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“Evil Men Who Add to Our Difficulties”: Shawnees, Quakers, and William Wells, 1807–1808

R. DAVID EDMUNDS

Over the past two decades, ethnohistorians have expended considerable time and effort examining various facets of cultural change among many Native American communities. Much of this investigation focuses upon the process of forced acculturation: cultural change championed by the federal government and impressed upon the tribes through the implementation of federal Indian policy. The Indian response to these programs has been as diverse as the broad spectrum of tribal groups to whom the programs have been applied. Some tribes have adamantly opposed the government's programs, even resorting to armed conflict when other avenues of resistance have seemed unfeasible. Others have adopted certain tenets of the federal programs, but have skillfully interwoven these new cultural patterns with time-honored tribal traditions to create a model of acculturation that incorporates their own goals and aspirations. In contrast, several tribal groups have, upon occasion, welcomed change and have embraced the government's policies, at least for relatively short periods. And yet even members of those tribal communities who have subscribed to the government's programs have found that the programs often have been so plagued with intra-agency quarrels and mismanagement that they have produced a bureaucratic quagmire.

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The interaction of Shawnees, Quakers, and Indian agent William Wells offers an interesting case study in the frustration encountered by tribal people who attempted to subscribe to many tenets of official Indian policy in the early nineteenth century. Certainly, the two decades following the Treaty of Greenville were bitter years for the Shawnees and neighboring tribes in the Old Northwest. Forced to cede their lands in central and eastern Ohio, the Shawnee, Delaware, and Wyandot tribespeople crowded into the northwestern section of the state and spilled over into adjacent regions of Indiana. Disillusioned by their recent defeats, some of the Shawnees still clung to the ways of their fathers, struggling to subsist amidst the diminishing deer herds and declining numbers of fur-bearing animals. Other Shawnees, convinced that the old ways were gone, sought an accommodation with the onrushing Americans. Led by Black Hoof, an aging chief from a village on the headwaters of the Auglaize River, these Shawnees asked Indian agents for assistance in learning the white man's agricultural methods.

The Shawnee request struck a responsive chord among federal officials in Washington. Since the colonial period both European and American missionaries had urged such a course upon the tribal members, and the passage of the first Indian Intercourse Acts in the 1790s gave official credence to these policies. Moreover, during President Thomas Jefferson's first term, the government urged the Indians to abandon hunting and to support themselves through farming, animal husbandry, and "domestic manufacture." Federal efforts to "civilize" the tribespeople were channeled through government Indian agents and through several religious or missionary organizations active among the tribes. In Ohio and Indiana, the Quakers, Moravians, and Presbyterians all received the government's blessing, and each of these denominations sent missionaries west.¹

At first the Shawnees were ignored. Although Black Hoof journeyed to Washington in 1802 and asked Jefferson for "assistance in getting all necessary farming tools and those for building houses that we may go to work as soon as possible," both the government and the missionary organizations focused their attention on other tribes. Jefferson sent a few farm implements to the Shawnees, but the government failed to establish an agency in their immediate vicinity. Meanwhile, the Moravians continued

their long-standing efforts among the Delawares, the Presbyterians organized a mission among the Wyandots, and the Quakers concentrated their endeavors among the Miamis and Potawatomis in northeastern Indiana.²

The Quaker initiative met with mixed results. In 1804, Quaker Philip Dennis established a "model farm" on the Wabash River, about thirty-five miles southeast of Fort Wayne. Although Dennis cleared several acres and eventually harvested his crops, he received little support from the Indians. Late in the fall of 1804, he delivered his harvest to Indian leaders and returned to Baltimore. Two years later, William and Mahlon Kirk, also Baltimore Quakers, journeyed among the Indians near Fort Wayne, then returned to the East, where William Kirk persuaded Quaker leaders to petition the government for assistance in establishing a new mission. In response, federal officials appointed Kirk an "Agent of Civilization" and appropriated \$6,000 to facilitate a program of agriculture and the domestic arts. Impressed with his new title, Kirk again led a small group of Quaker missionaries, during the late spring of 1807, back to Fort Wayne, where he believed he soon would transform neighboring Potawatomis and Miamis into "useful citizens of the republic."³

Kirk was sorely disappointed. He soon ran afoul of William Wells, the Indian agent at that location, who previously had administered the government's "civilization funds," and who did not relish a rival in dispensing such largesse. Wells was born in Pennsylvania, but his family migrated to Kentucky. There, in 1774, at the age of fourteen, he was captured by a Miami war party and carried north to Indiana. Adopted by The Porcupine, a village chief from the Wea towns along the Eel River, Wells soon ingratiated himself with his captors and was adopted into the Miami tribe. During the late 1780s he married Manwangopath (Sweet Wind), a daughter of Little Turtle. Although at some point he evidently met with his white relatives in Kentucky, he remained a member of the Miami tribe. In 1791 he fought alongside Little Turtle and other Miamis at St. Clair's Defeat, but in 1792 he made peace with the Americans, and, during the following year, he enlisted as a scout and an interpreter in General Anthony Wayne's newly formed American Legion. Wells served with the Americans in the Fallen Timbers campaign and acted as the primary interpreter at the Treaty of Greenville. Because

of his close ties to Little Turtle and his continuing influence among the Miamis, in 1797 Wells was appointed deputy Indian agent and interpreter at Fort Wayne. Yet Wells's attempts to amass a personal fortune and his efforts to dominate Indian affairs soon caused conflicts with both public officials and private citizens in Indiana. Although recent biographers have placed much of the blame on Wells's opponents, there is ample evidence to suggest his culpability.⁴

On 20 April 1807, when William Kirk arrived at Fort Wayne, he met with Wells, who agreed to arrange a series of conferences between Kirk and local Indian leaders. Wells initially had agreed to support Kirk's endeavors, but by late May, when the meetings had concluded, Miami and Potawatomi spokesmen, led by Little Turtle (Wells's father-in-law), rejected Kirk's offers of assistance.⁵

Bewildered, Kirk charged that Wells had used his influence to sabotage the Quakers' program and suggested that Wells wished to gain access to the \$6,000 appropriated for the purpose. In reply, Wells stated that the Indians never had wanted Kirk, that the Quaker had arrived in the West too late to begin any meaningful agricultural programs for the upcoming summer, and that Kirk knew nothing about Indians and already had squandered much of the government's appropriation. Wells's charges were partially supported by a letter from local Indian leaders, but many of these correspondents were particularly susceptible to Wells's influence, and the document's authenticity seemed questionable. John Johnston, the government factor at the post, officially witnessed the Indian letter, but he privately wrote to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn, questioning Wells's motives.⁶

Frustrated in his attempts to establish programs at Fort Wayne, Kirk now turned to the Shawnees. Black Hoof's people offered a better chance for success. Not only had the old chief repeatedly petitioned the government for assistance, but Kirk's party had passed through Wapakoneta, Black Hoof's village, en route to Fort Wayne, and the Shawnees had welcomed the Quakers into their midst. In addition, the Shawnees were located farther from Fort Wayne and were outside the realm of Wells's influence. Reporting to Dearborn that he "could be advantageously employed [sic] among the Shawnees and Wiendots [sic]," Kirk and his party withdrew to Wapakoneta in June 1807.⁷

Black Hoof's people welcomed the Quakers for several reasons. In 1805, Lalawethika, a ne'er-do-well son of a prominent

Shawnee family, had experienced a series of visions that had transformed the former alcoholic into a religious leader with an expanding number of disciples. Changing his name to Tenskwatawa (The Open Door), this new "Shawnee Prophet" advocated a return to traditional Shawnee lifestyles and condemned those Indians who adhered to the white man's ways. Attracting followers from many tribes, Tenskwatawa threatened the influence of village chiefs such as Black Hoof who were attempting to cooperate with the Americans. Indeed, the Prophet's threat was of a serious nature, since the Shawnee holy man taught that the Americans were the children of the Great Serpent (evil spirit); therefore, those Indians who adopted American practices also were disciples of this malevolent force. In 1806, Tenskwatawa had condemned several pro-American Delawares as witches, and the hapless victims had been burned by their kinsmen. In seeking government assistance, Black Hoof and his people also were vulnerable to such charges, and the Prophet had denounced Black Hoof as a tool of the Americans. During the winter of 1807, bloodshed erupted between the two sides, and Black Hoof sought assurances of government protection. From the old chief's viewpoint, the establishment of the government-sanctioned mission in his village both buttressed his authority and endorsed his leadership.⁸

Kirk soon became involved in Shawnee politics. In June 1807, the Quaker participated in two conferences that addressed the growing rift between Black Hoof and Tenskwatawa. The first meeting, held at Wapakoneta, focused on the mysterious death of two of Black Hoof's warriors, who were found slain in the forest. Black Hoof and his followers assumed that the men had been killed by disciples of the Prophet, but when representatives from Tenskwatawa's village arrived at Wapakoneta, they disavowed any responsibility for the deaths. Kirk attempted to mediate between the two sides, but since he was living at Wapakoneta, the Prophet's followers dismissed him as an ally of Black Hoof and refused his intercession. In contrast, Black Hoof's people seemed to welcome his intervention, envisioning the missionary as an agent of the government authorized to administer justice. The council did little to solve the differences between the two Shawnee camps, but it did serve to alienate the Quaker from Tenskwatawa and to identify him more closely with Black Hoof.⁹

Kirk played a more constructive role at the second conference.

During the late spring, several white hunters were killed by Indians near Staunton, Ohio, and settlers in the region began to abandon their homes and flee toward the Ohio. Attempting to stem the panic, Governor Edward Tiffin asked representatives from both Wapakoneta and Greenville (the Prophet's village) to assemble at Springfield, a frontier village on the Mad River, so that state authorities could investigate the murders. The Indians met with white officials during June, but the rift within the Shawnee tribe had widened. Both Black Hoof and Tecumseh, who spoke for the Indians at Greenville, disavowed any culpability in the killings, but when asked if he knew who was responsible for the deaths, Tecumseh grabbed Black Hoof's shoulder and proclaimed, "This is the man who killed your white brother!" Leaping to his feet, Black Hoof denounced Tecumseh as a liar, and the two men seized weapons, apparently ready to settle their quarrel through arms.¹⁰

Fortunately, cooler heads prevailed. Kirk and other officials intervened to prevent any bloodshed, and both men lay down their weapons. Subsequent investigation indicated that the murders had been committed by some Potawatomis and that neither band of Shawnees had had any knowledge of the affair. Meanwhile, Kirk interceded with white settlers in the region to assure them that the Indians at Wapakoneta were peaceful and meant no harm. Through a series of meetings, he eventually convinced the Ohioans of Black Hoof's loyalty, even suggesting that the Shawnees at Wapakoneta could be relied upon to warn the frontier of hostile war parties. Reassured, many of the settlers returned during the summer of 1807 to the farms they earlier had abandoned.¹¹

Assisted by Kirk, Black Hoof's people began to cultivate farms of their own. Although Kirk and his associates continued to suffer from "feavers [*sic*] common to the country," they spent the summer and fall of 1807 urging the Shawnees to become small yeoman farmers. The Quakers arrived at Wapakoneta too late for the usual spring planting, but with the Shawnees' help, they cleared about thirty acres, planted a late crop, then split rails and fenced in another one hundred acres in preparation for the next year's cultivation. The Shawnees were short of food, so Kirk suggested that they disperse in small camps for the remainder of the summer while the Quakers minded their fields. In the fall, when the corn was harvested, most of the Shawnees returned to Wapakoneta and assisted the Quakers in the construction of log cabins.

Although the corn crop was smaller than expected, with the Quakers' help, Black Hoof's people survived the winter, and during the spring of 1808 they reported to Jefferson that they were eager to begin their planting. They also thanked the government for sending "our friends, the Quakers, to help us, and we find they are good people and concerned for our welfare and have done a great deal for us in instructing our young men in a good way and how to use the tools we see in the hands of our white brothers."¹²

During the following season the Shawnees continued their program of acculturation. In spring 1808, they cleared additional land, and by summer, they had planted over five hundred acres, mostly fenced, in corn and other vegetables. Following the Quakers' advice, they expanded their usual crops of corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins to include turnips, cabbage, and potatoes. They also planted small orchards of apple tree seedlings, and with Kirk's assistance they acquired a small herd of hogs, three cattle, and two yokes of oxen. Although some of the Shawnees continued their traditional practice of planting crops in communal fields, others fenced off separate plots and cultivated their crops in a manner similar to that of white farmers.¹³

Acculturation took place in other fields of endeavor. With Kirk providing financial assistance, Black Hoof and his followers purchased a quantity of farm implements, and Kirk hired a blacksmith who set up a forge in the Shawnee village. Throughout the summer, trees were felled, logs were hewn, and additional cabins were erected. Encouraged by such "progress," the Quakers began the construction of both a gristmill and a sawmill, so the Indians could "furnish their houses in a commodious manner."¹⁴ In the fall of 1808, Black Hoof and his people reaped a "bounteous harvest," and Kirk was so pleased with the mission that he made plans to open similar endeavors among the Wyandots, Delawares, and other Indians. Moreover, other factors contributed to Black Hoof's and the Quakers' optimism. During spring 1808, the Shawnee Prophet had abandoned his camp at Greenville and had moved to a new village, Prophetstown, at the juncture of the Tippecanoe and Wabash rivers in western Indiana. The Prophet's withdrawal from Ohio seemed to remove the last obstacle to Kirk's programs, and both the Quakers and the Shawnees looked forward to a future of increased acculturation and prosperity.¹⁵

The Shawnee-Quaker relationship drew considerable praise

from white frontiersmen in Ohio. American citizens passing through Wapakoneta later wrote to officials in Washington, commenting upon the well-groomed fields that surrounded the Shawnee village. Others mentioned the "comfortable houses of hewn logs with chimneys, and this is a matter of surprise to those that are acquainted with the character of Indians." Some remarked upon the Shawnees' hospitality toward white travelers, while others praised their "sobriety" and "temperance." Yet more important, by the fall of 1808, the relationship between Black Hoof's people and their white neighbors had so improved that the white community envisioned the Shawnees as a bastion against hostile Indians. According to one group of citizens from the Dayton area, when Black Hoof's warriors visited the settlements, "We find them sober and civil . . . and look upon them as a watchful safeguard to our habitations."¹⁶

Ironically, the prospects for the Shawnee-Quaker relationship shone brighter in Ohio than in Washington. Kirk's zeal for spreading "civilization" completely overshadowed his concern for fiscal responsibility. Envisioning a great opportunity to "spread the gospel and the articles of husbandry," Kirk initiated a series of programs that rapidly outstripped his resources. In 1807, when he arrived in Wapakoneta, he had brought several wagonloads of implements with him. Eager to win the support of Black Hoof's people, he was generous with his supplies and evidently supported many of the Shawnees during the summer. Meanwhile, Kirk became so enthralled with his new mission that he forgot to send any records of his accounts to Washington. Finally, late in December 1807, he included a financial statement in his report to Dearborn, but by that time he had spent more than his initial appropriation.¹⁷

Late in February, Dearborn wrote to Kirk acknowledging the receipt of his accounts, but expressing the government's displeasure with his expenditures. Dearborn provided sufficient funds to cover Kirk's overdrafts, but warned that in the future he should be more frugal and offer a more prompt accounting of his expenses. Dearborn also indicated that Jefferson was displeased that so much money had been expended with such "insufficient results." In response, Kirk defended his efforts and claimed that he had been forced to exceed his appropriations "on account of the opposition I met with at Fort Wayne . . . by a man [i.e., William Wells] whose influence with the chiefs would evidently

operate to whatever might be his interests." He admitted that "the amount of money expended far exceeded what it ought to have done in proportion to the settlements opened," but he assured Dearborn that the coming year would illustrate that his endeavors had been a success.¹⁸

Convinced that Dearborn was satisfied, Kirk spent the summer of 1808 expanding the mission and opening a new station among the Wyandots on the Sandusky River. Meanwhile, undeterred by Dearborn's warning, he contracted for the two mills at Wapakoneta and purchased additional livestock and farm implements. Undoubtedly the mission flourished, but by autumn Kirk again had expended his entire appropriation. In October, when he wrote a series of bank drafts to pay for supplies and salaries for several of his employees, the government refused to honor them. Surprised, Kirk immediately wrote to Dearborn complaining that he had received no instructions from the government for several months, and inquiring if the government's failure to honor his drafts was a mistake. He again admitted that his mission "may have cost the govern [*sic*] more in the outset than at first contemplated," but he reasserted that he was being opposed by "evil men who add to our difficulties." Moreover, according to Kirk, he had spent considerable funds at Wapakoneta so that Black Hoof's village would serve as an example to other Indians and make them more amenable to future mission efforts. If Dearborn and other officials would only journey to Ohio, they could examine the successful results of Kirk's endeavors. Indeed, according to the Quaker, the Shawnee and Wyandot missions would soon be so profitable that they might support new stations among other tribes.¹⁹

While Kirk attempted to defend his efforts among the Shawnees, the "evil men" whom he had warned against were actively working for his dismissal. Although hard evidence to implicate William Wells in these activities is limited, the circumstantial evidence is overwhelming. Wishing to monopolize the expenditure of Indian funds in northern Indiana and western Ohio, Wells resented Kirk as a rival who threatened his preeminent position. When Wells learned that Kirk had complained to federal officials about his opposition, he wrote to the Quaker denouncing him as an opportunist and warning that he would paint Kirk as "very injurious to the views of both the government and the Friends among the Indians."²⁰

Never a purveyor of idle threats, Wells initiated a concerted campaign against the Quaker. In 1807 he wrote to federal officials, suggesting that Kirk was interested only in using the Indians' funds for his own purposes, and he asked that Kirk's annual appropriation be placed under the control of the Indian agency at Fort Wayne. Learning of Kirk's financial difficulties, Wells submitted false charges that the Shawnees were unhappy over "the great sums of money he [Kirk] would expend for the government without any probability of his being of any service to them [the Shawnees]." Wells further suggested that the government resettle Black Hoof's people at Fort Wayne, where their annuities might be dispensed under his supervision. Meanwhile, federal officials in Washington and in the West were supplied with information of an even more insidious nature. Rumors were circulated among the frontier settlements that Kirk had been sexually involved with a series of Indian women and was spreading venereal disease among the Shawnees at Wapakoneta. Wells cannot be directly linked with the sexual slander, but it is significant that during the winter of 1808-1809, when the campaign against Kirk was at its zenith, Wells accompanied a party of Indian leaders to Washington. It also is significant that on 22 December 1808, while Wells was in Washington, Dearborn wrote a letter to Kirk, dismissing him from any further association with the government.²¹

Disappointed, the Quaker remained at Wapakoneta throughout the winter, pleading with Dearborn for his reinstatement. Kirk's appeals were supported by numerous testimonials and petitions from citizens in western Ohio, but Dearborn refused to recant. Defeated, the Quakers abandoned their mission in April 1809 and returned to Baltimore. Kirk spent the next three years attempting to enlist government funding for missions among other tribes, but he was unsuccessful.²²

The Shawnees were bewildered by Dearborn's decision. Both Black Hoof's people and the Wyandots along the Sandusky River wrote to the government asking that Kirk be retained. They pleaded with Dearborn to reverse his decision and claimed that "since that man has come to live with us our women and children have found the benefit of it, they have plenty to eat and he has helped us to make farms and fences around our corn fields." Finally, however, when it became apparent that their efforts had failed, the Shawnees met with the Quaker and bid him a formal

farewell. After thanking him for his assistance, they presented Kirk with a belt of white wampum, stating that their gift was

a token of friendship. It is white and pure and will show you that our friendship is so too. We wish you to keep it so that when ever we meet it will bind us together as brothers, and when our children and yours meet together it will show them that our friendship is strong and pure and will bind them together as it does us . . . we do hope when our father the President and your friends see it they will know how much we love you and be willing to let you come back to us again.²³

Kirk's dismissal resulted from several factors. Undoubtedly, the Quaker agent was prodigal in his expenditures, but the evidence indicates that the money was spent in developing the mission and not for any personal profit. Immersed in his work, Kirk was negligent in reporting his expenses to the government, and his delays, coupled with the overdrafts, did not endear him to a government hard pressed to meet its financial obligations. Yet by all accounts his mission was successful, and, according to both Indian and white testimonials, the Shawnees were making rapid strides in acculturation.

Wells's antagonism also contributed to Kirk's demise. Wells used his influence to oppose the Quaker's activities. He seems also to have enlisted the support of several traders who saw the Shawnees' growing reliance upon agriculture as a threat to the fur trade. Just as important, however, was Wells's sabotage of Kirk's first mission endeavor at Fort Wayne, for the Quaker's initial failure to establish the station among the Miamis and the Potawatomis seemed to traumatize him and cause him to redouble his efforts among the Shawnees, regardless of the costs. Kirk's subsequent efforts to make the mission at Wapakoneta "an example for all the rest," even in the face of Dearborn's warnings, then led to his dismissal. Ironically, the resulting protest over Kirk's firing cast additional doubt upon Wells, and he, too, was dismissed by the War Department in the spring of 1809.²⁴

The Quaker withdrawal disrupted the Shawnees. Although Wells was replaced by John Johnston, and authority over the Shawnees was transferred to the Fort Wayne agency, at first no missionaries returned to Wapakoneta. Johnston periodically visited the Shawnee village and found Black Hoof's people still

interested in acculturation, but without Kirk's guidance, their efforts were less successful. Yet the Quaker's endeavors ultimately proved beneficial to the United States. The Shawnees remembered his kindness, and despite continued pressure from pro-British Indians, Black Hoof's people refused to join the British during the War of 1812. Honoring their pledge of friendship, Shawnee warriors from Wapakoneta served as scouts when William Henry Harrison's army invaded Canada and defeated British and Indian forces at the Battle of the Thames. And when the fighting ended, they still held fast to the white belt of friendship, for in 1819 they welcomed Henry Harvey, another Quaker missionary, into their village.²⁵

* * *

A working copy of this essay, entitled "Walking the Corn Road: Shawnees and Quakers in the Ohio Country, 1807-1808," was published in *Native Views of Indian-White Historical Relations, Occasional Papers in Curriculum Series, No. 7* (Chicago: D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian, the Newberry Library, 1989).

NOTES

1. Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), 215-16. Prucha's volume provides an excellent survey of early American policy. Also see Bernard Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973).

2. Speech by Black Hoof, 5 February 1802, Shawnee file, Great Lakes-Ohio Valley Indian Archives, Glenn A. Black Laboratory of Archaeology, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. Also see Lawrence Henry Gipson, *The Moravian Indian Mission on White River* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1938); Joseph A. Badger, *A Memoir of Joseph Badger* (Hudson, OH: Sawyer, Ingersoll and Co., 1851); and R. David Edmunds, "Redefining Red Patriotism: Five Medals of the Potawatomis," *Red River Valley Historical Review* 5 (Spring 1980), 13-24.

3. Edmunds, "Redefining Red Patriotism," 18-19; Kirk to Dearborn, 28 May 1807, Letters Received by the Secretary of War, Main Series, Records of the Office of the Secretary of War (Record Group 107), National Archives, Washington, D.C. (M221, Roll 9, 2854-61). Hereafter, materials from the National Archives will be cited only by microfilm. Also see Moses Dawson, *A Historical Narrative of the Civil and Military Service of Major General William H. Harrison* (Cincinnati: Moses Dawson, 1824), 91-92.

4. Paul Hutton, "William Wells: Frontier Scout and Indian Agent," *Indiana Magazine of History* 74 (September 1978), 183–222. Both Hutton and Harvey Carter, in *The Life and Times of Little Turtle: First Sagamore of the Wabash* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 201–203, generally defend Wells against charges of dishonesty and malfeasance in office, but both ignore his attempts to sabotage Kirk's efforts at Fort Wayne and later at Wapakoneta.

5. Kirk to Dearborn, 28 May 1807, M221, Roll 9, 2854–61; Wells to Dearborn, 20 August 1807, M221, Roll 15, 4743; speech by Wells to the Miamis, Potawatomis, and Eel Rivers, 13 May 1807, M221, Roll 33, 1509–1510. Although this speech by Wells supports Kirk's efforts, it was not enclosed in the correspondence sent to Washington in 1807; in fact, it was not sent to Washington until 1809, when Wells was attempting to be reinstated in the Indian service. The inclusion of the speech in the 1809 correspondence casts considerable doubt that it was written in 1807 and suggests that the document was written only after Wells had been discharged. Also see Wells to Harrison, June 1807, in vol. 1 of *The Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison*, ed. Logan Esarey (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1922), 218, in which Wells suggests to Harrison that he (Wells) should be authorized to spend the \$6,000 appropriated for Kirk's program.

6. Kirk to Dearborn, 28 May 1807, M221, Roll 9, 2854–61; Wells to Dearborn, 20 August 1807, M221, Roll 15, 4743; Wells to Kirk, 18 June 1807, M221, Roll 9, 2878–79; Indians to the president, 23 August 1807, M221, Roll 15, 4749; Johnston to Dearborn, 31 May 1807, Letters Received by the Secretary of War, Unregistered Series, Records of the Office of the Secretary of War (M222, Roll 2, 854–55).

7. Kirk to Dearborn, 28 May 1807, M221, Roll 9, 2854–61.

8. R. David Edmunds, *The Shawnee Prophet* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 1–60, *passim*.

9. Kirk to Dearborn, 20 July 1807, M221, Roll 9, 2874–78; Wells to the secretary of war, 20 April 1808, in vol. 7 of *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, ed. Clarence E. Carter (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1934–), 555–60.

10. Joseph Vance to Benjamin Drake, n.d., Tecumseh Papers, Draper Manuscripts, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 2YY108–117; Tecumseh Papers, 3YY134–136; Simon Kenton Papers, Draper Manuscripts, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 9BB1. Also see R. David Edmunds, *Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1984), 93–94.

11. Kirk to Dearborn, 20 July 1807, M221, Roll 9, 2874–78; Kirk to Dearborn, 9 August 1807, M221, Roll 9, 2880; citizens of Ohio to the president, 25 September 1808, M221, Roll 25, 8147; Henry Brown to the secretary of war, M221, Roll 25, 8188. Also see Edmunds, *Tecumseh*, 94.

12. Kirk to Dearborn, 20 July 1807, M221, Roll 9, 2874–78; Kirk to Dearborn, 25 December, 1807, M221, Roll 9, 2888–91; Black Hoof and others to the president, spring 1808, M221, Roll 17, 5258.

13. Kirk to Dearborn, 12 April, 1808, M221, Roll 25, 8114–15; Shawnee chiefs to the president, 1 December 1808, M221, Roll 25, 8148–50.

14. Shawnee chiefs to the president, 1 December 1808, M221, Roll 25, 8148–50; Kirk to Dearborn, 10 December 1808, M221, Roll 25, 8143–44; Kirk to Dearborn, 12 February, 1809, M221, Roll 25, 8157; citizens of Ohio to the War Department, 25 September 1808, M221, Roll 25, 8147.

15. Kirk to Dearborn, 12 April 1808, M221, Roll 25, 8114–15; Kirk to Dearborn, 10 December 1808, M221, Roll 25, 8143–44; Edmunds, *The Shawnee Prophet*, 66–69.

16. “Diary of an Exploratory Journey of the Brethren Lukenback and Haven, in Company of the Indian Brother Andreas, along the St. Mary’s River, the south tributary of the Miami, which flows into Lake Erie,” 26 August–13 September 1808, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Box 157, Folder 11; citizens of Ohio to the War Department, 25 September 1808, M221, Roll 25, 8147; Francis Duchoquet to the president, 4 December 1808, M221, Roll 25, 8145.

17. Kirk to Dearborn, 9 August 1807, M221, Roll 9, 2880; Kirk to Dearborn, 25 December 1807, M221, Roll 9, 2888–91; Kirk to Dearborn, 28 January 1808, M221, Roll 9, 2897.

18. Dearborn to Kirk, 19 February 1808, Shawnee file, Great Lakes-Ohio Valley Indian Archives, Indiana University; Kirk to Dearborn, 12 April 1808, M221, Roll 25, 8115.

19. Sutherland and Brown to Kirk, 30 November 1808, M221, Roll 25, 8151–52; Kirk to Dearborn, 10 December 1808, M221, Roll 25, 8143–44.

20. Wells to Kirk, 18 June 1807, M221, Roll 9, 2878–79.

21. Wells to Harrison, June 1807, in Esarey, *Harrison Letters*, vol. 1, 218; Wells to Dearborn, 20 August 1807, in Carter, *Territorial Papers*, vol. 7, 469–71; Wells to Dearborn, M221, Roll 15, 4815–16; Douchouquet to Dearborn, 30 March 1809, M222, Roll 4, 1634; Dearborn to Kirk, 22 December 1808, Shawnee file, Great Lakes-Ohio Valley Indian Archives.

22. Kirk to Dearborn, 12 February 1809, M221, Roll 25, 8157; Henry Brown to Dearborn, 27 March 1809, M221, Roll 25, 8188; James Welch and others to Dearborn, 30 March 1809, M222, Roll 4, 1634; citizens of Champaign County, Ohio to James Madison, 12 April 1809, M221, Roll 25, 8212.

23. Chiefs and headmen of the Shawnees to the president, 10 April 1809, M221, Roll 25, 8053–54; Shawnee speech to Kirk, 14 April 1809, M221, Roll 25, 8188–90; Wyandots to Kirk, 30 April 1809, M222, Roll 4, 1632.

24. Kirk to Dearborn, 10 December 1808, M221, Roll 25, 8143–44.

25. Edmunds, *Tecumseh*, 199–201; “Work of the Ohio Yearly Meeting for the North American Indians,” Society of Friends Records, Ohio Historical Society; Harlow Lindley, “Friends and the Shawnee Indians at Wapakoneta,” *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 54 (January 1945), 33–39; Henry Harvey, *History of the Shawnee Indians from the Year 1681 to 1854, Inclusive* (Cincinnati: E. Morgan and Sons, 1851), passim.