisons, the convict lease system, and segregation. Following the death of Ossian Hart (1821-1874) who served as Governor of Florida from 1873 to 1874, gains for freedmen (freed blacks) secured after the Civil War in 1865 during the period known as Reconstruction began to be rapidly eroded. Hart was a reform minded Republican Governor who had openly opposed succession and championed rights for freedmen to the disdain of the opposing Democratic Party. The Democratic Party during this period of Florida’s history was focused on ensuring white power and control and negating civil rights for blacks, especially freedmen. Hart’s death signaled a decline of the Florida Republican Party and an eventual shift in control of Florida’s state government to the Democratic legislature (Brown 1997). By 1895, laws enacted by a Democratic controlled legislature in Florida as well as elsewhere throughout the South resulted in complete oppression of blacks under restrictive laws known as Jim Crow that mandated segregation at every level (see: Litwack 1998; Wilkerson 2010; Williamson 1984; Woodward 1951). Kevin Boyle (2004) in his book, *Arc of Justice*, wrote:

Florida was one of the first southern states to require blacks to ride in separate railroad cars. And the legislature made it a crime to teach black children and white children in same classroom.

As the Democrats made it more and more difficult to be black, whites became more and more determined to assert the power of their race. So they piled prohibition on prohibition. Blacks couldn’t be buried in the same cemeteries as whites. They couldn’t eat in the same restaurants. They couldn’t ride in the front of streetcars. They couldn’t drink from the same drinking fountains. Whites also segregated their workplaces. Blacks could be servants and farm laborers, of course, and they could work in the turpentine and lumber camps, where most whites didn’t want to go. But whites claimed the vast majority of jobs for themselves. They also demanded privileges that superiority conferred. They expected blacks to step off the sidewalk when a white person approached. They insisted that blacks keep their eyes downcast when they spoke to whites. They demanded that blacks call them ‘sir’ or ‘ma’am’, though they would not dream of reciprocating. They felt free to level any

insult, to inflict any injury, without fear of reprisal. Jim Crow taught the great mass of southern whites to see ordinary places and everyday interactions as sacred and to protect the sacred with the profane (Boyle 2004:56).

Segregation permeated every aspect of life in Florida and throughout the US South until the passing of the Civil Rights Act in 1964. No understanding of the Florida State Reform School over the course of its history can be understood without consideration of the impact and implications of segregation, particularly those relating to criminal justice. By the end of the 19th century, Florida did not have prisons but relied on the convict lease system to house and maintain individuals convicted of crimes. This system placed men, women and children together into labor camps. Typically individuals arrested were taken to the courthouse for trial and imposed with fines. The number of people arrested rose significantly in the later part of the 19th century. In his book, *One Dies, Get Another*, Mancini (1996) wrote: “Vagrancy was a widespread ‘offence’ in the South throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, one that frequently led to outright peonage, but in Florida it was most pervasive.”

Many laws were created or used during this time, such as the vagrancy laws as a means to obtain labor. Mancini wrote (1996;188): “Florida had 208 prisoners in January 1883, 291 two years later... There were 530 convicts in 1895 and 1,071 by 1904. There can be little doubt that part of the growth can be attributed to the assiduous enterprise of the labor agents whom Dutton hired to pay the fines of vagrants and transport them to the stockades.” More than 90% of these men were African American (Mancini 1996;189).

Local business owners from the timber, phosphate, citrus, cotton and other industries would pay the fees or lease convicts from labor agents who had control of the individuals for a period of time (often one year or more). The labor agent was responsible for the housing, food, and maintenance of the individual who would work to pay off the court fees, housing, and other expenses incurred for their care.

The business owners would often contract with labor agents to use the workers in their business or subcontract the labor to other industries. Despite the men who ran the convict lease programs not being sworn law enforcement, they could legally discipline convicts in their care and even legally shoot and kill convicts that tried to escape. The convict lease program labor camps became notorious for deplorable conditions, the spread of infectious disease, and deaths due to brutal treatment such as flogging. In 1899 a House investigative committee reported the convict labor camps were “a system of cruelty and inhumanity” (Mancini 1996;191). One foreman was reported to have “...beat men that died... some would be so badly beaten that they could not lay on their back for weeks” (Mancini 1996;191).

Typically, deaths that occurred in the convict lease system were undocumented and underreported. The dead were often buried in folk burial grounds at the edge of fields without markers. In some cases, small wooden crosses were used. According to Mancini (1996;193), a turning point came when a 16 year old, whose autopsy report stated “Death from Torture”, died in 1887 from a whipping received in a convict labor camp. Public attention over this death and others at the camps grew as did demands for reform and that children be taken out of the convict lease system. Calls for reform grew louder with the publication of J.C. Powell’s, *The American Siberia* (1891) which described the brutal conditions of labor camps. It was in this environment that the idea for a reform and training school in Florida developed.

Creating Reform—Starting a Reform School

The Florida reform school was created through “An Act to Provide for the Locating and Erecting a State Reform School, and to Appropriate Money Therefore” (Laws of Florida Chapter 4565, sec. 1 signed into law June 4, 1897). The objective in creating the reform school was to provide a safe and productive alternative for juvenile offenders away from the convict lease system. According to the Laws of Florida (1897, Ch. 4565, sec. 4, 108) the purpose was to create:

... a reform school where the young offender of law, separated from vicious associates may receive physical, intellectual, and moral training, be reformed, and restored to the community with purpose and character fitting for a good citizen, an honorable and an honest man with a trade or skilled occupation fitting such person for self-maintenance.

The law called for the purchase of 350 acres of land to construct “a reformatory school for the employment, instructions, and reformation of juvenile offenders.” Section 9 of the law mandated that only children between the ages 10-16 years who had been convicted of a misdemeanor or felony be admitted. Sentencing was not to be less than 6 months nor more than 4 years. The students included both males and females, white and colored children. Boys and girls were housed together however two separate facilities were built for the segregation of the colored students from the white students. Segregation at the school included all living, dining, educational, religious, and work related activities and continued until the late-1960s.

Gubernatorial candidate and State Senator William H. Milton was instrumental in getting the institution brought to his hometown of Marianna and collected more than 1200 acres and \$1400 in donations as several towns competed to build the school in their community. The 1200 acres was substantially more than the 350 acres mandated by the State for the school. W.H. Milton was the grandson of John Milton, Florida’s Governor through the Civil War. Combined, the Milton family gave more than \$200 and 40 acres to bring the school to Marianna, more than any other donor or family and continued to play important roles at the school in various administrative positions for decades to come, including longstanding positions as Superintendent and President of the Board.

The first Biennial report (Feb. 14, 1901) from Superintendent Walter Rawls to the Board of Directors stated that there had been thirty child inmates with an average of twenty children at a time (5 white boys and 25 negro boys and girls), with sentences ranging from 6 months to 4 years, according to the law. In the earliest years, the school was funded by state appropriations, a \$50.00/per child fee was paid by the sentencing county, as well as money raised through the farm and business activities of the school. State appropriated funding came from the Convict Lease Program, for example, \$250/per inmate was provided in 1907 (Lundrigan 1975:70). Early on, the appropriations and resources were inadequate to meet the demands of the school. This lack of resources helped fuel numerous crises and affected the educational, developmental, and disciplinary practices of the school. School officials quickly began to clamor to the legislators for changes to the length of sentencing, determination of parole, and reason for commitment presumably due to the financial impact these factors had on the school’s funding and revenue. For example, Superintendent Rawls wrote (1901). “The sentences of those serving six and eight month terms have expired, and they were discharged without having derived any perceivable benefit. Such short sentences do not give them much in reforming habits and building characters.”

Subsequently, the Board of Directors, under leadership of Milton, issued a report requesting that the law be amended to allow longer sentences and to extend the length of the sentence which was to be turned over to the discretion of the managers of the school, rather than the courts. Another request for a legislative change came again on April 7, 1903 when Milton asked Governor Jenkins to authorize that "...incurable children be sent, without conviction, for an indefinite period, leaving the term to be fixed by the management (House Journal 1903)." In both instances, these requests were honored and as a result, the school's number of enrollment began to increase drastically. The term of sentencing also changed from *6 months to 4 years to 21 years old or as determined by the court.*

Superintendent Rawls wrote to the Board of Managers again in 1906 about low enrollment stating that the school only had twenty inmates and that "having so few inmates makes the crop come in slow; I fear we will not finish gathering the corn by January (letter December 1, 1906). In the same year (1906), Governor N.B. Broward's wrote to the State Legislature that:

"... we get large returns at present for the hire of convicts, we should spend a reasonable sum of it to reform the Juvenile offenders. The needs of the State Reform School...be made really a reform school and not a Juvenile prison: and that such labor and work as is imposed upon its inmates be imposed with a view of their industrial training... rather than a means of revenue..."

Despite this sentiment on the part of Gov. Broward, letters from Board President Milton continued with requests for longer sentences and increasing the number of boys committed to the school along with suggestions on how the school could increase revenue (1907 letter to Hon. Broward): "If the school were to purchase a sufficient number of cattle, it could run a dairy farm to advantage, as there would be a good local demand..." Milton goes on to point out that there was already sufficient goods and farm products to meet the needs of school and that this excess could be sold for profit. In order to continue to increase the number of students at the school, the Board of Managers suggested eliminating the \$50.00 fee paid by the counties to send a child to the school. Lundrigan writes (1975:79):

"The managers are thoroughly convinced that the \$50.00 which the law requires to be paid for the maintenance of each child, committed by the county from which he is committed, works an injury to the school; and advises the repeal or amendment of this section. Our reason being that the counties have to pay \$50.00 for each child sent to the school while if such child were sent to the state prison, instead of being an expense, the counties would receive the amount paid under the State Law for the hiring out of the child as a convict, or would get the benefit of the work of the child in county during his term of commitment, thus in the desire for the elimination of county and court expenses of the child convicted is lost sight of."

In the 1907 Biennial Report, the Board argues that if a child were sent to the State Prison, the county would benefit \$250.00, but under the current system the county was instead paying \$50 to the reform school and therefore had no incentive to commit boys to FIS rather than prison (Lundrigan 1975:79).

With the elimination of the county and court fees, the number of inmates did increase substantially. In 1907, there were 45 inmates (30 were colored) though 18 escaped (all colored).

By 1908, one year later, there were 102 inmates, a more than 50% increase over the prior year (Letter from Superintendent Belch to Board of Managers, 1908). Belch further reports that at this time there were 200 acres under cultivation and that more than \$2,000.00 in profits were made from the sale of bricks, timber, cotton and the boys' labor.

Lundrigan (1975:34) wrote about the original intention for creating the school versus the harsh reality of its practices during the first half of the century, "The intent of the lawmakers must be presumed to have been entirely honorable. Records remaining in existence, however, show that an enormous gulf existed between benignly worded intent and actual practice." Children sent to the reform school continued to be hired out for labor in addition to working the farm and industries of the institution itself. Financially, the Convict Lease Program, which provided a vehicle for the State to rent out inmate labor to private interests was very profitable for the State of Florida. By 1913, revenues from the program were over \$3,000,000 and children as young as 10 years were hired for labor with adult prisoners to work in phosphate mines and turpentine and cotton farms (Lundrigan 1975).

Between the years 1903-1913, six legislative investigative committees were formed to investigate the school and found that children as young as five years were in irons and chains, children were hired out for labor, unjustly beaten, and without education or proper food and clothing (Lundrigan 1975). Furthermore, throughout this time, financial and administrative records were not well maintained at the school, persistent problems from inadequate medical care, a lack of educational instruction, and unsafe living conditions were written about in the repeated State investigative reports. Below are a few examples:

1903: "we found them in irons, just as common criminals, which in the judgment of your committee, is not the meaning of a 'State Reform School'.... We have no hesitancy in saying under its present management it is nothing more nor less than a prison where juveniles are confined (Letter to Hon. Frank Adams, President of the Senate from legislative investigation committee, June 1, 1903)."

1909: The school rooms were in very poor condition and without desks; the inventory as listed in the Biennial Report was greatly falsified, the President of the Board of Managers had accrued large debts and was detaining boys past the age 18 years (up to 20 years), presumably for labor (Lundrigan 1975).

1911: Report of Special Joint Committee on the State Reformatory (House Journal) found that Superintendent Morgan "at times unnecessarily and brutally punished, the instrument of punishment being a leather strap fastened to a wooded paddle". The committee further said the school was more like a convict camp, without care for the sick, poor ventilation, overcrowding, and inadequate food. They wrote, "The Negro School impressed your committee as being more in the nature of a convict camp, than anything else we can think of..."

1913: The health conditions were very bad and one member of the Board would not accept the Biennial report (Lundrigan 1975). Additionally, the Governor called for a medical report which subsequently came from Dr. N.A. Baltzell, a local physician who was hired to serve as the school's physician. In an appendix to the Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Florida State Reform School, (1913 House Journal p. 1010), Baltzell reported that "the general health of the school for the entire has been unusual, that is, excellent. Some conditions have not changed,

namely overcrowding particularly on the colored side.” Boys at this time were overcrowded and slept two to a bed, or four on bunk beds which only provided for “200 cubic inches of air space per boy, though the national standard called for 600 cubic inches” (Lundrigan 1975). Baltzell’s report also stated there were 170 inmates at the school (50 were white and all male except for two girls, and the rest were colored). He recommended that the “infirm and imbecile” children not be sent to the school in the future as they needed special care.

As a result of the 1913 investigation, the superintendent resigned and the State Legislature passed Chapters 6446 and 6529 which appropriated more money to the school, built a separate school for girls, and changed the institution’s name. Modifications were also made to the dormitory on the south or white school for safety in the event of a fire. It was also stated that the Board should “inaugurate and maintain simple and practical industrial training and institute a system of merits/demerits and that no one shall hire out any of the boys for any purpose.” (In Lundrigan 1975). Ethnographic interviews, casual conversations, and participant observation conducted by Lundrigan in the 1970s and by this research team between January and August 2012 revealed that, despite the mandate from the Legislature, boys did continue to be hired out for labor well after this timeframe.

Legislative reform initiated in 1913 did not end the challenges facing the boys and staff at FIS. Between 1913 and 1919, there were seven superintendents and more than 28 deaths among boys. In 1914, Superintendent Bell, a convicted bank robber, was terminated following a fire that killed an estimated 10-12 people. According to Lundrigan (1975) two year priors to the fire, Bell was convicted in Federal Court for stealing \$50,000.00 from the First National Bank of Pensacola. He was 19 years old at the time and sent to serve two years at a Training School in Washington, D.C. Upon release, he was hired as the Superintendent of the Florida School for Boys. According to the final coroner’s report, the victims were boys that had been locked in “dark cells” for punishment and no keys were available to release them when the fire broke out.

Several years later, in 1921 Superintendent McClane and his assistant, Mr. Garrard, purchased hogs and land adjacent to the school using state funds, then cleared the land and began cultivating it with child labor from the school. The timber and products from the land were then sold back to the institution, presumably to aid with the fuel needs by the brick making plant. Ultimately, after the State had paid them \$9,320.33 for wood, both were terminated.

During the early years of the school’s history, several industries contributed greatly to the development and revenue of the institution—most notably, brick making and publishing. In 1906, the school built a brick-making machine that produced more than 20,000 bricks a day, enough to sell throughout the community. Captain J.W. Kehoe ran the brick making business and had been one of the original donors who gave \$50 to help bring the institution to the area. Originally, Kehoe made 60,000 soft red bricks as a “test” and found it successful. Evidence of the brick industry is evident today on the landscape where visits to the site revealed evidence of where clay deposits were dug on the south side of the school. Quickly, the school reported earnings from selling the bricks, as well as selling the timber, cotton, and the hiring out of child labor. The school-made bricks were also used to build many of the buildings and some are still on the grounds today and were also recovered in some of the burial shafts excavated at the Boot Hill Burial Ground.

The second notable industry arose when the school bought a printing press and created its first publication, a school newspaper called *The Light*. After the development of the printing department, nearly all paper materials for the State government in Tallahassee began to be printed at the school. The printing industry at the school quickly generated more than \$250,000.00 in

revenue. In a letter from Superintendent Vanlandingham (July 1, 1926) on the issue of constructing a printing plant, he wrote that it was: “First to train boys in good trades, in order that they may leave the school prepared to earn a living; second to do all of the State’s printing at a saving to the tax payers.” The school paper later changed its name to the *Yellow Jacket* and on October 11, 1930 the first paper under the new name was published. The *Yellow Jacket* had a circulation of more than 1700 papers and was the primary paper for the region in its earliest years. Several important articles about the grave yard and school deaths were reported in the *Yellow Jacket*, though most deaths were not reported there.

Over time, the school became the subject of numerous theses and dissertations written by students from Florida State University who conducted research and ethnographic interviews with employees at the school (i.e., Morris 1949, Edwards 1968, and Lundrigan 1975). Today, these resources have been very valuable in providing documented first-hand accounts of events that occurred as early as the 1914 dormitory fire. These documents were created with the approval and participation of various FIS superintendents at the time (i.e., Superintendents Davidson, Dozier, and Williams). As such, the students were provided access to institutional materials and contacts well beyond what is available today. The documents, in some cases (i.e. Edwards 1968), were transformed into training materials for the institution. Edwards’ paper (1968) became the official narrative of the school and was used for many decades detailing some of the history of the institution, although it only discusses four specific boys who died at the school.

The narratives and specific details about historical events printed in these sources are the same stories repeated today and overall have consistent themes. For example, one consistent theme throughout these documents is that the school’s early history was highly problematic but in contrast, by the 1940s and beyond, major reformations occurred and the school was finally able to live up to its original intent. Reformations included: racial desegregation and the hiring of black personnel, mental health treatment provisions, and plans/programs for helping youth integrate into the community. Lundrigan (1975:iv) wrote about the changes to the institution during 1946-1967, or what he refers to as “The Dozier Era”:

Black personnel were hired as teachers and house parents for the first time in 1947; the Kiwanis Club “Marianna Plan” to help wards in their communities began; creation of the new Division of Child Training School in 1957 also provided for the Okeechobee branch school which opened in 1959; a new “treatment approach” for emotionally disturbed boys was adopted; and by 1966 racial desegregation was accomplished.

In an interview with Superintendent Arthur Dozier conducted by a graduate student from Florida State University (Morris 1949), Dozier described how the school had been transformed from a prison and labor camp into an industrial school. Dozier described the situation (as paraphrased in Morris 1949) as developing many of its policies and measures in reaction to runaways. He describes the lock-ups or dark cells used for isolation, bars on all windows and doors, and armed security guards who carried guns. There was also a school jail known as the dark cell where boys slept on planks without sunlight (Morris 1949:3). Dozier told Morris that these practices were abandoned and replaced with “sticks and belts” and an individual rating system which was implemented in 1931 (Morris 1949:4).

Despite the overall reforms and new educational and developmental programs that were created in the 1950-1960s, and lead to significant improvements, the school was still subject to

negative reviews from state investigative committees, congressional hearings, and public opinion. Reports of brutal beatings, maltreatment, and isolation continued to surface by employees of the school, psychologists, and politicians. In 1957, Miss Addie Summers was hired as media relations specialist to help combat the negative publicity. Her scrapbook is full of articles published throughout Florida and nationally from this time (ca. 1957-1958) and is now in the State Archives (Florida School for Boys, Newspaper Clippings). The publicity is overwhelmingly negative with headlines such as “Boys volunteer for beatings to work the day out”, “Airing Due to Beatings of Boys at Ideals School”, “Hell’s 1400 Acres”, and “Spare the Rod.”

In 2005 men who were former students of the school came together and began to publish their stories about the abuse they experienced at the school and call themselves the “White House Boys”. The information and experiences they shared prompted Governor Charlie Crist to order a special investigation by the Florida Department of Law Enforcement (FDLE) in 2008-2009. Subsequently, several investigative reports by the FDLE and later the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice were issued:

- 1) Investigative Summary for the “Arthur G. Dozier School for Boys Marianna, Florida”, Office of Executive Investigations (FDLE 2009, Case No. EI-73-8455). This report is an investigation into the Boot Hill Burial Ground to establish who owned the property during the time the burial ground was in use, to identify individuals buried in the burial ground, and to establish whether any crimes were committed relating to the deaths of those individuals buried at this site.
- 2) Investigative Summary for the “Arthur G. Dozier School for Boys Abuse Investigation” (FDLE 2010, Case No. EI-04-0005). Office of Executive Investigations.
- 3) Investigation of the Arthur G. Dozier School for Boys and the Jackson Juvenile Offender Center, Marianna, Florida. United States Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, December 1, 2011.

DEFINING THE BURIAL GROUND

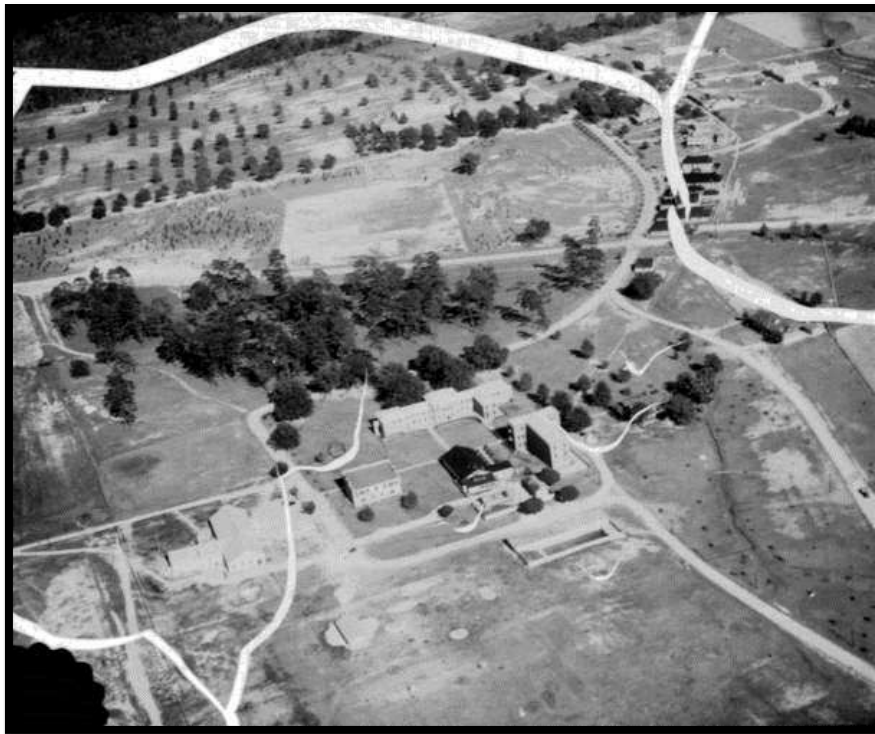
It was important to determine how people used and accessed the burial ground prior to 1960. Among the boys for whom burial location was recorded in either the school ledgers or on death certificates, the locations were listed as: “Florida Industrial School”, “Industrial Cemetery”, “FIS Cemetery”, “Buried by Institution”, or “Industrial School Cemetery”. However, no burial ground name or specific location for a burial ground is provided among these sources.

The first reference to the name “Boot Hill” appears in the school newspaper, *The Yellow Jacket* in a 1936 article titled, “Boot Hill: Burial Ground for Those Who Were Slow On the Draw”. The article is a story about the Boot Hill Burial Ground in Dodge City, Kansas, and does not reference any deaths or burials at FIS. It appears that this article may have been the basis for the name of the school’s burial ground.

The name “Boot Hill” again appears in *The Yellow Jacket* in December 1947 in an obituary written for the school peacock named Sue. Edwards (1968) also writes in regards to the peacock and cites the obituary in his training manual for the school, “She lies on ‘Boot Hill’ beside the bodies of several other of Marianna’s deceased” (Edwards 1968:36). Note that no peacock was recovered from the burial ground during its excavation. Nor were the dogs as listed in the FDLE report (2009). Edwards further wrote (1968:36):

Several boys have been buried at “Boot Hill” but the most exact number and the identification of them is unknown.... At the last count there was 31 graves there... When the present day superintendent, Lenox Williams, was the director of the colored campus, he had the Boy Scouts clean up and maintain Boot Hill. He was also responsible for the making of 31 cement crosses and having them placed on each grave.

Former student Johnnie Walthour (Interview May 9, 2012), who was at FIS from 1951-1952, helped dig the grave of Billey Jackson, a 13 year old African American boy who died in 1952. According to an interview with Mr. Walthour, he and Jackson had become friends in the months prior to Jackson’s death, mainly as Walthour would defend Jackson from bullies. He stated that from the dining hall on the north campus, one could look up the hill and see the burial ground area referred to as “Boot Hill”. Other men who were former inmates and former staff at the school made similar statements to us about the visibility of the hilltop from the dining hall and access to it from a road adjacent to the hall. Access to the burial ground was on a field road to the east of the dining hall, which ran North-West to the burial ground (Figure 1). According to Walthour, access to the site was a tractor pulled cart (Figure 2). The boys would pile into the back to drive around the farm or up to



Boot Hill. Walthour further described the burial ground as large and situated in a wide open field (Figure 3). He said that none of the graves had markers but that there was a fence and gate leading into the area and depressions in the ground’s surface were observable indicating older graves.

Figure 1. Picture of north department. The road going north to Boot Hill Burial Ground is positioned on the East side of the dining hall (Florida Memory Project, Image Number LC397).



Figure 2. “Boys riding in tractor and trailer to work in fields, ca. 1950s,” from the State Archives (Florida School for Boys, Photographs, Box 1 FF 7). Walthour described this type of tractor and trailer as the means of transport for farm work and access to Boot Hill Burial Ground for Jackson’s funeral.



Figure 3. Image obtained from the Florida State Archives (Florida School for Boys, Photographs, Box 1 FF10), labeled as “ca. 1950s possible memorial or funeral service”. The two witnesses who attended Jackson’s funeral did not recognize the people in this photo or remember any pictures being taken. Both men said that were two other burials at Boot Hill in 1951-52.



Figure 4. Image of Boot Hill Burial Ground.

In a witness interview with the FDLE (Investigative Report NV-16, EI-73-8453), former superintendent Lenox Williams stated the first markers erected in the burial ground were white cement crosses. Williams had them constructed at the school in 1961-1962 to commemorate the burials and delineate the graveyard. Prior to that time, the burial ground had not been maintained and no markers existed. The school's Boy Scout Troop was charged with the task of making and erecting the crosses as well as maintaining the burial ground. According to Williams, the location and number of crosses were based on "rumors of deaths and indentations evident in ground". Williams further stated, with regard to the number of crosses, that it was "better to have too many than too few."

According to the FDLE report, in 1980-1990s, PRIDE (Prison Rehabilitative Industries and Diversified Enterprises Inc.) farmed this area and destroyed a portion of the burial ground during land clearing.

In 1996, Superintendent Danny Pate ordered replacement crosses and that the burial ground be cleaned and maintained. The 1960s cement markers were then piled in a wooded area near several large trees. Thirty-one replacement metal crosses were erected in rows to again commemorate the graves. Note that these crosses were placed in rows where the 1960s crosses had been (Figure 4). The crosses implemented in 1996 by Superintendent Pate were still present in 2012. Their locations were based on depressions in the ground and "folklore" about the number of children buried there (FDLE 2009).

During the course of its investigation, the FDLE found two piles of discarded cement crosses (20 yards apart from each other) 30 yards north of the burial ground. These crosses were broken but could be reconstructed into a minimum of 28 crosses approximately 48 x 18 inches in size. In 2008, FDLE had the crosses removed from the site. During the course of the current investigation, additional cement cross fragments were found throughout the eastern wooded area and buried just below the ground surface. The earliest written documentation of the specific location of a burial ground (Figure 5) on the school property that we found was a topographic map (1947) and a survey map (1952). Both of these historic maps outline a burial ground (not named) on the north campus in the area of today's Boot Hill Burial Ground. A small structure is evident just north of the burial ground on the 1952 map, which was located through our field investigations and is today the remnants of a water pump, presumably from when the land was used for pastures.

Other historical references to the burial ground refer to it as "Cedar Hill". According to witnesses from the 1914 fire, the bodies were burned beyond recognition and buried on the school grounds. In a 1972 interview of FIS employees, Lundrigan (1975) reports that the victims of the fire were buried on top of a hill on the north side of the school, known as "Cedar Hill". In an interview with a former employee, the northern burial ground was also called "Cedar Hill" by employees when he went to work at the school in 1960. He recalled seeing the grounds grown over by kudzu with crosses knocked over. He helped clear the area and erect new crosses. Today, the northern burial ground is surrounded by cedar trees. The dates of the trees are unknown. Efforts were made to date the trees by USF biologists; however, dating was not possible (Kimmerle et al. 2012).

It was not known whether Boot Hill and Cedar Hill were the same location until the graves were excavated and seven caskets containing burned remains were recovered. There have been many reports of a second burial ground, separating white and colored boys. These reports put the burials for white boys on the south side of the school and there is a hill behind industrial buildings with planted cedar trees on the south side. This location was the only known place currently on the south campus with planted cedar trees. In contrast, many aspects of the farm on

the north side are also marked by planted cedar trees, in addition to the Boot Hill location. However, further testing of much of the school's ground did not reveal additional burials outside the Boot Hill location, with the exception of burned bone recovered from the 1914 burned site. However, these remains were comingled with fire debris and were not intentional burials.

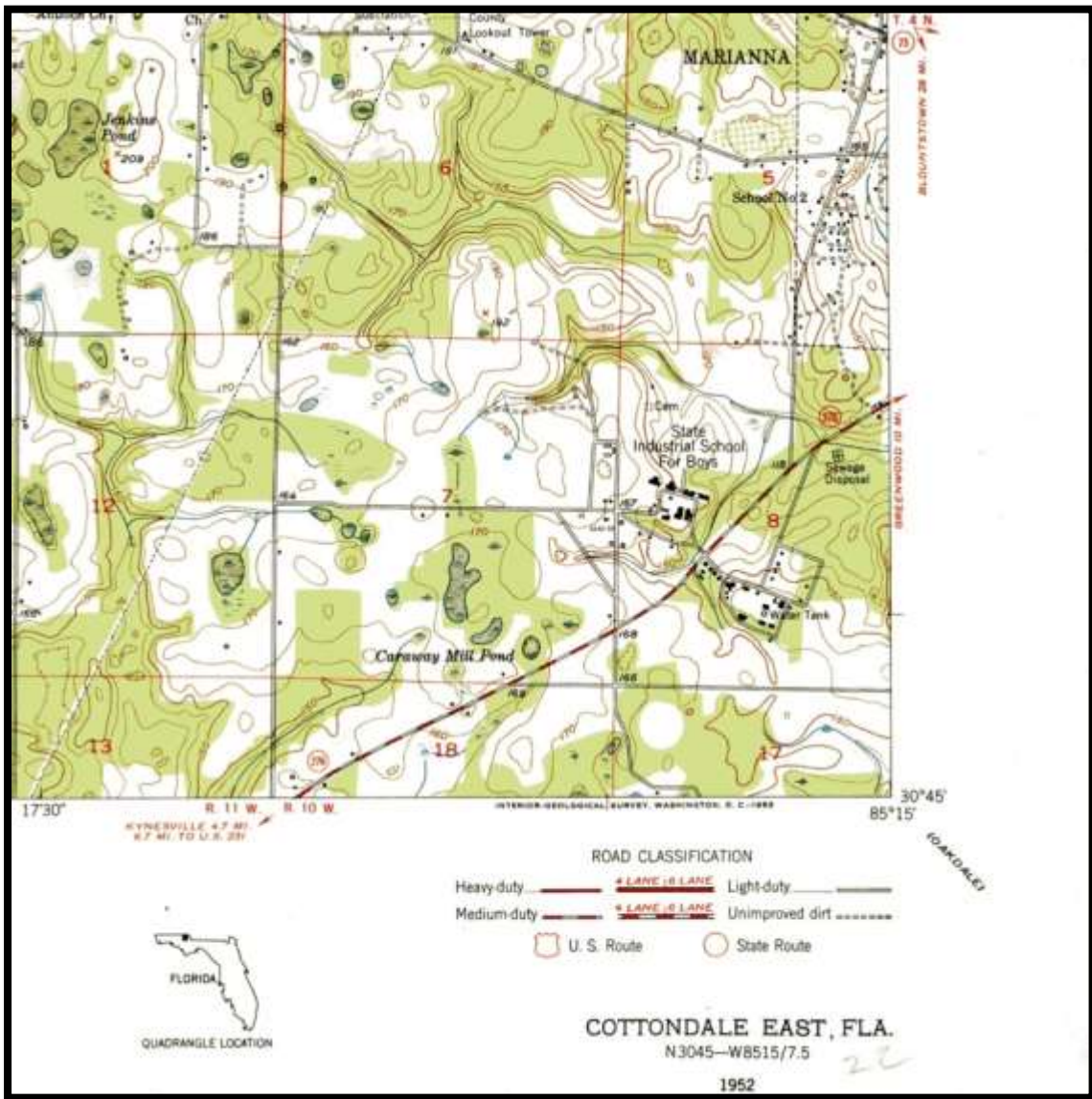


Figure 5. Topographic map of Florida Industrial School for Boys (1952) which marks the Boot Hill Burial Ground. Also note, the marker of small structure or building just north of the burial ground.

GPR RESULTS FOR THE NORTH CAMPUS

The fencing and metal crosses on the north campus delineated the southwest corner of the proposed burial ground boundaries. This area contained some of the most well-defined GPR reflections and the most pronounced disturbed exploratory trench soil profiles, especially those identified in Trench A, with artifacts dating post-1940s. This suggested that the southern portion of the burial ground was the most recent, and likely the area most commonly associated with burials when the concrete crosses were installed in the 1960s.

Initially, to evaluate the subsurface anomalies detected through GPR (Figure 6-7), six test trenches were excavated. Each trench was 0.5 m wide and 0.5 m deep. Trench F was only 0.25 m deep. The length of the trenches varied between 2-9 m in the N-S direction. This method allowed for the visualization of soil stratigraphy and soil sampling for chemical analysis (Figures 8-11). Additional soil probing and metal detectors were also used. The trenches were placed in grids A, B, and G. The trenches were lettered sequentially A-F. Trench F indicated the presence of one burial shaft, while trenches A-B and D-E indicated the presence of two or more burial shafts. Trench C did not show any burial shafts. The soil in Trench C was very dense and compact, and was placed 4 m from the western edge of the fence along the current burial ground. All of the burial shafts uncovered were orientated in the west-east direction, and were relatively evenly spaced apart.

Several artifacts were found within the trenches, including a fragmented glass cola bottle, fragmented cement crosses from the original 1960s crosses, iron nail fragments, and red bricks (Figures 12-13). The glass and cement cross fragments were found in Trench A, approximately 0.5 m deep. “Cola” bottle fragments found in Trench A, Horizon B date from ca. 1917 to the early 1940s (Ellis and Wiseman, pers. comm.). Along the northern edges of the burial shafts in Trenches B and D, fragmented red bricks were found stacked in rows. Trenches B and D also yielded nails approximately 0.5 m below the surface.

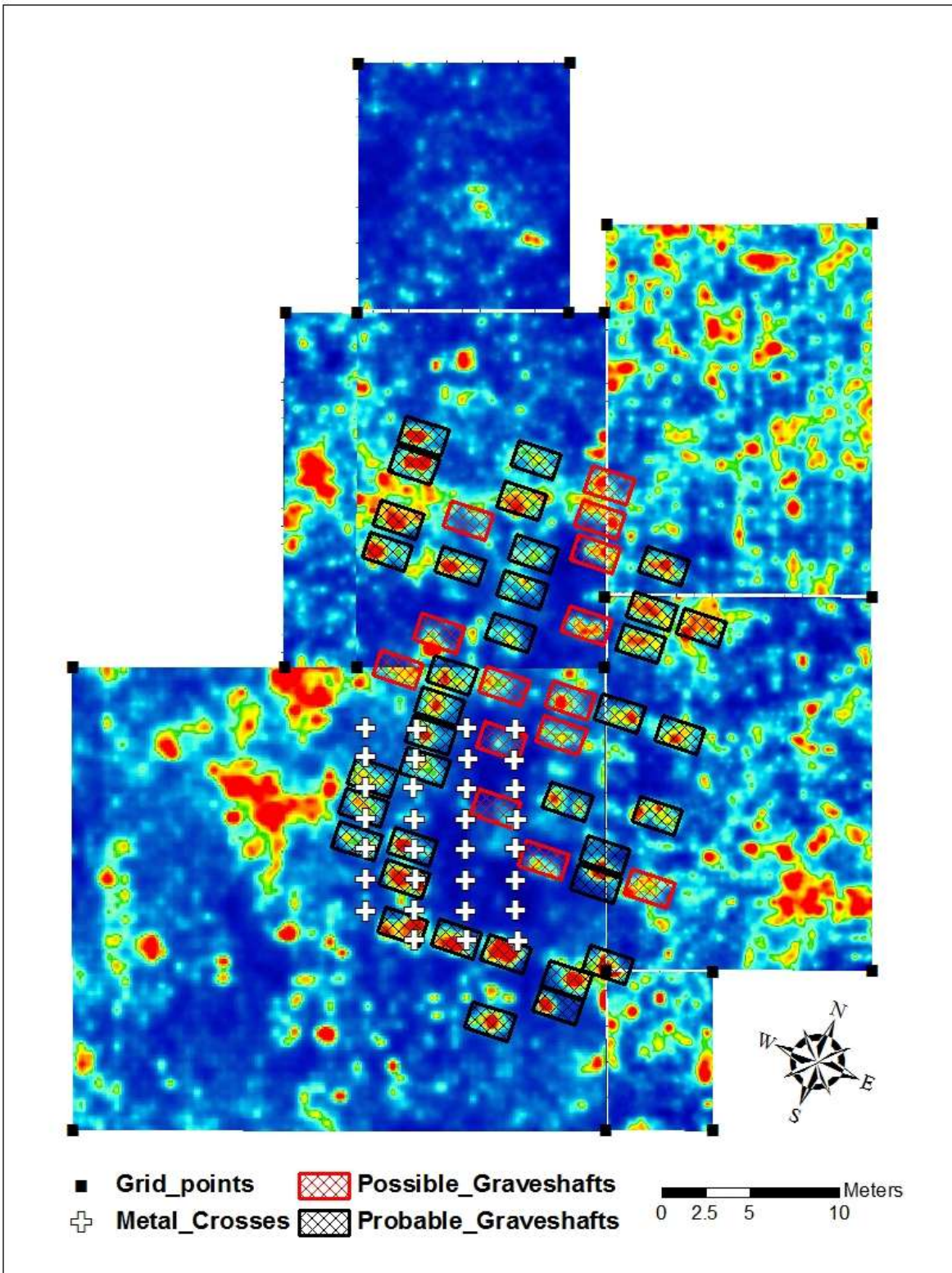


Figure 6. GPR plot of Boot Hill Burial Ground.



Figure 7. Top: Wooded area north of marked burial ground, area had to be cleared to search for burials. Bottom: Flags marked areas of anomalies noted with GPR, probable grave shafts in 2012.



Figure 8. Soil stratigraphy from the excavation of Grid Q anomalies, revealing evidence for prior trenching or land clearing with heavy equipment.



Figure 9. Soil stratigraphy from the excavation of Grids V and W anomalies, revealing evidence for buried trash middens and fence posts.



Figure 10. Soil stratigraphy from the excavation of Grids AD and AE anomalies, revealing evidence for heavily mottled soils and a buried “A” horizon.



Figure 11. Soil stratigraphy from the excavation of Grid X anomalies, revealing evidence for a tree stump.



Figure 12. “Cola” bottle fragments found in Trench A, Horizon B. Glass bottles date ca. 1917-early1940s (Ellis and Wiseman, pers. comm.).



Figure 13. Cement cross fragment found in Trench A, Horizon B.

FINDINGS FROM EXCAVATION OF BOOT HILL BURIAL GROUND

The excavation at Boot Hill was accomplished using a variety of techniques and strategies including remote sensing, and hand and mechanical excavation (Figures 14-19). First, several units were expanded to excavate complete burials (Burial USF13-01301 and USF13-01302). These burials were approximately 0.25-1.0 meters below the present ground surface.

The next phase of excavation focused on establishing the northern, southern, and eastern extents of the burial ground, and the excavation of the burials found within those areas. Given the large area, a three-pronged excavation strategy was established. First, prior to the large scale excavation of the site, a site grid was established for mapping through use of a Total Station and additional hand mapping. The site was mechanically excavated, working from the interior to the exterior with a track-hoe equipped with a flat edged bucket. Given the depth of the previously recovered burials, it was determined that the initial 40-60 cm of top soil and overburden would be removed in bulk for effective site excavation. After the overburden was removed, the sediments were removed in 5-10 cm increments. The track hoe excavator was monitored at all times by a qualified archaeologist. All features exposed in this process were outlined with marking paint as they became visible—typically as a dark-colored rectilinear stain, or in the case of postholes or pits, circular stains. The individual burials were mechanically stripped until the beginnings of coffin wood or hardware appeared. This process yielded a finished excavation floor of varying depths.

By working from an interior to exterior pattern, the weight of the trackhoe was always on unexcavated ground, thereby dissipating its weight across a broad area and not impacting the individual burials. Also, this allowed for a manageable amount of area to be excavated during the field season, allowing for effective programming for the subsequent field operations. The area excavated at the conclusion of the field season resembled a large horseshoe, open side to the northwest. The three sides of the burial ground and the extent of the burials in those cardinal directions were determined after approximately two weeks of mechanical excavation, as well as yielding 33 inhumations.

Each inhumation was hand excavated using standard archaeological methods and implements. Usually, teams of 2-3 archaeologists, students, detectives and crime scene personnel were used to excavate each burial. In order to protect the burial, an overhead shelter with removable sides was erected to protect the grave from excessive sunlight or inclement weather. Plastic tarps were also used to cover the burials at night. Security was maintained at the site 24 hours a day. The typical strategy was to excavate one end of the inhumation until bone or sterile soil was encountered using trowels, dental picks, and other tools to determine its remaining depth. The burial features were excavated following the original pit of the burial shaft. Variation in the size and depth of the burial outlines reflects the original variation in how the burial was constructed. Careful excavation in this manner allowed original tool marks such as from pick axes and shovels to be visualized in the excavated soil. If necessary, picks and shovels were used to remove the majority of the burial fill. Next, all inhumations were pedestalled *in situ*; in other words, the burial fill was removed while leaving the bone, coffin remnants, coffin hardware, and associated artifacts in place. All sediments at the level of the skeletal remains were hand sifted, or, if necessary, screened through 1/4-inch mesh screens. When completed, each burial was mapped to scale using mapping points at each end of the long axis of the burial (plan view and cross-sections, when appropriate), photographed, and documented in a series of notes packets. Artifacts and the skeletal remains were then removed from the graves and placed in appropriately marked

bags for later processing. At the conclusion of this phase, aerial photographs from multiple directions were taken of the entire site area.

The subsequent excavation concentrated on the center of the site as well as areas to the north and west. After re-establishing the site grid, the same methods were employed to mechanically and hand excavate these areas. This process yielded an additional 22 burials, for a total of 55 inhumations at the site proper. During this phase, Human Remains Detection (cadaver) dog teams were used across the site proper and in outlying areas of the surrounding woods and as much of the overall Dozier property as possible to assess if there was evidence for additional graves. In two areas, north and northwest of the site proper, the dogs alerted. Therefore, these areas were tested via mechanical excavation. Relatively wide areas were excavated with negative results other than several old trenches⁴ to the northwest of the site, and a large garbage accumulation to the north of the site. Further, an area along the southwest side of the site proper, approximately 15 meters away from the furthest extent of the cemetery was also mechanically excavated, only exposing a few small trash pits and tree stump burns. At the conclusion of the following phase, aerial photographs from multiple directions were taken of the entire site area. At the completion of the excavation, all areas were backfilled and the property was restored. Today the site is completely overgrown and difficult to reach or locate as the gravel roadway is also overgrown.

In total, 55 burials were located in the environs of the Boot Hill Burial Ground at the former reform school. The general area had delineated with white metal markers (n=31) that had been placed there in the 1990s to commemorate the burials. Thirteen (13) burials were located within the area marked by white crosses – though they were not associated or lined up with the markers. The rest of the graves were outside this area in the woods, including under a roadway, brush, and a large mulberry tree. The area around this site was extensively searched for additional burials, as were other portions of the overall property. A significant amount of trash (both historic and modern) was buried in the area, including a cache of syringes and drug bottles with dates ca. 1985, a recent water cooler containing the remains of a dog, and various kinds of garbage.

Although we uncovered 55 burials, there were only 51 sets of remains. The discrepancy between 51 individuals and 55 graves, is that some of the fire victims were commingled and spread throughout 7 of the graves (refer to discussion below on the dorm fire). Therefore, excluding those with burned fragments and debris, there were 48 graves. Due to the complicated nature of the case involving fire victims from the 1914 incident, we are treating the fire remains separate from the rest of the graves for analytical purposes. Three of these individuals were victims in the 1914 fire of a dormitory that burned down. We believe the dorm fire likely killed 10 people. The remains of the other fire victims were not located in the Boot Hill area which lead to additional fieldwork on the South property or Department 1 in the area where the dorm had been located.

- Among the 55 burials recovered, seven burials similar in style (i.e., manufactured coffins, rather than school made, with glass viewing windows or metal plates that read “*Our Darling*”) were placed in a row and contained commingled human remains, exhibiting extreme fire damage. Further, the coffins were infant sized and had decorative handles such as with a lamb motif. They were placed inside much larger outer wood containers and filled with white sand.

⁴ Several historical references indicate that the burials were disturbed by PRIDE activities for planting trees in the area, as it had been completely overgrown. The markers were largely turned over and not visible due to the trees, vegetation, and kudzu.

- Early ethnographic accounts described the victim's remains following the fire. Reportedly, the torsos of the deceased were recovered and used to determine the number of casualties (Kimmerle et al. 2012). In only one case was a burned torso of an individual buried, as described in reports recovered. Among the other six cases, the remains were very incomplete, fragmented, disarticulated, and comingled with burned building debris such as metals, burnt wood, and melted glass. Each grave contained 1-3 individuals; however, the remains of these individuals were spread among the seven burials. Therefore a total minimum of 3 fire victims were present. Among the 3 individuals represented, we believe **Bennett and Charles Evans** are present based on the inventory of the remains, context and burial findings, historic accounts of their location with the structure, and the ages of victims. The third victim was a younger aged juvenile. However, not all of the Evans remains can be distinguished for re-burial/repatriation. These identifications are presumptive, as no DNA was recovered from the remains.
- State investigative reports from 1914-15 provide conflicting accounts of the cause of fire and the number of deaths that occurred ranging from 6-12 deaths (Kimmerle et al. 2012). At the time of the fire, three investigations were done and produced conflicting results. The State was able to determine that child inmates who perished in the fire had been locked in "dark cells" on the third floor and therefore were unable to exit the building. The school's own account by their Board of Managers at the time, listed only 6 casualties, however, the Coroner's report listed 7 deaths which was likely why 7 caskets were buried. The president of the Board, John Milton, also served as a jury member and both reports were issued on the same day. The school further reported that 2 boys ran away rather than perish in the fire (Earl Morris and Waldo Drew). However, their families in 1915 and still today maintain that they were killed in the fire, despite the claims of the school officials.
- Thousands of artifacts were uncovered in this process. The mortuary artifacts associated with the Boot Hill burials can be divided into three main categories (Table 1): Burial hardware (nails, fasteners, handles, screws, etc.); clothing and personal items (buttons, belt buckles, jewelry, etc.); and trash and miscellaneous artifacts from the burial shaft fill (glass, ceramic, etc.). Clothing and personal items were found at the level of human remains, ostensibly inside the burial container. Trash and other miscellaneous artifacts were removed from the fill in the shaft above the burial containers. These artifacts may have been removed from the ground as the grave was dug and then returned to fill the grave; or they may postdate the burial. Refer to Figures 14-36 for examples. All artifacts were inventoried, cleaned, photographed, and catalogued. Relative dates are assigned when possible. Associations among burials based on artifacts is part of the analysis and still under review. The artifacts, along with the human remains are currently curated at the Forensic Anthropology Laboratory at the University of South Florida.

Table 1. Frequency of Burials Containing Different Types of Artifacts Recovered from Boot Hill Burial Ground

Artifact Category	Number of Burials Present (n)
Coffin Handles	30
Decorative Thumb Screws	27
Escutcheons	13
Nails	55
Tacks	41
Metal Plates/Brackets	36
Preserved Wood	40
Buttons	31
Buckles	17
Evidence of Clothing	33
Memorial Plates (i.e., <i>At Rest</i> or <i>Our Darling</i>)	18
Manufactured Coffins: School Made Coffins	18:37
Shroud Pins	5
Wheat pennies	2



Figure 14. Example of documentation showing search treks. Historic images are georeferenced over modern day GoogleEarth maps.



Figure 15. Heavy equipment removes the topsoil with a flat blade.



Figure 16. Burials are evident in the soil by color and marked with paint.



Figure 17. Burials are protected with tarps until the team can hand excavate.



Figure 18. Overview of excavation at Boot Hill Burial Ground.



Figure 19. Burial excavated revealing coffin wood.

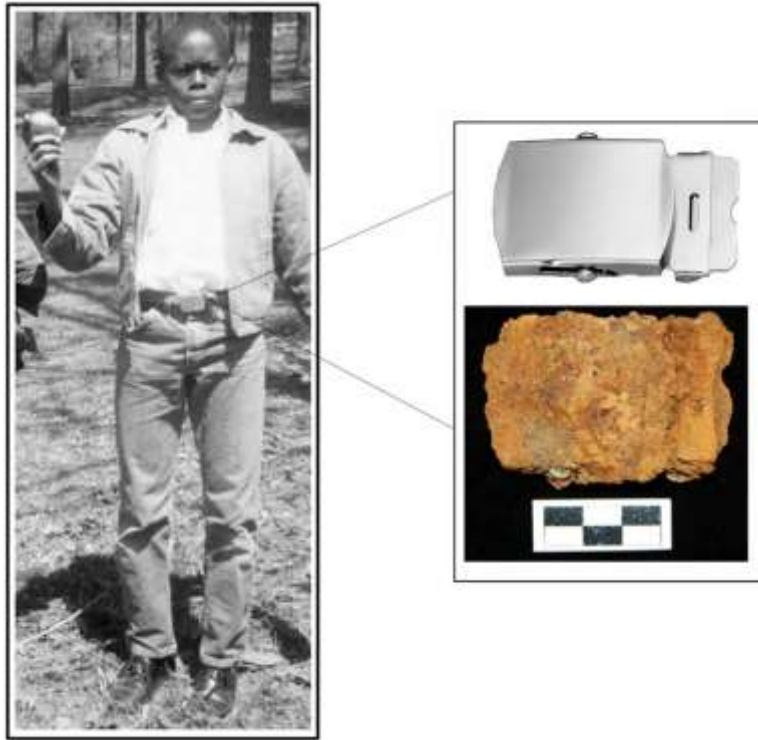


Figure 20. Historic image used as a reference to illustrate buckle artifact.



Artifact 3D Visualization

Figure 21. Coffin handle was scanned using 3D laser scanner to better visualize engraving. Artifacts can be 3D printed for public display and education.



Figure 22. A cache of syringes and medicine bottles were recovered in the middle of the burial area (dates ca. 1985).

Soil stain indicates burial.



Round metal feature.



Modern garbage.

Recent dog burial.

Figure 23. Images showing features a) burial outline, b) metal feature, c) modern garbage, and d) recent dog burial. These features were excavated in the Boot Hill Burial Ground.



Figure 24. Type 2 tacks are composed of a cuprous metal with flat, round heads (approx. 9mm in diameter and 2.5mm thick). Type 2 tacks were associated with pieces of casket wood and fibers of a coarse, dark-colored fabric, suggesting that these tacks were used to secure a lining fabric in place. These are from manufactured coffins rather than the school made coffins/caskets.



Figure 25. Coffin handle Type 2 is double-lug swing-bail style, composed of ferrous metal. Each handle is approx. 235mm in length.



Figure 26. Estimated date range of manufacture: 1894-1926⁵ (based on matching lugs and handles in historic catalogs). Coffin handle Type 5 is single-lug swing-bail style, composed of white metal. All Type 5 handles have a single lug with a lamb motif and a small hollow-backed handle. The lug/handle combinations (Type 5a) from Burials 11 and 25 are identical; Burial 55 has an identical lug but a different handle (Type 5b), and Burial 12 has a different lug and a handle too corroded to distinguish (type 5c) All handles and lugs were cast

in a mold and some bear raised manufacturer's marks. These burials were associated with the 1914 dormitory fire deaths.

⁵ Note that artifact dates throughout this report are the years of manufacture in most cases, and so represent the earliest range or timeframe possible for use, but items may have been used much later than most given dates.



Figure 27. Estimated date range: 1883-1930 (based on similar handles in historic catalogs and cemetery excavations). Coffin handle Type 7 is double-lug swing-bail style, composed of white metal. Each handle is approx. 220mm in length.

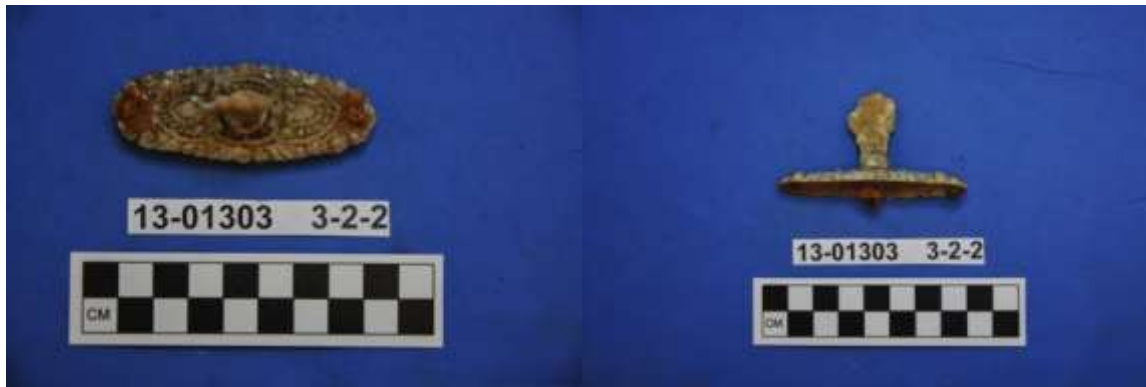


Figure 28. Type 2 escutcheon plates are composed of white metal. The escutcheon plates are oval-shaped plates (approx. 73x27x4mm) and perforated by a thumbscrew with a decorative top. The tops of the escutcheon plates are decorated with raised bumps and horseshoe-shaped arcs on either side of the thumbscrews. Small nails to attach it to the casket wood perforate the ends of the escutcheons. No manufacturer's marks are visible. In Burial 3, the only burial with Type 2 escutcheon plates, the associated Type 14 thumbscrew tops were incomplete or missing, but the only fragment of thumbscrews recovered indicates that the thumbscrew tops likely matched the escutcheon plates.



Figure 29. Lining Fabric. Recovered from multiple burials.



Figure 30. Metal plate, type 2, found in multiple burials. Estimated date range of manufacture: 1900-1930 (based on matching plaque found in the Hearne Bros. & Co. catalog). The Type 2 metal plaque is composed of white metal and found in three burials. The plaque is rectangular and measures approx. 102x59x4mm. The top of the plaque bears the words "Our Darling" in fancy script. The borders of the plaque are decorated with scrolls and a raised rounded nub pattern. The back of the plaque is stamped with the numbers "903" or "993"; the high level of corrosion makes all design difficult to discern.



Figure 31. Metal plate, type 4, found in multiple burials. Estimated date range of manufacture: 1900-1930 (based on matching plaque found in the Hearne Bros. & Co. catalog). The Type 4 plaque is composed of white metal and found in two burials. The plaque is scroll-shaped and measure approx. 152x64x10mm. The top of the plaque bears the words "At Rest" written in fancy, raised script. The plaque is perforated in the upper left and lower right corners with small ferrous pins for attachment to the casket wood. No manufacturer's marks are visible, although the heavy corrosion on the reverse of the plaque may have obscured small markings.

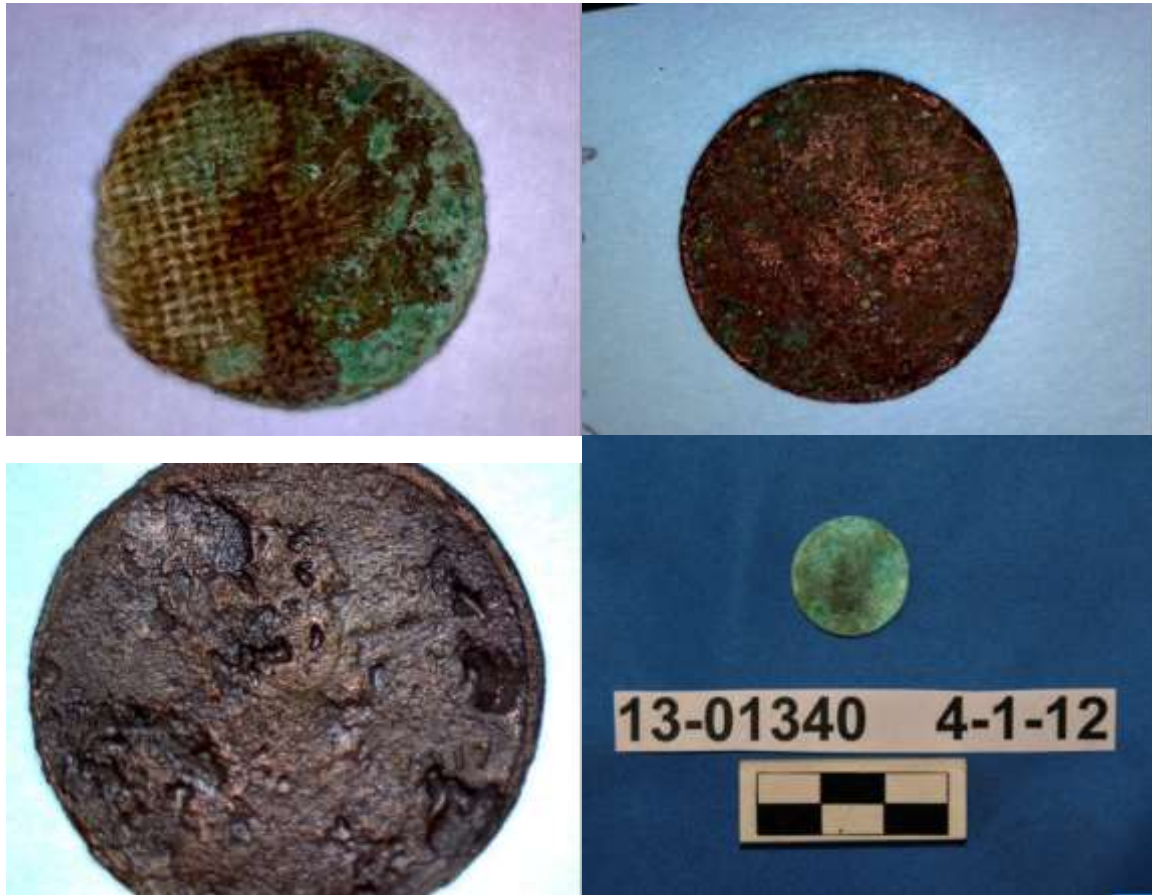


Figure 32. Wheat pennies recovered in Burials 39 and 40. Estimated date ranges: 1909-1960 and 1916-1960. Two copper pennies were found in both Burials 39 and 40. The pennies measure 19mm in diameter and 2.7mm thick. They were found in the cranial region, in a pattern suggesting that they were laid over the eyes of the deceased. The pennies are wheat pennies (manufactured only between 1909 and 1958). In Burial 39, pennies bear the mint dates of 1916 and 1917. In Burial 40, one penny bears the mint date of 1910, but the other was too corroded for the date to be discerned. Two of the pennies (one in each burial) had fragments of a loosely woven white fabric attached to one side, suggesting that the body was wrapped in a burial shroud. Several other burials also have small cloth fragments from burial shrouds present.

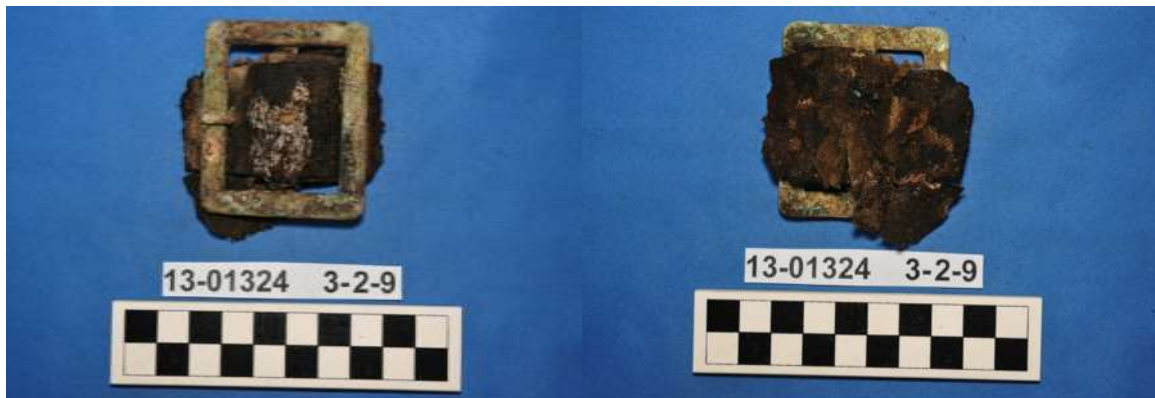


Figure 33. Belt buckle, type 6, Burial 24. The Type 6 buckle is a square, frame-style, single-prong buckle measuring approx. 60x51x7.8mm, and is composed of a cuprous alloy (likely brass). The frame is bisected by a vertical bar to which the 4.5mm wide prong is attached. Fragments of a leather belt and fragments of fabric are attached to the buckle. Frame-style buckles are the oldest design of belt buckles. In this style of buckle, a prong attaches to one end of the frame and extends away from the wearer through a hole in the belt, to rest against the opposite side of the frame. Frame-style buckles are associated with leather belts with holes through which the prong secures the belt at set sizes.



Figure 34. Marble: Burial 24, estimated date range of manufacture: 1929-1950. One spherical stone marble was found in Burial 24, near where the left side pants pocket would have been. The marble measures 19.3mm in diameter and is composed of swirled white and burgundy glass. The marble is a white-based two-toned red swirl marble manufactured by the Alley Agate Company swirl of Pennsboro, West Virginia and dates to 1938-1950 (Robert Block, personal communication August 2014).



Figure 35. Burial 46. Several fragments of a leather and metal medical leg brace (likely a polio brace) were found on the right knee of a 14-18 year old. The brace is composed of leather, ferrous metal, and copper or brass (indicated by greenish colored oxidation). A triangular metal crimp with green tarnish (approx. 47.5x15x6.6mm) has fragments of a fabric strap at the end.



Figure 36. Metal ball, consistent with projectile. Burial 33.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESULTS: INVESTIGATIONS ON THE SOUTH CAMPUS

The 1914 Fire

The most significant events that resulted in a high number of fatalities include the fire of 1914 and several outbreaks of infectious diseases in 1918 and 1934. During the early morning hours of November 18, 1914, a fatal fire broke out in the dormitory on the south campus (Figure 37). Three investigations followed, each of which shifted the cause of the fire and blame for the deaths. Even the number of children who perished differs among the reports. Through ethnographic research in the 1970s, several interviews with people who had been present at the fire were compiled, recounting the events in more detail. The summary findings of these reports are described here. Moreover, an expert opinion as to the cause and circumstances of the fire as it may possibly relate to the fatalities was provided by Tampa Fire Investigators Christopher Stone and Al Alcala and their findings are attached in the Appendix.

The Dormitory Structure

The summary information, historical background on the details of the structure come and ethnographic interviews conducted by Lundrigan (1975) describe the fire and events following it with regard to the deaths and burials of the fire victims and Edwards (1969). In 1887, when the Florida legislature passed a law to create FIS, it outlined the structure of the new institution. The following year, three companies submitted bids to construct two dormitories, which were to be identical in size and structure. The school was to be segregated and separate campuses were used to house the boys. A total of \$10,000 was allocated for the construction of the two buildings. The accepted bid came from S.S. Leonard Company of Jacksonville for \$13,000. The additional sum needed for construction was appropriated and state funds raised through the Convict Lease system were used. An additional \$5,000 was allotted, though construction was delayed due to problems with subcontractors who were described as “embarrassed in their operation”.

The buildings were identical when constructed and located on the hilltops of each campus, ½ mile apart, per the law’s requirement for segregation. Each dorm was 150 feet long and 50 feet wide. The dormitory on the south campus, faced north. Each building was three stories high, constructed of red brick and built to house sixty-four boys and administrators. It is described as being constructed with a “deep foundation, strong walls, and three floors”. Inside the building, all the walls, floors, stairs and internal features were wood. Each floor had a hallway to the main staircase. The 1st floor consisted of the kitchen and dining room and the east end included an assembly room, washrooms, and offices. The 2nd floor consisted of three dormitories for sleeping 64 boys. At the time of the fire, 93 boys were sleeping there. The first dormitory (referred to No. 1) was smaller in size and housed the youngest children, typically 6-10 years old. Several small rooms were also present to house the men who worked at the school. According to Edwards (1969), the fatality count (n=7) was as follows: Dorm No.1 = youngest boys and 1 death; Dorm No. 2 = no deaths; and Dorm No. 3 = 6 deaths. However, note that different accounts of the fire list different numbers of fatalities, ranging from 6-12 boys and staff killed.

The 3rd floor consisted of the superintendent’s living quarters, hospital rooms, and several “dark rooms” which were used for discipline and solitary confinement. It was here on the third floor where boys were locked in rooms and unable to escape the fire according to the investigative reports at the time and interviews in the 1970s by Lundrigan.

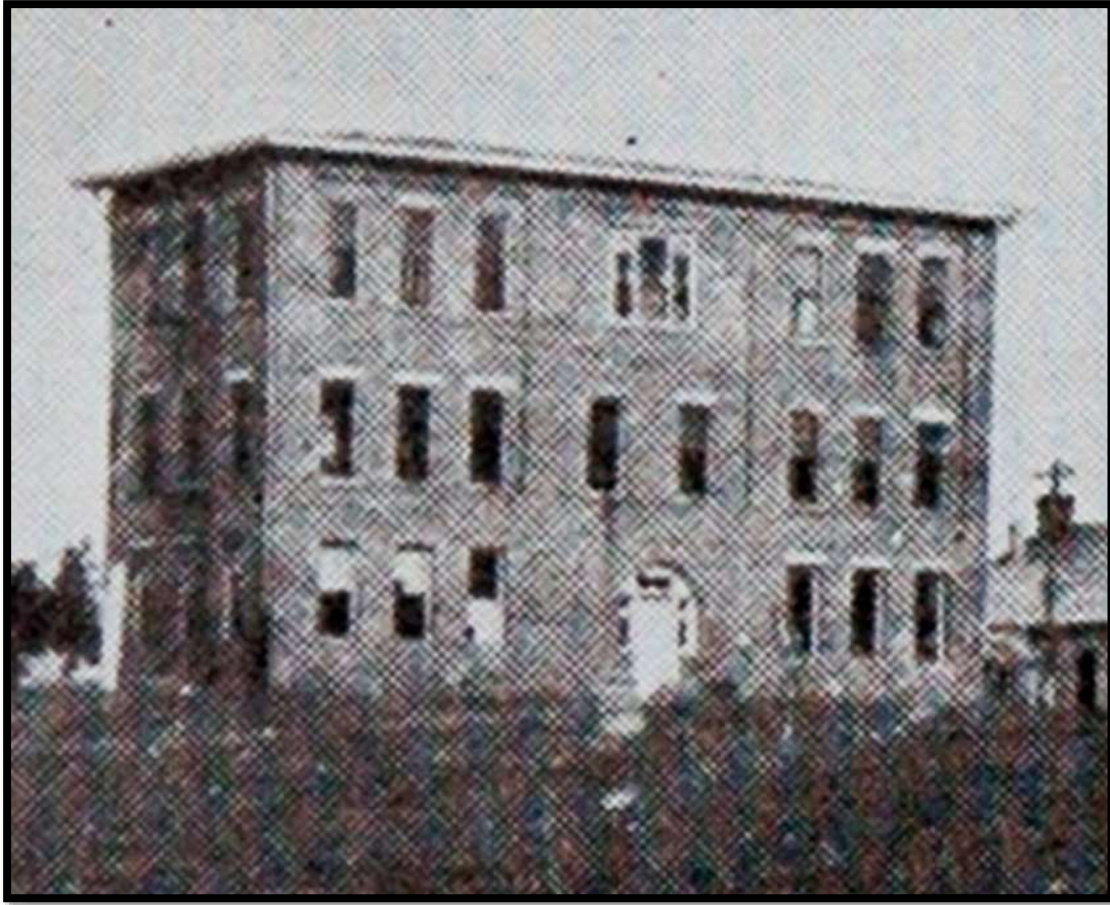


Figure 37. Dormitory identical to the one that burned in 1914, located on the North School (photograph comes from *The Light* 1921, Florida State Archives).

Fire Investigations

In 1913, the 6th legislative investigative committee since 1901 reported on the state of the institution and treatment of the children detained there (Lundrigan 1975). They reported that all of the windows were heavily barred and that one doorway led from the hallway to the stair rail. They further warned that if there was a fire, there would be no way for people to escape the second or third floors of the building or to survive. Their report called for the addition of fire escapes, additional doors and to end the practice of chaining children for restraint. These recommendations were signed into law June 5, 1913.

Following this, two additions were constructed on the building, each two stories high and located on the south side of the building according to the Board of Managers who issued a report following the fire. Note that these modifications were made to the dormitory on the south campus for the white boys, but no safety modifications were made to the housing for colored boys located on the north campus. The identical building to the one burned (prior to its 1913 modifications) is shown in Figure 37, obtained from the Florida State Archives (*The Light* 1921, Florida State Archives). The two additional wings had fire escape doors though they were always kept locked. Following the fire, boys stated all the doors were locked and they had to break the locks to get out of the building.

The fire was first discovered by an employee who was sleeping on the second floor and heard a noise, “a loud roar”. He discovered the fire near the main stairwell and sounded the alarm. The boys in all three dormitories were awoken and taken to the western stairwell where they were able to exit the building. According to the report issued by the Board, the majority of people were able to safely exit the building without encountering smoke and or injuries, except for the fatalities.

Details regarding why fatalities occurred and the circumstances surrounding the fire are less clear. Depending on the source, the number of casualties, the names of the victims, and specific circumstances about how death occurred varies. The investigative reports are summarized in the following discussion. According to the Lundrigan (1975), the fire killed 8 boys and 2 employees. Lundrigan’s data comes from the coroner’s jury, an internal FIS report (Edwards 1969), and ethnographic interviews. In his report, Lundrigan also details the FIS Board of Managers report.

The Board of Managers issued a report the same day as the coroner’s report was made public stating that per the legislative act in 1913, they had added two fire escape doors on the south campus dormitory first floor. The doors were kept locked but the keys were kept in the main office on the first floor, and all staff knew about the keys. After midnight, O.G. Marston heard a roaring noise and discovered the first floor ablaze. Boys were sleeping on the second floor and were taken to the second stairwell on the west end of the building. No one went downstairs for keys. They realized some boys were on the third floor, but by that time the fire spread throughout the interior and they were not able to retrieve the keys. To exit, several boys knocked the lock off the fire escape to get out. The fire was believed to have started from a wood stove which had a broken leg and although unstable, was set on a wood floor and that fire combined with kerosene lamps hanging on the walls. The fire was made worse, according to the Board, by strong winds blowing in a northerly direction into the front of the building. They reported 93 boys and 10 employees lived in the building at the time of the fire.

The Board’s report, issued by its President W.H. Milton, provided an opinion about the men and boys that died and the circumstances surrounding the events including the following. Bennett Evans and his son, both employees of FIS, died after returning to the building to look for each other and in their search, perished. They were described as heroes. Several boys were also described as heroes for assisting with the rescue: Severina Vinterrez (Tampa), ToTo Walter Tucker (Bowling Green), and Perry Jones (West Palm Beach).

Among the child fatalities, 8 boys were noted as missing including Earl Morris, who the Board claimed witnesses saw him outside the building following the fire, after which he ran away. The Board’s report officially states that six died, including a boy who was “demented” and was taken to safety, but allegedly re-entered the school to get a blanket and did not make it out alive. Joe Weathersby was a 17 year old who also allegedly re-entered the school to go to the third floor because he thought Superintendent Bell was inside sleeping and therefore was described as a hero who died in search of Mr. Bell. The telegram to Weathersby’s mother is one of the surviving documents from this incident. It is also worth noting that the ledgers do not list any of the boys who perished as the current books do not have systematic records prior to 1919.

Edwards report (1969) describes the duties of administrators and the superintendent, including restraining boys when confinement was necessary. Edwards states that three of the four men who were responsible for the boys were in town when the fire occurred. The implication is that they had locked or chained the boys on the third floor and had the only keys with them off the school grounds when the fire broke out.

The Florida Legislative Committee conducted an investigation and found that the fire escapes were all locked, there had been no fire drills or preventative measures for safety, and no

watchmen on duty. The administrators, including the superintendent and several staff members, were away from the school. Boy's stated that all the doors had been locked, including the fire escapes. An additional witness, Mrs. McBride who lived near the school at the time of the fire told state investigators in 1914 that Superintendent Bell had the only set of keys when he left the school and went to town (Lundrigan 1975). As a result of their investigation, Superintendent Bell was terminated.

The Jackson County Coroner also conducted a coroner's jury and issued a report the same day as the Board of Managers. Notably, this report lists a different set of names among the casualties (Table 12). Further, it lists John Milton, Jr. as one of the Jurors.

According to witness accounts and ethnographic interviews conducted by Lundrigan (1975); Mrs. Vivian Stubbs (age 72 years) was a child at the FIS as her father worked there and he was present during the fire. Stubbs told Lundrigan that the windows all had bars on them and that the children were trapped in the school. She said that the wood floors inside collapsed and the doomed boys were hurtled to their deaths. She also noted that her father always said he would never forget the boys' screams as they fell to their deaths.

W.S. Bowles was also present at the school in the early morning after the fire with his father, who worked there, and spoke about the incident to Lundrigan in 1975. Bowles said that in the early morning following the fire, only charred unidentified trunks of bodies containing unburned hearts were recovered and that one of the workers killed was identified by a blue patch of material from his clothing, a workers uniform. George Robinson, an employee at the time of fire (and son-in-law to Superintendent Knight) is alleged to have attempted to free boys by climbing onto the roof to cut a hole in it and drop a set of keys down to the boys who were locked inside. This information came from Bowles in his interview. In 1929, George Robinson was working at the school as the farm manager and throughout the years is listed on DC as an undertaker. Interestingly, one of the newspaper articles (the Miami Herald pictured) describes how boys had to climb through skylights to reach safety. The existence of skylights was not discussed in any of the other records and so it is unknown whether this occurred or may be linked to the story about holes cut into the roof in an attempt to rescue boys.

Possible Origin of Fire

Several possible explanations were offered as to the cause of the fire in the numerous investigations that were carried out. At first, arson was suspected. According to the *Pensacola Journal*, prior attempts to burn down the dormitory had been made several months earlier. Then, on the day of the fire, George Coldwell, of Laurel Hill, Florida, was named as the possible arsonist. His son was in custody at FIS and had run away from the school. Mr. Coldwell had tried to release his son several days prior to the fire and allegedly threatened to blow up the building if his son wasn't released. The Board of Managers tried to make a case for arson but a grand jury later exonerated Coldwell. Following the fire, his son was released. Other possible causes of the fire include:

1. Paint, Oily Rags and Dynamite

The interior of the building was constructed of wood and a portion of it had been freshly painted. Apparently the paint was not dry and may have contributed to the rapid acceleration of the fire. Greasy oil rags were also left behind as a result of the painting. In addition, dynamite was stored in a locker under the stairwell which may have ignited by spontaneous combustion.

2. Dilapidated Stove

An old, broken wood burning stove had been brought into the building. Reportedly, it had three legs and in place of the fourth leg, the stove was held up with bricks. Despite the condition of the stove, apparently it was used to help heat the dorm on a cold night. A fire had been burning in the stove when the staff went to bed. The stove was on top of a wood floor and may have started the floor on fire. In addition, kerosene oil lamps hung in the stairwell and halls for light.

For a greater discussion of the possible origin of the fire and the more likely scenarios, refer to report provided by Stone and Alcalá (2012) in the Appendix. There was a continuous problem with fires and barns burning down in the years leading up to 1914. The reason for these fires ranged from arson by disgruntled employees to natural fires. To combat this problem, in 1906 a cypress water tank was built. In a 1972 interview, the Marianna Fire Department reported that in 1914 they had a horse drawn Model A Ford with a booster pump with which they responded to the fire, however they arrived too late (Lundrigan 1975). At the time of the interview in 1975, Lundrigan reports the Marianna Fire Department did not have any records of the fire.

Fire Fatalities

According to witnesses, the structure of the building was demolished the morning after the fire (Lundrigan 1975). In terms of human remains, accounts in newspapers and in a telegram to families states the bodies were burned beyond recognition and buried on the school grounds. In a 1972 interview of FIS employees, Lundrigan reports that the victims of the fire were buried on top of a hill in an area known as “Cedar Hill”. The surviving 84 white boys were “marched to the colored campus and crowded into the dorms” where they stayed until a new dormitory was built (Lundrigan 1975:106). Note that prior to the fire, the 1913 Legislative report states 93 white boys were present at the school. According to Lundrigan (1975), there were 84 white boys at the school following the fire, which is a difference of 9 boys. Nine boys are listed as victims of the fire in the Idaho Statesman (1914) and is in contrast to the 6 reported deaths by the Board of Managers, the 7 reported deaths in the State Legislative report, and the 8 deaths reported by the coroner. The coroner’s report lists 2 staff and 8 boys as deceased, including S. Barnett, whose name does not appear in the cited newspaper report. The names of fire victims differ among the various reports. The coroner’s report does not list Parrot or Haffin as decedents, but Haffin’s name does appear in the Idaho Statesman as a casualty of the 1914 fire.

Archaeological Prospection for the Dormitory

We collected and examined 465 subsurface soil and sediment deposits around the old school house/gym for evidence of the original dormitory, which burned down on November 18, 1914. The fire resulted in the deaths of two employees and as many as 10 children (historical accounts are not in agreement). Different reports of the incident along with subsequent interviews and archival research suggest the possibility that the remains of some or all of these individuals may have been interred at the site of the burned school. Our research initially identified the general location of the dormitory debris, as indicated by burned sediments, charcoal, and construction debris. We did not recover or identify any human remains in these probes.

Our prospection research focused on the landforms surrounding the old school house/gym (Figure 38), located on a hilltop at the highest point of the South Campus. This building was erected on an artificial landform, probably constructed to level the surface of the hilltop. The research sought to examine the possibility that the artificial landform contained the remains of the burned dormitory. To do so, we used a standard bucket auger to collect and examine soil and sediment samples from 10 separate locations around the current building (Figure 39). We also excavated a deep trench into the east side of the landform, stretching from the nearby road westward toward the building, to examine the stratigraphic layers of the landform for a broader perspective.

This work resulted in the collection of 465 soil and sediment samples, which were all examined onsite for color, texture, moisture, inclusions, and cultural materials (Figure 40). We subsampled each separate horizon or deposit in each column, and used a stainless steel scoop to collect a total of 78 samples (ca. 100 g each), which are currently being analyzed at the University of South Florida. Table 1 provides an inventory and field description of all horizons and samples. No human remains were identified in any samples, and we did not collect any cultural material (apart from what might be included in the laboratory samples).

Based on field observations, we can make at least two inferences. First, the landform constructed to serve as a footing for the current building appears to be made entirely from local clays and does not contain the remains of the burned dorm. Second, the area immediately north of the landform, which has recently been used as a small garden and orchard, is the most likely location of the remains of the burned dorm. Auger probes 9 and 10 (see Figure 41) both showed evidence of burned sediments, bricks, and charcoal from approximately 90-120 cm below the current ground surface. From these findings, we suggest that the original location of the burned dorm was on the hilltop currently occupied by the old school house/gym, and when the fire destroyed the dorm, the remains of that building were pushed to the north to make way for the construction of what would become the old school house/gym (Figure 42). The landform was then constructed on solid ground as a footing for the current building.



Figure 38. 1948 aerial photograph of the South Campus, showing the location (highlighted) of the old school house/gym.



Figure 39. 2013 aerial photograph of the South Campus, showing the location of the research area: red dots indicate the location of probes; the yellow rectangle indicates the location of the trench.



Figure 40. Soil stratigraphy revealed by the excavation of the trench, showing a deep and mottled subsurface horizon (artificial landform) overlying culturally sterile clays of the hilltop.



Figure 41. Example of the auger probe research, showing the old school house in the background.



Figure 42. Example of subsurface horizons and resulting sediments, showing the old school house in the background.

Findings of Burned Dormitory Excavation

The area in question is on the South-eastern side of the Dozier complex, near the present day administration building, just north of the old barber shop complex in area that had been used as an orchard in recent years (Figure 43). It presents as an open field bordered by roads on the north and west sides, a large linear building on the east, and a fenced area south side. A small gazebo and associated concrete pad were in the northwest portion of the project area, as well as several mature fruit trees. Several man-holes (leading to tunnels containing steam and water pipes) were located within the project area. Prior to mechanical excavation and testing of the area, all water and gas lines were marked by the appropriate utility (Figures 44-50).

The overall excavation strategy was to place trenches throughout the length of the project area (approximately 3m apart), to determine if there was evidence of a prior (burned) building in that location in order to recover human skeletal material, if possible. If evidence of a building was found, a sample of the sediment from within the trenches would be screened to determine if there were human remains present. The width of the trenches (approximately 100 cm) was deemed an initial appropriate sample size given the large area being investigated (rather than digging independent sample units between the trenches).

The screening system was comprised of two oversized, 1/4" mesh, high-pressure wet screens. Each screening station measured approximately 2.25 x 1.25 meters in length and width, capable of processing approximately 0.25³ m of sediment at a time. It is estimated more than 220,000 pounds of soil was shifted. Two high-pressure fire hoses fed water to each system, but the water volumes were limited to avoid breaking artifacts or splashing materials out of the screens. Four to six individuals were employed per screen to process the sediments. All artifacts and possible bone fragments were kept for additional analysis. Brick fragments were separated from the materials and photographed at the end of the project for inventory and size estimates. Water and sediment run-off was accomplished by using a slit trench leading to a holding pond to trap the sediment while allowing the water to run off into a natural drainage. The sediment trap was cleaned out on an as-needed basis.

Prior to excavation of the project area, the gazebo and concrete pad were removed; when possible, mature trees were avoided, though several had to be transplanted. Mechanical trenching began in the southern portion of the project area, next to the chain link fenced property, moving from north to south in direction. Each trench was excavated until completely sterile sediments were encountered. Another four trenches were placed on the site area, parallel to the first one. The length of the trenches are listed in Table 2.

Table 2. List of Trench Sizes.

Trench	Size
Trench 1A	22.7 meters in length and 1.5 meters in depth
Trench 1B	18.0 meters in length and 1.14 meters in depth
Trench 2	42.7 meters in length and 1.8 meters in depth
Trench3A	26.55 meters in length and 2.08 meters in depth
Trench 3B	14.05 meters in length and 1.4 meters in depth
Trench 4	43.1 meters in length and 1.1 meters in depth
Trench 5	26.5 meters in length and 1.2 meters in depth
Trench 6	15.8 meters in length and 1.27 meters in depth

The sixth trench was placed across the northern most street in between the sidewalk and existing building. Probative, scaled trench profiles were drawn, showing the various layers of land use in the project area, as well as the layer containing the burned building materials.

As it was determined that a basal layer within a portion of the project area likely contained burned debris, the plan to screen sediments from that layer was implemented. The burned layer appeared to be mostly within the basal layers of trenches 2-5, near the center of the project area. Therefore, sediments were retained for screening from approximately the bottom 50 cm of each of these trenches. Each trench was excavated until the top of the burned layer was present, then the bottom sediments were transported to the screening stations. In addition to these samples, a larger, approximately 5-x-5 meter excavation unit was placed into the south central portion of the suspected burned layer/building. Again, only those sediments in the burned layer were screened from this test unit. A total station was employed to map in all of the site excavation boundaries, trench mapping datum, trenches, the test unit, and all pertinent landscape features. All drawn trench profiles were similarly captured. Final aerial photographs from multiple directions were taken of the entire area, and the site was backfilled.

- A possible unknown adult (or late adolescent), left femoral shaft fragment was excavated from the area of the burned dormitory, on the South property of the former Arthur G. Dozier School for Boys in Marianna, Florida. The bone is broken into 2 pieces postmortem. Age estimation is based on size and robustness of the fragment. Due to the small size of the shaft fragments (approximately, 87.4x23.4x8.2 mm and 58.1x16.4x7.3mm), no further demographic information could be estimated. The fragments are light brown in color with brown and white edges. The condition of the fragments is fair, showing water damage from burial. The femoral fragment does not show signs of burning and is still pending DNA testing. The remains were recovered, approximately 1.4 meters below the ground surface. The remains were recovered through water screening from Trench 2, Unit 1.
- Other remains were also located from this site, throughout the trenches excavated, however those bones are significantly burned, and charred black in color (Table 3) Therefore, and no demographic information could be assessed at this time. To separate bone fragments from other burned fire debris such as melted materials and charred wood, they were analyzed using magnified visualization and digital radiography. Remains were also compared radiographically to known bone fragments from the Boot Hill burials. Bone and possible bone fragments were separated from burned building debris, photographed and weighed. Analysis yielded burned bone and possible burned bone fragments (approximately 110 grams of bone and more than 50 fragments):

Table 3. Human remains recovered from fire debris (excluding samples submitted for DNA testing).

Trench	Bone	Possible Bone
Trench 2, Unit 1	Y – 13.4g	Y – 22.1g
Trench 3	Y – 31.1g	Y – 3.5g
Trench 4	Y – 6.9g	Y – 11.1g
Trench 5	Y – 9.7g	Y – 2.9g
Trench 6	N	Y – 9.2g

Artifacts were initially sorted by raw material type into categories for ceramics, glass, ferrous and cupric metals, clothing artifacts, building materials, and miscellaneous items such as buttons, buckles, marbles, a jack, burned items, two bullet fragments, and shotgun shell (Figures 51-67). Within these categories, artifacts were further sorted into sub-categories, such as those for glass which consisted of functional types (base, finish, etc.) and glass color (purple, amber, dark green, etc.), as well as categories for diagnostic marked glass. When encountered, diagnostic marked artifacts were analyzed and bagged separately rather than as part of a larger category.

Analysis primarily consisted of examining diagnostic artifacts for legible markings and taking artifact weights by category. Most categories, especially ceramics and glass, consisted primarily of fragments, justifying the use of weights as opposed to counts for these classes. No attempt was made to determine Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV) by provenience. Large lots such as those composed of brick, UID and wire nails, and UID metal fragments were weighed to the nearest hundredth of a kilogram due to their bulk. Smaller categories and individual artifacts were generally weighed to the nearest hundredth of a gram.

A majority of temporally diagnostic materials from Trenches 2 through 6 date to the late 19th to early 20th centuries, which generally corresponds to the dormitory’s span of use, ending with its burning in 1914. However, some artifacts, specifically a metal label for “Florida Industrial School” and “hobbleskirt” Coca-Cola bottles which date to 1915⁶ at the earliest, post-date the dormitory. The presence of some later materials is not surprising given the continued use of the area, and may in fact reflect the sporadic use of the dormitory remains as a trash dump. In later years, a sewage pipe was also placed through this area.

Included within the category of building materials are a number of oyster shells and pieces of coral, indicating that the foundation of the building may have been leveled using shell fill. The presence of a piece of a prehistoric ceramic from Trench 2 perhaps suggests this fill material was taken from a prehistoric midden.

⁶ Bill Lockhart and Bill Porter, *The Dating Game: Tracking the Hobble-Skirt Coca-Cola Bottle* (Bottles and Extras, 2010).

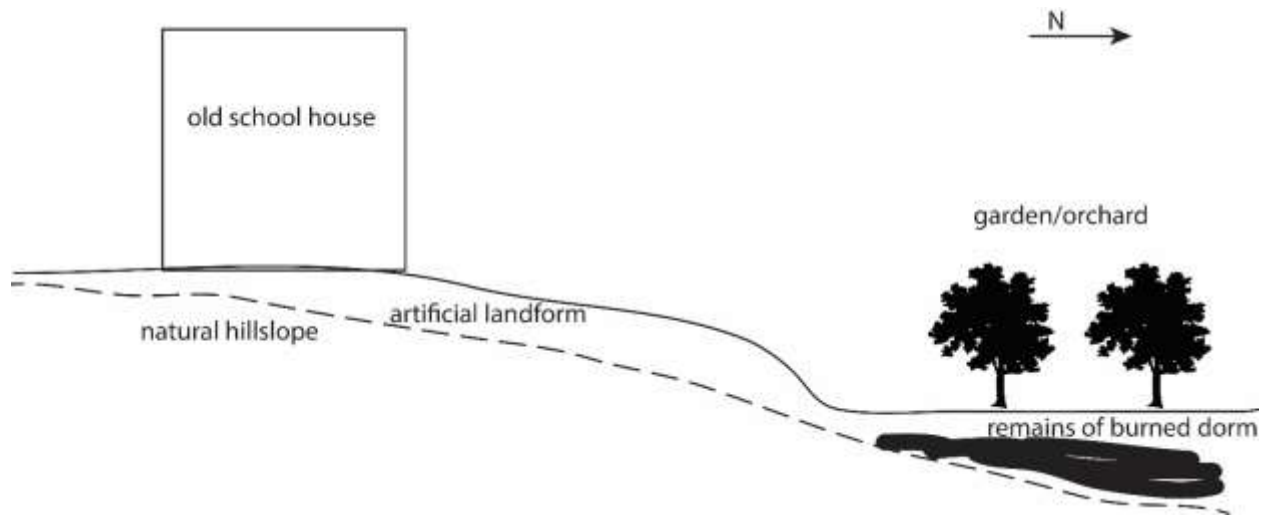


Figure 43. Exaggerated schematic of the relationship between the old school house earthen footing (the artificial landform) and the suspected location of the remains of the burned dorm.



Figure 44. Excavated trenches 1-6 in the area of former dorm on the south property (formerly known as Department No. 1).



Figure 45. Trenches 1-5 in area of burned dorm.



Figure 46. Trench 6, across the road from trenches 1-5.
Trench 6 revealed the tail end of the burned layer.



Figure 47. Soil is placed into screens for shifting.



Figure 48. Water and sediment run-off into a slit trench leading to a holding pond to trap the sediment while allowing the water to run off into a natural drainage.



Figure 49. Water pushes the soil through the ¼ inch screen so that artifacts and remains can be located.



Figure 50. West wall profile of Trench 2, 1.8 meters deep. Burned layer is visible along bottom of trench.



Figure 51. Trench 3, facing north. Buried brick structure is the top of an underground tunnel.



Figure 52. Detail of glass sorting procedure.



Figure 53. Lantern glass fragments (Trench 2).



Figure 54. Burned/melted glass (Trench 2 produced 251.64 grams of burned and melted glass).



Figure 55. Prehistoric check stamped ceramic (fill of Trench 2). One sherd of prehistoric check-stamped ceramic, probably Wakulla Check Stamped, weighing 6.15 grams was recovered from the upper fill of Trench 2 (and was likely transported here in the back used to create the mound over the burned layer. Wakulla Check Stamped ceramics date to the Late Woodland Period into the Fort Walton Period (roughly A.D. 700-1100) and are distributed throughout Northwest Florida and adjacent areas of Georgia and Alabama.



Figure 56. Prehistoric ceramic under oblique light with surface decoration visible.



Figure 57. Burned/melted glass (Trench 3 produced 47.13 grams of burned and melted glass).



Figure 58. Iron spring (Trench 3).



Figure 59. Cupric Eyelets (Trench 3).



Figure 60. Jack (Trench 3).



Figure 61. Three buttons totaling 4.49 grams, including a single four-hole metal button and two embossed metal buttons with metal ring shanks recovered in Trench 4. The two embossed buttons contain the Great Seal of the United States, matching a similar button from Trench 2.



Figure 62. Whiteware base sherds with burning (Trench 5).



Figure 63. Marbles (Trench 5).



Figure 64. Shotgun shell.



Figure 65. Brass bullets.



Figure 66. Heel bar belt buckle. Trench 2 produced two belt buckle pieces, one of which is a component of a heel bar buckle, weighing 9.44 grams. The other is a box frame style friction buckle weighing 22.08 grams.



Figure 67. Bricks and brick fragments were sorted. Much of the brick showed signs of burning.

FINDINGS FROM GEOPHYSICAL PROSPECTION FOR ADDITIONAL BURIAL AREAS

In addition to the Boot Hill Burial Ground and site of the burned dormitory, families of the missing boys and former inmates reported additional burial areas on the school property but away from the Boot Hill area. All leads provided or uncovered through the course of this project into additional burials were investigated. It is important to note that for most of the school's history, the school occupied over 1400 acres of land consisting of woods, swamps, agricultural fields, former grazing fields, mining quarries for clay and brick manufacture, and intensive agriculture. At its peak, it housed nearly 1000 incarcerated children as well as the staff and their families. Former fields are now heavily wooded areas. Located on the north side of the school, the side designated as the colored side, the burial ground during segregation was positioned in a small, elevated clearing amid grazing fields, a hog parlor, and immediately adjacent to the school's garbage dump. Buried trash and debris was evident throughout many of the acres tested and the burial ground, as well as buried animals from recent times (ca. 1980s). These findings made the excavation and analysis complicated and time consuming.

- Under FL DHR 1A-32 Permit No. 1213.018, we used ground penetrating radar with subsurface testing of select anomalies to evaluate archival evidence and eyewitness accounts of human interments on the South Campus of the school from 1914-1952. Overall, we surveyed 33 different regions of the South Campus, totaling nearly 3 acres in the central and western portions of campus. Several GPR grids showed evidence for subsurface anomalies, which were investigated using shallow trenches, test pits, and other forms of soil probing. No anomalies investigated revealed burial features, such as grave shafts. However, the research located a number of cultural features, including possible building foundations, pipe lines, and buried trash middens. We also uncovered soil evidence indicating prior trenching and/or land clearance in numerous areas. We conclude that there are no human burials located in the specific areas we tested.

Among the additional areas reported to have burials, are locations on both the north and south schools. Among reported areas on the north is the field north of the current Boot Hill Burial Ground; a reported grave near the sawmill and slaughter house on the farm, an area within the agricultural fields surrounding the school; and a series of four graves behind the staff cottages. These locations are based on oral tradition shared by current Jackson county employees, Marianna residents, and former students committed to the school. The only first-hand account of a burial located outside of the Boot Hill Burial Ground, was reported by a former student, who stated he helped dig the grave of another boy (whose name he couldn't remember) near the sawmill. The other locations are provided by persons who heard stories or reports about the additional burial areas or who witnessed something on the landscape appearing to be crosses.

Additionally, numerous areas on the south property were described as having an actual burial ground with multiple burials in rows and crosses. Eyewitness reports vary in terms of the specific location and whether or not the burials were always marked by crosses. The areas of interest included a wooded area along a prior road and fence line south of the dining hall, a wooded area along the southern property just north of the swamp, the hilltop marked by cedars and the bachelor cottages behind the maintenance buildings, the open grass area behind a building called the White House, an area under the swimming pool near the gymnasium, and the southern swamp

areas. This information comes from a variety of sources including eyewitness accounts by family members of boys buried at the school who were shown graves by employees, Marianna residents, and former students who were committed to the school and either reported seeing a graveyard or heard reports of boys disappearing into the swamps and fields by employees or local residents.

While conclusive evidence to definitively establish the existence and location of additional burial areas at the school other than the Boot Hill location had yet been located, there was sufficient evidence establishing the likelihood of such areas, particularly on the southern property, to warrant searching for additional burial areas. Specifically, family members of boys buried at FIS and former inmates stated they saw burials in this location and that they were shown graves by employees dating back 1941. For example, Ovell Krell is the sister of George Owen Smith, a boy who died and was buried at FIS in January 1941. According to Ms. Krell, she along with her parents visited FIS in 1941, immediately following the discovery of Smith's body under a residence in Marianna. She said that they exited the Administration building along with Superintendent, Millard Davidson who showed them Smith's grave in small burial ground near a wooded area to the south. Ms. Krell describes this location on the south campus and states that there were two rows of graves in front of the woods. Smith's grave appeared as a fresh mound of dirt at the end of the row. The burial ground had no markers or crosses.

There was no evidence that the graves were originally marked burials, as no historic markers, plot maps or information about the specific burial locations have been found for any location including Boot Hill. In an interview with a former student the school, Philip Marchesani (Interview June 2, 2012), recounted having seen boxes of letters from parents inquiring about their children, letters to the children themselves, and maps of the school stored in the chapel. He stated that the maps were marked with two separate burial areas. Investigators told us that during the course of their investigation, they obtained boxes of letters from families from the chapel, however it is not known whether maps were recovered. Subsequently these materials have been destroyed and are therefore not available for review.

A Geophysical Survey Systems, Inc. (GSSI) SIR-3000 GPR system was used to collect geospatial data at select sites on the South Campus and North Campus. The GPR configuration included a 400 MHz antenna mounted in a three-wheel cart with distance calibration provided by an on-board survey wheel. Grids of varying sizes were used to collect the GPR data. The southwest corner of each grid was the starting point, or grid origin (0, 0). Radar data were collected at 50 cm (20 inch) intervals both diagonally and horizontally across the grid using the "Quick 3D" function built into the SIR-3000 firmware. The perimeters of the grids were staked at 1 m (3.3 feet) intervals and fiberglass survey ropes were used to establish and maintain the transect rows. A zigzag data collection strategy was used to avoid returning to a single starting point. The GPR time window for all grids was determined to be 60 nanoseconds (ns) and the GPR data were collected with the gain (electronic signal enhancement) added to the raw field data.

All of the GPR data grids were post-processed using GPR-Slice® software (Version 7). Refer to appendix for timeslice plots. The GPR data were converted from their GSSI file format, regained, and processed through a low-pass (3x3) filter. These data are presented as individual time slices or as an animated sequence of time slices showing how the anomalies vary by depth. In the color ramp scheme selected, red indicates areas of greater density and blue shows areas of lower reflectivity. Yellow and green represent intermediate density grades. Red regions on the time slices represent locations that reflected more wave energy, and are therefore the strongest indicators of a subsurface anomaly.

A Trimble XH-Pro GPS device was used to document the location of certain features within or near the grids, including fence posts, trees, and the four corners of each of the grids themselves. Combining the GPS locations of these surface features with the subsurface GPR data can be important when analyzing and attempting to interpret results of this investigation. Digital photographs were taken of fieldwork in progress, and field notes written by project staff recorded all activities. Historical images were also analyzed.

Overall, we surveyed more than 33 separate and distinct portions of the South Campus. Table 4 lists the coordinates and dimensions of the GPR grids, and Figures 68-69 provide maps of their locations. Together, these areas cover 11,509 m², or roughly 2.8 acres of land. Most of the grids examined central and western portions of the South Campus, with a few grids located much farther west into what is today a heavily wooded area. Fieldwork and data processing were carried out by staff from the Florida Public Archaeology Network – West Central / Central Regions (University of South Florida), under the supervision of Dr. E. Christian Wells (Department of Anthropology, University of South Florida), Principal Investigator for FL DHR 1A-32 Permit No. 1213.018.

For Grids A, B, C, I, and J, data were not analyzed, because these grids surveyed portions of the campus that contained subsurface water pipes, electrical conduits, and other features associated with the constructed environment that would make interpretation of the post-processed data difficult or impossible. We also did not collect and process time slices for Grids F, AB, AC, AD, AE, AF, and AG as these areas were designated for in-field assessment only.

The remainder of the grids show a range of subsurface anomalies at varying depths, most of which were evaluated using shallow test trenches, typically 0.50 m wide, 0.25-0.50 m deep, and from 1.00-3.00 m long in the N-S direction. This method allowed for the broad visualization of soil stratigraphy. Additional soil probing, test pits and/or mechanical excavation were also used in some cases to evaluate smaller anomalies and unusual ground surface features. All areas of human detection (cadaver) dogs alerted were also tested.

No burial shafts were detected in any of the anomalies tested. However, the research located a number of cultural features, including possible building foundations, pipe lines, and buried trash middens. We also uncovered soil evidence indicating prior trenching and/or land clearance — especially in the area identified by Ms. Krell as well as other witnesses on the South property and the area along to the Northwest of Boot Hill on the northern property. From these results, we conclude that there are most likely no human interments in the specific areas tested. However, we leave open the possibility of burials in untested areas.

Table 4. Locations of the GPR Survey Regions.

Grid	Area (m ²)	NE Corner Coordinates	SE Corner Coordinates	SW Corner Coordinates	NW Corner Coordinates	Field Location Description
A	117	-85.256207, 30.758751	-85.256116, 30.758644	-85.256182, 30.758601	-85.256275, 30.758714	NE corner of yard outside of Admin Building Grassy area west of barber shop and water tower
B	1797	-85.256365, 30.758268	-85.256485, 30.757944	-85.256965, 30.758107	-85.256837, 30.758414	Behind Superintendent's House
C	47	-85.256988, 30.758497	-85.257003, 30.758460	-85.257093, 30.758501	-85.257084, 30.758548	Large grid behind White House
D	394	-85.257603, 30.757658	-85.257675, 30.757485	-85.257867, 30.757560	-85.257788, 30.757724	Small grid behind White House
E	101	-85.257522, 30.757533	-85.257560, 30.757449	-85.257657, 30.757488	-85.257619, 30.757571	Long strip in woods, along depressions
F	49	-85.260600, 30.756359	-85.260583, 30.756354	-85.260777, 30.756194	-85.260787, 30.756216	Square in woods
G	32	-85.260825, 30.755916	-85.260815, 30.755870	-85.260895, 30.755876	-85.260892, 30.755911	Cedar Hill, West of fenceline, southeast of bachelor cottage
H	125	-85.259117, 30.758534	-85.259123, 30.758457	-85.259272, 30.758457	-85.259269, 30.758537	
I	1779	-85.256024, 30.757096	-85.256154, 30.756837	-85.256707, 30.757036	-85.256586, 30.757290	Area south of electronics shop, east of D and E
J	640	-85.256628, 30.758552	-85.255711, 30.758380	-85.256008, 30.758490	-85.255921, 30.758663	South of school building, east of A
K	193	-85.259153, 30.758683	-85.259118, 30.758539	-85.259247, 30.758524	-85.259281, 30.758651	Cedar Hill, Just north of H
L	32	-85.259144, 30.758722	-85.259141, 30.758690	-85.259287, 30.758671	-85.259280, 30.758683	Cedar Hill, Just north of K
M	170	-85.259623, 30.758673	-85.259591, 30.758534	-85.25971, 30.758506	-85.25971, 30.758674	Cedar Hill, Between two cottages
N	260	-85.259716, 30.758785	-85.259703, 30.758656	-85.25991, 30.758679	-85.259915, 30.758793	Cedar Hill, In front of cottage, northwest of M
O	49	-85.259877, 30.758806	-85.259888, 30.758745	-85.259965, 30.758772	-85.259966, 30.75882	Cedar Hill, In front of cottage, northwest of N
P	150	-85.259964, 30.75895	-85.259939, 30.758807	-85.260052, 30.7588	-85.260064, 30.758916	Cedar Hill, In front of cottage, across road, northwest of O
Q	566	-85.258764, 30.757946	-85.258669, 30.757676	-85.25884, 30.757628	-85.258953, 30.757892	Open area west of campus between fence and tree line, west of White House, southeast of Cedar Hill
R	410	-85.259786, 30.758392	-85.259801, 30.75829	-85.260108, 30.758324	-85.260109, 30.758465	Cedar Hill, South of (behind) cottage, between treeline and cottage
S	74	-85.260014, 30.758497	-85.260036, 30.758481	-85.260265, 30.758647	-85.260243, 30.75866	Cedar Hill, Thin grid between cottage and treeline, northwest of R
T	153	-85.258986, 30.758007	-85.259006, 30.757799	-85.259070, 30.757799	-85.259060, 30.758008	Open area west of campus at edge of treeline, westnorthwest of Q
U	189	-85.259046, 30.758096	-85.259082, 30.757913	-85.259162, 30.757919	-85.259153, 30.758111	Open area west of campus at edge of treeline, west of T
V	224	-85.258847, 30.756987	-85.258895, 30.756774	-85.258983, 30.756806	-85.258976, 30.756976	Clearing SW of White House, across fenceline inside treeline, south of W
W	204	-85.258864, 30.757180	-85.258847, 30.756987	-85.258954, 30.756986	-85.258959, 30.757172	Clearing SW of White House, across fenceline inside treeline, north of V
X	247	-85.257885, 30.756986	-85.257714, 30.756657	-85.257774, 30.756632	-85.257941, 30.756962	Open area west of campus between fence and tree line, west of loading dock, south of White House
Y	312	-85.257718, 30.756599	-85.257796, 30.756277	-85.257878, 30.756313	-85.257811, 30.756618	Open area west of campus between fence and tree line, west of loading dock, south of White House, south of X
Z	506	-85.258185, 30.757306	-85.258108, 30.756935	-85.258233, 30.756917	-85.258311, 30.757277	Open area west of campus between fence and tree line, northwest of loading dock, southwest of White House, northwest of X
AA	744	-85.258924, 30.758806	-85.258826, 30.758548	-85.259070, 30.758475	-85.259165, 30.758740	Open area west of campus between fence and tree line, south of work area, east of L, K, H
AB	366	-85.258917, 30.758523	-85.258837, 30.758303	-85.258978, 30.758262	-85.259059, 30.758484	Open area west of campus between fence and tree line, south of AA, southeast of work area, east of L, K, H
AC	109	-85.259035, 30.758251	-85.259049, 30.758167	-85.259158, 30.758177	-85.259147, 30.758275	Open area west of campus between fence and tree line, southwest of AB, north of U
AD	260	-85.258625, 30.758953	-85.258746, 30.759008	-85.258852, 30.758868	-85.258741, 30.758803	South, behind mechanics shop
AE	60	-85.258760, 30.759049	-85.258800, 30.759086	-85.258881, 30.759028	-85.258839, 30.758987	South, behind mechanics shop
AF	700	-	-	-	-	Behind Pierce Hall
AG	450	-	-	-	-	Behind Pierce Hall

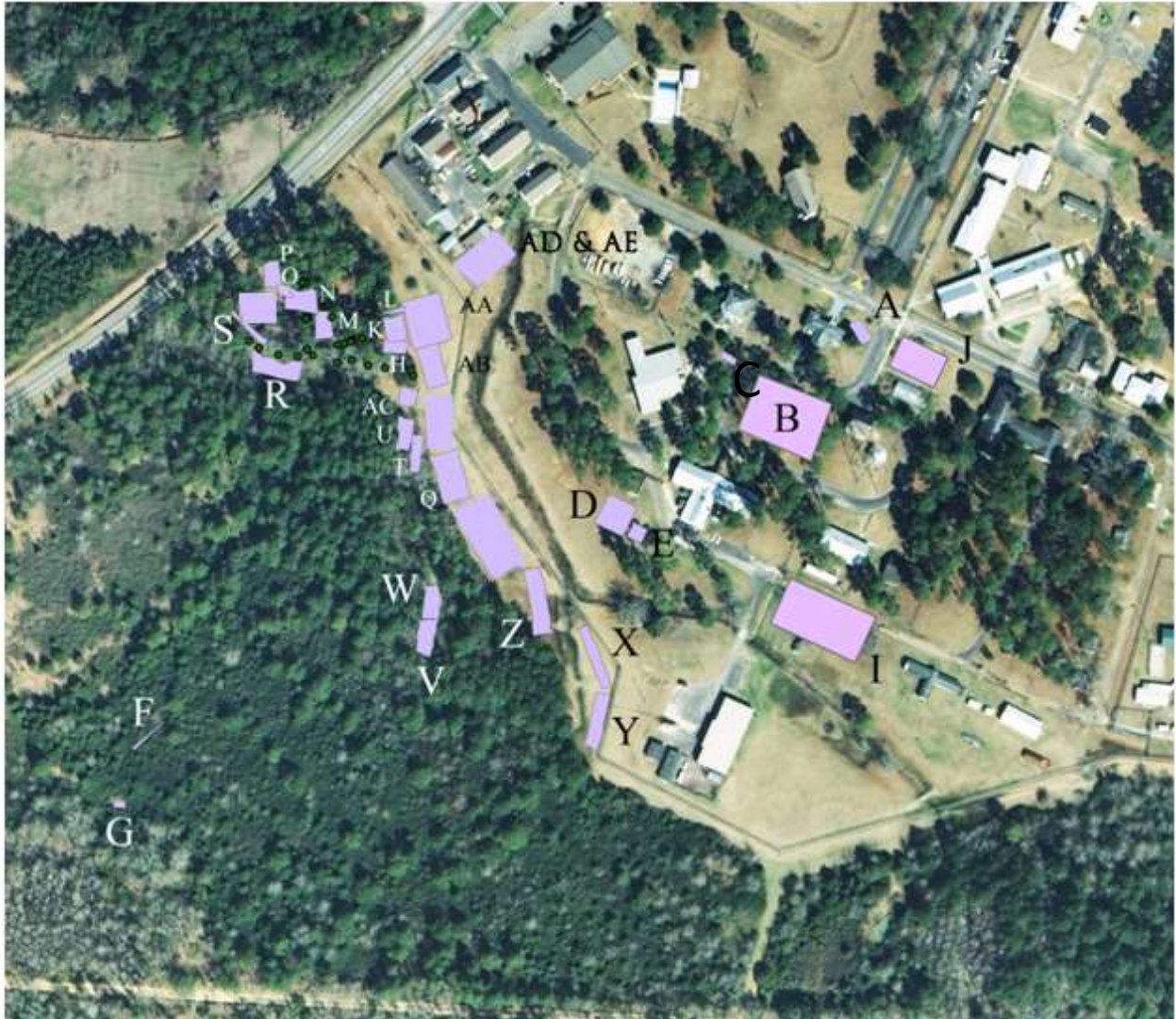


Figure 68. Map of the locations of the GPR survey regions (pink rectangles) and additional soil probes (green dots).



Figure 69. Illustration of additional search areas. Yellow squares are locations of GPR analysis. The red circles include areas of exploratory GPR surveys in which the data was not processed but in field assessments were made with probing, test pits, and mechanical trenching to look at soil profiles.

HUMAN IDENTIFICATION SUMMARY

The effort to make as many human identifications as possible is on-going. In cases where an identification is not possible, each set of human remains is numbered and the non-genetic information is housed in the NamUs.gov database which is the national database for missing and unidentified persons. The genetic profiles will remain in UNTHSC's local CODIS database for any future DNA comparisons. Therefore, if additional information is found in the future, the remains can be located. It is a well-established practice in forensic anthropology and legal medicine to use different levels of human identification with varying degrees of certainty, based on what lines of evidence is available (Figures 70-77).

A **Presumptive Identification** is the possible identity of an individual based on information that is consistent with individuality but that is not mutually exclusive to only one person. All of the initial parameters for identification are used here, such as age, sex, ancestry, stature, unique skeletal markers, skeletal pathology, the date of the burial as determined by artifacts, the location and context of the burial and other field evidence about possible association between the burial and known individuals.

The **Positive Identification** of an individual is established through information that is exclusive to only that individual (i.e., DNA, fingerprints, unique skeletal or dental morphology, or sinus patterns) and is derived by comparisons of ante- and postmortem information that are unique to a particular individual. In the case of the Dozier remains, bone samples from the individuals excavated on site were tested for DNA and those results were compared to family reference samples (FRS), also collected for this project by the Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office and the Florida Department of Law Enforcement. All DNA testing was performed at the University of North Texas Health Sciences Center (UNTHSC).

The methods used for processing, imaging, sampling, and the osteological analyses are standard practice for forensic anthropology (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Kimmerle and Baraybar 2008; Kimmerle et al. 2012; Kimmerle and Powell 2012; Moorrees et al. 1963; Scheuer and Black 2004; Smith 1991; Ubelaker 1978). Digital radiographs were conducted at the Hillsborough County Office of the Medical Examiner (HCMEO) and the Forensic Anthropology Laboratory at USF, all other skeletal and artifact analyses were completed at the USF Forensic Anthropology Laboratory.

Graduate assistants Kelsee Hentschel, Kirsten Visotik, Carrie LeGarde, Jaime Sykes, Gennifer Goad, Liotta Noche-Dowdy, Meredith Tise, Cristina Kelbaugh, Ashley Maxwell, Ashley Humphries, John Powell, Rich Wertz, Suzanna Pratt, and Martin Menz assisted with the excavation and analysis of these remains and associated artifacts.

Biological profiles are estimated from skeletal and dental data (Figure 70). The completeness of the profile depends on what data is available due to recovery and/or preservation. The objectives of the current osteological analyses were to establish: a) biological information for identification of each individual recovered (age-at-death, sex, ancestry, and stature estimation); b) classify unique skeletal markers that may aid with identification; c) collect samples for chemical and elemental isotopic testing for georeferencing mobility, d) collect samples for DNA testing for identification; and to e) photograph, x-ray, and 3D laser scan images for documentation of the remains and findings.

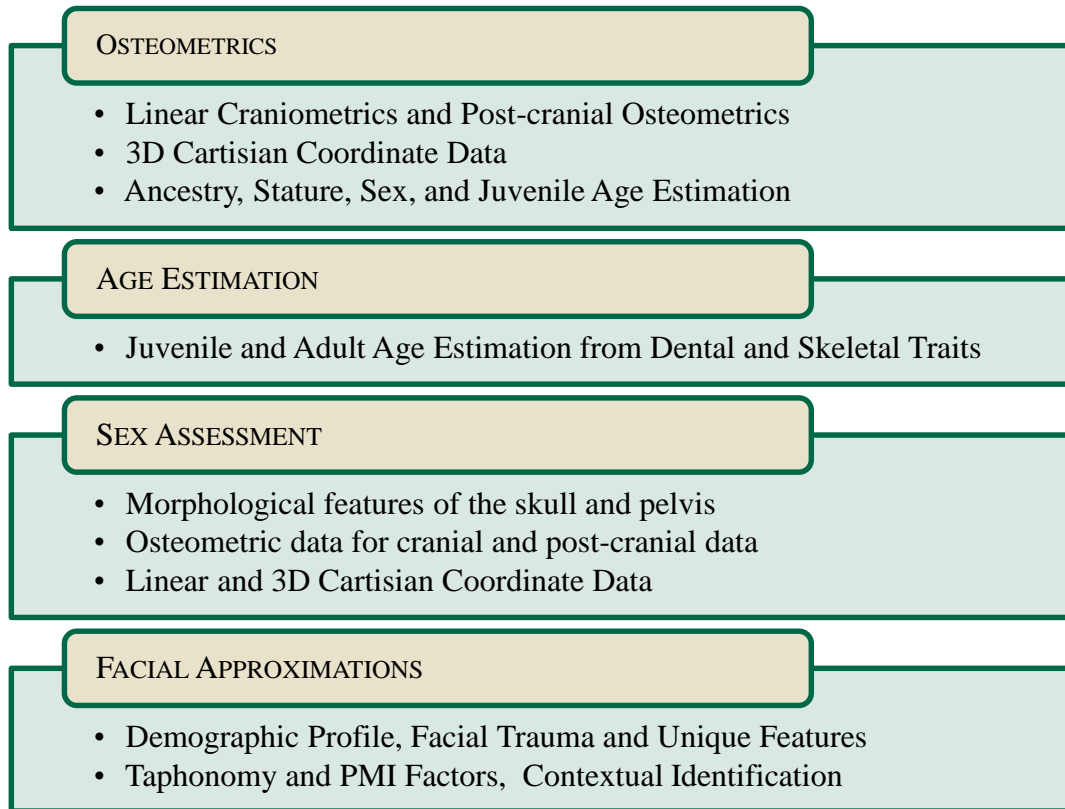


Figure 70. Diagram illustrating methods for skeletal analysis and human identification.

Human Identification Results

- To date, 7 positive and 14 presumptive identifications have been made. Tables 5-8 list these individuals. Among the 7 positive identifications, 4 have been repatriated to families and buried in family cemeteries. Figure 71 is a plot map showing the burial locations of those who have been identified.
- Sixty-nine (69) bone and tooth samples for 51 individuals were submitted for DNA testing. Within this set, 11 samples were from the burned/commingled remains from Boot Hill and 1 bone recovered from the burned dorm site.
- None of the burned remains yielded a DNA result.
- Among the non-burned cases, 33 did yield a mtDNA result and 10 yielded both mtDNA and YSTR DNA results. For those cases with YSTR results, we were able to obtain Haplotype genetic information about ancestry, which has helped with making presumptive identifications in cases where a positive identification is not possible.
 - Among those cases that did not yield a DNA result, the remains were re-evaluated to assess if additional samples could be submitted for further testing. In 10 cases, new samples were resubmitted and the results are pending.

- Twenty-seven (27) family reference samples (FRS) for 14 missing boys have been submitted for DNA testing. Testing is complete except for recent re-submissions which are pending.
- Seven families are still waiting for a match.
- In addition to the family reference samples already submitted, families for 3 additional fire victims have been located; however, no samples were collected because none of the burned bone yielded a DNA result for a viable comparison.
- Burial 41 may be presumptively identified based on ancestry (refer to Figure 71).

Figure 71 also shows dates based on artifacts, for which we can say the burials occurred after that date (i.e. a wheat penny from 1917). Therefore some of the names on the plot map are possibly associated with particular graves given the dates of death, ages of individuals recovered, and the location and context of the burials.

Table 5. List of Positive Identifications Based on DNA (n=7)

Name	Method of Identification	Burial Number
George Owen Smith	Positive ID based on DNA	1
Thomas Varnadoe	Positive ID based on DNA	53
Early Wilson	Positive ID based on DNA	4
Sam Morgan	Positive ID based on DNA	26
Loyd Dutton	Positive ID based on DNA	42
Grady Huff	Positive ID based on DNA	54
Robert Stephens	Positive ID based on DNA	10

Table 6. List of Presumptive Human Identifications (n=14)

Name	Method of Identification	Burial Number
Bennett Evans	Presumptive based on age, burial location, evidence of burning, and context	25, 50, 51, & 52
Charles Evans	Presumptive based on age, burial location, evidence of burning, and context	25, 50, 51, & 52
Schley Hunter	Presumptive based on age, ancestry, burial location, and context	2
Billy Jackson	Presumptive based on age, ancestry, burial location, date of artifacts, and context	24
John Williams	Presumptive based on age, ancestry, location, date of artifacts, and context	33
Lee Goolsby	Presumptive based on age, burial location, and context	43
Thomas Adkins	Presumptive based on age, burial location and relative date, and context	45
Wilbur Smith	Presumptive based on age, burial location and relative date, and context	47
Willie Adkins	Presumptive based on age, burial location and relative date, and context	20
George Grissam	Presumptive based on age, ancestry in association to Burial 18, burial location and relative date, and context	19
Richard Nelson	Presumptive based on age, burial location, date of artifacts, and context	3
Robert Cato	Presumptive based on age, burial location, date of artifacts, and context	5
Joshua Backey	Presumptive based on age, burial location, date of artifacts, and context	6
James Hammond	Presumptive based on age, burial location, date of artifacts, and context	7

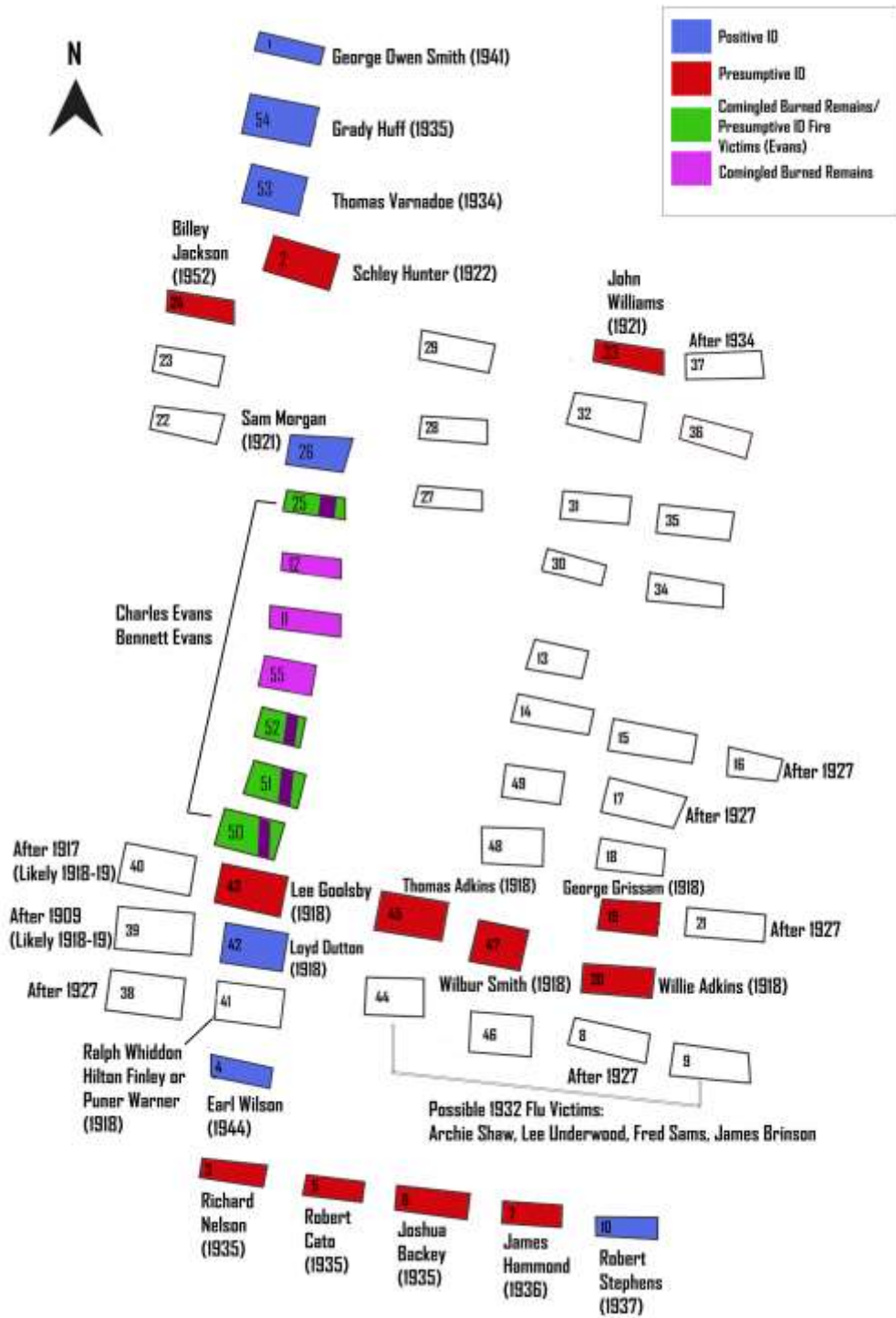


FIGURE 71. BOOT HILL BURIAL GROUND PLAT MAP SHOWING IDENTIFICATIONS

Table 7. List of Individuals Possibly Buried at the Boot Hill Burial Ground (n=45).

Date of Death	Name	Age	Ancestry	DC	Circumstances	Burial Number
11/18/1914	Bennett Evans	Adult	White	No	Fire	25, 50, 51, & 52
11/18/1914	Charles Evans	Adult	White	No	Fire	25, 50, 51, & 52
2/28/1916	Sim Williams	18	Colored	No	Unknown	
5/25/1916	Tillman Mohind	17	Colored	No	Unknown	
1916	James Joshua	-	Colored	No	Unknown	
4/16/1918	Thomas Adkins	12	Colored	No	Unknown	45
10/6/1918	Lee Goolsby	13	White	No	Escape/Unknown	43
10/23/1918	George Grissam	6	Colored	No	Paroled Labor/ Unconscious	19
10/25/1918	Willie Adkins	13	Colored	No	Unknown	20
11/4/1918	Loyd Dutton	14	White	No	Unknown	42
11/6/1918	Ralph Whiddon	16	White	No	Unknown	41
11/6/1918	Hilton Finley	16	White	No	Unknown	41
11/8/1918	Puner Warner	16	White	No	Unknown	41
ca. 1918	Wilber Smith	10	Colored	No	"Reported Flu"	47
2/12/1919	Joe Anderson	17	Colored	No	Unknown	
5/9/1919	Leonard Simmons	13	Colored	No	Unknown	
12/12/1920	Nathaniel Sawyer	12	Colored	No	Unknown	
2/26/1921	Arthur Williams	12	Colored	No	Unknown	
4/15/1922	Schley Hunter	16	White	Yes	Pneumonia/Influenza	2
1921	Sam Morgan	21	White	No	Paroled/Unknown	26
7/9/1921	John H. Williams	15	Colored	No	"... Accident"	33
12/31/1922	Calvin Williams	15	Colored	No	Unknown	
12/4/1924	Clifford Miller	15	Colored	No	Unknown	
8/19/1924	Charlie Overstreet	15	Colored	Yes	Tonsillectomy	
5/16/1925	Edward Fonders	18	Colored	Yes	Drowning	
12/18/1925	Walter Askew	12	Colored	No	Unknown	
1/30/1926	Nollie Davis	15	Colored	Yes	Lobar Pneumonia	
4/8/1929	Robert Rhoden	15	Colored	Yes	Pneumonia	
10/15/1929	Samuel Bethel	16	Colored	Yes	Tuberculosis	
1/5/1932	Lee Smith	17	Colored	Yes	Rupture of Lung	
5/9/1932	Joe Stephens	15	Colored	Yes	Influenza	
4/22/1932	Archie J. Shaw Jr.	12	Colored	No	Influenza	
4/21/1932	Lee Underwood	16	Colored	Yes	Pneumonia/Influenza	
4/22/1932	Fred Sams	15	Colored	Yes	Pneumonia/Influenza	
4/10/1932	James Brinson	12	Colored	Yes	Pneumonia/Influenza	
10/26/1934	Thomas Varnadoe	13	White	Yes	Lobar Pneumonia	53
2/23/1935	Richard Nelson	12	Colored	Yes	Pneumonia/Influenza	3
2/24/1935	Robert Cato	12	Colored	Yes	Pneumonia/Influenza	5
3/4/1935	Grady Huff	17	White	Yes	Nephritis/Hernia	54
3/16/1935	Joshua Backey	14	Colored	No	Blood Poison	6
4/30/1936	James Hammond	14	Colored	Yes	Pulmonary Tuberculosis	7
7/15/1937	Robert Stephens	15	Colored	Yes	Knife Wounds	10

1/24/1941	George Owen Smith	14	White	No	Escaped/Unknown	1
8/31/1944	Earl Wilson	12	Colored	Yes	Blunt Trauma	4
10/7/1952	Billey Jackson	13	Colored	Yes	Escaped/Pyelonephritis	24

From historic records, 34 names were documented as buried on school grounds. The names highlighted in bold have been positively identified through DNA analysis. The names highlighted in gray are presumptively identified based in age, ancestry, location of grave in relation to other identified cases, context, and the relative date of burial based on artifacts.

Table 8. List of Possible 1914 Fire Victims.

Entry	Name of Decedent	Age/Sex	NOK	Ancestry	County Origin
1	Bennett Evans	Adult/Male	Yes	White	Jackson
2	Charles Evans	Adult/Male	Yes	White	Jackson
3	Louis Haffin	Unknown/Male		White	Duval
4	Joseph Weathersby	13 years/Male	Yes	White	Duval
5	Walter Fisher	Unknown/Male		White	Hillsborough
6	Clarence Parrott	Unknown/Male	Yes	White	Pinellas
7	Lois Fernandez	Unknown/Male		White	Monroe
8	Harry Wells	Unknown/Male		White	Duval
9	Earl E. Morris	Unknown/Male	Yes	White	Polk
10	Waldo Drew	8 years/Male	Lead	White	Pinellas
11	Clifford Jeffords	Unknown/Male		White	Pinellas
12	S. Bennett	Unknown/Male		White	Unknown

NOK = next of kin is known and available for a family reference sample, however DNA not collected except for Charles Evans, as DNA was not recovered from skeletal material. These names appear in various historical records and may or many not be accurate.

GENERAL FINDINGS FROM SKELETAL ANALYSIS

- Generally, the causes of death could not be determined from the skeletal analysis due to the condition of the remains, which was compromised due to root growth from the brush and trees, as well as water damage. Fortunately, preservation was good enough to yield DNA results in most cases. Table 9 lists the age, sex, and ancestry of remains by burial.
- Overall, biological markers of poverty were present throughout. For example, there was substantial evidence of nutritional deficiencies (2 possible cases of cribra orbitalia), including uncorrelated dental and skeletal development, under-development and slowed or delayed growth given age; and acute ear infections (mastoiditis) resulting in abnormal changes to the surrounding bony tissues (12 out of 21 observable cases, or 57% of boys).
 - There was almost no dental care. The far majority of boys had extensive caries (cavities), abscesses, and dental disease throughout.
 - Of 48 observable cases (excluding the graves with comingled burned remains), 40 boys had untreated dental caries (cavities), ranging from 1 to 17 per child. Only one boy had dental amalgams showing dental work.
 - In 19 cases, dental hypoplasias were present (ranging from 1-12 per child), indicating nutritional stress during the time the enamel was forming.
- The cranio-facial bones were complete and intact enough to scan and digitally reconstruct the skulls for the purpose of creating facial approximations for Burials USF13-01313 and USF 13-01336 (Figures 72 and 73).
- Burial USF13-01333 contained the skeletal and dental remains of a 13-17 year old child, most likely of mixed African American and American Indian ancestry. He was buried in a casket with clothing, evidenced by buttons and a metal belt buckle. No dates for these items could be ascertained. The condition of the remains was poor due to erosion of the tissues from root damage. Cause of death could not be determined due to the condition of the remains. YSTR and mtDNA profiles were obtained, though no identification has been made at this date. Also, within the grave, along with the remains (near the left lower abdomen/upper thigh region of the body) was a small lead ball consistent with a projectile. It was submitted to the FDLE crime lab in Tampa (No. 20140304313) by the Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office. FDLE ballistics experts concluded the following, "The Exhibit #238947-1 lead ball cannot be definitively determined to be an ammunition component due to damage and corrosion; however, it is consistent with 000 Buck size shot pellets for various muzzle loading balls based on weight, size, and physical appearance."

Burial USF13-01333 is presumptively identified as John Williams. This assessment is tentative but is based on the following lines of information: the date of burial, location and context of the burial compared to other known gravesites, and the age and ancestry of the remains. His teeth exhibited 12 linear enamel hypoplasias. He also had bilateral mastoiditis at the time of his death. Information that aided this ID was provided by FDLE.



**Facial Approximation and Superimposition
over 3D Reconstruction, Burial 36 (age 8-14 years)**

Figure 72. Facial approximation for 8-14 year old boy recovered at
Boot Hill Burial Ground (Burial 36).



Facial Approximation
13-15 years old
Burial 13

Figure 73. Facial approximation for 13-15 year old boy recovered at Boot Hill Burial Ground, Burial 13.

Table 9. Demography of Burials Excavated from the Boot Hill Burial Ground Based on Skeletal Analysis and Genetic Testing

Burial #	Age (years)	Ancestry	Sex
1	10-14	White/possible Am. Indian Admix	Indeterminate
2	11-15	African American	Male
3	11-14	African American	Indeterminate
4	9-12	African American	Male
5	Indeterminate	Possible African American	Indeterminate
6	13-18	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
7	14-16	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
8	14-18	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
9	12-16	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
10	12-15	African American	Male
11	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
12	8-15	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
13	13-14.5	African American	Male
14	13-17	African American/possible Hispanic Admix	Male
15	14-16	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
16	13-15	African American	Indeterminate
17	13-15	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
18	9-11	African American/possible White or Hispanic Admix	Indeterminate
19	6-10	African American/possible Hispanic Admix	Indeterminate
20	13-18	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
21	14-18	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
22	11-16	African American	Male
23	13-15	African American	Indeterminate
24	14-17	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
25*	Adult	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
25	8-18	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
26	20-40	White/possible Hispanic or Am. Indian Admix	Male
27	14-16	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
28	13-15	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
29	15-18	Possible African American	Indeterminate
30	7-20	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
31	12-16	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
32	14-18	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
33	13-17	African American/possible Hispanic Admix	Male

34	16-18	African American	Indeterminate
35	11-15	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
36	8-14	African American	Male
		African American/possible Am	
37	10-15	Indian Admix	Indeterminate
38	11-15	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
39	12-16	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
40	12-16	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
41	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
		White/possible Am. Indian	
42	9-15	Admix	Male
43	8-11	White/possible Hispanic Admix	Indeterminate
44	9-13	African American	Indeterminate
45	11-14	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
46	14-18	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
47	11-15	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
48	12-14	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
49	12-14	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
50*	Adult	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
50	10-18	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
51*	Adult	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
51	8-16	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
52*	Adult	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
52	8-14	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
53	13-15	White	Male
54	12-16	White	Male
55	11-14	Indeterminate	Indeterminate

*Some burials contained more than 1 individual, these remains were commingled.

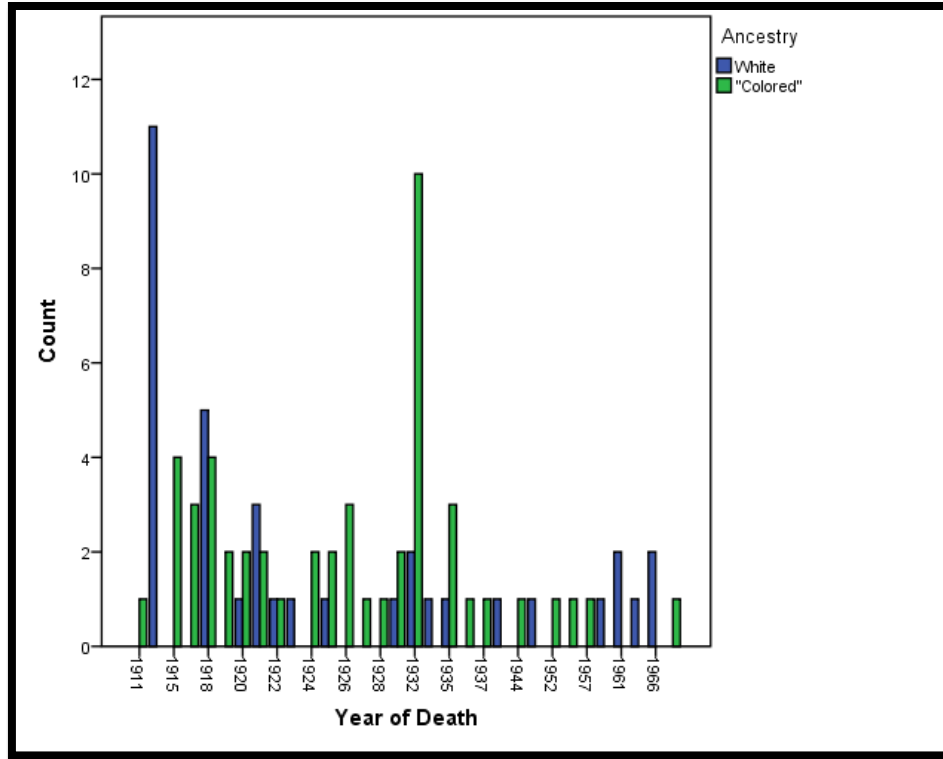


Figure 74. Year of death comparisons among white and colored boys.

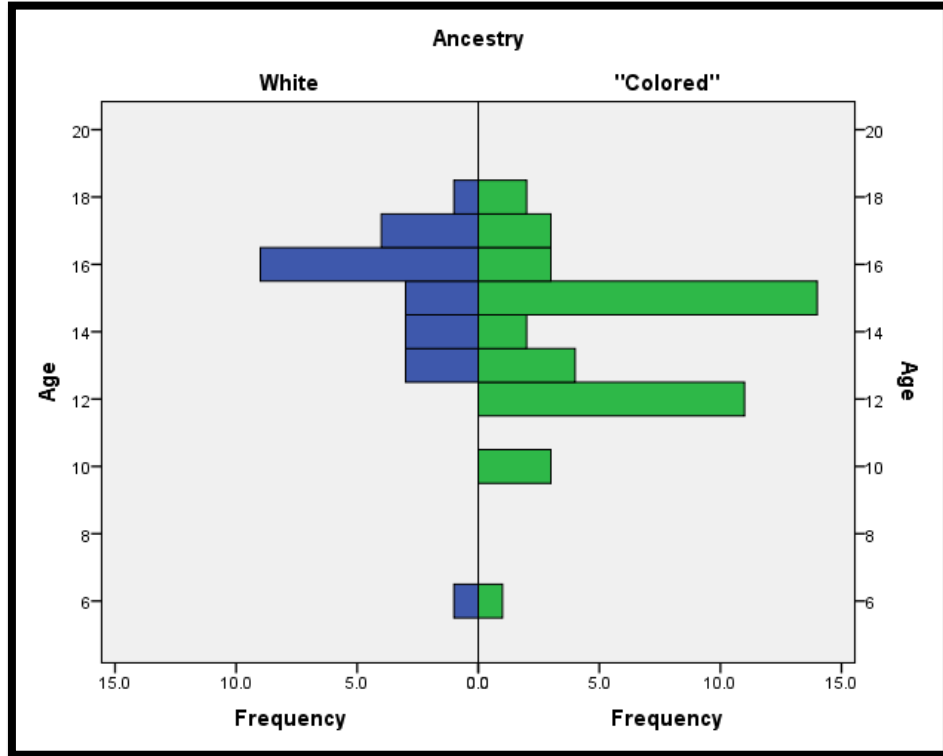


Figure 75. Age at death distributions.

Table 10. Boys that Died Less than 90 Days after Arriving at FIS (n=20).

Name	Age	Number of Days	Date of Death	DC Issued	Circumstances
Thomas Aikins	12	44	4/16/1918	No	Unknown
Leonard Simmons	13	29	5/09/1919	No	Unknown
Wallace Ward	16	9	3/2/1921	Yes	Pneumonia
Guy Hudson	16	30	8/14/1921	Yes	Drowning
Calvin Williams	15	41	12/31/1922	Yes	Unknown
George Chancey	6	23	10/25/1923	Yes	Malaria
Thomas E. Curry	18	25	12/11/1925	Yes	Escape/Blunt trauma
Walter Askew	12	23	12/18/1925	No	Unknown
Willie Sherman	15	20	4/18/1926	Yes	Pneumonia
Dary Pender	13	38	5/16/1932	Yes	Lobar pneumonia/influenza
Lonnie Harrell	14	24	2/11/1932	Yes	Following anesthesia for a surgical operation
Lee Smith	17	68	1/05/1932	Yes	Traumatic rupture of lung after falling of a mule
Thomas Varnadoe	13	34	10/26/1934	Yes	Lobar pneumonia/anemia
Robert Cato	12	31	2/24/1935	Yes	Lobar pneumonia/influenza
James Hammond	14	43	4/30/1936	Yes	Pulmonary tuberculosis
George Owen Smith	14	64	1/24/1941	No	Escape/Unknown
Earl Wilson	12	72	8/31/1944	Yes	Head injury, blows to the head
Billey Jackson	13	63	10/07/1952	Yes	Pyelonephritis
Robert Hewett	16	13	4/4/1960	Yes	Escape/ "Gunshot wounds in chest inflicted by person or persons unknown"
Alphonse Glover	--	10		--	Possible Drowning

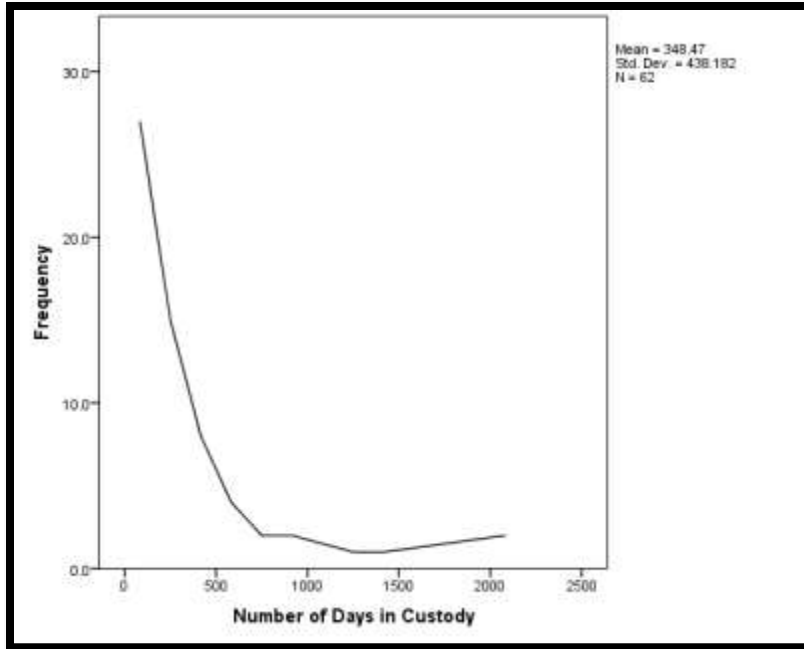


Figure 76. Frequency of days in custody from date of admittance to death.

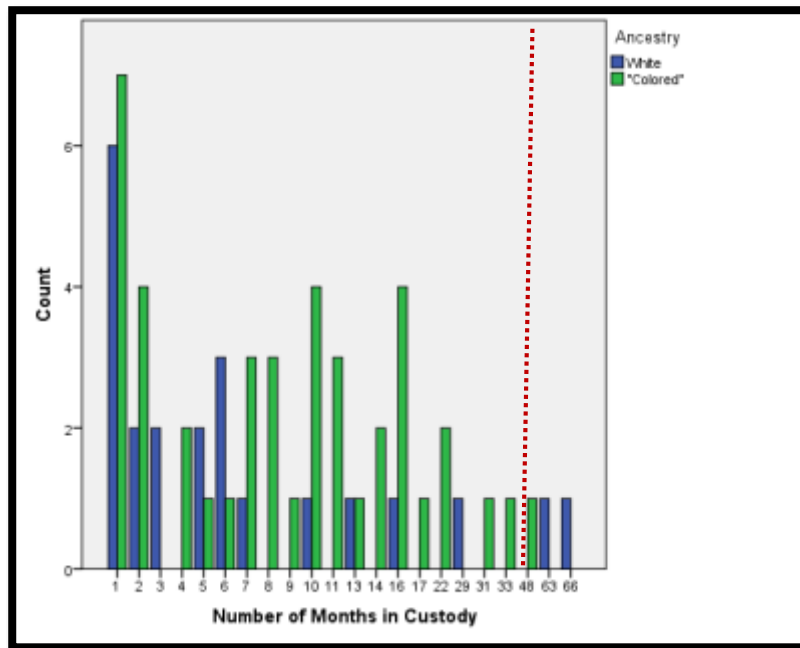


Figure 77. Number of months in custody from the date of admittance to death by ancestry. The dashed red line is the 48 month mark which was the original maximum term set by the legislature for sentencing that was later changed to 21 years old, or the discretion of the Board of Managers.

TRENDS IN MORBIDITY AND MORTALITY

The very general mortality patterns as discerned from the records are briefly discussed. Among the student deaths, only 44 were issued death certificates (26/60 colored boys and 18/35 white boys). Even when a cause of death (COD) is listed on the death certificate, such as “gunshot wounds in chest” the manner may be “unknown” and the description of the cause and mechanisms of death do not meet the legal definitions used by today’s standards. Therefore, general categories of death are used to describe the prevalence of diseases, trauma and other causes of death, which in some cases are more descriptive of the circumstances of death, than the actual medico-legal cause of death. In this discussion, COD refers to the cause and/or circumstances of death as described in the historical documents.

Based on information from available death certificates, 6 boys were autopsied. Four of the boys were autopsied by Dr. Charles Whitaker, the school physician. Whitaker was also present with the coroner and a sheriff’s deputy at the home where George Owen Smith’s body had been discovered. According to local newspapers, Dr. Whitaker believed the body was too decomposed for autopsy and therefore no coroner’s jury was established. Whitaker was also employed at the school during the time Robert Hewett died (1960), although it unknown why no autopsy was performed. The two boys who were autopsied outside of Jackson County died after running away and therefore were autopsied in the counties that the deaths occurred (Table 11).

The cause and circumstance of deaths are completely unknown in about 34.5% (29/84) of cases (Figure 78). Approximately 20.0% of deaths among white boys are unknown, whereas nearly 44.8% of deaths among colored boys are undocumented. Different trends for the categories of death are noted for white and colored boys (Figure 74-77). The fire deaths, from 2 different incidents involved only white boys. In addition to the fire of 1914, one boy died as a result of toxemia due to 35% of his body being burned during a work related accident (James Cecil Ansley died in 1929). Several of the other deaths can also be attributed to working on the farm or industry related deaths as indicated on their death certificates or newspaper accounts printed by the school (Lee Smith died in 1932). Several boys died while paroled for labor. There were more traumatic deaths among white (7) than colored boys (4). In part, this is explained by the deaths that occurred following escape, in which 4 cases involved traumatic injuries (Table 10 and Figure 79). The number of infectious disease cases are much higher among colored boys (79.2% or n=19/24).

Table 11. Autopsied Cases (n=6)

Year	Superintendent	Decedent Name	Autopsy Physician	Ruling
1944	Davidson	Earl Wilson	C.D. Whitaker, M.D.	Homicide
1949	Dozier	Eddie Albert Black	C.D. Whitaker, M.D.	Homicide
1952	Dozier	Billey Jackson	C.D. Whitaker, M.D.	Natural
1954	Dozier	Clarence Cunningham	W.J. Hutchinson, M.D.	Accident
1957	Dozier	George Fordom Jr.	S.A. Shaffer M.D.	Natural
1961	Dozier	Edgar Thomas Elton	C.D. Whitaker, M.D.	Natural

There were two deaths related to medical treatment, both resulting from anesthesia during surgery for a hernia and tonsillectomy. For example:

- **Lonnie Harrell Davidson** was a 14 year old colored boy who was admitted to the school on 1/18/1932. Twenty-four days later, he died during a hernia operation on 2/11/1932. A death certificate was issued and certified by Dr. N.A. Baltzell, M.D. who had performed the surgery and was the school physician.
- **Charlie Overstreet** was a 15 year old white boy who entered the school on 4/25/1923. He died several months later on August 19, from anesthesia for a tonsillectomy. A death certificate was issued and certified by Dr. N.A. Baltzell, M.D. who had performed the surgery and was the school physician.

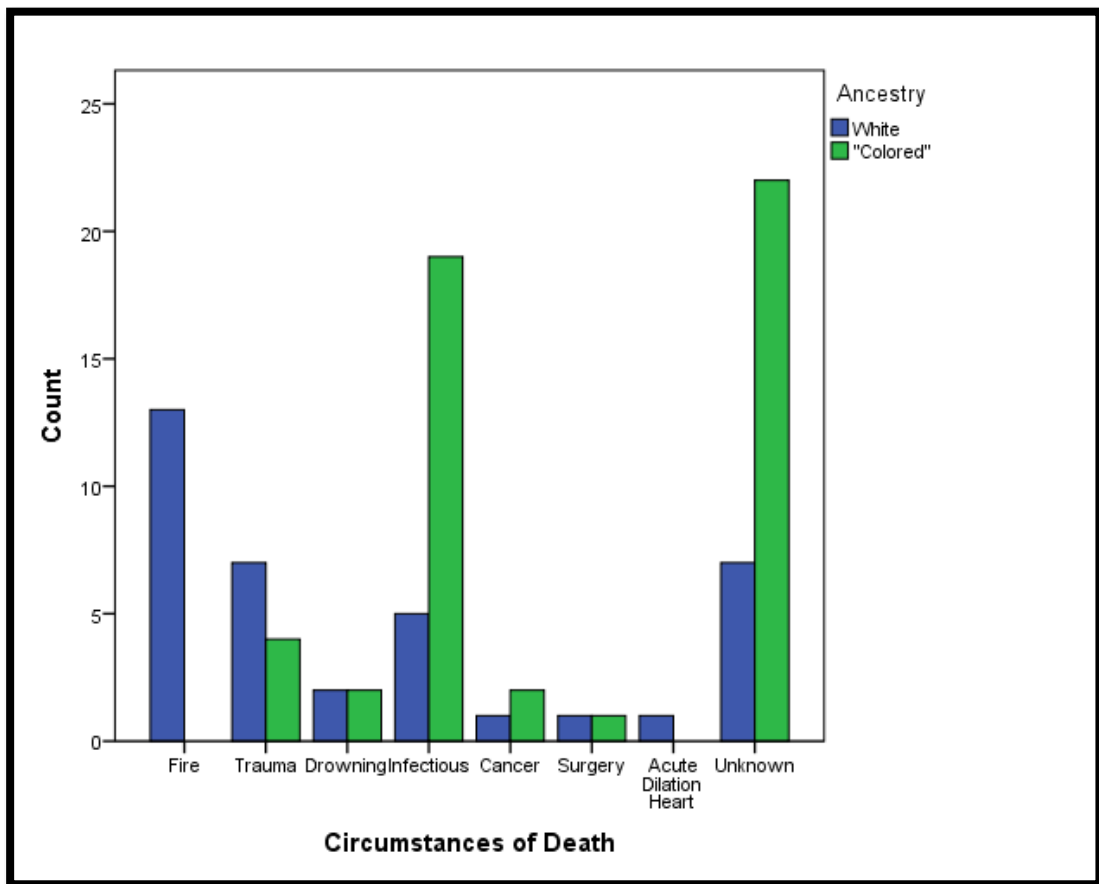


Figure 78. Frequency of different categories of death. For the majority of individuals, there is no known cause of death.

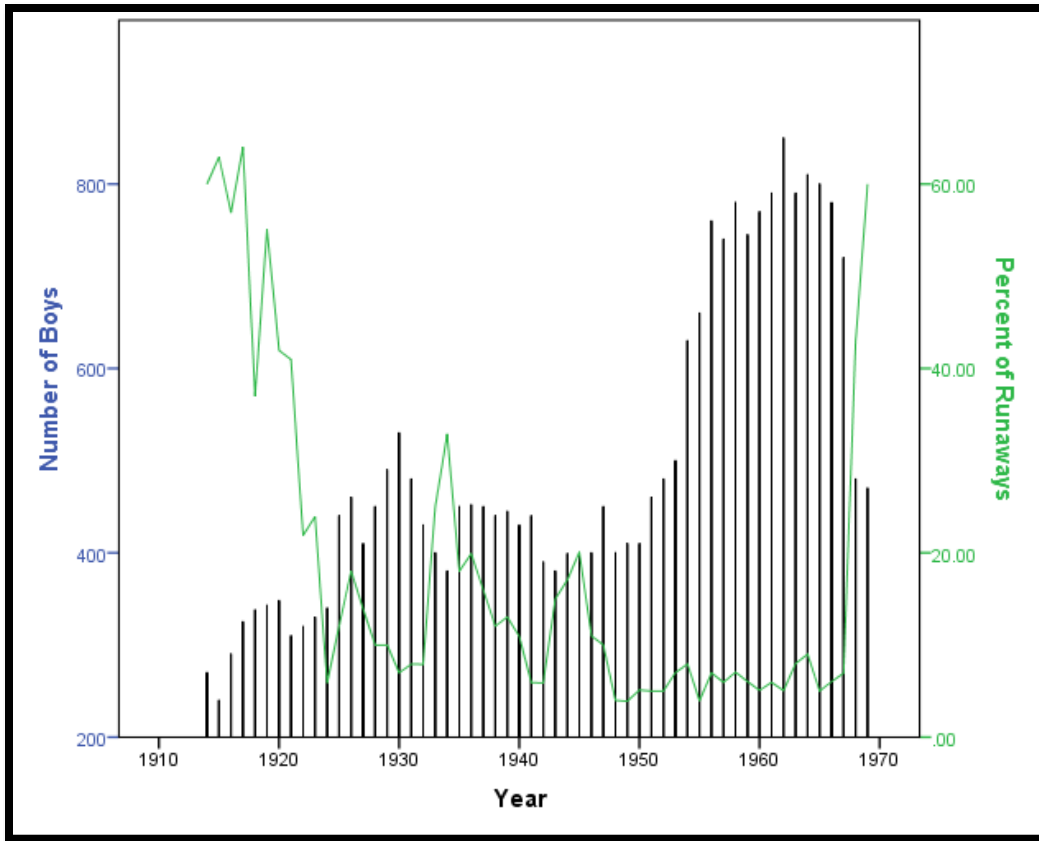


Figure 79. Number of total students over time plotted against the frequency of escapees. Data on the number of students and runaways comes from Lundrigan (1975) and begins in 1914 though school opened in 1900. Overall the trend for substantial inmate growth at the institution is evident. Many of the dips in the number of inmates follow events that also resulted in higher mortality rates. For example the population size decreases in 1915, 1921, 1927, early 1930s, and 1968-69. These dates are also notable because they follow the fire of 1914, several infectious disease outbreaks, and the end of segregation and corporal punishment (late 1960s).

- When the school first opened, the law stipulated incarceration between 6 months and 4 years but this was changed after school leaders lobbied for ways to increase the number of boys sent to the school. Three boys died after four years of incarceration at the school (>1460 days) including Bethel (1929), Hunter (1922), and Morgan (1921). Bethel and Hunter died of infectious diseases; the cause of Morgan's death is unknown. They had been paroled out for labor and were brought back to the school for burial.
- A high number of boys died a relatively short time after arriving at FIS (Table 11).
- Data on the date of admission was present for 64 cases, among whom, 20 or 31.2% died less than 90 days after arriving (20/64).
- Among these, 8 actually died within the first 30 days (nearly 40.0% of this group).

- Within this group, all but five were issued death certificates and two were autopsied.
- According to the death certificates: 7 boys died of infectious disease (pneumonia, tuberculosis, or malaria); 4 boys died of the result of trauma including gunfire and blunt trauma; one boy died following surgery, two from drowning, and one from pyelonephritis.

Findings about other Suspicious Deaths

- Former students **Johnnie Walthour and Woodrow Williams** both confirmed that they were present for 3 burials at the school between 1951 and 1952, but the school's records only document one burial for Billey Jackson during this time. Other circumstantial evidence of additional funerals in the 1950s includes a photograph from the State Archives suggesting that there was a memorial or funeral at the school in the 1950s other than Jackson's funeral, possibly confirming the witness statements (Kimmerle et al, 2012: Figure 3). Given that we found more human remains than names on our MP list, it is possible there were more deaths in the range of 1951-53 than previously recorded. Further research into records from this time needs to occur to better answer this question.
- **Billey Jackson's** death certificate states that Billey died of pyelonephritis. Both Mr. Walthour and Mr. Williams stated that approximately two weeks prior to Billey's death, Billey had attempted to escape from the school and had been so badly punished by school officials in the White House that his stomach was distended. Walthour stated that Billey told him he was "beat real bad" for running away. They further reported he was hospitalized shortly after the beating and that Billey never returned from the hospital alive. Billey's sister Mattie Jackson reported to USF researchers (December 30, 2014) that as a child, her mother told her Billey died due to being beaten at the Reform School. She did not know how her mother was informed of this information, other than the truant officer who had come to the home to inform them of Billey's death. According the forensic pathologists Hair and Chrostowski (refer to appendix):

Pyelonephritis is a form of ascending urinary tract infection, which may affect one or both kidneys. It is usually associated with urine retention, and can indeed be fatal. The obstruction of flow initiating the pathology may result from a congenital condition, e.g. inadequate valve mechanism at the junction of the ureters and the bladder, or obstruction of the ureter(s) due to urolithiasis, i.e. kidney stones, or trauma.

In addition to Billey Jackson, Walthour stated that there were two more deaths during his time at the school that resulted in burials on Boot Hill. One funeral he witnessed when he saw people at the burial ground from the dining hall and the second funeral he participated in by helping to dig the grave for a colored boy whose name he did not remember. Note that we did not find a written record of any deaths during this time other than Jackson. However, two additional deaths and burials at Boot Hill in 1951-52 were confirmed in a second interview with a former student, Woodrow Williams (Interview November 8, 2012) and may be evident in a photograph obtained from the State Archives.

The grave of **Billey Jackson** has been presumptively identified as Burial 24 located along the western boundary of the site. It is north of two other graves, which the three in combination are separated from the other graves. Jackson's identification is based on several lines of evidence including the approximate date of death (based on artifacts), the location and context of the burial compared to other known/positively identified persons, the age and ancestry of Jackson. While a family reference sample was obtained from his sister, Mattie Jackson (December 30, 2014), she indicated that they were both adopted and she did not know if they were adopted as biological siblings or not. Therefore, we may not expect a DNA match to his sister.

Williams (Interview November 8, 2012) stated that he was at the funeral of Billey Jackson and remembered him because he was small, always getting bullied and had been missing prior to his death. Both Walthour and Williams believe that Jackson was beaten prior to being hospitalized before his death which may have contributed to his death. Further discussion of these interviews occurs later in this report with regard to Jackson's death.

A photograph (Figure 3) obtained from the Florida State Archives is noted as "ca. 1950s possible memorial". Neither Walthour nor Williams recognized anyone in the photograph nor did they remember a large crowd or photographer at Jackson's funeral. If there were additional deaths and burials at FIS in the early 1950s as described, this photo may be from one of those funerals.

What Walthour remembered most vividly he said was the box, a coffin in the back of the cart coming up the hill and the men putting it into the ground at Jackson's funeral (Interview May 9, 2012). Walthour said that there was a minister present, but did not recall Jackson's family as present and wasn't sure if he had a family since he had never discussed them with Jackson.

- **Thomas Curry** was a 15 year old boy admitted to the School on November 12, 1925. He died on December 11, 1925, 29 days after admittance, subsequent to having run away from the school. His death certificate states the cause of death resulted from blunt trauma: "...verdict of coroner [L. H. Sanders, Coroner]: came to his death from a wound to the forehead, skull crushed from unknown cause."

Thomas died after running away from the school. The other boys who ran away died from of blunt trauma, shotgun injuries, exposure to inclement weather, run over by a vehicle/vehicle accident, or unknown causes according to historical documents and death certificates.

The remains of Thomas Curry were reportedly shipped to his grandmother in Philadelphia for burial. On October 7, 2014 our team excavated his grave through a court order obtained by district attorney Brendan O'Malley and State Police Cpl. Thomas McAndrew. We did not find the remains of Curry in the grave and do not believe they decomposed beyond recognition, based on the other findings associated with the burial.

The historical records show that Curry's remains were brought to the Florida State Hospital, whose doctors issued a death certificate and served as the undertaker. There was delay from the time of death to when the body was supposedly shipped.

At this time, we are continuing to search for his remains and cross referencing several family DNA samples with the unknown boys buried at Boot Hill. It is possible Curry was buried at the Boot Hill Burial Ground as it was standard practice for school officials to bury the dead the same day of death and notify the families afterwards. In the records, it appeared Curry was an orphan with his next of kin was living out of state. There was a delay in the time from death to when the coffin was shipped. There are also several cases of remains exhumed from Boot Hill that have not yielded a DNA sample. So while no matches have been made to the Curry family reference samples, it is still highly possible Curry was buried at the Boot Hill Burial Ground.

- **Robert Hewett** entered the reform school on 3/22/1960. School records are consistent with his sister's account that on April 2, Robert ran away from the school. The school's ledger and the death certificate indicate Hewett died two days later on April 4. Hewett's death certificate states the manner of death is "unknown" but the cause of death is "gunshot wounds in chest inflicted by person or persons unknown." According to medical examiners who reviewed this case, his death by today's standards would be ruled a Homicide as he was shot by another person (as stated on the death certificate). Refer to Hair and Chrostowski in Kimmerle et al. 2012 for the medical examiner review and opinion.

No autopsy was performed. According to Hewett's sister, men came to their house (located approximately eight miles from the School) numerous times looking for Hewett, where he had been hiding since his escape. Later, the family returned home and found him dead. According to Hewett's sister, he had gunshot wounds on the left side of his chest and was lying in bed with the covers over him and his father's shotgun across his legs. She further stated the family believes someone shot him when he wouldn't return to the School. Allegedly, there was a coroner's inquest at the time; however, no public record about the investigation from any of the county or state agencies could be located. Hewett was buried in a marked grave in Cypress, Florida next to his mother. His remains were not excavated as part of this project because his sister indicated that she and the family were frustrated his case was never investigated and didn't trust local authorities to properly investigate the case at this time. She also feared the perception and possible retribution if she pursued at the time.

- **Thomas Varnadoe** died on October 26, 1934 just 34 days after he was admitted to the school. The school's records indicate Thomas died of pneumonia with a possible contributing cause of anemia. The school's newspaper stated that Thomas was very sickly when he arrived at the school, and his funeral was well attended by other students. Thomas' family has consistently disputed that Thomas was a sickly child and Thomas' bother, Hubert, who was also an inmate at the school when Thomas died, stated that details in the newspaper article were false, as only he, a preacher, and the man who dug Thomas' grave were present at the funeral.

Similar to the obituary of Varnadoe, we found that reports in the school's newspaper, *The Yellow Jacket*, the biennial reports to the State from school officials and school issued press releases were often different from witness testimonies (both historical and contemporary testimonies). Therefore, the historical documents are reviewed carefully and generally not considered primary sources of reliable information.

- **Alphonse Glover** was found dead at the bottom of the school's swimming pool 10 days after he arrived at the school in 1966. According to the school's records, the cause of Alphonse's death was not known, only that he was found in the pool. A witness who was at the school and knew Alphonse told USF researchers that he was being bullied in the pool by four other boys, just prior to his death. Due to the fact his death occurred in 1966, the records for Glover are not available to USF researchers.
- There is one ledger entry later in time (1920) that does indicate Henry Murphy died after being furloughed home due to illness however his exact illness and the specific circumstances are not known, no death certificate was issued and the assumption is that he was buried at home by his family. **Henry Murphy** was a 16 year old colored boy who was committed to the school on 10/23/1919. Murphy was sentenced for incorrigibility for a term of one year. Almost immediately after arriving at the school he ran away on 11/1/1919 and then returned twenty-eight days later. The circumstances of his escape are not known. The ledger states "Died at home, furloughed to mother because sick". His home was Palm Beach and according to school records he died on 7/2/1920, less than a year after first being committed to FIS.

Convicted Cases of Homicide

Among cases with traumatic related deaths, three are documented homicides in which boys were allegedly killed by fellow school boys. In all three cases, offenders were prosecuted. Some of the original grand jury documents were obtained from the Jackson County Courthouse. Two cases were appealed and the subsequent court documents detail more about the events, autopsy findings, testimony of Dr. Whitaker, and other evidence presented at the trials.

Robert Stephens

Robert Stephens was a 14 year old colored boy committed to the school on 9/3/1936 for breaking and entering. He was sentenced to two years or until legally discharged. Approximately ten months later, just after his 15th birthday, Stephens was found dead on July 15, 1937. A death certificate was issued and certified by school physician Dr. Baltzell. It is unknown if an autopsy was performed as this information is left blank on the death certificate. According to the ledgers, Stephens was admitted with 16 year old John Bryant from Quincy and although Bryant was sentenced to a minimum of three years he was paroled to a guardian on September 2, 1937. According to the ledger, Robert's last name was "Stephens" and he was 16 years old when committed. The name on his death certificate is mis-spelled as "Seinous". The informant for the death certificate was C.M. Mayo (a yardman and nurse) employed at the school. Mayo's name appears on many death certificates from this time as the "undertaker". The only burial location on

the death certificate states “Marianna, Florida”. Since his mother was from Quincy, it is likely Robert was buried at the school burial ground, although this was not documented but since Mayo was the listed undertaker, it implied burial at the school. In 2015 Robert Stephens was positively identified. His remains were excavated from the Boot Hill Burial Ground. The ledger further stated that Robert was "Stabbed to death by another inmate Leroy Taylor". Robert’s death certificate states the cause of death was “Knife wound following hemorrhage”. According to records at the county clerk’s office in Jackson County, Leroy Taylor was indicted of First Degree Murder but plead guilty to Second Degree Murder on November 30, 1937.

Eddie Black

Eddie Black was a 13 year old white boy committed to the school 4/1/1948 for Larceny for a term “Until legally discharged”. Approximately a year later Black was found dead on May 4, 1949. Black was autopsied by school physician Dr. Whitaker whose official cause of death was "Death by strangling, severe contusions of forehead." Black’s body was shipped home to his family for burial in Pensacola. Frank Murphy and Avelardo Quevedo were convicted of the second degree murder of Black. According to a signed confession by Frank Murphy, he:

... got a knife from Avelardo and told Black to come with me. We went down under there, under the culvert at the laundry across the highway from the laundry and I grabbed him. I choked him down, and I stabbed him two times and left him....I choked him down and then hit his head on the concrete.

According to Quevedo’s signed confession (June 2, 1949), Murphy told him that he had killed Black with Quevedo’s knife in the following manner:

Frank Murphy told me that Eddie Albert Black had caught him smoking and was going to tell on him and for that reason he was going to kill him. When Frank came back he showed me my knife and there was blood on the blade and he said he had killed Black and told me how he did it. He said he choked him with his hands and when he was almost dead he stabbed him twice back of the ear.

Note that the signed confessions and death certificate do not state the same cause of death. The death certificate stated the following: “death by strangulation, severe contusions to forehead”. An autopsy was performed by school physician Dr. Whitaker but makes no mention of any knife wounds or sharp trauma. On March 20, 1965, Frank Murphy filed a motion to “vacate and set aside judgment of conviction and sentence in case No. 863 upon the grounds they are void ab initio and in toto as is allowed and authorized under criminal procedure rule one.” In Murphy’s hand written letter to the court he stated that he and the victim had engaged in a fist fight which ended when both boys were exhausted. Later, Murphy returned to the area to look for something he lost. While awaiting trial, Murphy received a note from a fellow inmate that three witnesses saw him leave the area when Black was still alive, both the prosecutor and defense attorney were informed of the letter before the trial began. However, during the recess of the trial, Sheriff Ernst Barnes questioned Murphy alone about how he obtained the letter in jail. According to court documents (Murphy v. Wainwright, 372 F. 2d. 942 5th Cir. 1967), “The sheriff is said to have made certain threats regarding the horror of dying in the electric chair and advised appellant that it would be the part of

wisdom to enter a plea to second degree murder in the event such an opportunity was offered to him.” Fourteen year old Murphy pled guilty for a life sentence, rather than face the death penalty. In his appeal, Murphy argued that the sheriff’s actions, along with the fact his legal guardian (his sister as both parents were deceased) was not informed about his murder trial created a coerced, involuntary confession.

On January 20, 1973, Murphy was awarded an evidentiary hearing (*Murphy v. Wainwright* 73 304 Civ J S). The evidence consisted of the testimony of Murphy and John Roy Smith who testified to the comments that were made by the sheriff. The court found that Murphy’s confession was entered involuntary, granted a writ of habeas corpus and vacated his conviction.

Earl Wilson

Earl Wilson was a 12 year old colored boy committed to the school on 6/20/1944 for larceny from Polk County. Seventy-two days later on September 1 he was killed while detained in a 7’ by 10’ confinement cottage along with eight other boys, ages 11-17 years. These boys had been held in the confinement cottage for varying lengths of time from several days to several weeks (Figure 80).

Four boys were convicted of Wilson’s murder: William Foxworth, Charles Bevels, Robert Farmer, and Floyd Alexander. According to the death certificate, Wilson was autopsied by Dr. Whitaker, the school physician and buried at the school. The death certificate states the cause of death was “Head Injury, Blows on Head”. Note that the testimony of Dr. Whitaker about the autopsy findings conflicted with witness statements. See *Foxworth v. Wainwright*, 516 F. 2d 1072. 1074-1075 (5th Cir. 1975):

The cell contained one set of bunk beds, an open bucket for toilet needs (emptied once daily), a bucket for drinking water, and a continuously burning light bulb. Four of the boys in the cell, including Foxworth, were charged with murdering Earl Wilson, and the other four became prosecution witnesses. Because Florida had no juvenile statute at that time, the four faced a sentence of death in the electric chair if convicted. One attorney was appointed to represent Foxworth and two of the other boys, Charles Bevels and Robert Farmer. The fourth, Floyd Alexander, had privately retained counsel.

At the trial, which lasted one day, the prosecution's theory was that the four defendants had choked Earl Wilson by holding him down and pressing a stick against his throat. This theory was presented in the versions of the facts related by the four boys who testified for the prosecution. These witnesses also testified that earlier in the day one of the defendants, Charles Bevels, had struck Earl Wilson repeatedly with the stick. The medical evidence, given by a doctor summoned when Earl Wilson was found dead, was that death was caused by blows to the head with a blunt instrument. A dissection of the decedent's neck muscles revealed no bruises. The four defendants' theory, as presented in their testimony, was that the incident in which they held the stick to Earl Wilson's neck was just horseplay. They

contended that the four prosecution witnesses killed decedent by beating him on the head with the stick.

The jury returned a verdict of guilty against all four defendants, but recommended mercy. The court imposed life sentences on all four defendants. The conviction was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Florida. Bevels v. State, Fla., 1945, 156 Fla. 159, 23 So.2d 156.



Figure 80. Former farm manager's office converted into a confinement cottage on the North School. The building had originally been constructed for storing farm goods. The interior measurements of the building are 7.0 by 10.0 feet in dimension and it is believed to be the location of the death of Earl Wilson in 1944.

Variation in Reporting

The discrepancies that occur in the documentation for burial location, the cause of death, and certification of the deaths by a physician or coroner are not limited to particular years or administrations and do not appear to be a matter of changing policies from one administration to another. The problem of under-reporting was not the only type of inconsistency found between school and state records. Practices during the influenza epidemic of 1918, also shows significant variation in the reporting and number of deaths. Reports vary as to the number and ancestry of boys who died, as well as the dates of their deaths in that year. A number of deaths appearing in the ledgers or other historical documents were not included in the FDLE report, which is why the total number of deaths that occurred differs among more recent reports. For example, William McKinley's name and the statement "Died" appears in the discharge ledger but does not appear listed in the full record ledger from the school, which is a common finding for the time period (pre-1919); therefore no other information is known about him (Figure 81). Several other differences were also found for boys whose names do not appear in prior reports:

- Louis Haffin, a white boy died 11/18/1914 in the fire.
- S. Barnett, a white boy died 11/18/1914 in the fire.
- William McKinley, a colored boy died from unknown causes on 7/19/1915.
- Thomas E. Curry, a 15 year old white boy died of blunt trauma on 12/11/1925 after running away.
- Robert Jerald Hewett, a 16 year old white boy died of gunshot wounds on 4/4/1960 after running away.
- Eleven (11) unidentified colored boys died of Influenza between November 6 - December 31, 1918.

DATE	NAME OF BOY	D-P-R	SENTENCE	EXPIRATION	No. Boys Present
7/15	Casper Lowery	Escaped			169
7/18	John Austin	Ret.			170
7/19	Wm McKinley	Died			169
8/11	Tom Cole	Escaped			168
7/19	Tom Cole	Ret.			169
7/19	John Austin	Escaped			168
5/30	Ben Williams	Dismissed			167
7/24	Jas Wilson	Escaped			166
7/25	Grant Duke	Ret.			
" "	Aron Clark				

Figure 81. Discharge ledger, now located in the State Archives, showing name and record of death for William McKinley in July 1915 (Florida School for Boys, Student Ledgers: Vol. 18).

CHEMICAL AND ELEMENTAL ANALYSIS FOR GEOREFERENCING BIRTH LOCATION

The isotopic analysis presented here was completed by George Kamenov and Liotta Noche-Dowdy. Different tooth types develop at different chronological ages. Permanent teeth enamel will mineralize during early childhood, starting from 3–4 months (i.e. incisors to third molars) to 12–17 years age. Once the enamel formation is completed, it will lock in the childhood metal [particularly strontium (Sr) and lead (Pb)] exposure signal and will not change throughout life as it is isolated from the blood supply. In contrast, dentine and bones can continually exchange metals circulating in the blood throughout one's lifetime because bone remodels on average 5-10 years. Stable and heavy isotope analysis involves investigating the isotope values embedded within tooth enamel and bone for metals and isotopes of Pb, Sr, O, and C through mass spectrometry (ICP-MS). Strontium (Sr) metal is found in bedrock, soil, local water sources, and plant life will uptake strontium throughout growth from local soil and water sources. Sr isotope analysis has been very useful for geo-referencing because Sr values are indicative of geographic regions.

The initial aim with the stable and heavy isotope analysis was to aid with georeferencing the unidentified descendants excavated from the Dozier Boot Hill Burial Ground and surrounding area. Seven cases (human remains), soil, paint samples and faunal remains were initially selected based on grave location within cemetery site and possibly chronological relationship among the burials. Another five cases were been selected for continued analysis in 2016 based on artifacts interred within the burial that may assist with chronological dating of the burial. The isotope results from select Dozier cases consisting of human remains (dental enamel), soil, paint, and faunal remains are displayed in Tables 12 and 13.

All the selected samples analyzed for heavy isotope values; soils, paint, pigs, and human remains isotope values falls into a linear regression, exhibiting a positive correlation and are consistent with one another in the Pb-Pb isotope space (Figure 82). The most likely explanation for this trend is postmortem contamination of the bone and teeth with industrial Pb (lead). Most likely this occurred in the burial environment, during diagenetic changes of the skeletal apatite. In addition, coffins painted with Pb-based paint likely contributed significantly to the observed Pb in the skeletal material. As a result, the Pb isotope results do not provide any useful georeferencing information.

All of the samples show elevated REE. This is an indication for post-mortem alteration/uptake of elements from soil/pore waters. Figure 83 displays the REE values for the Dozier cases and at the lower end, below 0.01 for comparison purposes are included REE data for modern cold cases. The modern cases show the typical bone/tooth REE content in-vivo. However, as can be seen on the figure, all of the Dozier samples show 1-2 orders of magnitude higher REE. This may indicate the postmortem uptake of REE from the burial environment. Carbon (C) and oxygen (O) isotope data show values within the expected range for Florida. However, given the Pb and REE evidence for extensive postmortem alteration of the chemical composition of the skeletal material, we cannot use the stable isotope data for georeferencing these cases. Further testing is underway to clarify the results and eliminate possible contamination of the samples. Additional samples may reveal productive results.

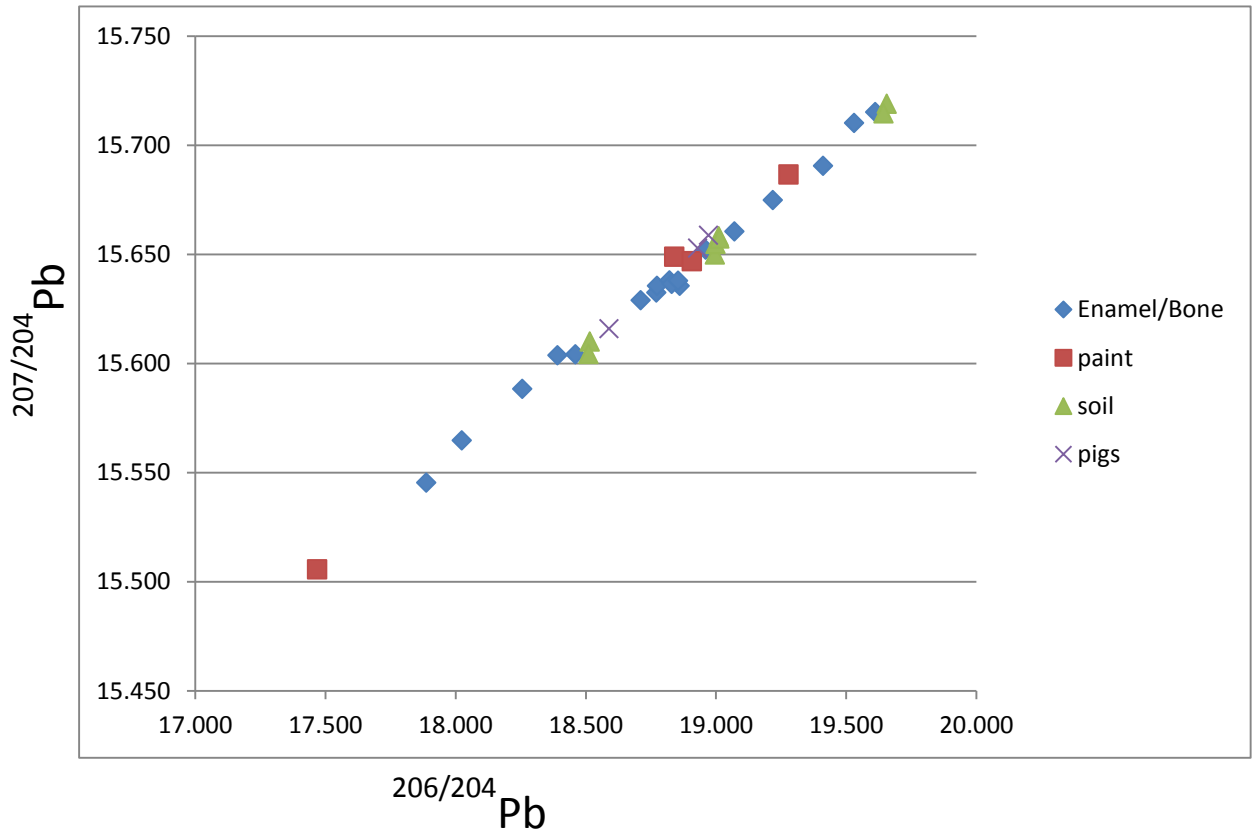


Figure 82. Bivariate plot graph exhibiting $^{207}/^{204}\text{Pb}$ vs. $^{206}/^{204}\text{Pb}$ isotope values for the selected Dozier cases, soil samples from the Boot Hill Burial Ground, paint from the coffins, and faunal remains.

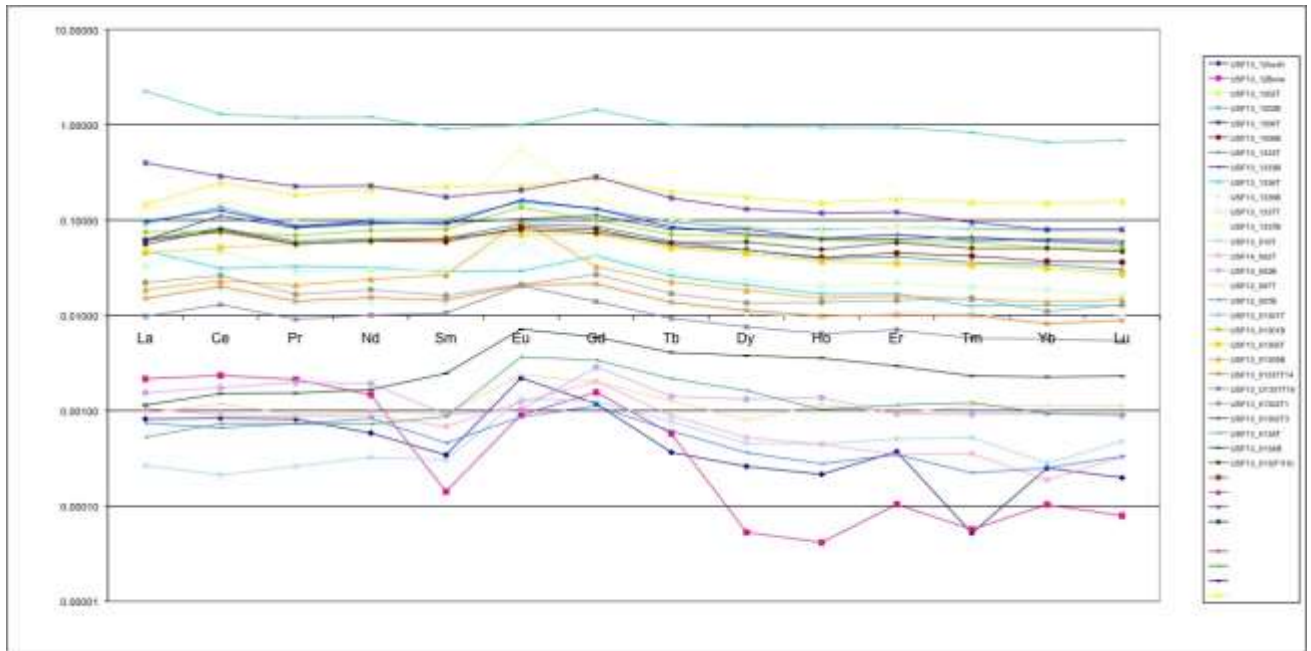


Figure 83. Plot graph of rare earth elements (REE) values for the selected Dozier cases and a few modern cases as a comparison.

Table 12. Isotope values for enamel and bone for selected Dozier cases.

Dozier Case No.	²⁰⁶/₂₀₄Pb	²⁰⁷/₂₀₄Pb	²⁰⁸/₂₀₄Pb	⁸⁷/₈₆Sr
USF13 1302T	18.024	15.565	37.888	0.708989
USF13_1302 tooth enamel 3	18.770	15.632	38.389	
USF13_1302 tooth enamel 1	18.861	15.636	38.475	
USF13 1302B	18.774	15.636	38.413	0.710726
USF13 1306T	18.391	15.604	38.194	0.709698
USF13 1306B	18.821	15.638	38.461	0.708906
USF13 1333T	18.256	15.588	38.095	0.710135
USF13 1333B	18.710	15.629	38.397	0.708709
USF13 1336T	18.460	15.604	38.308	0.709389
USF13 1336B	17.887	15.545	37.779	0.712233
USF13 1337T	19.531	15.710	39.070	0.709609
USF13_1337 Tooth enamel 14	19.218	15.675	38.789	
USF13_1337 Tooth enamel 16	19.411	15.691	38.950	
USF13 1337B	19.612	15.715	39.121	0.710604
USF13_01301B	18.830	15.636	38.472	
USF13_01301T	19.071	15.661	38.653	
USF13_01305T	18.960	15.652	38.696	
USF13_01305B	18.854	15.638	38.553	

* Sr relative to NBS 987=0.71024

Table 13. Lead isotope values for faunal remains, soil samples, and paint samples.

ANIMALS	²⁰⁶/₂₀₄Pb	²⁰⁷/₂₀₄Pb	²⁰⁸/₂₀₄Pb
USF13_013A Surface Pig (enamel)	18.972	15.659	38.548
USF13_013A Pig Bone	18.930	15.653	38.554
USF13_013(F110) Burial Pig Bone	18.589	15.616	38.298
SOILS			
USF 1302 soil C acetic	18.516	15.610	38.151
USF 1302 soil C HCl	18.510	15.604	38.137
USF 1337 soil D acetic	19.656	15.719	39.148
USF 1337 soil D HCl	19.644	15.715	39.127
USF soil 2B_21 acetic	18.996	15.650	38.866
USF soil 2B_21 HCl	18.999	15.655	38.897
USF soil 2B_49 acetic	19.010	15.658	38.893
USF soil 2B_49 HCl	19.013	15.657	38.916
PAINT			
USF white house paint	18.840	15.649	38.454
USF 01353 paint	19.279	15.687	38.845
USF 01354 paint	18.907	15.647	38.727
USF 01315 paint	17.468	15.506	37.355

INFLUENZA AND PNEUMONIA OUTBREAKS 1918 AND 1932

The Influenza outbreak throughout the region in 1918 was devastating and the school was especially affected. The conditions of the school from this time were described in several accounts. Dr. G.W. Klock a state physician who assisted with caring for the sick boys issued a report about the condition of the school which prompted a State investigation and a response from the school's physician, Dr. N.A. Baltzell at the request of the Board of Managers.

According to Edwards (1969), in October of 1918 Dr. Brevis was an attending physician and stated that, "he had found conditions bad, that all boys in the Negro quarters except 21 were sick, that they had no assistance in two days and that he was the only physician... the hospital had been set up in the Dining hall". It was noted that the white students had escaped the epidemic as they had been quarantined. The dire conditions, large number of boys who were ill, and the lack of school administrators and staff to care for them led to the state investigation. In an interview with Rhyne (1968, In Lundrigan 1975:110), Lundrigan wrote:

Dr. Baltzell...made hurried trips to the Reform School late one night to 'see about the boys,' after spending a long and tiring day caring for the influenza victims in town. At School No. 2 he found sick colored inmates... lying about on the floor in total darkness.

According to Lundrigan, the adult staff of the school abandoned School No. 2 and the colored boys for fear of contracting the illness which left them without electricity or care for days at a time. In response, the State Board of Health sent Dr. G.W. Klock to assist at the school. Klock reported the dire situation he found which was later recounted in the Tampa Tribune (November 2, 1918 in Lundrigan 1975:111):

...conditions at the school are very bad; sewerage imperfect; no sanitary rules at all; screens broken; fleas by the thousands. There were thirty five cases of pneumonia and lack of medicine and lack of proper nourishment, no linen, boys lying under wool blankets, naked. With dirty husk mattresses on the cement floor...The condition was one of filth, body lice, improper food and no bathing... The Superintendent has not seen a boy in four weeks according to attendants. The dinner of the well colored boys ... was hoe cake and bacon grease thickened with flour. The dinner of the white boys was rice and bacon grease gravy. One boy said he was flogged for refusing to cook peas full of worms and that meat sent to the boys was kept until spoiled and then fed them and they all were sick.

Lundrigan (1975:112) cites the *Report of Committee of Physicians on Conditions Growing Out of Influenza Epidemic* (1918:422), which states that "on the colored campus, out of 264 cases of influenza among the boys, there were only 11 deaths. These were Negro boys and although 68 out of 69 white pupils were afflicted with the malady, none died as a result."

On November 6, 1918, the *Daily Democrat* published a press release from Dr. Baltzell, "Reform School Not Quite So Bad as Represented". This press release was sent to various newspapers in response to the claims made in Dr. Klock's report about the poor conditions of the school. Through this letter, the timeline and list of fatalities of both white and colored students

were confirmed. Baltzell states that the outbreak began about three weeks prior to November 6, 1918. In total he says that there were 264 cases of inmates who were sick including both white and colored boys in addition to the staff. One female staff member died and the entire operations of the school were rendered incapacitated as a result of the outbreak. In response to the specific details in Klock's report, Baltzell states that the sanitary conditions of the school were always in poor condition and generally lacking, the screen doors were in need of repair (although he never noted any fleas) and found that most boys came to the school in need of medical care. He too reported that the students were in great need of clothing, sanitation, and bed linens.

Both reports by Klock and Baltzell are in stark contrast to the data listed in the school's ledgers, which indicate only four colored boys died of either non-flu related causes or from unknown causes and four white boys died of unknown causes between November 4-8 (Table 14). Of the eight documented deaths that occurred in 1918 according to the school ledgers, one death was in April, not October-November when the epidemic struck and one additional name (Wilbur Smith) appears to be among those who died in the 1918 outbreak, although the death was not recorded until a year later and no specific date of death is given (therefore any possible association is an assumption).

Wilbur Smith appears in the 1919 roll call of the record ledger which states, "Reported to have died with Flu", however no year or date is given. Smith likely came to school in 1915 based on the placement of his name in the ledger which is generally chronological, but no date for admission or death is recorded, nor is the location of his burial listed. **Thomas Aikins** was a colored boy who died in April of 1918. The other deaths occurred in late October and early November. **Willie Adkins**, another colored boy, died October 25, several weeks ahead of the 4 white boys who all died within four days. The separation of dates among colored and white students affected may have been the result of segregation between the dormitories. Based on the dates four deaths occurred within one week, November 4-8, which is consistent with a flu outbreak. Additionally, 3 deaths occurred after Baltzell reported a total of 6 deaths for a minimum of 9 fatalities. The Biennial report states the entire "colored" campus was ill with subsequent problems with sanitation, although all of the deaths in November were white boys. It may be that the flu spread from the colored to white side of the campus, during this time. However based on the description of the conditions on the colored campus, one would have expected a higher number of deaths among colored than white students. It is also not known if the deaths were the result of the flu or other illnesses associated with the subsequent sanitation problems.

In an interview with Donald Vickery of Marianna, Florida (July 12, 1972), Lundrigan reports that Vickery's father was the head of the Colored Department during the 1918 epidemic and that the "bodies of the dead Negro boys were stored in the Reformatory's ice house while waiting for coffins to be built for them in the school's carpentry shop" (Lundrigan 1975:112). According to this interview, the eleven colored boys who died were buried at the Boot Hill Burial Ground (Lundrigan 1975:113). Figure 84 is an image of the school's carpentry shop ca. 1950s (Florida School for Boys, Photographs, Box 2 FF 15).

To cope with the situation, boys were immediately paroled home and no new boys were accepted. The Board tried to parole 100 boys to relieve overcrowding but the children did not have known families and were dependents of the State and thus had nowhere to go.



Figure 84. Carpentry shop at school No. 1, ca. 1950s, from the State Archives (Florida School for Boys, Photographs, Box 2 FF 15).

Tables 14. Deaths Listed as Occurring in School Ledgers for 1918

Name	Age	Ancestry	Date of Death	Runaway	Circumstances
Thomas Aikins	12	Colored	4/16/1918	No	Unknown
Lee Goolsby	13	White	10/6/1918	Runaway, Died	Unknown
George Grissam	6	Colored	10/23/1918	On Parole	Possible Chronic Gastritis
Willie Adkins	13	Colored	10/25/1918	No	Unknown/Likely Flu
Loyd Dutton	14	White	11/4/1918	No	Unknown/Likely Flu
Hilton Finley	16	White	11/6/1918	No	Unknown/Likely Flu
Ralph Whiddon	16	White	11/6/1918	No	Unknown/Likely Flu
Puner Warner	16	White	11/8/1918	No	Unknown/Likely Flu
Wilbur Smith	10	Colored	Unknown*	No	“Reported Flu”

*Smith’s name appears in 1919 with a reference to having died of flu, however no date is provided. The cases marked as “likely flu” is based on the dates of death and corresponding description of fatalities in physician’s reports, but no actual cause of deaths are recorded.

Of the eight documented deaths in 1918, according to school ledgers none have a listed cause of death other than Grissam who was a six year old boy. Grissam, along with his eight year old brother were paroled, but then returned to the school gravely ill. The information about Grissam's cause of death is described in the FIS Biennial report (January 1, 1921, through January 1, 1923, Biennial Report of the Florida Industrial School for Boys written to the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions) but not in the ledgers which only states "Died" (refer to the earlier discussion of Grissam's death). The date and circumstances of his parole are unknown although he had been at the school sixteen months prior to his death. Based on the timing, general circumstances, and descriptions in the physician's reports, it is presumed that **Adkins, Dutton, Finley, Whiddon, Warner** and **Smith** all died of the flu or infectious diseases associated with the outbreak and its consequences.

- **Puner Warner** was sentenced and admitted to the school with two other boys, all three ran away together (Jas McKnight and Lenox Grayson) and were returned to the school. McKnight later went into the Army and Grayson was paroled a year later. There is no information as to Warner's cause of death, but based on the timing it is likely related to the Influenza outbreak.

A second catastrophic outbreak of Influenza occurred in 1932, during that year there were a total of 12 deaths (nine of which were attributed to Influenza and subsequent Pneumonia). Three other boys also died in 1932 but for other causes (Table 15). Death certificates were issued for 11 of the 12 boys that died. No death certificate was issued for Archie Shaw. Death certificates for 9 of the boys list Influenza, with a contributing cause of lobar pneumonia and the duration of the illness ranged from 4-9 days. The circumstances surrounding the other deaths during this year include accidentally killed by a mule, anesthesia during a hernia operation, and run over by an automobile after running away from the school.

- **Archie J. Shaw Jr.** was a 12 year old colored boy who was committed to the school for larceny on 8/2/31 along with three other boys from Hillsborough County. Approximately eight months later he died on April 22, 1932 during that week there were several other Flu related deaths. Shaw was not issued a death certificate and his death was not certified, but the entry in the school ledger states his death was related to the flu epidemic. His burial location is unknown. The other three boys were paroled back to Tampa about a year later.

Table 15. Deaths Related to Influenza, Pneumonia, and Other Causes in 1932

Name	Age	Ancestry	Date of Death	Circumstances
Lee Smith	17	Colored	01/05/1932	“Accidently killed, mule ran away” Death certificate states died of ruptured lung.
Lonnie Harrell	14	White	2/11/1932	Hernia, died in surgery
James Brinson	12	Colored	4/10/1932	Influenza, lobar pneumonia
Willie Heading	15	Colored	4/13/1932	Influenza, lobar pneumonia
Sam Nipper	12	Colored	4/14/1932	Influenza, lobar pneumonia
Jesse D Denson	10	Colored	4/16/1932	Influenza, lobar pneumonia
Lee Underwood	16	Colored	4/21/1932	Influenza, lobar pneumonia
Archie J. Shaw Jr.*	12	Colored	4/22/1932	Presumed Influenza
Fred Sams	15	Colored	4/22/1932	Influenza, lobar pneumonia
Joe Stephens	15	Colored	5/09/1932	Influenza, lobar pneumonia
Dary Pender	13	Colored	5/16/1932	Influenza, lobar pneumonia
Oscar Elvis Murphy	15	White	10/7/1932	Escape/death certificate states he was run over by an automobile.

*Cause of death is presumed based on timing of death, however Shaw was not issued DC nor was his death certified, as the other cases were at this time.

INTREPRETATION FROM WITNESS STATEMENTS AND THE ASSOCIATED HISTORICAL RECORD

We conducted formal interviews that have been audio recorded and informal interviews with men who attended the schools as boys, family members of people who attended Dozier, and others associated with the school or with knowledge of the school including leaders in Civic Organizations such as the NAACP, members of faith organizations, politicians, former staff, representatives of the media, and citizens of the local community. We have learned a great deal about associated communities and families with respect to the history of the Dozier School for Boys. This information helps to: 1) expand knowledge about training and reforming youth and what this meant historical vs. present experience; 2) expand knowledge about the legacy and implications of racial policies/practices/laws instituted during the Jim Crow period of American history; 3) expand knowledge about the convict lease system and use of labor contracts as economic incentives and resources particularly with respect to child labor; and 4) raise awareness about the politics of memory and memorialization.

In the course of searching for additional burials and the burned dorm structure on the South (Department 1) side of the property, we interviewed men who were sent to the school as boys and former staff. Several people reported underground tunnels originated in the basement of the old gymnasium, the area near our excavation and fieldwork. We were concerned with the physical structures as it impacts our efforts in remote sensing and excavation capabilities in these areas and brought people on site to show us these locations. This basement was referred to as the “rape room” or “rape dungeon” by several men who reported to us that they were raped or molested while incarcerated at the School. Some of these men were under the age of 12 years old at the time of their abuse, others name specific perpetrators. Consequently, many of these men had not yet been formally interviewed. In addition, former staff also told us about sexual abuse that they were made aware of during their employment. The reports of physical and sexual abuse were further substantiated in statements (including in the form of sworn statements or depositions) given to the Florida Department of Law Enforcement in 2009 and historically to Senate committees in the early 1960s, which is the same time period that the men we spoke with were incarcerated at the School.

Since the investigation of abuse, sexual assault, and rape is beyond our expertise and may have criminal or other civil consequences, particularly because several of the men were under the age of 12 years at the time of the incident, and at least one of the named perpetrators is still living (to our knowledge) these cases were referred to law enforcement. The FDLE is currently reviewing these claims.

Findings from our interviews and engagement with associated communities and families highlight tensions, challenges and potential areas for intervention made visible when multiple stakeholders with competing and complimentary interests are brought into dialog. For example, interviews with men who were boys at Dozier overwhelming include detailed and painful descriptions of punishment rituals and practices and memories of abuse and fear experienced at Dozier between 1950 and 1970. Additionally some of the men interviewed about their time at Dozier also emphasized other experiences, including attending Sunday Church services on campus; being taken to the movies in Marianna; and getting their name in the school newspaper, *The Yellow Jacket*, as a mark of pride.

Interviews with community members and others with knowledge of Dozier varied but typically emphasized concerns about the representation and reputation of Marianna today as a result of this project exposing its history; the desire for a balanced history of Dozier and

surrounding communities; and satisfaction with the fact that the story of Dozier is finally coming to light and families are now getting answers. Others remembered Dozier as the place they did not want to get sent to as children and being told to be good or they would get sent to Dozier—a place of punishment

Often in cases of restorative justice or other truth-telling missions, it is imperative for victims and communities to establish the facts of what offenses occurred. Even in cases where law enforcement and prosecutors are unable to file criminal charges due to the statute of limitations or deaths of offenders, transparency and acknowledgement of the abuses are important components for reconciling conflict and restoring justice. In historical cases such as this, it is not always possible to find physical evidence of abuse. However, the collective testimonies from the same time period as past State Investigations in the early 1960s in which disciplinary action was taken against some of the staff, combined with the circumstantial findings in this investigation, lends to the credibility of the claims. It should be further stated that while we did not find physical evidence to substantiate such claims (though it was not our intent to do so), we did not find credible evidence to disprove or discredit the testimonies we did take. On the contrary, we found the testimonies used in our research to be honest and credible. Such testimonies as they relate to some of the death investigations have been summarized in this report.

Historic cemeteries are among the most valuable cultural resources for documenting community heritage and provide an important means to understand past events. Florida Statutes (Chapters 267 and 704.08) provide protection for them, and mandate the rights of families to have access. Therefore, the purpose of this research project from its inception was to survey the Boot Hill Burial Ground and research the history of the site and variables surrounding the deaths to determine the number, location, and identity of graves to the largest extent possible to ensure access to this information and the site by families of the deceased.

After three years, this research continues to underscore the significant impact and implications of plantation and chattel slavery, convict labor practices, and segregation as practiced in the U.S. and marked in the historical record. It also underscores social and cultural experiences and the day to day lifeways of people who lived and worked during America's transition from legalized slavery to legalized segregation to integration and Civil Rights, regardless of race. These are periods in history that marked the inception of the school and much of the school's history through the 1960s. This history and the practices of systematic racism, exclusion, and segregation permeated every aspect of life for all citizens. As a result, basic rights of citizenship, justice, freedom of movement, and accountability were denied a large part of the population of the state of Florida including the boys and their families at the Reform School. Particularly, this population of U.S. citizens included anyone identified as non-white most notably African Americans, as well as, children, the poor, homeless, disabled, homosexuals, others in need of social services, and those convicted of both criminal and non-criminal charges.

We see direct evidence of marginalization in custody through this example such as the discrepancies among those who lived and died, which of the deaths were investigated or even reported to the State, who was issued death certificates, the biological markers of stress and poverty evident on the bones and teeth, a child wearing a polio brace, and the fact that 67% of those buried at the school were African American.

Witnesses such as Ovell Krell told us her parents had to borrow a car to drive to Marianna to retrieve her brother's remains; however, he was buried the same day that his remains were recovered from decomposing under a house. Other families told similar stories that they were notified days or weeks after the death and burial occurred, and were therefore denied the

opportunity to claim their loved ones' remains. We also know from the historical documents that until the 1930s, often when families could not afford to send money for bus fare home, children were paroled for labor to local plantations/farms and businesses until they could afford their own transportation. Parole for labor lasted for years in some cases. It was at times a practice of indentured servitude. At least three of the boys who died were paroled for labor and brought back to the school for burial. These systematic practices of marginalization are further reflected in record keeping that lacked consistent standards, proper enforcement, and oversight because of unchecked institutional power and policies that considered certain lives as *throwaway*.

Such systematic processes and the application of unchecked institutional power over the lives of marginalized groups or those considered *throwaway* in light of “larger” aims and ambitions have serious implications. The 1914 fire at the Reform School is an unfortunate example. Archaeological and forensic evidence and findings provide a material accounting of what took place at the school. This work is exacting and painstaking and has answered many questions and even provided for repatriation of remains of missing or unaccounted loved ones to some families. This work has also resulted in many more questions that researchers are in the process of trying to answer and will be a subject of inquiry for scholars and historians for decades to come.

This research represents efforts to account for a silenced history through a range of means, including collecting oral histories of those associated with the school whose stories have never been told, as well as development of processes of memorializing that recognize those who died, and the active role memory plays in the lives of those that have experienced trauma—something that has been denied many victims to date. After three years we have tangible results to show for our efforts that will advance knowledge about the school and those buried there. We also have more to do in terms of educating the public on the history and heritage of the site and recognizing those who died while under the care of the school, in state custody, or while working in service of the school. Our biggest challenge remains, not only remembering what happened in the past, but also, identifying those processes that acted to create such systems in the first place. Our focus is more than ever on the present—educating the living about what happened in the past through our research and scholarship, mourning with families of those who died at Dozier, and supporting them as they seek justice, and facilitating processes of memorialization that serve to bring communities together and create a more affirming future for all citizens of Florida.

NEXT STEPS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1) The repatriation of human remains and their associated artifacts for three of the positively identified boys (Sam Morgan, Loyd Dutton, and Grady Huff) to their families is still pending. These individuals have been positively identified through DNA testing and their families have been notified.
- 2) Seven families are still waiting for a match.
- 3) One (1) DNA sample from the remains recovered in the burned dorm site on the south property and 8 DNA samples from remains excavated at Boot Hill (these are resubmissions for cases that did not yield DNA result previously) are pending results.
- 4) Determination needs to be made about the presumptively identified remains. In the case of the Evans men, the remains are comingled with other victims of the fire and cannot be easily separated. Their final deposition needs to be determined, along with those who are unidentified.

- 5) Curation of the human remains and artifacts.
- 6) Complete the digital archive, dissemination of the results, and public education.

The initial land use agreement stated the remains would be reburied at the Boot Hill Burial Ground. A funding request to the Florida Legislature was made by USF in early spring 2014, titled “*Analysis and Memorialization of the Deaths and Burials at the Former Arthur G. Dozier School for Boys, Marianna, Florida*” to form a committee and finance the reburial process. The proposal was not funded at that time. Consequently, an informal *ad hoc* committee met on numerous occasions to provide guidance and recommendations on how this issue should be handled, because as identifications have been made and remains are repatriated to the families; important logistical questions emerged such as the deposition of artifacts, funding for transportation of the remains, burial ground fees, and so forth.

The *ad hoc* committee was comprised of various stakeholders in the process including representatives from the following agencies/offices: USF faculty and students, the Florida State and Marianna Branch of the NAACP, The Interfaith Commission for Florida’s Children and Youth (including faith leaders from the local Marianna community), the White House Boys Organization, the Department of Environmental Protection, CFO Jeff Atwater’s office, and the families of the boys buried at Dozier. The group believed the reburial and memorialization efforts should be done in a public way so that what has been recovered, learned, and experienced as a result of this effort may be used to: 1) shed light on the past; 2) bring justice to families of victims by acknowledging those that died; 3) educate current and future generations about systems, processes, and people that created and sustained an institution that considered some lives *throwaway*; and 4) facilitate dialog between groups and within communities about present issues/concerns and future plans and next steps with respect to Dozier. This group has also helped raise private funds to assist families with the reburial effort in some cases.

For the remains that have been repatriated and reburied, the process was slightly different in each case. In some cases, the families paid for their own funeral services or the funeral homes and cemeteries waived the fees in order to assist the families. Additionally, USF provided transportation, raised private funds, and recruited Tom Dobies (Dobies Funeral Home and Crematory) in Pasco County who donated his time and resources to provide caskets and transportation services at no cost to families.

It is unknown at this time how the human remains, artifacts, and cultural materials should be curated, repatriated, shared publically, and/or reburied. However, it should be noted that the families of the boys (both those who have been identified and those who have not but are still waiting resolution) strongly feel that none of the remains should be reburied at the Boot Hill location nor at the school in Marianna, in general.

Finally, given the continued presence of human remains and associated historical artifacts, features, and deposits in the environs of the burned dormitory from 1914, we recommend that the Division of Historical Resources record that area for the state inventory of cultural resources, the Florida Master Site File.

EDUCATION AND PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

The Dozier research project, during every stage, has reached audiences worldwide. Our team has participated in more than 30 public events in the cities of Marianna, Tallahassee, Orlando, and Tampa, Florida with the families of the missing, informants, survivors, religious and community leaders, politicians, the media, academics, and general public. A select number are listed here. One example illustrating the impact of this work to reach the public was the press conference held on August 7, 2014 (which was one of more than 12 events in 2014). The August 7 event provided an update on Dr. Erin Kimmerle, Christian Wells and Antoinette Jackson's work at the Dozier School for Boys. The event announced the team's most recent findings and the details about the media attention it received are as follows:

- Reached approximately 1.18 billion people through print, online and broadcast media coverage around the world.
- Generated about 800 stories worldwide.
- Significant stories included:
 - CBS Evening News with Scott Pelley: (4.6 million viewers)
 - Wall Street Journal (2.3 million daily circulation)
 - New York Times (2.2 million daily circulation)
 - CNN.com
 - Daily Mail

Digital Archive

- Dozier Digital Archive (<http://digital.lib.usf.edu/dozierarchive>)
In collaboration with the USF Tampa Library, we began development of a digital archive to establish, preserve, and make freely available via the Internet a collection of the materials that document the history of the school and the work of the project team. The archive contains digital copies and links to project reports, audio/video recordings and transcripts of oral history interviews, maps, photographs, government documents, USF press release videos, and other materials collected and provided by the project team. The archive is full-text searchable and all materials are openly available. This is also an open archive and new materials will be added as they are made available.

Documentary

- The research team is working with a production company, Part2 Pictures, to create a documentary that follows the journey of four of the families through the process as they searched for and found their missing brothers remains. The documentary also combines photographs, videos, interviews, historical content and contemporary findings from this investigation about the lives and deaths of the boys who were buried at the Boot Hill Burial Ground. The video is one way to help preserve, document, and memorialize the stories of the boys who died and make public a portion of the information uncovered in this investigation.

Select Community Meetings, Symposia, and other Community Events

- *July 25-27, 2014—Claude Neal family Reunion*
On October 27, 1934, Claude Neal was lynched in Marianna, Florida after being accused (prior to a trial) of raping and killing a local white woman. It was considered the last “spectacle lynching” of that period as thousands gathered to view the body. Family members feared for their lives and their own safety and many changed their names and left the Marianna area. The Claude Neal story and lynching underscores the level of racial tension present in one Southern community and ways in which justice was executed in Marianna with respect to Claude Neal, a black farmhand, prior to integration. It offers one window into the past of a community that still honors its Confederate heritage. Drs. Antoinette Jackson and Erin Kimmerle facilitated a group discussion with members of the Neal family, attended the Neal and Smith Family Reunion at the AG Center in Marianna, Florida, and gave an invited presentation about the research at Dozier. Many of the living decedents were employees of the school until it closed in 2011.
- *April 13, 2014—Memorial Service for the Victims of the Dozier School for Boys*
A Memorial Service for Dozier School for Boys victims was Held at the Unitarian Universalist Church of St. Petersburg located in St. Petersburg, Florida. It was an inter-faith ceremony honoring boys who died at Dozier and those whose bodies are buried at Boot Hill Burial Ground on the Dozier campus.
- *November 14, 2014-Research and Remembrance: 100 Years after the Fatal Fire at Dozier,*
A day long symposiums was held at the University of South Florida, Tampa with invited speakers from academia, the media, and the US Department of Justice. The talks were organized around the investigation and findings of the dormitory that burned down on November 14, 1914. Some of the families of the boys died in that event were in attendance. The event also resulted in the following resources for education about these events such as a scaled reconstruction video illustrating the dormitory fire and possible origins of the fire; an exhibit of artifacts recovered through the excavation available for the public to view; and 3D printed renderings of select artifacts for visualization and public education.

Publications

- Jackson, A.T., E.H. Kimmerle, and E.C. Wells (n.d.) Research and Remembrance: A Century after the Fatal Fire at the Dozier School for Boys. *American Anthropologist*, under review.
- Kimmerle EH. 2014. The Florida Industrial School for Boys: 100 Cold Years. *Annals of Anthropological Practice* 38(1):7-21.
- Kimmerle EH, Estabrook R, Wells EC, Jackson A. Dec. 10, 2012. Interim Report for the Investigations in the Boot Hill Cemetery, Located at the Former Arthur G. Dozier School for Boys, Marianna, Florida. University of South Florida: www.forensics.usf.edu/boothill
- Kimmerle EH, Wells EC, Jackson A. Jan. 21, 2015. Update on Research into the Deaths and Burials at Former Florida Industrial School for Boys (aka. Arthur G. Dozier) in Marianna, Florida.

Professional Conferences and Symposia

- Jackson, A.T., E.H. Kimmerle, and E.C. Wells (2016) The Boot Hill Burial Ground Project: Memory and memorialization of a difficult past— An inter-disciplinary collaboration. Paper to be presented in the session “Beyond the African Burial Ground” at the World Archaeological Congress 8, Kyoto, Japan.
- Kimmerle E.H. and Greg Berg. 2015. Organized Workshop: Forensic Anthropology and Cold Case Investigations: Breaking the Ice. Proceedings of the 65th Annual American Academy of Forensic Sciences, Presented in Orlando, Florida.
- Wells, E.C., A.T. Jackson, and E.H. Kimmerle (2014) “Contested Places and the Invisibility of Black History: Recent Investigations at Boot Hill, a Segregation-era African-American Burial Ground in Northwest Florida,” Invited Symposium at the ‘Race and Place: Cultural Landscapes of Black Life in America’ national conference, Institute on Black Life, University of South Florida, Tampa.
- Kimmerle, E.H. July 2014. Invited keynote lecture to the Florida Medical Examiner’s Association annual meeting, Orlando, FL, titled, “*Investigation into the Deaths at Boot Hill Burial Ground, Dozier School for Boys*”.
- Wells, E.C., E.H. Kimmerle, and A.T. Jackson (2014) Interdisciplinary Forensic Archaeology and Restorative Justice: The Case of the Boot Hill Cemetery, Marianna, Florida. Paper presented in the symposium, “Forensic Archaeology: Past Cases, Current Research,” at the 79th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Austin, Texas.
- Jackson, A.T. (2013) “Civil Rights and Restorative Justice: The Story of Who is Buried in ‘Boot Hill Cemetery’ at the Former Dozier School for Boys in Marianna, Florida,” Executive Roundtable at the 112th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Chicago, Illinois.
- Kimmerle, E.H., R.W. Estabrook, E.C. Wells, A.T. Jackson, and G.W. Kehoe (2013) “Our Place in the Sun”: Investigations into the Boot Hill Cemetery at the Florida School for Boys. Paper presented at the 65th Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Forensic Sciences, Washington, DC.
- Powell, J.W., B.I. Lanning, E.H. Kimmerle, E.C. Wells, A.T. Jackson, and R.W. Estabrook (2013) “God Alone Understands”: Restorative Justice through a Mixed Methods Approach at the Florida School for Boys. Paper presented in the symposium, “Doing Justice,” at the 112th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Chicago, Illinois.

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APPENDIXES

To: Erin Kimmerle, Ph.D. University of South Florida

**From: Laura Hair, M.D. and Leszek Chrostowski, M.D.; Associated Medical Examiners,
District 13 Medical Examiner Department, Tampa, Florida**

Date: October 18, 2012

**Re: Expert Opinion on Medical Review of Deaths at the Former Arthur Dozier
School for Boys**

Historical investigations that seek to understand past medical and pathological diagnoses are always a challenge due to the evolution of forensic and diagnostic medicine in recent years. The field of forensic pathology is relatively young, but combined with modern death investigations, we offer the justice system methods to try to answer questions that could not be found in the past.

We were asked to provide an expert opinion on several child deaths that occurred between 1952-1966. The records that exist were reviewed, and our opinions are summarized below:

1. Billey Jackson was a 13 year old African American boy, who died on 10-7-1952 in Jackson Hospital, 10 days after admission from FIS. According to his death certificate, his cause of death was pyelonephritis. Two witnesses (Walthour and Williams) stated that about two weeks prior to his death, Billey Jackson was severely beaten following an attempt to escape from the school; allegedly, the beating included his abdomen, which then swelled, and prompted his hospital admission. After his death an autopsy examination was performed by the school physician, Dr. Whitaker; however, no written record of the examination can be found.

Pyelonephritis is a form of ascending urinary tract infection, which may affect one or both kidneys. It is usually associated with urine retention, and can indeed be fatal. The obstruction of flow initiating the pathology may result from a congenital condition, e.g. inadequate valve mechanism at the junction of the ureters and the bladder, or obstruction of the ureter(s) due to urolithiasis, i.e. kidney stones, or trauma. Nowadays the cause of death is defined as “injury or disease initiating the chain of events resulting in death”. Having no record of the autopsy, we are unable to conclude the primary cause (or combination of causes) of Jackson’s ailment, hence his cause of death remains unknown. The manner of his death is undetermined, since a natural death would be exclusively due to natural disease, and in his case it is uncertain whether there was a contributing traumatic factor. Review of the original autopsy report would be most helpful to clarify the above.

2. Robert Jerald Hewett was a 16 year old white boy who entered FIS on 3/22/1960. The FIS ledgers confirm that Hewett was admitted and then on March 25 was temporarily released to the Jackson Hospital. He returned to FIS the following day on March 26 and then on April 2, he ran away. The ledger and death certificate indicate he died two days later on April 4. All of this information comes from the daily ledger, as the discharge ledgers for this time are not public record. Hewett’s death certificate states the manner of death is “unknown” and the cause of death is “gunshot

wounds in chest inflicted by person or persons unknown”. There was no autopsy performed. No other information including coroner or police incident reports could be located.

Hewett’s death certificate is incorrect by today’s standards: once a person dies due to gunshot wound(s) inflicted by another person, his manner of death is classified as homicide, i.e. “death from hands of other person, regardless of intent”. Such classifications do not indicate “murder”, “manslaughter” or other variations, which are of interest to the judicial system rather than medical examiner. Examination of R.J. Hewett’s remains is recommended because if there was skeletal trauma, it would be possible to learn about the projectile trajectory, shedding a light on possible circumstances of the incident.

3. Michael Smelley was a 17 year old white boy who died 3/15/1966. His death certificate indicates he died of “carcinoma of the spine and lungs” about a year after his incarceration at the school. Witnesses allege he was beaten severely following an attempted escape and that immediately afterwards he was unable to walk. Several days later he was admitted to the hospital. Michael had a history of “carcinoma” and prior to entering FIS in 1965 had a tumor removed from his spine. In Montgomery’s 2009 investigation, he posed the question as to “...whether a blow or multiple blows to a spinal tumor could aggravate the tumor or cause paralysis or even accelerate the spread of the cancer and lead to early death?”

Medical records and autopsy indicate that Michael had a sarcoma around his spinal cord with later metastases to the lung. Since no evidence of fractures is noted in his hospital records during surgery, the “blow or blows” most likely did not affect the tumor. His inability to walk following the blows might be related to the alleged beating but nothing is stated of his walking ability before the alleged beating. His inability to walk could be a result of the tumor. After his first surgery, Michael did have the ability to walk with a cane.

The acceleration of the spread of a neoplasm by beating is not likely and very speculative. The hospital records available from the University of Florida do not indicate trauma. Our conclusion is that Smelley died a natural death, due to malignant neoplasm. This of course does not exclude a possibility of being beaten; however, if a beating occurred, it cannot be linked with this person’s cause of death.

October 15, 2012

Attention: Erin H. Kimmerle, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Anthropology
University of South Florida
4202 E. Fowler Ave., SOC 107
Tampa, Florida 33620-8100 USA

Subject: Fire Origin and Cause Investigation

The Florida Industrial School for Boys
4111 County Road 167
Marianna, Florida 32448

Dear Professor Erin Kimmerle,

City of Tampa Fire Investigator Christopher M. Stone and retired City of Tampa Supervisor of Fire Investigation Al Alcala are pleased to submit this summary regarding our fire scene findings at the above-referenced location which was conducted on Monday, October 1, 2012. The purpose of the investigation was to render a professional opinion as to the origin and cause of the fire that reportedly damaged the above referenced Florida Industrial School for Boys building on Wednesday, November 18, 1914 and to list any and/or all contributing factors. The site assessment included an examination of all provided historical documentation of relevant information and findings.

Based on our investigation of all available resources obtained of the fire damage at the loss site, as presented within the remainder of this report, our conclusions are summarized as follows:

- No evidence of an exterior fire was discovered during the document reviews of the fire scene inspection conducted in 1914.
- Based on a known account from one of the residing staff members, O.G. Marston, the fire appeared to have originated near the main stairwell on the east side of the first floor of the building, because he had alerted and directed the boys on the second floor to the stairway located on the western end of the building.
- The area of origin was determined to be on the first floor level at/or near the eastern portion of the building, which consisted of the assembly room, washrooms, and offices.
- After analyzing the collected and available data using the principles of the scientific method, several hypotheses were developed.
- Recognize the need. We could all come to a conclusion that a fire occurred on November 18, 1914.

- Define the Problem. Having determined that a problem existed, a proper origin and cause investigation was not conducted in 1914. Through a combination of other data collection methods, such as the review of several previously conducted investigations of the incident, the interviews of witnesses the morning after the fire, and/or other knowledgeable persons involved, several competent ignition sources existed within the building.
- Collect Data. Not all known facts about the incident were collected. The building materials, the dimensions of the building, configuration of the building, room by room, floor by floor, fuel loads such as all combustible materials (furniture, rugs, clothing, chemicals, etc.) present within the building, ventilation and constructed openings such as windows, doors, ceiling heights, and stairwells were not properly documented. We were unable to identify any fuels in the area of origin, identify potential ignition sources in the area of origin, or identify the first fuel ignited.
- Analyze the Data. Based on the limited data gathered during the investigation review process, several hypotheses were considered based on the limited information gathered.
- Develop a Hypothesis (Inductive Reasoning). The limited empirical data that was collected and considered during this investigation, revealed several lit kerosene lamps used for lighting placed throughout the staircases and walls of the building, oil based paints and rags used in the painting process, a wood burning stove used for heating, and arson were all possible competent ignition sources and contributing factors to the fire.
- Test the Hypothesis (deductive Reasoning). Based on the limited information gathered and reviewed, the following hypotheses were considered:
 - The wood burning stove used for heating could not be eliminated as a possible source of ignition. According to the 1914 report, this wood burning stove was brought into the building to heat the building on a cold night. This wood burning stove must have proper ventilation routed to the exterior of the building, as to the safety concern of carbon monoxide poisoning caused from the burning wood within the stove. This wood burning stove was supported with three legs and two bricks and was functioning properly when staff members went to bed. The location of this wood burning stove still remains unknown; however, the possibility of the floor being ignited horizontally by the wood burning stove is unlikely. The ventilation pipes from the wood burning stove if routed to the exterior of the building through a window opening or wall opening would be a likely competent source of ignition if the ventilation pipes had perforations which would allow the flames and heated gasses to escape and make direct contact with the building's combustible materials and eventually ignite them vertically. A fire that burns vertically spreads rapidly and a fire that burns horizontally spreads slower.
 - If spontaneous combustion is believed to be the cause of this fire it is necessary to determine if this is possible. Firstly, it should be determined whether or not the materials involved in the fire are susceptible to spontaneous combustion. This requires investigation of the material itself and the conditions present at the time of the fire. The only information provided is that oily greasy rags had been used during the painting process and placed at/or near a locker stored with dynamite underneath the stairwell. The configuration of the reacting mass is also important in determining whether sufficient heat could build up to the point of ignition. A loosely placed or

thrown pile will undergo spontaneous ignition. If a spontaneous combustion fire would have occurred at/or near the stored dynamite locker located underneath the stairwell, this would have possibly resulted in an explosion causing severe damage to the stairwell and building. According to eyewitness accounts, no explosion was mentioned.

- Kerosene oil lamps were used for lighting and placed throughout the staircases and walls of the building. The exact manufacture of the oil lamps, the total number of oil lamps, location, and/or mounting of the oil lamps is unknown. Kerosene oil lamps require constant cleaning, maintenance, and a watchful eye to insure proper operation. If the accumulation of residue and debris builds up on the lamp and glass surfaces, the lamp will not operate properly. Over filling the reservoir with kerosene oil could result in the oil igniting and causing the oil to drip onto other surfaces eventually igniting other combustible materials in the immediate area. The most common cause of kerosene oil lamp fires is that of an accidental nature, being knocked over causing the ignited liquid to spill resulting in rapid fire spread. The use of contaminated kerosene oils could have also posed a potentially serious fire hazard. The daily operation and use of the oil lamps is unknown, therefore the possibility of the kerosene oil lamp as being a potential fire cause cannot be ruled out.
- Arson was also believed to be a possible cause of the fire which was considered. The Pensacola Journal reported that prior attempts to burn down the dormitory building had been made several months earlier. Further, a Mr. George Coldwell, of Laurel Hill, Florida, attempted to have his son released from the school several days prior to the fire with negative results. Mr. Coldwell allegedly made verbal threats to blow up the building if his son was not released. Coldwell was reportedly seen on the school grounds earlier the day of the fire. Coldwell was later exonerated by a grand jury and his son who ran away from the school before the fire was released several days after the fire. Although Coldwell was exonerated arson cannot be ruled out as a possible cause of the fire. The evidence against Mr. Coldwell appears to have been circumstantial, which today can be used during prosecution in trial. The use of a handheld open flame device (lighter, matches, candle) used to ignite common combustibles and /or an accelerant (ignitable liquid) is a possible cause of the fire and therefore cannot be ruled out as a potential cause of the fire.

Investigation Methods:

- The investigation method(s) and/or Procedures utilized during the course of this limited investigation were conducted in accordance with NFPA 921, Guide for Fire and Explosion Investigations 2011, and NFPA 1033, Standard for Professional Qualifications for Fire Investigator 2009. The systematic approach used in this limited investigation was that of the scientific method as prescribed in NFPA 921, Chapter 4 Basic Methodology, and NFPA 1033, A.4.1.2.
- The data collected was systematically examined, the collected data analyzed, possible hypotheses were considered based on the limited amount of data collected.

Documents Reviewed:

As part of our assessment of the reported damage at the Industrial School for Boys, we reviewed the following documents:

- The 6th Legislative Committee since 1901 report of 1913
- Board of Managers Report (W.H. Milton)
- Edwards Report of 1969
- Florida Legislative Committee
- Jackson County Coroner (Conducted Coroner's Jury)

Conclusion:

Based on the limited amount of information gathered regarding the fire at the Industrial School for Boys, a true definitive cause of the fire could not be reached. We were unable to state specifically which of these competent ignition sources ignited the unknown first fuel. The determination of the cause of the fire requires identification of those circumstances and factors that were necessary for the fire to have occurred. Those circumstances and factors include, but are not limited to, the device or equipment involved in the ignition, the presence of a competent ignition source, the type and form of the material first ignited, and the circumstances or human actions that allowed the factors to come together to allow the fire to occur. The cause of this fire cannot be proven to an acceptable level of certainty, therefore, should be classified as undetermined until new information becomes available.

Limits of the Study

This report was prepared for the exclusive use of Professor Erin H. Kimmerle, Ph. D. and was not intended for any other purpose. This report represents the forensic observations and conclusions resulting from information that was provided to us as well as several reported fire scene findings. The opinions of this report are based upon fire science and limited documented observations made during the course of this study and were developed to a reasonable degree of investigative certainty. Please note that we reserve the right to revise the documented findings, comments, and/or conclusions above as conditions change or additional information becomes available. This report was prepared for Erin H. Kimmerle Ph. D. and we disavow any liability for use by others.

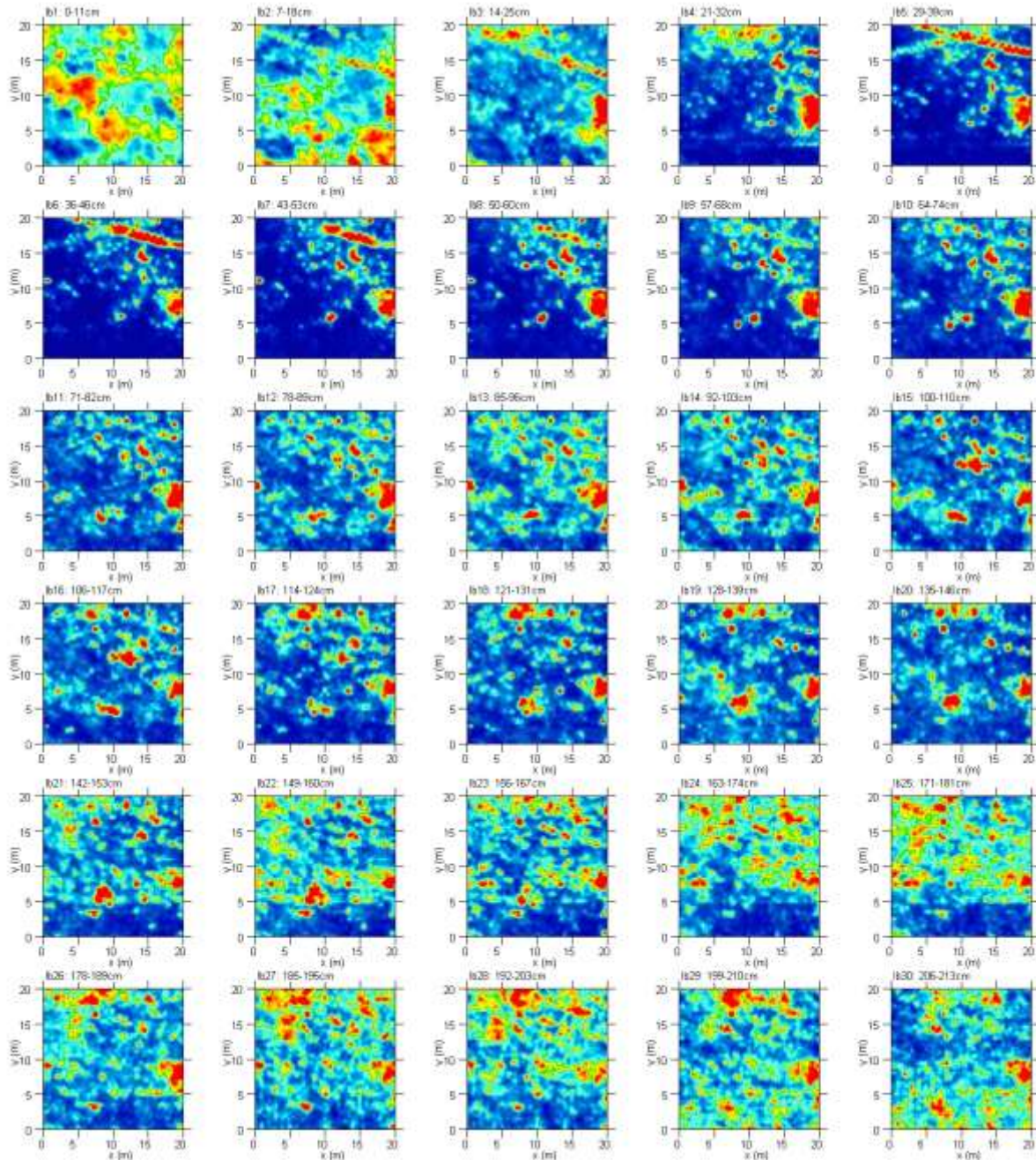
We appreciate this opportunity to have assisted you with this investigation. Please contact us if you have any questions or need additional information.

Sincerely,

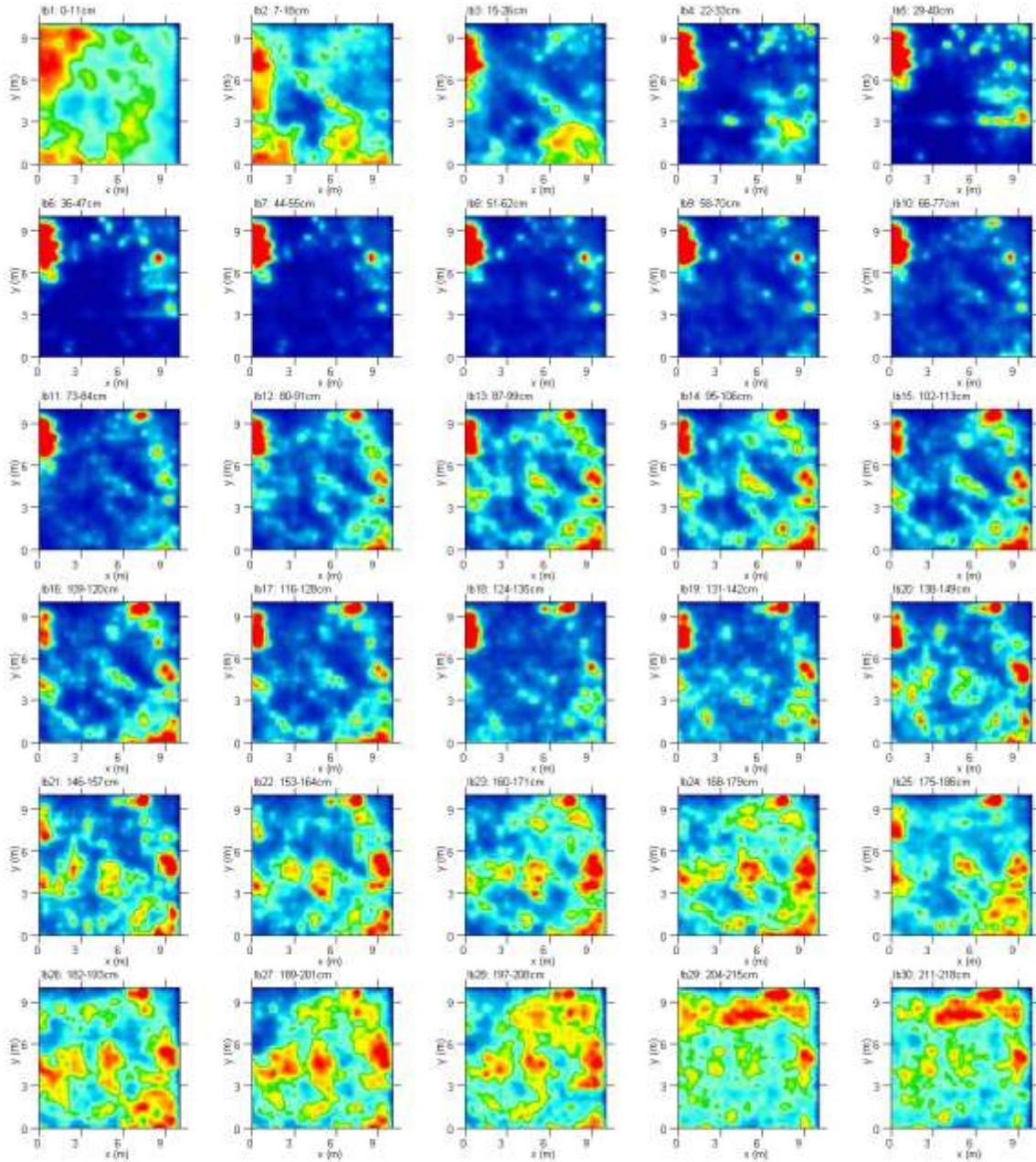
Christopher M. Stone
City of Tampa Fire Investigator

Appendix: Time Slice Data for Individual GRP Grids, South Campus

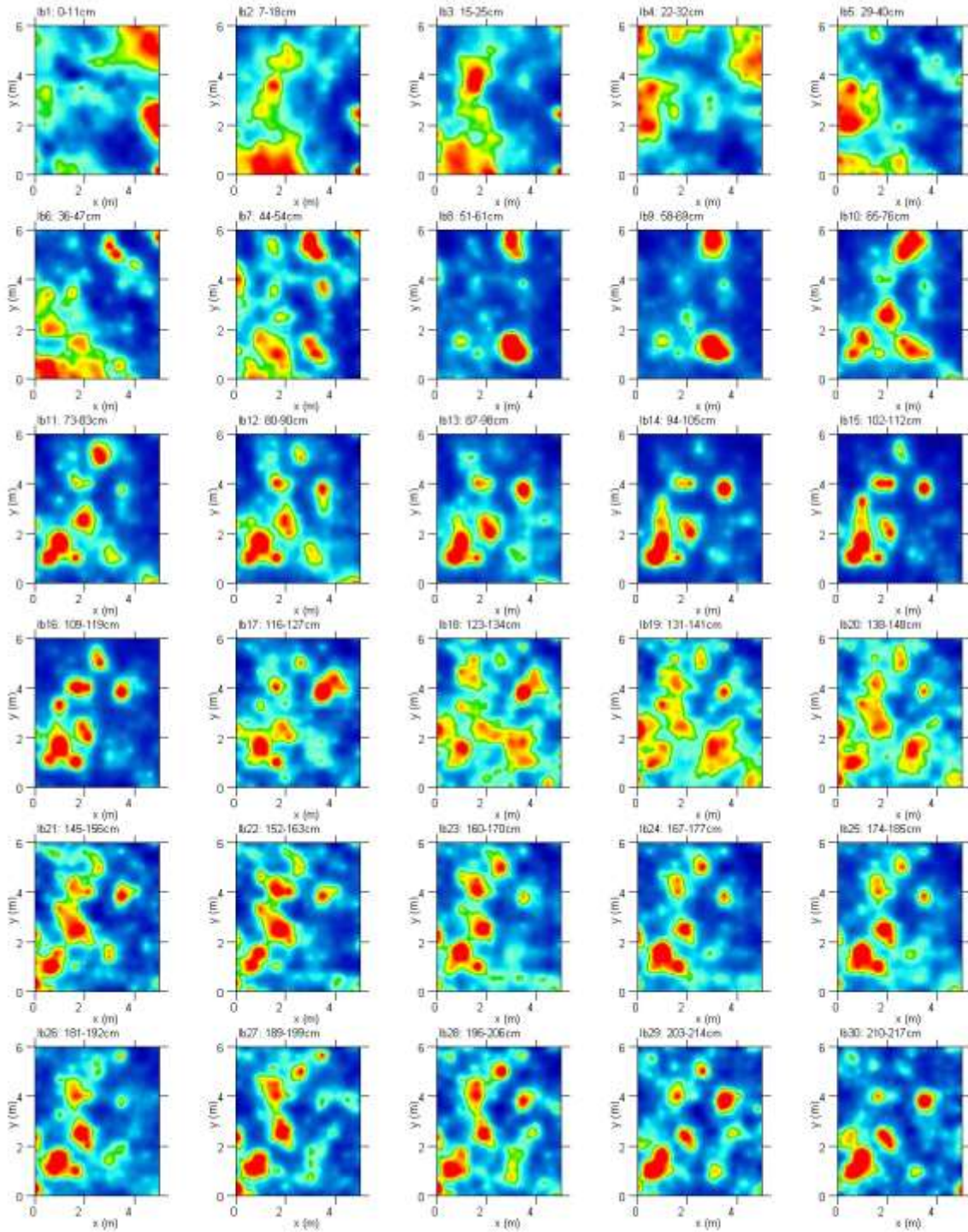
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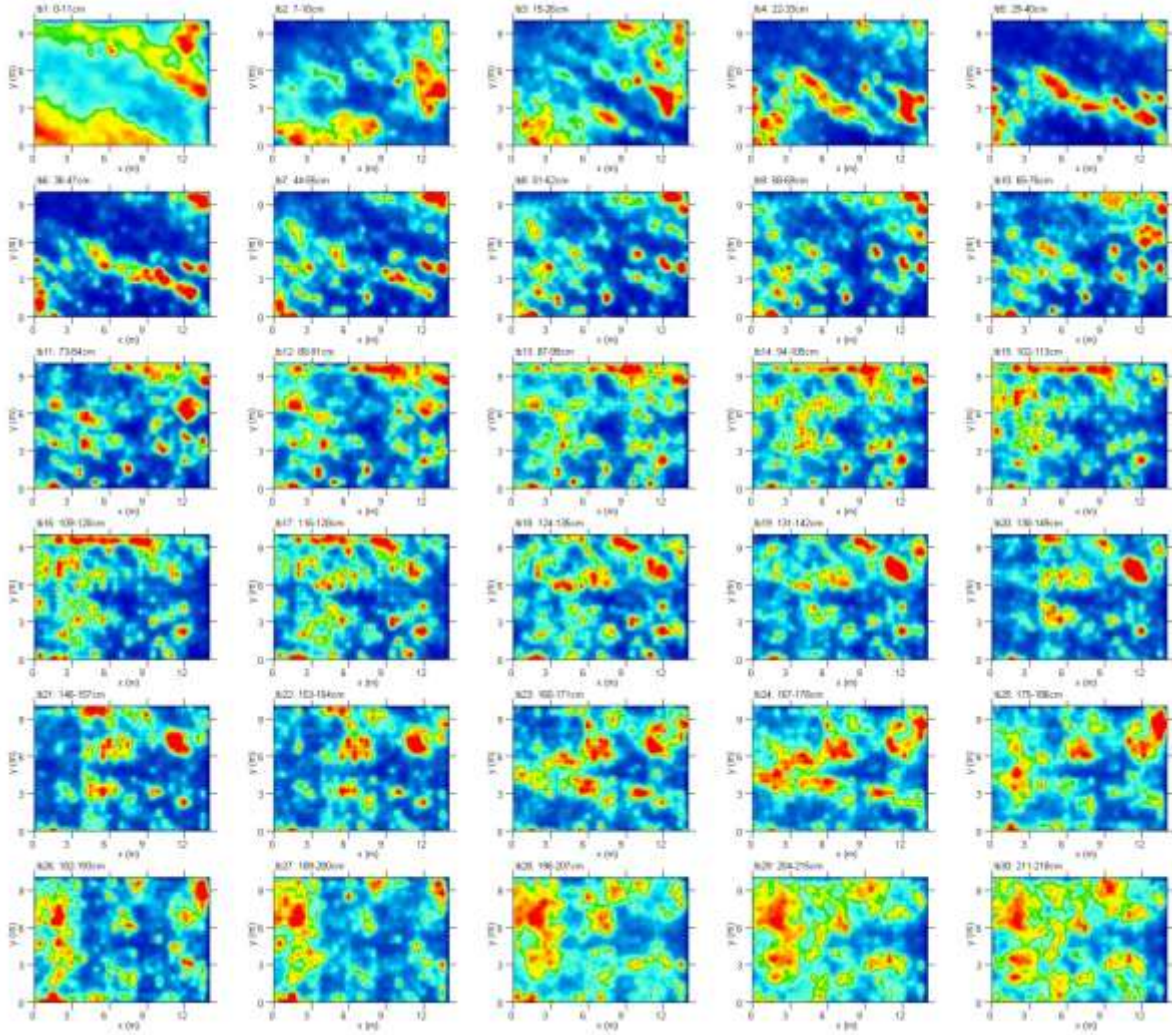
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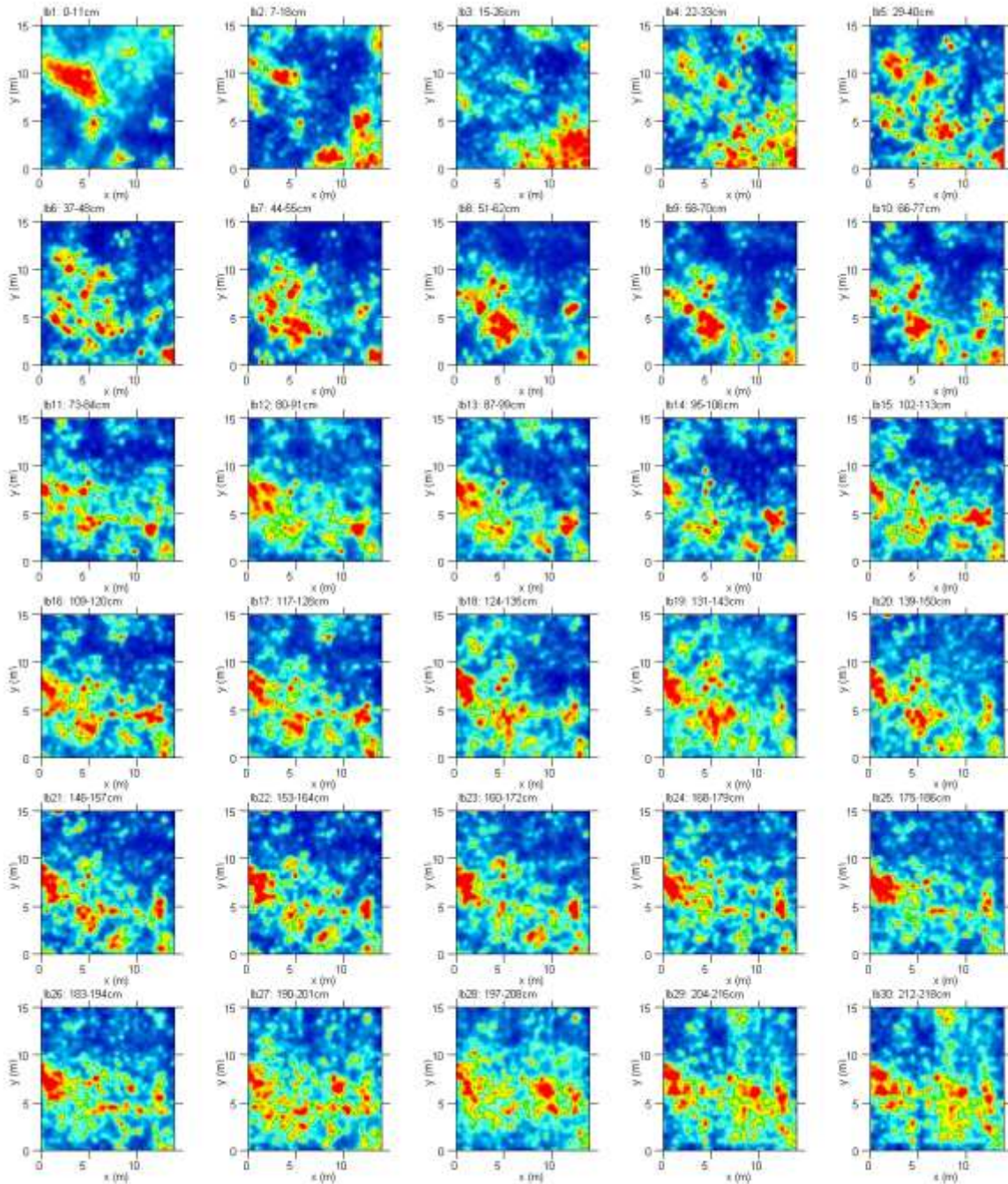
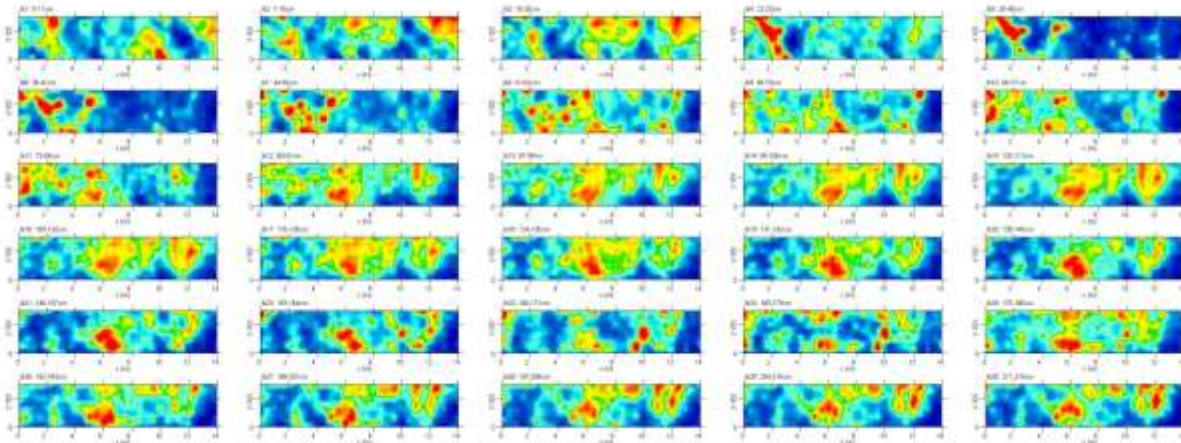
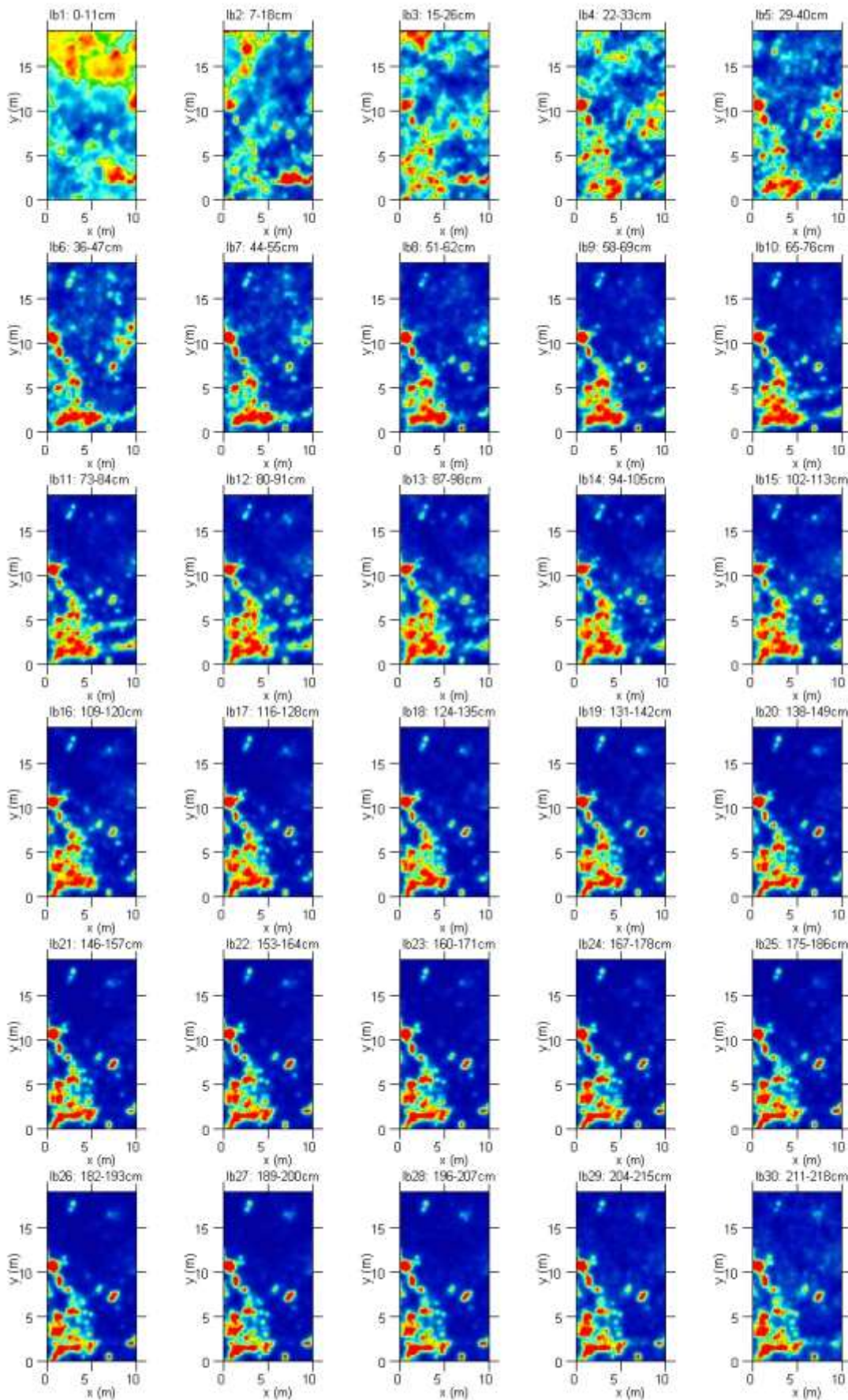
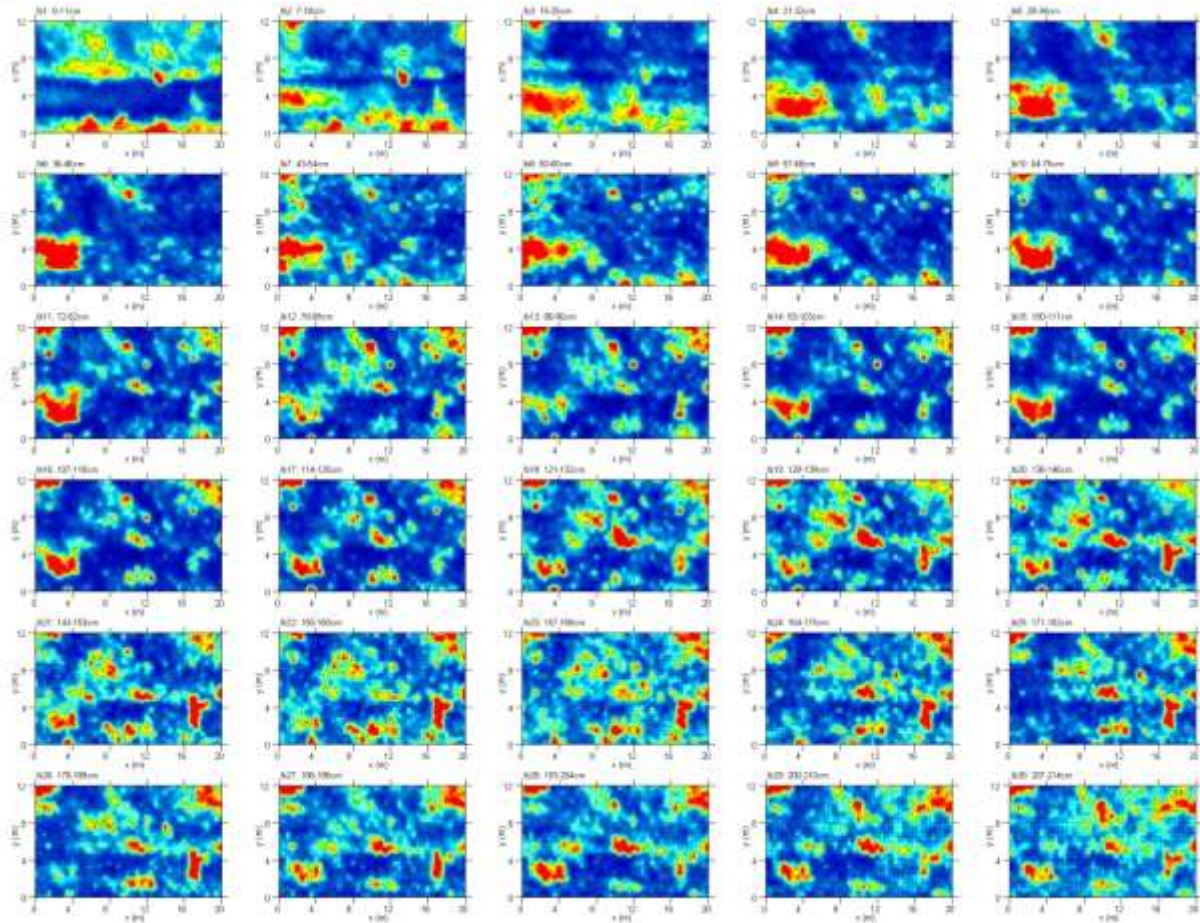


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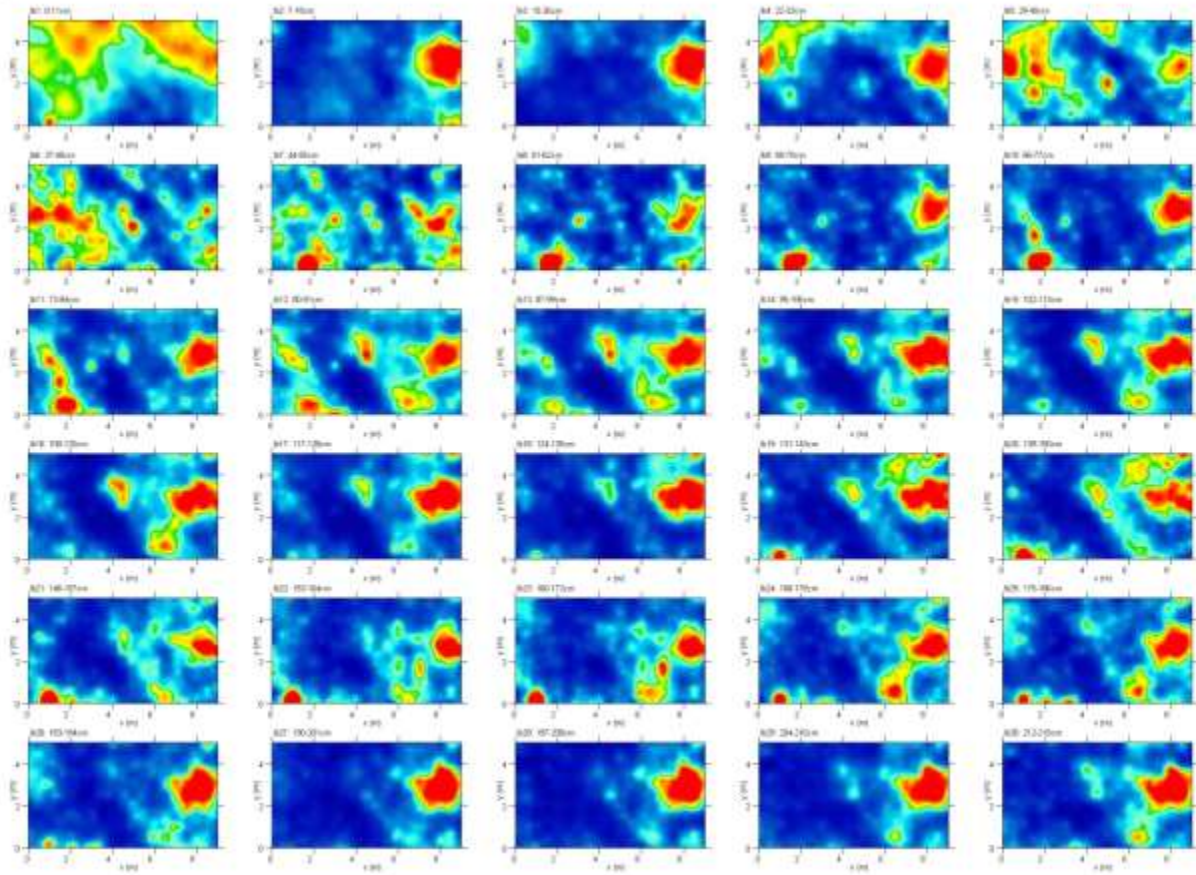




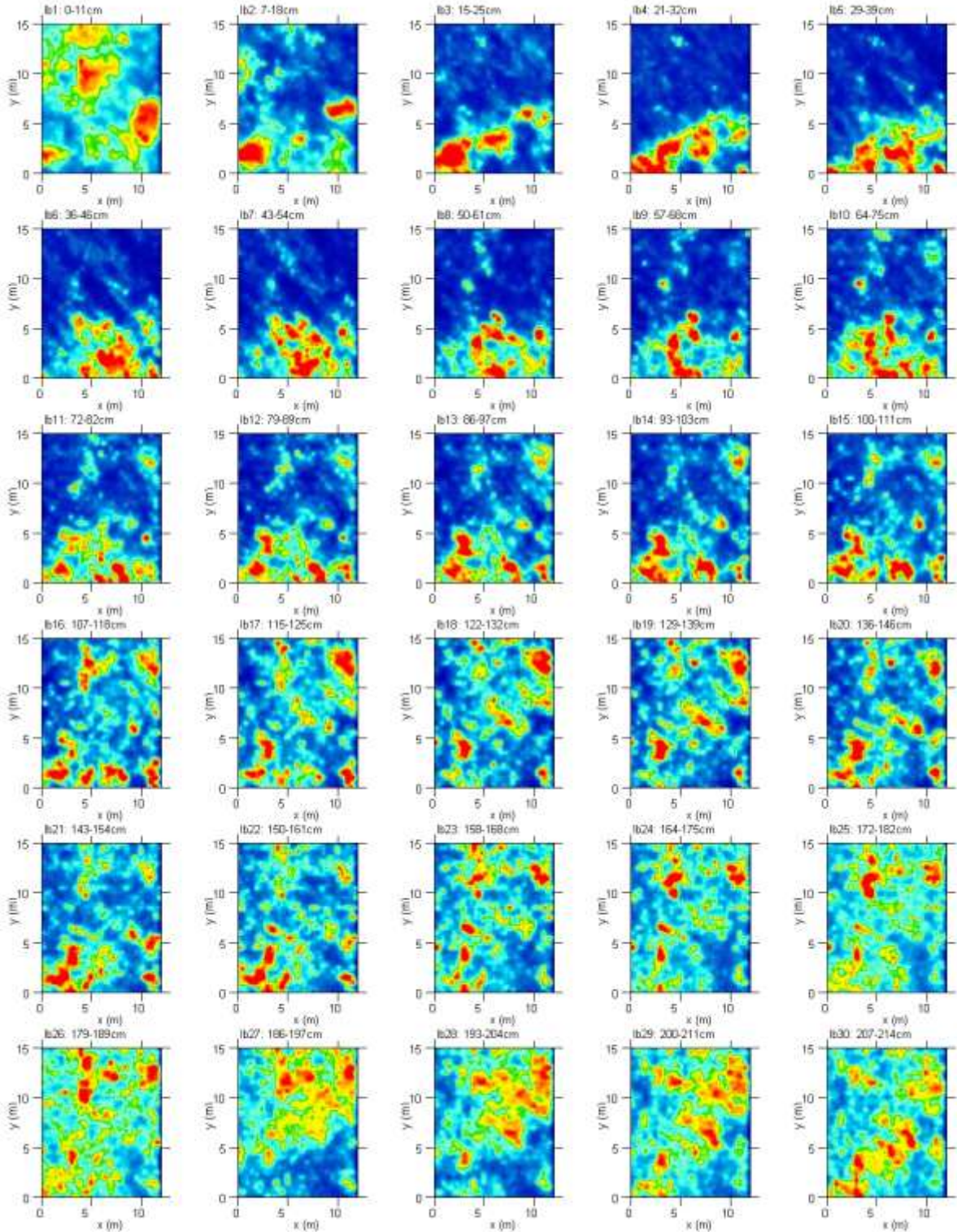
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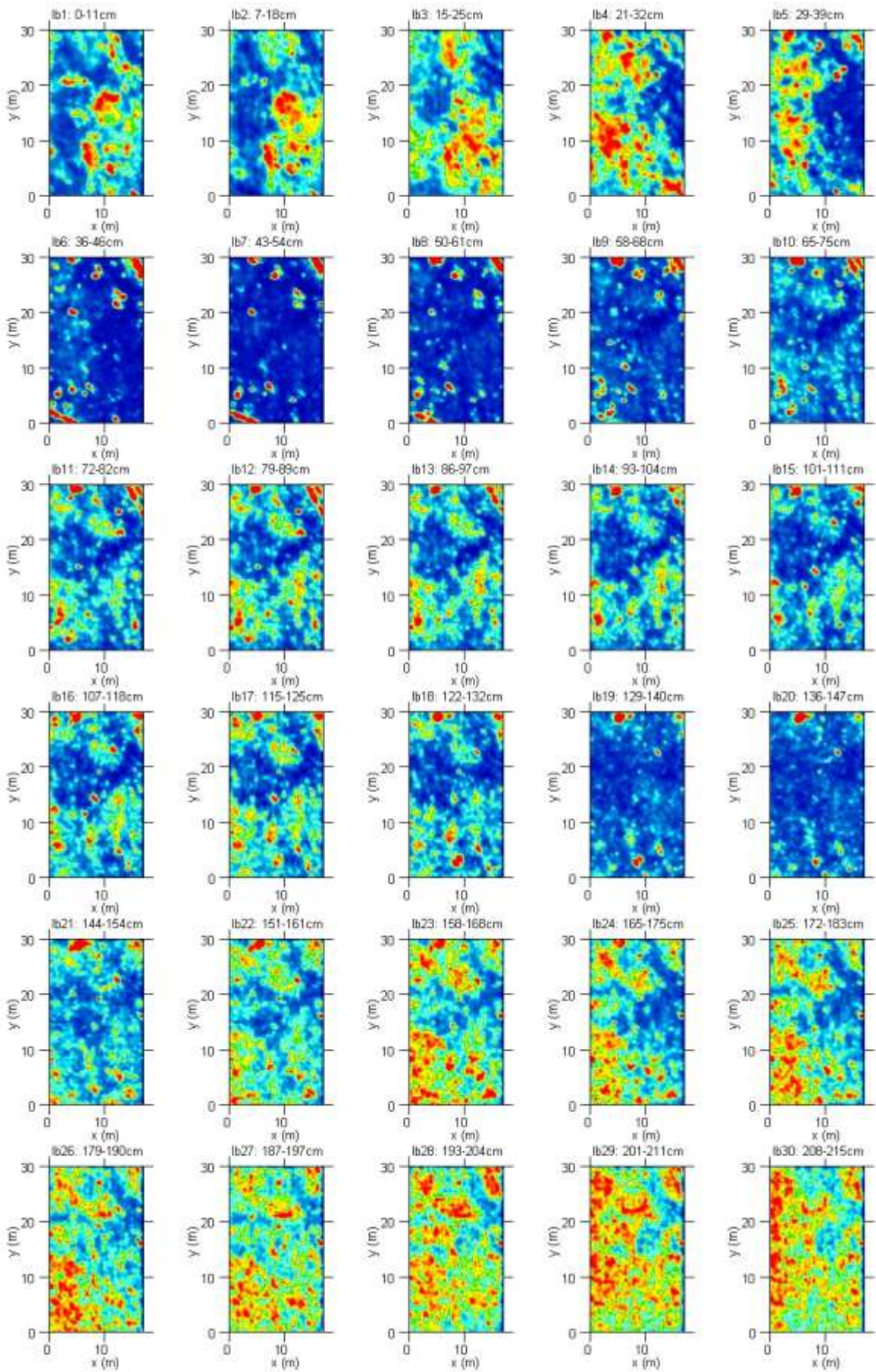


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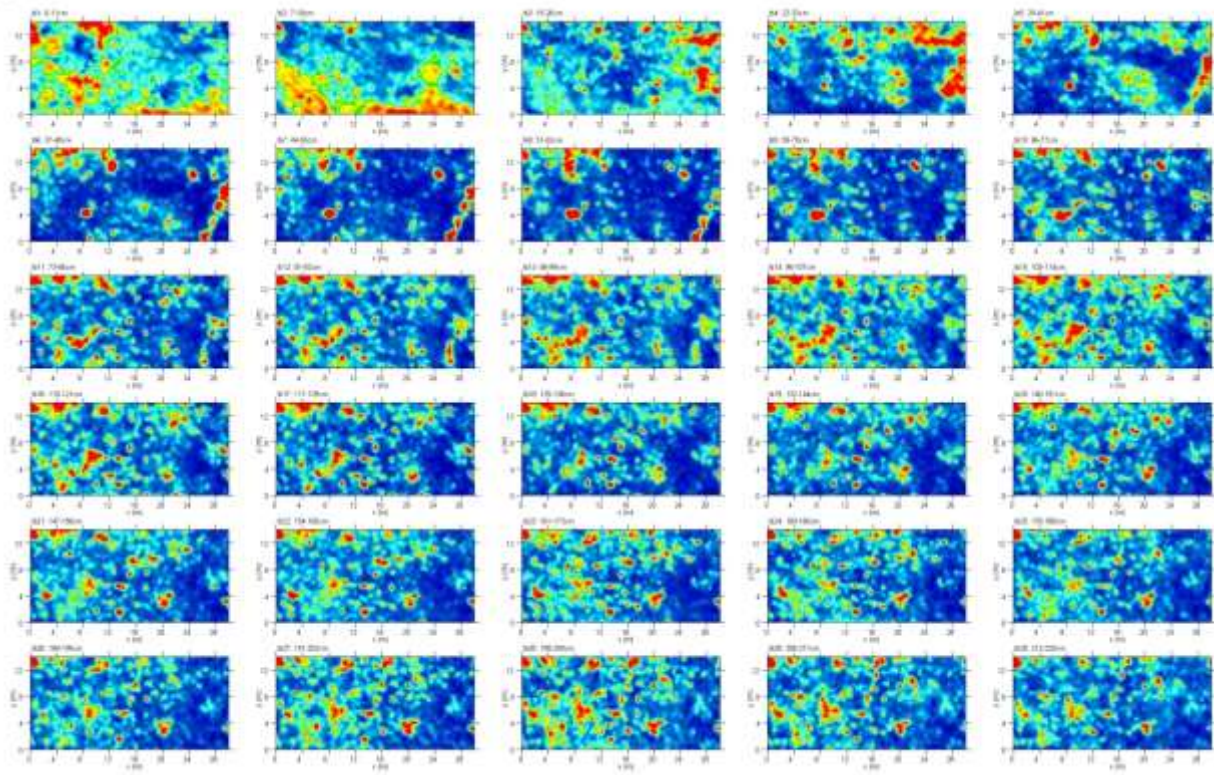


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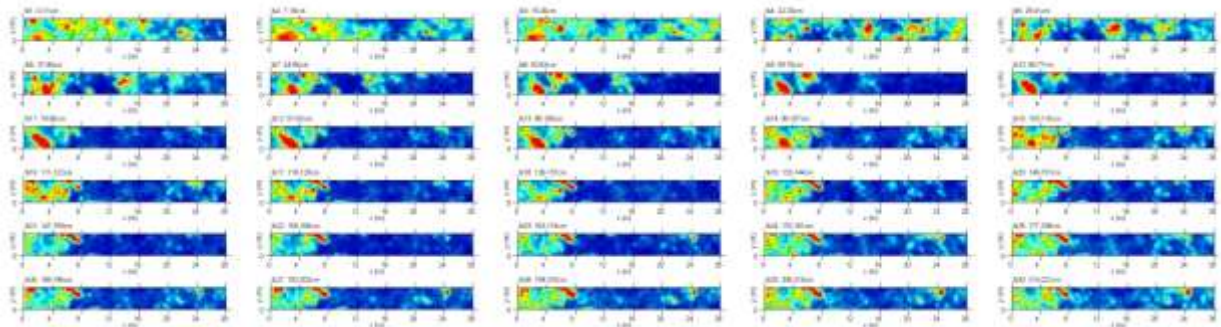




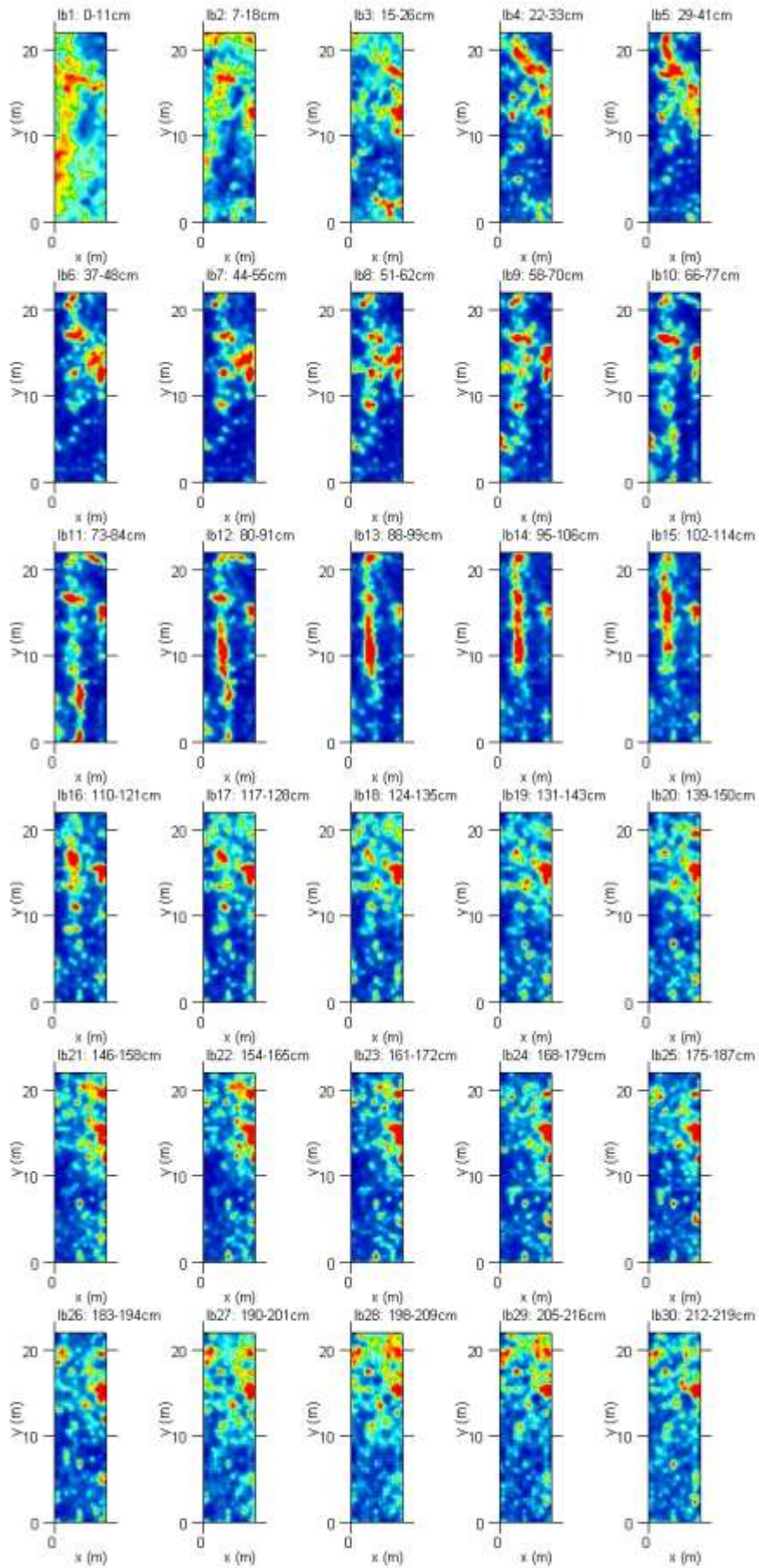
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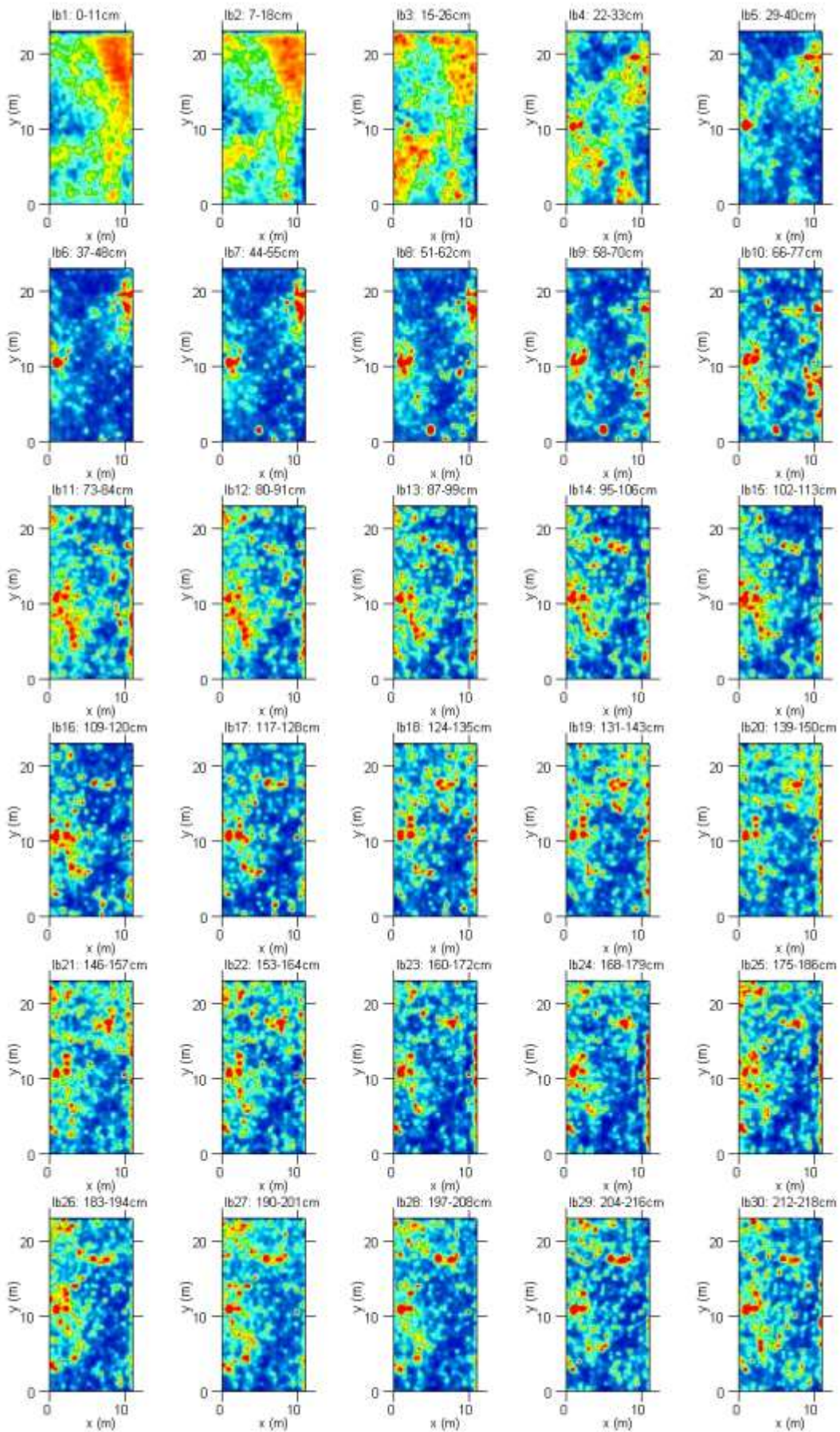
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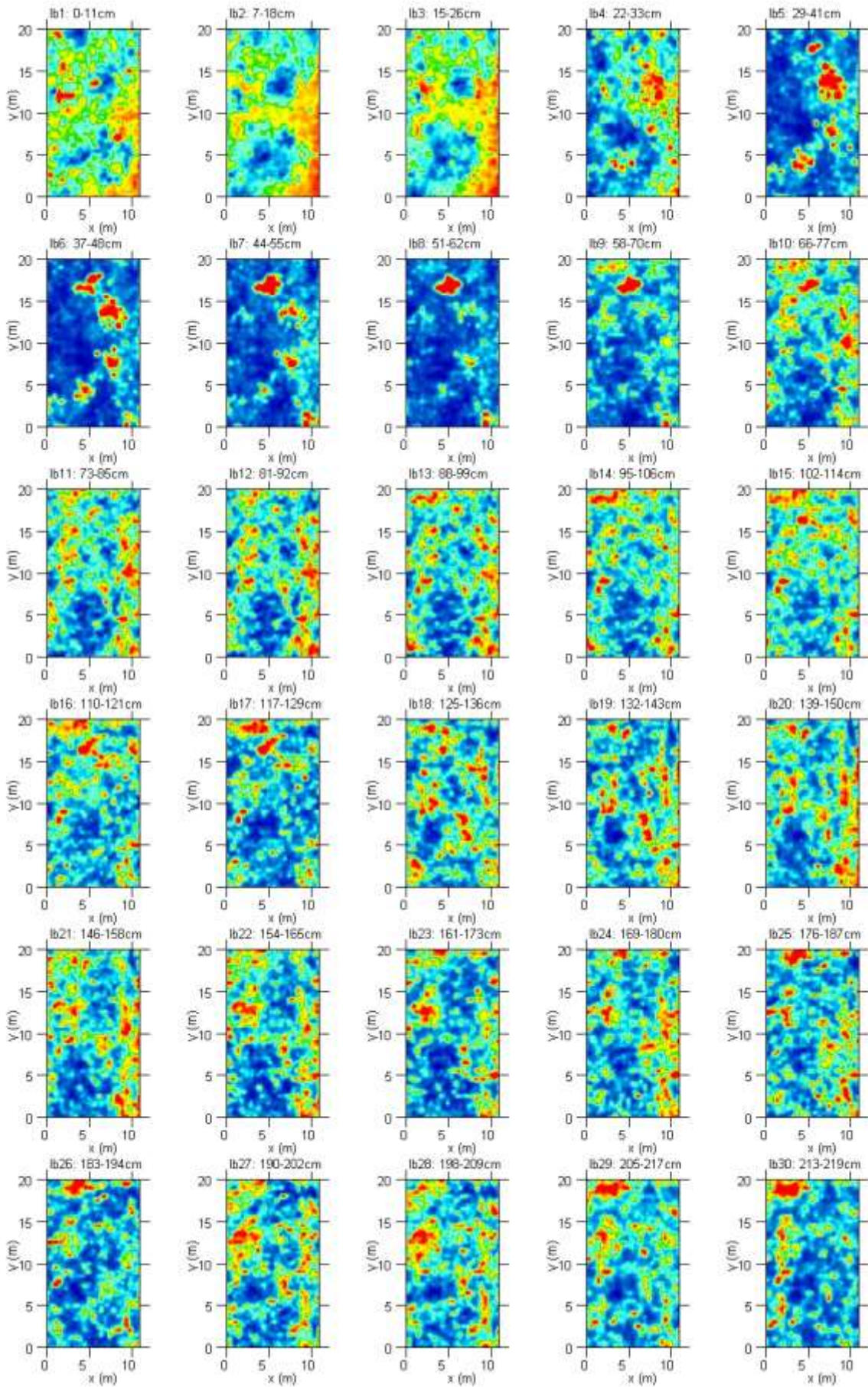
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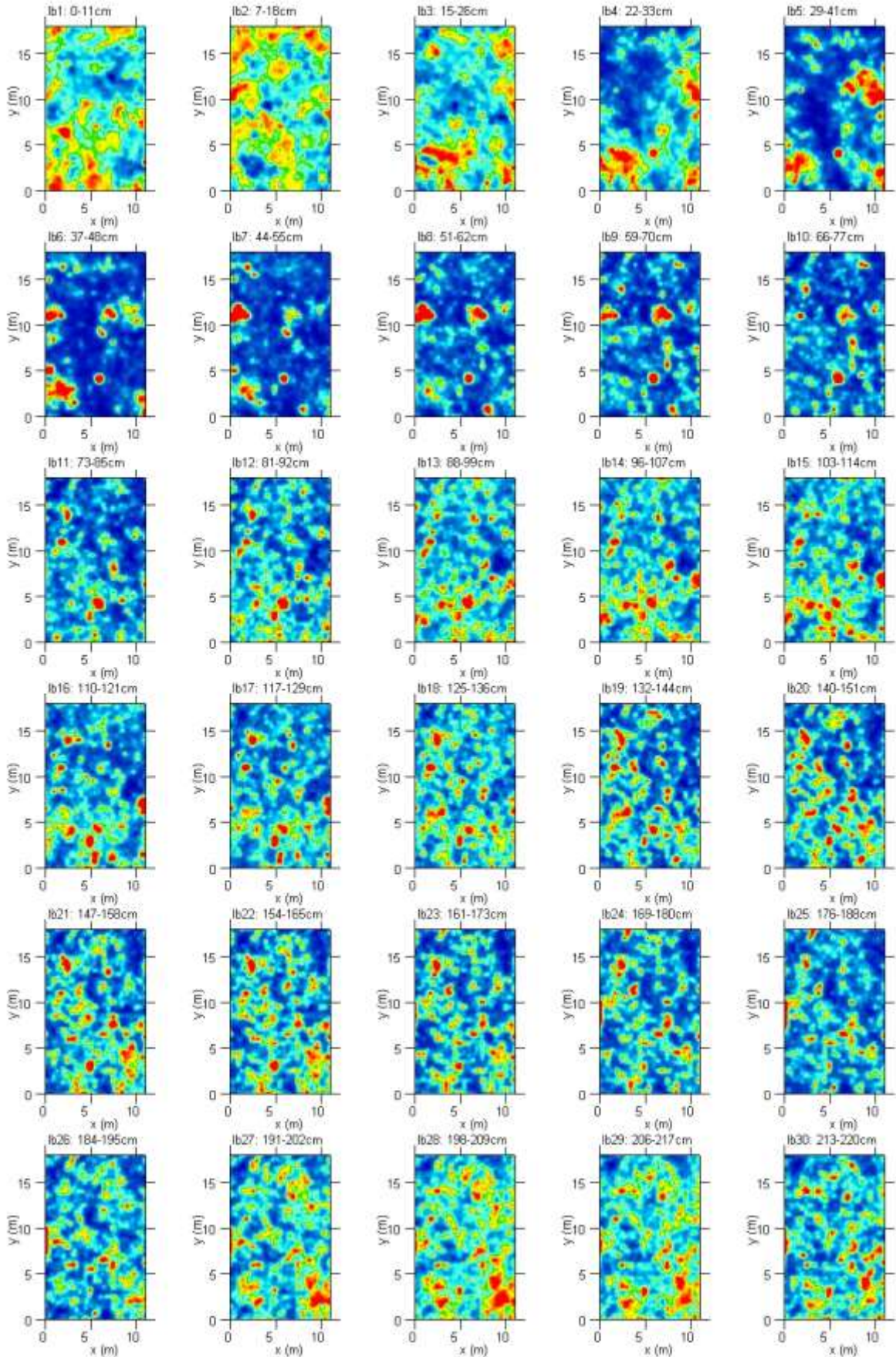
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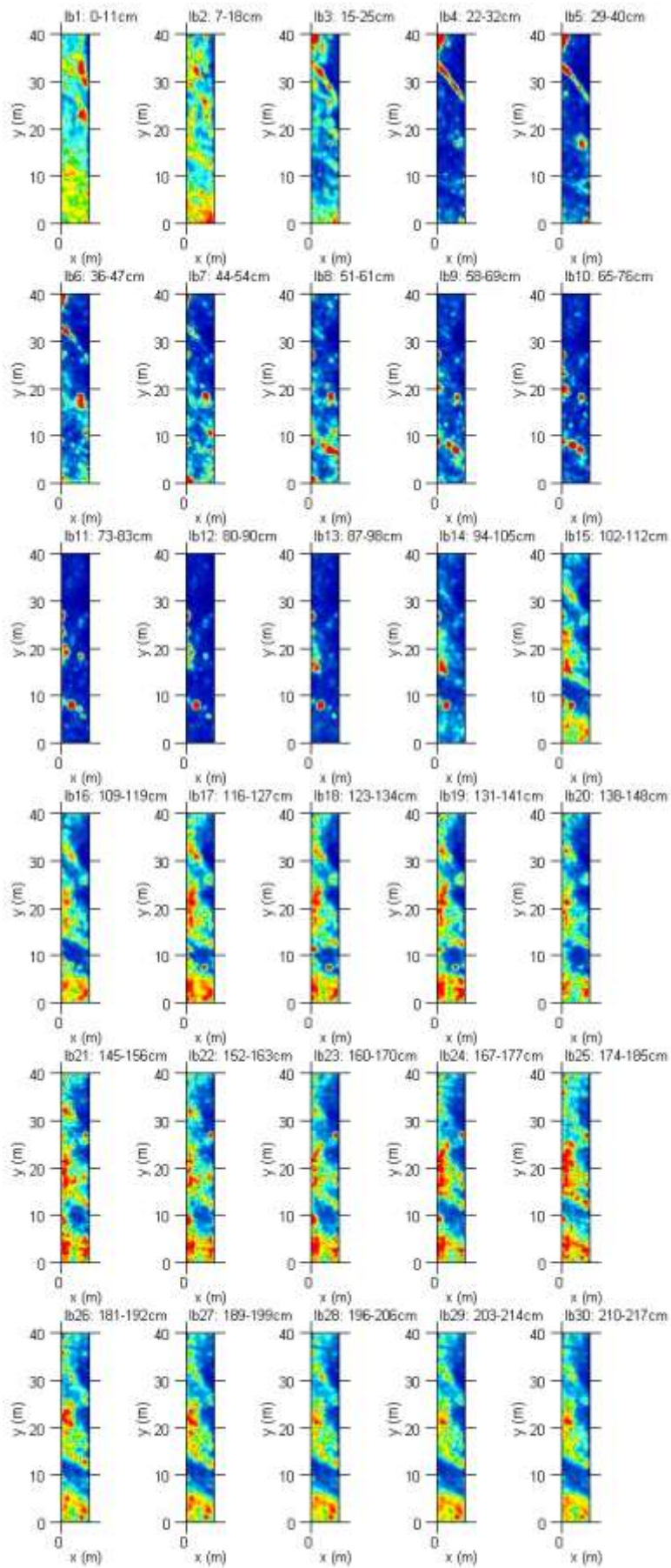
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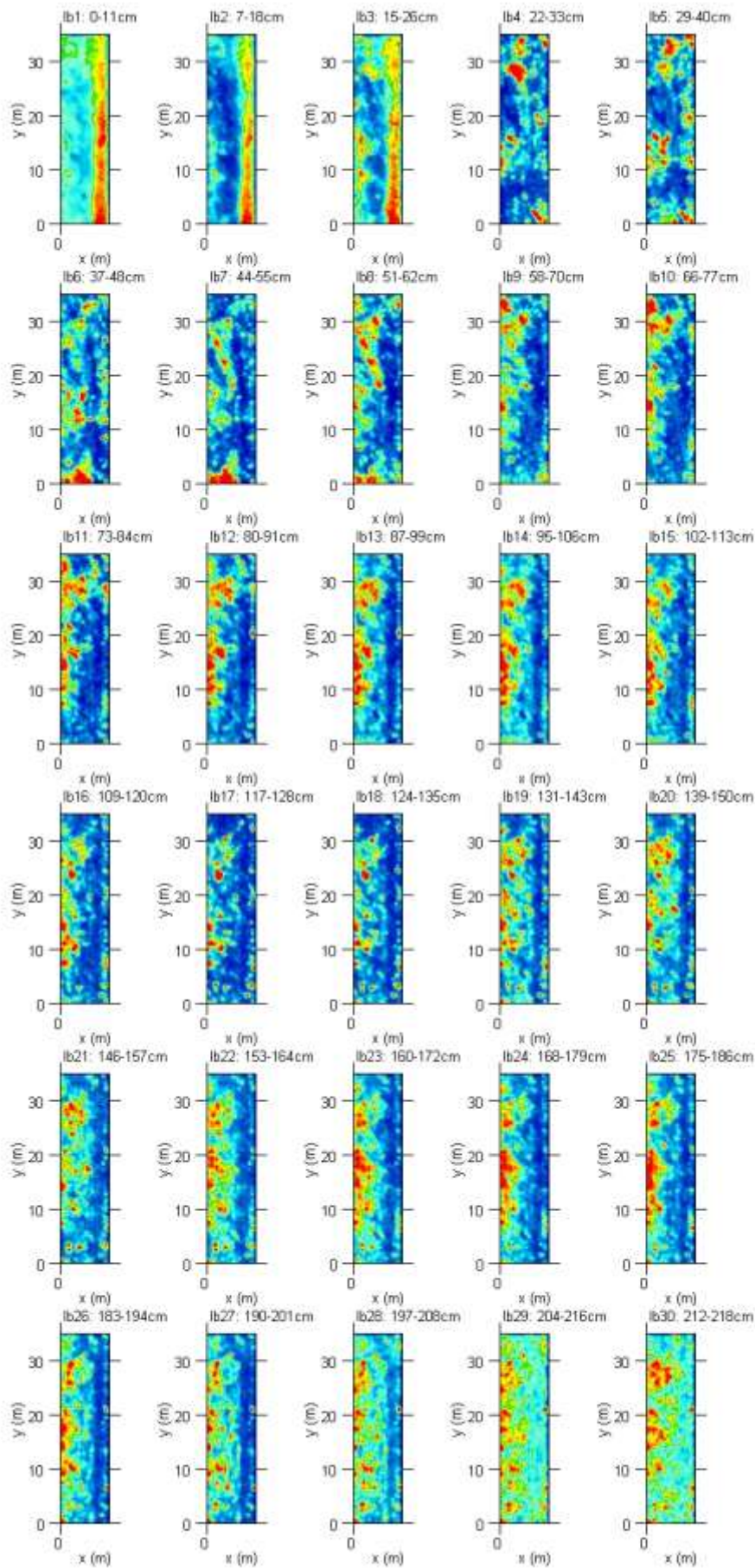
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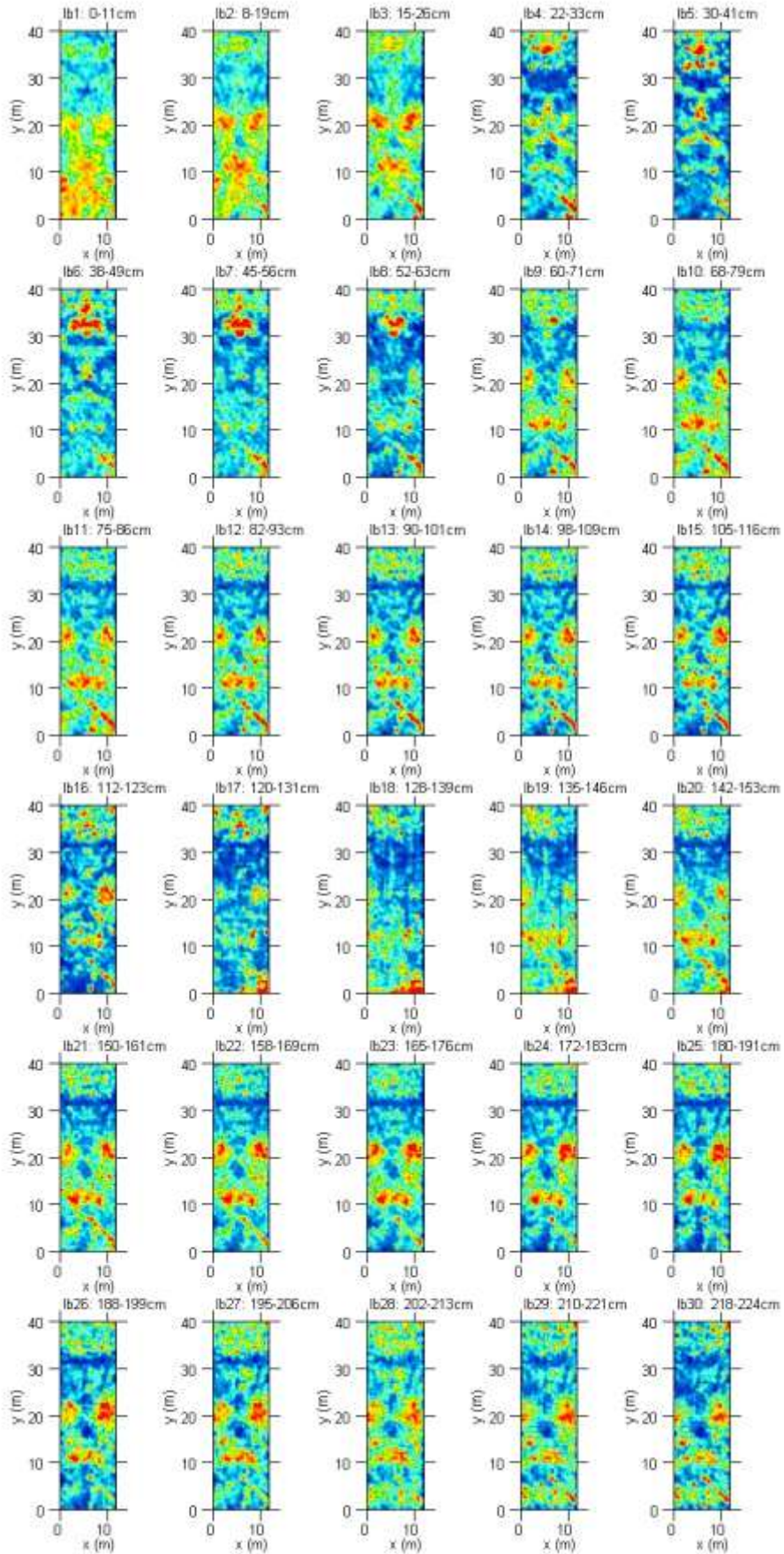
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Dozier Grid AA
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