

The Traveller

"The attention of a traveller, should be particularly attuned, in the first place, to the Various works of Nature"

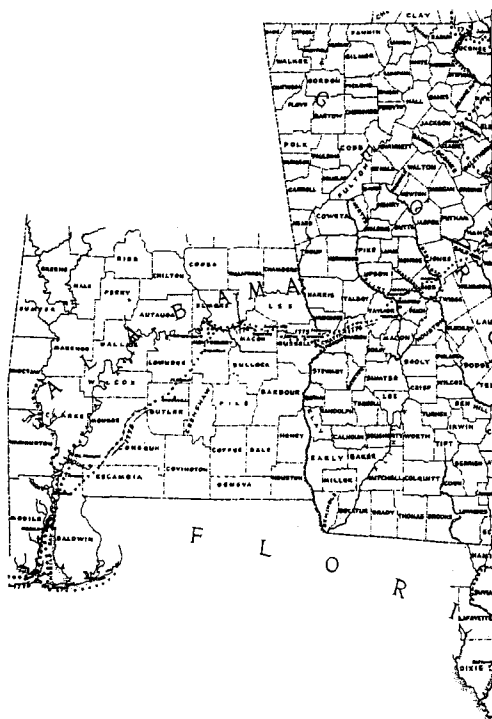
Newsletter of the Bartram Trail Conference
www.bartramtrail.org

Summer 2003

Following Bartram's Alabama Trail

Dear Friends: In late June 1775, William Bartram left the Georgia frontier with a "company of adventurers," bound for Mobile. The party reached the banks of the Chattahoochee River a few weeks later and were met by Creek Indians from the Yuchi town, who assisted their passage across the river. Bartram marveled at their town, declaring it "the largest, most compact, and best situated Indian town I ever saw; the habitations are large and neatly built." The town was "populous and thriving."

Bartram's first experience west of the Chattahoochee River at the "beautiful" town of the Yuchi was only the first of many incredible experiences in the land we now call Alabama. He visited the towns of the Tallapoosa and Alabama Creeks and explored the abandoned site of the French Fort Toulouse, recording the location was "perhaps, one of the most eligible situations for a city in the world; a level plain between the conflux of two majestic rivers."



As he traveled toward the gulf coast, Bartram explored the forests along the Alabama river corridor and encountered "a very remarkable grove of Dog wood trees (*Cornus Florida*), which continued nine or ten miles unalterable." There were magnolias, oakleaf hydrangeas, wild plums, "a perfect yellow" primrose, and numerous other wonders.

And there were adventures galore. Bartram swam the Alabama River at flood stage, witnessed the solemn black drink ceremony at the Creek town of Otasse and was regaled by deerskin traders with tales of the Creek-Choctaw War then raging along the lower Tensaw watershed.

This fall, the Bartram Trail Conference will revisit Bartram's Alabama journey. The 2003 Bartram Trail Conference Biennial meeting will be held October 24-26, 2003, in Montgomery, Alabama. Come and meet old friends, make new ones, feast on great southern foods, float down the Tallapoosa River, see historic sites and hear the latest scholarship on William Bartram. Our hosts for the meeting will be the Alabama Department of Archives and History and the Alabama Historical Commission. The registration form and conference schedule are included with your newsletter. I hope to see you in Montgomery.

Kathryn H. Braund, President
Bartram Trail Conference

We sadly note the passing of Dr. Ralph Palmer of Tenants Harbor, Maine, on July 21, 2003. Dr. Palmer was a noted ornithologist and naturalist and a long-time supporter of the Bartram Trail Conference. He is best known as the author/ editor of five volumes of the *Handbook of North American Birds* (Yale U P). Dr. Palmer was 89.

Bartram Crossing the Nantahala River and Meeting with Atakullakulla, May 1775

We have recently published a detailed trail guide for the Chunky Gal Trail (22 mi.) and Fires Creek Rim (25 mi.) [1]. To orient the reader: the Chunky Gal Trail peels off the Appalachian Trail west of Standing Indian Mountain, fifteen miles west of Franklin, NC. It travels northwest along Chunky Gal Mountain and other unnamed high ridges to Bob Allison Campground, which is between and east of Hayesville, NC and Andrews, NC. It then climbs and terminates at its northern end on the Fires Creek Rim Trail on Tusquitee Bald. The Fires Creek Rim Trail is a closed path that circles around the Fires Creek Basin, a basin closed on three sides by high ridges. Tusquitee Bald (5240 ft.) is on the high northeast rim and the basin opens on the southwest where Fires Creek, which drains the basin of 14,000 acres, flows out. While we were doing the fieldwork for the guide, we had occasional views of McDonald Ridge, which runs from the Nantahala ridge spine west to Nantahala Lake. The NC Bartram Trail [2] follows McDonald Ridge from Winespring Bald to Nantahala Lake. The NC Bartram Trail meets the lake near the small settlement of Aquone, NC at the northern end of the lake.

On the Rim Trail, we noticed a seldom-used trail starting at County Corners (where Macon, Clay and Cherokee Counties have a common boundary point) that travels north down to Old Road Gap and then east to an improved Forest Service road. From this Forest Service road it is a hike of 2.8 miles to Junaluska Gap. There one finds a network of trails associated with Appletree Group Campground that can be used to travel northeast five miles or so to the NC Bartram Trail near Appletree Group Campground. Appletree Group Campground is a few miles west of Aquone, NC. We have improved and marked the Old Road Gap Trail (Forest Trail #25) and have added this connection to the NC Bartram Trail to the recent printing of our trail guide [1]. It is interesting that when you hike down McDonald Ridge on the NC Bartram Trail, the prominent mountain to the west is Tusquitee Bald.

Later, while reading Francis Harper's commentary in *Travels* [3], we were amazed that Harper had given Bartram's route, after crossing the Nantahala River, as going through Old Road Gap: "The

point of crossing was probably in the vicinity of Aquone near the mouth of Choga Creek." [4]. This area is now under Nantahala Lake. He goes on to say: "Beyond the Nantahala the probable route was up the valley of Choga Creek and across the divide (at Old Road Gap) to Junaluska Creek (Wayah Bald quadrangle)" [4].

This would have been around May 24, 1775. Harper then discusses Bartram's accidental and dramatic meeting with Atakullakulla, the grand chief of the Cherokees who had been to England and dined with the King. Shortly thereafter, towards the end of May 1775, in the vicinity of Andrews, NC, Bartram turned back south, ending his exploration of North Carolina, probably because of fears for his safety. The British were stirring up the Native Americans for the American Revolution, which had started a few weeks before. Possibly Atakullakulla warned Bartram at their meeting a day or so before.

There are other descriptions of Bartram's route [5] that take him further north crossing the Nantahala River near the intersection of Hwy. 19/129 and SR 1310, Wayah Rd., in the Nantahala Gorge at Beechertown and the Nantahala Launch Site. The NC Bartram Trail passes within a few hundred feet of this intersection on its way to begin the climb to Cheoah Bald, its present northern termination point. It is about five miles from where the Old Road Gap route intersects the NC Bartram Trail, at Appletree Group Campground, to this point. There is a historical sign, 0.3 mi. along Hwy. 19/129, northeast of the intersection beside the Nantahala River, at a pull-off, that commemorates Bartram's meeting with Atakullakulla in this vicinity.

Regardless of the actual location of Bartram's crossing of the Nantahala River and meeting with Atakullakulla, if one hikes this new trail connection one will be close to one of the places thought to be where Bartram crossed the Nantahala River and met Atakullakulla. The Old Road Gap route shown in our guide connects the Chunky Gal Trail and Fires Creek Rim Trail to the NC Bartram Trail and, therefore, to the Appalachian Trail. This opens up a multitude of new long distance loop hikes that allow us to enjoy this area and scenery where Bartram traveled towards the end of May 1775.

John R. Ray (jray@gtemail.net)
Malcolm J. Skove

Notes

- [1] Ray, J. R., M. J. Skove, and B. Kenyon. *Chunky Gal Trail and Fires Creek Rim Trail, Detailed Trail Guide with Maps of the Trails in the Nantahala National Forest In Clay County North Carolina*, 2nd edition. Winter 2002 (available from the authors).
- [2] Ray and Skove. *Bartram Trail, Detailed Guide with Maps for the Trail in the Nantahala National Forest in North Carolina*, 1st edition. 2001 (available from the authors).
- [3] Bartram, William. *The Travels of William Bartram 1791, Naturalist Edition*, edited by Francis Harper. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1998.
- [4] Bartram, 391-392.
- [5] See Bartram Heritage Report at the Bartram Trail Conference web site (www.bartramtrail.org).

The Literary Ecology of Bartram's Travels

When William Bartram found himself "greatly surprised at the sudden appearance of a remarkably large spider on a leaf," he "drew closer" and observed the spider prey upon a bumble bee; the spider, in turn, watched Bartram. Bartram then wondered if the spider might become the "delicious evening repast of a bird or lizard."

Although such literal observation of the cyclical patterns of nature is characteristic of Bartram's *Travels*, there are also moments in *Travels* when Bartram's prosaic examinations of natural history are infused with a sense of crafted literary style: "The verges and islets of the lagoon were elegantly embellished with flowering plants and shrubs; the laughing coots with wings half spread were tripping over the little coves, and hiding themselves in the tufts of grass; young broods of the painted summer teal, skimming the still surface of the waters, and following the watchful parent unconscious of danger, were frequently surprised by the voracious trout; and he, in turn, as often by the subtle, greedy alligator."

Passages such as this one demonstrate not only Bartram's close examination of the natural world, but also reveal his awareness of language and audience. His descriptions of the sublime forest, river, and ocean landscapes further illustrate the conflation of two previously distinct forms of writing: the scientific and the literary. So, is *Travels* a work of natural history? Or is it a work of literature? The answer to both questions is "yes," and

the genre that is defined by this "ecological way of seeing" and writing is most commonly referred to as "nature writing." In *American Nature Writers*, Philip G. Terrie suggests that "American nature writing as a distinct genre began with William Bartram."

On an ecological level, early American nature writing records a natural world of abundance and diversity that is now difficult to imagine, revealing a lost moment in the history of the formation of the United States. Bartram's *Travels*, for example, reveals the stories of exploration, colonization, and settlement, as well as accounts of forced relocation of Native American peoples and the dramatic alteration of the North American landscape and its wild inhabitants. On a literary level, early American nature writing offers a curious mix of scientific cataloging, rhapsodic observation, and narratives of personal experience.

At its most tragic, Bartram's *Travels* offers a compelling record of habitat destruction, species extinction, and the devastation of wildland communities, including swamps, forests, and mountains. Faced with numerous types of "loss" – from a loss for words before a sublime landscape or the loss of influential familial relationships – the dedication to observation and the pursuit of knowledge inherent in early American nature writing is accompanied through the dark woods, down free-flowing rivers, and across high mountains with Bartram's "attendant spirit, curiosity." At its most hopeful, early American nature writing rekindles this curiosity by suggesting that an understanding of an ecological past that no longer exists has value as we contemplate our shared ecological future. Bartram's *Travels* chronicles the origins of the human response to landscape against which we may begin to measure our own modern acknowledgment of this delicate relationship.

We read Bartram's work and wonder: What is the relationship between literature and the physical environment? How can we recall past landscapes in the context of modern environmental concerns? How have human interactions with, observations of, and responses to landscapes shaped one another? What does a portrait of loss tell us?

These are some of the questions that ecocritics – "scholars who study representations of the natural environment in literary and cultural texts" – ask. The critical methodology that ecocritics employ to contend with these questions has been named "eco-criticism." The term was first coined in 1978 by William Rueckert in his essay, "Literature and

Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism." Rueckert suggested that ecocriticism involved the "application of ecology and ecological concepts to the study of literature." In *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology* (1996), Cheryll Glotfelty defined ecocriticism as the "study of literature as if the environment mattered." Since then, the definition of ecocriticism has been the subject of much debate. What does a literary criticism informed by an ecological consciousness look like? Can any work of literature be read from an ecocritical perspective? How can ecocriticism establish itself as an academic field without compromising its inherent multifariousness and mutability? Ecocriticism, it seems, has taken an ethical stance by calling our attention to concerns for environmental awareness and action and foregrounding the need to make literary studies pertinent to the world outside of academia.

A sample of definitions of ecocriticism from the Association for the Study of Literature and the Environment (ASLE) website suggests that an ecocritical approach "shares the fundamental premise that human culture is connected to the physical world, affecting it and affected by it" and "seeks to reattach scholars to each other and scholarship to the real concerns about the world." Patterned after ecological systems, an ecocritical perspective requires a "recontextualizing literature in the physical, grounded circumstances of life and thought and action." By its very nature, then, ecocriticism offers a decidedly broad theoretical framework and an opportunity to explore environmentally-minded interdisciplinary scholarship. Just as ecology is a process that is continually evolving and responding to changes in the environment, ecocriticism has evolved throughout its history. In fact, a long ecocritical tradition in literary studies exists. In *A Century of Early Ecocriticism*, David Mazel suggests that the first ecocritical examination of Bartram's work was written by Henry Tuckerman in 1864. Tuckerman acknowledges Bartram for his "attentiveness to [scientific] details" and his literary "eloquence."

According to Terrie, Bartram's *Travels* is "both a record of the encounter of a perceptive consciousness with the natural world and a lyrical account of the impact of that encounter on the mind and the soul of the traveler." As a work of early American nature writing, Bartram's *Travels* is remarkable for its recognition of the interconnected relationships between humans and the environment.

Bartram's descriptions – whether of spiders or alligators or other human and natural phenomena – express the dynamic interactions between human culture and the natural world and remind us that an ecocritical perspective is necessary in our modern times.

Jennifer L. Hughes
University of Nevada, Reno

Suggested Reading

- Armbruster, Karla, and Kathleen R. Wallace. *Beyond Nature Writing: Expanding the Boundaries of Ecocriticism*. Charlottesville: U P of Virginia, 2001.
- Branch, Michael P., and Scott Slovic, eds. *The ISLE Reader: Ecocriticism, 1993-2003*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 2003.
- Branch, Michael P., ed. *Reading the Roots: American Nature Writing Before Walden*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 2004.
- Buell, Lawrence. *The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard U P, 1995.
- "Defining Ecocritical Theory and Practice." Western Literature Association Conference. 1994. [Association for the Study of Literature and the Environment](http://www.asle.umn.edu). 1 Aug. 2003. www.asle.umn.edu.
- Elder, John, ed. *American Nature Writers*. New York: Scribners, 1996.
- Glotfelty, Cheryll, and Harold Fromm, eds. *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1996.
- Imscher, Christoph. *The Poetics of Natural History: From John Bartram to William James*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers U P, 1999.
- Kerridge, Richard, and Neil Sammells, eds. *Writing the Environment: Ecocriticism and Literature*. London: Zed Books, 1998.
- Mazel, David, ed. *A Century of Early Ecocriticism*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 2001.
- Murphy, Patrick, Terry Gifford, and Katsunori Yamazato, eds. *The Literature of Nature: An International Sourcebook*. Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1998.
- Rosendale, Steven, ed. *The Greening of Literary Scholarship: Literature, Theory, and the Environment*. Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 2002.
- Scheese, Don. *Nature Writing: The Pastoral Impulse in America*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996.
- Tallmadge, John, and Henry Harrington, eds. *Reading Under the Sign of Nature: New Essays in Ecocriticism*. Salt Lake City: U of Utah P, 2000.

An Invitation from the Society for the History of Natural History

We have common interests. This in mind, I thank members of the BTC for the chance to introduce the Society for the History of Natural History. If you've read *Archives of natural history*, come to one of our meetings, or visited www.shnh.org you've seen what we do. The mission of the SHNH is to encourage the historical and bibliographical study of all branches of natural history in all periods and cultures. Whether it's the life-long study or bibliography of particular naturalists or wide ranging social histories of naturalist communities, chances are we have members with similar interests. We like to say that SHNH is the only international society devoted to the history of botany, zoology and geology, in the broadest sense, including natural history collections, exploration, art and bibliography. The Society was founded in 1936 by a small group of scientists, librarians and bibliographers centered at the British Museum (Natural History) in London. It grew into a focal point in Britain for the history of all aspects of natural history. Since our modest beginnings, the SHNH has grown internationally and in breadth. Half our members now come from outside the British Isles. We are a robust mixture of interests and occupations.

SHNH is an independent publisher. Most important, we produce *Archives of natural history*, a peer-reviewed professional journal. If you've not seen it lately, take another look. Browse through the tables of contents on-line. We've just published a cumulative index; soon it'll appear in a database on the Web. If you have material, consider writing for it. We publish original research articles (8-12,000 words) as well as short notes and announcements (500-2,000 words).

Internationally, we organise around regional representatives who arrange local meetings and work hard to bring our community together. Our North American representative is Ms. Leslie Overstreet, Curator of Natural-History Rare Books, Smithsonian Institution Libraries (overstreetlk@si.edu). In alternating years, our annual meeting switched between a locale in Britain and an international location.

In Spring 2004 we are likely to meet in Cambridge. In November 2004 we will meet in Philadelphia, together with a major conference on natural

history in art. This also will include special access to exhibits at the American Philosophical Society ("Stuffing Birds, Pressing Plants, Shaping Knowledge") and the Academy of Natural Sciences ("Lewis & Clark: The National Bicentennial Exhibition"). Membership of SHNH is open to all with an interest in the history of botany, geology and zoology in the broadest sense and who agree to abide by the Rules of the Society. For details, see www.shnh.org.

How might we help foster work with the BTC? Consider writing for *Archives*. Ask your library to start an institutional subscription. Use our *Newsletter* to seek information from our members. Come to Philadelphia in November 2004. If you want to know more, or have a question/suggestion about the Society, feel free to write me or Leslie Overstreet, and we'll see what we can do to help.

Joe Cain (j.cain@ucl.ac.uk)
SHNH President

Forthcoming in the *Archives of natural history*:

Symposium to mark the bicentenary of the birth of George Bentham. Articles by P. F. Stevens; G. McQuat; D. E. Allen; A. B. Shteir; E. C. Nelson; D. E. Allen, P. H. Oswald, & M. Walpole; A. M. Lucas; R. Bellon.

Other articles: H.-J. Lechtreck (wax fruit, teaching aids and table decorations); L. J. Dorr, D. H. Nicolson, & L. K. Overstreet, (Stansbury's *Expedition to the valley of the Great Salt Lake*); E. L. Yochelson (trilobites and the Nineteenth Century) S. J. M. M. Alberti (Natural history in late Victorian Yorkshire).

Benjamin Hawkins and the Muscogeans

As a teenager in central Georgia, where the Bartram Trail runs through Macon along the banks of the Ocmulgee River, we had a standing joke: the best thing to come out of our town was Interstate 75 North. Likely the "North" qualification related to the fact that ninety miles north of Macon was Atlanta . . . *Hotlanta* in the vernacular of the day.

For most of my crowd in those days culture meant R.E.M. or the B-52s and history meant the *Allman Brothers Band* – a deeply religious experience being an excursion to Rose Hill Cemetery to smoke a

joint on Greg Allman's grave overlooking the Ocmulgee, leaving, with a sense of great deference, the "roach" behind "for Greg." I suppose that all sounds rather silly now, yet there is no denying that most of us are to a large extent shaped by these sorts of seeming trivialities. For myself I know that my childhood in Macon has proven to be much like quicksand.

Growing up in Macon also meant school field trips to both the Ocmulgee National Monument, called by locals The Indian Mounds, and Fort Benjamin Hawkins. These trips were arranged while one was in elementary school, therefore the significance of what one was seeing was lost, and I recall very little of those trips other than a sense of claustrophobia when we went down into the darkness of the largest of the mounds. In those days you were actually allowed to go deep into the mound and sit where the builders of the mounds would have sat, but now it is well lit and glassed in. You stand at the entrance and press a button for a recording that describes the architecture and uses of the mound. Now that I think of it, there was snow that day. We somehow found some cardboard and "sledded" down the mounds. I am a teacher now and am amused to think of how loudly I would be compelled to yell if my students were to attempt such a thing.

Fort Hawkins was less inspiring, as you were not allowed to actually enter the fort, but only stand outside of it and look at it. It seemed rather pointless; there was no context provided with which to construct a story. The teachers didn't know who Benjamin Hawkins was or the history of the fort other than to say it was a something called a "blockhouse," a meaningless bit of information at the time. A kid named Ben Cook mimicked a cavalryman quipping, "Hey, look at me; I'm in F-Troop!" I suspect that these trips by the time of my youth had become a sort of ritualistic chore that no teacher took seriously. How odd it is to reflect that so many years later I would devote so much time to the study of Hawkins, the Muscogee inhabitants of the area and eighteenth-century Georgia. And we all thought we'd never use this stuff in the real world!

Long before Bartram's visit in the eighteenth century De Soto and his tribe introduced Hell, whiskey, a taste for salt, and small pox to the Muscogee inhabitants on the banks of the Ocmulgee River in 1540. At the time the number of Muscogee was significantly higher than in either Bartram's or

Hawkins's times, but whiskey, salt and smallpox do take a toll. The Muscogees were not, however, the original inhabitants of the area, which had been continuously occupied since about 11,500 b.c.e. The Mississippi mound builders seem to have been the original occupants of the area, followed by the Hitichi, who upon the appearance of the Muscogee, migrated south to form the basis of the Seminole nation. Europeans in turn displaced the Muscogee, a process that began when English traders visited, probably in 1686 under the command of Dr. Henry Woodward. These traders set up a post, trading European goods for buckskin and began the practice of calling the inhabitants Ochese (Ocmulgee) Creek. They eventually dropped the Ochese qualifier, referring to the inhabitants simply as Creek Indians. This displacement culminated in the removal of what remained of the Muscogee people to Oklahoma as part of Andrew Jackson's campaign, at the behest of Thomas Jefferson, to ethnically cleanse the area during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Benjamin Hawkins, who assumed the title of Superintendent of all Indian tribes south of the Ohio River, resided in and administered from the Muscogee areas of what is now Georgia and Alabama between the years of 1798 and 1816. President Washington originally appointed Hawkins, and Hawkins ultimately proved a staunch Jeffersonian, very much a believer in states' rights. It is thus that in spite of Hawkins's apparent concern for the rights of those nominally under his charge, his tenure at this post is largely characterized by a series of treaties securing land cessions from the Muscogees on terms very favorable to Georgia and by unsuccessful attempts to Anglicize the Muscogee people. All of this took place against a backdrop of international and national intrigue as France, England and Spain, in common with local land speculators and politicians looked for ways to exploit the region to political and financial advantages. These forces were to substantially impact upon the history of Hawkins's agency and therefore the history of the Muscogee nation as each group sought alternately to influence the Muscogee towns toward rebellion or defense, depending on which view you adopt, as a means to advance schemes designed to control territory.

Events in the region were ultimately to have a substantial, if not well-known impact on United States history. The Muscogee nation's roles in the Spanish Conspiracy and a series of wars, including

the War of 1812 and the so-called War of the Red Sticks, which made the careers of men such as Andrew Jackson, are not inconsequential. Further, the Muscogee culture and region was peopled by a litany of fascinating characters including Alexander McGilivray, Tussekiah Micco, William Augustus (Billy) Bowles, Tecumseh and even Hawkins himself, whose education in the region is culminated by an epic, narrative roundness, his administration ending in tragedy and even his personal legacy burning to the ground two scant weeks after his death — a circumstance evoking tantalizing narrative possibilities.

Benjamin Hawkins's letters journals and victory writings are available through a couple works, though some are hard to locate. The Beehive Press in Savannah published a two-volume collection of his works, but this is currently out of print and very difficult to locate. The good news is that archaeologist Thomas Foster is currently editing Hawkins's papers and a release through the University of Alabama Press is planned for the fall.

Tracy Brooking
Kennesaw, Georgia

Suggested Reading

Braund, Kathryn H. *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo America*. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2002.

Florette, Henri. *The Southern Indians and Benjamin Hawkins: 1796-1816*. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1986.

Chaudhuri, Jean Haya-Atke Hiyutke, and Joyotpaul Chaudhuri. *A Sacred Path: The Way of the Muscogee Creeks*. The American Indian Studies Center, 2001.

Trail Mix: News and Notices

You can order copies of the Georgia Outdoors Bartram Video by sending a check to Georgia Public Broadcasting in the amount of \$25 per VHS. In the memo line of the check, write "Georgia Outdoors: The Bartram Trail". Please mail this to the attention of Jan Doles Georgia Public Television 260 14th ST NW, Atlanta, GA 30318. These programs are also viewable in the internet at www.gpb.org/gptv/georgiaoutdoors.

The William Bartram Paint Out in Paynes Prairie was a wonderful partnership featuring 45 landscape artists working on location from April 18

to 23. The weather was perfect and public support led to sales of \$49,000! The paint was not even dry.

"Opening the Door to a New World: Mark Catesby's Travels in La Florida" was on display March 29-May 18 at the Thomas Center Gallery, in Gainesville. Mallory McCane O'Connor described this colorful traveling exhibit at the 2001 BTC meeting.

Charlotte M. Porter was an invited speaker at the Savannah Garden Exposition in Savannah, GA on April 4th. Her topic was "Consider the Source: William Bartram Looks at Savannah." The Expo, held at the Roundhouse Railroad Museum, included creative garden displays, walking tours of Savannah, and great food.

Brad Sanders led an outing for the Georgia Museum of Natural History. The group began in Wrightsborough and followed Bartram's route through the New Purchase and ended at the Oconee River in Athens. There were 30 people in attendance; all have now become great Bartram fans.

Tom Hallock gave a talk on Bartram in John Stewart's honors humanities class at Osceola High School, Seminole, Florida. John and Tom described Bartram as a transitional figure between the enlightenment and romantic periods in Europe and America.

Book Reviews

Brad Sanders. *Guide to William Bartram's Travels: Following the Trail of America's First Great Naturalist*. Athens: Fevertree Press, 2002. 384 pp. \$19.95 (www.fevertreepress.com).

This welcome and refreshing discussion of William Bartram's travels in the Southeast presents one of the great pioneers in natural history. The book, with ample photographic illustrations, is a useful and authoritative reference that will serve scholars, tourists, and travelers alike for many years to come.

The author places Bartram's natural history explorations in the context of eighteenth-century North America and the politics of France, England and Spain, a context that is absent in most other discussions of Bartram's travels. This book also places Bartram's travels within the context of the native peoples of the Southeast, their histories, customs and their intertribal politics.

Added bonuses are the fine description of the natural environments that characterized the many places that Bartram visited and the local history that sometimes spans centuries. If one looks at a modern map of the Southeast, one cannot help but be impressed by the Native American names applied to geographic features such as mountains and waterways. This work provides a concise gazetteer of the origins and local histories of many of these names.

Bartram did not wander a wilderness. Rather, he visited areas with widespread native agriculture and established commerce involving other regions of the country and other nations. Some areas were already peopled with some white settlers and traders and connected by roads in use for centuries. Bartram traveled scenic roads that led to these scattered communities and often enjoyed the hospitality of peoples of many ethnic backgrounds. In sum, this book is a valuable tool to any naturalist, geographer, and scholar interested in early biological exploration.

Fred G. Thompson
Florida Museum of Natural History

Charles D. Spornick, Alan R. Cattier, and Robert J. Greene. *An Outdoor Guide to Bartram's Travels*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 2003. 405 pp. \$19.95.

If *An Outdoor Guide* does not get readers out of their easy chairs and into the woods, nothing will. The authors state that the purpose of the book is simply "to build a bridge from a book about the land to the land itself" (xx). Bartram's *Travels* is the book about the land, and it is a *vade mecum* for users of the *Guide*.

The *Guide* does not attempt to trace Bartram's entire journey. Building upon the reports of the Bartram Trail Conference published in 1979, it focuses on three designated Bartram Trails, one along Clark's Hill Lake in Georgia, another through the Cherokee country, and a third through the Tuskegee National Forest of Alabama. The trails commemorate Bartram's passing; they do not replicate the actual routes taken by the naturalist. Bartram followed well-trodden trading paths, not the crests of the mountains. In addition, there are walking tours of the cities visited by Bartram, featuring colonial sites and historic buildings that are not necessarily connected to Bartram.

Because driving trails as well as walking trails are provided, there is some repetition of sites

and scenes. For example we view Martin's Creek Falls in the driving tour (201), and again on the walking tour (249). The armchair tourist might be confused, but the hiker or explorer is not likely to be.

We read at the outset the admonition that "a trail is a path between points, and a guide is a map of the path," so we are not to expect Bartram-like effusions. Indeed, the description of the hikes is clear and straightforward. But the introductions are beautifully written, with some lyrical passages rivaling Bartram's prose. We read that "there are places where the world of Bartram's *Travels* seems an irretrievable part of distant history, but Paynes Prairie, the great Alachua Savanna, still opens a window into the past, showing that there are sites that can sing to the imagination today just as they did more than 200 years ago. One needs only to walk and listen" (147).

Because the book is primarily a guide, the authors trip lightly over the historical events that provide a context for the *Travels*. In the interests of history, some minor caveats should be offered. There is no reason to believe, as the authors do, that William was mistaken in identifying his companion, John McIntosh, as Lachlan's son (41). William calls him "my young companion" and notes how Sarah McIntosh, Lachlan's wife and John's mother, had to be persuaded to give her consent to the expedition. This John, or Jack, was sixteen at the time. William McIntosh's son John, the future hero, was twenty-five, and would not have needed his aunt Sarah's permission.

It would have been in the 1750s, not the late 1760s, that Governor Ellis commissioned Savannah's fortifications (22). It would be nice if the house at 110 East Oglethorpe in Savannah were Lachlan McIntosh's, but the records merely state that the house was built for John Eppinger before 1784 (21). The "Battle of Keg Creek" (103) should read the "Battle of Kettle Creek."

Until recently, most of the books about Bartram have dealt with abstractions, his philosophy, literary style, religion, influence on the Romantic Movement, scientific discoveries, art, and even psychological make-up. For these works, the authors did not have to stray far from the archives in Philadelphia. Writers who live in the land trodden by Bartram have begun to put him firmly in place and time, notably Kathryn Braund and Greg Waselkov in their book on Southeastern Indians, and my effort in

connecting Bartram with the events of the American Revolution. Brad Sanders' authoritative and encyclopedic *Guide to William Bartram's Travels* with its forty-seven detailed maps fixed Bartram to the land as never before. Now Spornick, Cattier, and Greene take us along river and mountain trails and show us scenes that Bartram saw. In connecting the book about the land with the land itself, and in enticing the reader to follow Bartram's trails, the authors succeed admirably.

Edward J. Cashin
Augusta State University

Campbell McGrath. *Florida Poems*. New York: Ecco/ HarperCollins, 2002. 112 pp. \$13.95.

Campbell McGrath's sixth book, *Florida Poems*, is a free-ranging evisceration and forensic analysis of one of the USA's most problematic states and states of mind – Florida. Appropriately, he approaches his subject from a diverse perspective of poetic styles and devices in an attempt to ameliorate his observation in the ranting, yet tender, finale to the book, "The Florida Poem," that "Florida is bereft of mythic infrastructure,/ symbolically impoverished ..." (89). Having come to this area from that other problematic state, California, I can say that, *Miami Vice*, the Fountain of Youth, and dangling chads aside, McGrath is right. No true coherent representation of Florida's historical complexity and cultural diversity existed, until now. The outsider perceives Florida as fragmentary, its history conflated, as it seems to jump directly from Ponce de Leon's exploration to the most recent presidential election. The outsider fills the long period in between these events with three migrations, one from New York/New Jersey, one from Cuba, and finally the migration of Disney from California. However, *Florida Poems* successfully and importantly explores Florida's multifaceted identity, and McGrath urgently articulates the mythic and symbolic structures that he claims Florida lacks.

The first section of the book begins the task in earnest – perhaps problematically for those unwilling to suspend disbelief as much as this poem demands – imagining the rise and fall of a city in the clouds over Florida that allegorizes Florida's own early promise, its historical voracity, and its ecological and cultural decline. The poems tumble from form to form, lit with imagination and

lacerating observation, as in the close of section 9, "The Clouds":

Times the Clouds were lit with distant fire and rumbled all night
with the death-cries of the alligators
and the pop-pop of the hunters' rifles and their jubilant calls
harmonizing with the wails of the sirens
as the littered wrappers of Filet-O-Fish sandwiches battened in
the barbed wire to glimmer in the searchlights

like tiles of a lost mosaic
or wild ghostly facets of a jewel. (24)

The poem ultimately offers little hope for Florida, as it continues down the pathway of glitzy corporatization ("Nike was now the official footwear of the clouds"), as it gobbles up its waterways, as its habitat diminishes and its native history vanishes. Yet, the language of this rise and fall is often beautiful and moving, and even as it offers little hope, the mere creation of such an allegory is hopeful of change, as well as its position at the beginning of this book.

"Floridiana," the middle section, offers a hodge-podge of historical treatments, past and projected, as well as profiles of various flora and fauna that identify Florida, and includes such poems as the unsettling "Benediction for the Savior of Orlando," "Edison in Fort Meyers," "Elizabeth Bishop in the House on White Street," "The Key Lime" and "The Manatee." Among the finer poems in this section, "William Bartram Beset by Crocodiles or Alligators," according to a note on the acknowledgements page, is "adapted, bowdlerized, and otherwise plagiarized" from Bartram's *Travels*, and recounts vividly his visit to Lake Dexter along the St. John's River in 1774:

Paddling with all my Might I made towards the Entrance of the
Lagoon, hoping to be Sheltered from the Multitude of my
Assailants,
But ere I had Half-Way reached the Place I was Attacked on all
Sides.
My situation now became Precarious to the last Degree: two very
Large Ones assailed me at close quarters,
Roaring terribly and belching Floods of Water over me.
They struck their Jaws together so near to my Ears,
As almost to Stun Me, and I expected
Any Minute to be dragged out of the Boat and Instantly
Devoured. (40)

While the alligator attack is its dramatic center, the poem entertains more of the journey, cataloging his botanical observations, and ends poignantly with Bartram setting up camp beside the Yamasee burial ground. Each poem in this section serves to broaden our understanding of what makes Florida so exotic and attractive, its effect on visitors and residents, and

what happens to a paradise beset by immigrants and corporate exploiters. While the first section is allegory, myth, the middle section is more contemporary in its poetic treatments of desire and loss.

The third section of the book, "The Florida Poem," is an ambivalent mock epic, a rant, an appreciation, a lament, a condemnation of human excess and voracity that began with Ponce de Leon and Hernando de Soto and the enslavement and slaughter of the native populations, that continued through the age of Henry Flagler and Governor Drew, and continues now as the wetlands vanish beneath tracts of housing and theme parks – "Florida: just come on down/ and exploit it!" And yet the poem proclaims an unembarrassed love for the state, as McGrath speaks fondly of his love for the pancakes served at the restaurant at DeLeon Springs, "one of my favorite places in the state." He states all this explicitly, in less colorful language than the book's opening allegory, and more baldly than in the middle section:

All it takes is a summer afternoon
floating the pellucid Ichetucknee River
to plumb the dragonfly's eye
of its fluvial essence
and recognize how much has been lost since William Bartram's
day
and how much of such elemental loveliness
is left (93)

The effect of this is to finish the book with as strong and direct a statement as exists in contemporary verse. "The Florida Poem" is political and personal without being self-absorbed. It is acutely observed, yet unabashed in its political stance and its appreciation of Florida despite all of its historical anomalies and human and ecological atrocities McGrath condemns. The poem ends without irony, with hope for "the first day/ of our existence,/ today."

Florida Poems is funny, ironic, achingly sad, bitter, hopeful, and complex in its complementary structures, yet completely accessible from poem to poem. Understanding Florida as metonymic of our nation as the last election demonstrated, McGrath succeeds in capturing the ethical paradoxes of one of our most complicated states, and therefore in all of us, and he composes this state in unprecedented fashion. The book's ambitions and obsessiveness might put off readers who want to move unproblematically from one lyric jewel to the next with little need for connection, yet few books of American poetry have created a landscape as rich with human

connection so successfully and so completely as *Florida Poems*.

Marty Williams
Valdosta State University

Christoph Irmscher. *The Poetics of Natural History: From John Bartram to William James*. New Brunswick: Rutgers U P, 1999. 320 pp. \$42.

Exploring what Vladimir Nabokov described as "the high ridge where the mountainside of 'scientific' knowledge joins the opposite slope of 'artistic' imagination" (8), *The Poetics of Natural History* outlines a strategy for approaching a catholic body of work as literature. Collections have sometimes been identified as narratives" (4), Irmscher explains, and his most interesting (if problematic) task is to define the *poetics* of an unusual assemblage of texts: scientific artifacts, paintings, drawings, advertising bills, ticket stubs, galleries, photographs, letters, and occasionally, literary natural histories.

Part One, "Displaying," uses the Bartrams to identify the "collector's world" (55) – the reordered space where humans define a self – then moves into the museums of Charles Willson Peale and P.T. Barnum. These unfailingly original gallery tours careen from mastodons to false teeth to the feejee mermaid, exploring the often unsettling, loose links in conventional taxonomy that previous scholarship has overlooked. Part Two, "Representing," offers no less surprising but somewhat more cohesive discussions of rattlesnakes, the ivory-billed woodpecker, John James Audubon and the Thayer Expedition. Rather than conclude, the book closes on the Amazon basin with Louis Agassiz and the young William James, as Irmscher charts the end of a discourse that linked

The editor would like to thank the writers in this issue of *The Traveller* for their intelligence, craft, and hard work. It's been a privilege.

Those interested in contributing to future issues, please contact Tom Hallock (tbhallock@cs.com).

human and non-human realms through the photographs Agassiz had taken of Brazilian slaves. With the subjects' physiognomy exaggerated in a visual argument against miscegenation, these images provide stark testimony to the colonizing impulse in natural history. Irmischer thus succeeds in situating aesthetics within an imperial context, providing an ethical reading that does not blunt its subject. (See Jennifer Hughes in this issue for more on the ethics of ecocriticism.) Although the Introduction distances Irmischer's study from standard post-colonial claims, maintaining that his evidence "charts the emergence of a self much less stable" than literary critics like

Mary Louise Pratt or Christopher Looby allow (6), the closing images reveal the anxieties that accompanied Euro-American portrayals of the environment. The subject of this book (collecting) leads to some authorial self-indulgences, but Irmischer seems determined to have written an interesting study. And he has done so, offering this brilliant negotiation between now-discreet academic disciplines. Anyone interested in William Bartram will take delight in *The Poetics of Natural History*.

Thomas Hallock
BTC Newsletter Editor

Forthcoming Publication

Thomas Hallock. *From the Fallen Tree: Frontier Narratives, Environmental Politics, and the Roots of a National Pastoral, 1749-1826*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, November 2003. 288 pp. \$19.95.

The American pastoral, Thomas Hallock argues, grew from the anxiety of an independent citizenry in the United States that sought to make itself native to the continent. From the mid-eighteenth century through the era of Indian dispossession, authors developed ideas of nature alongside fully populated frontiers.

Hallock provides an alternative to the myth of vacant wilderness found in later pastoral writings. Emphasizing shared cultures and conflict in the border regions, he reconstructs the milieu of Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, Thomas Jefferson, William Bartram, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, and James Fenimore Cooper, as well as lesser-known figures such as Lewis Evans, Jane Colden, Anne Grant and Elias Boudinot. The book is richly illustrated, supplementing literary readings with state papers, treaty documents, maps, journals and images. In doing so, Hallock reinterprets the origins of a pastoral tradition.

(Editor's note: Buy a copy in Montgomery and Tom Hallock will wash your car.)

Recent Publication

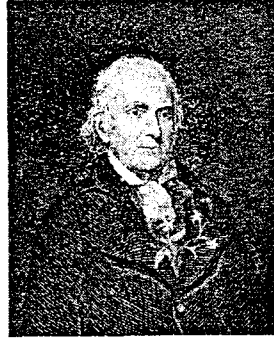
Travel Essentials: Collected Essays on Travel Writing, ed. Santiago Henríquez. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Chandlon Inn P, 1998.

This collection of essays responds to recent scholarship on a vast, and still expanding, field: travel writing. Multinational at several different levels, the volume includes contributions from Spain, the United States, Japan, and the Netherlands. Chapters by Pere Grifa (on Alexander Slidell Mackenzie); Isabel González and Maria del Pilar González de las Rosa (British images of Spain); Santiago Henríquez (contemporary travelers); Sandra Hybels (travel and gender); Pieter R.D. Stokvis (Americans in the Netherlands); William H.A. Williams (on Killarney).

From the Introduction:

"Where other books have focused on imaginative journeys or on more external witnesses to mental activity and training, such as the harmony and dissonance between travel heroes and nature ... travel literature as a version of autobiography or the autobiographical element as a supplement of travel literature, landscape and experience as two real components of travel personality or the importance of the chronological exposition of the itinerary, *Travel Essentials* tries to illustrate the history of its composition, and its effects on the reader by attention to facts and details rather than theory or whimsy."

Bartram Trail Conference – Biennial Meeting



Conference Program Montgomery, Alabama – October 24-26, 2003

Friday, October 24

Registration and Welcome Reception (6:00 p.m.). Alabama Department of Archives and History, 624 Washington Ave., Montgomery, AL. Following a buffet barbecue, we'll be treated to a tour of the museum's outstanding exhibit of Creek Indian artifacts. Professor Gregory A. Waselkov, co-author of *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians*, will be our tour guide. Other museum and archival treasures relating to Bartram's visit also will be on display.

Saturday, October 25 (Alabama State Capitol Auditorium)

Registration continues (8:30-9:00)

Opening Remarks (9:00-9:15)

Kathryn H. Braund, BTC President

Bartram and Alabama: A Symposium on William Bartram's Alabama Travels (9:00-10:45)

Mark Dauber, "The Lost Alabama Landscape of William Bartram;" Brad Sanders, "A Lily by Any Other Name: The Cahaba or Shoals Lily and Bartram's Wildflower Experience in Alabama "

Break (10:45-11:00)

Bartram and the Creek Indians (11:00-12:00)

Kathryn Braund, "The Eagle-Tail Standard of the Creek Indians;" Craig Sheldon, "Where Bartram Sat: Creek Indian Architecture"

Lunch (12:00-1:00)

Boxed lunches provided. Collect your lunch and return to the auditorium to watch Bartram videos, chat with BTC friends in the foyer, or visit the book display.

Discoveries: Paper Trails (1:00-2:00)

Mark Williams, "The Discovery of E. G. Squier's Manuscript Copy of William Bartram's Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians;" Nancy Hoffmann, "The Draft Manuscript of Bartram's Travels"

Discoveries: Trails and Places (2:00-3:00)

Greg Lein, "The Bartram Canoe Trail in Southeast Alabama;" Scott Couch, Joe Turham, and Ray Vaughan (Friends of Tuskegee National Forest), "Bartram's Trail in the Tuskegee National Forest"

Break (3:00-3:30)

Bartram books on sale in the lobby.

Writing Bartram (3:30-4:30)

An author round-table followed by questions from the audience and book signing. Thomas Hallock (*From the Fallen Tree: Frontier Narratives, Environmental Politics, and the Roots of a National Pastoral, 1749-1826*); John R. Ray and Malcolm J. Skove (*Bartram Trail: Detailed Trail Guide with Maps*); Brad Sanders (*Guide to William Bartram's Travels*); Chuck Spornick and Bob Greene (*An Outdoor Guide to Bartram's Travels*); Gregory Waselkov, *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians*.

Banquet (Saturday evening)

We'll convene at a local restaurant for a banquet followed by a special guest speaker, Dr. John Hall, Alabama Museum of Natural History, who will discuss Bartram's botanical collection techniques.

Sunday, October 26, 9:00-3:00 (Ft. Toulouse-Jackson State Park)

Fort Toulouse-Jackson State Park is 10 miles north of Montgomery, AL off US Hwy. 231 in Wetumpka. Directions and a map will be available at the symposium.

Canoe Paddle (9:00-11:00)

Participants will assemble at Ft. Toulouse in the main parking lot. From there, we will be driven to a put-in location along the Tallapoosa River for a canoe trip back to the fort. Canoe expedition to last from one to one and one-half hours. The BTC will provide canoes, but participants may bring their own canoe if desired. Along the way, naturalists and historians will discuss the historic Tallapoosa of Bartram's day.

Presentation and Black Drink Demonstration (11:00-12:00)

Participants will assemble for brief presentation on the history of Fort Toulouse (Dr. Jim Parker) and the ceremony of the black drink, a welcome and purification ritual practiced daily by Creek men and offered to visitors, including Bartram (Dr. John Hall and Dr. Craig Sheldon). Presentation includes information on the preparation and serving of black drink, with samples for the audience.

Lunch (12:00-)

Boxed Lunches provided.

Following lunch, Johnny Molloy, author of *Long Trails of the Southeast* and numerous other trail guides, will discuss the Bartram Trail in north Georgia/Pinhoti Trail in Alabama. Participants may explore the site of Fort Toulouse, the reconstructed Indian village and fort and the botanical trail on their own.

Lodging

Hotels. There are a number of hotels in the Montgomery area convenient to the Alabama Archives and History Building and State Capitol for those wishing to make advance reservations. For information on Montgomery hotels, visit <http://www.visitmontgomery.org>.

Camping. Camping is available at Fort Toulouse, with 39 individual trailer and recreational vehicle pads with water, electricity, a picnic table and grill at each campsite. Showers, restrooms, and a gray water dump station are centrally located. Camping reservations are taken 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. Camping fees are \$14.00 and \$11.00 (senior citizens). For information, contact Jim Parker: 334-567-3002 or jparker@preserveala.org.

Directions

From I-65 North or South (from Mobile or Birmingham). Go to I-85 Interchange - direction towards Atlanta). Exit at Court St. (Exit 1) onto Arba St. which runs parallel to the interstate. Follow Arba St. to near its end and turn left onto Union St. Go North towards the State Capitol to the intersection of Union St. and Washington Ave. Turn left onto Washington Ave. The Archives is on the left in the middle of the block, just South of the State Capitol. Entrances to the Archives are on both the Washington Ave. and Adams Ave. side of the building.

Directions from I-85 (from Atlanta). Exit at the downtown/Union St. exit (Exit 1). Drive North to the intersection of Union St. and Washington Ave. Turn left onto Washington Ave. The Archives is on the left in the middle of the block, just South of the State Capitol. Entrances to the Archives are on both the Washington Ave. and Adams Ave. side of the building.

Saturday Sessions will be held at the Alabama State Capitol Auditorium, one block from the Archives. Parking is available in the Union Street Parking lot across from the Union Street entrance to the Auditorium.

For a printable map of the area:

<http://www.archives.state.al.us/referenc/webmap.html>
www.archives.state.al.us/referenc/webmap.html

www.bartramtrail.org

Registration Form
Bartram Trail Conference – Biennial Meeting

Hosted by the Alabama Department of Archives and
History and the Alabama Historical Commission
Montgomery, Alabama – October 24-26, 2003

Registration should be received by October 10, 2003. Please complete the registration form and return to Chuck Spornick, BTC Treasurer, 390 St. Mark's Drive, Lilburn, GA 30047 along with a check payable to the Bartram Trail Conference. This is also a good time to pay your dues for 2004. We'll also have a Bartram-themed conference T-shirt – make sure to include size.

Complete Registration Fee*	_____ @ \$75.00	=	\$ _____
Extra Barbeque Ticket	_____ @ \$12.00	=	\$ _____
Extra Banquet Ticket	_____ @ \$25.00	=	\$ _____
Extra Lunch Ticket	_____ @ \$10.00	=	\$ _____
Sat. Symposium Only (incl. lunch)	_____ @ \$15.00	=	\$ _____
Sat. Symposium & Sun. Excursion	_____ @ \$50.00	=	\$ _____
Student Registration: Sat. only†	_____ @ \$10.00	=	\$ _____
Student Registration: Sat. & Sun†	_____ @ \$30.00	=	\$ _____
2004 Dues	_____ @ \$20.00	=	\$ _____
Conference T-Shirt (Circle Size: S, M, L, XL)	_____ @ \$15.00	=	\$ _____

TOTAL \$ _____

Name/Names of Registrants: _____

Address: _____

E-mail: _____ Phone: _____

*Please note that the Registration Fee is per person and includes Friday night Barbeque, Saturday lunch and refreshments, Saturday night banquet, Sunday picnic lunch and canoe expenses. Additional lunch, barbeque and banquet tickets are available for spouses/guests who do not plan to register for the entire program. You may also register for only the Saturday Symposium and Sunday Excursion (Omits Friday night barbeque and banquet ticket).

†Student Registration covers Saturday Symposium at the Capitol and Sunday Excursion to Ft. Toulouse, including lunch and refreshments (no barbeque and banquet ticket).

Please note if you require vegetarian dining option.

The Traveller, Newsletter of the
Bartram Trail Conference
c/o Tom Hallock
125 19 Ave. South
St. Petersburg, Florida 33705

CONFERENCE PROGRAM AND REGISTRATRATION INSIDE MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA OCTOBER 24-26, 2003

Bartram Trail Conference, Inc. Membership Form

Name: _____

Address: _____

Phone: () _____ E-mail address: _____

Circle one: New Member. Renewing Member

Areas of Interest in the Bartram Trail (be specific about geographic locations and activities, i.e., Bartram sites, or whether or not you like to hike, read, garden, etc.):

News for the BTC newsletter:

Please mail this completed form, along with \$20.00 membership fee, to:

Chuck Spornick
390 St. Mark's Drive
Lilburn, GA 30047
E-mail: libcds@emory.edu