



To: Attorney General Pam Bondi, Chief Financial Officer Jeff Atwater, Agriculture Commissioner Adam Putnam, and Governor Rick Scott

CC: Robert Tornillo, Emery Gainey, Kent Perez, Rob Johnson, Brooke McKnight, Karl Rasmussen

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Date: January 21, 2015

Re: Update on Research into the Deaths and Burials at Former Florida
Industrial School for Boys (aka. Arthur G. Dozier) in Marianna, Florida.

Thank you for you for taking time to meet with us for the upcoming discussions on developing pathways for reburial of the Dozier children's remains and possible memorization. To aid that discussion and also answer many of the inquiries we have been receiving about the status of our work, we have put together the following update of what we have found to-date and the status of identifications. The current research effort is on-going. We have more fieldwork planned for spring 2015 and anticipate completing the field work by August with a final report in October. **Therefore, this summary is based on our research to date, and thus is not the final product and is subject to change based on our future work.**

OVERVIEW:

Beginning in January 2012, we initiated fieldwork at the former Arthur G. Dozier School for Boys, in Marianna, Florida to document the burial ground in order to establish the number, location, and identity of children who died in State Custody and were buried on the school grounds. Through the course of the initial investigation, using ground penetrating radar (GPR) and archaeological field methods in combination with archival research and interviews of former employees, inmates, and families; we estimated there were nearly 100 deaths and fifty (50) burials located in the area of Boot Hill. This finding was in contrast to the 31 crosses that were erected on the grounds in the 1990s as part of an effort to mark and recognize the burial ground, and the list of 32 names of boys (and 2 adult staff) believed buried at the school based on the school's own records.

In 2013, we began excavation of the burials located in the area of Boot Hill at the request of families of the deceased and with the support and permission of the Florida Cabinet. Funding was provided by the Florida Legislature and the National Institute of Justice (Missing Persons FY13 FL 2013-DN-BX-K002).

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. After three years 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.

GENERAL FINDINGS:

To date, we have uncovered a total of 55 graves, the remains of which were brought to the Forensic Anthropology Laboratory at the University of South Florida for analysis. This analysis is ongoing. Family Reference Samples (FRS) for DNA testing are collected by the Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office in Tampa. All samples for DNA testing are sent to the University of

North Texas Health Sciences Center (UNTHSC) for analysis. The non-genetic information is housed in the NamUs database. The DNA profiles are maintained in UNTHSC's local Combined DNA Index System (CODIS) database.

- We found a total of 51 individuals buried in 55 graves.
- Three (3) of these individuals were victims in the 1914 fire of a dormitory that burned down. We believe the dorm fire likely killed ten (10) people. The remains of the other fire victims have not been located at this time.
- The discrepancy between 51 individuals and 55 graves, is that the fire victims were commingled and spread throughout seven (7) of the graves (refer to discussion below on the dorm fire). Therefore, excluding those with burned fragments and debris, there are 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.
- The list of people (missing persons or MP) we compiled who may have been buried at the school (excluding the fire victims) contains a total of 43 names. Consequently, we have more human remains (5 people) than names of people we believe were buried at the school.
 - Research into the possible identities of these unknown cases is under way, though extremely challenging due to the incomplete and often inconsistent historical records. For example, we found that in a number of cases, deaths were not reported to the State. In other cases, multiple death investigations lead to conflicting accounts about the number and names of boys who died. Further, we do not have access to records after 1960 due to public records laws.

The graves we excavated were located in the area of Boot Hill Burial Ground. 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.

FINDINGS FROM THE FIELD:

- Burial USF13-01333 contained the skeletal and dental remains of 14-17 year old child, most likely of African American 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, though based on the burial location in association to other individuals already identified, we hypothesize he died during the later part of the period in which the burial ground was in use. 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. STR 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."
- 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 to yield DNA results in most cases.
- Overall, biological markers of poverty were present. There was substantial evidence of nutritional deficiencies, under-development and slowed or delayed growth given their ages, and acute ear infections (mastoiditis) resulting in abnormal changes to the surrounding bony tissues. There was almost no dental care, with extensive caries (cavities) throughout.
- In one case, a 14 year old boy was buried wearing a polio type brace on his right knee.

Here are several of the main findings that warrant discussion and relate to the ongoing research and fieldwork:

- Among the 55 burials recovered, **seven burials similar in style and placed in a row contained commingled human remains with extreme fire damage.** In only one case was a burned torso of an individual buried, as described in early ethnographic accounts of

the dormitory fire of 1914 which stated the torsos of the deceased were recovered and used to determine the number of casualties (Kimmerle et al. 2012). However, among the other six cases, the remains were very incomplete, fragmented, and commingled with burned building debris. Each grave contained 1-3 individuals; however, the remains of these individuals were spread among the seven burials. Therefore a total minimum of three (3) fire victims were located at this time. Among the 3 individuals represented, we believe **Bennett Evans** is present based on the inventory of the remains, context and burial findings, and the ages of victims. However, not all of the Evans remains can be distinguished from the other victims for re-burial/repatriation. This identification is presumptive, as no DNA was recovered from the burned bones or teeth.

- It appears based on the physical evidence excavated at Boot Hill, that at least four (4) of the fire victims were not recovered in 1914 (based on the number of coffins they buried), but there may be up to seven (7) individuals still unaccounted for. It is our opinion that the remains of these individuals were buried with the dorm structure *in situ* (Wells et al. 2014).
- Eleven (11) bone and tooth samples were submitted for testing from the three (3) burned victims. However, these samples were too charred to yield DNA results. Therefore, the identification of Evans is presumptive at this time.
- State investigative reports from 1914-15 give 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 six (6) casualties, however, the Coroner’s report listed seven deaths which are likely why seven (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 two (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.
- 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 created a summary every two (2)

years to the Governor. For example, 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:

- 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 children 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.
- The 43 names represent the missing person pool.
 - Among the 43 names in our missing person pool, 9 were white and 34 were documented as “colored” or African American and are 79% of the group.
 - Also within this group, only 19 (44%) were issued death certificates, 22 (51%) were recorded as buried at the school, and 27 (63%) 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 he also disappears from the records in 1919 when he is listed in the school ledger as “not here”. Efforts to find out what happened to him and the relatives of their mother (Peg Grissam from Caryville, FL) have so far been unsuccessful.
 - Like the aforementioned case, **Sam Morgan** (who we recently 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) about the deaths that occurred at the school. The FDLE report lists him as having died at the school in 1921. We do not know where this information came from as Morgan was not issued a death certificate. More research into the specific circumstances of his death is ongoing.

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

A review of the facts surrounding certain students' deaths reveals a compelling need for further investigation in some cases:

- **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 now. She also feared the perception and possible retribution if she pursued it at this time.

- **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 was one of ten boys who died at the school after running away between 1906-1952. The other boys who ran away died from of blunt trauma, shotgun injuries, 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. At this time, we are continuing to search for his remains and cross referencing a family DNA sample with the unknown boys buried at Boot Hill. It is possible Curry was buried at the Boot Hill Burial Ground and we are waiting further testing on this case.

- **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 Yellowjacket*, 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 or reliable.

- Former students **Johnnie Walthour and Woodrow Williams** both confirmed that they were present for three (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 7). 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 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 to the forensic pathologists Hair and Chrostowski (in Kimmerle et al. 2012:109):

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.

- **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 us. Therefore we have not been able to do a full review of his case.

**FINDINGS FROM WITNESS STATEMENTS AND THE ASSOCIATED HISTORICAL RECORD
(RELATED TO FIELD WORK):**

- 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 and members of faith organizations and politicians, former staff, and representatives of the media and citizens of the local community. We are in the process of continuing to collect oral histories and learn more about the community through qualitative research efforts. This information will be included in our final report.
- 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 current 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 have 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.

Some of these findings will be further addressed and detailed in our final report; however, 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) we recommend sworn statements be taken by qualified law enforcement.

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 are summarized here.

STATUS OF IDENTIFICATION PROCESS

The effort to identify remains excavated from this site will continue through 2015. 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.

- Sixty-nine (69) bone and tooth samples for fifty-one (51) individuals were submitted for DNA testing. Within this set, eleven (11) samples were from the burned/commingled remains.
- Fifteen (15) family references samples (FRS) for eleven (11) missing boys have been submitted for DNA testing. Testing is still underway.
- In addition to the family samples already submitted, families for three (3) additional fire victims have been located; however, no samples were collected from these 3 families because none of the burned bone yielded a DNA result for a viable comparison.
- In total, we have found fourteen (14) families (or 33% of our missing persons 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, and a team of volunteer genealogists.

Table 1. List of Confirmed Identifications

Name	Method of Identification
George Owen Smith	DNA
Thomas Varnadoe	DNA
Early Wilson	DNA
Sam Morgan	DNA
Bennett Evans	Presumptive based on age, burial location, and context.

ADDITIONAL FIELDWORK AND PLANS FOR 2015

We are currently engaged in several areas of the research project including additional fieldwork. In addition, we are continuing to search for families to compare DNA for human identification, ethnographic interviews, artifact dating, analysis of human remains, and archival research. We have additional fieldwork planned for the spring of 2015. Our access to the property ends August 6, 2015.

The upcoming fieldwork will consist of excavation of the burned dorm structure to locate the remains of fire victims to the extent it is possible and in the event they were buried with the debris. We are no longer engaged in fieldwork to locate additional burials outside of the burned structure (refer to Wells et al. 2014). Unless new information is made available to us, we have done extensive work to follow leads already provided on this question.

Based on our original land use agreement with the Florida Cabinet, we are supposed to re-inter unidentified remains at the Dozier property. Currently, the specific plans and funding for the reburials and memorization have not been determined.

We are working with the Florida Cabinet (Attorney General Pam Bondi, Chief Financial Officer (CFO) Jeff Atwater, Agriculture Commissioner Adam Putnam, and Governor Rick Scott); as well as, members of the Florida Senate, House of Representatives, Department of Environmental Protection, and Department of Juvenile Justice on this issue. We expect a series of meetings with these representatives, such as planned for February, as well as the Florida NAACP, The Interfaith Commission for Florida’s Children and Youth (including faith leaders from the local Marianna community), the White House Boys Organization, and the families of the boys buried at Dozier to open a discussion for plans towards reburial and memorialization.

DISCUSSION AND INITIAL INTERPRETATION

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.

As a result of this investigation, nearly 100 deaths were found in historical documents, including boys aged 6-21 years who were incarcerated in State Custody and two adult staff members. These deaths occurred between 1914 and 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.

We found 51 individuals buried in 55 graves, as the remains of 3 people were spread among 7 of the burials associated with a dorm fire in 1914. Throughout, the historical records are incomplete and often provide conflicting information. Some of the deaths that did occur were not accurately reported to the State. We believe that the lack of record keeping and absence of grave markers may have created an opportunity to obfuscate the true number of burials and hinder potential investigations into specific individuals' deaths in some cases.

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 a cause of death is recorded. Other mortality patterns show trends among the boys that died including deaths following attempted escapes from the school (n=10), a high number of boys who died within the first three months of being remanded to the school (n=20), and inconsistency among those who were issued death certificates. 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. African American boys were placed in "sweat boxes", such as the one in which Earl Wilson died in 1944.

After 3 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, and others in need of social services.

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 were issued death certificates, the biological markers of stress and poverty evident on the bones and teeth, the 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 barrow 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. It was a practice of indentured servitude. 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. Such questions include, for example identifying 1914 fire victims whose bodies perhaps lie *in situ* near the location of the dormitory and outside Boot Hill Burial Ground.

REPORTS CITED:

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