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In one of the buildings of Fort Smith, Arkansas, at the junction of the Poteau and Arkansas rivers two men, renewing an old friendship, completed a bit of military business that opened a new pathway to the West. Major William Bradford, commander of the post was martial in his bearing, though he stood unevenly. He had been crippled by gunshot wounds at the defense of Fort Meigs eight years before. Hugh Glenn, like Bradford a native of Virginia, faced him wearing a fringed buckskin shirt, trousers, and moccasins.¹

On a table before them lay the document, a license Bradford was issuing to Glenn and his associates to trade with Indians in the country beyond this last southwestern outpost of American authority. Bradford signed it. A drop of red wax fell on the lower left corner of the sheet and took his official imprint. The date was August 5, 1821.

The expedition was not the first to cross the Southern Plains and Rocky Mountains but it was one of the earliest in opening trade between the United States and Mexico. With the simultaneous trips of William Becknell and Thomas James it is often regarded as the beginning of the Santa Fe Trail.² Accounts survive from both Becknell and James, and from others of earlier years as well, but none of them is so extensive as the journal kept by Glenn and his partner Jacob Fowler; and this journal first shows, moreover, the adventures of an entire company of “hands” and traders. The Journal of Jacob Fowler³ tells a varied story of humor and rejoicing, suspense, and tragedy. The variety has not always been apparent,
since much of the meaning of the incidents and of the authors' comments on them emerges only with a knowledge of the men who took part in the adventure. Much more is known of those men today than Elliott Coues knew in 1898 when he first published Fowler's strange manuscript, and each new piece of information brings up new questions. Coues knew nothing, for example, of the license that named the eighteen original members. The license that came to light in 1954 in the papers of George A. Glenn of Harrisonville, Missouri, reads as follows:

WILLIAM BRADFORD

Major in the United States' Army, Commander of the Military Forces of the United States on the Arkansas River

To All whom it may concern—Be it Known that Whereas Hugh Glenn has made application for a License to trade with Indians in Amity with the United States at the following Positions viz. At the Falls of the Verdigris—at the Mouth of the Red Fork—at the Thousand Islands north side—at Pikes' third Fork north side—and at the head of the Arkansas north side at or near the Mountains—Traders Hugh Glenn, Jacob Fowler, Baptiste Roy, Robert Fowler—Handy—Jacques Bono. Louis Rivar—Joseph Barbo—Absalom Holloway—Jonathan Padget—Francis Arguet—Henry Duval—Baptiste Pino—Julian Pera—Francois Quenville—Newill (Blk Man) Paul (Blk Man) Richard Walters—

And has given bond according to law for the due observance of all such regulations as now are or hereafter may be established for the government of trade and intercourse with the Indian Tribes. License for Two Years is hereby granted to the said Hugh Glenn to trade with the said Indians according to the regulations aforesaid

In Testimony whereof I have caused my private seal to be hereunto affixed Given under my hand at Fort Smith Arkansas River the 5th day of August in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred Twenty-one and of the Independence of the United States the Fortysixth.

W: Bradford, Major
United States Army Comdg.
Arkansas.
Nine of the eighteen men named in the license made the trip west, with twelve others who joined them later. They formed a remarkable group. Young and old, cautious and reckless, frontier veterans and men not used to hunting, black, American, French, Indian, and Spanish, they had little in common. Their adventures, too, were unusual. They were not simply men who rode west, caught beaver, engaged in trading, and returned to their homes. Some of them remained in the West, going in later years as far as the Pacific coast. Strange events occurred, and the actions of the men toward each other and toward those whom they encountered raise questions for which no easy answers have been found. Fear of unseen foes, the breakdown of discipline during a fight with a white bear, their several captures by Indians; hostages, embassies, and their deliverance; a confrontation with Spanish troops, the liberation of a slave and his reenslavement; magic, and mutiny were elements of more than a mere trading expedition. The significance of this trip for the men who made it and for the Indians, Mexicans, and Spaniards whom they met is elusive, but the challenge to understand makes this one of the absorbing stories of the West. Coues was able to represent only one of the men, the principal author of the *Journal*, Jacob Fowler. Some clues have since been found for understanding at least eight of them, and for two of them this information is now quite substantial, Hugh Glenn, the commander, and Jacob Fowler, his deputy. They are central to the story in a formal sense, and also—and increasingly, as the expedition moved on—as the decisive members around whom the action took place. New knowledge of their previous experiences and character, ambitions and defeats adds to an understanding of the others around them and of the episodes that Fowler laconically recorded.

Hugh Glenn was born January 7, 1788, the fifth of six sons of William and Alice (Evans) Glenn. His father was of Scotch descent. The families on both sides were among the pioneers of the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia, and in earlier generations they
had been pioneers of an older frontier in Pennsylvania. Glenn’s birthplace was a plantation near the site of Gerrardstown, at the southeastern foot of North Mountain, a few miles from Martinsburg, West Virginia. William Glenn had taken part in the Revolutionary War as a volunteer soldier and was a petitioner for religious freedom in the new state. In the spring of 1796 he sold his farm and moved with his family to a new home west of the Appalachian Mountains. He settled along Johnson’s Creek near Mayslick, Mason County, Kentucky. It was rough frontier country from which the Indians had moved less than half a dozen years before. There in the fall he died at the age of forty-seven. Most of his sons became farmers in Kentucky or Ohio. The two youngest, Hugh and James, chose a different life.

By the time he was twenty-three Hugh Glenn had left the frontier farming world and settled in the village of Cincinnati. On the evening of October 12, 1811, in the main room at the Columbian Inn the pale young man with auburn hair sat at a table near the fireplace writing by candlelight. Around him were a group of businessmen: a tall, aggressive merchant, John Hopper Piatt, a short, sharp-faced lawyer, Nicholas Longworth, and a dozen or more storekeepers and shippers who were organizing a bank. By the following spring the stockholders had chosen as cashier a swarthy, lantern-jawed bulldog, Samuel Watts Davies. In response to their petition, early in 1813 the state legislature of Ohio passed an act incorporating the Farmers’ and Mechanics’ Bank of Cincinnati. Glenn had served as secretary at the first meeting and was closely connected with the bank for almost ten years. The purpose of the new bank was to provide credit facilities for farmers and merchants whose interests reached from Philadelphia to New Orleans.

Before the bank could open for business war came with Great Britain in the summer of 1812. American commanders faced problems in getting food, wagons, horses, and other supplies from the almost unpopulated regions of the frontier. During June and July, while General William Hull rode north from Cincinnati toward
the Canadian frontier, Jacob Fowler worked at those jobs around Detroit and the Maumee Rapids, near the western end of Lake Erie, probably in the employment of John H. Piatt. First General Hull, and a few weeks later (after Hull had been captured by the enemy) General William Henry Harrison called on Piatt to provide rations for the volunteers and the regular army troops. From the latter part of August Glenn worked as Piatt’s assistant carrying supplies by packhorse north from Cincinnati to Dayton.

Detroit fell to the British, along with other northern outposts of the nation. When the enemy then advanced to threaten Fort Wayne, Indiana, Glenn took supplies to the besieged garrison, and it held out. Later in the fall General Harrison developed a plan for the recovery of Detroit along three lines of advance, and Glenn was made responsible for getting flour, biscuit, beef, and bacon north along the center line from Urbana to Fort McArthur (the site of Kenton, Ohio) and at times also to St. Marys, Fort Wayne, and Fort Defiance. His efforts brought him exceptional praise from the general.9

Early in December Glenn spent a few days in snug comfort at Urbana, where two of his older brothers had farms and a mill.10 But an American force was massacred at the Raisin River in Michigan in January 1813, and that disaster, with continuing British naval control of Lake Erie, prevented Harrison from achieving his aim. During the winter, sometimes in association with Jacob Fowler, Glenn rode from one isolated settlement to another buying horses and oxen, wagons and gear, driving teams and livestock, building sleds and boats to use on the northern rivers, guiding pack trains through swamps and woods. He did his work to the great satisfaction of his employer, deputy commissary Piatt, and of the commanding general. By spring General Harrison had strengthened his forces in northern Ohio enough to hold off a British siege at Fort Meigs.

Early in the fall of 1813 Glenn bought a small store in Cincinnati from the White brothers. He sold calicoes, bar iron, light plows, drawing chains and hoes, salt, and whiskey.11 But he had
scarcely started in business of his own when the military supply system of the Northwest showed such weakness that commissary Piatt had to go to Washington to find remedies. He appointed Glenn his agent at Cincinnati headquarters, and during much of the fall Glenn worked again to meet the needs of the army. Following Captain Perry’s victory over the enemy on Lake Erie in September American troops advanced and reoccupied Detroit. They found the remote capital of the northern territory almost without supplies. Glenn hunted for beef, pork, and flour, and forwarded them to Michigan. He also held full responsibility for managing the commissary’s office at Cincinnati. He did both jobs well. During the following winter (1813-1814) he acted as Jacob Fowler’s agent in renting a brick house and stable at Urbana, Ohio.

A year later, in August 1814, while the war continued, Glenn joined Fowler and Robert Fowler, a cousin of John H. Piatt, in the partnership of Jacob Fowler & Company to furnish rations to British prisoners of war who were taken in the next two months from Lower Sandusky to Long Point, Ontario.

In the same fall unexpected trouble among the Indians around Lake Michigan and a hastily planned raid from Detroit east toward Niagara created emergency requirements for military supplies. For a third season Glenn was called to the service of the army. In September he had to go to Detroit, and he stayed there working until November. The scarcity of cattle, hogs, flour, wagons, and gear in the western country was acute. Glenn found it difficult to persuade farmers to part with livestock. His job grew no easier after the British captured Washington and the federal government was for a while practically bankrupt. Farmers were not anxious to sell for a promise of payment that might never be made.

Political investigations followed quickly. In December Glenn was called to the state capital at Chillicothe where he was put through a long and intensive questioning by a legislative committee. The reports do not make it appear as a pleasant experience. But Glenn continued to work as a purchasing agent for Piatt until
May 31, 1815, and to work with Jacob Fowler & Company until the middle of the following August, some months after the close of the war.\textsuperscript{16}

Glenn served during three major campaigns of the war in the Northwest, and his work contributed to their success, the ultimate recovery of American control. He gained wide acquaintance among farmers, stockmen, millers, and merchants of the area, and invaluable business experience. He established a good reputation for himself among the chief businessmen and public figures of Cincinnati. It seems likely that his achievement increased whatever pleasure he found in the life of the wilderness. But the years had done little to start him on a civilian career, and had meant the postponement of family life.

On March 17, 1816, Glenn married Mary Gibson at Greensburg, Pennsylvania. His wife was a daughter of Joshua Gibson, deputy inspector for Hamilton County, Ohio, and sister of John Gibson, a merchant who with his partner Thomas Heckewelder kept a store near Glenn’s. The Gibsons were Quakers, and Mrs. Glenn was received by the Cincinnati Meeting of Friends on May 10. Five months later, on October 17, the Cincinnati Quakers decided that she had married contrary to their discipline, her husband being Presbyterian, and they expelled her from membership.\textsuperscript{17} Harsh and exclusive religious actions were not uncommon, but the experience could not have been very pleasant.

In business affairs Glenn continued to advance. On April 1, 1816, he was elected a director of the Farmers’ and Mechanics’ Bank of Cincinnati. At the age of twenty-eight he was the youngest member of the board. Most prominent of the bank officials was Colonel Samuel W. Davies, who served as cashier from March 1812 almost as long as the bank survived. Glenn moved his store from Main Street to Front, on the public landing, and in June to a place on the Lower Market. As he moved from one location to another he apparently increased his business. He added to his stock a large quantity of groceries, India, French, and Dutch textiles, and a cream-colored Wedgewood known as Queensware; and he announced that he was ready to buy pork, flour, whiskey, and
tobacco. Business conditions, which had been sluggish early in the year, improved late in the fall, and Glenn shared in the growing prosperity. He seems to have stayed on Lower Market Street more than two years.\textsuperscript{18}

In the winter of 1816-1817 the western country faced the prospect of two tremendous economic changes. One was the removal of the western military frontier hundreds of miles deeper into the wilderness, the other the creation of the Second Bank of the United States. Glenn was active in both. On January 17, 1817, he got a contract with the acting Secretary of War to supply and issue rations at certain designated western Army posts, and at others that might be established later. The new forts in the northwest, west, and southwest lay far beyond the military frontier he had been supplying under desperate pressure only three or four years earlier, and even while he was active in that work other posts were created beyond them, marking the great expansion of the United States that was taking place after the War of 1812. Three days after he signed the contract Glenn was bonded with Jacob Fowler and Thomas Davis Carneal, both Kentuckians, for $45,000 to insure fulfillment of the terms. The bond was sealed in February, and Glenn made arrangements to secure one of his bondsmen, Carneal, by mortgaging four pieces of Cincinnati real estate he had acquired, including his wife's dower rights in some of them. His work was to begin June 1, 1817, and continue until May 31, 1818.\textsuperscript{19}

The Second Bank of the United States was established by Congress on April 10, 1816, and opened for business in Philadelphia on January 7, 1817. The president and directors decided to set up a branch in Cincinnati, and on January 27 chose a board of directors for it which included Glenn among its thirteen members. On February 18 the newly chosen directors met in Cincinnati and elected Jacob Burnet, a dark, dour lawyer, as president. Glenn resigned from his position as a director of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank to accept the new appointment.\textsuperscript{20} He was the youngest member of the board.
Meanwhile he continued to keep store. During the winter and spring he bought pork, flour, whiskey, and tobacco from local farmers and millers. He sold East India textiles, hardware, and farm and garden tools. On March 11, 1817, his son Gibson William Glenn was born. To provide fresh milk for his boy he bought a small red and white cow from his brother Isaac and kept the animal at his home on Lower Market Street. He wanted to become a member of the local Masonic lodge and he was admitted on April 30. He took an interest in reading, and was acquainted with the satiric verse of Samuel Butler and the prose of Daniel Defoe. He showed an interest in the theater when the Company of Pittsburgh Comedians visited the town. But his chief concerns were the branch of the Bank of the United States, which opened for business on April 21, and his military contract with the War Department.

Glenn began to work on his army job at once. Since he would need credit to begin buying flour, pork, whiskey, dried beans, vinegar, salt, soap, and candles he began on March 11 by drawing a bill for $30,000. It was promptly accepted by the Treasury Department, and a Treasury warrant was issued to him for that amount a few days later. On March 19 he wrote to General Thomas A. Smith, commanding officer at Belle Fontaine, near St. Louis, asking for specific information about the requirements he would be expected to fill. General Smith sent detailed answers to his questions on April 26. He would be expected to provide 260,000 rations, amounting to over 300 tons, for the army posts in the western department. The government authorized an allowance of 19 cents per ration. Glenn could make a profit (or stand a loss) on the difference between that amount and what it cost him to buy, package, transport, and deliver the amounts required. The arrangement put a high premium on his energy and ability.

Glenn formed a partnership with his younger brother James and arranged to leave the Cincinnati store under his care. Late in the spring of 1817, probably about the middle of May, he left
the town and set out for the West. Toward the end of the month he reached Fort Harrison on the Wabash River near Terre Haute, Indiana. There he engaged a subcontractor, a French trader, interpreter, and messenger named Michael Brouillette, to handle the supplies he left for the commander, Major John T. Chunn. Sixty miles south he left additional supplies at the Vincennes Indian agency. Early in June he reached St. Louis, the town that would serve as the base of his western activities. He hired a keelboat, a captain, and a crew, and loaded the freight that would be needed at the forts on the northwest frontier.26

On June 8 Glenn left St. Louis on a long trip up the Mississippi. About June 25 he reached Fort Edwards, Illinois, opposite the mouth of the Des Moines River, and unloaded supplies for the garrison of eighty or ninety men. He had difficulty getting through the Lower Rapids of the Mississippi, but reached Fort Armstrong (Rock Island, Illinois) about July 10. He made another deposit, set off with more than half his original freight, worked his way through the Rock Island or Upper Rapids, and approached Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin). Just before nightfall on July 27 about twenty miles below the fort he met Major Stephen H. Long, army topographical engineer and explorer, who was traveling south in a skiff. Major Long went on board Glenn's boat for supper.27 At the end of July at Fort Crawford, Wisconsin, Glenn left the rations required for 265 men with the commander. Returning down the Mississippi he reached St. Louis probably before August 22, having completed the provisioning of three northern army posts on a round trip of almost eleven hundred miles in a good bit less time than keelboat travel usually required.

During the next few weeks Glenn supplied provisions at Fort Clark (at the site of Peoria, Illinois), at St. Louis, at Belle Fontaine, near by, and at Fort Osage, 330 miles west along the Missouri River, a few miles below the site of Kansas City. On the latter trip Glenn disposed of his remaining supplies. He might have paused to enjoy the pleasures of the post; but apparently he went back immediately to St. Louis and reached the territorial capital of
Missouri about the middle of September. On his trip up and down the Missouri he saw on both sides of the muddy river the rich lands that speculators were beginning to buy most avidly.

The great westward movement of the pioneers followed an enforced migration of whole nations of Indians farther to the west. The Osage had been settled beyond the Ozark Mountains, southwest of Missouri, and the Cherokee were being moved into an adjacent region. Reports and rumors of conflicts between the Cherokee and the Osage reached General Smith, commander of the Ninth Military Department, at his headquarters in St. Louis. He and Governor William Clark (a veteran of the expedition to the Pacific a dozen years before) decided to establish a fort along the Arkansas River near the Indians in order to maintain peace among them. Glenn was required by his contract to provide supplies for such new posts as might be established, and this new responsibility was given him in September. He bought more supplies, made necessary arrangements, and applied for a license to trade with the Osage and Cherokee, which Governor Clark issued to him on September 23.28

The new expedition consisted of seventy men under the command of Glenn's old friend Major Bradford, the gallant Virginian who had been wounded at the siege of Fort Meigs. Another friend of Glenn's, Major Long, was sent to help choose a site for the fort. Long and Glenn traveled down the Mississippi more than six hundred miles to the mouth of the Arkansas, and northwest up that river, through the Ozarks to the mouth of the Poteau. Major Long selected the site for the new post, which he named Camp Smith, early in December; and Glenn delivered his supplies.29 He returned to St. Louis again, quickly, probably by an Osage trading path through Missouri. On this trip he saw new lands that interested him. In January 1818 in St. Louis he began his own speculation in western lands.30

Another responsibility was waiting for him. The government decided to move the Indian nations out of Illinois more quickly. Kickapoo, Illinois, Potawatami, and other tribes were summoned
to conferences in Illinois and Missouri, and Glenn had to supply rations for them at the times and places Governor Ninian Edwards of Illinois and Governor William Clark of Missouri Territory were going to designate. Neither Illinois nor Missouri produced enough food to meet the demand, and Glenn went back to Ohio to get supplies.

When he returned to Cincinnati in January 1818 the town was larger and much more active than he had left it nine months earlier. His business was prospering. His brother James and his brother-in-law John Gibson, Jr., had been elected directors of the Bank of Cincinnati. Glenn himself had been reelected a director of the branch Bank of the United States. He and his brother invested in stock of the Miami Bank. He bought more supplies and took them to Fort Harrison, Indiana, where Michael Brouillette was soon issuing them to large numbers of Indians. From the beginning of May until the middle of October Indian councils and conferences met almost continuously in the prairie groves of the west, and Glenn brought rations to them.

His job kept on growing. The Secretary of War decided to send an expedition up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Yellowstone to establish an outpost at the foot of the Rockies. By the middle of May General Smith in St. Louis called on Glenn for rations to feed the men on this project. As a military contractor he was being drawn constantly farther to the west. The establishment of new and more remote lines of defense for the republic was an annual transplantation, and Glenn was making a major contribution to its success.

At the same time he was involved in a wide variety of other enterprises. He was one of a group of men who worked for the building of a canal around the Falls of the Ohio River below Louisville, Kentucky. In April and May 1818 when he was in Cincinnati he began to invest in lands in Illinois. He made arrangements with an agent to take over all the Illinois "soldiers' lands" the agent could get for him. He had, in the words of his friend Gorham A. Worth (who was cashier of the branch Bank of the
United States) “a disregard for trifles—by which [was] meant anything short of positive ruin; and a sovereign contempt for prudence and small change.”

Late in July Glenn was in St. Louis again where he had personal business to attend. He was interrupted by disturbing news from two sources. The flour he had left with his agent at Fort Osage, on the Missouri, was no longer fit for use. The conclusion of the army lieutenant was confirmed by two examiners who looked at it, and the lieutenant then bought additional flour that was paid for by General Smith. The cost ($900) was charged to Glenn’s account. Jacob Fowler brought more serious news from Fort Crawford in Wisconsin where he was Glenn’s agent. He had prepared an abstract of the rations issued during a period of two months, and had given it to the captain in command to sign. The captain had refused to sign it on the basis that conditions specified by Colonel Chambers had not been met. On July 2 the captain wrote out a statement of the circumstances and Fowler brought it to St. Louis as quickly as he could. Glenn read it and was angry. He wrote respectfully but firmly from St. Louis to the Secretary of War on July 27. Colonel Chambers had bought whiskey amounting to $2,412, and wanted to charge the cost to Glenn. The contractor protested. At the rate he was authorized to supply whiskey the report seemed to mean either that the colonel had bought 1,675 gallons for his personal use or that some fraud was afoot.

The news reached Glenn when he was in a hurry: he was on his way to Belle Point (Fort Smith) Arkansas to close his accounts there. In St. Louis or in Lawrence County, Missouri (now Randolph County, Arkansas) at some time in August he and Reuben Lewis, the Cherokee Indian agent, bought preemption rights to 250 acres in the proposed town of Davidsonville, which had a chance of becoming a new territorial capital.

Just after the middle of August Glenn was back in Cincinnati. He learned that the Cincinnati branch of the Bank of the United States was in trouble. The main office of the Bank in Philadelphia was also in trouble. The Cincinnati directors did not know
about the difficulty. Part of the problem came from an overextension of credit by the western branches; a larger part of it grew out of a series of frauds at the Baltimore branch.

To meet the emergency the directors in Philadelphia decided on July 20, 1818, to require the Cincinnati branch to collect everything due to it from the state-chartered banks at the rate of twenty per cent a month for five months. The order reached Cincinnati early in August. The directors of the three state-chartered banks in the city were alarmed. They could hardly meet the demand except by cutting off all credit to western farmers, millers, packers, and merchants. The requirement came just when credit was most essential to gather in the farm produce of Kentucky and Ohio during the late summer and fall and ship it down the river to New Orleans for sale.

Glenn was one of the first to feel the pinch and to react. He was both a bank director and a merchant. As he saw the problem, the only policy western merchants could adopt to meet the pressure was to cut imports and expand exports. Some of them cut imports by half and even two-thirds. Glenn stopped entirely. He sold his stock in the Miami Bank, and tried to convert his assets into cash as quickly as he could. By December 19 he announced that the stock of goods in his store was gone, and asked all those who had claims against him to settle. With his younger brother James Glenn and Captain Levi James he formed a partnership to build a ship to carry more produce faster and cheaper to New Orleans. They contracted with John Brooks to construct a 300-ton steamboat during the winter.

The financial crisis developed more quickly than western men were able to cope with it. On October 16, 1818, apparently in panic, the Philadelphia bank directors sent a fateful set of orders to the Cincinnati branch, accompanied by similar orders from the Treasury Department to the United States Land Office. On Tuesday evening, November 3, 1818, long after nightfall the mail stage rolled down Main Street and word reached Cincinnati. Philadelphia required that all debts from the state banks to the Bank of the United States be paid in hard money immediately.
On Wednesday men crowded around the local banks to get cash for their local bank notes. At first the bankers paid; but as they looked in their vaults they grew cautious. On Thursday they stopped. The bubble of prosperity burst.42

The following week English explorer Thomas Nuttall visited Cincinnati. He called on his friend Dr. Daniel Drake (whose sister had married Glenn’s brother Isaac) and Drake introduced him to Glenn. Nuttall wanted to make a trip into the far west, up the Arkansas, and he talked at length with Glenn about the western country. Glenn told him about Major Bradford, the commander at Fort Smith, and gave him a letter of credit on the Indian agent Reuben Lewis. Glenn was already planning to make another trip up the Arkansas the following summer. He intended to go by way of Fort Smith as far up the river as he could during the summer and fall to trade with Indians. Nuttall wanted to join him. The two men made arrangements to meet at Fort Smith, and Nuttall hoped to reach the Rockies.43

For the moment the growing economic depression forced Glenn to turn his attention to more immediate problems. Desperately in need of cash, he tried to get the War Department to complete action on his claim for unpaid balances on his contract. During the summer and fall he gathered evidence. Late in the fall or early in the winter he went to Washington with Thomas D. Carneal, who (with Fowler) had provided security for his bond. On January 18, 1819, he submitted a revised statement adding $2,736 for items deposited at Fort Crawford not previously included, and raising his claim from $39,744 to $42,480. The next day he wrote a draft on the Secretary of War for $15,000 which the secretary endorsed at once, “Accepted to be paid on the passage of the appropriation bill.” A month later, on February 18, he exchanged the draft for a Treasury warrant for the same amount. Auditors at the War Department, reviewing his claim, reduced it by deducting $2,412 for Colonel Chambers’ whiskey at Prairie du Chien, and some other items, until it was only $31,432. At the same time Glenn’s agent at Fort Osage prepared an additional certificate for his use.44

But the War Department was now caught by political pressures
to economize, and conflicting evidence began to reach Washington. The Treasury auditor rejected a voucher covering beef cattle driven to Fort Crawford. On March 25 Glenn submitted another claim based on evidence from his agents there and at St. Louis for $1,579. Four days later, after he had given additional bond, he received another Treasury warrant for $9,000. Glenn went home with $24,000 of the $42,000 he was expecting to get, and he was hopeful.

A further examination of Glenn’s accounts in Washington showed that the issue of rations to Indians at Fort Harrison, Indiana, had increased in April and May 1818 to an astonishing amount. Glenn’s claim itemized 26,195 rations. Another hand entered in pencil a total of only 17,000. On March 19 the Secretary of War wrote letters of inquiry to the Indian agent at Vincennes and to Major Chunn who had been the commander at Fort Harrison. Without waiting for replies the secretary turned over the accounts to the Treasury Department for audit, and left the capital.

On April 3 the third auditor of the Treasury submitted his report. He found that Glenn should be charged with Treasury warrants issued to him between March 11, 1817, and March 29, 1819, amounting to $106,900, and other items, making a total of $133,346, and that he was entitled to credit for issues totalling only $95,553. His reckoning put Glenn in debt to the United States for the sum of $37,792.46

Once more in Cincinnati Glenn found that his brother James and his brother-in-law John Gibson, Jr., had been reelected directors of the Bank of Cincinnati, and he himself had been reelected a director of the Cincinnati branch of the Bank of the United States. John Brooks launched his new steamboat, the *Vulcan*, on March 27, and his partners in the venture tried out the ship on short river runs. Carrying a good cargo she left Louisville on April 18 for New Orleans and reached her destination ten days later. At the great southern market the fall in prices in six months was catastrophic. Pork, which Glenn had shipped in the hope of selling
for $15 a barrel, was going at $10, and flour which he shipped to New Orleans to sell for $5 a barrel could not be sold at all.47

The situation at the branch Bank of the United States was equally discouraging. The parent board of the Bank in Philadelphia made an arrangement with the Treasury Department to receive the notes of state-chartered banks that had been accepted by the United States receiver of public money before October 1818. The paper was sent to the Cincinnati office with instructions that it should be presented to the state banks there for redemption at face value in hard cash. The state-chartered banks had, however, stopped cash payments on their notes in November. The Cincinnati directors sent word of this to Philadelphia, and asked for instructions. No instructions came. As they saw the western bank notes returned to them from Philadelphia depreciating in value day by day, the directors proposed to loan them at par on the best security they could find. They sent word of this plan to Philadelphia, and asked again for instructions. While they waited the notes continued to depreciate. Still no word came from the East. Finally, having received no veto on their proposal, they decided to put it into effect. They began to lend the bank notes as par funds. In a few months, apparently between March and October 1819, they loaned nearly the whole amount. The security on which they made the loans was land.48

The transactions are wrapped in a good bit of obscurity, and were probably obscure to the public even at that time. It seems that the lands were largely in southwestern Illinois and in Missouri, along the Missouri River, and that the business was carried out by the president of the branch board, Jacob Burnet, with the cooperation of the cashier, Gorham A. Worth, and four of the directors, merchants John H. Piatt and Thomas Sloo, Jr., lawyer William M. Worthington, and, after his return to Cincinnati, Hugh Glenn. In some way Glenn held responsibility for much of the land; in time he was held accountable. The total debt of the state-chartered banks at Cincinnati to the Bank of the United States amounted to $780,000. Glenn's share in the work may be measured by the
claims the Philadelphia Bank eventually brought against him. They amounted to a quarter of a million dollars.49

During the summer of 1819 pressures were building up against Glenn from two directions, first from cashier Samuel W. Davies of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, and second from the investigations of the War Department. Davies, trying to save his bank, had gone to Philadelphia and Washington in the winter of 1818-1819 at the same time that Glenn made his trip with Carneal. He got some help from the Treasury Department through the intervention of his congressman, General Harrison, and he returned to Cincinnati with enough backing to resume specie payments.50 But the continuing rapid and very large drain of gold and silver from the western country brought another crisis in his affairs, and he was soon asking Glenn to pay a debt of $40,000.51 Glenn promised to pay the amount to Davies' credit in the Bank of Washington, but was unable to do so, as he soon explained, because his accounts at the War Department had been suspended for want of vouchers. During the latter part of April and in May he tried to collect the evidence that the department required.

By the beginning of June Davies was suspicious of Glenn's ability to pay, and he asked the Secretary of the Treasury to make inquiry at the War Department. The Secretary made the inquiry, and sent a reply to Davies on June 24. It appeared that if the suspended items should be allowed Glenn would have a balance of about $10,000 due him. Such action could not be taken, however, until the Secretary of War returned to Washington, and he was not expected until mid July.52 Davies continued to press Glenn, and on June 30 Glenn, having got together some additional evidence to support his claim, wrote a thirty-day draft on the Secretary of War, payable to Davies, for $30,000. He gave the draft to Davies, and Davies sent it to Washington.53

Soon Colonel Davies' bank was in even deeper trouble. It had loaned $170,000 to the Johnson brothers of Kentucky to build five steamboats for the army to use on the Yellowstone Expedition. The Johnsons spent all their money without finishing a single ship. They were not able to borrow more. They could not repay the
bank; and on July 29 Davies suspended specie payment for the second time. The final blow fell on him when he got Secretary of the Treasury Crawford's letter of August 17. It told him that Glenn's draft for $30,000 on the Secretary of War had been presented at the War Department, and payment had been refused. Davies lasted as cashier of the Farmers' and Mechanics' bank less than four months longer.

Meanwhile evidence from Indiana was piling up in Washington. By August 6 the Secretary of War was convinced that "the extraordinary issues to the Indians by [Glenn's] agents at Fort Harrison" established "the fact, that fraud has been practised by Mitchell Brouillet, who it seems acted as [Glenn's] agent. . . ." It was a damaging conclusion. The Secretary of War was direct and harsh when he wrote to Glenn on that date. Investigations continued.

In spite of the adverse developments Glenn had some encouragement and some pleasure. Work on the canal he was sponsoring was actually started. The first dirt was dug with cheerful ceremonies at Jeffersonville, Indiana, on May 3. An itinerant theatrical manager, Alexander Drake, persuaded thirty or forty men to invest in a stock company to build a theater for the city. Glenn and his brother subscribed for one share, and on September 28 workmen began to excavate for the foundations. In May he enjoyed a visit from his friend Major Long, who was director of the scientific part of the Yellowstone Expedition. Dr. William Baldwin, the botanist on the expedition, was ill when the party reached Cincinnati, and he was taken to Glenn's home to rest and recover. Meanwhile Thomas Nuttall at Fort Smith was thinking about Glenn, considering himself fortunate in the prospect that Glenn would soon join him among the Osage Indians.

A committee of the Bank of the United States in Philadelphia examined reports from the Cincinnati branch during the summer and came to conclusions that would change Glenn's plans. On September 25 the Philadelphia board adopted a resolution forbidding the Cincinnati branch to issue bank notes. Three days later they adopted a report highly critical of the management of the
western office. Over the signature of the Philadelphia cashier they sent it west with the address “Abraham G. Claypoole, Cincinnati.” Claypoole was the U.S. branch bank cashier at Chillicothe, Ohio. The letter and a packet of papers were delivered in Cincinnati on October 18 to cashier Gorham A. Worth, the man they criticized. With a letter of his own Worth referred them to a standing committee of the Cincinnati office of which Glenn was chairman. The committee began to make its own investigation.

The Cincinnati bank officials supposed at first that the name “Claypoole” on the letter was a clerical blunder. But the first letter was followed by other communications from Philadelphia strongly disapproving the policies taken by Gorham Worth, Hugh Glenn, Thomas Sloo, and Jacob Burnet. The Cincinnati directors began to suspect that the change in attitude had been made on the basis of “unofficial communications” from the West. They soon came to the conclusion that Worth was going to be removed as cashier. Worth prepared a letter reviewing the work of the Cincinnati branch and sent it to Philadelphia on Sunday, November 7.

On November 8 the board of the Cincinnati branch met and appointed a special committee consisting of Glenn, Dr. Drake, and president Jacob Burnet to prepare a report within twenty-four hours. The next day, which was warm and foggy, with heavy smoke from forest fires seeping into every house and room, ten directors of the branch met for the emergency. They received the report and adopted it unanimously with a resolution expressing the strongest support for Worth; and sent the report and the resolution to Philadelphia. Nine days later Philadelphia gave its answer.

On November 18 the Philadelphia board removed Worth from his job, and sent James Houston to Cincinnati with news of their action. He reached the western city on November 25. The next day the Cincinnati board met and wrote a farewell letter to their late cashier. Glenn copied the letter and other documents in a long memorandum that he signed on every page. Houston took over as cashier pro tem on November 30. Worth gathered what papers he could, and set out on a desperate trip to Philadelphia. When he reached the eastern metropolis he began to plead his case. In Cin-
cincinnati meanwhile some of the branch bank directors were dis­traught. Glenn, Thomas Sloo, William Worthington, and James Keys were ready to resign from the board in an attempt to support Worth. Then they reconsidered, and, more calmly, by December 12 decided against that step. Worth, in Philadelphia, discovered a gigantic struggle for power going on within the Philadelphia board. He wrote asking Glenn for a letter of introduction to John Scott, the territorial delegate from Missouri. He was looking for another job.58

During the fall Glenn reopened his store in Lower Market Street as a warehouse. He bought pork to ship down river on the Vulcan and provided accommodation for merchants and millers to store flour and other produce. The shipping season could scarcely be as bad as the preceding year. But the summer drought continued into the fall. The river dropped. On January 2, 1820, it froze. Ex­ports from Cincinnati declined from 130,000 barrels of flour in 1818-1819 to less than 35,000 barrels in 1819-1820, and lard from 5,600 kegs to 1,300. The Vulcan, having returned from New Orleans in May 1819, was locked in ice.

In January 1820 the shivering city was almost isolated. The three state-chartered banks and John H. Piatt’s private bank became involved in a struggle to maintain the slight remaining value of their bank notes. The central figure in the controversy, the only notary in the city, was a man who had discretionary power in recognizing local bank paper presented before him in settlement of debts. He had his office in the Miami Bank. One day he refused to recognize the paper of Piatt’s bank for fear it would be protested. For that decision lawyer Nicholas Longworth threatened to have him ousted. Glenn still had connections with the Farmers’ and Mechanics’ Bank where Davies had by this time been replaced as cashier by Longworth. At the same time, Glenn’s brother and brother-in-law John Gibson, Jr. were both directors of another state bank, the Bank of Cincinnati. Glenn apparently tried to keep a neutral stand in the contest, but he was deeply involved. By February 10 his loyalty to his friend Heckewelder (a business partner of his brother-in-law) resulted in his estrangement from friends on
every side. Perhaps he was neutral at the wrong moments; perhaps he did not understand what was happening; he may simply have been faithful to what he believed right. 59

On February 10 James Houston was replaced as cashier pro tem of the branch Bank of the United States by Jacob Burnet, president of the local board of directors. Four days later fresh word came from Philadelphia. A new administration there took charge and resolved the conflict in the parent board. They reappointed Worth, and he resumed his duties as cashier of the branch on February 14. Houston started back to Philadelphia the next morning. They also chose a new board of directors for the Cincinnati branch, with only seven members. It was set up without Daniel Drake, Thomas Sloo, or John H. Piatt, and for the first time since it had been created, without Glenn. Glenn and his friends had lost. 60

Little is clear about the struggle, but with the reappointment of Worth and Burnet it is possible that Glenn and three associates were being made to pay a price for having carried out policies that had the approval if indeed they had not originated with the president of the board. The payment was to be a long time in making.

Further investigations of Glenn's military contract in the winter of 1819-1820 led to the conclusion that a balance stood against Glenn in the sum of $37,792.76. The decision was reached in Washington on February 9 and Glenn was notified accordingly. 61

Soon Glenn was called into city court by Hayden & Aubin, merchants and auctioneers, for recovery and $800 damages. The court decided against him on March 14. They gave a judgment for $414. Glenn was able to pay only $5. It was only one of many such proceedings against him that winter and spring. In April the Vulcan left for New Orleans. Her return upriver was repeatedly delayed. At last Captain Ruter brought the ship back to Louisville, and in June he took on a cargo of 1,000 barrels of flour, 362 barrels of whiskey, and 58 hogsheads of bacon. With that meager freight he sailed downriver on June 24. 62

The army turned its accusations from Glenn's agent, Michael Brouillette, toward Major Chunn. He was brought before a court martial at Terre Haute, near Fort Harrison, Indiana, in May. The
trial turned on the technicality that the commanding officer had been “required to certify all abstracts of rations issued to the Indians who usually resorted” to Fort Harrison. The court martial cleared him. The final action moved directly against Glenn. He was notified and asked to pay the balance allegedly due from him to the government; he “failed and refused.”

Many of the grim events of the winter and spring of 1820 were the results of Glenn’s own actions. They were beginning to force him to choose between two ways of life. He had enjoyed both the outdoor life in which he had grown up and the business world in which he had such conspicuous success, and enjoyed them together in much of his career. The combination seemed no longer possible.

Early in April the effects of economic disaster were felt in local politics. The city elections resulted in an almost total repudiation of the previously trusted public servants. Much worse, political support was divided among so many new and untried leaders that the whole community trembled with instability.

On April 15 Glenn gave his brother James a power of attorney and brought his business in the city to a close.

During May and June men huddled on dark street corners and in alleys. Mutterings, complaints, and violence followed. By July 4 the stage was set for mob action, and it came.

Glenn had already left Cincinnati. Late in July or in August he reached the end of a long journey. It was the “Verdegree House,” an Indian trading post on the Verdigris River a mile above the point where it entered the Arkansas. Sixty miles northwest of Fort Smith, Glenn was beyond the last military outpost of the United States. He lived at the post with a partner, Charles Dennis, who was an interpreter, and with a Frenchman or two and a few soldiers from the Fort Smith garrison.

During the next ten months Glenn was occupied with his work and the enjoyment of visits from Nathaniel Pryor, another trader who had a house at the mouth of the Verdigris. Pryor was a veteran scout who had been a sergeant with the Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific coast fifteen years before. Glenn was also host to
a part of Major Long’s Yellowstone Expedition in September, and to members of an Osage Indian missionary group later in the fall. During the winter he worked with James Miller, Governor of the Arkansas Territory, and with his old friend Major William Bradford in trying to avert war between the Osage and Cherokee nations. In the spring he went back to Cincinnati, planning to return afterwards to the Verdegree House.  

In Cincinnati late in the spring or early in the summer of 1821 Glenn found himself faced with a long list of executions of court orders. Decisions had been given against him in suits brought by the Bank of Cincinnati for $2,246, by the Boggses for $1,652, by John Huffman for $950 and many others.  

He had the pleasure of seeing once more his family, and two men whom he trusted. One was the bank cashier Gorham Worth. The other was Jacob Fowler.  

Early in the summer Glenn left Cincinnati and rode west again, perhaps with Gorham Worth. In June he was in St. Louis; he rode west from the Mississippi, and picked up some of the men he took with him to the Verdigris. Probably at this time he was joined by Jesse Van Bibber, a brother-in-law of Nathan Boone. On July 12, along the Osage River, he overtook the “Great Osage Mission Family” on their way to his part of the country.  

Before the end of the month he and his party reached the Union Mission on the Neosho River sixty miles north of his trading post. There he learned that a neighbor, a peaceable, industrious, and civilized Osage named Joseph Revoir (or Revar), had been killed by a war party of Cherokee. Revar’s children fled to the mission. Louis Rivar joined Glenn’s party.  

By August 5, 1821, Glenn reached Fort Smith. He called on his friend Major Bradford, got his license, and spent the next two months at Fort Smith, at his trading house near the mouth of the Verdigris, at another trading house upstream at the falls, and at the Indian village of Chief Clamore. He was waiting for Jacob Fowler.
GLENN was thirty-three years old when he started on his trip to the Rockies. His principal partner was fifty-seven or more, perhaps sixty-one. Jacob Fowler belonged to an earlier generation of pioneers. Little is known of his family. He had three brothers, Edward, Matthew, and Robert. They were probably related to the Piatt family from New Jersey, early settlers in northern Kentucky. When Fowler was a child in 1768 they moved from the Potomac Valley to the Ligonier Valley in Pennsylvania, in 1770 to the Bank Lick settlement twenty miles from Kittanning, and in 1776 to the Sewickly settlement in Westmoreland County.

By 1782 the Fowlers were living near Wheeling, West Virginia, and Jacob was a neighbor and acquaintance of the Wetzels—Martin, Lewis, Jacob, and John, "all stout, active and resolute, and much thought of throughout the country," he recalled. Long afterward he remembered the Indian attack on Van Meter's Fort on September 26. "Colonel Williamson," he said, "gave us the alarm. ‘Boys, your corn field is all alive with Indians.'" Indian attacks, real or threatened, had been the chief cause for the frequent moves his family made along the frontier. They had never threatened Glenn's family since his grandmother's day. In 1785 Fowler went on a hunting trip with Abraham Craig and Robert McCon nell a few miles west of Wheeling, along the Stillwater branch of the Muskingum in Ohio. Because Indian dangers were still very real, he remembered that outing vividly.

In 1788 the first regular settlements were made in the Northwest Territory, and the next year Fowler joined a friend, Benjamin Hulin, in a flatboat trading expedition down the Ohio River. They took whiskey, cider, and store goods obtained from Boston merchant John May from Wheeling to Marietta, Ohio, and farther downstream to Point Pleasant at the mouth of the Big Kanawha. Fowler left his partner there in the fall and went on down the river to visit his younger brother Matthew in the new settlement of Cincinnati. He and his brother hunted in Mill Creek Valley and in northern Kentucky for deer, bear, and buffalo to supply meat for the garrison at Fort Washington. They sold skins and hides to a local tanner.
Fowler returned upriver in the spring of 1790, and at Point Pleasant he saw Lewis Wetzel (whom he had known since 1782) freely ranging the town after having escaped from jail in Marietta. General Harmar was offering a reward for his apprehension. Lieutenant Kingsbury, scouting the town, met him unexpectedly. Wetzel halted firmly in his path.

"Kingsbury, a brave man himself, had too much good will to such a gallant spirit as Whetzel to attempt his injury, if he were safe to do so," (Cist’s retelling of Fowler’s recollection). “He contented himself with shouting to him, 'Get out of my sight you Indian killer!' and Lewis who was implacable only to the savages, retired slowly and watchfully.”

Fowler went back to Cincinnati in the summer of 1791. Governor Arthur St. Clair had decided on an expedition against the Indians. Fowler, knowing that the troops would be short of rations, went along to supply game. He was dressing deerskins with his brother Matthew at Fort Hamilton when the general appointed him an assistant surveyor under Captain John Stites Gano. As a scout he accompanied the army on its October advance. A few days later he learned that his brother had been killed by Indians a mile from the fort he had just left.

Fowler was present at St. Clair’s terrible defeat on November 4. He remembered more than fifty years later, “I had never fired at a man before, and while I was steadying my rifle, which shook in my hands from the momentary excitement of the scene, one of the Kentuckians in the rear fired . . . a perfect random shot. The Indians sprang to their feet and disappeared in an instant.”

Fowler was not usually so eloquent. When he was on the river with James Ferguson he poled his canoe “with great vigor.” He built a cabin at the point of the Licking and Ohio rivers (the site of Newport, Kentucky). He assisted General James Taylor, from Virginia, in surveying a road from Newport toward Lexington in 1793; he kept a tavern in 1795; he held the first meeting of the trustees of the Newport Academy in his house, September 21, 1799; he bought land; he married a young widow, Esther (de Vie)
Sanders, and brought up a family including at least two sons, Benjamin and Edward, and a daughter, Abigail.

Fowler was a quiet man living in a place Daniel Drake described as “a drowsy village set in the side of a deep wood.” His biographer Charles Cist wrote, “Like Boone, Kenton, Brady, and the rest of his compeers, he was rather taciturn of speech, and difficult to be led to speak of himself. His narrative of past events, especially those in which he bore a part, were [sic] always delivered with a scrupulosity and caution in the statement of facts, such as are not usually met with.” When he was eighty years old he could see to read without spectacles, all his teeth were perfect, he had not a gray hair in his head. His step was elastic, and he could walk down half the young dandies in the town.

With the outbreak of war in 1812 Fowler entered service again as a supplier for the army. During the next half dozen years he traveled extensively, frequently working with Hugh Glenn. In July 1812 he went as far north as Detroit. Later, in the summer of 1814 he furnished rations for British prisoners of war, and during the following winter he helped to supply the garrison at Fort Wayne, Indiana. By the summer of 1816 he established a small factory in Newport where he bought hemp and manufactured bagging for dried beans and tobacco.

As the post-war years brought about a removal of the military frontier deeper into the West Fowler furnished bond for Glenn to support his War Department contract in the spring of 1817. It is probable that he drove the “Lambert and Dixon” beef cattle through the western forests from Indiana to Fort Crawford, Wisconsin. In the summer of 1818 he served as Glenn’s agent at Prairie du Chien and made a journey from that northern outpost to St. Louis.

It was almost impossible for an energetic backwoods hunter in those days to avoid becoming a farmer, river merchant, tavern keeper, surveyor, land speculator, cattle driver, boat builder, and manufacturer. Fowler worked at all of those occupations.71

What motives led him to join Glenn on the trip in 1821 are
unrecorded. The journal of the trip itself provides the only evidence. On June 14 he left Covington, Kentucky, with his brother Robert and his Black man Paul. He may have had other men with him, but none has been identified. Some weeks later he reached Fort Smith where he stopped to visit the commander, Major Bradford. On September 6 he set out from Fort Smith for Glenn’s trading house on the Verdigris. Thus far the trip had been well arranged in advance.

In addition to Hugh Glenn, Jacob and Robert Fowler, and Paul the party included from the beginning a French interpreter, Baptiste Roy. He had been a trader on the Platte River in 1811. During the war he was living at the French settlement of Côte sans Dessein on the Missouri just below the mouth of the Osage. When a band of Indians attacked, he and another man, with several women, defended the blockhouse. Early in the skirmish the other man was mortally wounded. Roy fired on the attackers and drove off their first assault. The Indians circled around and came back with flaming torches which they threw on the roof. It caught fire and threatened to burn the fort. The women climbed to the top of the building and put out the fire while Roy held off the enemy. They renewed the torch attack again and again and each time met the same defense. When they had suffered enough casualties they rode away.

Major Long visited Côte sans Dessein in July 1819, and was not much impressed. He found that the town had a tavern, a store, a blacksmith shop, and a billiard table. Roy, according to Long, “did not seem to be greatly esteemed,” having little to recommend him but his personal courage. He joined Glenn’s expedition, and spent much time in Glenn’s company. Fowler always referred to him respectfully as Mr. Roy.72

Besides those five men the license issued by Major Bradford named thirteen others. Only one, Louis Rivar, has been identified beyond the evidence of the journal. He was probably a son of Joseph Revoir, the recently murdered Osage farmer. The victim’s children had sought refuge at the Union Mission on June 24.73
In August the weather was extremely hot. Some of the hunters quit camp and went to their homes. Others followed their example. Fowler does not name them; they seem to have included nine of the eighteen men listed in the license.

Although he had lost half his company Glenn was determined to go ahead. To replace those who left he persuaded twelve others to join the expedition. Two of them became leaders of hunting parties in the mountains, Jesse Van Bibber and Isaac Slover. Not much is known of Van Bibber. He was probably a son of Peter Van Bibber, whose daughter Olive married Nathan Boone.74 It is possible that Jesse joined in St. Louis or somewhere along the Missouri as Glenn traveled west that way in June or July. Since he was not named in the license of August 5 it seems more likely that he joined later.

Isaac Slover was a farmer and Indian trader who lived two miles above Bean and Saunders' salt works near the Illinois River. A native of Kentucky, four years older than Glenn, Slover had moved west several years earlier. In October 1819 he guided the young Reverend Epaphras Chapman from the site of the Union Mission on the Neosho north through the forest to the American settlements in Missouri. Chapman described him as "a good hunter and woodsman."75

A third recruit was Nathaniel Miguel Pryor. A son or nephew of Captain Nathaniel Pryor, ex-sergeant of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, he was born near the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville) in Kentucky between 1798 and 1805. Captain Pryor had a trading house at the mouth of the Verdigris, and the younger man no doubt lived with him or in the neighborhood.76

Brawny, broad-shouldered Baptiste Moran, a fourth recruit, was a newcomer in the western country. During the preceding year he had been ferrying displaced Indian families and their horses across the Mississippi River. He was paid for that work at St. Louis and Kaskaskia.77

Fifth was Captain George Douglas. He was at Little Rock in December 1820 when the Union Mission family, traveling northwest along the Arkansas toward the Neosho hired him. An active
young man with plenty of experience on the river, he was able to give the missionaries great help in their first difficult year.

In the spring of 1821 the Mission sent Douglas to Cincinnati for much needed supplies, pork, bacon, vinegar, flour, biscuit, shoes, mill irons, and a wagon. On his return to the West he brought his boat and cargo down the Ohio and Mississippi and up the Arkansas to the mouth of the Neosho shortly before July 12. There he found that recent rains had brought such a flood on the smaller stream that he could not go up to the Mission, and he stayed at the trading houses.

The missionaries waited for him. Soon they found wild turkey, venison, and buffalo a diet too rich and strong for their stomachs. They sent some of their brothers down the Neosho to the trading houses at the Arkansas to pack up potatoes for planting, and to bring them bacon. The brothers returned on July 15. The day was Sunday, and for violating the day they were taken to task. They defended themselves by pointing out the urgency of the Mission's need, and by describing the evil life at the trading houses. Their explanations were enough.

The next morning the missionaries discovered that a small boat they kept on the river near their house was missing. They guessed that it had been swept away by the high water, and sent out a searching party that went downstream all the way to the Arkansas. The searchers failed to find the boat, but they found Douglas waiting for the water to recede. On Saturday evening, July 21, Captain Douglas arrived at the Mission with a boatload of supplies and with information about the missing boat. It was fifteen miles farther down the river. Within another day or two he helped the missionaries recover it. Before the end of the next week he helped them also in their attempt to dig coal from a vein along the Arkansas.

Among their many problems the missionaries were greatly in need of workmen, and they looked with interest at Douglas' crew. The young boatmen came to their religious services and listened attentively. They made such a favorable impression that the missionaries hired four of them at $15 a month. Douglas himself was
probably staying at the Mission when Glenn stopped there. Glenn told him about the expedition to the mountains. He was interested in it, and joined. 78

A sixth recruit was Eli Ward, a friend of Captain Douglas, and perhaps one of his boatmen. An energetic, quick-tempered, and decisive young man with a sense of style, he was later the cause of some difficulty with the Indians.

Baptiste Peno (or Pino) was evidently an independent and trustworthy man. Peno, the two other French hunters, Jacques Bono and Joseph Barbo (who are not directly associated with each other in Fowler's account), and an American, Richard Walters were among the eighteen men named in the original license.

Nine of the men named in the license (Glenn, the Fowlers, Paul, Roy, Peno, Bono, Barbo, and Walters) and six recruits (Van Bibber, Slover, Pryor, Moran, Douglas, and Ward) brought the number to fifteen. Five more Americans of whom nothing is known at present beyond the account in the journal raised the number to twenty: Findley, Dudley Maxwell, Lewis Dawson, Taylor, and Simpson.

A twenty-first man completes the roster. He was not listed by Fowler in the opening pages of the journal, nor was he mentioned at the time Glenn overtook the party on the fifth day (September 29). His existence has been discovered through a comparison of the names and occasional numbering Fowler gives. He is known only as "Glenn's boy Baptiste," the name by which he is designated at the close of the trip in the records of the American Fur Company, and by which Fowler mentioned him in his last pages.

In May or June 1821, probably some time after Glenn reached St. Louis on his return to the Verdigris, a party of eleven men left the city on their way to Mexico. They were led by John McKnight and Thomas James. McKnight had picked up some interesting reports from Peter Baum, a member of the Chouteau-De Mun expedition of 1817, and from one of General Zebulon Pike's men who had recently been released or escaped from jail in Santa Fe and made his way back to St. Louis. Those reports encouraged him to believe that his brother Robert might be alive somewhere in
Robert McKnight had been imprisoned by Spanish authorities in 1812, and all the efforts of the government in Washington to obtain his release had failed. John McKnight wanted to go to Mexico to find his brother, and to have him freed. He proposed to Thomas James, a trader, that they go together. James, who was facing bankruptcy, agreed. He loaded a keelboat with trading goods, and laid in a quantity of powder and lead, flour, biscuit, and whiskey. They collected nine "young and daring men, eager for excitement and adventure," went down the Mississippi and up the Arkansas, and reached Little Rock. At the territorial capital James got a license to trade with the Indian tribes on the Arkansas and its tributaries; and they continued up the river to Fort Smith.

There the James-McKnight expedition stopped for a few days. Major Bradford examined their license. Bradford and his wife, James wrote in his memoirs a quarter of a century later, "treated us with the utmost kindness and hospitality, and on [our] leaving, presented us with a large supply of garden vegetables, [and] with a barrel of onions, which we were not to broach until we had killed our first buffalo, when we were enjoined to have 'a general feast in honor of old Billy Bradford.' " It was then August.

A third expedition was organized at Franklin, Missouri, by William Becknell. On June 21 Becknell advertised in the Missouri Intelligencer of Franklin for seventy men "to go westward for the purpose of trading horses and mules and catching wild animals of every description." He gathered a few men near Franklin and started west on August 4. They crossed the Missouri River at Arrow Rock (Saline County) on September 1. Continuing southwest they reached the Arkansas River on September 24, and then headed westward up the Arkansas toward the Rockies.

Glenn, who was the first of the three to leave his starting point, rode from St. Louis toward St. Charles, and then westward along the Missouri. When he came to the Osage River he turned southwest along that tributary. On July 12 he overtook the Reverend Nathaniel B. Dodge and the Great Osage Mission Family about
175 miles above the mouth of the Osage, and then continued southwest toward his rendezvous.

Sixty miles north of the Verdigris trading house Chief Clamore of the Osage and his people returned to their village from an expedition to their hunting grounds during June and July. About the time Major Fowler left Fort Smith, or a day or two earlier, Major Bradford left his headquarters to visit the Indian town. His purpose was to persuade Clamore and his Osage chiefs to remain at peace with the Cherokee.

On Wednesday, September 10, Brother Vaill rode over from the Union Mission to the Osage village. The next day Major Bradford arrived from Fort Smith. Perhaps Glenn, who had already taken part in these diplomatic negotiations a few months earlier, rode with him. When Bradford arrived Brother Vaill "thought it best not to remain." The Mission "Journal" noted that "before he left the village, some valuable goods belonging to a trader were stolen out of Clamore's lodge. The old Chief was greatly grieved at this occurrence." The journalist added, "Some of his young people are prone to this vice, and it is not in his power to restrain them."

Thomas James and John McKnight meanwhile had left Fort Smith in August, and had gone up the Arkansas past the Illinois, the Neosho, and the Verdigris to the Cimarron. Traveling by boat they went thirty miles west up that stream. The water in the Cimarron was so low, however, that they were not able to go farther. At that season there was no prospect for a rise in the river. They returned four miles downstream to the crossing of an Osage trail. From that point James sent three of his men east along the trail to the Osage village.

In five or six days the men returned with forty Osage Indians and Captain Nathaniel Pryor. James and his brother, together with John McKnight and a Spaniard named Mesa, took some trading goods and returned with Pryor and the Indians to the village where they arrived two days later. There they met Major Bradford, Glenn, and Captain Barber, an Indian trader from the mouth of the Verdigris.
James, in his recollections, wrote that he proposed to Glenn that they travel in company to the Spanish country, "but he appearing averse to the arrangement, I did not urge it upon him." Glenn had his own plans, which did not include the Spanish country.

Major Bradford explained the policy of the government to the Osage and did what he could to preserve peace. On September 15 the Indians held a war council. Chief Clamore gave their reply to Bradford. The commandant returned to Fort Smith to prepare a message to the Cherokee, and on September 21 sent them a message asking them to meet him in council.

James remained in the Osage village several days trading with the Indians. Then he returned with his companions to the Arkansas, and cached some of his flour, whiskey, and other heavy goods near the river. The next day Captain Pryor came up with a party of Osage going out on their fall hunt. James showed him where he had hidden the goods. He packed the rest on his horses; and he and McKnight and their men traveled with Pryor and the Indians up the Arkansas toward the hunting grounds. The village of Clamore was deserted.

Glenn returned briefly to the Verdigris trading house. About September 21 he rode north again, this time to the Union Mission. A little later one of his men, Findley, also rode north. On Tuesday, September 25, Major Fowler with the rest of the men left the trading house, and the trip to the Rockies was under way.
NOTES


3. The Journal of Jacob Fowler, Narrating an Adventure from Arkansas through the Indian Territory, Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico; to the Sources of Rio Grande del Norte, 1821-22, ed. by Elliott Coues (New York, 1898); reprinted (Minneapolis, 1965), and with added notes by Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle and Harry R. Stevens (Lincoln, Nebr., 1970).


14. Western Spy, 26 March 1814.

15. 31 Cong., I sess., House Reports, Doc. 325, p. 43. Liberty Hall, 14 Aug. 1815.


22. Glenn family Bible. Liberty Hall, 26 May 1817. After his father's death the son changed his name to Hugh Gibson Glenn.


30. Angus Lewis Langham to Hugh Glenn, 20 Jan. 1818, David Todd Mss, Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis, Mo.).


35. Worth, Recollections of Cincinnati, pp. 41-42.


37. Certificate of Talbot Chambers, 2 July 1818, and Hugh Glenn to Secretary of War, 27 July 1818, ibid.

38. Hugh Glenn to Secretary of War, 27 July 1818 (see note 37). Commissioners' bond and certificate of acknowledgment, 28 Aug. 1818, George A. Glenn Mss.


41. *Liberty Hall*, 30 March 1819.


54. Ibid., p. 632: James Houston to Langdon Cheves, 30 Nov. 1819, Cincinnati Office, Bank of the United States, Correspondence Book 1819-20, Timothy Kirby Ms. Liberty Hall, 30 July 1819.
60. Liberty Hall, 25 Feb. 1820.
62. Cincinnati City Court Docket, 3 May 1819-Dec. 1821, pp. 72a; 163a (ms) and Cincinnati City Court Executions returnable to November term, 1828 (ms), Cincinnati Historical Society. Louisiana Gazette (New Orleans), 18 May, 26 June 1820.
64. Liberty Hall, 28 June, 6 Sept. 1820.


69. License granted by William Bradford to Hugh Glenn, Aug. 5, 1821, George A. Glenn Mss.


80. James, Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans, pp. 105-06.
