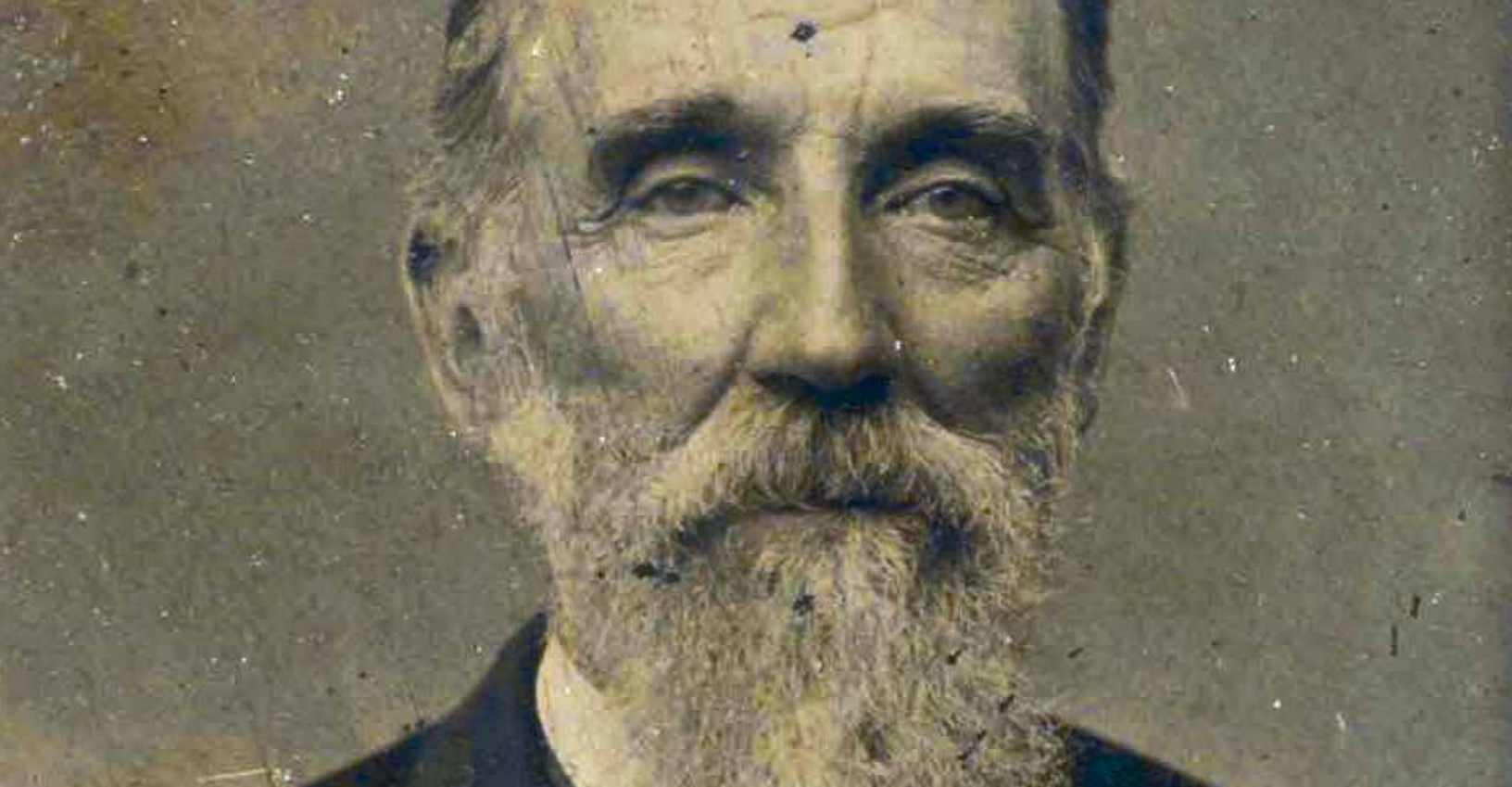


Over the Santa Fe Trail to Mexico: The Diaries and Autobiography of Dr. Rowland Willard, 1825-1828

BY JOY POOLE

informed that my efforts were
at all together safe at his house
having stood in the pillory
the crime of stealing left
house the next day which
almost considered an insult
by Spaniards, Commenced
sailing Sunday 3^d July.
to Pablo Lucero at 12 P.M.
at which place I put
to rest, say it being the main
the best house in town.
a 2 balls for med. set and
and ay 3^d. Appart to be but
the regard to religious here
they have a small church of
incredible magnitude. I
went service to day. The
vict employed most of
company in being business for
company. Several Lang-
angos in afternoon & evening

Manners extremely rude
in coat - ladies tawny and
of beauty or modesty. Some
giving Dr. Camel - medicine
Monday 4th. This is an the
sary ever bear to an and
Am determined to commence
it in some way - perhaps
the company to go through
giving evolutions, I also
a play on which I placed
resemblance of the American
Eagle to show to the
our national spirit and
Several Langungos at
New giving but many citizens
midst the street scene of
gambatory evolutions were
a procession. Citizens & Am
not joined with music at
head and marched to ev
part of the town with lo
reclamation of Viva La Repu



Rowland Willard. 1794–1884

(Image: Rowland and Elizabeth S. Willard Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University)

In 1825, Dr. Rowland Willard—a carpenter by trade and physician almost by accident—arrived in Chihuahua, Mexico, after making the long journey from St. Charles, Missouri. The first American doctor ever to work in the new nation, his timing was fortuitous. A measles outbreak was under way, and the young doctor set to work to address the epidemic. Within two months, Mexico’s legislative body had granted him a license to practice, and Dr. Willard began treating all sorts of patients with all sorts of problems—gaining experience, earning the confidence of the people, and building a flourishing practice. He averaged about twenty patients per day and garnered enough respect to be offered the directorship of the local hospital, an offer he declined due to the demands of his private practice.

Unfortunately, despite his success, less than three years later the Mexican government decided to expel the country’s non-Mexican citizens. After deliberating his situation, Dr. Willard packed his tools, collected on his accounts, and prepared to make his way back to the United States. He traveled to the Texas coast and across the gulf to New

Orleans, where he booked passage on the Mississippi River steamboat *Cortland* to Missouri. He stated that he smuggled \$2,400 but deposited \$7,000 in the Bank of New Orleans—equivalent to \$170,000 in 2016.

Dr. Willard’s curious Mexican adventure might have been lost to history, had it not been for the pocket-sized travel journal he faithfully carried with him during his travels. In retirement, he used that journal and his other notes and diaries to compose an autobiography. Published as *Over the Santa Fe Trail to Mexico: The Diaries and Autobiography of Dr. Rowland Willard, 1825–1828*, Dr. Willard’s writings reveal more of his international adventures while providing us with a window to the times stimulates the imagination and brings us face-to-face with the rough realities of frontier living.

Dr. Willard’s story begins in Fort Ann, New York, where he was born on August 4, 1794. After becoming a skilled carpenter, in 1817, at the age of 23, he joined a group of friends who formed an exploration company to travel down the Allegheny and Ohio rivers. Most of the men left the company, staying behind in any one of the river communities

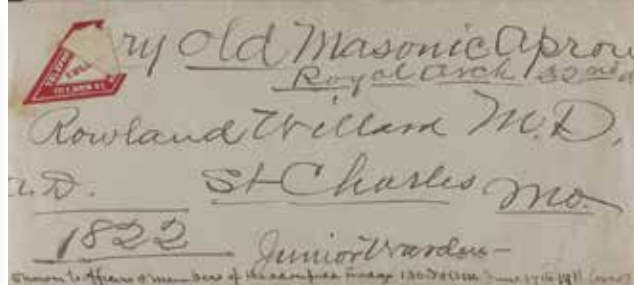
Left—Facsimile of Rowland Willard’s Diary. (Image: Rowland and Elizabeth S. Willard Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University)



Masonic Apron of Willard obtained in St. Charles, Missouri in 1822. Willard was a member of the Hiram #3 Lodge and served as a Junior Warden. The apron has the royal arch and keystone symbols. The first step in York rite free masonry is through the royal arch. The keystone is symbolic of Hiram the builder. From his autobiography Willard states, "I became a candidate & passed to the 3d degree, & was soon elected to the 3d office in the lodge which I had during my stay there. This station served greatly to introduce me to the notice of men of distinction. & especially during the session of the [Missouri] Legislature in the place which occurred during the last winter of my stay there. The lodge had the honor to initiate pass & raise, quite a number of the legislative members during that winter & most of the work devolved on me." (Images: Rowland Willard – Elizabeth S. Willard Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University)

along the way. Willard and two other men, however, navigated the rivers to St. Louis. There, he learned about two brothers, both physicians, who were looking for a carpenter to build them a house in St. Charles. Willard and his partner, a Mr. Postal, traveled on to St. Charles and met with Drs. Seth and Jeremiah Millington. Upon agreement, Willard and Postal sent for their tools in St. Louis. They

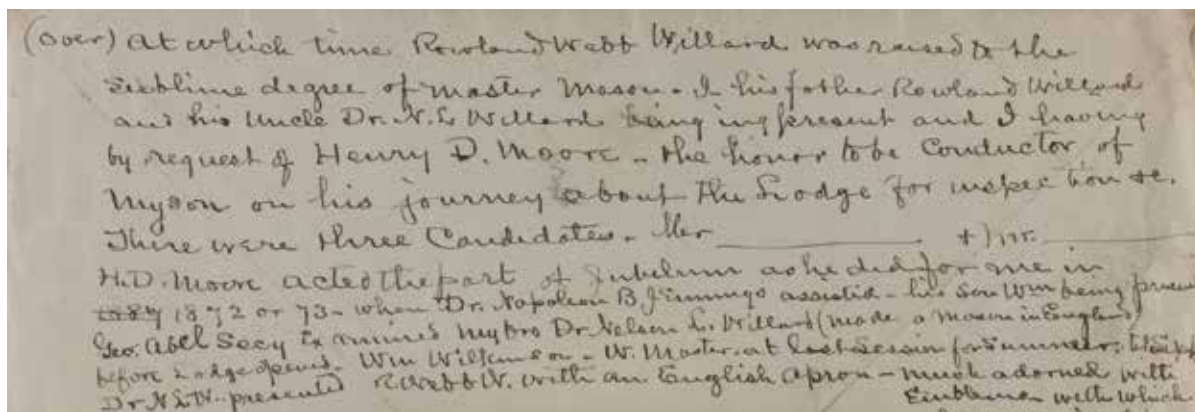
Rowland Willard, a carpenter, was a member of the Hiram No. 3 Lodge. He served as a junior warden in St. Charles, Missouri in 1822. The apron features a royal arch and keystone, both symbols of York Rite Freemasonry. (Image: Courtesy of the Author)



built a two-story house. During the next five years in Missouri, Willard continued to make a living as a carpenter.

Willard was active in St. Charles community events. He was a member of the Harmonic Society, a local band; the Presbyterian church; and the Hiram #3 Masonic Lodge. The lingering recession from the panic of 1819 brought his business to a standstill, causing him to rent his Main Street house for \$300 a month. In 1822, Dr. Millington, considered the principal physician, recognized Willard's dilemma and his potential talents. He invited Willard to serve as his medical apprentice, clerk in his apothecary, and live in its upstairs residence. Willard accepted the offer and began to study Millington's medical textbooks in his library and assisting him during medical appointments. He learned to mix drugs and potions. When a post office was established in the apothecary, Willard became the deputy postmaster. The apothecary and post office were located one block from the state capitol and served as a center for community gatherings. Politicians, traders, farmers, and residents collected their mail, lingering to gossip and exchange the news of the day. Willard undoubtedly engaged in conversations and heard that the burgeoning Santa Fe Trade with Mexico was proving lucrative not only to individuals in Missouri but to the nation as a whole. He may have also attended one of the organizational meetings in a tavern where men interested in joining the Santa Fe trade expedition could learn the requirements for the annual spring caravan.

By the spring of 1825, Willard had finished his





Dr. Millington's apothecary, post office, and upstairs residence on Main Street in St. Charles, MO. Construction was most likely started by Rowland Willard and Mr. Postal, both carpenters, upon their arrival in 1817. (Image: Courtesy of the Author)

medical studies. After eight years in St. Charles, he was ready for another expedition. Suffering from occasional episodes of fever (probably malaria), he decided to leave Missouri's unhealthy climate and depressed economy and go on a wilderness adventure to Mexico. William Pettus, a personal friend and Missouri's secretary of state, asked Governor McNair to provide Willard with a "recommendation letter, couched in form of Passport, bearing the impress of the great seal of the state." This laissez-passer "was of incalculable advantage" to him afterwards as he traveled and presented it to government officials. In preparation for the expedition, Willard ordered a portable pine chest with drawers to carry his medicines and made arrangements for a pistol to be manufactured. Soon, he threw his saddle over his horse and headed west to Fort Osage, the rendezvous site for the 1825 spring caravan. He left with a group of 33 packers for Mexico, in search of improved health, adventure, and financial fortune. Upon their arrival in the Taos valley, the word of an American physician quickly spread through the Hispanic villages. After the fall caravan of Missouri traders left New Mexico, he realized his goals for a lucrative



Willard's route from Missouri through Indian Territory to New Mexico, May 6–July 2, 1825. (Image: Santa Fe Trail Association)

practice in Taos were unrealistic and decided to travel further south into Mexico.

After his return to America following his medical service in Mexico, he lived for a time in Cincinnati, where he met and married Elizabeth Borland. Some of the Spanish expatriates also settled temporarily in Cincinnati. There, Dr. Willard reciprocated the kindness extended to him in Mexico by assisting them as a translator and advising his friends on their business and legal affairs in the United States. In 1834, Timothy Flint included an essay from an interview with Dr. Willard in the fur trade book classic *Personal Narrative of James O Pattie*. Willard gained some notoriety in his community from those who read about his adventures in Mexico. He and Elizabeth relocated to Indiana, where they raised three sons, all highly educated. Forty years later, Dr. Willard retired from his practice and various land and business speculations and moved to Haddonfield, New Jersey.

He passed away in Haddonfield on March 10, 1884, at the age of eighty-nine. Following is an excerpt from his diary and autobiography, capturing one young doctor on the eve of his unbelievable adventures adrift in a new land, among unfamiliar people, amid unimaginable conditions.

Excerpt from the first diary: May 6, 1825–January 20, 1827

Left St. Charles [Friday] May 6 1825 at 3 Ock P.M. rode 9 miles Put up with Judg Farnsworth¹ Took a cold cut in the morning and rode to Pond Fort² & dined. Put up at Prices³ having traveled 42 miles
Sunday [8] Travelled From Prices to Col. Warners⁴ next day, 28 miles Mare took lame day before consequent to tying hobbles to tight Heavy Shower at 3 reached Warners at dark.



When Willard left St. Charles for the Santa Fe Trail, it was just a hamlet hugging the Missouri River.

Monday [9] leave after breakfast Several Showers this day Swapt My Dory gave 5.00\$ to boot. passed Columbia⁵ 4 miles put up at Mr. Atkins⁶ 28 miles from Warners fared hard but well treated Started next morning early in the rain forded the Persia⁷ and breakfasted with Judge

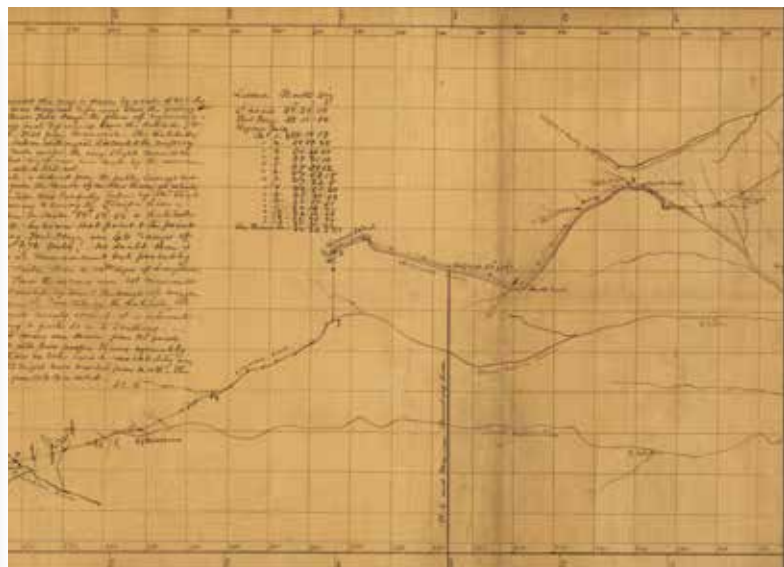
Lyntz⁸, fared sumptuously Reached Franklin⁹ at sunset after Swimming 3 creeks and riding in alternate shower all day, dis 28 miles was overtaken by Marble¹⁰ and Knight¹¹ next morning bound for St. Fe. Procured several necessaries 10 lbs crackers 5lb Beef canteens & ca¹² Left Franklin at 2 P.M. traveled 13 miles & put up at Reses¹³ 1 mile from the Ferry.¹⁴

Thursday [12] Breakfasted at Mr. Smiths. Put up at Davises¹⁵ where we turned our horses out to grass. rode 30 miles.

Friday [13] Breakfasted at Mr. Estes¹⁶ from N. York well treated reached Lexington¹⁷ at dusk. rained most of the day. rode 30 miles _very muddy. People treated us with considerable attention Staid next day for Marble & Knight to purchase their goods & lay in such articles as was necessary for this tour 15 lb. bacon Tea, Shugar & c.

Left Lexington Sunday 15th and overtook the company at Sunset Some rain this day. Traveled 22 miles. Company in good spirits and consisting of about 90 men & 30 odd waggons, 33 men agree to start next day with pack horses and not wait for the waggons.¹⁸

Monday 16th Morning fine encamped last night under tent for the 1st time in my life Took leave of the company¹⁹ and proceeded 10 miles to the blue Springs the place of rendezvous.²⁰ Some rain. Elected



George Sibley drew this map of his route travelling the Santa Fe Trail in 1825-27. Sibley was part of the Santa Fe Trail Commission, created by Congress to map and survey the trail, and to sign treaties with the tribes whose land the Trail crossed. (Image: Lindenwood University)

a Captain²¹ & Lieutenant²² R. W. Morris²³ the former & J. Fultcher²⁴ the latter, found a plenty of venison at this place killed by some of the company.

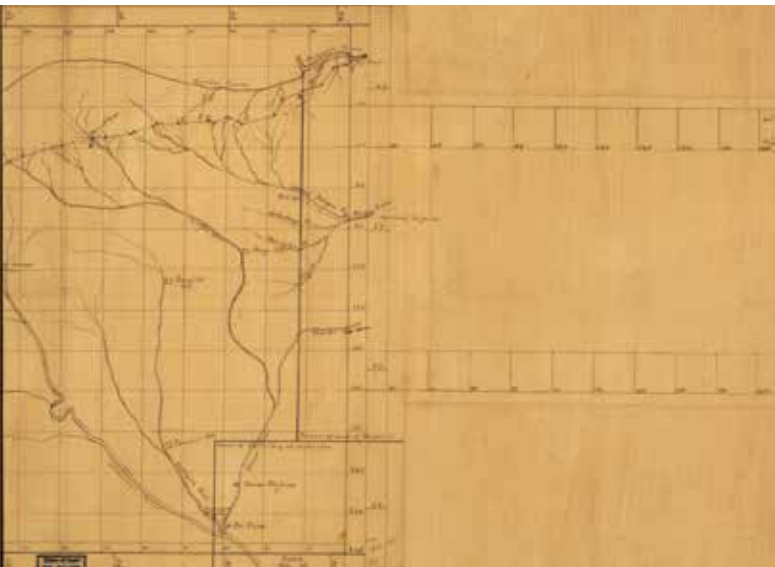
Autobiography

Early in the spring of 1825 it was reported that quite a company of traders were fitting out for New Mexico, & were to start as soon as the spring should open. I was now tiptoe for adventure, & from what I could ascertain of the country & climate (of Mexico), I suddenly made up my mind to be one of the company.²⁵ The intermittent fever would throw me down every few days but I nevertheless persevered in making myself ready for the expedition. I ordered two portable trunks or cases of drawers, made exceedingly light of pine, and covered with buckskin. These could be thrown open so as to form a neat display of lay billed [labeled] drawers denoting the medicines within & which I found exceedingly convenient where ever I stoped.

I purchased two good horses, saddle & Bridle with other things necessary for a long wilderness trip or journey.

The friends were very kind in rendering me any assistance in their power & were the more officious as the company had passed through town some twelve days before.

We could still hear of them however as lingering in the upper settlements, that the grass might be



to come

sufficient to subsist our animals.

I had a good rifle, & having ordered a brace of rifle pistols was detained for the completion.²⁶ All things were at length in readiness, & I set off in company with a young man by the name of Albert Boon[e]²⁷ (a grandson of the celebrated Daniel Boone) he wishing to visit his Bro in law some four days travel on my way. My friends honored me with salutations of parting, & kindly invoked a protecting providence to accompany my process, considering it as they did, an adventure of some moment at that time.

I left St. Charles on 6th of May 1825 setting my face toward a foreign land, determined to overcome any obstacles that might impose themselves in my way, confident that with ordinary good fortune, I would make it pay something. After leaving Colonel Warners & my companion Boon, pressed forward in order to overtake my company before they should leave the settlements. The season was quite rainy, & the creeks & rivers high & some were passed with difficulty. I remember that when coming to the Sharriton,²⁸ I found it swimming. To swim my horses with their loads, would subject myself, clothes & medicines to injury at least if not to ruin, & I was at first at a loss how to surmount the obstacle. But having purchased a coil of small rope fearing I might need for something made it available this occasion. I saw that night was at my heels & the wilderness seemed unbroken & hence expedition alone could relieve me from present dilemma. I took my rope & tied one to my riding horses bridle & thru uncoiling my rope slung it a cross the stream, lodging the

end upon the other bank, and stripping my horses of everything carried it over on my back a cross a tree which spanned the river, & when all was over, caught the end of my rope & pulled my horse into the stream the other followed swimming over to my embrace I soon had them saddled & on my way. I got to Franklin after dark having rode through alternate showers all day.

Put up with Captain Means with who I was some acquainted but more particularly with his daughter Eliza²⁹ who had spent the previous winter at St. Charles & with whom I had passed several convivial evenings.

Finding me on my way to Mexico, they proposed assisting me to my outfit. The Negroes were set to baking crackers for my journey which took them nearly all night.

In the morning early Mr. Marble & Mr. [Mc] Knight arrived they having chased me all the way from St. Charles. They were also destined for Mexico & needed the same outfit as myself & hence the poor Negroes had no respite, but forced to continue their cracker trade.

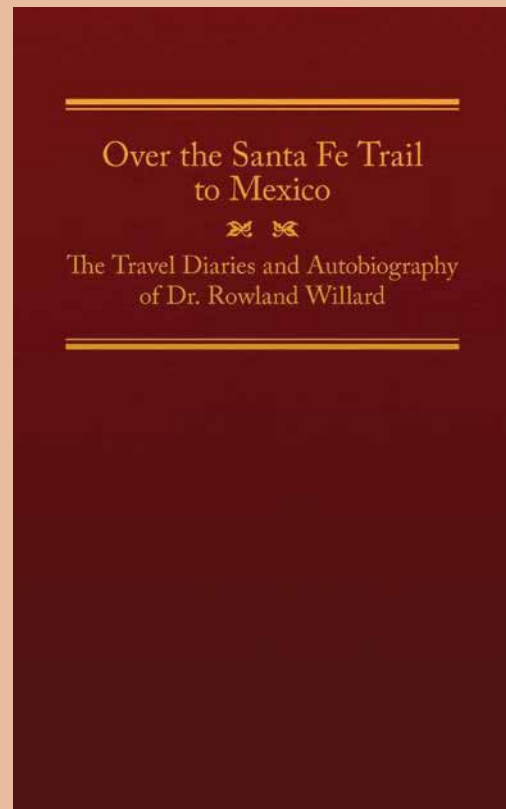
At this place I met with an old acquaintance by the name of Storrs a grocer. He professed to know what all we wanted. I told him to procure everything necessary, which he did with great clarraty. He went to the trimmers, & ordered for us six canteens for water, a pair of hobbles for each horse, Tea, Sugar, salt & etc. etc. etc.

The 2d batch of crackers having been baked, & everything in readiness, we were on our way, much relieved of my former loneliness. We arrived at Lexington³⁰ on the eve of the 13th where we tarried for one day for Marble & [McK]night to lay in their goods. The next day we left the settlement & struck out into the wilderness & travelled 30 miles where we overtook the main company.³¹ Here I spread my tent for the 1st time.

The next morning was pleasant, & everything looked novel & interesting. Among the company I found several with whom I had been partially acquainted, & who greeted me with hearty welcome. After breakfast, the packers concluded that it would be expedient to separate ourselves from the main company & go forward believing we could out travel the wagons.

We accordingly took our leave & proceeded to the Blue Springs³² some ten miles distant, and then halted to organize our company by choosing R. M. Morris for our Captain & J. Fultcher, as Lieutenant also Sargeants of the guards. At the Blue Springs we found in waiting 4 men whose names were Stone³³, Glass³⁴, March³⁵ & Andrews³⁶, who desired to accompany us for the purpose of hunting & trapping on the head water of the Rio [Bravo] del Norte.

When we came up to them, they presented us with plenty of venison which they had killed, while laying there awaiting our arrival. It appeared that they had started with each a mule & an outfit of traps but in crossing a bad stream, lost three of their mules & many of their traps. And having but one mule left their remaining traps & baggage proved a load for it, & they obliged to walk. These men had been several trips among the mountains for Beaver. But it mattered little whether they got much or little, for when arriving to the settlement, would debauch until all was spent, & then off again, at least such I was told was the case with Stone, & Glass, the former a middle aged man, but Glass was quite advanced in life probably 75. He was by birth a Highland Scotch man, & still retained the kilts & cap of his native country. In his selection of Messrs, seemed rather inclined to fraternise with Mr. Rennisons mess, & the one I belonged to & hence his game, which he killed almost daily was mostly brought to our messes he being considered our hunter. On one occasion he went out just prior to coming to the Buffalo, & chanced to meet with an Indian horse, which he found had been ridden. He managed to make a bridle of bark, and succeeded in catching him, & who should come riding up at night but father Glass delighted with his game.



For a complete account see *Over the Santa Fe Trail to Mexico: The Diaries and Autobiography of Dr. Rowland Willard, 1825–1828*. 279 pp., \$29.95 hardcover

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ Judge Biel Farnsworth (1772–1847) was one of the original county judges of St. Charles County, Missouri, when Missouri was established as a state in 1821. St. Charles County was administered by a panel of three judges. As a county judge, he would have been responsible for decisions regarding such issues as taxes, road work, law enforcement, and schools. Judge Farnsworth had property nine miles west of St. Charles in Dardenne Township, on or near the Boone’s Lick Road near present-day Cottleville, Missouri.
- ² Pond Fort was one in a series of private forts built as a line of defense during the Indian Wars of 1812. Pond Fort was built by a company of Missouri Rangers under the command of Captain James Callaway. John R. Bell, a member of the Long Expedition, wrote, “It was constructed of log & a square, whose sides are about 200 feet, having block houses at each of the angles, with the interior, and joining to the sides are erected cabins for the accommodation of families, when they resort to the fort for safety. It was named Pond Fort because of a large pond 200 hundred yards north of the fort.” John R. Bell, “The Journal of Captain John R. Bell: The official journalist of the Stephen H. Long Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, 1820,” edited by Harlan Fuller and Leroy R. Hafen, Vol. 6 of *The Far West and the Rockies* (Glendale, Calif.: A.H. Clark, Co., 1854–1861), 64.
- ³ Lemuel Price of North Carolina came to Missouri in 1814 and lived in a fort for a year. In 1815, he and others erected a cabin on the Boone’s Lick Road near Camp Branch, in Warren County, Missouri. George Sibley, in June of 1825, rested for a while at Price’s cabin. Sibley notes that the Loutre Prairie beyond Price’s cabin was infested with flies, and they waited until sunset before continuing on their journey across the prairie. William Smith Bryan and Robert Rose, *A History of the Pioneer Families of Missouri* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Co. 1876), 222. Kate Gregg, *The road to Santa Fe: the journal and diaries of George Champlin Sibley and others pertaining to the surveying and marking of a road from the Missouri frontier to the settlements of New Mexico, 1825–1827* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952), 50.
- ⁴ Wyncoop Warner was sheriff of Callaway County from 1820–1826. He opened a tavern west of Williamsburg on a variant route of the Boonslick Road, often referred to in Callaway County court records as the Columbia Road. By December of 1825, he was granted a patent as assignee of Nathan Boone for eighty acres about seven to eight miles west of present-day Williamsburg, Missouri. “Sheriff’s Office,” Callaway County, accessed June 7, 2014, from <http://www.callawaysheriff.org/content.php?cid=66>. “General Land Office Records,” U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, accessed June 7, 2014, <http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=0103-416&docClass=CV&sid=m3qk351b.zyn#patentDetailsTabIndex=1>.
- ⁵ Willard traveled the Boone’s Lick Road that was used after 1816 and went from St. Charles to Franklin, Missouri. Many of the settlers going west to the Boone’s Lick area used this road. Columbia, the present seat at Boone County, was begun in 1819 by a group of settlers as Smithton. It soon was moved a bit east in 1822 and renamed Columbia. The original Boone’s Lick Road went north of present day Columbia. By 1822, travelers headed southwest from Williamsburg along a longer route directly through Columbia since the growing community offered amenities. Hal Jackson, *Boone’s Lick Road: A Brief History and Guide to a Missouri Treasure* (Woodston, Kans.: Trails Press, 2012), 36–37.
- ⁶ Roland Adkins of Boone County obtained a patent on October 1, 1825, for eighty acres. His property was located where the Columbia Road crossed Perche Creek about four miles west of Columbia, Missouri. “General Land Office Records,” U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, accessed June 7, 2014, http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=MO0440_.076&docClass=STA&sid=hxsduqed.jyc#patentDetailsTabIndex=1.
- ⁷ Persia, the creek that Dr. Willard forded, is now Perche Creek. Roche á Pierce is a corruption of a phrase meaning “pierced rock,” which has been restored in the present name of the stream (Roche Percée). Persia was described as being on the main road leading from Franklin to St. Charles, about twenty-eight miles from Franklin close to Roche Perche creek. Rueben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Trails, 1748–1846, Vol. XIV* (New York: AMS Press, Inc. 1966), 147. Walter Williams, *A History of Northeast Missouri, Vol. I* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co. 1913), 234.
- ⁸ “William Lientz (1775–1849) was born in Germantown, Pennsylvania. He and his wife, Mary Miller Ney Lientz, came to Missouri from Kentucky and by 1819 had homesteaded four miles northeast of present-day Rocheport. Lientz served as the foreman of the Boone Circuit Court grand jury of August 1821 and postmaster from 1828–1832. His home served as the post office before it was moved to Rocheport, in Boone County, Missouri.” *Missouri Intelligencer* dated January 1, 1825. “William Lientz,” Findagrave.Inc. accessed May 6, 2014, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=38391467>
- ⁹ The original starting point of the Santa Fe Trail was Franklin, Missouri. Platted in 1816 on a low floodplain on the north bank of the Missouri River; it was named in honor of Benjamin Franklin. The town was the center of what was called the Boonslick Country, which stretched over several counties along the Missouri River. In 1821, the year that Missouri became a state, Franklin became the outfitting point for the Santa Fe Trail. In that year William Becknell departed for New Mexico. A flood in

1828 substantially damaged the principal commercial district area of Franklin. Consequently, businesses and many residents began moving to higher ground two miles away in what became New Franklin. Marc Simmons and Hal Jackson, *Following the Santa Fe Trail: A Guide for Modern Travelers* (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 2001), 21–22.

¹⁰ On July 8, 1825, Joaquin R. Marble went to the Custom House in Santa Fe and presented a factura [invoice] dated May 14 from merchandise he obtained in Lexington. David J. Weber, *The Extranjeros: Selected Documents from the Mexican Side of the Santa Fe Trail 1825–1828* (Santa Fe: Stagecoach Press, 1967), 17.

¹¹ Robert McKnight (ca. 1789–1846), who was born in Virginia, was an experienced Santa Fe Trail trader. He joined his brother, John, and Thomas Brady at St. Louis in 1809 in a mercantile adventure. Attracted by Zebulon Pike’s published account, McKnight and nine others, including James Baird and Samuel Chambers, left for Santa Fe in May 1812. Despite their attempt to open trade with New Mexico, once they arrived in Taos, their \$10,000 worth of goods was confiscated, and they were arrested as spies. They were taken first to Santa Fe and then Chihuahua. Their goods were sold. They were assigned to families in Mexico and worked as indentured servants during their confinements in Chihuahua and Durango. A decree freeing the McKnight-Baird party arrived in September of 1820. McKnight’s brother, John, went to Durango in 1821 and returned with his brother Robert in 1822. Robert, upon his return to New Mexico, renounced his nationality, became a Mexican citizen, and married in Chihuahua. In May of 1825, Robert McKnight traveled west with the packers on the 1825 spring caravan from Missouri. McKnight—along with Elisha Stanley, Ira Emmons, and men named Thompson and Shackelford—drew up the company’s code of laws for traveling west. In 1828 he gained possession of the Santa Rita copper mine near present-day Silver City, New Mexico, where he made a fortune until frequent attacks by the Apache forced him to abandon the mining operation. Gregg, *Commerce*, 5–7, 12, 56, and Barry, *Beginning*, 119.

¹² & ca or & c is the equivalent of Etcetera.

¹³ George Sibley states in his journal on Tuesday, July 5, 1825; “We crossed the Missouri at the Arrow Rock, and went onto Reece’s and Halted.... It is 12 miles from Franklin to Reece’s.” Lewis Rees entered on his quarter section in Miami bottom on June 10, 1819, and with others petitioned for the first road in Saline County, that leading from Arrow Rock to Grand Pass. Gregg, *Road*, 52, 249–50.

¹⁴ The Arrow Rock Ferry, located at the narrowest point on the Missouri River a bit upstream from the present-day town of Arrow Rock, was owned in 1825 by Judge David Todd of Franklin (Todd’s Landing). In 1820, when the Long Expedition used the ferry, John R. Bell described it as “two canoes, arranged parallel to each other; on these was constructed a platform and a railing which was a flooring for our horses & prevented them

from going overboard.” George Sibley arranged for the team surveying the Road to Santa Fe to rendezvous on Tuesday, July 4, 1825, at the Arrow Rock Ferry site. Rich Lawson, “Arrow Rock Ferry Now on the National Register of Historic Places,” *Wagon Tracks* 27 (2013): 20–21. Maxine Benson, *From Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains: Major Stephen Long’s Expedition, 1819–1820* (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum, Inc. 1998), 74.

¹⁵ George Davis from Ross County, Ohio, settled in the Petite Osage Bottom of Saline County in 1816, a little north of the present-day town of Malta Bend. He is said to have planted the first orchard in Grand Pass Township, if not in the county. Missouri Historical Company, *History of Saline County Missouri* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Co., 1883), 166–67, 187, 422, 433. Grand Pass, Missouri, is about thirty miles west of Arrow Rock, which coincides with the distance Dr. Willard records in his diary. George and his son Charles helped organize the Grand Pass Township of Saline County. Charles married in 1822 and returned by boat to the ferry near present-day Arrow Rock and then overland to Grand Pass township with his bride, Sallie Kennedy Davis of Chillicothe, Ohio. “Message Boards - Bodkin” Ancestry.com. accessed October 20, 2009, <http://www.boards.ancestry.com.uk/surnames.bodkin/139/mb.ashx>.

¹⁶ This might have been the same William Estes who voted while residing in Miami Township during the first election of Cooper County when it was organized in August of 1819. One hundred thirty-eight men voted to elect a delegate to Congress from the territory of Missouri. National Historical Company, *History of Howard and Cooper Counties, Missouri: written and compiled from the most authentic and official and private source, including a history of its townships, towns and villages: together with a condensed history of Missouri, a reliable and detailed history of Howard and Cooper counties - - it pioneer record, resources, biographical sketches of prominent citizens, general and local statistics of great value, incidents and reminiscence* (St. Louis: National Historical Company, 1883), 736–37.

¹⁷ Lexington was platted in 1822. The first significant business was the store and warehouse built by John Aull in 1822. His brothers, Robert and James, followed him in 1825. By 1830 the Aull brothers’ stores were selling a wide variety of merchandise to Santa Fe Traders. In 1820, they sold between \$8,000 and \$10,000 worth of goods to the caravans at 25 percent over Philadelphia prices with no interest for six months and then 10 percent interest until paid. Roger Slusher, “Lexington and the Santa Fe Trail,” *Wagon Tracks* 5 (1991): 6–9.

¹⁸ On this date Dr. Willard arrived at Fort Osage approximately twenty-one miles from Lexington, Missouri. For a brief period Fort Osage was the westernmost outpost in Missouri. “Fort Osage National Historic Landmark,” Save America History, accessed April 19, 2014, <http://www.fortosagenhs.com/>, and Simmons, *Following the Santa Fe Trail*, 43–44.

¹⁹ The *Missouri Intelligencer* newspaper published the following account on June 4, 1825, under Santa Fe Adventurers. “We received, the last Western Mail, the following letter, written by one of the Gentlemen composing the company which left this place a few weeks since, on a trading expedition to Santa Fe, in New Mexico.

‘*Camp near Fort Osage, May 16, 1825*

Dear Sir-

We arrived here last evening after a pleasant journey to every respect. Except the rains.- We have been detained several days by different circumstances, mostly by the loss of some horses which we recovered by the badness of the roads, and by the necessity of, building bridges over the mire on each bank of the Big Suiabar [Sniabar]. This being the place of the rendezvous, the whole company assembled this morning, when the packers concluded, that their strength would justify their going on separately. They have already left us and the wagon company will proceed separately, and under a different organization. The company are in fine spirits, and I have no doubt that their arrangements and conduct will ensure safety. The company here this morning consisted of one hundred and five men, who have thirty four wagons, and above two hundred and forty mules and horses. – Among the packers who are in advance, are Messrs. Morris and Rennison, of Howlud, Mr. Barnes, of Boon, Dr. Willard of St. Charles, and two gentlemen from Natchez. Our code of laws have been prepared by Messrs. Thompson, Stanley Emmons, McNight [McKnight] and Shackelford, a committee for that purpose. – Augustus Storrs was elected Captain, with power, agreeably to the rules, to nominate the subordinate effects and arrange the subdivision of the company.’”

²⁰ During the 1820s, there were two routes used when leaving Fort Osage. The first route left Fort Osage and forded the Little Blue River six miles west. The second route went south to Blue Spring camp group, which was an important rendezvous point. Other traders came to Blue Spring Campground directly from Lexington, and from Cooper, Saline and Howard counties. Simmons and Jackson, *Following*, 45–46.

²¹ According to Josiah Gregg, the captain was expected “to direct the order of travel during the day, and to designate the camping-ground at night; with many other functions of a general character, in the exercise of which the company find it convenient to acquiesce.” Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 31.

²² The job of the lieutenant was to inspect every ravine and creek on the route, select the best crossings, and superintend what is called, in prairie parlance, the “forming” of each encampment. *Ibid.*

²³ Robert W. Morris (1800–post-1870), an experienced Santa Fe Trail expedition captain, is recorded as one of the American foreigners in the Custom House Records of Santa Fe for 1825. Weber, *Extranjeros*, 18. One learns how the expeditions were organized as evidenced by

this announcement the previous spring in an article titled “Santa Fe” from the newspaper *Missouri Intelligencer* dated 3/20/1824. It states: “Those persons who intend to join the trading expedition to Santa Fe this spring, are requested to meet at Mr. Shaw’s tavern, [in St. Charles, Missouri] on the first day of April next, at 2 o’clock, P.M. to determine whether it will be expedient to pack or convey their goods in small wagons; and to make such other preliminary arrangements as the company may deem proper. A meeting of this kind may be very useful, by creating unanimity with regard to the mode of conveyance and the course to be pursued, and producing uniformity of equipment, which is desirable so far as convenience will permit. I understand that apprehensions of danger from the Indians cause many to hesitate about going. All the information which a strict enquiry has furnished me with, goes to show that no fears need arise from this source. It has been rumored that there is an extensive combination of several Indian tribes against the whites. The naked truth is, that a small band of Osages, being irritated by the frequent intrusion of the people of Arkansas on their best hunting grounds, made an attack on one of these parties who were killing their buffaloe for the hides and tallow, because they could not check this encroachment in any other way. How far they were wrong, is not for me to determine. This however, I believe to be the fact and no circumstances, no other outrages authorize the inference that any tribe whose parties we shall be liable to meet; have a disposition to be at war with the Americans. It is perfectly unreasonable to suppose that they would willingly provoke a conflict, the consequences of which would involve them. In certain and immediate ruin; neither is there evidence that any of them intend it. It will, in my estimation, only be necessary to guard against their stealing, which judicious regulations will almost to a certainty prevent. ROBERT W. MORRIS.”

Robert W. Morris was also a licensed tavern keeper and retailer of spirituous liquors in Howard County in 1821. Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri, From the Earliest Exploration and Settlements until the Admission of the State into the Union, Volume III* (Chicago: R.R. Donnelly and Sons Co., 1908), 60–61.

²⁴ Jefferson Fulcher (1787–1859) was born in Amherst County, Virginia. He was a soldier during the War of 1812. He fought in the Battle of Thames in 1813, where the U.S. had a decisive victory over British troops and where Shawnee chief Tecumseh was killed. Fulcher moved to Missouri from Madison County, Kentucky, where he married Rachel Stephson on June 16, 1816. By 1821, he was commissioner of Boone County, Missouri. He made several trips to Santa Fe. By 1838 he had moved to Schuyler County, Missouri, where he died in 1859. *History of Adair, Sullivan, Putnam & Schuyler Counties, Missouri, Vol. 2* (Chicago: The Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1888), 1158.

²⁵ Word of mouth and articles were published in the *Missouri Intelligencer* about the trading expeditions to Santa Fe, New Mexico. In 1824 the organizing

meetings were held at Shaw's Tavern. It is likely the organizational meetings were also held at Shaw's Tavern in 1825 the year Willard decided to travel west.

- ²⁶ John Adams, of St. Charles, Missouri, placed an advertisement in the newspaper: "GUNSMITHING—The subscriber has commenced the Gunsmithing business in a shop opposite Collier's store in St. Charles where he would keep on hand a general assortment of GUNS, and make Rifles or Fowling Pieces to suit purchasers at short notice. All kinds of repairs in the time of his business executed with dispatch. Cash paid for old brass. John Adams." *The Missourian*, June 24, 1820.
- ²⁷ Albert Gallatin Boone (1806–1884), grandson of Daniel Boone, would have been about 19 years old when he traveled with Dr. Willard in 1825. A.G. Boone was born in Greensburg, Kentucky, and moved with the Boone clan to St. Charles County, Missouri. At age 17, he joined the second Ashley-Henry trapping party out of St. Louis traveling to the Upper Missouri. He worked for a while at the Fort Osage trading post in western Missouri, mastering the Osage language and learning several other native tongues. He later served as deputy county clerk of St. Charles County before moving to Callaway County, where he worked in his brother-in-law's tobacco business. In 1838 he established his own trading business in Westport. "Kansasboguslegislature.org," Charles Clark, accessed August 10, 2011, http://kansasboguslegislature.org/mo/boone_a_g.html.
- ²⁸ The Chariton River is 218 miles long and has been called Missouri's Grand Divide as the streams east of it flow to the Mississippi River and the streams west flow into the Missouri River. Several origins of the name of the Chariton River have been suggested. The most plausible suggestion connects the name of the river with Joseph Chorette, a French fur trader of St. Louis. Trudeau, in his Journal of 1795, mentions Chorette as accompanying him on his expedition up the Missouri River and as being drowned on July 10 of that year while swimming in the river. The family name has the variants Choret, Care, and Carrette in old documents. "Missouri Secretary of State," accessed August 20, 2011, <http://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/history/counties.asp>.
- ²⁹ Eliza Ann Alexander Means, (1800–?) <http://trees.ancestrylibrary.com/tree/43840162/person/12745417333/print>.
- ³⁰ From the early 1820s until the Civil War, Lexington, located in western Missouri, was involved in almost every aspect of the Santa Fe trade. Lexington's first settler was probably Gillad Rupe, who came to the area around 1815 from Boonville, where he had operated a ferry. He may have started a ferry at the mouth of "Rupe's branch" on the Missouri, but by 1819 Captain William Jack was known to be operating the ferry. "Jack's Ferry Road" was the connection between the river and the early settlement centered about two miles to the east. Lexington was platted in 1822 in the area later known as "Old Town" and became the county seat in 1823, with a log courthouse in a public square. Direct expeditions from the Lexington area started as early as 1822 when Strother Renick, whose family had settled seven miles west at Wellington, was hired by a Gen. McRea to "take a small stock of goods on pack mules over the trackless prairie to Mexico." Renick was only nineteen and afterward made several similar trips by himself. He is said to have specialized in trading for mules. For trail historians, the first really significant business in Lexington was the store and warehouse built by John Aull, who came from Delaware in 1822. He was followed by his brothers Robert and James Aull in 1825. "Lexington, Missouri and the Santa Fe Trail," Santa Fe Trail Research, accessed August 23, 2011, <http://www.santafetrailresearch.com/research/lexington-mo.html>.
- ³¹ Willard rendezvous with the company at Fort Osage, Missouri.
- ³² During the earliest period of the Santa Fe Trail from 1821–1827, one of the routes "left Fort Osage and went south following the road that connected Fort Osage to Harmony Mission. On this route, the Blue Springs Campground, which was an important rendezvous point. Other traders came to Blue Springs directly from Lexington, and from Cooper, Saline and Howard Counties" in Missouri. *Ibid*, 45-46.
- ³³ Solomon Stone was a partner with Alexander Branch in several fur-trapping expeditions. Stone applied for Mexican citizenship in November of 1826 through Governor Antonio Narvona. Weber, *Taos Trapper*, 122, 176.
- ³⁴ Hugh Glass (1760?–1833) was a mountain man. Little is known of Glass until he joined William H. Ashley's fur-trading expedition of 1823 as a trapper. Glass was wounded in the leg during the famous encounter between Ashley's party and the Arikara Indians in 1823, but he recovered sufficiently to join Major Andrew Henry's party, which set out overland for the Yellowstone River after the fight. While on their way Glass was severely mauled by a grizzly bear at Grand River, South Dakota. Howard Lamar, *The New Encyclopedia of the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 431 and 432, accessed September 15, 2011, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hugh_Glass.
- ³⁵ On the entries for July 10 and 12, 1825, in the 1825–1827 pocket diary of Dr. Willard, he refers to Stephen Marsh. The Rowland Willard pocket diary of Dr. Willard's western journey to New Mexico and Mexico (1825–1827) is part of the Yale Collection of Western Americana at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library - Rowland Willard – Elizabeth S. Willard Papers, WA MSS S-2512. Marsh was assigned to accompany Hugh Glass on an expedition to Fort Atkinson as ordered by Major Henry. Frederick Manfred, *Lord Grizzly* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 222-23.
- ³⁶ Dr. Willard's 1825–1827 pocket diary, he refers to a John Andrews in his September 16, 1825, entry.
- ³⁷ The *Franklin Intelligencer* published the following on

June 4, 1825: “Among the packers who are in advance are Messrs. Morris and Rennison, of Howlud, Mr. Barnes of Boon, Dr. Willard, of St. Charles and two gentlemen from Natchez.” *Santa Fe Adventurers*, June 4, 1825. A list of trail traders who paid fifteen percent importation duty and three percent excise tax at the Santa Fe Custom House indicated on July 8, 1825, that a John Remison [Rennison] from Franklin [Howard

County, Missouri] presented an original trade invoice dated April 30, 1825. Weber, *Extranjeros*, 17.

Willard used this scarificator in his medical profession for blood-letting. The practice of drawing blood to treat illnesses dated to the ancient world. The idea was that “humors,” or fluids in the body, had to be in balance for good health; bleeding was designed to recalibrate those humors. The practice continued into the nineteenth century in the United States despite its having been disproved scientifically. (Image: Nancy Mathers)

