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Early History of the American Bryological and Lichenological Society¹

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Several articles have been published over the years that deal in one way or another with the history of THE BRYOLOGIST and The American Bryological and Lichenological Society. The most authentic account of the founding and very early history of The Sullivant Moss Society is that of Mrs. Annie Morrill Smith (1917), one of the founders and a principal player in the origin of both the Journal and the Society. Conard (1947) prepared a history of the Society for the 50th anniversary volume of THE BRYOLOGIST, arranged according to subject matter. A résumé of the history of bryology and lichenology in this country by Rudolph (1969) contains much useful information concerning bryologists, but does not emphasize the Journal or the Society. Steere's (1977) account of North American muscologists is informative but, like Rudolph's paper, emphasizes individual bryologists and only incidentally mentions the Journal and the Society. More recently, Reese and Culberson (1997) have compiled a complete list of Editors of THE BRYOLOGIST, and the volumes each edited. Brief historical notes of changes in makeup of THE BRYOLOGIST over the 100 years of its existence are carefully recorded.

How did it happen that a journal and society devoted to bryophytes and lichens occur at the close of the Century and not earlier or later? For one thing, the time was ripe. Sullivant (Fig. 1), the namesake of The Sullivant Moss Society, who lived from 1803 to 1873, was the first bryologist born in this country to devote his career to bryophytes

(Steere 1977), but he was late in years before he began to study bryophytes. Born in Columbus, Ohio, he was a planter and business man until the early 1840's, when he cashed in his assets and became a bryologist. Furthermore, he was wealthy. In 1848, Sullivant hired Leo Lesquereux, a Swiss immigrant who had studied bryophytes, as his assistant. With the help of Lesquereux, Sullivant became "... the greatest star in the North American bryological firmament" (Steere 1977). Gray (1877) called him the "Father of American Bryology."

It was Sullivant's intent to publish a moss flora of North America north of Mexico, having already published his famous *Icones Muscorum* (Sullivant 1864), with its elegant illustrations, *Musci and Hepaticae East of the Mississippi River* (Sullivant 1856), and many other contributions. He died, however, in 1873, before he made much headway on the projected flora. At Asa Gray's suggestion, Leo Lesquereux took on the task himself. He was 67, just three years younger than Sullivant. Lesquereux was almost completely deaf from a fall he sustained in childhood and his eyes were failing. Before long he could no longer do microscopic work and, again, at Gray's suggestion, he turned to T. P. James. James was a wealthy pharmacist who was more or less an amateur botanist with an interest and some knowledge of mosses. He had just returned from Europe where he met W. P. Schimper, F. Renauld, and, in London, Joseph Hooker. He joined Lesquereux, mainly to do the microscopic work and examine mosses sent for determination from various parts of the country, including those from E. Hall in Oregon, Macoun in Canada, and Wolff and others from Illinois.

We can never be certain who first thought of having a journal or a society devoted entirely to mosses, but we do know there were two individuals who

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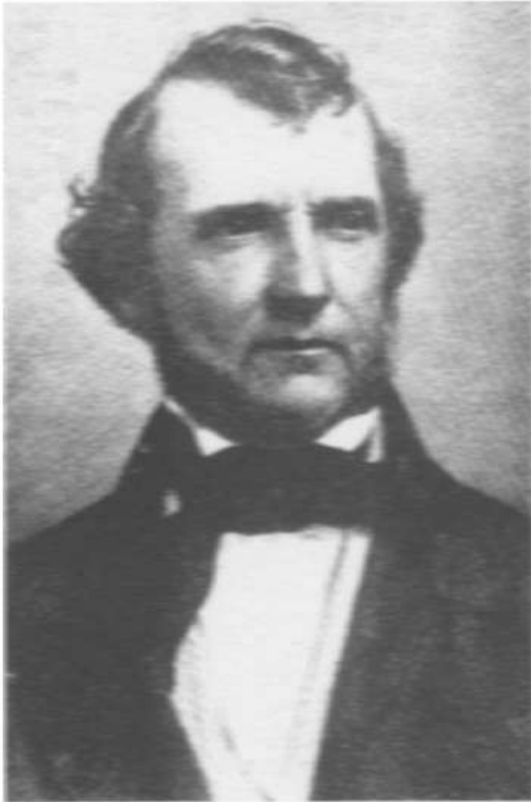


FIGURE 1. William Starling Sullivant (1803–1873), namesake of The Sullivant Moss Society.

acted indirectly or directly in starting THE BRYOLOGIST and the Society. Mrs. Elizabeth Gertrude Britton (Fig. 2) is certainly indirectly responsible and Abel Joel Grout (Fig. 3), her student, acted directly and physically.

Mrs. Britton began her fabulous career as soon as she graduated from Hunter College at age 17. She never went to graduate school and had no advanced degree. After a few years teaching at Hunter College, she was hired by Columbia College, and became unofficial curator of bryophytes. In 1885, she married Nathaniel Lord Britton who was teaching geology and botany at Columbia. A year later he became director of the newly established New York Botanical Garden. She went with him, of course, and served as unofficial curator of the bryophyte herbarium there for the remainder of her life. According to Barnhart (1965) between 1881 and 1930 she published 346 titles, more than half of which were bryological. As Conard (1947) wrote, "Mrs. Britton's name was on every bryologist's tongue for 40 years."

Abel Joel Grout differed so much in all respects from Mrs. Britton that it is easy to see why they didn't get along well. He was born in Newfane,

Vermont, in 1867, where his ancestors had lived for some 200 years. He was proud of that and the New England stamp never left him. After graduating from the University of Vermont, Grout entered the teaching profession, mostly at the high school level, a career that would last for 40 years! Steere (1977) quotes some provocative lines from a personal letter he received from Grout in 1947: "My interest in mosses began in the early 90's largely because I could collect and study them in winter. This brought me into correspondence with Mrs. Britton, who was very kind and helpful." By then, she had become a famous authority. He sent specimens to her for identification or confirmation and they became acquainted. She obviously recognized his talent and abilities, although she never appreciated his zest for work and accomplishments.

After graduating from college, Grout taught in a public high school in Vermont for five years. During this time he collected mosses extensively and, with Mrs. Britton's help, studied and identified them. At this point, he decided to go to graduate school, applied and was admitted to Columbia in the fall of 1895. To Grout's disappointment, Dr. N. L. Britton wanted him to work on marine algae for a thesis. Grout soon lost interest in algae, however, and he was turned over to Mrs. Britton to supervise his work on mosses, even though she did not have a Ph.D. herself. For a doctoral thesis subject Mrs. Britton suggested that he do a monographic revision of the North American species of *Brachythecium*. He obtained the Ph.D. degree in two years while holding full-time positions to support himself and Mrs. Grout. His treatment was excellent and was published immediately in *Memoirs of the Torrey Botanical Club* (Grout 1897).

After receiving his Ph.D., he taught at the State Normal School in Plymouth, New Hampshire, for two years before moving back to New York City, where he taught in public high schools until he retired in 1930. As every high school teacher knows, high school teaching is a full-time job, but mercifully for only nine months. Nevertheless, his enormous productivity in bryology during this period represents a remarkable achievement.

Mrs. Britton unquestionably had an enormous influence on Grout, but she obviously never understood him. She and Grout were complete contrasts. Grout was not a scholar. He was a doer. His objective always was to get things done and his standards were not very high. She, however, was a scholar and a full time bryologist with no other duties. I quote from Steere's (1977) article, much of which he obtained from her correspondence with John Macoun: "Her husband, who was Director of the Garden, spoiled her. She had a large herbarium, an excellent library, and assistants to wait on her.



ELIZABETH GERTRUDE BRITTON

FIGURE 2. Elizabeth Gertrude Knight Britton (1858–1934), co-founder of The Sullivant Moss Society.

In contrast, Grout had to make a living. She was clearly over-privileged compared to Grout, who, driven by both external and internal needs, worked like an obsessive fiend. Yet, for some reason, E. G. Britton could never bring herself to understand Grout's compulsive need to get his work finished—and right now. As a perfectionist, she held little sympathy for a pragmatist who just didn't have time to be a perfectionist. Grout's apparent lack of concern for the niceties of precisely correct bibliographic citations, and what she interpreted to be

carelessness in other matters annoyed E. G. Britton very much. He also annoyed her in taking the initiative for doing things for which she felt that she held property rights, and yet concerning which she had taken no action and perhaps never would."

Anyone who has tried to use Grout's books can't help but understand Mrs. Britton's complaints. On the other hand, he finished his books in record time and gave beginners and others something to work with besides the Lesquereux and James Manual and its miserable keys. In spite of her unmerciful crit-



FIGURE 3. Abel Joel Grout (1867–1947), founder of *THE BRYOLOGIST* and co-founder of The Sullivant Moss Society.

icism of Grout in print and in letters, he continued to respect and appreciate her. In her obituary, Grout (1935) called her, "... a charming, vivacious, contradictory, generous, and helpful personality."

The origin of *THE BRYOLOGIST* can best be described in Grout's (1947) own words in the lead article of the large 50th anniversary volume of *THE BRYOLOGIST*. "While working on mosses for my Ph.D., in an attic near the Forty-second Street Railroad station, in 1895–1897, I became acquainted with Williard N. Clute, who was employed as an assistant in the Columbia University Herbarium, mounting acquisitions there. At that time, Mr. Clute was publishing the "Fern Bulletin," an organ of the Fern Chapter of the Agassiz Association which had been formed a few years earlier and of which I barely missed being a charter member. The appeal

of the Fern Bulletin to beginners and amateurs in fern study suggested to me that a similar approach might be made to people who might wish to study mosses. Accordingly I suggested to Mr. Clute that we establish a department for moss study in the Fern Bulletin, which we managed to do."

The key words in Grout's statement are "beginners and amateurs." He did not visualize a journal like the Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club, which Mrs. Britton undoubtedly had in mind. He thought of something less journalistic that would help beginners and amateurs learn how to collect and identify mosses. The word, "mosses," to Grout, included mosses, liverworts, and lichens, as he explained later. So, in the January, 1898, issue of the Fern Bulletin, Volume 6, No. 1, there appeared, a new section beginning on page 17 and

ending on page 20. The following is the original title of the new section as it first appeared in the Fern Bulletin.

MOSS DEPARTMENT

Edited by Dr. A. J. Grout

In Volume 6, No. 2, pages 37–44, of the Fern Bulletin, however, the title was changed from "*Moss Department*" to "*The Bryologist, A Department of the Fern Bulletin*." The first three numbers were separately reprinted by Grout, each with a superimposed title, "THE BRYOLOGIST," which have caused confusion. The reprints bear a title different from those originally printed in The Fern Bulletin, which did not bear the title, "THE BRYOLOGIST."

The response to the first issue was very gratifying, according to Grout. Volume 1, number 2, issued in April, was increased from four pages to eight pages, occupying pages 37 to 44 of number 2 of the Fern Bulletin. Also, the title was changed from "Moss Department" to "THE BRYOLOGIST," a title that was suggested by Clute. The subtitle, "A Department of the Fern Bulletin," was clear enough, but there was no mention of The Agassiz Association.

In the July number of "THE BRYOLOGIST," Vol. 1, No. 3, still using the pagination of the Bulletin, pages 61 to 68, 1898, Grout inserted this note: "There seems to be a general desire for a Chapter for the study of mosses organized on somewhat the same lines as the Fern Chapter." This is the first documented mention of an organization to study mosses. Grout didn't say who expressed this desire. There is no record of whether Mrs. Britton was one. Mrs. Annie Morrill Smith (1917), a close friend of both Grout and Mrs. Britton, and who was deeply involved in the early development of the Society (see below), wrote as follows: "... I personally feel that Dr. Grout was responsible for starting THE BRYOLOGIST, and that Mrs. Britton stands as the God Mother of The Sullivant Moss Chapter." She thought, too, that perhaps Clute deserved some credit.

In the October issue, however, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1898 (pages 85 to 92 of the Bulletin), Grout announced that he had received support for the proposed Moss Chapter beyond the expectations of him and his friends and he proposed they form a Chapter to be called "The Sullivant Moss Chapter, after that 'Prince of American Bryology, William Starling Sullivant.'" Mrs. Britton, Mr. Clute, editor of the Fern Bulletin, and Dr. Grout, who had already appointed himself editor of THE BRYOLOGIST, would act as a committee to name officers for the first year of the new Chapter.

The organization of the Sullivant Moss Chapter, of The Agassiz Association, was announced on the back cover of the January, 1898 (Volume 2, No. 1), issue of THE BRYOLOGIST. Officers named were A. J. Grout, President; J. Franklin Collins, a Professor of Botany at Brown University, Vice President; and Mrs. Annie Morrill Smith, Brooklyn, NY, Secretary-Treasurer. These officers drafted a constitution, which was acted upon by 34 charter members (29 active members and five associate members). The annual dues were to be 50 cents for Active and 25 cents for Associates. The latter were soon abolished. THE BRYOLOGIST came with the membership.

The election was held and the results published in the January 1900 issue. It is not surprising that the appointed temporary officers were elected. Only 12 of the 29 charter members voted. This number, Volume 3, No. 1, became a historical landmark for the new publication in another way. It marked the beginning of an independent, completely free existence from The Fern Bulletin and the Agassiz Association. THE BRYOLOGIST became a full fledged journal of its own, with a neatly designed front cover that would continue, unchanged, for 37 years. Grout soon announced that Annie Morrill Smith had agreed to serve as Associate Editor.

Annie Morrill Smith, a Brooklyn Heights native, was a wealthy widow who had developed an interest in bryophytes and lichens when, as a youngster, she had studied botany abroad. She was two years older than Mrs. Britton and 11 years older than Grout. Her interests brought her into contact with Mrs. Britton and Grout, both of whom identified specimens for her. She became friends with both and was most instrumental in keeping their disagreements smoldering instead of bursting forth with flames. She had a brilliant and organized mind and a very appealing nature. To my regret, I never met her. It is generally admitted that without her, neither THE BRYOLOGIST nor the Bryological Society could have survived. She supplied the new and struggling organization with much time, energy, and, especially, money. In his editorial in Volume 3, No. 1, Grout had this to say about her: "The success of the Sullivant Moss Chapter is due very largely to the efforts of its Secretary, Annie Morrill Smith, who has devoted time, strength, and money to the work of the Chapter, to an extent little realized except by a very few." She served as Treasurer of the Society for 10 years; she was Vice President for seven years; and President for two years. Besides, she was Editor or Associate Editor of THE BRYOLOGIST for 10 years and while Treasurer, she served also as Curator of the Herbarium until it was divided into Mosses, Hepatics, and Lichens. Yet, THE BRYOLOGIST barely took notice of her death in 1946. The notice consisted of a short

editorial note, without a heading, quoting a short obituary which appeared in the Brooklyn Daily Eagle. Ironically, the short anonymous (1947) note followed an article by Grout on "How the Sullivant Moss Society and THE BRYOLOGIST Began."

The first meeting of the newly founded Sullivant Moss Chapter was held in Columbus, Ohio, in conjunction with the annual AAAS meeting in August, 1899. The Society continued its annual meetings with AAAS until AIBS was formed. The Columbus meeting was truly an anniversary. They wasted no time in calling a meeting. A series of papers illustrated by photographs, specimens, and microscopical slides were presented. It was called a memorial meeting because Columbus was the home for many years of Sullivant and Lesquereux. The announcement called it a fitting time and place to take a survey of the field, review the past, and make plans for the future.

By 1902, just four years after its formation, the Chapter had 104 members, mostly students and amateurs. The membership was also creeping west and south, with members from Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, The District of Columbia, and North Carolina. THE BRYOLOGIST became a bimonthly. The curator of the herbarium, who happened to be Mrs. Smith, felt overworked. No wonder. She was also Secretary-Treasurer and Associate Editor, doing most of the editing. So the herbarium was split up into three herbaria, one each for mosses, hepatics, and lichens. Also, Mrs. Smith added Hepatics and Lichens to the cover sub-title, which now read: "an illustrated bimonthly devoted to NORTH AMERICAN MOSSES" in large caps, and centered below, "hepatics and lichens" in small type.

A note in the September 1903 issue of THE BRYOLOGIST written by Mrs. Smith proposed dropping the constitution, retaining the name "Sullivant Moss Chapter," and vesting the interest of the Chapter in a "Board of Control." In the proposal, the names of the members of the Board of Control were specifically named. They were: "Mrs. Britton, Dr. Grout, Dr. Best, Professor Holzinger, and later Mrs. Harris, Miss Warner, and Mr. Barbour." She obviously had in mind the editors, the officers and the curators. She urged the membership to send in their vote at once. Twenty-five votes were cast (out of 114 members). All were affirmative. Thus, for the next 32 years, the Society operated, as Conard (1947) put it, "... in this happy lawless condition." It is curious that Mrs. Britton, who was not an officer at the time, was singled out for inclusion in the Board.

John M. Holzinger was born in Germany and came with his father to the United States when he was 15. Eventually he became a member of the

faculty of Winona Normal School, Winona, Minnesota, where he taught botany. Through his interest in mosses he came into contact with Mrs. Britton and Grout and became a regular contributor to THE BRYOLOGIST. He is best known for his series of exsiccata, which reached 675 numbers; the last 25 numbers were issued only a few weeks before his death. He was President of the Chapter during 1904, and was the first to serve after the constitution was dropped. He was a strong admirer of Mrs. Smith and supported her many efforts to improve the stature of THE BRYOLOGIST.

From the beginning, Mrs. Smith wanted to call the organization a Society, instead of a Chapter. The name certainly should have been changed when it became free of the Fern Bulletin and the Agassiz Association. She probably introduced the subject at every meeting. The other officers thought it was a trivial matter, not worth bothering with. Thus, the name continued for the time being, at least, as the Sullivant Moss Chapter. In 1906, however, Grout, who was most opposed to the name change, dropped out as Editor-in-Chief, and Mrs. Smith replaced him. So, obviously without consultation, in the May 1908 issue she slyly inserted an innocuous-looking notice announcing that, hereinafter, the organization would be known as the Sullivant Moss Society, and made the necessary editorial changes in THE BRYOLOGIST. Remember, they had no constitution and apparently there were no repercussions. Moreover, she had sympathetic officers—T. C. Frye, Caroline C. Haynes, N. L. T. Nelson, and J. M. Holzinger.

I became acquainted with T. C. Frye in 1936, at the first meeting of the Society that I attended. He was a handsome giant of a man who was most impressive, especially in his speech. He was very articulate and pronounced every syllable when he spoke. I don't think I ever knew anyone with the breadth of knowledge this man demonstrated. His opinions at meetings carried much weight. Not only was he helpful to Mrs. Smith in changing the name from "Chapter" to "Society," he was extremely helpful during our later campaign to change the name to American Bryological Society, which Bill Steere led. For reasons that I never understood, Frye did not like Steere, but this did not keep Frye from working diligently and effectively for the name change. His apparent animosity puzzled Steere greatly. Unfortunately, and mistakenly, I think, Steere thought Frye was annoyed with him because he considered Steere a trespasser on his private preserve, the Arctic (Steere 1977).

After pulling away from The Agassiz Association and the Fern Bulletin, in 1900, the question of who owned THE BRYOLOGIST surfaced. In 1911, with Grout's full cooperation and the combined

leadership of T. C. Frye, Alexander Evans, and Bruce Fink, Mrs. Smith's plan for reorganization of *THE BRYOLOGIST* was finally adopted by the officers of the society. They agreed that *THE BRYOLOGIST* should legally become the property of The Sullivant Moss Society and the proper documents were drawn up and executed. The officers became the Advisory Board, which assumed all responsibility for its publication. There were also grumbles about Grout's editorship. Evans, who was then President of the Society, told me much later that Grout insisted on keeping the teaching and amateurish elements in *THE BRYOLOGIST*, which Evans thought degraded its scientific stature. Frye told me that he had tried unsuccessfully to persuade Grout to retire from the editorship. Evans, however, was President for a five-year period, and was more political than most people thought. Although there is no record, Evans may have been quietly persuasive. Anyway, finally, Grout gave in.

In 1913, Dr. O. E. Jennings, Custodian of the botanical collections at the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburgh, was appointed Editor-in-Chief of *THE BRYOLOGIST*. He was 36 and held the post for 25 years, 1913 to 1938, longer than anyone and, certainly longer than any future editor is likely to serve. Jennings never changed anything about *THE BRYOLOGIST*, not even any detail of the cover, while he was editor. He followed precisely his predecessors in all respects throughout his tenure. I knew him as a kind-hearted, good-humored friend who avoided controversy and, like Grout, was dedicated to teaching. He attracted many amateurs into bryology and continued to publish their articles. He was an excellent, if unexciting, editor and often re-wrote manuscripts for those less gifted with the pen. He rarely, if ever, used his Associate Editors, of which there were always five, and resisted any changes in the journal or the society. He opposed vigorously a proposed change of name from Sullivant Moss Society to American Bryological Society, and certainly delayed the change for several years.

Alexander W. Evans was born in Buffalo, New York, in 1868, a year after Grout's birth. Evans attended Yale's famous Sheffield Scientific School, where he came into contact with D. C. Eaton, who was famous for his power to inspire and cultivate interests in botany. Evans was captivated. He told me that with Eaton's encouragement, he quickly developed an interest in hepatics and spent hours, night and day, in Eaton's laboratory studying them. In spite of these interests, however, he went on to Yale Medical School and obtained the M.D. degree in two years, not because he was brilliant, he assured me; he declared it was because there wasn't much to learn then. Although he finished the re-

quired two years' internship and an additional year in Europe, he never practiced medicine. In 1895, Eaton died and Yale offered Evans a position in botany. By then, he had already published six papers on hepatics. He had an astonishing career, which included 141 articles on hepatics and 23 on lichens. Twenty-five of these were published after his 70th birthday! Evans had been somewhat slow to demonstrate interest in the newly launched Moss Chapter and *THE BRYOLOGIST*. He didn't join until 1902 and it was 1905 before he published a paper in *THE BRYOLOGIST*. He soon became a regular contributor, however, and his long term as President of the Society was stabilizing for the Chapter.

With the appointment of Jennings as Editor, the Society was now on an even keel and running more or less smoothly. In 1916, Mrs. Britton was finally elected President and she served efficiently and expertly for four years, including the difficult period brought on by WW I. Why she wasn't nominated earlier, considering her lofty reputation in bryology, has elicited much speculation. Steere's (1977) suggestion is perhaps the most intriguing. "I suspect very strongly," Steere wrote, "that E. G. Britton felt—and quite rightly—that she had been neatly side-stepped for an office for which she was more qualified than the incumbent, and being a woman of considerable pride and dignity, resented being maneuvered into a position on the sidelines by Grout and others." Steere was referring to the old trick of asking someone to chair the nominating committee to deter that someone from being nominated. Appropriately, Mrs. Smith succeeded Mrs. Britton and served a two-year term. The two of them had guided the Society safely through a difficult adolescence and had steered it toward an easy transition.

The transition was between the Old Guard—Britton, Grout, Smith, Collins, Chamberlain, Haynes, and others whose objectives were principally toward stimulating interest in bryology, particularly through amateurs and hobbyists, and a New Guard, whose interests and ambitions were toward professionalism and careers. Three outstanding examples of the transitional bryologists who were as professional as could be imagined were A. L. Andrews, R. S. Williams, and E. B. Bartram. Yet, not one of them earned a living through bryology. Andrews was Professor of German Philology, at Cornell University; and both Williams and Bartram were retired businessmen, who, like Sullivant, made fortunes, retired early and became two of the greatest bryologists of our time.

These three bryologists were not leaders. They were not followers, either. Each of them served as President of the Sullivant Moss Society. They were elected purely because they were outstanding bry-

ologists. All three were influential because of their greatness. I never saw them at bryological meetings, unless the meeting was in their own bailiwick. I am sure their respective Vice Presidents did most or all of the presiding at meetings.

I knew Andrews from two visits to Ithaca and much correspondence. He wrote charming and informal letters, often long ones, in a very legible long hand. He was most generous in identifying specimens and was very patient and understanding when, for the umpteenth time, I sent him a sterile specimen of *Ceratodon purpureus* for determination. He was a true scholar and a dedicated critic. I always lived in fear of Andrews when I published a paper. I could count on a critical letter if there were mistakes and all too often, there were. He held very strong convictions, but he was always courteous and, above all, helpful. When I wrote a paper, I always kept him in my mind. If he were still alive, I dread to think what he would do with this essay.

I never knew Williams, but Steere (1977) wrote a nice account of him. He served as president for six years, the longest term of any president. Steere relates an interesting anecdote about his relations with Mrs. Britton, whose shadow he was forced to live in: "It was said that she addressed Williams more than occasionally in a loud voice as "you damned old fool," and he, in retaliation and wholly correctly, called her an "old hellcat." Steere, who did know him, adds the following: "It is a tribute to his self-discipline and his severe application to work that he weathered the many storms of Elizabeth G. Britton for over 30 years."

I knew Bartram from my graduate school days in Philadelphia, at the University of Pennsylvania. Although he seemed never to have attended national meetings, he regularly attended the night meetings of the Philadelphia Botanical Club. I also attended, because I would sit by him and after the talk, he would chat for a while and discuss mosses. I always had a list of questions and a specimen or two for him to identify. He spent winters in Arizona and summers in Bushkill, a delightful place on the Delaware River, a short distance north of Philadelphia. On a number of occasions he invited me to visit, but I was never able to do so. Many years later, when Marshall Crosby was a graduate student, at Duke, I took him on a herbarium tour, and we visited Bartram at Bushkill. It was a memorable visit for both Marshall and me. I remember a statement that Bartram made during the visit that surprised us both. He told us that he had found that it was much easier to describe a new species than to identify it, which partially explains why there are so many Bartram synonyms.

The 1930's were not tranquil. The Great Depression was in full swing and by the middle of the

decade THE BRYOLOGIST and the Sullivant Moss Society began to experience difficulties. Trouble was ahead. Members were dropping out and subscriptions for libraries were dropping. War came to Europe, and the U.S. was on the threshold of conflict. Jennings was having trouble getting the numbers of THE BRYOLOGIST to the post office on time. It wasn't all his fault, but it had become a regular thing and the Post Office Department was getting tough. They wouldn't accept the first issues of Volume 39, 1936, until they were renumbered and too often numbers had to be consolidated so that the dates conformed with the postal regulations. At one point they threatened to withdraw the Society's mailing permit. It was also obvious that Jennings, the Editor, was slowly burning out, but he showed no signs of resigning.

In the early 1930's, a few years before the crisis, a group of young bryological upstarts began to drift together in hotel and motel rooms at annual meetings and especially at Forays to discuss what they thought was a deteriorating situation for the Society. Eventually, they came to be known as the "Gang of Five." I don't know who gave them this name. They consisted of William C. Steere, University of Michigan; Jack Sharp, University of Tennessee; Margaret Fulford, University of Cincinnati; Winona Welch, DePauw University; and Richard T. Wareham, a graduate student at Ohio State University. Except for Wareham, all were instructors at universities. Bill Steere was leader of the Gang. I regret to say, I was not one of them. I was still in graduate school, but I came to know all of them very well in subsequent years. Each deserves special mention because of their enormous contribution to the direction of the Society at a critical point in its history.

Margaret Fulford obtained her Ph.D. at Yale, studying with Alexander W. Evans, and was without question his best and most prolific student. Evans insisted that all of his students become thoroughly grounded in morphology as well as systematics and Margaret's enormous research record reflects this training, which she passed along to her students at The University of Cincinnati. She spent all of her long and extremely successful career in Cincinnati, where she became a leading hepaticologist, second only to Evans himself. She recently celebrated her 95th birthday. Fulford introduced the regularly appearing "Recent Literature on Mosses and Hepatics" in THE BRYOLOGIST in 1932. It was also at Fulford's suggestion that William L. Culberson, then an undergraduate in one of her classes, began a similar literature list for lichens in the March, 1951 issue of THE BRYOLOGIST. In 1971, Fulford turned over the moss literature list to Marshall Crosby, but she continued the hepatic list for

a total of 46 years, when it was transferred to Barbara Crandall-Stotler and Ray Stotler.

Winona Welch was almost an exact copy of Annie Morrill Smith. She was Secretary-Treasurer of the Society for 12 consecutive years, between 1942 and 1954, compared with Mrs. Smith's tenure of 15 years. In addition she was Vice President for three years and President for two years, 1954–1955. Like Mrs. Smith, she more or less ran the Society while she held office, contributing time and money that she could ill afford. In particular, she held the Society together during WW II, when so many of us were in service of one kind or another. She was the conscience of the Gang of Five and she kept them from overstepping ethical and moral boundaries, which otherwise they might well have done. Her life was as meticulous as her books and papers. Her Mosses of Indiana (Welch 1957) is still useful as is her world monograph on the Fontinalaceae (Welch 1960). Also, see Anderson (1988).

A. J. (Jack) Sharp, who had a long and successful career at the University of Tennessee, from 1929 to 1997, was an outstanding bryologist and teacher. He directed 24 masters and 18 doctoral students, many of whom have become noteworthy. He served as President of the Society in 1934–1935 and filled in as Editor of *THE BRYOLOGIST* from 1943 to 1944, while Steere was exploring in South America for war-related plants. Jack was everybody's friend. He had no enemies. He could see good in every person he met. He was a zealous collector and bryologists everywhere have encountered his specimens. He had a mania for collecting reprints and often sent post-card requests before the author received them. See McFarland et al. (1998).

William C. Steere, the leader of the Gang of Five, like Grout, was a doer, producing articles and books prodigiously. His work had the same urgency about it that Grout's had. Sometimes it had a certain superficiality because he didn't dig deep enough. Unlike Grout, however, his work had the niceties of a scholar. He wrote superbly and could express his thoughts on paper extremely well. He had an enthusiasm that was convincing and persuasive. His engaging sense of humor often caught people off guard because he had a way of turning a joking remark into something unexpectedly serious. His leadership of the movement to change the emphasis and direction of *THE BRYOLOGIST* and the Moss Society, however, will long be felt. Virginia Bryan and I spent a semester with him at Stanford working on chromosomes of California mosses and we both consider it the highlight of our careers. Also, there at the time, were Howard Crum, working as a post-doctoral, and Wilfred Schofield and Edwin Ketchledge as graduate students. Altogether, it was an extraordinary experience.

In 1934, the efforts of the Gang of Five began to pay off. I don't know how they managed it. No one seemed to remember, but, somehow, Plitt, a lichenologist, who was Vice-President (the President, Bartram of course, was absent), appointed a nominating committee that was favorable to the gang's wishes. The committee nominated Jack Sharp for President; E. A. Moxley, Toronto, for Vice President; and C. L. Porter of the University of Wyoming, Secretary-Treasurer. Unopposed, they were elected. It was obviously a packed committee. I should add that they also had some help, including T. C. Frye, University of Washington; H. S. Conard, Grinnell College; Seville Flowers, University of Utah; Jim Kucyniak, Montreal Botanical Garden; and Geneva Sayre, Russell Sage College, among others.

In the summer of 1936, changes continued. G. B. Kaiser resigned as Curator of Mosses because his health was failing. I finally found a temporary job at Duke University, and moved there that fall. In the meantime, Steere had succeeded Sharp as President, Winona Welch became Vice President, and R. A. Studhalter, from Texas Tech, became Secretary-Treasurer. Steere persuaded Blomquist, who was then Chair of Botany at Duke, to house the moss herbarium and, much against my will, persuaded me to act as Curator. At that time I had absolutely no qualifications, whatever, for the position. I knew only the commonest mosses and was sending most of my own collections to Grout, Bartram, Andrews, and Dixon. Steere, Sharp, and Welch promised to help, and they did. The temporary position at Duke became a permanent one the following year, and I was forced to continue as curator of the Society Herbarium until it was discontinued.

Early in 1937, to the surprise of everyone, Jennings wrote Steere that he wished to give up the editorship at the end of the year and he hoped that Steere would replace him. The Advisory Committee then consisted of Jennings, Steere, Welch, Studhalter, Lewis Anderson, Fulford, and Gladys Anderson (no relation). We quickly approved Steere as Editor, to begin with Volume 41, No. 1, 1938. (Steere abstained.) Steere (1977) later wrote: "In the process of taking over the editorship of *THE BRYOLOGIST*, I became well acquainted with Jennings through my several visits to learn the operation." The transition was smooth and friendly.

Steere wasted no time in overhauling the appearance of *THE BRYOLOGIST*. Jennings's early resignation gave him a full year to think about what he would do and to confer with others, especially the officers of the Society. He started with the cover, which became startlingly grass green in Volume 41, 1938. He retained the style and font of the old

title on the front cover, which had been designed for Volume 3, No. 1, 1900, and had graced the cover for 40 years. In Volume 43 he dropped the Roman numerals that had been in use since 1898, for the volume numbers, substituting Arabic numerals. Then, in Volume 44, No. 1, 1941, he removed the last vestige of the old cover by changing the font and style of the entire cover title, and added a logo, featuring a shield bearing images of the reproductive structures of mosses and liverworts (but not lichens!).

The onset of World War II, however, created some novel problems for the Society and *THE BRYOLOGIST*. In 1943 and 1944, Steere spent a year and a half in the republic of Ecuador in the war years as Senior Botanist to the United States Cinchona Mission. Jack Sharp became Acting Editor in December 1942, until he went on a research tour of Mexico. Frances E. Wynne became Acting Editor in June 1944, until Steere returned in time to edit the December number of that year. In the meantime, because of a lack of manuscripts, Sharp had been forced to convert *THE BRYOLOGIST* to a quarterly instead of a bimonthly, beginning with Volume 45, 1943. Even so, in the March 1944 issue, Sharp inserted an Editorial Comment, as follows: "At the present time there is an insufficient amount of manuscript in the editor's hands for the next issue of *THE BRYOLOGIST*." Steere and succeeding editors have kept it a quarterly since.

In 1950, Steere accepted an offer from Stanford University to replace the post vacated by the retirement of Gilbert M. Smith and moved from Michigan to Palo Alto, California. The storehouse of back numbers of *THE BRYOLOGIST*, however, remained at Michigan. Eventually, they were transferred to Duke University and my custody, or more accurately, in the hands of my wife, Pat Anderson. Ultimately she became, unofficially, the first business manager of the Society. Steere had been rather haphazard about reprinting back numbers, mainly because there weren't sufficient funds in the treasury to keep a complete stock on hand. There was a great demand for complete sets of *THE BRYOLOGIST*, especially in Europe and Great Britain, which were recovering from the war. Winona Welch came up with an idea. She made an appeal to the membership to loan the Society sufficient funds, interest free, to have the missing numbers reprinted. The response was overwhelming and we received enough loan money to have all of the missing numbers reprinted without dipping into the treasury. Complete sets were advertised in the December 1955 issue of *THE BRYOLOGIST*. We sold them for a considerable profit, and paid back the loans in full. We continued to keep a full stock of back numbers. We also increased the profit margin and accumu-

lated a substantial surplus which we invested in bonds. In 1971, the stock of back numbers was shipped to the Missouri Botanical Garden and Marshall Crosby succeeded Pat Anderson as unofficial business manager. In 1973, it was made official and Crosby became the first official Business Manager of the Society.

Steere moved the Editorial Office to Stanford and continued as Editor until 1954, when he became Dean of the Graduate School there. He had been editor for 17 years, not quite the equal of Jennings's 25 years. Howard Crum of The National Museum of Canada, a student of Steere's when they were at Michigan and a post-doctoral with him at Stanford, succeeded Steere as the fifth editor of *THE BRYOLOGIST*. Crum's reign began with Volume 57, No. 3. Like most editors, Crum initiated changes in *THE BRYOLOGIST*. Volume 62, No. 1, 1959, appeared with a new front cover. He erased for good Steere's logo, the shield with moss and liverwort reproductive structures, and changed the font and style of the title, *THE BRYOLOGIST*. He resigned after seeing Volume 65, Number 3, 1962, through the press. William Louis Culberson succeeded him and, in the first issue he edited, wrote a very insightful editorial tribute to Crum, which I quote in part: "His term in this office has been eminently successful. The quality of the papers published in *THE BRYOLOGIST* has steadily risen both by his meticulous scrutiny of the manuscripts submitted and by his willing assistance to the authors in their (often agonizing) prepublication chores. In 1959, Dr. Crum gave *THE BRYOLOGIST* the most important single editorial contribution in history: the production and publication of the cumulative index for the first sixty volumes."

Toward the end of his tenure as Editor, Culberson increased the page size of *THE BRYOLOGIST*, a format that was more efficient and exists today. It resulted in an increase of more than 40% in usable type space. He also added a scholarly tone to the journal by initiating the practice of using poems and short literary pieces as fillers. More significant, though, on page 1, number 1 of Volume 73, Culberson slyly inserted in the subtitle after the heading, "*THE BRYOLOGIST*," a single line: "Quarterly Journal of the American Bryological and Lichenological Society." It was the first use of the new title, which anticipated action by the Society that summer. His action is remindful of Mrs. Annie Morrill Smith's editorial prerogative in changing "The Sullivant Moss Chapter" to "The Sullivant Moss Society." She would have approved Culberson's action heartily.

Culberson resigned as editor after the Fall issue of 1970, and William D. Reese succeeded him and collaborated with the Fall issue. Reese, in a leading

editorial of Volume 65, No. 4, had this to say about Culberson's editorship: "His policies have played a large role in making THE BRYOLOGIST into the modern, highly regarded botanical journal that it is today, and thereby have helped to stimulate substantial growth of the journal in terms of individual and institutional subscriptions. The American Bryological and Lichenological Society owes a large debt of gratitude to Dr. Culberson for his long and unstinting dedication to the pursuit of excellence for THE BRYOLOGIST."

Both THE BRYOLOGIST and the American Bryological and Lichenological Society have continued to flourish throughout the remainder of the Century. THE BRYOLOGIST, keeping its name intact at last, is now the second longest continuous botanical journal in North America, second only to The Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club. Each successive editor has added his touch. Dale Mueller succeeded Reese and published the first color photograph, that of Bill Steere, placed at the end of Volume 80, which was dedicated to him. Richard Zander took over from Mueller, withdrew the "Short Articles" toward the end of each number, and initiated the custom of spelling out bibliographic references.

In the fall of 1984, the Society published the first issue of *Evansia*, with William R. Buck as Editor. As I have noted several times, after Steere replaced Jennings as Editor of THE BRYOLOGIST the subjects of the published papers became more technical and less amateurish. They also became more international in scope. There were still many members, both amateurs and professionals, however, who wanted an outlet for papers of a more popular nature that dealt, for instance, with checklists and new regional, state, or even county records of North American bryophytes and lichens. *Evansia*, now under the Editorship of Robert E. Magill, has proved to be quite successful and is now in Volume 16.

Dominick V. Basile was Editor for three years, 1985–1987, the shortest term of any editor. He was followed by Bill Reese, who became the only editor to serve two separate terms. His second term included Volumes 91 to 98 (1), 1988 to 1995. Somehow, the bright green cover of THE BRYOLOGIST that Bill Steere had introduced in 1938, with successive editors, had become a lighter, dull and sickly green. Beginning with Volume 97 (1), 1994, Reese made a radical but pleasing change in the cover. It became a glossy slick cover that would accept photographs. Moreover, he restored the bright crisp green background which is even more exquisite than Steere's green. Impetus for the change, according to Reese, came from suggestions arising at the 1993 ABLs meetings in Iowa. To show off the new cover, he published a photograph of Abel Joel

Grout at his microscope and work table. Appropriately, it was the first cover photograph published in THE BRYOLOGIST. In the same issue, News and Notes carried an invitation to members with illustrative materials of exceptional quality and interest to submit them to the Editor for consideration for use on the front cover.

After seeing the Spring issue of 1995 through the presses, Bill Reese resigned as Editor of THE BRYOLOGIST, for the second time. He had been a superb editor during both terms. It is not possible to judge who has been the best, because each editor has had to face different problems and situations. Bill was certainly among the best. Altogether, he was Editor for 12 years for a total of 49 issues, second only to O. E. Jennings.

Dale H. Vitt became editor of THE BRYOLOGIST with the summer issue of 1995 (Volume 98, No. 2) and has maintained the attractive, modern cover introduced by Reese. Vitt had the honor of editing the Centennial Volume 100, 1997, a neat, handsome one. Furthermore, he will have the honor of editing the forthcoming Volume 103, 2000.

To paraphrase Conard's (1947) concluding remarks in his history of the first 50 years of The Sullivant Moss Society, The American Bryological and Lichenological Society has continued for another fifty years to carry on the noble work achieved during the first fifty years of its existence. The membership has grown from 319 in 1947 to 560 in 1997. Most of the increase has been in non-U.S. members. In 1947, there were only 21 foreign members compared with 230 in 1997. THE BRYOLOGIST has enlarged its volumes from 208 pages in 1948 to 569 pages in 1997. It has greatly expanded both its geographic and subject coverage. Another journal, *Evansia*, which satisfies the less technical clientele of its membership, has been added with great success. The Society is in excellent financial condition and has proficient leadership. We have much to pass along to the 21st Century.

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