A BRIDGE BETWEEN TWO CULTURES:
ANTHONY SHANE, METIS INTERPRETER

by

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ABSTRACT

OF

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IN AMERICAN HISTORY

As an interpreter, messenger, and spy, Anthony Shane participated in many of the major events in the history of relations between the United States and the tribes of the Old Northwest. He was a major source of information for the biographers of Tecumseh. Lyman Draper, pre-eminent historian of the Old Northwest, had significant questions about the ancestral background and reliability as a witness of Shane. Of French-Ottawa ancestry, the metis interpreter faced the problems of living in the region during the years of transition to Euro-American dominance.

The Chenes, Anthony Shane's French forebears, played roles in the establishment of the Detroit colony, the Pontiac Revolt and in supporting the British during the Revolution. Although Shane fought for the British-supported Indian Confederation in the early 1790s, he entered American service after the tribes' defeat at Fallen Timbers. Realizing America would be the dominant power in the region, Shane gave his loyalty to the United States. Serving as an interpreter, messenger and spy from 1795 to

1813, Shane gained financial rewards and the friendship of the new settlers, who distrusted most metis.

Shane and Lamateshe, the interpreter's Delaware wife, were major sources of information on the life and death of Tecumseh. They were of questionable reliability as witnesses because they used their testimony to advance personal causes and to ingratiate themselves to American political leaders.

Through foresight and planning the Shanes were able to take economic advantage of the increased American settlement of the region. Though more successful than most metis in dealing with growing American domination of the Old Northwest, the Shanes preferred the lifestyle of the tribes of the region. In the late 1820s, the family joined the migration of the Shawnee and Delaware tribes to their reservations in Kansas Territory where Shane died in 1834.

A study of the life of Anthony Shane provides a new view of many of the major people and events in the contact history of the Old Northwest. An examination of the interpreter's life also helps us to understand the importance of the metis, an often ignored minority, in the history of the region.

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Chapter One "Tell me all you know of him": Shane's Background and Early Life (1700-1795)

Anthony Shane, although not a leading figure in the history of the Old Northwest, was a participant in many of the major events of the contact history of the area. Used as a source by historians, his reliability as a witness was a significant question to be answered. A study of Shane and his family's activities in the region covers a period from the beginning of European settlement in the area in the early eigthteenth century to the removal of the large majority of the Native American population in the 1820s through the 1840s. As a metis or mixed blood, Shane faced particular difficulties in the racially divided society of the period. His actions and lifestyle reflect the choices available to a person of mixed ancestry in the society of his time.

A problem in studying Anthony Shane is the absence of documentation on several periods of his life, especially his birth and early life. The metis lived much of his life among the Indians of the Old Northwest, a preliterate culture. Although his signature appeared on a variety of documents, it is questionable whether Shane could write or read. An 1821 letter from Shane to Isaac McCoy, a Baptist missionary, was included in The Correspondence of Isaac McCoy, but the letter was probably written for the metis. McCoy in his 1840 History of the Baptist Indian Missions described a letter he wrote to Shane and his wife in the

early 1820s as being read to the couple.[1]

Shane's account of Tecumseh's life provided valuable information to Lyman Draper, a leading historian and archivist of the Old Northwest. In 1838, at the age of twenty-three, Draper began to collect biographical material on the heroic figures in the frontier period of the region. He used surviving witnesses to the major events of the period and the descendants of the participant as sources. He also collected a large number of diaries, records and manuscripts, including the notes of Benjamin Drake, the earliest and one of the best biographers of Tecumseh.[2]

As Draper began work on his file for a potential biography of Tecumseh he had many questions about Drake's information and the reliability of his resources. He corresponded with surviving contemporaries of Tecumseh or the descendants of major witnesses. Draper had some basic questions about Anthony Shane, one of Drake's major sources on the life and death of the great Native American leader. Shane, a metis interpreter, married to a kinswoman of Tecumseh, had been interviewed by Drake in 1821.[3]

Draper tried to investigate Shane's background and his reliability, but he was unable to find satisfactory answers to his questions on either topic. Two of Draper's many letters to John Johnston, former Indian agent at Fort Wayne, dealt in part with Shane. He asked the Indian agent, "Tell me all you know of him." Johnston, one of Draper's major sources on contact history of the region, was a long-

time acquaintance of Shane and had employed him as an interpreter for his agency.[4]

From reading The Boone Narrative, an autobiographical account of Daniel Boone's life, Draper found mention of a Captain Du Quesne leading the British-Indian attack on Boonesborough during the Revolutionary War. He had found an old frontiersman who claimed the captain's name was De Shane. Draper had also discovered a Captain Shane listed in British colonial records. Draper asked Johnston if Du Quesne or De Shane was the father of Anthony Shane. In his first letter about Shane written in 1847, Johnston claimed Shane had fallen into disrepute with the Indian agency before moving west with the Shawnees, but did not explain why. He was unable to remember Shane's father. He was not sure if Shane's father was French, American, or British. In his second letter written in 1852, he identified a De Shane as Shane's father but gave no information about him. He did say, however, that Shane spoke French while his English was poor.[5]

In his letters, Johnston did give a piece of information useful in finding Shane's ancestry. In both his letters Johnston identified Shane's mother as an Ottawa. Biographers of Tecumseh from Benjamin Drake to Russell David Edmunds, the author of Tecumseh and the Quest of Indian Leadership, the last scholarly biography of the life of the Indian leader, had identified Shane as of mixed Shawnee-French ancestry. Using the Johnston letter as a source,

John Sugden identified Shane as an mixed blood Ottawa in his 1985 book, Tecumseh's Last Stand.[6]

The best evidence of Shane's Native-American ancestry was a document signed by Shane himself. He served as an interpreter for the negotiations leading to the Fort Meigs Treaty of 1817, between the United States and all the tribes within the boundaries of Ohio. Shane signed this treaty, which included a clause granting him,"a halfblood Ottawa Indian, one section of land on the east side of the St. Mary's River," located in west central Ohio.[7]

Draper had been close to finding Shane's French ancestry. The De Shane involved in the siege of Boonesborough in 1778 had actually been Anthony Shane's uncle Isidore Chene, pronounced Chain. He was an interpreter for the British forces. The Boone Narratives had combined the names of two of the leaders of the assault. Captain Antoine De Quindre had commanded the forces. De Quindre's name was combined with Chene to become Du Quense or De Shane.[8]

A major difficulty in researching Anthony Shane's ancestry and early life is his name change. Anthony Shane was an Anglicization of Antoine Chene. Historians Charles Slocum in his History of the Miami River Basin and Bert Griswold in his Pictorial History of Fort Wayne had identified Antoine Chene as Anthony Shane in their early twentieth century works.[9]

Contemporary evidence can be found in the correspondence of William Polke, a Baptist missionary, who

employed Shane as an interpreter in 1823. In a letter to Isaac McCoy, his brother-in-law and fellow missionary, Polke referred to Shane as "Chain" and his settlement Shanesville, present day Rockford, Ohio, as "Chainsville". The 1818 treaty between the United States and the Miamis referred to a section of land belonging to.Anthony Shane as being owned by Anthony Chesne, an alternative spelling of Chene.[10]

Many facts in Shane's family background and his own early life discouraged him from discussing his background with his American employers. The Chene family were among the first members of the French settlement of Detroit in the early eighteenth century. By 1707, Shane's great-grandfather Pierre St. Onge dit Chene owned two lots within Fort Detroit and was considered one of its leading citizens.[11]

Three of Chene's children came with him to Detroit. His daughter Marie married Jacque Godfroy, a trader and one of the most skilled official interpreters used by the French colonial government. Pierre's son and namesake, known as Pierre LaButte, also became a trader and the official French interpreter to the Ottawa Tribe.[12]

Three generations of Chenes would be interpreters. Their skills would serve to protect the family, including Anthony Shane. While the stature of interpreter employed by the French colonial government was not as great as that of those employed by the English, it was a position of

importance. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the British, the French and, later, the United States government needed interpreters trusted by both sides in dealings with the tribes of the Old Northwest.[13]

Pierre St. Onge dit Chene's oldest son was Charles Chene, Anthony Shane's grandfather. He had a farm near Fort Detroit. In the mid-eighteenth century his sons, Charles, Isidore, Leopold, and Antoine, all became interpreters and traders.[14]

The year 1763 was a time of crisis for the Chene family. France had been defeated in the Seven Years War, losing its territory in North America. Many of the Indians of the Great Lakes-Ohio River Valley region, nominally under the leadership of Pontiac, an Ottawa warchief, resisted the threat to their land from the British and their American colonists. The revolt divided the French community in Detroit. While many of the settlers remained neutral, the wealthier members of the community and those with business ties to the British supported their newly installed conquerors. Pontiac was supported by a group of three hundred young men described at the time as "a band of irresponsible and vagabond Frenchmen who had neither chick nor child in the region who had thrown off the mask in as much as they did not have much to lose." Pontiac was also supported by many leaders of the community, including Jacque Godfroy.[15]

The revolt divided the Chene family. Isidore sided with

his British employers. Leopold Chene, whose wife was an Ottawa, was a leader of the French aiding his friend Pontiac.[16]

While besieging Detroit, Pontiac sent Leopold and Jacque Godfroy with four of his other French supporters west with a message asking for support from the Illinois tribes and the French of the area. Along the Maumee River they captured John Welch, a British trader, and stole his pelts. Godfroy and Chene sent their booty back to Detroit with the four other Frenchmen, and continued on their mission with their prisoner.[17]

Chene and Godfroy found the Miami Indians attacking British Fort Miami at present day Fort Wayne. Welch was forced by his captors to persuade the small British force to surrender. Chene's party continued on to Fort Quiatenon, present day Lafayette, Indiana, where they instigated the local tribes, the Weas and Kickapoo, to seize the fort. No longer needing Welch, they returned him to Detroit where he was murdered by Indians supporting Pontiac. Godfroy and Chene then finished their mission to Illinois.[18]

On hearing of his brother's activity, Isidore Chene was reported to have said in tears that he wished his brother might die in that place (Fort Miami) for as soon as he arrived at Detroit he would be hanged. Isidore's fears were justified. The siege of Detroit was broken and the British began to reestablish their control of the Old Northwestern frontier. Chene and Godfroy were arrested, tried and

convicted of treason, but their language skills saved them. British forces needed interpreters. They were thus pardoned and taken into the British service.[19]

Leopold Chene continued his friendship with Pontiac after the revolt. In 1765, the war chief gave him a farm east of Fort Detroit. Chene settled on the farm and had children by his Ottawa and Chippewa wives. Leopold Chene died in 1778. His reputation had been rehabilitated by the British to the extent that Colonel Henry Hamilton, the British commander at Detroit, would lament the loss of "his captain of Indians, who was esteemed as one of the best interpreters in the country."[20]

Toward the end of the Revolutionary War, Antoine Chene began his service for the British Indian Department at Fort Detroit. A list of officers of the Department decribed Chene as a volunteer. Isidore Chene was listed as a captain and interpreter. Some other men on the rolls of the Department were Alexander McKee, Mathew Eliot and the Girty brothers, James, George and the infamous Simon, all hated enemies of the American frontiersmen. The Chene family's service for the British would be a reason for Anthony Shane's avoidance of discussing his family background.[21]

In 1782, Antoine Chene was at Sandusky, sending intelligence reports to Major A. S. DePeyster, then Commander of British force at Detroit. An escaped black slave told Chene of an American force of 1500 men being organized at Fort Pitt for a punitive expedition

against the Ohio Indians to revenge the execution by torture of Colonel Williams Crawford. Crawford's killing had been an act of retaliation for the massacre of pacifist Moravian Indians by a group of Pennsylvania militia at Gnadenhutten in the eastern part of the Ohio Country. DePeyster reacted to the escalating situation which threatened the security of the British forts by sending Alexander McKee and Chene, referred to as Captain Chene, with messages to the tribes in the Ohio area. De Peyster threatened the loss of British support if the Indians continued their retaliations. The American expedition was not launched as hostilities during the Revolutionary War ended on the frontier. In May, 1783, with the war ending, Chene left the British Indian Service with the rank of lieutenant. His last mission was to carry the news of the peace treaty to Britain's Indian allies.[22]

Anthony Shane, nee Antoine Chene, was born in the late 1760s or early 1770s. He was the son of one of the Chene brothers. A study of the Chene family in the Registre de Sainte Anne, the records of the first church established in Detroit, show that the most likely father for Anthony was either Antoine or Leopold. Both had served as interpreters and traders with the tribes of the region. Antoine, who died in 1796, was Anthony's namesake, but a stronger case exists for Leopold who had an Ottawa wife.[23]

Little information on the early life of Anthony Shane (Antoine Chene) exists. According to Benjamin Drake, in his book, Life of Tecumseh and his brother, The

Prophet, the metis was acquainted with Tecumseh during their childhood. It is likely that Shane spent at least part of his childhood among the Shawnee, Tecumseh's tribe.[24]

After the war the British kept control of Detroit and other forts in the Great Lakes area in violation of the Treaty of Paris of 1783. In the early 1790s Shane (Chene) was a member of the irregular British-Canadian force supporting an Indian alliance lead by Little Turtle, a Miami war chief. The confederation, opposing American expansion into the Ohio River Valley, was successful in defeating the expeditions of Josiah Harmar and Arthur St. Clair. St. Clair's debacle was the worst defeat of American forces in any of the country's Indian wars, costing 630 lives.[25]

Following the battles,Shane (Chene) took an active role in opposing a new American army lead by Anthony Wayne. Many members of the British Indian Department and 400 Detroit militia joined the 2000 Indians assembled to battle Wayne, at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Instead, Wayne defeated the Indian Confederacy in 1794. With the defeat, the power of the British receded in the Old Northwest. American forces claimed the forts of the Great Lakes. Indians gave up much of their land in Ohio at the Greeneville Treaty negotiations the following year.[26]

Anthony Shane (Chene) was soon able to find a new employer for his services. As with his father's switch from supporting Pontiac to working for the British, language skills would make the quick change of loyalties possible.

At the same time, his French-Ottawa ancestry would make him increasingly an outsider in a world dominated by Anglo-Americans. Shane would find it necessary to prove his usefulness and loyalty to the new ruler of the Old Northwest.

Chapter 1 Endnotes

From the introduction to each reel of the Draper Manuscript

" Citations of the Draper manuscript collection should be volume, series, series letter key, and page number and should credit the Historical Society of Wisconsin as holder of the original manuscript. The following is suggested:

Formal citation refers to Volume 13 of the Sumter papers, page 25.

Draper Mss. 13VV25 (microfilm edition), State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin."

YY is the citation for the Tecumseh Papers.

1. "Letter from Anthony Shane to Isaac McCoy," Correspondence of Isaac McCoy (Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, 1967, microfilm), reel 1, 705-707; Isaac McCoy, History of the Baptist Indian Missions(Washington D.C., Morrison, 1840), 86-89.

2. "Lyman Copeland Draper," Dictionary of American Biography, vol 4,ed. by Alan Johnson and Dumas Malone, (New York, Scribner's, 1930) 441-442.

3. Draper Mss., 12YY1-74, 8YY33-42 (microfilm edition), State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

4. Ibid, 11YY33-55.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid; Benjamin Drake, Life of Tecumseh and His Brother, the Prophet (Cincinnati, Morgan, 1841) 42; Russell David Edmunds, Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership (Boston, Little, Brown, 1984) 91; John Sugden, Tecumseh's Last Stand (Norman, University Oklahoma Press, 1985) 261.

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9. Bert J. Griswold, The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne (Chicago, Law, 1917) 200-202; Charles Slocum, History of the Maumee River Basin(Columus, Nitschke, 1905) 555.

10. "William Polke to Isaac McCoy," Correspondence of Issac McCoy, reel 3, 582-584; Charles J. Kappler, ed., "Treaty with the Miamis, 1818," Indian Treaties, 1778-1883, 172.

11. Elizabeth Rau, "The Chene Family in Detroit," Burton Historical Leaflet (September, 1931) 1-16; "Cadillac Grant Contracts to Detroit Citizens,"The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection, vol. 33 (1903), 373-377.

12. Rau, "The Chene Family in Detroit," 1-16.

13. Yosuhide Kawashima, "Forest Diplomats, The Role of Interpreters in Indian-White Relations on the Early Frontier," American Indain Quarterly (Winter 1989), 2-16.

14. Rau, "The Chene Family in Detroit," 1-16; Registre de Sainte Anne vol. 1-3 (Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library).

15. Milo Quaife ed., The Siege of Detroit in 1763 (Chicago, Dennelley, 1958) 88; Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collection, vol. 27 (Lansing, Thorp, 1897), 160-161; Myles M. Platt, "Detroit under Siege: 1763 Michigan History, vol. 40 (December, 1956), 494-495.

16. Quaife, ed, The Siege of Detroit in 1763, 88; Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection, vol. 17 (1894), 633.

17. Howard H. Peckham, Pontiac and The Indian Uprising (Princeton, 1947), 120-161.

18. Ibid, 160-161.

19. Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection, vol. 17 (1894) 633; N. Franklin Hurt, "Growth of Local Action During British Rule at Detroit; 1760-1774," Michigan History, vol. 40 (December, 1956), 454.

20. Quaife, The Siege of Detroit in 1763, 88; Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collection, vol. 9 (1888), 433.

21. Ibid, vol. 11, (1889), 344-345.

22. Ibid, vol.10, 628-631; "Haldimand Papers," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collection, vol. 20 (1895),

213; Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collection, vol. 9 (1888), 363-364.

23. Registre de Sainte Anne, volumes 1-3.

24. Drake, Life of Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, 201.

25. Robert McAfee, History of the Late War in the Western Country, (Lexington, Worsley, 1816), 293.

26. Dwight L. Smith, ed., From Greeneville to Fallen Timbers: A Journal of the Wayne Campaign, July 28 - September 14, 1794, (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1952), 309.

Chapter 2 "Faithful Indian scout": Shane's Service to the United States (1795-1815)

On March 18, 1795, less than seven months after the Battle of Fallen Timbers, Anthony Shane entered the service of the United States. He was hired as an interpreter by Major Thomas Hunt to serve the needs of Fort Defiance in present-day northwestern Ohio. Why Antoine Chene Anglicized his name to a form so near to Anthony Wayne is not known, but throughout his life Shane would try to ingratiate himself to those in power. With British power on the decline the victorious Americans would offer Shane the best opportunity for survival and success.[1]

The new metis interpreter for Fort Defiance was a valuable asset for his new employers. He could speak English, French and five Indian languages. While carrying out his primary duty as an interpreter, he also delivered messages to the nearby American forts and hunted for game to feed the garrison. Shane worked with Surgeons Mate Joseph Gardner Andrews to prepare a written vocabulary of the Shawnee language.[2]

In the period leading to the War of 1812, Shane was intermittently employed by the Army and the local Indian agents as an interpreter, messenger and to gather intelligence. While working as a messenger for the Fort Wayne Indian Agency, Shane was involved in an incident that showed the militancy of the growing Indian religious movement led by Tenskawatawa, the Shawnee Prophet. The

incident also illustrated the influence of Tecumseh, Tenskwatawa's brother, in the movement and his eloquence as a spokesman for the Indian resistance to American land claims. As shown by Russell David Edmunds in his books The Shawnee Prophet and Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership, major credit for beginning and leading the movement in its early years belongs to Tenskwatawa. According to Edmunds, the Prophet dominated the movement until the leaders of the tribes in Indiana Territory signed the 1809 Fort Wayne Treaty which included major land cessions to the United States. The movement's emphasis then switched from an attempt to revive the Indians' religious and cultural traditions to an active resistance movement to American expansionism. According to Edmunds, Tecumseh, the warrior, replaced Tenskwatawa as the leader of the movement. Shane's experience with the two leaders in 1807 showed Tecumseh, however, dominating the movement two years before the Treaty of Fort Wayne.[3]

The religious movement centered around the village of The Prophet and Tecumseh near Fort Greeneville, Ohio. It was located within the territory granted to the Americans by the 1795 Greeneville Treaty. Whites and the accommodationist Indians of the area were intimidated by the Shawnee settlement and the continuous flow of visiting supporters from the tribes of the region. William Wells, Indian agent at Fort Wayne, tried to pressure the Prophet and his followers to move into Indiana Territory, west of

the Ohio boundary line. In 1807, he sent Shane to demand that Tenskwatawa, Tecumseh and other leaders of the movement come to Fort Wayne for a meeting.[4]

Tecumseh's handling of the message and its implicit threat showed his leadership in the movement. Shane presented the message to a council of Indian leaders. According to Shane, without consulting the other chiefs, Tecumseh told him to return to Fort Wayne and tell Captain Wells that:

> "My fire is kindled on the spot appointed by the Great Spirit above and if he (Wells) has anything to communicate to me to come here." 5 [sic]

Tecumseh promised another council meeting to include other white leaders from Ohio if Wells came. Shane was told to return with him in six days. Wells refused the invitation, but sent Shane with a message from Secretary of War Henry Dearborn giving the government demands for the settlement's removal. Returning with the insulting reply, Shane faced the indignation of Tecumseh and the Prophet.[6]

In council, Tecumseh rose and repeated his claim that the Great Spirit had selected the site for them, claiming the Great Spirit set no boundaries on his "red people" and that the white man was encroaching on Indian Land. In reaction to Wells sending Shane with his reply, he said, "if the Great Father (Jefferson) had any more messages he must send a man of note. I will deal with Wells no more because he has not come."[7]

Tecumseh's speech was followed by the Prophet who

demanded the government send its greatest man to meet with him since he had powers to cause eclipses and earthquakes that no white man had. He had correctly predicted it and claimed to have caused the June 16, 1806 eclipse of the sun, an event which had greatly contributed to his power. After this example of the Prophet's braggadacio, the council ended and Shane returned to Fort Wayne.[8]

Dealing with Wells and Shane was particularly insulting to Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa. The xenophobic religious doctrine taught by the Prophet rejected Europeans and their culture because of its negative effects on the lives of the Native Americans. William Wells and Little Turtle, the war chief of the Miamis, were leading opponents of the Prophet's movement. Little Turtle, aided by Wells, his son-in-law, accepted acculturation as a method to save his people and actively opposed The Prophet and Tecumseh.[9]

The doctrine taught by Tenskwatawa was popular with many of the Indians of the Great Lakes region. It rejected European culture and opposed sexual relationships between Native Americans and Euro-Americans. The Prophet demanded Indian wives leave their white husbands and metis children and return to their tribe. Wells was married to Little Turtle's daughter, while for Shane, a metis, the issue was more complex, for he was married to a Delaware women related to Tecumseh.[10]

As war between the United States and Britain neared, intrigue increased in the Old Northwest as both sides bid

for the support of the region's Indians. The defeat of the Prophet's forces at Tippecanoe in 1811 had not ended white-Indian violence in the region. As 1812 began Indian attacks on the white settlers were increasing.[11]

In late Feburary a group of Wyandots lead by Shetoon came to Fort Wayne with the announced purpose of negotiating an end to the attacks on Americans by supporters of Tecumseh and the Prophet. The mission had the support of William Hull, the Governor of the Michigan Territory. At Fort Wayne Shetoon gained the initial approval of Little Turtle, William Wells, former Indian Agent at Fort Wayne, and Benjamin Stickney, the present Indian Agent. The Wyandot group continued on to an Indian Council at the Mississinewa River, carrying a white wampum belt of peace.[12]

In open meetings of the council Shetoon urged tribesmen to remain at peace. In private, at meetings with selected leaders, including Tecumseh and the Prophet, he showed a black wampum belt of war and told them to prepare for conflict with the Americans. The secret British agent promised them weapons and ammunition.[13]

After the council Shetoon remained in the area, continuing his double role until his plotting was uncovered by the Americans. In a May 25 confidential letter from Benjamin Stickney to William Hull, the Indian agent informed the Governor that his interpreters had discovered Shetoon was a British agent. The identification must have been particularly easy to make for one of the agency's

employees, Anthony Shane. Shetoon's European name was Isadore Chene. He was a Wyandot metis and Shane's cousin. Shetoon was sent back to the British. He was not punished by the Americans who worried about relations with the Wyandots as war approached.[14]

On June 18, the United States Congress, at the urging of President James Madison, declared war on Great Britain. By the beginning of July notification of the declaration of war had reached Detroit and the Fort Wayne Indian Agency. Although American General John Hunt would describe Anthony Shane as being little involved in the war, Shane's war experience was quite extensive. His service would bring him reward and involve him in postwar political controversy.[15]

As word of the declaration reached Detroit, Governor Hull, who was also a Brigadier General in command of American forces in the region was preparing an invasion of Canada. A major worry for Hull was the intentions of the Indians of the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley. At Hull's request Indian agent Stickney provided him with intelligence reports on the loyalties and activites of the tribesmen. On July 8, Shane was sent as an express, a messenger sent on a special errand, with an intelligence report on the tribes west of Fort Wayne. He was presented to Hull by Stickney as an expert on several Indian languages, who could answer his questions about the disposition and movements of the Indians. According to Stickney the tribes to the west were disposed toward peace at the time.[16]

On July 12, Hull's forces entered Canada with little early opposition. The course of the war quickly changed, however, for the poorly-led American troops. Within a month a combined British-Indian force severed Hull's lines of communication and drove the Americans back to Detroit forcing their surrender on August 16.[17]

In the months following Hull's surrender the war did not go well for the Americans, who suffered a series of defeats. On November 3, 1812, John Johnston, the Indian agent at Piqua, Ohio, sent Anthony Shane to join the left wing of William Henry Harrison's army. Harrison was building up his forces, preparing to retake Detroit and invade Canada. Shane was to serve as a spy and a guide.[18]

The left wing was commanded by General James Winchester. It was in winter camp on the northside of the Maumee River in northwest Ohio. During the months of November and December Winchester's spies and scouts skirmished with British and Indian forces.[19]

On January 18, 1813, Winchester's troops surprised a British force occupying Frenchtown on the River Raisin in southeastern Michigan. The British were driven from the town, and Winchester, overconfident by the easy victory, ignored warnings of an enemy counter-attack. On the morning of January 22, a combined British and Indian force smashed Winchester's command at the Battle of the River Raisin. Three hundred Americans were killed and Winchester was captured.[20]

In late April, 1813, Fort Meigs, located in northwest Ohio on the Maumee River, was under siege. An American force of 2000 men led by William Henry Harrison was under attack by a British-Indian force of 2400 men led by General Henry Proctor and Tecumseh. On May 4, a relief force of 1200 Kentucky volunteers under the command of General Green Clay was approaching by boat down the Maumee River. Eight hundred men of the force under Lieutentant Colonel William Dudley were sent on a limited mission to capture British batteries shelling the fort and then to rejoin Clay's forces.[21]

The attack was initially successful. The Americans captured the artillery, but then refused to withdraw and continued their attack. They were surrounded by a large enemy force made up largely of Indians. Most of the Americans were killed or captured. General John Hunt described Shane, the scout, as "barely escaping, hearing behind him the merciless tomahawk doing its job."[22]

Despite their victory over Dudley's force, the British were unable to persuade the Indians and their own Canadian milita forces to maintain a siege. On May 9, the British and Indians withdrew, and the siege ended.[23]

Shane next returned to service with a Kentucky mounted volunteer regiment under the command of Colonel Richard M. Johnson. In Feburary, 1813, Secretary of War John Armstrong had authorized the organization of a mounted regiment of Kentucky volunteers. Troops were to be enlisted for six

months. On May 26, 1813, the 700-man regiment crossed the Ohio and headed north. Johnson was ordered "to take control of Fort Wayne and the posts on the Auglaize River, to scour the Northwestern Frontier and make incursions into the territory of the Indians."[24]

As the regiment headed to Fort Wayne, it camped on June 1 at St.Mary's in west central Ohio, seventy miles from Fort Wayne. Johnson left his troops to travel to nearby Wapakoneta, a Shawnee Indian village, to recruit spies and guides. He returned with a dozen friendly tribesmen and Anthony Shane. Shane would serve as a scout and interpreter for Johnson's forces throughout their campaign against the British and their Indian allies. Robert McAfee, who was a captain in Johnson's command and later the author of The Late War in the Western Country, an account of the war of 1812 in the west, praised the new scout and interpreter as "the celebrated Anthony Shane, who in his integrity and fidelity to our cause, the utmost confidence was placed."[25]

The regiment proceeded, including Shane, to Fort Wayne, then went on a 200-mile fruitless chase of Indian raiders through northern Indiana and southwestern Michigan. Next they were sent to Fort Winchester in northwestern Ohio. Arriving at the fort, Johnson received orders to continue fifty miles east to Fort Meigs which was being prepared to resist another attack by the British and Indians. The regiment delayed at Fort Winchester with Johnson resting his command. Reinvigorated, they continued on to Fort Meigs on

July 1,1813. No longer needed for the defense of the reinforced Fort Meigs, the regiment was ordered to the Huron River to protect nearby Cleveland from possible Indian attack.[26]

Johnson then received orders from Secretary of War Armstrong to take his mounted volunteers 400 miles west to Kaskaskia, Illinois to resist another possible Indian threat. Johnson delayed and complained to Army commander General William Henry Harrision that the six month enlistment periods of many of his troops were ending. The regiment should not be sent on a another lengthy mission, for it had traveled 730 miles in fifty days. Harrison, while sympathetic, did not have the authority to rescind the orders of the Secretary of War. To make the trip easier, Johnson chose his own route to Illinois. He planned to pass through Kentucky to supply and, at the same time, to reduce discontent among his homesick troops. Upon reaching Kentucky he was ordered north to rejoin Harrison for the invasion of Canada.[27]

By then Anthony Shane must have questioned the wisdom of supporting the Americans against Tecumseh and the British. He had been peripherally involved in a campaign that ended in the Fall of Detroit and a mass surrender of American troops. He had barely escaped a massacre at Fort Meigs and at the River Raisin, and now was part of the extended,and seemingly pointless, ramblings of Johnson's command. On October 1, 1813 the regiment reached

Detroit and joined the invasion force to attack Canada. Subsequent events would prove the wisdom of Shane's choice to continue to support the Americans.[28]

Earlier as the regiment headed north from Kentucky Shane was able to ingratiate himself with the regiment's officers. On the morning of September 26, the regiment was camped near the old River Raisin battlefield. Shane, "the faithful scout," was able to lead McAfee and other officers to the remains of a Captain James Simpson, who had been killed at the River Raisin Battle. Simpson had served in the United States House of Representatives and was a friend of many of the officers in Johnson's command.[29]

On October 1, 1813, the invasion of Canada began. By October 5, the retreating British and remaining Indian allies were prepared to make a stand on the Thames River. The fight was known as The Battle of the Thames or the Battle of Moraviantown for the Indian mission located in the nearby town of Fairfield, Ontario.[30]

Johnson's mounted troops played a major role in the battle. The regiment was split to charge Indian and British forces separated by a narrow swampy area. Shane, fighting near the bank of the Thames against the British forces, was not with Johnson as he led the assault on the Tecumseh's Indian forces. In the ensuing battle, the British were routed with the Indians making a stronger stand. Yet with the death of Tecumseh, they too were forced to withdraw.[31]

The aftermath of the Battle of Moraviantown would involve Shane in a major continuing controversy. The questions about Tecumseh's death would follow Shane throughout his life. The Americans wanted proof that Tecumseh had been killed. His body needed to be identified. Only five members of the American forces could recognize Tecumseh: William Henry Harrison, frontiersmen Simon Kenton, William and John Conner, and Anthony Shane. With some difficulty Shane identified a bloody, bloated body as Tecumseh. The Conners agreed with Shane, while Harrison and Kenton were unable to recognize the corpse. To the embarrassment of later generations of Americans, the body of the Indian leader had been mutilated. According to Shane, a one-inch by eight-inch strip of skin had been cut from Tecumseh's thigh. Afterward the body would be further flayed by souvenir hunters before it was buried by local Canadians.[32]

Shane's earlier support of the British was forgotten. He had proven his loyalty to his American employers and had won a powerful patron in Richard M. Johnson, future Vice-President of the United States. Early historians of the war and biographers of Tecumseh would mention the loyalty and bravery of the "faithful Indian scout." He would be lauded by the United States Congress, rewarded with land grants and employment for his services to the United States.

Chapter 2 Endnotes

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Chapter 3 "No man is better known" Post War Prosperity (1815-1823)

The post war period offered Anthony Shane increased fame and financial reward. It was a time of transition in the Old Northwest. Through much of the territory the Native American tribes still controlled most of the land, and French-Canadian and metis formed the largest sections of the non-Indian population. The majority of people in major settlements such as Detroit, Chicago, Vincennes, and Fort Wayne were French-Canadian and metis. The metis played a major role in the commerce of the area and provided the leadership for tribes such as the Miami and the Potawatomi. Most metis lived well, engaging in farming and trade with the Indians. Some of the leading metis were wealthy. Jean Baptiste Richardville, trader and head chief of the Miami tribe, was the richest man in Indiana at the time the territory became a state in 1816 with a fortune of $200,000 and thousands of acres of land.[1]

The situation was quickly changing with rapid increase in the population of American farmers, who demanded land and a change in government policy toward the Indians. The policy of acculturation for the region's tribes, the Jeffersonian attempt to make the tribespeople into yeomen farmers, was by the post-war period considered a failure. Protestant missionaries and others were sympathetic to the plight of the Indians whose societal structure was breaking down because of contact with the Anglo-American culture of

the United States. They supported a policy of removal of the tribes to west of the Mississippi River to save the Indians. Farmers, driven by racial prejudice and land hunger, wanted the Indians removed to the West. The support of some tribesmen for the British during the War of 1812 and the neutrality of many of the others also added to the push for removal. Political pressure caused the government, beginning in the 1820s, to initiate a policy of moving the region's tribes beyond the Mississippi.[2]

In the post-war period, Anthony Shane would play a role in the execution of United States' policy toward the Indians of the Old Northwest. As the American government negotiated treaties with the tribes first for large land cessions and later for removal of the Indians, the metis were placed in a contradictory situation. Metis tribal leaders and interpreters proved a necessity to the negotiation process with the tribes. The metis and accommodationist Indian leaders negotiated and supported treaties that made large-scale land transfers to the United States. The treaties included rewards of land and money for these leaders and negotiators.[3]

The treaties opened more land for settlement by the American farmers. Many of the new settlers and their political leader were prejudiced against the metis and wanted them removed from the region with the tribes. According to Lewis Cass, Governor of the Michigan Territory, the metis "possessed the vices of both races, while failing

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to inherit any of their virtues."

Russell David Edmunds' article "Unacquainted with the laws of the civilized world: American attitudes toward the Metis Communities of the Old Northwest," discusses the anti-metis attitudes of the new settlers. According to Edmunds, the Americans resented metis who continued to speak French, and preferred the culture and dress of the French creole and the local Indian to American culture and dress. The negative Anglo-American attitudes toward miscegenation was a major part of the prejudice against the metis. Land hunger contributed to the opposition to those of mixed ancestry. The American farmers considered the metis as idlers who were not making full use of the land they possessed. Lewis Cass expressed the attitude of the American farmers when he said the metis must learn new ways

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or be removed.

Anthony Shane's experiences in the post-war period were in certain ways similar with those of other metis, but the interpreter was better able to interact with the incoming American political leaders and the new settlers to the area. Because of his loyalty to the American side in the War of 1812 and his language skills, the interpreter was rewarded by the United States government. In 1815, he was given a land grant by Congress for his "valuable and honorable service during the last war". The 320-acre grant was at Shane's Crossing on the south side of the St.Mary's River in west-central Ohio. In 1817, he served as an interpreter for

Fort Meigs Treaty with the tribes of northwest Ohio. He was paid with a salary of one dollar a day, plus expenses, earning a total of $173. His major reward, however, for aiding in the negotiations which ended with the cessation of most Indian land claims in northwest Ohio, was 640 acres given to him in the treaty. The claim was immediately north of Shane's land grant on the north side of the St. Mary's River. The land and other land claims in the treaty were fee simple claims, which gave the recipient direct ownership of the land and the right to dispose of the land as he wanted. A revision of the treaty in 1818 made these land claims reservations which could not be sold without the permission of the United States government.[6]

Beside the rewards of money and land for his military service, Shane's loyalty also helped to win him the friendship and support of American settlers and political leaders such as Richard M. Johnson and Robert Breckinridge McAfee. William Keating was a member of Stephen Long's exploratory expedition to the Old Northwest. In his book Narrative to the Source of the St. Peter's River, Keating discussed the metis population of the Fort Wayne area including two of the leading local metis, Jean Baptiste Richardville and Anthony Shane. Keating considered the metis an alien population, and their leader Richardville, who had not actively supported the Americans in the war, as devious and dishonest. He identified Shane as a "half-breed," but also described him as "enjoying a high

degree of popularity with the whites founded upon his uniformly good character which he maintained during the war." Keating described him as the best-known man in the area. Other early accounts which discuss Shane in positive terms, mention his service for the United States in the war.[7]

Anthony Shane adjusted well to the changing situation. His selection and use of land in the early post-war period demonstrated his foresight. By 1815, Shane settled at the Second Crossing of the St. Mary's River in west central Ohio, approximately forty miles east of Fort Wayne, Indiana. The location had been well chosen on the old Indian Miami Trail between the major Indian settlements of Piqua and Kekionga (Fort Wayne). In 1790, General Josiah Harmar followed the route to Kekionga where he was defeated by the Miamis led by Little Turtle. Harmar's Trace, passing through the Second Crossing, would be used by later military commanders. Anthony Wayne's army used the trace to return from Fort Wayne after his victory at Fallen Timbers in 1794. In 1812, William Henry Harrison camped at the crossing as he headed to relieve Fort Wayne from a British and Indian threat.[8]

Commerce would grow along the river as goods were transported from St. Mary's to Fort Wayne and to trading posts located along the river. To the south of the Crossing a beautiful plain, later known as Shane's Prairie, offered potential rich farm land.[9]

There is some question as to when Shane located at the Second Crossing, and when it became known as Shane's Crossing. Some local and Indian historians claim Shane had established a trading post at the Second Crossing before the War of 1812, while others argue the trading post was started by Anthony Madore, a French Canadian. A map of Indian villages of the Old Northwest in Helen Hornbeck Tannner's Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History showed a Mohican Indian settlement and a trading post labeled Shane's at the site in 1810, but the diary of Moravian missionaries who passed through the area in 1808 did not mention Shane or a trading post being located at the site. In 1808, Shane, as a resident of Randolph County, Indiana Territory, signed a petition supporting the appointment of Elijah Backus as Federal Judge. He had been employed by the Fort Wayne Indian Agency, and was probably living near the fort which was then part of Randolph County. In Robert Breckinridge McAfee's account of Harrison's relief of Fort Wayne in the fall of 1812, History of the Late War in the Western Country, no mention was made of a trading post at the crossing, although the site was a camp site and staging area for the army. Harrison's general orders to the troops referred to it as the Second Crossing of the St. Mary's, but McAfee, in his book which was published in 1816, called the location Shane's Crossing. It appears likely Shane had moved to the crossing after he left Richard Johnson's Regiment in 1813.[10]

Shane's relations with the tribes of the area improved

during the post-war period. Immediately after the war remnants of support for the anti-metis philosophy of Tenskwatawa and resentment of the interpreter's service for the United States in the war raised hostility to him among some of the Indians of the region. In 1817, Benjamin Stickney, who had employed Shane as an interpreter for the negotiation for the Fort Meigs Treaty with the Ohio tribes, thought it best not to tell the Indians of his employment until they arrived for the negotiations. Shane proved "serviceable" enough in the negotiations to be rewarded with 640 acres of land.[11]

The St. Mary's Treaty of 1818 with the Miami granted six small reservations along the St. Mary's River to the east and west of Shane's Reservation to leaders of the Miami Indians who had supported accommodationist policies toward the whites. Three of the reservations went to metis: Peter LaBadie, Louis Godfrey and the Richardville Family. The reservations varied in size from one section (640 acres) to six sections. The LaBadie and Godfrey families were both related to the Chenes by marriage. Godfrey and LaBadie's fathers had joined Leopold Chene in supporting the Pontiac Revolt. Louis Godfrey was a leader of the Miamis; Francis Godfrey, his brother, was war chief of the tribe. Godfrey and Shane became the leaders of the Indians living on the reservations.[12]

In the post-war period, Shane's reputation grew. William Keating would say of him that "no man was better known" in

the Fort Wayne area, and that "his influence among the Indians was great." Missionary Issac McCoy worried, after a quarrel with Shane, about the damage a man with Shane's influence among the Indians could do to McCoy's work. Shane's connection with the tribes of the area was extensive, as he was part Ottawa, married to a Delaware, had lived with and fought with Shawnee, and was now dwelling with Miamis. With the decline of anti-metis feeling among the Indians of the region, the interpreter would continue to have the trust of the tribes for the rest of his life.[13]

The Edmunds' article describes the settlers' attitude toward the metis as being unfriendly, critical of their supposed indolence, lack of foresight and adherence to Indian mores. The reaction of the early settlers to Shane did not reflect the stereotype of the metis and their relations with new American population because of the interpreter's service in the War of 1812.[14]

Shane, possibly using the highly successful Richardville as a model, prepared to take full economic advantage of influx of settlers as northwest Ohio was opened for settlement by the 1817 Treaty of Fort Meigs and the 1818 Treaty of St. Mary's. In 1820, as white settlers moved through the northwestern corner of the future Mercer County they crossed Shane's Prairie to Shanesville, the first platted town in the county at Shane's Crossing. They could stop at Shane's tavern and trading post. As the settlers traveled north, they passed through Shane's Reservation by

Shane's home, a double log cabin surrounded by a farm of considerable size, where he raised corn and potatoes.[15]

Shanesville had been laid out by Shane in June, 1820, with two streets running north-south and four streets running east-west. The two major thoroughfares, Main and Marktet Streets, were five perches (27 1/2 yards wide). The town contained forty-two lots. The most expensive were quarter-acre lots on the two major streets which were to be sold for sixty dollars each. By 1821, three houses had been built, another was under construction in the town, and the countryside was settled for six miles around Shanesville.[16]

Shane's relations with the early settlers of the Shanesville's area were good. The first white farmers considered the Indians led by Shane and Louis Godfrey to be "noble, generous by nature and hospitable to all classes of people." Shane's home was used for religious services for the community. He passed on his knowledge of Indian lore to the newcomers, training William Botts Hedges who was a clerk in his trading post in Indian languages and manners. Hedges would later own the trading post. On one occasion, Shane used his knowledge of tribal cures to save John Sutton, another early settler, from a rattlesnake bite. When Shane was appointed a commissioner for the construction of a road connecting Shanesville with Defiance, he used his knowledge of the history of the area to find a route laid out in 1794 by Anthony Wayne's scouts.[17]

By 1823, Shane had shown himself a man of entrepreneurial and agricultural skill whose foresight and industry had allowed him to be successful in the years immediately after the war. While having good relations with the Indians of the area as did many members of the metis population, Shane also dealt successfully with the new population of white settlers. His service in the War of 1812, his leadership of the friendly local Indian population and his willingness to use his knowledge of Indian culture and local history to aid the new settlers, ingratiated Shane to the growing white population of the area.

Chapter 3 Endnotes

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9. H. S. Knapp, History of the Maumee Valley 442-451. Teas, "Journal of a Journey," 250-254.

10. Helen Hornbeck Tanner, ed., Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History (Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1987), 98-99; Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin, "An Ethnohistorical Report," Indians of Northern Ohio and Southeastern Michigan(New York, Garland Publishing, 1974), 240-243; Diary of an Exploratory Journey of the Bretheren Luckenbach and Haven, in company of Indian Brother, Andreas, along the St. Mary's River, the southern tributary of the Miami, which flows into Lake Erie (Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, microfilm); Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., "Recommendation of Elijah Backus for Judge," Territorial Papers of the United States vol. 3 (Washington, United States Government, 1939), 538-539; R. Sutton, History of Van Wert and Mercer Counties (Wapakoneta, R. Sutton and Co., 1882), 404-410; McAfee, History of the Late War in the Western Country, 124-125.

11. "Letter from Benjamin Stickney to Lewis Cass, July 26, 1817, National Archives, Record Group 76, Michigan Superintendency of Indian Affairs, vol. 2, 149-154, found in Ottawa File, Great Lakes-Ohio Valley Indian Archives, Glenn A. Black Archaeological Laboratory, University of Indiana.

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13. Keating, Narrative of an Expedition, 76-78;
Lela Barnes, ed. "Journal of Isaac McCoy for Exploring Expedition of 1828," Kansas Historical Quarterly (August, 1936), 262.

14. Edmunds, "Unacquainted with the laws," 119-136.

15. Teas, "Journal of a Journey," 250-254; Henry Howe, Historical Collection of Ohio, vol. 2, (Columbus, 1891), 242-243; Sutton, History of Van Wert and Mercer Counties, 245, 410.

Local historical accounts are contradictory on who first established trading post at Shanesville, Anthony Madore or Anthony Shane. Knapp supports Madore as the founder, while Sutton gives the credit to Shane.

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Chapter 4 "A character for integrity": Shane's Interview on Tecumseh (1821)

On November 28, 1821, Benjamin Drake came to Shanesville to question Anthony Shane, seeking information for his biography of Tecumseh. Drake, a Cincinnatian, had been a lawyer, but left his profession for writing because of ill health. While Drake did write fiction, his best works were biographies of leading individuals in the history of the Old Northwest. His Life of Tecumseh and his Brother, the Prophet, published in 1841, the year of Drake's death, was the first, and perhaps the best biography of the Indian leader. Drake's interview with Shane covered Tecumseh's family background, life, and character. The life and character of Tecumseh's brother Tenskwatawa, the Shawnee Prophet, was also discussed in some detail, as was the Native American resistance movement the two brothers led.[1]

Because of the lack of any written records on many aspects of the life of Tecumseh, the use of interviews of the Indian leader's contemporaries was a necessity to his biographer. The Shane interview would become a major source for Tecumseh's biographers because of the breadth of information provided. Drake depended on Shane more than any other source, citing the metis thirteen times which was more than twice that of any of his other sources. After the death of Drake, Lyman Draper obtained the interview notes, labeled "The Shane Narrative," which became part of "The Tecumseh File" of The Draper Manuscripts and have

been used by the Indian leader's later biographers.[2]

Although Benjamin Drake would describe Shane as having "a character for integrity," he and later biographers would question parts of "The Shane Narrative". How reliable a witness was Anthony Shane? An analysis of his testimony based on current knowledge of Tecumseh and his movement show the information given in the interview must be used selectively. Shane used the interview to justify his own actions, to settle old scores, and to ingratiate himself to his old commander, Senator Richard M. Johnson.[3]

Shane was probably not the primary source for much of the information provided in the interview. He was not the only person being interviewed at the time. Lamateshe, Shane's wife, a Christian Delaware Indian, was also present. She was described as "a kinswoman of Tecumseh". Lamateshe was the probable source for much of the information on Tecumseh and Tenskwatwa ancestry and personal life. The interview also included a description of the trial and execution for witchcraft of three Delaware and a Mohican by the Prophet and his followers at the village of Woapikamunt in 1806. The four victims were either Christians or friendly toward the Euro-Americans. Lamateshe was the most likely source for the description of the atrocity.[4]

Although a Delaware, Lamateshe's claim of kinship to Tecumseh was believable as tribal intermarriage was relatively common. The Delaware and Shawnee were friendly,

and the Shawnee considered them "their uncles." The tribes lived near to each other, and at times, shared the same village. Tecumseh's own band lived among the Delaware from 1798-1805. If not directly related by blood to Tecumseh, she may have been related by marriage. Lamateshe was a widow when she married Shane. Her first husband may have been a Shawnee.[5]

Some of the information about Tecumseh's movement and its participation in the War of 1812 also came from Lamateshe's brothers. They joined Tecumseh's forces and were present when he was killed at the Battle of Moraviantown in 1813.[6]

The Shanes' account provided useful information on Tecumseh's family. "The Shane Narrative" listed Tecumseh's family members and provided brief biographical sketches of each. While Tenskwatwa was given the most attention, the narrative also discussed Tecumseh's relationship with Tecumpease, his sister. She was particularly close with the Indian leader. A women of outstanding abilities, Tecumpease was described as a leader of the Shawnee women. She would raise Tecumseh's son, Pachetha, after the death of Mamate, the boy's mother.[7]

The Shanes' interview on Tecumseh can best be compared to Stephen Ruddell's written statement to Benjamin Drake. Both were major sources for the early life and character of Tecumseh. Ruddell was captured by the Shawnee as a boy. Adopted into the tribe, he was a boyhood friend of Tecumseh.

He left the tribe after the signing of the Greeneville Treaty in 1795. Ruddell had later contact with the tribe as an interpreter and a Baptist missionary.[8]

Both accounts cover many of the same incidents in the early life of the Indian leader. The descriptions of events seldom contradict each other. They did disagree on his birthdate, with Ruddell setting Tecumseh's birth in 1768, while the Shanes suggest a date in 1771. Benjamin Drake considered Ruddell, who had been a boyhood friend of Tecumseh, a more reliable source on the Indian leader's birthdate, as do modern biographers.[9]

Both discussed his skill as a hunter. They agreed he was an outstanding hunter who could kill more birds or deer than all other members of the hunting party combined, and then use the extra to feed the old and sick of the tribe. According to the Shanes and Ruddell, as a warrior Tecumseh was both brave and cunning, defeating white forces which heavily outnumbered his own. While he believed in showing no mercy on the battlefield, he would not harm women, children, and prisoners. Both versions described how the Indian leader honored the old and protected the sick. He was depicted as being eloquent, humorous, and intelligent, a natural leader. Ruddell would have agreed with Shane's comment that "he was the greatest warrior of the Shawnee Nation," a description accepted by most biographers.[10]

Ruddell's written statement for Drake was a relatively

short 2500 words, and concentrated on the life of Tecumseh to the year 1795 when Ruddell left the Shawnee. The account was completely complimentary to a man Ruddell considered to be "a very great as well as a very good man, who, if he had enjoyed the advantages of a liberal education, would have done honour to any age or nation."[11]

The Shanes' narrative presented a more complete account of the life of Tecumseh, covering his entire life. Their version presented the Indian leader as more realistically human. They go beyond the "noble red man" image to show a man with an ego, who did make occasional mistakes. Both the Ruddell and Shane accounts describe Tecumseh's battle experience, but Shane mentioned Tecumseh's mistakes in combat. According to Shane he had a problem with guns. At one skirmish with whites, he broke the trigger on his musket, while driving off his attackers. At the Battle of Fallen Timbers, he misloaded his musket by putting the ball in before the powder causing the weapon to jam; nonetheless, he led his band in a counter attack.[12]

While Ruddell briefly mentioned Tecumseh's personal life, the Shanes provided a fuller description. Their Tecumseh also had an ego. He would brag to his friends that all the beautiful women in the tribe wanted to marry him, but he was determined to disappoint them.[13]

According to the Shanes, Tecumseh had a series of wives who were returned to their parents after failing to meet Tecumseh's expectations. Ruddell also mentioned this while

providing few details. Shawnee custom of the time made marriage and especially divorce simple. With the end of the marriage the wife was returned to her family, usually with some present to soothe hurt feelings.[14]

Shawnee wives were responsible for preparation of food and clothing. If Tecumseh's wives failed in their duty, they were sent home. One wife failed to completely defeather a turkey she prepared for a feast of Tecumseh and his friends. She was returned home with a horse as a parting gift. Mamate, the mother of Tecumseh's only child, was sent home when she could not make Tecumseh a paint pouch. Tecumseh left his last wife, White Wing, because she was unhealthy and unable to bear children.[15]

Athough these descriptions of Tecumseh's background and character as compared to Ruddell and modern sources seem reliable, there are problems with other sections of "The Shane Narrative". Certain information provided about Tecumseh and his brother Tenskwatawa by the Shanes was overstated or false. The statements would seem to reflect an attempt by the Shanes, a metis and a Christian Delaware, at self-justification and revenge. They attempted to associate the metis with physical attractiveness and, more importantly with Tecumseh, a Native-American leader admired by both Indians and whites. In the Shane account, Tecumseh was dissociated from his brother's movement which rejected intermarriage and persecuted Christian Indians, while Tenskwatawa was demonized.[16]

The Shanes claimed Tecumseh was a metis. According to their account Tecumseh's paternal grandfather was white, a claim rejected by Drake and modern historians. The Shanes also claimed Mamate, mother of Tecumseh's son, Pacheta, was a metis. Mamate and other metis women were described by the Shanes as the most beautiful in the tribe.[17]

Tenskwatawa, the Shawnee Prophet, received heavy abuse from the Shanes. While historical accounts did not show the Prophet in a sympathetic manner, the Shanes exceeded them in their vituperation of the religious leader who had threatened their lives together. His religious doctrine rejected intermarriage and demanded Indians leave their white or metis mates and children. The Prophet's witch-hunt among the Delaware that led to the executions of Christian members of the tribe, must have outraged Lamateshe, whose Delaware grandmother had been a Christian and who, herself, had been recently baptized.[18]

The Shanes may have viewed favorably certain beliefs spread by Tenskwatawa. The narrative described the Prophet's attempt to encourage temperance and a return to a simpler life-style in sympathetic terms. At the time, alcohol and white cultural intrusion were threatening to break down the lifestyle of the region's Native Americans.[19]

The Shanes had nothing else positive to report on Tenskwatawa. He was described as a "buffoon" and a "deceiver," who was both a coward and a hypocrite. At times they seemed to be describing the prototype for some of our

more disreputable present-day evangelists. According to the narrative the Prophet claimed the power to heal the sick, then became wealthy by charging excessively for the service. The Shanes, also, claimed that after Tenskwatawa demanded that Indians leave white and metis mates, he took metis women as lovers because they were the most beautiful women of the tribe.[20]

According to the Shanes, Tecumseh never accepted his brother's philosophy. Rather, he only used him to further his plan to organize an Indian confederation to oppose American expansionism. According to the narrative Tecumseh attempted to kill his brother on two occasions. In 1805, when Tenskwatawa began preaching, Tecumseh threatened his life for being a false prophet, but relented and decided to use the movement for his own purpose.[21]

The second time Tecumseh threatened the Prophet's life was after the Indian movement defeat in The Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811. Tecumseh blamed the Prophet for the loss. Tenskwatawa had been told by his brother to avoid battle with the Americans forces while Tecumseh was gone on a recruiting trip for the movement. With Tecumseh absent the Prophet encouraged his followers to attack the nearby American army, led by William Henry Harrison. Tenskwatawa promised to "shroud them in darkness" and to "shake the earth" to frighten the Americans. The protections failed to materialize and the Indians were defeated. Tecumseh returned to find his movement nearly destroyed. He again

relented from his death threat, but from that time on Tenskwatawa was relegated to a secondary role in the movement.[22]

The account of the second threat was accepted by Drake and modern biographer Russell David Edmunds, while the first incident with its active renunciation by Tecumseh of his brother's philosophy was not used. Neither biographer mentioned the Shanes' charges against the Prophet of charging for healing or of taking metis lovers, doubting his reliability to desribe objectively many aspects of Tenskwatawa's life.[23]

The Shanes' description of Tecumseh's actions during the War of 1812 demonstrated again their efforts to ingratiate themselves with the Americans and to vindicate Anthony's change of loyalties in 1795. According to their narrative, by September, 1813, Tecumseh was ready to abandon his alliance with the English, "embittered by British perfidy." The British had been sacrificing his warriors in battle while protecting their own forces. They had failed to provide the Indians with needed supplies and lied to the tribesmen about the course of the war, failing to disclose their naval defeat at Put-in-Bay and their plan to retreat to Canada. According to Shane, Tecumseh planned now to become neutral, while white fought white. He was persuaded to stay in the alliance by the Sioux and the Chippewa, western Indians, whom he had encouraged to join the alliance, and who felt Tecumseh had abandoned them .

Having no faith in his British allies and knowing his cause was lost, he prepared for his death at the Battle of Moraviantown.[24]

Despite the Shanes' claim, Tecumseh was not ready to abandon his alliance, although he did resent British treatment of their Indian allies. A speech made by Tecumseh on September 18, 1813, conflicted with those opinions. General Henry Proctor, British commander, informed an Indian council of the United States victory in the Battle of Put-in-Bay, six days after he received the information. In response to American control of Lake Erie and the onslaught of an army under the command of William Henry Harrison, Proctor planned to withdraw his forces into Canada. He asked the Indians to join the retreat and aid in the defense of Canada, while he promised to keep them supplied if they continued their support.[25]

Tecumseh's reply, considered an outstanding example of Native American oratory, attacked the British for abandoning the Indians in the peace settlement of the Revolutionary War and after the Indian defeat at Fallen Timbers in 1794. Now that they were again leaving the Indians to retreat into Canada. Tecumseh claimed their forces were not defeated. He wanted the British to make one more stand before retreating into Canada, but he did not talk of leaving the British. He promised, though, to join the retreat if defeated. He pushed for more aggressive action toward his great enemies, the Americans. When the strategic situation

was explained to Tecumseh by Proctor, his forces joined the retreat into Canada.[26]

Modern scholar John Sugden, in Tecumseh's Last Stand, examines Shane's claim that the Indian leader planned to abandon the British. He points out Shane was not present on the occasions mentioned and was passing on "hearsay." Sugden explains that Tecumseh had nothing to gain by leaving his only allies who could aid him in resisting the American to his people's land and way of life.[27]

Shane's identification of Tecumseh's body and his statements to Benjamin Drake and others on the death of the Indian leader involved the interpreter in a continuing controversy. The question of who killed Tecumseh would be disputed beginning soon after his death as many participants in the battle claimed the honor. Drake would use a full chapter of his biography of Tecumseh to discuss the question. The argument continues into the present as John Sugden in his 1985 book, Tecumseh's Last Stand, also set aside a chapter for that purpose. Neither author could clearly establish who killed the Indian leader. Drake was most sympathetic to the case presented by the supporters of William Whitley who himself was killed in the Battle of Moraviantown. Sugden felt the strongest evidence was presented by the supporters of Richard M. Johnson.[28]

Johnson was a leading political figure of the post war period, one of the crop of heroes produced by the war, such as Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison. Already well

known in the prewar era in his home state of Kentucky, Johnson had been elected to Congress in 1806. During the war he had kept his Congressional seat while commanding a regiment of mounted volunteers. Johnson continued to serve in the House until 1819. He then left for the Senate, where he served from 1819 until 1829. Losing the Senate seat, he returned to the House. A supporter and close friend of Andrew Jackson, Johnson was used as a "personal agent" on delicate issues by the President. Martin Van Buren was pressured by Andrew Jackson and other western Democrats into accepting Johnson as his running mate in 1836. Johnson, a Kentuckian, was to "balance the ticket" for the New Yorker Van Buren. The killing of Tecumseh, Johnson's major claim to a national reputation, became an election issue, as the rhyme "Rumpsey, Dumpsey, Colonel Johnson killed Tecumseh" was repeated by Johnson supporters. His opponents, of course, attacked the assertion.[29]

Cleverly, Johnson, over the years, had not openly claimed to have killed Tecumseh, although he did say he had killed an Indian who attacked him during the battle. Johnson used his supporters to advance his case. Shane's identification of Tecumseh and his other testimony provided major support for the Johnson claim. His identification of the body, which had been questioned, placed Tecumseh in a part of the battlefield where Johnson was fighting. His description of Tecumseh's clothing, regular buckskin dress with a plume on his head, matched the description given by

witnesses. Shane's description of Tecumseh's wound would also support the Johnson case. He described the wound as being caused by one ball and three buckshots which matched the load used by Johnson. According to Shane, Tecumseh had an entrance wound in the middle of his chest and an exit wound at his backbone between the hips. The angle of trajectory would indicate Tecumseh had been shot by a horseman.[30] Johnson had been mounted.

William Emmons, a Johnson supporter, also used Shane as a source to support his argument for the Colonel's claim in his Authentic Biography of Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, published in 1834. The Reverend Obediah Brown, another Johnson partisan, had a letter published in the 1836 edition of Mann Butler's History of the Commonewealth of Kentucky, in which he used the Shane evidence to support his case. He also said that Shane believed Johnson had killed Tecumseh. Shane had died on June 11, 1834, before publication of Emmons' book in July, 1834 or the date of Brown's letter to Butler, September, 1834. He was thus a witness who could not deny their statements.[31]

In contrast Drake attacked the use of Shane as a witness. He described his own major source as a man who "substained through life, a character for integrity," although he had rejected parts of "the Shane Narrative," Drake presented testimony to contradict the statement presented by Brown. In his biography of Tecumseh he cited a letter from Major William Oliver of Cincinnati, who had

known Shane since 1806. He visited Shane at "the second crossing of the St. Mary's (Shanesville) in 1819. In a conversation about the Battle of Moraviantown Shane told Oliver of his two brother-in-laws' report that Tecumseh had been killed by a private in the Kentucky troops. Private David King of Johnson's regiment had claimed to have killed the Indian leader. Drake also wrote that Shane had told John Johnston of Piqua and others that Tecumseh did not fall by the hands of Richard M. Johnson.[32]

Was Brown's claim that Shane identified Johnson true? On October 27, 1834, Richard W. Cummins, Indian Agent for the Northern Agency of the Western Territory and Anthony Shane's employer, replied to a letter from Mann Butler. He informed Butler that Shane had died on June 11. To the question of the death of Tecumseh, the Indian agent had heard Shane say "he had no doubt but what Colonel R. M. Johnson killed Tecumseh." His belief was based on the description of the man who killed Tecumseh given by Indians. It matched Colonel Johnson.[33]

Shane had good reason to support Johnson's story. Johnson, as chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, had urged Congress to give Shane his original 320-acre land donation on the St. Mary's, Shane's Grant, in 1815. Johnson's influence in Indian affairs could be valuable to Shane in obtaining government employment. It was Johnson who had sent Drake to interview Shane. In an October 21, 1821 letter to Drake, Johnson wrote of Shane's

knowledge of the life of Tecumseh, and claimed there was no one "who could provide more accurate information."[34]

Shane had demonstrated throughout his interview that he was very willing to use his testimony to advance his own interests. Much of the information provided by Shane would be of great use in studying the life of Tecumseh, but sections of the interview were almost certainly used by Shane for self-justication, revenge, and personal advancement.

Chapter 4 Endnotes

1. Draper Mss., 12YY1-74, 2YY45-65; Dumas Malone, "Benjamin Drake," Dictionary of American Biography, vol. 5, (New York,Charles Scribner and Son, 1930), 424-425.

2. Draper Mss. 12YY1-74, 2YY45-65; Benjamin Drake Life of Tecumseh and His Brother, The Prophet (Cincinnati, Anderson, 1841).

3. Drake, Life of Tecumseh and His Brother, The Prophet, 219.

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5. Charles Callender, "Shawnee" , Handbook of North American Indians:Northeast (Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institute, 1978), 622; Draper Mss., 12YY44-46.

6. Drake, Life of Tecumseh and His Brother, The Prophet, 218-219.

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8. R. David Edmunds, Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership (Boston, Little Brown, 1984), 23,126.

9. Carl Klinck, ed., Tecumseh: Fact and Fiction in Early Records (Englewood, Prentice-Hall, 1961), 22; Stephen Ruddell, "Account of Tecumtha" William Albert Galloway, ed, Old Chillicothe, Shawnee and Pioneer History(Xenia, Buckeye Press, 1934), 128-135; Draper Mss., 12YY1-74; Drake, The Life of Tecumseh and his Brother, The Prophet, 67.

10. Ruddell, "Account of Tecumtha," Old Chillicothe and Pioneer History, 128-135; Draper Mss., 12YY1-74.

11. Ruddell, "Account of Tecumtha," Old Chillicothe and Pioneer History, 128-135; Draper Mss., 12YY1-74.

12. Ibid, 12YY22,40-42.

13. Ibid, 12YY31-32.

14. Ruddell, "Account of Tecumtha," Old Chillicothe and Pioneer History, 128-135; Callender, "Shawnee," 626.

15. Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership, 55-57; Draper Mss., 12YY31-34,59.

16.

19. Ibid, 12YY25-29.

20. Ibid, 12YY46-47.

21. Ibid, 12YY25-27,57-59.

22. Ibid, 12YY57-59.

23. Drake, Life of Tecumseh and His Brother, The Prophet; Edmunds, Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership.

24. Draper Mss., 12YY62-75, 2YY53; Edmunds, Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership, 204.

25. Ibid, 204-205.

26. Ibid.

27. Sugden, Tecumseh's Last Stand (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 65.

28. Drake, Life of Tecumseh and of His Brother, the Prophet, 199-217; Sugden, Tecumseh's Last Stand, 136-183.

29. Dumas Malone, ed. "Richard Mentor Johnson" Dictionary of American Biography, 5, 114-116; John Niven, Martin Van Buren, The Romantic Age in American Politics (New York, Oxford Press, 1983), 395-401.

30. Sugden, Tecumseh's Last Stand, 39-140; Draper Mss., 2YY54-63.

31. Sugden, Tecumseh's Last Stand, 141, 253; William Emmons, Authenic Biography of Colonel Richard M. Johnson (Boston, Langworthy, 1834), 33-37; Mann Butler, A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky (Cincinnati, James, 1836), 546-550; Drake, The Life of Tecumseh and His Brother, the Prophet, 218-219; Sugden, Tecumseh's Last Stand, 253.

32. Drake, The Life of Tecumseh and His Brother, the Prophet, 218-219.

33. Butler, A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, 546-547.

34. Malone, "Richard Mentor Johnson," Dictionary of American Biography, vol.5, 115; Draper Mss., 2YY184-186.

Chapter 5 "Intended for the Indians": Emmigration (1823-1834)

By the early 1820s, Anthony Shane had become a large coarse-featured man in his fifties, and was referred to by Benjamin Drake as "Old Anthony Shane". Shane, as most metis of the period, preferred Indian dress, especially buckskin. Although a linguist who spoke five Indian languages and French, his English was heavily accented. Popular with both Americans and Indians, "Captain" Shane was nonetheless a braggart who overstated his military accomplishments and would bring out his citation from Congress to show passing travelers. The interpreter was a caring husband who worried that baptism by total immersion would hurt his wife's fragile health, and who put his wife's name as co-owner of his land claims as a protection for her in case of his death.[1]

Shane lived with his extended family on his reservation north of Shanesville. According to the 1820 census, the household included Shane, his wife, Lamateshe, a son and two daughters under six years of age, as well as two young men who were probably a son and a stepson of Shane's. Three Indians, described by the census as unnaturalized foreigners, also lived with the family. The three Indians were not considered American citizens by the law of the time, but the Shanes were listed in the census as white citizens even though Anthony was a metis and Lamateshe a Delaware.[2]

During the time of transition to American dominance of the area, the Shanes' actions reflected an attempt to accommodate the new majority while advancing the family's economic interests. The interpreter had furthered these goals by serving in the military and aiding in treaty negotiations for which he had been rewarded with land. Portions of the carefully selected land claims were platted to increase their value for sale to incoming white settlers. While accommodating the whites, the Shanes were highly selective in accepting any form of acculturation from the newly dominant Americans. Shane's wife played the major role in the family's relationship with white culture. Although troubled by poor health, Lamateshe was a woman of strong character whose beliefs would be demonstrated in the family's lifestyle choices during the period. The Shanes' interview by Benjamin Drake reflected many of Lamateshe's values, especially in the stated sympathy for Tenskwatwa's advocacy of temperance and a return to the old Indian lifestyle. In contrast, the interview showed strong opposition to the Prophet's anti-metis and anti-Christian philosophy. Although Lamateshe was a firm believer in Christianity, she wished to live and practice that faith among other Indians. The Shane family, while doing business and having friendly relations with the new settlers, would always live with the Indians.[3]

In 1820, the Shanes established a relationship with Isaac McCoy, a leading American religious leader among the

Indians of the region. McCoy was a Baptist missionary to the Indians and, for a time, an Indian agent. Born in 1784, McCoy began preaching in Vincennes, Indiana. In 1817, he was appointed missionary to the Indians of the Wabash Valley and began operating his mission from Fort Wayne. Later, he established a mission and school at Carey, Michigan for the Potawatomi Tribe. He became convinced that the only way to save the Indians of the region from the destructive influences of white culture was to remove the tribes to west of the Mississippi River. McCoy became a leading advocate of the policy of removal, both among the Indians themselves and to the United States Congress.[4]

The Shanes had met McCoy at his mission in Fort Wayne. Although Anthony was Catholic, Lamateshe with her Moravian religious background was interested in talking with Protestant missionaries. Later, McCoy would write to the Shanes on the subject of religion and twice preach at their home in Shanesville. After hearing a sermon and prayer by the minister that closely matched the teachings of her Moravian grandmother, Lamateshe considered conversion to the Baptist Church. The solace the Christian faith provided her in overcoming the grief from the death of her youngest son caused Lamateshe to request McCoy baptize her. Anthony was shocked by the Baptist practice of total immersion and feared the procedure would ruin Lamateshe's already delicate health. McCoy was able to reassure him that the baptism would do her no harm.[5]

Lamateshe, while a strong supporter of missionary activities, resisted attempts by whites to use Christianity to force acculturation on her and her people. Before she had joined the Baptists, representatives of other denominations had attempted to recruit Lamateshe and her family. She joined McCoy's church because it was "intended for the Indians" as the Moravian missions had been. Later, when she was rebuked by a white Baptist for wearing trinkets in her ears, she replied:

> "My religion is not in my ears, it is in my heart. My heart is no more affected by the jewels in my ears than is by any other part of my dress. Nevertheless, I will converse with the missionaries, and if they say it is wrong to wear them, I will put them away."

The Baptist missionaries at Fort Wayne with an understanding for the Indians' culture, did not attempt to force white fashion on their converts.[6]

The Shane and McCoy families established a friendship which was especially strong between Isaac and Lamateshe, whom the missionary greatly admired for her strong faith. Anthony acted as an agent for McCoy in his dealings with the Shanesville merchants, and the Shanes provided information on tribal social customs to McCoy.[7]

After 1821, while the white population of the area around Shanesville rapidly increased, the town's growth stagnated in the early 1820s. In 1824, William H. Keating described Shanesville as having only one family in residence. The sale of lots was slow until Samuel Hanna, James Barnett, and Richard Britton, Fort Wayne land

speculators, purchased thirty of the forty-two lots in Shanesville and all the land in Shane's Grant outside the platted area. Shane had been paid $800 by the speculators and made a total of $1050 for the 320 acres of Shane's grant including Shanesville. At a time when government land sold for $1.25 an acre, Shane, by foresight in selection of his land claim and in platting the town, had more than doubled the value of his land.[8]

The Shane family was affected by the growing internal tribal violence that was a leading cause of death among the Indians of the region during the societal breakdown of the post-war period. Sackacha, Shane's son, killed another Indian over a game of moccassin, which was similar to the shell game. Retaliation was prevented by Shane's reputation, long negotiations, and the payment of reparations, which included thirteen ponies, five blankets, some silver brooches and a silver bracelet. Indian cultural breakdown had affected the Shanes directly.[9]

The Baptist missionaries offered the Shanes the opportunity to leave the area and to help spread the faith among the Ottawas, Anthony's mother's people. William Polke, Isaac McCoy's brother-in-law, had been selected to start a new mission at Grand Rapids, Michigan for the Ottawas. Shane was to be the interpreter for the mission. The position of interpreter was one of importance. James Finley, a missionary to the Wyandot tribes of Ohio, wrote in his book Life Among the Indians, that the lack of

qualified interpreters was "the greatest obstruction to the universial spread of the Gospel among the American Indians."[10]

In 1823, the Shanes moved to the Potawatomi mission at Carey, Michigan, where Polke was organizing his mission to the Ottawas. After several months of preparation Polke resigned his commission, because he claimed his salary would not support his family. With Polke's resignation the plan to start a mission collapsed, and Shane was left without employment. In 1824, Shane left Carey for Shanesville embittered by his treatment by the Baptists. McCoy would later claim to have been unaware of the promises Polke had made to the interpreter, but Shane bore a grudge against Polke and McCoy. The interpreter would complain to the tribes of Ohio of the missionaries' broken promises.[11]

The Shanes returned to their reservation in Ohio, but would not remain there. In the mid-1820s the government presuaded some members of the Shawnee and Delaware tribes to migrate to Missouri and Kansas Territory. By the early 1830s, the two tribes had left Ohio and other tribes of the region would follow. If the family wanted to continue to live among Indians and if Anthony were to use his skills as an interpreter, the Shanes would have to join the migration across the Mississippi. Local historians described the Shanes as having left the state in 1832 as part of the final migration of the Shawnees from the nearby Wapakoneta reservation, but government records and the diaries of Isaac

McCoy and William Clark showed the Shanes leaving the state at an earlier date. In 1827 and 1828, Shane traveled west with tribal leaders to examine their proposed reservations in Missouri and Kansas. By September, 1828, the Shane family was living in a Shawnee village on the Kansas-Missouri border. In October, Isaac McCoy, who was surveying the reservation lands for the United States government, met with the interpreter. The two reconciled, and Shane aided McCoy in his mission of establishing boundaries for the new reservations. It appears likely that Lamateshe played a role in the reconciliation.[12]

Although he gave no explanation, John Johnston, former Fort Wayne Indian agent, claimed Shane left Ohio in "disrepute," yet the interpreter continued to have the trust of the Indians and was employed by government Indian agents as an interpreter. In 1829, Shane was hired by William Clark, Superintendant of Indian Affairs, to serve as interpreter for the renegotiation of the 1817 treaty between the Delaware and United States government. Missouri settlers and politicians had pressured the government to move the newly located tribe from Missouri to Kansas Territory. Shane aided in persuading the Delaware to accept a $1000 annuity and various gifts to leave the state. Later, Shane would serve as a witness for the disbursement of the goods and money to the tribe.[13]

In 1830, Shane was employed as an interpreter for the Delaware-Shawnee Indian Agency in the Kansas Territory by

Agent Richard Cummins. For $40 the interpreter was to attend all councils at the agency, to accompany Indians meeting with the agent, and to witness the issuing of provisions. He was also to serve as a messenger for the agent and to "observe and restrain, when necessary the conduct of the Indians." Shane's services for the United States since in 1795 had prepared him well for his position at the Kansas Agency as an interpreter, messenger, and spy. He took part in several treaty signings including a major peace treaty negotiated by the United States government to end the warfare between the old tribes of Kansas Territory and the recently transplanted tribes from the east.[14]

In 1830, a situation developed on the reservation that was rich in irony. Isaac McCoy wished to establish a Baptist mission and school on the Shawnee reservation. Shane backed McCoy's effort to win tribal support for his project. McCoy also had support from an unexpected source, Tenskwatawa. The Prophet had remained in Canada after his brother's death, until his relationship with the British soured. The American government allowed him to return, hoping to use his influence in persuading the tribes to move to the west. He supported the removal and joined the Shawnee exodus in 1826. While living on the Kansas reservation the Prophet's following steadily diminished. He hoped to regain his influence among the tribe by supporting McCoy. The mission was approved, but distrust of the Prophet continued. By the time of his death in 1836,

almost all his followers had deserted him.[15]

With the reconciliation of Isaac McCoy with Shane, the families reestablished friendly relations. While living at the agency, Delilah Lykins, McCoy's daughter and the wife of a missionary herself, met the Shane family and was impressed by their character. She was, however, shocked by the family's interest in Mormonism. While in Kansas Territory the Shanes had contact with a Mormon missionary and became interested in converting to Mormonism. The religion believed that the Indians were descended from one of the lost tribes of Israel and that Christ had appeared to the tribes after his resurrection. Mormonism would have been attractive to the Shanes because of the direct involvement of the Indians in the church's doctrine, but the Shane family remained Baptists. It seems likely that Lamateshe's relationship with Isaac McCoy was a major factor in the family's choice.[16]

In the 1820s, as settlers crowded into west central Ohio and violence affected the Shanes' relations with their Indian neighbors, the family had chosen to find a new home among the tribes of the Old Northwest. It would be a place where Lamateshe could practice her religion and Anthony could find employment using his skill as an interpreter. After the failed attempt to begin the Ottawa Mission, the Shanes joined the tribal exodus to the west to find the life they wanted.

After playing a central role in many of the major

events in the first sixty years of relations between the tribes of the Old Northwest and the United States, Anthony Shane, in his mid-sixties, died June 11, 1834. Lamateshe was still living on the reservation in 1839, and according to Issac McCoy, setting an example of Chrisitian faith for her people.[17]

As with most metis, Anthony Shane had preferred to live his life among the Indians. He had married a Delaware and raised his children as Indians. The preference for the Native American life had come not only from his Ottawa mother, but from his French-Canadian father who had chosen to work and live among the Indians.

As a metis Shane was a member of group that was not sure of full acceptance by either the Indian or Americam society. Although normally accepted by the tribes of the area Shane could remember the popularity of Tenskwatwa's movement that rejected mixed marriages and their issue. Racial prejudice against Indians and metis was a major feature of white American society. Throughout his life Shane demonstrated degrees of foresight, self-aggrandizement, and survivability necessary for a metis to prosper in the frontier Old Northwest of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Shane also had learned from his French-Canadian father and uncles to use his language skills to advance his self-interest.

With the failure of the British to support the Indian forces after their defeat at Fallen Timbers in 1794, Shane,

realizing the United States would be the dominant power in the Old Northwest, switched his loyalties to the Americans, whom he would continue to serve intermittently for the rest of his life. His loyalty in the War of 1812 brought him financial rewards and the positive disposition of the many settlers and their leaders, who would normally be prejudiced against a metis.

Although Shane's reliability as a witness to the events of Tecumseh's life can be questioned, he maintained the trust of most whites and Indians. Large portions of the interpreter's and his wife's testimony on Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa were self-serving and of questionable reliability. Besides advancing the couple's personal beliefs, the testimony ingratiated Shane to Richard Johnson. But in his dealings with the United States government, the Indians and the local settlers, Shane was considered trustworthy.

In the post-war period Shane demonstrated foresight and industry, traits most American settlers did not apply to metis. He selected a potentially valuable site, then used his political connections and language skills to have the government grant him ownership or control of 960 acres at this key location. By farming, operating a trading post, and platting a town Shane had prepared to take economic advantage of the influx of white settlers.

As the area changed Shane and his family made the choice to continue to live among the Indians by joining

the migration of the Indians of the Old Northwest to reservations west of the Mississippi. Although he was more successful in dealing with Americans than most of the metis of the Old Northwest, Shane, with his preference for the Indian lifestyle, reflected the basic choice made by the majority of metis of the region. A study of the life of Anthony Shane gives an examination of the life of a metis, a member of an historically ignored, but important minority in the Old Northwest.

Chapter 5 Endnotes

1. Draper Mss., 22SS65-68, 2YY42, 11YY36-54; Richard C. Knopf, ed., A Surgeon's Mate at Fort Defiance: The Journal of Joseph Gardner Andrews for the Year 1795, (Columbus, Ohio Historical Society, 1957), 22; Thomas Scattergood Teas, "Journal of a Tour of Fort Wayne and the Adjacent Territory in the Year 1821," Indiana As Seen by Early Travelers, ed. Harlow Lindley, (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Commission, 1916), 250-254; Isaac McCoy,History of the Baptists Indian Missions, (Washington D. C.: Morrison, 1840), 86-89.

2. United States Census of 1820, (Washington, 1821).

3. Draper Mss., 12YY1-74.

Shane's Delaware wife had several names. The Name given to Benjamin Drake at the Shanes interview in 1821 was Lamatheshe. Her name on the deeds of sale for the land in Shane's Grant was Auqualanaux. Isaac McCoy gave her name as Wiskehelaehqua.

Draper Mss., 12YY1-75; Mercer County Board of Records, Deeds of Land Sales, Book Z 4-12; Lela Barnes, "McCoy Journal for 1830," Kansas Historical Quarterly (November,1936), 340.

4. Dumas Malone, ed., "Isaac McCoy," Dictionary of American Biography, vol. 15, (New York, Scribner's, 1933), 617-618.

5. McCoy,History of the Baptists Indian Missions, 86-89.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid. "Letter Anthony Shane to Isaac McCoy," Correspondence of Isaac McCoy, (Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka Kansas, microfilm), reel 1, pp. 705-707; "Description of feasts and other tribal ceremonies by Anthony Shane and his Wife, July 20, 1823," Correspondence of Isaac McCoy.

8. William R. Keating, Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, Lake Winnipeek, and the Lake of the Woods Under the Command of Stephan H. Long, vol. 1, (Philadelphia, 1824), 76-78, 107; Mercer County Board of Records, Deeds of Land Sale (Celina, Ohio),Book A, 78,Book Z, 1-12; R. Sutton, History of Van Wert and Mercer Counties (Wapakoneta, R. Sutton and Co., 1882), 314, 404-415.

9. Sutton, History of Van Wert and Mercer Counties,

252.

10. Lela Barnes, ed.,"Journal of Isaac McCoy for the Exploring Expedition of 1828," Kansas Historical Quarterly (August, 1936), 262; George A. Schultz, An Indian Canaan: Isaac McCoy and the Vision of an Indian State, (Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1972), 74-77; "Letter from William Polke to Isaac McCoy," Correspondence of Isaac McCoy, Reel 3, pp. 582-584.

11. Ibid.

12. Sutton, History of Van Wert and Mercer Counties, 409; H.S. Knapp, History of Maumee Valley, (Toledo, Slade,1872), 442-451; Joan Alig, ed., Mercer County, Ohio History,1978, (Mercer County Historical Society. 1978) 202; Louise Barry, ed., "William Clark Diaries, May 1826 -Feburary, 1831," ed. by Louise Barry, Kansas Historical Quarterly, vol. 16,(1948) 26,158; Barnes, ed., Journal of Isaac McCoy for the Exploring Expedition of 1828, 258-263.

13. Draper Mss. 11YY37; Charles J. Kappler, ed., "Supplementary Treaty with Delawares," Indian Treaties, 1778-1883 (New York, Interland Publishers, 1975), 304-305; The New American State Papers: Indian Affairs, vol. 5, (Wilmington, Scholarly Resources, 1972), 66.

14. Louise Barry, ed., "Kansas Before 1854: Revised Annals," Kansas Historical Quarterly,(Summer and Fall, 1962); The New American State Papers: Indian Affairs, vol. 1, (Washington,1978) 136; Documents on Indian Removal, vol. 5 (New York, American Scholarly Resource, 1974), 727-733; Mann Butler, A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky (Cincinnati, James, 1836), 546-550.

15. Barnes ed., "Journal of Isaac McCoy for the Exploring Expedition of 1830," 342-343; Russell David Edmunds, The Shawnee Prophet, (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1983) 142-190.

16. "Letter from Delilah Lykins to Mrs. Isaac McCoy, January 29,1831," Correspondence of Isaac McCoy; "Latter-Day Saints," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. 10, ed. by James Hastings (New York,Scribner's and Sons, 1974), 85.

17. Butler, A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, 546-550; McCoy, History of the Baptist Indian Missions, 86-89.

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