# The Traveller

A Newsletter of the Bartram Trail Conference

Fall, 2023

### Bartram Trail Conference 2023

By Dorinda Dallmeyer

A hearty group of 71 participants gathered for the 2023 Bartram Trail Conference at the University of Georgia's the Special Collections Library, on August 4–5. We met in a place that not simply houses collections but makes them come alive.

A highlight for many was the opportunity to visit the library's mammoth underground vault and learn more about all the holdings it contains. Held at a steady temperature of 50 degrees, it provided a rare opportunity to hear Southerners in August having had their fill of air-conditioning! Alabamians in attendance thought our library was a treasure like their own Alabama State Archives and Museum—a treasure not only for Georgia but for the whole region.

The curatorial staff assembled special Bartram showcases to display throughout the conference. These included a first-edition Catesby shoal lily portrayed alongside keynote speaker Darlene Farris-Labar's 3-D printed renditions of the lily and Bartram's oakleaf hydrangea—a technique Catesby could not have dreamed of. Another display focused on William Bartram's early mentors, George Edwards and Peter Collinson, and Bartram's own service as a mentor for the next generation of American naturalists.

In addition to those attending in person, we had six who participated in the conference on the web. And for the first time, one of our speakers joined us remotely: Dr. Micah Taylor who called in from Brazil to take questions about his pre-recorded presentation.

Athens was an appropriate place for us to start the anniversary of Bartram's



Thursday, August 3, marked the release of Bartram Trail Pale Ale at Athentic Brewing Company. Participants enjoyed a night of Bartram trivia.

sojourn in the South, almost exactly 250 years since he looked across the Oconee after riding west with the hunting party. He wrote:

"We came to the banks of that beautiful river. The cane swamps of immense extent, and the oak forests on the level lands are incredibly fertile..."

I often imagine what he would think if he stood there and looked at Athens today. I know he would be delighted that on the Oconee's west bank stands a great institution of higher learning, and a library that would amaze and delight him.

Be sure to mark your calendar for June 1–2, 2024 when we will hold our next Bartram Trail Conference in Cowee, North Carolina.



Conference members toured the University of Georgia Libraries archives.

#### 2024 St. Johns River Bartram Frolic will Celebrate the 250th Anniversary of William Bartram's visit to Florida

The 2024 St. Johns River Bartram Frolic will take place April 27–28 2024. This will be our ninth year. We will be celebrating the 250th Anniversary of Bartram's visit to Florida by making this a bigger and better event. We will host the Passport-to-the-Past Adventure featuring our living history—Billy Bartram, Trader Job Wiggens, the Long Warrior plus the Fort Mose's Militia, Bartram's cracker horse, snakes, turtles and more. Oh MY!

The 2024 Frolic continues to promote the St. Johns River with paddling tours, boat tours, biking tours, hiking tours and bus tours. We feature over 25 Bartram sites during the Frolic. The tenth annual Bartram Symposium will offer more Bartram scholarship, science, and art on Sunday, April 28th.

The Frolic's Education program passed an incredible milestone this year. We have educated and entertained over 4,000 Putnam County School students. The St. Johns Riverkeeper has taken many of



Jim Sawgrass as Mico Chlucco, Long Warrior, "King of the Seminoles" at our St. Johns River Bartram Frolic.

them for their first boat ride on Billy's favorite river. Bartram wrote in *Travels*, "We had a pleasant and prosperous voyage down the grand river St. Juans [St. Johns]."

Putnam County is not the only one celebrating Bartram's 250th. Clay County is joining us to create the Bartram Trail in Clay County by hosting the Bartram Trail Society of Florida at their ECO-Fest and

Bartram Celebration on April 20th, Billy's birthday. Clay County has over 10 Bartram sites, including St. Augustine's Governor Patrick Tonyn's indigo plantation at Camp Chowenwaw, the trailhead of the Bartram Trail in Clay County. Billy visited there twice in 1774!

Bartram's Alachua Savannah will celebrate the 250th Anniversary May 3–4, 2024 at the Payne's Prairie Preserve State Park. The Friends of Paynes Prairie will coordinate the Bartram Days Celebration. We will bring our living history friends. We also plan to include school field trips similar to our St. Johns education program. Bartram troubadour Lee Pinkerton is writing folk songs about Ahaya, the Cowkeeper, and Puc-Puggy, (the flower hunter). We will reveal our plans to complete the Bartram Trail in Alachua County.

The fun continues with our fourth appearance at the Florida Folk Festival May 24–26, 2024. We will be storytelling, singing, exhibiting and maybe even holding kids' workshops about Bartram's travels in Florida. This is a highlight every year.

Please join us @ www.bartramtrailsociety.com and on Facebook @ www.facebook.com/Bartramtrailsociety.



#### Save the Date!

June 1-2, 2024

Celebrating the 250th anniversary of William Bartram's travels in the southern colonies.

The 2024 Bartram Trail Conference will be held at the Cowee School Arts and Heritage Center in Cowee, North Carolina.





Photographs of the Great Buffalo Lick by Susan Patrice.
The photo exhibit, With Rapture & Astonishment: Reimagining the Bartram Trail, had its opening reception at the UGA Circle Gallery during the Bartram Trail Conference in Athens. Twelve photographers followed in the footsteps of William Bartram to explore and reimagine a well-traveled landscape teeming with life.

#### Regional News

#### Alabama

The Caroline Marshall Draughon Center for the Arts & Humanities in the College of Liberal Arts at Auburn University, Alabama, is adding Bartram plants to the Center's landscape, including a Franklinia purchased from Nearly Native Nursery in Fayetteville, Georgia. The Draughon Center will host Mandy Katz, Lead Gardener and Land Manager at Bartram's Garden in February 2024 for a public talk. Watch our Facebook page for an announcement about details and the exact date. Or email Mark Wilson at mwilson@auburn.edu if you would like to attend.



The Center's Franklinia is potted and resides on the patio, where it is thriving and bloomed this year.

#### Georgia

The William Bartram Chapter of the Daughters of American Colonists has received permission from the Oglethorpe County Board of Commissioners to place a marker commemorating the Great Buffalo Lick. The location of the lick has been a source of controversy since the late 1930s, when a marker was erected near Union Point, Georgia. In the 1970s the Bartram Trail Conference erected a second marker for the lick near the community of Philomath, following Francis Harper's suggestion.

Dr. Louis DeVorsey did not believe that either of these two sites was the location of Bartram's Great Buffalo Lick. Using newly discovered land plats from the Georgia Archives, he was able to definitively place the location as being near the intersection of Thaxton Road and Crawfordville Road (GA-22) south of Lexington and near Buffalo Creek.



From left; Sam Carr, Ken Mahaffee, Linda Crider, Dean Campbell, Janice Brown, Janice Mahaffee, and Mischa Johns at the Bartram Trail Society of Florida table.

#### Bartram Trail Society of Florida News

By Sam Carr

The Bartram Society of Florida (BTSF) has been very busy this summer. We took the trip to Athens to join the Bartram Trail Conference for the 250th Anniversary Celebration of William Bartram's travels in Northeast Georgia. The BTSF is looking forward to continuing the celebration with a very busy 2024.

We now have seven Florida counties that have joined us in the effort to create the Bartram Trail in Florida using the template created by the Bartram Trail in Putnam County National Recreation Trail They are Nassau, Duval, Putnam, Volusia, St. Johns, Clay and Alachua County. The National Parks Service Rivers, Trails, and Conservation Assistance Program is considering assisting the BTSF. Stay tuned!

2024 marks the 250th anniversary of William Bartram's travels in Florida. There following events celebrate Bartram's visit,

Saturday, April 13, 2024: 250th Anniversary Bartram Trail in Nassau County Celebration and Paddle during Nassau County's Bicentennial Event. The Celebration will take place at Egan's Creek Park, named for Bartram's host on Amelia Island (www.ameliaisland.com/partners/egans-creek-park/). The Bartram Trail Conference will be there and Billy Bartram will be speaking at 2:00 p.m. A historic Bartram eco-tour will take place afterwards from Egan's park. Details and reservations from Bartram Trail Conference Affiliate: Amelia Island Kayak Ex-

cursions, (904) 557–5307, info@ameliais-landkayak.com.

Saturday, April 20th, 2024: Billy's Birthday; We will be celebrating Willliam Bartram's Birthday in Clay County by participating in the Black Creek ECO-Fest at Camp Chowenwaw. Billy Bartram and Trader Job Wiggens will be in attendance to entertain and educate. There will be lots of Eco-Friendly displays including the BTC Affiliate Bartram's Ixia Chapter of the Florida Native Plant Society. Development of the Bartram Trail in Clay County is underway. They have over 10 Bartram sites including East Florida Governor Patrick Tonyn's indigo plantation at Camp Chowenwaw, which is the trailhead of the Bartram Trail in Clay County. Billy visited there twice in 1774! Details and directions are at www.claycountygov. com/community/parks-and-recreation/ camp-chowenwaw-park.

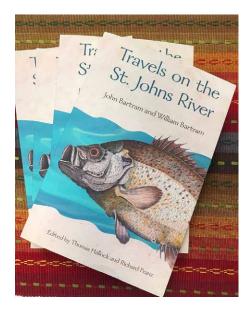
Saturday, April 27th & 28th, 2024: The Ninth Annual St. Johns River Bartram Frolic in Palatka will take place in downtown Palatka. We will be celebrating the 250th Anniversary by making this Frolic the best yet. We will feature the Passport-to-the-Past Adventure featuring our living history—Billy Bartram, Trader Job Wiggens, the Long Warrior, the Fort Mose' Militia, Bartram's cracker horse, snakes, turtles and more... Oh My! We will celebrate the Bartram Trail in Putnam County National Recreation Trail by featuring paddling tours, boat tours, biking tours, hiking tours and bus tours. We feature over 25 Bartram sites during the Frolic. The 10th annual Bartram Symposium will offer more Bartram scholarship, science and art on Sunday, April 28th.

Pleases come join us at www.bartramtrailsociety.com and on Facebook at www. facebook.com/Bartramtrailsociety.

Saturday May 4th, & 5th, 2024: The 250th Anniversary will continue at Bartram's beloved Alachua Savannah with Bartram Days at the Payne's Prairie Preserve State Park. Bartram Affiliate Friends of Paynes Prairie Preserve CSO will coordinate the Bartram Days Celebration. The BTC & Bartram Trail Society of Florida will be be on hand with living history friends, Billy Bartram, Trader Job Wiggens, and Cuscawilla's own Ahaya (the Cowkeep-

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#### **Books**



The University Press of Florida has released Travels on the St. Johns River: John Bartram and William Bartram in paperback. It is also still available in hard copy. The book includes writings from John Bartram's 1765 diary of his journey to Florida as well as excerpts from William Bartram's Travels and personal Bartram letters dealing with the Bartrams' time in Florida. Editors Thomas Hallock and Richard Franz provide commentary and editorial notes about Florida flora and fauna, making this an essential addition to the Bartram bookshelf.

Order from your favorite local bookstore, Amazon.com, or directly from the University of Florida Press website.

All royalties go to the Bartram Trail Conference. \*\*

#### Bartram Trail Conference Board

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#### In Memory of Joel Fry

A celebration of remembrance was held on September 7, 2023, at Bartram's Garden in Philadelphia for Joel T. Fry, the long-time curator at Bartram's Garden and Bartram Trail Conference member. Friends and colleagues shared reminiscences about Joel and his work. Board Member Kathryn Braund attended and shared her own memories of Joel and read the following statement prepared by Bartram Trail Conference president Dorinda Dallmeyer on behalf of the BTC.

On behalf of the Board of Directors and all the members of the Bartram Trail Conference, please know that we join you in your grief at the passing of Joel Fry.

Just as we join you in grief, we also join you in gratitude for having crossed paths with Joel Fry. He epitomized the generous scholar. Joel seemed to inhabit the mind of William Bartram, somehow, across the centuries. We could count on Joel to share new insights at our conferences, regardless of the subject matter he chose. He also understood, as Bartram did, what it meant not only to have a mentor but to be a mentor for the next generation of scholars, particularly our Fothergill Fellows.

And then there were the opportunities to be with Joel in the field. At the 2022 conference in Darien, Georgia, we had the rare opportunity to visit the Fort Barrington Hunt Club, the owners and stewards of the site where the Bartrams first located *Franklinia alatamaha* and then

#### Bartram Trail Society of Florida, continued from page 3

er.) Bartram troubadour Lee Pinkerton will introduce her folk songs about Ahaya and Puc-Puggy (the flower hunter.) We will reveal plans to complete the Bartram Trail in Alachua County. (www.floridastateparks.org/parks-and-trails/paynes-prairie-preserve-state-park)

May 24-26, 2024: The fun continues with our fourth appearance at the Florida Folk Festival. We will be storytelling, singing, exhibiting and holding children's workshops featuring Bartram's travels in Florida. This is a highlight our year, every year. \*\*

William's triumphant return to see it for the first time in bloom.

When Joel found out that we were going to be able to visit, he told me "I want to see it all." I responded that the site encompassed 1600 acres. He repeated, "I want to see it all." Well, he didn't get to see the whole tract that day but he didn't waste a moment—reveling at what for him must have been his version of Shangrila. What a joy for all of us to see that mind and spirit in action.

Let me close with a quotation from Bartram's *Travels*:

"My winding path now leads me again over the green fields into the meadows, sometimes visiting the decorated banks of the river, as it meanders through the meadows, its surface receiving the images reflected from the flowery banks above.

MY barque being securely moored, I spread my skins and blanket by my chearful fire, and reclined my head on my hard but healthy couch. I listened, undisturbed, to the divine hymns of the feathered songsters of the groves, whilst the softly whispering breezes faintly died away."

As it was with William Bartram, Joel's barque is securely moored now—not just in our gratitude for his scholarship but also in our hearts. \*\*

## Save the Date! June 1-2, 2024

Celebrating the 250th anniversary of William Bartram's travels in the southern colonies.

The 2024 Bartram Trail Conference will be held at the Cowee School Arts and Heritage Center in Cowee, North Carolina.



# William's References to John Bartram in *Travels*

Christopher Robinson

William Bartram mentions his father John eight times in his main work, the Travels. While some of the mentions are self-explanatory, four of them require some elaboration to appreciate. For these I will introduce individuals who can help us appreciate the text of the *Travels*. We see familiar individuals like Peter Collinson and John Fothergill.

In order to appreciate two of these references, it will be useful to introduce William Young, who serves as a foil to both John and William Bartram.

Young was born on November 30, 1742, and was three and a half years younger than William. In 1753, when he was 11, Young's family became the Bartrams' neighbor (Harshberger, 1917). We are told by Johann Schoepf, who visited Bartram's gardens several times in the 1780s, that Young was "frequently in Bartram's garden, and found amusement in the variegated blossoms" (1911, p. 92). Young also set his sights on becoming one of the several nurserymen, botanists, and artists, and in this he quickly achieved more success than either John or William.

In 1761, William was attempting to establish himself as a merchant along the Cape Fear River and was met with early setbacks when he arrived at the wrong season. Young, by contrast, was already traveling and making contacts with some of the same individuals that John knew. For example, John had met Alexander Garden in 1754 when visiting Cadwallader Colden (Linneaus, 1821, p. 288). and then Garden came to Philadelphia later that year (Berkeley & Berkeley, 1982). From this point, John and Garden regularly exchanged letters that include some of John's most philosophically revealing writing (e.g., 25 March 1762). In 1760, John had even stayed with Garden for nearly two weeks when he visited South Carolina. The next year, Garden met Young and was full of praise in a letter to a mutual correspondent, John Ellis,

I have at last met with a man who is to commence nurseryman and gardener,

and to collect seeds, plants, &c, for the London market. He is a sensible, careful man, and has a turn for that business. He shall receive all the advice and assistance that I can give him. (Harshburger, 1917, p. 94)

By 1764, William's ventures in Carolina were clearly not going well (Magee, 2007). As John said in a letter to Collinson, "[William] will be ruined in Carolina, everything goes wrong with him there" (4 March 1764). At the same time, Young sent a package of plants to Queen Charlotte, the wife of George III. For reasons known only to her, the queen then summoned Young to England, gave him title of Queen's Botanist, a 300 pound stipend, and put him in training with a wellknown botanist (Kinch, 1986; Schoepf, 1911). While in England the next year, Young met with Thomas Penn who told Young's father that, "the King enquired of your Son the Character of John Bartram, who having a very great regard for him, gave an account of his long labour in botanical matters, and said he much deserved regard. John Bartram ought to know this" (Kinch, 1986, p. 367). Perhaps Young was aware of how much he owed to John (e.g., learning to pack plants in moss).

As Young traveled to England, John sent a "very curious Collection of Specimens of all the uncommonly valuable Plants and Trees of North America" to the King of England and began a serious quest to receive some type of royal recognition, such as by sending a package to Louisa Ulrika Drotting (Queen of Sweden). Interestingly, he sent his package intended for the King with Young to deliver to Collinson (Berkeley & Berkeley, 1992, p. 638; "From Benjamin Franklin to Peter Collinson, 24 September 1764"). Even though he trusted him to carry the package, John was clearly bothered by Young's "sudden preferment" and that "he has got more honour by A few miles traveling to pick up A few common plants that I have by near 30 years travail with great danger & peril" (Berkeley & Berkeley, 1992, p. 638). In this same letter, John discusses financing his trips and mentions he would like to spend a year in Florida but, "Hitherto I have travailed at my own expense except at Onondaga so was obliged to make hast home." On the trip to Onondaga, he accompanied a delegation to try and ease tensions between the Iroquois and several colonies (Robinson, 2023).

He wrote about Young in several letters, sometimes expressing some confidence in Young's potential ("he is very industrious and hath a good share of ingenuity") and in others expressing anxiety about Young's success and its implications for him (Magee, 2007). As we will see, one of these letters to Fothergill will prove important for William's later success.

Bartram was not the only one who felt that he deserved more recognition. Benjamin Franklin wrote to Collinson at the same time John shipped plants to the King,

I wish some Notice may be taken of John's Merit. It seems odd that a German Lad of his Neighbourhood, who has only got some Smatterings of Botany from him, should be so distinguish'd on that Account, as to be sent for by the Queen, and our old Friend, who has done so much, quite forgotten. He might be made happy as well as more useful, by a moderate Pension that would enable him to travel thro' all the New Acquisitions. (From Benjamin Franklin to Peter Collinson, 24 September 1764)

It was support of men such as Frank-lin that led to John being appointed the King's Botanist in 1765 and receiving a stipend—a stipend one-sixth the size of Young's. Later that year, John traveled south and spent nine days with Garden before he went to pick up William and return to Charleston, and before they had returned Garden wrote to John Ellis again, only this time to question John's credentials. After describing how he traveled with John to try and help him, Garden unloads on John's botanical knowledge,

I find he knows nothing of the generic characters of plants, and can neither class them nor describe them; but I see that, from great natural strength of

mind and long practice, he has much acquaintance with the specific characters; though this knowledge is rude, inaccurate, indistinct, and confused, seldom determining well between species and varieties, he is however alert, active, industrious, and indefatigable in his pursuits, and will collect many rare specimens, which, from their being sent home, will give you a good idea of the country productions. (Linnaeus, 1821, p. 537).

In response to John's telling him that he has been appointed King's Botanist, Garden asked Ellis, "Is it really so? Surely John is a worthy man; but yet to give the title of King's Botanist to a man who can scarcely spell, much less make out the characters of any one genus of plants, seems hyperbolical" (Linnaeus, 1821, p. 538).

There would be many turns in Young's fortunes, including being imprisoned for debt, having his stipend reduced to 50 pounds a year, and being forced to return to the colonies. When he did return to the colonies, he styled himself the King and Queen's Botanist and the queen promised John's stipend to him upon John's death (Kinch, 1986). During this same period, William languished on his ill-conceived plantation in Florida and then worked as a surveyor. Whatever positive feelings John had for Young had clearly left when Young returned in 1766. John told Collinson that Young, "cuts ye greatest figure in town struts along ye streets whistling with his sword & gold lace &c he hath been 3 times to visit me pretends a grat respect for me" (5 December 1766). Of particular relevance here, Young would reverse some of his setbacks by being the first to successfully ship live samples of the Venus flytrap to London (Ellis, 1770). In the same year, he would return to England with a collection of botanical samples and drawings. Later he would lend his titles and plants to an herbal medicine developed by his father in the colonies, offering another product that touched on John and William's interests in medicinal plants. Towards the end of his life Young began a profitable business with the French market that included publishing in 1783 a catalog of American plants for sale by "M. Yong, Botaniste de Pensylvanie." Two years later, Young died on a botanical trip to the Carolinas, leaving an estate worth a substantial sum (Kinch, 1986). This is perhaps a fitting end to a man who declared, "I fermly Belief that I Am Designed By nature for to pursue Botany In the wilds of America" (Kinch, 1986, p. 381). Meanwhile his neighbor William, having squandered his inheritance, was living and working just down the road with his brother John, who had inherited their father's business (Hallock & Hoffmann, 2010).

Given this background, we might better understand two of William's mentions of John.

In William's first mention of John, he writes, "From the advantages the journalist enjoyed under his father JOHN BARTRAM, botanist to the king of Great-Britain, and fellow of the Royal Society, it is hoped that his labours will present new as well as useful information to the botanist and zoologist" (Bartram & Harper, 1998, pp. xiii–xiv).

As is well known, William traveled with John from the time he was 14 when they traveled to the Catskills and John called William "my little botanist" (20 August 1753). The problematic comment is that John was a fellow of the Royal Society. William repeated this in a biographical sketch he wrote on his father (Bartram, 1804).

Although John corresponded with the Hans Sloane, the president of the Royal Society, and was close friends with Peter Collinson who read many of John's correspondence to the Royal Society, John was never a member of the Royal Society of London. Although Collinson had recommended at least 77 people to the Royal Society (O'Neal & McLean, 2008, p. 27), there is no record that he recommended Bartram. Collinson was essential, however, in John becoming the King's Botanist and receiving a stipend from the King that helped fund his Florida trip.

In many ways, William's error here is an attempt to right a historical wrong: John should have been a member of the Royal Society. In nearly every other way, he had the right credentials, and was even elected to the Royal Academy of Sciences Stockholm (in 1769, perhaps helped along because of the package he sent to the Queen). As much as is possible, it is

desired that the Royal Society of London right this wrong and posthumously elect John as a member.

There is another mention of John that is clearly an allusion to Young. When introducing the Venus flytrap, William writes, "THIS wonderful plant seems to be distinguished in the creation, by the Author of nature, with faculties eminently superior to every other vegetable production; specimens of it were first communicated to the curious of the old world by John Bartram, the American botanist and traveller, who contributed as much if not more than any other man towards enriching the North American botanical nomenclature, as well as its natural history" (Bartram & Harper, 1998, p. 473).

While Young did get live samples to London and even tried to name the plant after himself (Magee, 2007), William wants us to remember that John sent samples first in 1763. It is also notable that William does not mention he was the one who sent seeds and the Venus flytrap to his father from the Carolinas (Berkeley & Berkeley, 1982, 1992). He wants his father to have the credit.

There is one final connection between William and Young that is worth considering. Both Young and William were supported by John Fothergill. Fothergill helped Young get commissions and in 1771 specifically praised Young's method of sending plants (Corner & Booth, 1971, by packing them in moss). Of perhaps greatest interest in this connection is a letter from Fothergill to John the very next year. In this letter, Fothergill told John that he has tried to help Young "but he will not succeed, nor can he be supported." In the very next paragraph, he discusses receiving a letter from William and that he will "endeavour to assist his inclination for a tour through Florida" (Corner & Booth, 1971, p. 390).

While he was willing to allow his father to have all the credit for sending samples of the Venus flytrap to London, William wants to set the record straight about the killing of a snake while with his father at the Indian negotiations at Fort Picolata. Snakes feature a lot in the Bartrams' writings, and William begins his episode by recalling a time he and John were together in the Catskills when William was 14 years old. While there, he mistook a

snake for a mushroom and almost kicked it before his father stopped him. In most details, William's account resembles what John wrote in his account of his Catskills trip (Berkeley & Berkeley, 1992, p. 361).

However, William and John have very different memories about the snake at Picolata. John is quite clear that the snake was killed after the conference had concluded. On November 21, 1765, John Bartram's diary records "killed a monstrous rattlesnake" (Bartram & Harper, 1942). William, by contrast, asserts that the day the treaty commenced he killed the rattlesnake and afterwards he proudly "dragged him after me, his scaly body founding over the ground, and entering the camp with him in triumph, was soon surrounded by the amazed multitude, both Indians and my countrymen" (Bartram & Harper, 1998, p. 271). The captain later served it at the meal.

William's final mention of his father is when he arrives at his house at the end of his travels: "arrived at my father's house on the banks of the river Schuylkill, within four miles of the city, January 1778" (Bartram & Harper, 1998, p. 480). William commonly made chronological errors, but this error is most perplexing. John Bartram died on 22 September 1777. Not only does William never bemoan not being home, in his biographical sketch on his father he wrote about his death as if present. William writes, "for although he lived to be about eighty years of age, yet he was cheerful and active to almost the last hours. His illness was very short. About half an hour before he expired, he seemed, though but for a few moments, to be in considerable agony, and pronounced these words, 'I want to die" (Bartram, 1804, p. 124).

Both together and solo, John and William's explorations span nearly 50 years. As William notes, they discovered plants, they visited old Indian mounds and participated in Indian conferences. William and John explored much of the eastern

seaboard and William expanded these searches westward to the Mississippi. Although William does not discuss it, I like to imagine there is a ninth reference to John. John had said, "I should be exceedingly pleased if I could afford it, to make A thorough search not only at pensacola but ye coast of florida alabama, Georgia & ye banks of the Misisipi" (4 March 1764). When William finally made it to the Mississippi, he wrote, "AT evening arrived at Manchac, when I directed my steps to the banks of the Mississipi, where I stood for a time as it were fascinated by the magnificence of the great sire of rivers." In the Travels, we are given a glance at the magnificence of the sire of William.

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