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tions in Michigan institutions in Michigan institutions. George B. Gillespie noted that in the City Poor House, he had recommended pulling down the building and putting a new one in its place. Commissioner Neasmith

Charities was abolished and all were incorporated in the Michigan Social Welfare Commission. The power to grant was granted to the successor to many of the charities by one of the most important stories.

6, 1905, in the records of the Michigan Social Welfare Commission, 1912 in the records of the Michigan Social Welfare Commission, Laws of 1929.

Kansas, Canada, or Starvation

Robert F. Bauman

THE UNITED STATES PROPER HAS AN INDIAN POPULATION of approximately four hundred thousand,¹ and the Indian population of Canada is in the vicinity of one hundred twenty-five thousand.² Just as many of the Indians now living in Oklahoma and Kansas were originally from lands east of the Mississippi, so was a considerable portion of the Indians now living in southern Canada originally residents of the United States. The actual migrations causing these American Indians to establish homes west of the Mississippi and in Canada took place during the same period; however, the results of the migrations to Canada and those to westward United States are as different as is night and day.

For two years I carried on researches in relation to many of the tribes which were forcibly removed to Oklahoma and Kansas; and, previous to that time I studied the migration of Ottawas, Chippewas and Potawatomies from Ohio and Michigan to Canada. As a result of such researches I have gained a fairly clear picture of the factors causing the movements; one west and one north, I have learned about these tactics used to bring about the removals; and, most important, I have obtained some knowledge of the results of this action by the government. Tonight my talk will be concerned with just one of the numerous tribes which were caught in this unjust current of affairs—the Ottawas of northern Ohio and southern Michigan.

The Ottawa story is practically identical to that of most other tribes affected by the 1830 Removal Act,³ in that they tried in vain to withstand and ignore the inevitable, they suddenly found themselves without land or means of sustenance, they had to make extremely quick decisions about where their next council fire would be lighted, and they all suffered similar fates of mistreatment, starvation, and

¹This paper is an expansion of a talk given by Mr. Bauman at a meeting of the Algonquin Club on Friday, April 4, 1952, in Windsor, Ontario. Ed.

²*Annual Report of the Department of Mines and Resources* 205 (Ottawa, 1948); Department of the Interior, United States Indian Service, *Questions on Indian Culture*, 1 (Washington, D.C., 1950).

³7 United States Statutes 411.

death. During the 1830's the Ottawas of Michigan and Ohio had to face the complex problem of either removing to the barren Kansas plains; fleeing to their friends, the British, in Canada; or remaining at their beloved homelands and facing ultimate starvation and death.

The Ottawas, as tradition has it, were once a part of the famous Lake Confederacy consisting of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomie. The three tribes formerly occupied a great expanse of land in Canada north of the Great Lakes. This confederacy was a very loose one politically, and was often referred to by the Indians themselves only as the Three Fires. As indication that such a confederacy did once exist, one need only mention the fact that even today these peoples are able to understand one another's language; they are all of the Algonquin family.⁴

The Ottawas were first noted living along the north and south shore of Georgian Bay, at Manitoulin Island, and around the Lake Huron area. In the early days they were better traders and merchants than they were warriors, and their name indicates this fact—Ottawa meaning "to buy and sell" or "to trade." With the arrival of the French and English to this continent, the Ottawas were not long in putting their long swift canoes to good use, and they became the middlemen in a very lucrative trade between the Canadian lake tribes and the French, and at times, even with the English. In this the Iroquois were extremely jealous, and tried time and time again to drive the Ottawas and their trade-related tribes out of the territory. Finally after the Iroquois drove several of the small tribes connected with the Ottawa trading system out of that area, the Ottawas were forced to follow to the west in order to continue the profitable trade.⁵

By the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century the Ottawa nation seems to have split into several separate bands, each having its own political and civil organizations, yet linked together by family and social ties. One of these groups remained in Canada and around the western and southern shores of Lake Superior; another settled in the northern section of the lower peninsula of Michigan, centering at Manitoulin, St. Ignace, Cross Village, Grand

⁴Diamond Jenness, *Indians of Canada*, 390 (Department of Mines, National Museum of Canada, *Bulletin* 65) (Ottawa, 1923).

⁵Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, 1:617-20; 2:167-72 (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 30) (Washington, D.C., 1912).

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River, and Saginaw Bay. A third group of Ottawas settled in south-
 ern Michigan and northern Ohio, having their two main centers at
 Detroit and Toledo. It is with the last group that we will be con-
 cerned at this time. These Ottawas had the approximate boundaries
 in Ohio as follows: just east of the Cuyahoga River, south to the St.
 Mary's River, and west to a point near the present Indiana border.
 In Michigan their holdings were more vague, since they mixed quite
 frequently with the Ottawas of Grand River, and because of the
 fact that the Potawatomie, Chippewa, and Wyandotte Indians were
 also living in and amongst the Ottawas. However, for clarity we may
 say that the Ottawas' holdings in this area extended just north of
 Detroit. These Indians mixed with and were closely associated with
 the Indians just across the Detroit River in Canada.

This is the picture of the Ottawas of northern Ohio and southern
 Michigan by the latter part of the eighteenth century. They seemed
 to have had a particular allegiance to the British, yet fought for either
 side according to the spoils offered to them for such services. During
 these years it became the practice of the Ottawas to make annual
 treks to the Canadian shore in order to take part in the issues of
 presents then made to Indians, a long and well-known practice of the
 British.⁶

By this time the Ottawas were known more as warriors than as
 traders. They had produced and were producing great chiefs and
 leaders. Pontiac, born on the Maumee River in Ohio in 1720, is
 excellent proof of this. Most of the Ottawa chiefs saw the inevitable
 coming. Since they were fighting on their own ground, since it was
 their fields and game that were being eliminated, and since they
 were continually fighting against opponents who were superior both
 in equipment and in manpower, they knew that they were fighting
 a losing battle. Regardless of which side they fought for, these
 Indians knew that their ultimate outcome would be the loss of their
 homeland or destruction, for they knew too well that the white man
 was not fighting for this land in order to give it back to the Indian.⁷

⁶*Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, Session*
 1847, 6:5-7 (Ottawa, 1847).

⁷Gerard Fowke, *Archaeological History of Ohio: The Mound Builders and*
Later Indians, 487 (Columbus, 1902).

The Battle of Fallen Timbers and the Treaty of Greenville of 1794 was the beginning of the end of the Indian days in northern Ohio and southern Michigan, for as a result of this treaty white settlers were able to penetrate certain areas in the Indian country, and they also obtained the right of passage through the Indians' lands. It may be of interest to decide how the decision was made among the Indian tribes to fight Mad Anthony Wayne at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, for the debate well brings out the excellent leadership of another great Ottawa Chief, Turkey Foot. The debate took place just after Wayne had offered the Indians a peace proposition. The tribes met at the great Council Elm on the Maumee River, and the two deciding speeches were by Chief Little Turtle and Chief Turkey Foot. The first to speak was Little Turtle, the great elder leader of the Miamis:

The Great Spirit is good to his Red Children.
He has given them a beautiful country of prairie and forest;
Filled it with deer, elk, bear and otter for food and clothing for his children;
Given them large rivers of rapid waters filled with fish for their use,
and to float their canoes.
The young men are swift of foot;
Their arms are strong and their eyes see everything.
When they follow the trail of the elk they come back with meat to
feed their wives and children,
With skins for clothing and shoes;
When they follow the warpath, they return with the scalps of their
enemies.
They have driven the Long Knives many, many times from their
hunting grounds,
And the scalps are dry in their lodges.
The trail has been long and bloody; it has no end.
The pale faces come from where the sun rises,
And they are many.
They are like the leaves of the trees:
When the frost comes they fall and are blown away,
But when the sunshine comes again they come back more plentiful
than ever before.
The Great Father Washington has sent his war chief, Chenoten, the
hurricane, with a great many braves to counsel or fight for his Red
Children.
He has sent the painted quill, and asks them to smoke and talk in his
lodge.

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He wants a part of the country, and will give blankets, guns, knives
and tomahawks with powder and lead for our young men,
Bright colored cloth and trinkets for our women.
He will be our friend and purchase our furs and skins.
The Long Knives are the children of the Manitou, and half-brothers
of his Red Children.
The Manitou does not want to see the bloody tomahawk among his
children.
He will hide his face in a cloud, if they refuse to talk to the white
chief.
The Miamis of the Wabash would talk with the Great War Chief
Chenoten.
My ears are open, I will listen to the great chiefs of the Ottawas,
Potawatomes, and the Shawnees,
I have done.

Then Turkey Foot, soon to die in battle, stepped forward and said:

My ears are open.
I have heard the words of the Turtle, the great chief of the Miami.
His head is sprinkled with the frosts of many winters.
He says the great Manitou has been good to his Red Children.
He would give part of our hunting grounds to our enemies.
He has given us a great country, filled with elk, deer, the otter, and
the beaver for our support.
The scalps of our enemies are drying in our lodges,
But he would smoke in the lodges of the Long Knives, our enemies.
We can buy blankets, guns, knives and clothing of the Saginwash
[the English]
In the country where the snow falls before the summer is done.
The Potawatomes, Ottawas, and Shawnees will follow the war path
of the Long Knives.
When the sun sleeps again the scalps of the pale face will hang on
the belts of our warriors.
Chenoten, the great war chief, will walk in a bloody path toward the
sunrise,
And we will tell Chenoten that the Manitou of the red man is strong,
And will help his children of the red skin,
And the great chief will not come again.
The Manitou gave us this country and he bids us bloody the trail of
our enemies.
The Manitou is great.
He is good.
Will the braves of his red children fight?
Will they defend the council fires and the graves of their fathers?
I have done.

Then the leaders of the other tribes spoke in favor of war, and Chief Little Turtle found himself in the minority. He rose and said:

I have heard the words of the great chief of the Ottawa, Potawatomies and the Shawnees.
 They are wise men;
 They are great warriors;
 They are young men and their arms are strong.
 They are swift on the warpath;
 They have driven the enemies of our people from our hunting grounds. . . .
 And their scalps are drying in our lodges.
 The chief of the Miamis is old;
 His limbs are no more like the elk;
 His eyes are not like the eagle;
 The snow of many winters covers his head.
 He is waiting for the Great Spirit to say come.
 He will answer, I am ready.
 The great chief of the Ottawas with the name of a bird,
 This is so swift when it runs, and speaks so loud when it speaks to its mate.
 Shall tell our young men where to hide;
 To strike the enemy when they come;
 To strike him when the moon is out of sight.
 He is a great chief and will lead our young men on the warpath,
 And the chief of the Miamis will follow.
 I have done.⁸

Thus the die was cast. The warrior's decision had been made. We all know the tragic results of that battle. It was the horses that won that victory for Mad Anthony Wayne—the horses that outflanked the horseless Indians. As I have said, this battle marked the beginning of the end for the Indians of Ohio and southern Michigan.

After this defeat, the Ottawas enjoyed a long period of peace, and they appear to have even stayed neutral in the War of 1812. So instead of sharing in the vengeance from which the other Indians suffered in the post-War of 1812 treaties of expulsion that cleared most of the Wabash country of its red inhabitants, the Ottawas were allowed to remain in the region. In fact, they were protected in this by an additional reservation.⁹

⁸Dresden W. H. Howard, *The Battle of Fallen Timbers, As Told by Chief Kin-jo-i-no*, in the Howard Papers in the possession of Mrs. Agnes McClarren, Winameg, Ohio, as copied by Mr. Davis B. Johnson, Wauseon, Ohio.

⁹Randolph C. Downes, *Canal Days*, 42 (Toledo, 1949).

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From this time on, the Ottawas were free from wars. This caused their supply of trained leaders and chiefs to diminish. As a people they were slowly degenerating due to increased contacts with the whites. The traders and merchants in the area sought all the profit they could possibly squeeze out of the trusting Indians, and the result was a growing indebtedness of the tribesmen which could not be possibly paid except by the receipts from the sale to the United States government of their existing reservations. The whites deliberately took advantage of the Indians, who were willing to take whiskey in return for their furs. Disease, drunkenness, and death soon followed and the once-powerful Ottawas began to feel the real effects of the white settlers and civilization.¹⁰

By 1830 the time was ripe for the expulsion of the Ottawas from their homeland in Ohio and Michigan. The Erie Canal was open and the stream of westward moving pioneers was approaching their lands. Then, on May 28, 1830, the United States Government sanctioned the unfavorable policy of the new settlers towards the Indians by passing the Removal Act. This act provided for the exchange of the Indian's eastern holdings for lands beyond the Mississippi River.

With such a weapon at their disposal the settlers now began to clamor for the removal of the Indians from their vicinity. They immediately petitioned the Government to remove the red people, and in 1831 the first group of Ottawas was removed to Kansas. These included the tribesmen living in towns on the Auglaize River and on the Maumee River above Toledo. They were known as the Ohio Ottawa. The Ottawa Indians at the mouth of the Maumee, on the Ottawa River, and in southern Michigan were not included because they came under the Michigan superintendency. They were known as the Michigan Ottawa. The removal was a tragic one; the few Indians who had money were robbed by the whites enroute, horses broke down or were stolen, a good portion of the Indians became sick and many died, no provisions or doctors were awaiting them on their arrival in Kansas as the government had promised, and no provision had been made to supply them with ploughs or materials needed to start the spring planting as was promised in the removal treaty. Some of the more heartsick of the Ottawas made the long and tiring trek

¹⁰Downes, *Canal Days*, 48.

back to the Ohio-Michigan country, and the misery of the migration lost nothing of its luridness in the stories that these Indians told to the remaining tribes.¹¹

When the government agents tried to negotiate with the rest of the Ottawas for the remaining reservations and for their removal to the west, the stories of the dying and dead in Kansas were still too vivid in the minds of the Ottawa leaders. The whites and the government then tried every means in their power to wrench the Ottawas from their camping grounds. Council meeting after council meeting was held in order to obtain signatures to land cessions. Dresden W. H. Howard, one of the Indian agents, left a clear account of the feelings of the Ottawa chiefs at these affairs when he wrote:

It was pitiful sometimes at these interviews to observe the silent tear, welling from the breaking hearts, steal down the wrinkled dusky cheeks of the old grey-haired men, braves and warriors in their day, at the painful thought of leaving the graves of their fathers, the old and familiar camping grounds, the springs of sparkling water, the Council Fires, never to be revisited, never again to meet in their Council Lodge on their native hills and streams.¹²

These words express the feeling that caused the Ottawas to withstand removal for over five years after the first band of Ottawas had made the dreadful trek to Kansas.

The more the Indians refused to remove the harder the whites fought to have them removed to the west. Finally an Indian agent by the name of Benjamin F. Stickney, a man who had great contempt for the Ottawas, offered this solution to the problem:

If the government should determine certain tribes should be destroyed, rather than send armies to kill them with powder and lead, wherein it would cost at least the life of one white man to kill one Indian, beside the cash amount, she should select any Indian agent who had been well educated in Indian Affairs [meaning Stickney] with proper instructions, and furnished with plenty of good meat and bread, and a little tobacco, and, if there was a little whiskey it would be all the better. He could

¹¹"Correspondence on the Subject of the Emigration of the Indians between the 30th November, 1831, and 27th December, 1833, with Abstracts of Expenditures by Disbursing Agents, in the Removal and Subsistence of Indians, . . ." 359-63 (23 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Documents*, volume 11, number 512) (Washington, D.C., 1830); Downes, *Canal Days*, 50.

¹²The Removal of the Indians from the Maumee Valley, in the Howard Papers.

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call the Indians together, within 500 miles square, at any point he chose and keep them during his pleasure. I have had a number of opportunities of making experiments upon the high feeding of Indians, and of observing the effects. In about six weeks disease will commence, in eight or ten mortality will ensue, and during the summer months they would die at the rate of 20 per cent, at least, and through the year they should probably range from 15 to 20 per cent per annum, and those who might remain would be so enervated that they would not be dangerous. Objections may be raised against the morality of the mode, but would it be more moral to shoot them down? In this mode all the lives of the troops would be saved, and at least three-fourths of the cash, and the Indians well satisfied with the mode of doing the business.¹³

This type of philosophy was quite prevalent during the removal period, not only among the settlers, but also among many of the official government Indian agents. Is there little wonder that the Indians were becoming suspicious of all councils with the whites, and belligerent to any white suggestion?

Then the time came when the Ottawas realized that they owed the white merchants as much money as they could possibly receive from the government for their reservations when they removed west of the Mississippi. The inevitable had come. The merchants now refused to sell the Indians any more food or goods, and the Ottawas were slowly being starved into submission. Again councils were arranged, but the old Ottawa chiefs, Kinjoine, Ottokee, Wauseon, and Shawano could not forget the brutality of the first removal of Ottawas to Kansas or the reports that the land was not able to support their families. In order to stall a little they asked that they be allowed to view the lands to which their people would be removed. This wish was granted, and the government agent arranged for the trip. When the Ottawa chiefs returned from Kansas they advised their people not to agree to remove, for the land was not capable of being cultivated, small game was scarce, and the hostile savages of the plains were raising their bloody hands against paleface and red man alike.¹⁴

Thus, by 1832, the Ottawas of southern Michigan and northern Ohio were faced with the problem of survival; they could agree to

¹³Downes, *Canal Days*, 47.

¹⁴J. P. Simonton to George Gibson, February 18, September 2, 1834, in the Record of the Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; *The Removal of the Indians from the Maumee Valley*, in the Howard Papers.

remove to the strange lands in the west, they could remain in their homeland and face starvation and brutal treatment by the whites; or, they could try to escape to their friends in Canada where they were always welcome. In this year Governor George B. Porter tried to negotiate with the Ottawas to have them removed. He wrote to Washington that:

I have no hesitation in saying that this tribe are desirous of selling their land, but from all I can learn, they do not wish to remove west of the Mississippi. They are rather inclined to go to Canada, or somewhere in our vicinity. . . . It would be difficult, if not entirely out of the question, to persuade them to go west of the Mississippi.¹⁵

Their plight in their homeland is described by Colonel Howard. The Ottawas are now leading a wandering life among white men, who have no sympathy for them. The whites now have all their lands here and are ploughing up the graves of their dead, and to stay here and witness that is more to the Indians than to meet death on the plains in Kansas.¹⁶

Lieutenant J. P. Simonton, another government official sent to help remove the Ottawas, reported that they were rapidly becoming pressed for subsistence, that game in the area was growing scarce; and, that the traders had ceased to supply the Ottawas with food and goods. With these sources of food cut off, said Simonton, these beggardly Indians will soon beg to be removed.¹⁷

I have already mentioned that the Ottawas were welcomed in Canada and well treated by the British, who gave them presents annually. So it is not difficult to understand why the tribe wrote to the Canadian government:

Father, environed as we are now by the Americans, we would seek again the remote and secluded cover of the forest. As the white American advances, we would retire; we would retire to hunt in those reclude woods, whither his erring foot dares not ramble. Father, the Americans propose to us lands, west of the Mississippi, instead of those we now occupy within their territory. Here, Father, they betray the usual craftiness of their nation. . . . Father, our inclination leads us to your shores. Say, Father, will you accept our proposal, or will you spurn the extended

¹⁵"Correspondence on the Subject of the Emigration of the Indians between the 30th November, 1831, and 27th December, 1833, . . ." 401.

¹⁶Dresden W. H. Howard, Wauseon or Wa-se-on and Otokee or Ot-to-kee, in the Howard Papers.

¹⁷J. P. Simonton to George Gibson, February 18, 1835, in the Records of the Office of Indian Affairs.

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Americans?¹⁸

Thus, the Ottawas were seriously thinking of emigrating to Canada.
There were several reasons for this: first of all, the Indian policy then
existing in the United States; secondly, the opportunity of remain-
ing in an environment similar to that to which they were accustomed;
and, thirdly, the fact that they felt they had an ancient claim to lands
in southern Canada. All of these reasons caused them to cast their
eyes toward the Canadian shore.¹⁹ Then, just at this time, the Can-
adian government instituted a drastic change in her Indian policy
which caused the American Indians to flock to that country. By the
middle 1830's the Canadians were faced with the problem of issuing
more presents to "visiting" or "American" Indians each year than
they were actually giving to their own tribes. This was getting to
be quite a costly undertaking. Also, since the presents were not only
clothing, but guns, powder, and ball, the relations were beginning
to become strained between the American and British governments.²⁰
In order to correct this situation, the Canadian government issued a
proclamation in 1837 in which they informed all American Indians
that presents would be issued to resident Indians only. Thus at the
time when removal was inevitable, the Canadian government offered
our Indians protection, land, and presents each year if they lived in
that country.²¹

These are the problems that the American agents appointed to
remove the Ottawas were faced with. In 1837, 1838, and 1839 the
last of the Michigan Ottawas were removed to Kansas lands. During
these removals, however, the agents often turned their heads and
allowed the Ottawa families to escape to Canadian shores, and a
great many were saved from the brutal removal in this way.²²

¹⁸Memorial of the Ottawas Respecting the Amberstburg Reservation to Sir
John Colborn, September, 1829, in the Walpole Island Papers in the Depart-
ment of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa, Canada.

¹⁹Memorandum Concerning Potawatomes' Claim to Walpole Island, date
unknown, prepared for and in the possession of Mr. A. E. St. Louis, archivist,
Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa.

²⁰Memorandum Concerning Indian Presents, September 23, 1943, a mimeo-
graph circular from the Department of Mines and Resources, Ottawa.

²¹Letter of Sir F. B. Head to Lord Glenelg, November 20, 1836, in the
Walpole Island Papers; Memorandum Concerning Indian Presents in the
Walpole Island Papers.

²²The Removal of the Indians from the Maumee Valley, in the Howard
Papers.

The Ottawas that were removed to Kansas have a sad tale to tell. About half of them died on the way, and many more passed away soon after arrival. The whites with their high finance methods were waiting for them, and soon convinced the Ottawas to use their land to establish a university—a university that not a single Ottawa child has ever attended. Finally, the Ottawas again found themselves landless, and were forced to remove once more, this time to Oklahoma. A great part of their lands there were used to form the town of Miami, Oklahoma; and, today, the once-powerful Ottawa tribe possesses only a five-acre plot of land that is used as their cemetery.

The few Ottawas that stayed in Ohio and southern Michigan met with a somewhat better fate, and soon became assimilated with the white element. Some may still be seen living here and there throughout the area.

About half of the original number did make their escape to Canada, and settled with their brethren the Chippewa and Potawatomie on Manitoulin Island, at Sarnia Reserve, or on Walpole Island. These Indians were better treated and have established a rather high standard of living for themselves.²³

Many of the Indians that were removed to Kansas and Oklahoma after a few years made the long trek back to this area, and then settled among their relatives in Canada.²⁴ Others petitioned the Ottawas in Canada to let them come in a group, and settle on reservations there. It appears, however, that no group migration back was ever accomplished by the Ottawas west of the Mississippi.²⁵

This has been only a very brief explanation of the Ottawa's plight during the removal period; however, I feel enough has been presented to illustrate that the Indians were given anything but just treatment from the United States government and the settlers. The government is now doing something to correct the unjust actions and mistreatment of the Indians by past administrations. In 1946 the Indian Land Claims Commission was established to conduct hearings on injustices committed against the various tribes when these lands

²³Robert F. Bauman, "The Migration of the Ottawa Indians from the Maumee Valley to Walpole Island," in the *Northwest Ohio Quarterly*, 21:86-112 (Toledo, 1949).

²⁴Robert F. Bauman, "Young Jim, The Ottawa's Last Hope," in the *Northwest Ohio Quarterly*, 22:46-58 (Toledo, 1950).

²⁵Letters written by Indians in Council, Walpole Island, Canada, 1864 and 1869, in the Walpole Island Papers.

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were snatched from their midst. The commission will be in operation until 1956, at which time all tribes must have filed their claims. I feel that by this action, we will alleviate somewhat the shame from our records, and correct a few pages of our past history of which we are not too proud.

In closing, I would like to quote the words of an outstanding chief of the once-powerful Iroquois Nation who said:

When the winged canoes came from where the sun rises, with people with white faces, they were our brothers, and created by the same Great Spirit, and we welcomed them and fed them.²⁶

This is an example of how the white people were received by the Indians. And the words of Colonel Dresden W. H. Howard tell us how the whites returned such a brotherly welcome—and provides us with a warning:

The American people can only hope, that after we have done our work, and other people have taken our place, they will have done it with a kindlier hand than we [who] have taken the long and cherished homes of the simple Red People.²⁷

²⁶Dresden W. H. Howard, *Indian Religion*, in the Howard Papers.

²⁷Dresden W. H. Howard, *Young Jim*, in the Howard Papers.