THOMAS WALTER CAROLINA BOTANIST

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THOMAS WALTER
(From a miniature in the possession of a direct descendant, Mrs. Benjamin Arthur Bolt of Greenville, South Carolina)
PREFACE

Gradually over the last 200 years information has accumulated to illuminate the accomplishments of the early naturalists who visited Colonial South Carolina. These men added greatly to the rapid development of the young, emerging nation and provided the rich inventory of our botanical heritage. One such man was Thomas Walter. It is hoped that this paper will help move this 18th-century botanist a little closer to his rightful place in the annals of science.

During the course of this investigation, I have received help and encouragement and it is in that context that I should like to thank the members of the staff at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History and at the South Caroliniana Library for their help. I am also indebted to Mrs. D. Scott, Deputy Librarian at the Herbarium, Kew, England for transcribing the letter from Walter to Mr. William Forsyth and to Mr. John Lewis, PSO at the British Museum of Natural History, for his kindness during my visits there.

Further, I should like to express my appreciation to Professor Wade Batson, Department of Biology at the University of South Carolina, and Dr. Oscar LaBorde of Columbia, S.C. for their review of the species list. Special thanks to Professor Ward W. Briggs, Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, University of South Carolina, Columbia for his translation of the Preface to Walter’s *Flora Caroliniana*. I am also indebted to Mr. James L. Haynsworth of Columbia for his suggestions and to my wife, Margaret, for her critical review of the manuscript. And finally, I thank the Museum Commission of South Carolina for their support in the publication of this work.
INTRODUCTION

The botanist Thomas Walter is revealed to us in his published volume, *Flora Caroliniana*, which stands today as a hallmark in its genre; the first flora of a region of North America to utilize the Linnaean system of classification. This 263-page volume, written in Latin, is the botanical legacy of an unheralded scholar who graced the scene during one of the most opulent periods that history has witnessed in North America. The society that surrounded Thomas Walter throughout the parishes north of Charleston (St. James, Goose Creek; St. John, Berkeley; and St. Stephen) in the mid to late 18th century flowered with “grace and elegance of which were unsurpassed in America.”

Who was this man who lived and died as the pains of revolution embraced the very region of his activities? What were his activities? His enigmatic life has challenged our imagination and left us quietly resigned to consider him as a gentle man of science, content to live out his days in the wilds of the river swamps of South Carolina. Recent archival investigations, however, present us with a totally different view of a most remarkable man. Thomas Walter was, in about 20 short years in South Carolina (1768-1789), husband to three wives, father to five children, man of affairs, merchant, planter, active politician and community leader, and patriot in the American Revolution.

MARRIAGES AND REAL ESTATE VENTURES

Thomas Walter was born (circa 1740) in Hampshire, England possibly in or near the town of Southampton. His aunt, Frances Knight, died there in 1784. Her name appears in the St. Laurence’s Register of Burials on the 22nd of January of that year. In a codicil to her will she referred to a debt of 350 pounds owed her by her nephew and this codicil was drafted to “aquit and exhonorate him of all obligations for the principal unpaid” at her death. Although not referenced in this codicil, he may have inherited a house from which he received rents until his death. He mentions this house in his will of December 9, 1788, and leaves the rents to his three daughters.

It is not known where Thomas Walter received his education. He apparently was not educated at Oxford or Cambridge Universities in England, nor at the University of Edinburgh. When or where he arrived in the North American colony is conjecture but by 1769 he was definitely in Charleston, South Carolina for in that year he is listed as a witness on a will prepared for a Mr. George Gordon of Savannah. Also that same year, March 26, Thomas Walter married Ann Lesesne of Daniel’s Island near Charleston. At the time of this marriage, he was listed as a merchant; a position confirmed by the records of Mr. Thomas Elfe who recorded a payment in his account book to Mr. Thomas Walter in August, 1770, in the amount of 30 pounds, 17 shillings, 6 pence for 15 blankets. Unfortunately this marriage ended with Ann’s death in Charleston on September 11, 1769.

Beginning in 1769 and continuing for 20 years, Walter acquired land resulting in a collection of tracts in various parishes to include: St. James, Goose Creek; St. John, Berkeley; St. Stephen; Christ Church; and St. Marks. These holdings amounted to approximately 4,500 acres at the time of his death.

In addition to land purchases, Thomas Walter petitioned the Council in Charleston and received 2 Royal Grants in 1771. One grant was for 200 acres.
“situated in Berkeley County near Wassamasaw bound South East and North East on vacant land North West on McCary’s land and part on Mr. Walter’s land Southeast on land unknown.” The other involved 300 acres “situated on East side of Wateree River in Craven County near the High Hills of Santee in Saint Marks Parish, bounding North Eastwardly on James Conyers land, South Eastwardly part on Peter Millets and part on vacant land, all other sides on vacant land.”  

The grant for the 200 acres was issued May 15, 1771, and the 300 acre tract was issued on June 25, 1771. The smaller tract was surveyed on March 1, 1771, by James Thompson and the larger on June 6, 1771 by Isham Moore.

A review of the Charleston County Deeds reveals an additional real estate transaction of Thomas Walter in 1787. On October 5 of that year he purchased 500 acres from Mr. Paul Trapier of Prince George Parish. This tract was in Berkeley County bounded on the north by the Santee River and on the east by land owned by Mr. Izard and Mr. Porcher and included the area of Walter’s botanical garden and the site of his grave. This land was not in Thomas Walter’s name until about 15 months before his death and yet he had his house and botanical garden in this area. There are no reports of earlier purchases in this part of the parishes so we must assume that Walter rented or leased this property some years before purchase.

After the death of his first wife, Ann, in 1769, he apparently concerned himself with affairs of his business, and it is possible that during this time he became interested in the life of a planter. He may have occupied his time in the early 1770’s with travels and plant collecting. Nothing is known of this period of his life but by 1777 he was ready for a second marriage. On March 20, 1777, he married Ann Peyre, the daughter of Samuel Peyre and Sarah Cantey. There were four children produced by this marriage; Ann (twin sister Polly died 1779), Mary, and Thomas, Jr. The two daughters married; Ann to Thomas Hasell Thomas in 1794 and Mary to Francis Peyre (her cousin) in 1800. Thomas Walter, Jr. died without issue and the name Walter ended.

Ann Peyre (Thomas Walter’s second wife) died in 1780 and he married for a third time the following year. In a marriage agreement signed by Walter August 16, 1781, he pledged himself to Dorothy Cooper, the niece of James Sinkler. This final marriage produced a daughter, Emily (who married T.U.P. Carlton of Savannah).

The will of Thomas Walter, dated December 9, 1788, was admitted to probate February 16, 1789, and listed there are his wife, Dorothy, and three daughters; Ann, Mary and Emily. His goods and chattels were inventoried and appraised March 27, 1789. This included a list of 32 slaves by name and value. Also listed, along with household furniture and animals (7 oxen, 9 cows, 39 sheep, 19 hogs), were 230 bushels of corn, 45 barrels of rice and 2700 bushels of rough rice.

He was buried in his garden on the south side of the Santee River very near the St. John/St. Stephen Parish line in Berkeley County. The actual site is on the St. John side of the line on high ground that slopes rapidly toward the river. At this location the river bends away into the swamp leaving an elbow of low land for several hundred meters separating Walter’s home and garden site from the water.

This location is approximately 50 miles north of the city of Charleston (Fig. 1) in a region sparsely inhabited and devoid of overt evidence of past glory. The present condition of the grave in the area of his botanical garden (Fig. 2) does not give us a hint as to what the area may have looked like in the 18th century. An old map of
the region (Fig. 3) actually presents a better perspective. As can be seen, the property of Thomas Walter with a representation of his house adjacent to the land of Mr. Izard and Samuel Porcher is evident.\textsuperscript{17}

Figure 1. Location of the grave of Thomas Walter in Berkeley County on the south side of the Santee River.
Figure 2. The grave of Thomas Walter as it appeared in February, 1979.
Figure 3. From an early map of the Santee Canal showing the home of Thomas Walter located between that of Job Marion and Samuel Porcher.
COMMUNITY LEADER AND POLITICIAN

During his first years in South Carolina, there is little doubt that Thomas Walter was in Charleston occupying himself as a merchant. When he decided to leave and move into the parishes is a matter for speculation. However, he did own the land after 1770, and about that time reference is made to him as being for a time a merchant at Dorchester. 18

On the Jury Lists of South Carolina (1778-1779), he is listed as a Petit and Grand Juror for the Parish of St. James, Goose Creek. 19 He either used his land holdings in this parish to qualify for these positions or he actually lived there during these years.

The earliest record yet found of his residence in St. John, Berkeley, is found in the minutes of the Commissioners of the Roads. 20 From the minutes of June 7, 1784, a list of male slaves (ages 16 to 60) from the parish appears. Thomas Walter is credited with having 15. Again a list of male slaves in the parish (ages 16 to 60) appears in the minutes, August 29, 1785, with Thomas Walter having 10. After this meeting in 1785, the next entry is as follows: "St. John's Parish, Moncks Corner, August 4, 1788. Mr. Blake Leah White having been appointed manager of the election of Commissioners of Roads by members of the House of Representatives for this Parish to be held at Fergerson's Swamp on the first day of May last, reported to us that the following persons were elected agreeable to law."

Henry Ravenel Frances Roach
Daniel Ravenel Patrick Roach
Theodore Gourdin Keating Simons
Thomas Giles Alexander Broughton
Paul Marion Blake Leah White
John Rion Thomas Walter
John Ball

Thomas Walter was elected a road commissioner the last summer of his life (his Flora published this same summer in London). The commissioners held 4 meetings after this election and before his death in January, 1789. They met at Moncks Corner on August 4, September 8, November 10, and November 24 and each time without Thomas Walter in attendance. It is only speculation, but it is possible that he may have been in declining health during the fall of 1788 and this explains his failure to attend the meetings.

Thomas Walter was a candidate for the General Assembly in November, 1786. In the general election that month, he and James Gray Weare received the same number of votes. Mr. Weare was the victor in a new election and was qualified for the office on February 22, 1787. 21 In the election of the 8th General Assembly held in November, 1788, Thomas Walter was elected to represent St. John, Berkeley. He is reported to have died before he could be qualified as a member. 22

On Monday, January 19, 1789, there is an item in a Charleston newspaper: "List of members of the House of Representatives, returning to serve in the present session ... from St. John, Berkeley Co., Peter Fayssoux, Henry Laurens, Jr., Thomas Walter, William Harleston, Thomas Simons, William Moultrie, Jr. . . . " 23 Whether he actually attended a session of the 8th General Assembly is doubtful; however, the fact that a report in The City Gazette concerning a role call vote for January 24, 1789 in the Assembly failed to include Walter's name supports the position that he failed to appear for the beginning of the session. 24 In a pamphlet
written in 1789 by his friend John Fraser, the time of Walter’s death is cited as January 17, 1789. On February 4, 1789, the City Gazette reports the death of Thomas Walter without mentioning the time or place of death. An election was held and Robert McKelvey was selected as his replacement. Mr. McKelvey was qualified on February 24, 1789.

LOYALIST OR PATRIOT?

As noted earlier, Walter was active in land acquisition during his years in South Carolina. He purchased or received in royal grants 4,387 acres of land which he undoubtedly farmed and, as his inventory reveals, he may have cultivated rice. When he signed his volume, "Thomas Walter, Agricola," he may not have actually meant to portray himself as a humble man of the soil as others have interpreted but rather that he was a planter with all the social status that came with such a title in the 18th century.

In a letter to William Maxon of the U.S. National Museum in Washington, D.C., on February 19, 1936, Miss Ann Porcher of Berkeley Co. writes, "Evidently Walter remained an Englishman to his death. In our family, whenever he is spoken of, the fact that he was never naturalized was always stressed. His brothers-in-law, the Peyres, remained loyalists and were both put in prison in Philadelphia." From this and other sources Walter is viewed as a Loyalist and a scholar not interested in or involved with revolutionary activity. He is presented to us as a retiring Englishman who, for whatever reason, entered the wilds of South Carolina and lived the life of a quiet man of science committed to his botanical endeavors. There is no question of his intellectual ability as acknowledged by his publication of Flora Caroliniana; however, the record now reveals a man of quite a different sort.

Thomas Walter operated as a merchant and planter in St. James, Goose Creek; St. Stephen; and St. John, Berkeley at a time when this area was one of the most affluent not only in South Carolina but in America.

As we have seen, Thomas Walter was active in his community and very involved in the affairs of the parishes. How could such a man have escaped involvement in the activities of the American Revolution that were all around him? The answer, of course, is that he did not.

In the Extracts from the Journals of the Provincial Congress of South Carolina, 1775-1776, we find, "The First Provincial Congress, January 11-17, 1775, resolved, that the following gentlemen be the committees for the several districts and parishes herein after mentioned for effectually carrying into execution the Continental Association, and for receiving and determining upon applications relative to law processes as foresaid ... For the parish of St. James, Goose Creek, Messrs. Benjamin Coachman, Henry Smith, John Davies, James Streater, Alexander Mazyck, Benjamin Mazyck, and Thomas Walter." As a member of the committee for the Continental Association, Walter can now be seen not as a loyal Englishman, but as an actual recruiter for the Revolution.

On March 8, 1779, a commission was issued to Walter appointing him to the position of Deputy Paymaster of the Militia. This position placed him in the service of the forces organized and at war with the Crown.

As further evidence of the patriot position of Walter, his involvement with the planning for the Santee Canal is instructive. Although the canal was constructed in
the 1790's after his death, he did serve as a member of an incorporated company that was set up in 1786 to investigate the opening of the canal between the Santee and Cooper rivers. The president of this company was General Moultrie and the vice-president was John Rutledge. Members of the board, in addition to Walter, included Generals Sumter, Marion, and Pinckney; hardly the company for a Loyalist.32

THE GRAVE OF THOMAS WALTER

Some 25 years after the death of Walter, his surviving daughters, Ann and Mary, had Mr. J. Hall, a stonecutter from Charleston, fashion a slab of white crystalline marble 2 inches thick, a little over two and one half feet wide and 6 feet long. The inscription that appears on the stone slab, according to Maxon, was written by the botanist and physician, James MacBride.33 The wording is as follows:

"In memory of Thomas Walter. A native of Hampshire in England and many years a resident of this state. He died in the beginning of the year 1788. Aetatis cir. 48 ann. To a mind liberally endowed by nature and refined by a liberal education he added taste for the study of Natural History and in the department of Botany, Science is much indebted to his labours. At his desire he was buried in this spot, once the garden in which were cultivated most of the plants of his Flora Caroliniana. From motives of filial affection his only surviving children, Ann and Mary, have placed this memorial."

His daughters, Ann and Mary, had the slab cut and placed in the approximate location of his home and botanical garden some 25 years after his death. The girls were 9 and 11 at the time of their father's death in January, 1789, and therefore it is understandable that they made an error on the marble slab as to the year of death, listing it as 1788. This error was not corrected until well into the 20th century.34

The garden of Thomas Walter, enjoyed by his family and friends and the botanist John Fraser, is not mentioned by the botanical correspondent of Linnaeus, Alexander Garden of Charleston.35 This is indeed unfortunate because, in spite of his duties as a very active physician in Charleston, Garden was an enthusiastic botanist. Evidently he and Walter never met or corresponded. Alexander Garden was banished from South Carolina as a Loyalist in late 1782. He arrived in England in January, 1783, never to return to South Carolina.36

Apparently, after the death of Walter in January, 1789, his garden rapidly returned to nature. There is no mention of it in later publications by botanists except in historical reference. The French botanist and indefatigable plant collector, Andre Michaux passed through the area without mentioning the garden in his journal.

The location of the grave today is best described as being in Berkeley County about 3 miles down river from the Lake Marion Dam on the south side of the Santee. A logging road now parallels the river in the area and passes within 150 feet of the grave. This road continues for less than a mile to the remains of the Santee Canal (Fig. I).

Several botanists have made visits to the grave of Thomas Walter in the area of his botanical garden. The first recorded visit is that of Henry W. Ravenel in the 1850's, some 65 years after the death of Walter. Ravenel reported (1856) that little remained of the garden tended by Walter with the exception of the tallow tree of China (Sapium sebiferum), which was found growing in two clusters as "off-
shoots from a half decayed stump of at least one foot in diameter."37 Twentieth-century reports of grave-site visits have been presented by Ezra Brainerd in 1907,38 W.C. Coker in 1910,39 John K. Small in 1935,40 William R. Maxon in 1936,41 and by a direct descendant of Thomas Walter, John Peyre Thomas in 1946.42

Both Brainerd and Coker reported the sad state in which they found the location of the botanical garden. In fact there was no evidence submitted by either author that anything remained in the early part of this century, with the exception of the broken marble stone that marked the last resting place of this exceptional man. Both men reported the presence of two large willow oaks (Quercus phellos) at either end of the grave stone. Neither of these trees exists today.

In correspondence with Mr. H. R. Dwight in 1931, Maxon reported that the grave had been restored "with new brick and cement foundation, and the slab repaired and replaced, and a handsome wrought iron fence, 15 feet square, with gate, has been placed around it."43

The restoration of Walter's grave in 1931 deserves further examination. In addition to correspondence with Maxon, there is also a letter from Mr. H. R. Dwight to Rev. Charles C. Raynal of Statesville, North Carolina dated December 20, 1931. In this letter Mr. Dwight reports on the grave-site restoration and on the grave of General Francis Marion some 4 miles away in the graveyard at Belle Isle. To set the record straight on this point, the following information is submitted.

In early 1931 two Presbyterian ministers, Rev. Dudley Jones (at the time a professor at Presbyterian College) and Rev. Charles C. Raynal of Statesville, N.C., made a trip to the grave of Walter. Rev. Jones photographed the area and the picture is not unlike the one taken in 1910 by Dr. Coker. These two men, evidently disturbed by what they found, contacted Mr. Dwight of nearby Pinopolis and Mr. J.G. Gadsden of Summerville, S.C. concerning restoration. In a presentation to the South Carolina Academy of Sciences on April 23, 1932, Prof. Dudley Jones reported on the restoration of Walter's grave the previous year. He also included comments on the grave of General Marion in this report. It is not known who actually did the restoration in 1931 or who paid for it, but it should be recorded that the Reverend Messrs. Jones and Raynal were the catalysts for action.44

In the report by Small (1935) the following observation is recorded, "On one of our visits to the site of this former garden several interesting plants were found. The Old-World fern Pycnodoria (Pteris) multifida was growing luxuriantly. A large isolated clump or thicket of buckthorn, Bumelia lycioides, stood, perhaps where Walter had started it. Most interesting were some fine shrubs of the rare star-anise Illicium parviflorum. This plant has been known to grow naturally in southeastern Georgia and eastern Florida. Its presence in the site of Walter's garden demands supposition; either the shrub is native there, or it is native therabouts and was brought in and planted by Walter, or brought up to the garden from down in Georgia or Florida during Walter's residence there. The plants were in exceptionally fine foliage on our latest visit. No other woody plants suggestive of Walter's activities there nearly two centuries ago were in evidence." A recent suggestion by Joseph Ewan (1979) concerning the Illicium mentioned by Small is instructive.45

According to Ewan, Michaux had visited the garden of Bartram in Philadelphia in July, 1787. Bartram had discovered the species in 1766 during a trip to Florida and, possibly on this information, Michaux sought and found the star-anise on May 5, 1788. Ewan suggests that Michaux may have presented the plant to Walter
in the summer of 1788. This may be true but there is no record in Walter’s writing or in the journal of Michaux that the two ever met.

During a trip to the area of the grave in the winter of 1979, no evidence of plants that could be attributed to Walter’s botanical garden could be found. The region has been logged extensively in recent years and the dominant trees are now the short-leaf pine, *Pinus echinata* (Fig. 2).

**JOHN FRASER AND WALTER’S FLORA**

The introduction to the *Flora Caroliniana* is presented here for the first time in translation. This “Preface” gives us insight into the botanical activities of Walter. He admits that he made no trips to botanical gardens (there may have been several in Charleston) preferring to view plants in their native habitat, though he admits to never traveling very far from his home. His words, “*linea bis duplicata quinquaginta millium passuum circumscribi potest*” have been interpreted to mean that he traveled a distance (radius) of 50 miles around his home. The “*linea bis duplicata*” could be referring to square miles, a line drawn parallel to another, then another set attached to them perpendicularly. If the 50 square mile area is accurate, then his region of collection is smaller than originally suspected.

**PREFACE**

When the author of this compendium first undertook his botanical inquiries, there was no help for him beyond that which Systema Naturae and Genera et Species Plantarum, the works of the most distinguished Linnaeus, provided. He investigated no botanical gardens, whence he might have entrusted the appearances of his memory to or recalled them from authors of plants badly described. Therefore, if he should have persevered in the beginning, it was necessary that he withdraw himself to the analysis of the fruit-bearing of individual species. From observation alone of the essential character and from the gathering of several plants, the generic names and specifications must be set forth. This task would not be slight, were the situation any better, and in fact it is made more difficult by the difficulties arising from the customs of botanical writers, which prevent us from finding new species even more than Fate does, as well as the persistent attempts to join dissimilar plants under the same genus as the true standard; these things having arisen, the task is more difficult.

To remove such impediments; to gather something that illustrates the Systema of the immortal man (Linnaeus); to announce to lovers of science some certain things, genera and species, which were before this either wholly unknown or inaccurately outlined; this is the purpose of this little book.

If some errors have crept in upon the sudden composition of this book; still as far as the greatest part of the work is concerned, the author knows that care or diligence was not at all lacking, and he hopes that this will be obvious to others. For a long time he has cultivated in his own garden the very many plants which he describes. There, the mutations which are induced often by place or accident have ceased to deceive him; nor is there the danger of assuming more varieties rather than (in place of) species. Further, what is important is that the opportunity arose to in-
spect plants in every stage of growth from year to year. Therefore, if they grouped plants related before this under the same genus, if also he began certain genera or beyond that new ones, or if there was never any obvious description for him as he read (chose), he hopes that he will not be thought to have added too many.

He has followed the principles of the Systema of Linnaeus rather than the words, and however often he has neglected the words, he has all the more endeavored to consult the principles. How then may the res herbaria attain to perfection, unless through investigations of these things by which one happens to inspect plants in places where they are native. Is not the error of such men to be ascribed to less than appropriate diligence (or diligence equal to the task), an error which has up to now called the Chinese Sebifer "croton," when certainly it must be removed from the genus Stillingia?

Often he was content to add a note of doubt to generic names and to indicate the differences in italic type.

He realizes that such freedom of naming and ascribing should be allowed in a few cases, since the right to say what the names for plants now described for the first time should be, falls (lit. remains) to those who are justifiably (deservedly) the leaders in this field (science).

It may seem amazing, perchance, that more than a thousand types (stocks, shoots) are gathered in this work, since it will be realized that not all were scarcely (all but a few?) from an area no greater than that of a line which can enclose fifty miles, a line twice duplicated (50 square miles?). Indeed, many lie hidden even now, as daily experience teaches. Grasses and plants pertaining to the class Cryptogamia, for the most part remain untouched (untreated). Beyond this, rather many trees are omitted, shrubs and plants, whose fruit-bearing was not yet sufficiently revealed to the author.

At South Carolina
On the banks of the Santee River

It appears that Walter was not stimulated into publication of the final work until he met John Fraser, the English plant collector, in the fall of 1786. John Fraser reports (1789) that he (Fraser) left his home in Paradise-Row, Chelsea (west of London) on account of ill health and journeyed to Newfoundland to begin collecting plants. He evidently sent some of this collection to Mr. William Forsyth, Master of the King's Gardens at Kensington. Fraser was encouraged by Forsyth to continue his collections, and Fraser further reports, "towards the end of the year 1786, I formed a resolution to proceed to the southern parts of the American provinces, in order to form a complete botanical collection of the native plants of that part of the continent; and on the 20th of September, of that year, I landed in Charleston in South Carolina."46 While in Charleston that September, Fraser met Andre Michaux. (For further information on Michaux see Rembert, 1979.) In this same paper (1789), Fraser continues, "I took up the determination ... of endeavouring to excell Mr. Michaux." Fraser traveled and collected with Michaux for a time during Michaux's initial journeys up the Savannah to the Cherokee Lands.48

Fraser probably met Walter in the late fall of 1786. He reports that Walter had collected and described 640 plants and he (Fraser) had increased this number to
By Fraser's admission this included 200 new species and 30 new genera. Walter organized his plants and their descriptions along with the collections of Fraser and this became the manuscript for the *Flora Caroliniana*. Walter honored Fraser by naming a magnolia (*Magnolia fraseri*) after the energetic plant collector. The type specimen of this species is located in the Walter Herbarium, Department of Botany, British Museum of Natural History, London (Fig. 4).

Figure 4. Type specimen of *Magnolia fraseri* Walt., now located in the Walter Herbarium, British Museum of Natural History, London.
Prior to Fraser’s departure for England with the plants and the Walter manuscript, Walter wrote a letter to Mr. William Forsyth in which he discussed Fraser and the collections. Since this is the only letter found written by Walter concerning his botanical endeavors, it is here submitted in entirety. This letter—written October 6, 1787, just a short time before Fraser left South Carolina never to see Walter again—is located in the Botanical Library at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew.

Sir, Mr. Fraser has just read to me a paragraph of a letter he has received from you, wherein you are so obliging as to promise to send a parcell of plants and seeds for me.

I take the earliest opportunity of thanking you for the kindness and honor you do me thereby. And in return beg you will favor me with your commands on all occasions whereon I can serve you.

Mr. Fraser, who is indefatigable and who has endangered his own life in his researches, must have sent home many new plants from hence. Possibly however many may have perished on the way. He has certainly made many valuable discoveries. As I keep a systematic account of our indigenous plants and cultivate most in my own garden; you can be resupplied, in case of failure with many. Unfortunately the Indian disturbances will prevent him from procuring some very valuable plants of which he could only obtain specimens on the journeys he made into their country. One, I most regret the want of, has an erect stem with ovate, acuminate, compressed, unilocular capsules with many seeds like those of the Bignonia. The new villose Kalmia and the Magnolia with auriculated leaves will no doubt be very acceptable. So I suppose will be the Rajania. We have two species of the genus to which the plant called Cissampelos smilacina belong both of which Mr. Fraser has sent home. In short our collection of Carolina plants amounts to a thousand, from which circumstance you may form judgement of the number of non-descripts. And yet many remain to be explored as every day’s experience convinces.

I shall think myself very happy in your correspondence and shall be highly gratified by your communications in the botanical way. And should any observations made here be desirable, an instruction on your part shall be immediately obeyed.

I cannot conclude yet without once more bearing testimony to the merit of Mr. Fraser. Perhaps the plants and other articles he will carry with him, will be the best certificate he can desire. But as accidents may prevent their safe arrival and as I have had an opportunity of viewing the greatest part of his collection, I should not do him justice if I did not acknowledge it.

Some of the specimens he retained however were imperfect. He had a tripterous seed from a flower with nearly 20 stamina, which I had not the chance of analyzing. He had also others, of which specimens I “saw” were defective from the absence of the pericarpium. Should any of these
be made out from more perfect specimens sent home, I should be much obliged by the information.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your most obed. Servt.
(signed) Thos. Walter

South Carolina
6th Oct. 1787

P.S. Mr. Fraser's collection of new Asclepias is very elegant and extraordinary.

The foregoing letter, dated in October, 1787, demonstrates that Walter and Fraser had completed the work for the collection of plants for the Flora just one short year after Fraser arrived in South Carolina. Much of that time had been spent by Fraser in the upper reaches of the state in an area where Walter never ventured. This, of course, means that Walter had to receive the collections of Fraser and, on rather short notice, complete the remainder of the descriptions and have the entire package ready for shipment to England with Fraser in the winter of 1788. Walter accomplished this while managing his land holdings of thousands of acres and at the same time keeping his political aspirations alive.

The pure botanical writings of the Flora were not the only plant-science activities of Walter or Fraser during this period. In the winter of 1786 (February) Walter reported that he had discovered a grass that had extraordinary properties. This grass, Agrostis perennans, was described as Cornucopiae perennans in the Flora (p. 73-74). Both Walter and Fraser thought that they could exploit this plant as a commercial endeavor, and accordingly Fraser proceeded to London with seed. The expectations of this grass cultivation were published by Fraser (1788) with the comments of Walter.31 This document contains a discussion by Walter as to the unique qualities of the grass as a forage. He also discusses some experiments that he conducted in 1786 and 1787. Walter's portion of the report is dated Santee, South Carolina, December 24, 1787. Evidently Fraser carried Walter's comments to London with the collections and the Flora manuscript. This report, published on July 29, 1788, is initial evidence of the practical botanical interests of these men. It is instructive to quote from the paper, as Fraser refers to the Flora of Walter (which Fraser had published in the summer of 1788), "in this masterly work, p. 5, and p. 73, the Public will see the Grass in question both generally (sic) and specifically described; and J. Fraser feels a peculiar pleasure in having it in his power to inform all Nurserymen, that he can supply them with any of the plants therein illustrated; many of the most valuable of them being still in his possession, and now in high perfection for sale. Of his new Magnolia only two plants have been sold by him; and these are in the possession of the Bishop of Winchester and Dr. Pitcairn. Two or three more still remain to be disposed of; as also many thousands of dried specimens of all the other plants described in the Flora Caroliniana, which it is his wish to appropriate in sets to the use of the Nobility and Gentry, in order to indemnify himself, in some degree, for the great expense which, at peril of his life, he incurred a twelve month ago in collecting them in the very center of the Cherokee Nations. J. Fraser begs leave further to declare, that there is a not a person upon the face of the earth, but himself, who knows the particular spots or soils where the whole of his Collection grows, or can be obtained. -Even in
this head, however, he is willing, on liberal terms, to communicate that to the public which hitherto has been confined to himself.” Fraser further reports that he has seed of the grass for sale and gives a list of noblemen who have become “Patrons and Subscribers” to the grass. This list includes Earls, Lords, Squires, Physicians, and Nurserymen. One such notable appearing in his list is Sir Joseph Banks. Fraser must have expected additional seed from Walter as he concludes with the comment that seed will be ready for delivery by Christmas.

As mentioned earlier, Fraser returned to England with the plant collections and the Walter manuscript, arriving in March, 1788. In just four short months he had published the *Flora*.

A year and 4 months later, in November, 1789, Fraser published a paper giving a rather detailed account of his experiences with the grass (*Agrostis perennans*) and quotes from a letter that Walter had written to him the previous year. In this letter (dated Feb. 18, 1788) Walter inquires about the voyage of Fraser back to England and makes special reference to his grass, “I expect to obtain an exclusive patent for vending the seed. People here seem to pay as much attention to it as they do most things, but at the same time hardly know how to believe their senses, and often ask with some degree of amazement how I came by it. Some object to the price; but I tell them that even that will not content me, and that I expect to be recorded in historic page as another Tritolemus.” (This is a reference to agriculture in Roman mythology.) From these comments of Fraser and Walter, it is evident that they expected to exploit this grass as a commercial enterprise. This was not to be. Walter died and Fraser had financial setbacks, with the result that the promotion of the grass ended in failure.

In this same letter to Fraser (Feb., 1788), Walter inquired as to the disposition of his manuscript, “I am anxious to hear the fate of my *Flora*, and what opinions are formed of the author among your great men. Will they allow of little merit, or do they give no quarter? Pray be ingenuous and explicit with me. If they find fault justly, I’ll take care to correct it. If they are mistaken, I will endeavour to make it clear.” Walter died less than a year after he made this inquiry.

The plant collections remained with the family of John Fraser at the time of his death in 1811. His son, the younger Fraser, presented the collection to the Linnean Society on May 23, 1849. This information is recorded on the first page of the folio volume of the Walter Herbarium now located in the Department of Botany of the British Museum of Natural History in London. The note further states that the collection was purchased by the Museum from the Society’s sale of surplus collections in 1863 for the sum of 15 shillings. The plants are variously mounted in this large bound volume and may have been rearranged at times. On page 112 of the folio is the notation, “the plants on this and the following pages were loose in the Herbarium and were fastened down when the volume was rebound — November 1885.” This note was initialled W.C. (W. Carruthers was Keeper of Botany from 1871 to his retirement in 1895.)

The plants that Fraser took to London in the winter of 1788 were apparently first studied in detail by Frederick Pursh in the early 19th century while they were still in the possession of the Fraser family. Evidently, Asa Gray was the next to make a critical study of the Walter plants during his first trip to England in the winter of 1839 and, according to Fernald and Schubert (1948), he made notes on his observations and left the notebook containing his identifications with the collection. The collection stirred little interest in England, as it was apparently unknown to
Figure 5. Walter's specimen of *Carpinus caroliniana* Walt., located in the British Museum of Natural History, London.
Figure 6. Walter’s specimen of *Gentiana catesbaei* Walt., located in the British Museum of Natural History, London.
Robert Brown and George Bentham. According to Britten, Lindley did discover it in the possession of John Fraser.

After the collection reached the British Museum (1863) several American botanists perused the plants, leaving their names or initials. These are listed by Britten (1921) as A. Gray (at a date later than 1839), A.A. Eaton, L.H. Bailey, N.L. Britten, C.S. Sargent, Oakes Ames, S.F. Blake, and Miss A.M. Vail. S.F. Blake reported (1915) on his work at the British Museum and concluded that of the 32 new genera of Walter only 4 were actually named, i.e., Syntherima, Frasera, Amsonia, and Vincetoxicum. The remaining 28 were given the pseudonym Anonymos (for a discussion of the genus Anonymos see Wilber, 1962 and Ward, 1962). The failure of Walter to name these genera in part is explained in his preface with his admonition concerning the freedom to name plants. Of the 4 genera named by Walter, only one (Amsonia) remains valid today. Syntherima is Digitaria Heister (Poaceae); Frasera is Swertia L. (Gentianaceae); and Vincetoxicum is Matelea Aulbet (Asclepiadaceae).

Prior to Blake's 1915 report on the collection, A.S. Hitchcock made an extensive study of the 18 grass specimens that appear in the folio, and discussed in detail the species described in the Flora but not represented in the collection. In 1930 Mr. Bayard Long and M.L. Fernald conducted their examination of the Walter Herbarium, and in 1946-47 Bernice G. Schubert not only made her study of the plants but also photographed the entire collection. Her efforts are now housed in a volume at the Gray Herbarium. In 1950, William A. Dayton of the U.S. Forest Service visited the collections and reported on his investigations with Walter's pines.

From observations in 1978 at the British Museum, it can be reported that the plants in Walter's Herbarium are in various conditions. For example a member of the Birch family (Betulaceae), Carpinus caroliniana is in fairly good shape (Fig. 5). This tree is native to literally every county in the Carolinas and it is very appropriate that Walter gave it that particular specific epithet. As Walter mentioned in his preface, he omitted many trees so it is especially pleasing to see this fine specimen of Carpinus.

Another species that appears in rather good shape for its almost 200-year age is Gentiana catesbaei (Fig. 6). Walter named this coastal plain gentian to honor Mark Catesby, the naturalist who visited South Carolina in the 1720's. Unlike this specimen, many species in the collection are in rather bad condition as demonstrated by Catalpa bignonioides (Fig. 7). This single leaf fragment is all that remains of Walter's collection of the "indian cigar tree" of southeastern North America.

Some pages of the folio volume of the Walter Herbarium have several species represented on the same page. This is the case with the genus Sarracenia (the pitcher plant). All 4 species native to the Carolinas are mounted on the same sheet (Fig. 8). Two of these are type specimens, having been described and named for the first time by Walter. They are S. minor and S. rubra. The others, S. purpurea and S. flava, although described by Walter, were first named by Linnaeus and therefore it is Linnaeus who is correctly the authority for these.

A perusal of the Manual of Vascular Flora of the Carolinas (Radford, et al., 1968) reveals the following species that have been named to honor Thomas Walter since his death in 1789. These plants, native to the Carolinas, retain these as valid names today:
Echinochloa walteri (Pursh) Heller (Poaceae) (Barnyard Grass)

Carex walteriana Bailey (Cyperaceae) (Walter’s Sedge)

Smilax walteri Pursh (Liliaceae) (Red-berried Smilax)

Rorippa walteri (Ell.) Small (Brassicaceae) (Yellow Cress)

Hypericum walteri Gmelin (Hypericaceae)

Viola walteri House (Violaceae) (Violet)

Verbesina walteri Shinners (Asteraceae) (Wing-stem)

Carphephorus tomentosus (Michaux) T.&G. var. walteri (Ell.) Fernald (Asteraceae)

Figure 7. Walter’s specimen of Catalpa bignonioides Walt., located in the British Museum of Natural History, London.
Figure 8. Walter's collection of the genus *Sarracenia*. Two of the four specimens represent type specimens: *S. minor* Walt. and *S. rubra* Walt.
As mentioned previously, only one genus bears Thomas Walter as the authority today and that is the blue star, *Amsonia* (Apocynaceae), named for Dr. Amson, a physician from Virginia and a friend of John Clayton. The following 88 species are plants from the Carolinas that Walter first named and described in his *Flora*; their names remain valid today:

**Ophioglossaceae**  
*Ophioglossum crotalophoroides* (Adder's tongue)

**Pinaceae**  
*Pinus glabra* (Walter’s Pine or Spruce Pine)

**Poaceae**  
*Melica mutica* (Melic Grass)  
*Festuca octoflora* (Fescue)  
*Alopecurus carolinianus* (Foxtail Grass)  
*Phalaris caroliniana* (Canary Grass)  
*Paspalum praecox*

**Xyridaceae**  
*Xyris caroliniana* (Yellow-eyed Grass)

**Commelinaceae**  
*Commelina caroliniana* (Dayflower)

**Liliaceae**  
*Smilax glauca* (Greenbriar)  
*Smilax auriculata*  
*Smilax pumila*  
*Aletris aurea* (Yellow Colicroot)  
*Melanthium hybridum* (Bunch-flower)  
*Lilium catesbaei* (Pine Lily)

**Iridaceae**  
*Iris hexagona* (Iris, Flag)

**Orchidaceae**  
*Cypripedium reginae* (Queen or Showy Lady Slipper)

**Betulaceae**  
*Corylus americana* (Hazel-nut)  
*Carpinus caroliniana* (Ironwood)

**Fagaceae**  
*Quercus lyrata* (Overcup Oak)  
*Quercus laevis* (Turkey Oak)  
*Quercus pumila* (Running Oak)

**Polygonaceae**  
*Polygonum hirsutum* (Smartweed)

**Caryophyllaceae**  
*Arenaria caroliniana* (Sandwort)  
*Silene caroliniana* (Wild Pink)
Ranunculaceae
   *Delphinium carolinianum* (Larkspur)
   *Clematis reticulata*
   *Anemone caroliniana* (Windflower)

Magnoliaceae
   *Magnolia fraseri* (Umbrella Tree)

Sarraceniaceae
   *Sarracenia rubra* (Sweet Pitcher-plant)
   *Sarracenia minor* (Hooded Pitcher-plant)

Fabaceae
   *Amorpha herbacea* (Lead Plant)
   *Vicia caroliniana* (Vetch)

Linaceae
   *Linum striatum* (Wild Flax)

Polygalaceae
   *Polygala polygama* (Seneca Snakeroot)
   *Polygala grandiflora*
   *Polygala cymosa* (Yellow or Swamp Polygala, Tall Yellow Milkwort)

Euphorbiaceae
   *Phyllanthus caroliniensis*

Aquifoliaceae
   *Ilex decidua* (Possum Haw, Deciduous Holly)

Rhamnaceae
   *Rhamnus caroliniana* (Buckthorn, Indian Cherry)

Malvaceae
   *Hibiscus aculeatus*

Hypericaceae
   *Hypericum tubulosum* (Tuberous St. John’s Wort)

Violaceae
   *Viola villosa* (Violet)

Melastomataceae
   *Rhexia petiolata* (Meadow Beauty)
   *Rhexia alifanus* (Meadow Beauty)
   *Rhexia lutea* (Meadow Beauty)

Onagraceae
   *Ludwigia decurrens*
   *Ludwigia glandulosa*
   *Ludwigia linearis*
   *Ludwigia pilosa*
   *Ludwigia suffruticosa*
   *Ludwigia arcuata*
Apiaceae
   *Eryngium integrifolium*
   *Sium suave* (Water Parsnip)

Ericaceae
   *Kalmia hirsuta*

Primulaceae
   *Lysimachia lanceolata* (Loosestrife)

Gentianaceae
   *Gentiana catesbaei*

Apocynaceae
   *Amsonia tabernaemontana* (Blue-star)
   *Amsonia ciliata* (Blue-star)

Asclepiadaceae
   *Asclepias perennis* (Swamp Milkweed)
   *Asclepias lanceolata* (Milkweed)
   *Asclepias humistrata* (Milkweed)
   *Asclepias cinerea* (Milkweed)
   *Asclepias pedicellata* (Milkweed)

Hydrophyllaceae
   *Hydrolea quadrivalvis*

Solanaceae
   *Lycium carolinianum* (Matrimony Vine)

Scrophulariaceae
   *Gratiola ramosa* (Hedge Hyssop)

Bignoniaceae
   *Catalpa bignonioides* (Indian Cigar Tree, Catawba Tree)

Lentibulariaceae
   *Pinguicula lutea* (Butterwort)
   *Pinguicula caerulea* (Butterwort)
   *Utricularia purpurea* (Bladderwort)
   *Utricularia inflata* (Bladderwort)
   *Utricularia fibrosa* (Bladderwort)

Rubiaceae
   *Diodia teres* (Lesser Buttonweed)

Caprifoliaceae
   *Viburnum obovatum*

Campanulaceae
   *Lobelia glandulosa*
Asteraceae

Iva imbricata
Prenanthes autumnalis (Rattlesnake Root)
Carduus spinosissimus (Yellow Thistle)
Carduus carolinianus (Thistle)
Eupatorium compositifolium (Dog-fennel)
Eupatorium pilosum
Eupatorium incarnatum
Aster squarrosus
Aster carolinianus
Coreopsis gladiata
Coreopsis major
Helienium vernale (Sneeze-weed)
Verbesina occidentalis (Wing-stem)

The following list of plants was described by Thomas Walter but for reasons of priority or merging of genera do not now carry Walter as the authority:

Poaceae

Arundinaria gigantea (Walter) Muhl. (Cane)
Triplasis purpurea (Walter) Chapman (Sand Grass)
Agrostis perennans (Walter) Tuckerman (Bent Grass)
Agrostis hyemalis (Walter) BSP (Bent Grass)
Ctenium aromaticum (Walter) Wood (Toothache Grass)
Stenotaphrum secundatum (Walter) Kuntze (St. Augustine Grass, Charleston Grass)
Digitaria filifolius (L) Koeler var. villoso (Walter) Fernald (Crab Grass)
Digitaria serotina (Walter) Michaux (Crab Grass)
Erianthus giganteus (Walter) Muhl. (Beard Grass, Plum Grass)

Eriocaulaceae

Lachnocaulon anceps (Walter) Morong (Bog Buttons)

Liliaceae

Polygonatum biflorum (Walter) Ell. (Solomon’s Seal)
Tofieldia racemosa (Walter) BSP (False Asphodel)
Amianthium muscaetoxicum (Walter) Gray (Fly-poison)
Uvularia pudica (Walter) Fernald (Bellwort)

Orchidaceae

Calopogon barbatus (Walter) Ames (Bearded Grass-pink)
Ponthieva racemosa (Walter) Mohr (Shadow-witch)
Spiranthes praecox (Walter) Watson (Grass-leaved Ladies’ Tresses)
Hexalectris spicata (Walter) Barnhart (Crested Coral-root)

Ulmaceae

Planera aquatica Walter ex. J.F. Gmelin (Walter Elm)

Nyctaginaceae

Mirabilis albida (Walter) Heimerl.

Aizoaceae

Sesuvium maritimum (Walter) BSP (Sea Purslane)
Caryophyllaceae
   *Arenaria uniflora* (Walter) Muhl.

Nymphaeaceae
   *Nuphar luteum* (L.) Sibthorp & Smith ssp. *sagittifolium* (Walter) E.O. Beal
   (Cow Lily, Yellow Pond-lily)

Ranunculaceae
   *Trautvetteria carolinensis* (Walter) Vail (False Rue)

Lauraceae
   *Lindera melissaefolium* (Walter) Blume

Brassicaceae
   *Descurainia pinnata* (Walter) Britton (Tansy Mustard)

Saxifragaceae
   *Hydrangea arborescens* L. ssp. *radiata* (Walter) McClintock

Rosaceae
   *Aruncus dioicus* (Walter) Fernald (Goat's Beard)
   *Crataegus aestivalis* (Walter) T.&G. (Hawthorn)

Fabaceae
   *Baptisia lanceolata* (Walter) Ell.
   *Thermopsis villosa* (Walter) Fernald & Schubert (Bush Pea)
   *Psoralea psoralioides* (Walter) Cory (Samson Snakeroot)
   *Petalostemum pinnatum* (Walter ex. J.F. Gmelin) Blake (Summer Farewell)
   *Zornia bracteata* Walter ex. J.F. Gmelin
   *Tephrosia spicata* (Walter) T.&G.
   *Galactia erecta* (Walter) Vail

Aquifoliaceae
   *Ilex cassine* L. var *myrtifolia* (Walter) Sargent (Cassina)

Turneraceae
   *Piriqueta caroliniana* (Walter) Urban

Cistaceae
   *Helianthemum carolinianum* (Walter) Michaux (Frostweed)

Haloragaceae
   *Myriophyllum pinnatum* (Walter) BSP

Apiaceae
   *Spermolepis divaricata* (Walter) Raf.
   *Oxypolis filiformis* (Walter) Britton

Nyssaceae
   *Nyssa sylvatica* Marshall var. *biflora* (Walter) Sargent (Black Gum)

Ericaceae
   *Lyonia ferruginea* (Walter) Nuttall (Stagger-bush)

Plumbaginaceae
   *Limonium carolinianum* (Walter) Britton (Sea Lavender)
Loganiaceae
*Cynoctionum sessilfolium* Walter ex J.F. Gmelin (Miterwort)

Gentianaceae
*Sewartia caroliniensis* (Walter) Kuntze (Columbo)
*Nymphoides aquatica* (Walter ex J.F. Gmelin) Kuntze

Apocynaceae
*Trachelospermum difforme* (Walter) Gray

Asclepiadaceae
*Matelea gonocarpa* (Walter) Shinners (Angle-pod)

Convolvulaceae
*Bonamia aquatica* (Walter) Gray
*Bonamia humistrata* (Walter) Gray

Lamiaceae
*Dracocephalum purpureum* (Walter) McClintock (Obedient Plant)
*Macbridea caroliniana* (Walter) Blake
*Pycnanthemum flexuosum* (Walter) BSP

Scrophulariaceae
*Bacopa caroliniana* (Walter) Robinson
*Mecardonia acuminata* (Walter) Small

Bignoniaceae
*Catalpa speciosa* Walter ex Engelm (Catawba Tree)

Acanthaceae
*Ruellia caroliniensis* (Walter) Steudel
*Justicia ovata* (Walter) Lindau (Water Willow)

Asteraceae
*Krigia biflora* (Walter) Blake (Dwarf Dandelion)
*Pyrrhopappus carolinianus* (Walter) DC (Carolina Dandelion)
*Arnica acaulis* (Walter) BSP (Leopard’s-bane)
*Vernonia acaulis* (Walter) Gleason (Ironweed)
*Sclerolepis uniflora* (Walter) BSP
*Liatria elegans* (Walter) Michaux (Blazing Star)
*Trilisa odoratissima* (Walter ex J.F. Gmelin) Cassini (Vanilla-plant, Deer or Hound’s tongue)
*Trilisa paniculata* (Walter ex J.F. Gmelin) Cassini
*Boltonia caroliniana* (Walter) Fernald
*Spilanthes americana* (Nuttail) Hieron var. *repens* (Walter) A.H. Moore
*Marshallia graminifolia* (Walter) Small
*Marshallia trinervia* (Walter) Trel. ex Branner & Coville
*Marshallia obovata* (Walter) Beadle & Boynton
*Gaillardia aestivalis* (Walter) H. Rock
NOTES


10. Ibid., p. 672.


12. Ibid.


15. S.C. Archives, Charleston Mss. Wills B., 1786-93, p. 269.


20. S.C. Archives, Minutes, St. John, Berkeley Parish Commissioners of Roads (1785).


22. Ibid.


24. Ibid., 2 February 1789.

25. John Fraser, plant collector, traveled from London to Newfoundland in 1786 to recover from ill health. He made his way south from there, arriving in Charleston on the 20th of September of that year. Fraser was familiar with botany and plant cultivation before he arrived in America and maintained a small garden at his home in Chelsea to the west of London. He had visited with Mr. Forsyth, Master of His Majesty’s Gardens at Kensington nearby. Upon his arrival in Charleston, Fraser met Andre Michaux, the French plant collector.
Michaux had been sent to America by Louis XVI to collect plants for France. Fraser left Michaux in Charleston and found Thomas Walter in late October or November that same fall. Shortly thereafter Michaux and Fraser collected plants for a time together. Fraser collected possibly as many as 30,000 plants in America. Over 400 of those plants described by Walter in his Flora were collected by Fraser. To honor his friend, Walter named a magnolia, Magnolia fraseri, which stands today as the valid name for this species which occurs in upper S.C. and the N.C. mountains.

26. John Fraser, “A short history of the Agrostis Cornucopiae; or, the new American grass: ... also, some account of a journey to the Cherokee Nation, in search of new plants” (8 pp., 1 pl.), folio. London, 1789, p. 1.

27. The City Gazette, 4 February 1789.


34. Ibid.

35. Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley, Dr. Alexander Garden of Charles Town (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), Chapter V.

36. Ibid., p. 290.


44. Dudley Jones Raynal, Department of Environmental and Forest Biology at the State University of New York, Syracuse (1980), personal communication.


46. Fraser, “A short history,” p. 3.


49. Fraser, “A short history,” p. 3.


52. Ibid.

53. Sir Joseph Banks was a botanical friend of George III who accompanied Captain James Cook on his circumnavigation of the world. A rose from the garden of Joseph Banks was named by Robert Brown to honor Lady Banks — *Rosa banksiae*.

54. Fraser, "A short history," p. 3.


58. Ibid.


64. Fernald and Schubert, ‘‘British herbaria,” pp. 190-208.