



Rutherford B. Hayes

Let's have a closer look, tonight, at one of our early members who in addition to attaining national renown in politics and the military, had an abiding and affectionate regard for the Literary Club.

Rutherford Hayes was a bright, handsome, scholarly young man, a voracious reader, a faithful diarist and prolific letter writer. Fortunately, most of his journal and correspondence has been preserved and published.ⁱⁱ It's a wonderful, unique source on Club history. The words of this man, who was on the scene at the time, give a vivid sense of immediacy to his life and the early days of the Literary Club. My paper leans heavily on it.

Hayes was born in 1822 in Delaware, Ohio and, in due course, with a legal career in mind, was graduated from Kenyon College and Harvard Law School. After a short and rather fruitless beginning law practice in tiny Upper Sandusky, he decided to move to the more promising prospects in the then burgeoning metropolis of the West. He came to Cincinnati on Christmas Eve 1849 and engaged a room at Mrs. Fulton's boarding house at the southeast corner of Fourth and Vine streets. He enjoyed a festive dinner on Christmas day at the Broadway Hotel.

Barely a week later, on January 8th 1850, Hayes recorded: "This day I have gone into an office – on Third Street with John W. Herron, not as a partner but as a mere office chum. He is young, of good habits, education and mind – a good fellow. The arrangement is probably only temporary. We sleep on little hard mattresses in a little room cooped off from one end of our office." ⁱⁱⁱ

John Herron was a member of the Literary Club, elected in 1849, soon after the twelve immortals founded the Club. On January 19th 1850, Herron proposed Hayes for membership in the Club and, two weeks later, he was unanimously added to the roster.^{iv} In his entry for February 19th Hayes wrote, "I belong to a delightful little club, composed of lawyers, artists, merchants and teachers, which meets once a week---- has debates, conversations, essays and oysters."^v Barely a month after his election he read his first paper and noted in his journal, "Made my first speech in the Club last night. It was so-so, but rather good considering. Shall improve the privileges of the Club in the future to the full."^{vi}

On April 28th, he wrote: "Last evening had a delightful meeting of the Literary Club. Several new members elected, Dixon, Skinner and Pierce. In the course of conversation it was said that Prescott was nine years writing his *Ferdinand and Isabella*. He was a man of wealth, could wait, and continued to write and rewrite it until at the end of nine years from its commencement it was published as we now see it—perfect and admirable."

On May 4th, his journal took a different tack. "Burnet House opened last night with a grand soiree – a ten dollar affair. Thought I could buy more gratification with my eagle in some other way. Spent last evening with that charming, sweet girl Miss Lucy Webb. Must keep a guard on my susceptibles or I shall be in beyond my depth."^{vii} The courtship blossomed into their

loving, lifelong marriage on December 30th 1852. They moved into a house on the south side of 6th Street between Race and Elm.^{viii}

Hayes pitched in to other Club activities with youthful vigor. “As part of a committee with Spofford and Collins, he went to the Burnet House to invite Ralph Waldo Emerson, in town for his lecture series, to visit the Club for a free confab on literary men and matters.”

“Sunday, May 26th: This evening our Literary Club received a visit from Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson. He, after being introduced to each member, sat down and began a free and easy conversation on literary men and things in England. He talked two and a half hours on all matters from letters to raising corn and pigs. A very pleasant man.” Hayes’ entry goes on for two pages about the lively conversations that took place.^{ix}

July 4th 1850: “Spent (the day) with the Literary Club and a few invited guests at Latonia Springs in Kentucky. An oration by Spofford, a poem by Guilford, speeches, songs, nine-pins and fun generally by the whole Club. A glorious day. After a hot pleasantly spent day and a fight for our “bus”, got home safely, 8 PM.”^x

His entry for November 3rd 1850 records a delightful account of the Club’s very first annual anniversary meeting, 161 years ago tonight. “Last Tuesday, left Columbus at 2:15 PM to be at home in time for the anniversary meeting of the Literary Club. At about 9 PM reached the city and found at Grundy’s building, northwest corner of Fifth and Walnut Streets, the Club assembling. Order of exercises: A song by James K. Wilson and the McDowells, A poem smoothly written of Pollock’s *Course of Time* class but too long, by William Ferguson. This was interrupted in a most ludicrous way with shout by Herron - OYSTERS ! Some thirty sat down to a good supper, liquors, etc., etc.

“Cloth removed, W. C. McDowell, being chairman, announced the toasts – one at a time – some member responding to each: -- First a toast by Blackwell, a capital poem. Second, a history of the Club well told by I. C. Collins. Third, Zachos made a good speech on teachers; White ditto; Sam Thompson on lawyers; Hoadly ditto; Sam Keys told a good story of his opinion of literary clubs, viz, “We admire your honesty but damn your politeness.” *Thomas Carlyle* by Spofford, giving the witty saying of said Thomas, “that from eighteen to twenty-five young men should be (em)balmed.” *Emerson*, beautifully and spiritually spoken to by Warriner;

Jefferson by Pierce; *Shakespeare* by Force, finely done; *Shadow of the State House*, an impromptu toast for self; a witty speech by Cross; a good one on *Truth* by Sheldon and a short one by Herron – suffering from a toothache.”^{xi}

In the meantime, Hayes’ legal practice got off to an early start. On February 15th 1850: “Received my first retainer, \$5.00 to defend a suit in Commercial Court” for a total fee -\$50.00. It grew steadily, interspersed with occasional stump speeches for the local Whig party to exercise his latent interest in politics. He also joined the Sons of Temperance devoted to condemning the evils of alcohol. In speeches to the group he said “he was mostly sincere about temperance though he did drink his share of wine at the Literary Club where he was exposed to the new ideas of his time.” Later he said that meeting the collection of young intellectuals at the Club, including some outstanding free thinkers and abolitionists was “the most educational adventure of his life.”^{xii}

With his appointment by the court to defend an indigent Nancy Farrer, charged with murder, he hit real legal paydirt and widespread recognition. It turned out to be one of the most spectacular cases to come before the Cincinnati Bar. Judge Carter, who presided in the case, devoted a whole chapter on it in his fascinating book about the old Court House published some thirty years after the trial.^{xiii} It was summed up in minute, grisly detail in the newspapers.^{xiv}

“Nancy was a peculiar person. Though only a serving maid, she exhibited a talent that baffled lawyers and juries despite the great crimes she was the center of. October 1851 found her ensconced in the home of Elisha Forrest, a well-to-do merchant in town. --- She soon made herself at home, made friends and the Forrest children became attached to her. A short time after Nancy joined the family, Mrs. Forrest sickened, had spasms and died in violent agony. In a few days, the youngest son was attacked with symptoms similar to the fatal ones that carried off his mother, and on the last day of November, another son was attacked and speedily died despite all the medical aid that could be brought to his assistance. Mr. Forrest and his only remaining son were ill also but recovered.”

“Such astounding mortality in a single family, who were in apparent good health when attacked was the astonishment of the neighborhood and unaccountable to the physicians. Mr. Forrest, on his recovery, had reason to be extremely suspicious. He believed he and his family had been poisoned.

But, who did it? Who had access to the family? Only Nancy. He watched her every movement. He searched her room when she was away. He found a paper label marked 'Dr. Salter, Druggist, Arsenic, Poison.' The paper was shown to Dr. Salter at his drugstore at No. 60 Broadway. "Oh yes, he said, I sold that arsenic to your girl, Nancy, to kill rats." In post-mortem examinations, quantities of arsenic were found in the stomachs of all of the victims. The evidence seemed damningly conclusive. Nancy was arrested. The grand jury lost no time finding indictments for murder and the court appointed young Rutherford Hayes to defend her."

"The trial dragged on for ten days. The great interest in the case, the absence of any motive for the offense, the introduction of an anthropologist and phrenologist who examined the bumps on the head of the prisoner in the presence of the court and jury and the judge's charge to the jury that any evidence to show the mental condition of the prisoner was admissible, made it an extraordinary one for the time. The jury was out for three days and finally brought in a verdict of murder in the first degree, leaving Judge Carter to pronounce the sentence, with tears in his eyes, according to a reporter for the *Commercial*. "The sentence of the court is that you, Nancy Farrer, be conveyed from this place to the Hamilton County jail, there to remain until the 25th day of June, next, thence to be conveyed to the place of execution in the yard of said jail, and there between the hours of eleven in the forenoon and three in the afternoon be hanged by the neck until you shall be dead, and may God have mercy on your soul."

Nancy's fate was now sealed, yet a queer and unaccountable sort of good luck seemed to follow in her wake. While the jury was in consultation some meddlesome fellow threw them a paper containing a portion of the Judge's charge and some other equally officious chap held conversations with members of the jury. These facts gave a loophole by which to crawl up to the Supreme Court. Mr. Hayes was not slow to avail himself of it. Though refused a new trial, he was granted a bill of exceptions while the case was pending on a writ concerning her sanity. Hayes again defended Nancy with a studiously prepared, twelve-page argument when she appeared before the Court. The curious visitors, who packed the court, listened with rapt attention. When the verdict was announced, the applause was deafening. Instead of being hanged, Nancy was pronounced of unsound mind and sent to Lick Run Asylum.

“At the asylum she was accounted a genuine treasure. Her nursing qualities were brought into immediate requisition. The patients that were ailing learned to love her. The managers reposed every confidence in her, and even allowed her to take the patients on excursions in the grounds and woods. One day Judge Carter was riding in the neighborhood of Lick Run and saw Nancy. ‘Hello, Judge, how are you?’ she said. ‘I’m glad to see you. Well you didn’t hang me after all.’ ‘O no, Nancy, I should hate terribly to be the means of hanging a woman, no matter how much she deserved it, But what are you doing here? Well, I’m one of the keepers at the asylum. I takes out the patients and airs them. See yonder my pets, pointing to a group of poor imbeciles in the woods, some singing songs, some culling flowers and some lying in the grass.’”^{xv}

The Farrer case didn’t pay much financially and had little to do with the Literary Club, but it deserves ample notice because it was a pivotal milestone in Hayes’ career. It greatly enhanced his presence in the city and was the keynote of his extraordinary political career. When the incumbent Cincinnati City Solicitor was killed in a railroad accident, Council appointed Hayes to fill the vacancy. After completing that partial term, he won his very first elective office with an impressive majority.

He continued his regular attendance at Literary Club meetings and noted them in his journal. A few examples::

“Have had a long talk with an acquaintance I have long admired at the Club, Dr. Warriner. He is what is usually called a visionary man, a Swedenborgian, a believer in clairvoyance, etc., but a clear-minded, candid man of fine disposition, refined, cultivated and sensible.”

“Had an exceedingly pleasant ‘informal’ at the Club last night. George Strong came home to spend his holiday vacation. His little burlesque in the paper he read on the text, ‘*If you study theology you will dry up as sure as you are born*’ was an agreeable piece of drollery. He should determine to be a man of letters as a profession.”

“I spent .the evening in a jolly, sensible way at the Club. George Strong said, ‘I hear the Club has grown dignified and orderly. Oh don’t. I long for the good old days when we called the president not Mr. President, but Rud or Billy.’ --- got home sober at 1:45 AM.”

“At the informal meeting of the Club, Manning Force read a fine paper, witty, sensible, good.. Force is a man.” Hayes thought so highly of Force that he and Lucy named one of their sons Manning Force Hayes.

Hayes' attendance was apparently so regular that on Saturday March 11th 1853, Lucy, herself, penned an entry in the journal; "Ruddy has gone to the Club. I did think I was reconciled to it, but when the evening comes all the feeling revives. Woman is the only enemy that has ever overcome the Club."

In the spring of 1861, with secession in the South, the attack on Fort Sumter and a slave-state just across the river, the city was engulfed in a wave of patriotic enthusiasm. On April 20th, Hayes wrote to his uncle, "I have joined a volunteer home company to learn drill. It is chiefly composed of the Literary Club."

With Lincoln's call to the states for 75,000 troops, enlistment of an army became serious business. On July 7th Hayes wrote, "I received a dispatch from Governor Dennison asking if I would accept the majority in a regiment of which Wm. Rosecrans was to be Colonel and (Literary Club friend) Judge Matthews Lieut. Col. –read it to Lucy and replied that I would accept. –Late in the afternoon of the next day I received a dispatch from the governor, addressed to Judge Matthews and myself to report to the Adjutant-General in Columbus.^{xvi}

Knowing nothing of the art of war at the outset, Hayes read all of the military manuals he could find, questioned regulars and West Pointers, and soon became a first rate officer. As judge advocate on Rosecrans' staff, he wrote. "I have tried twenty cases before a court martial – in the past week. One conviction for desertion and other aggravated offenses punished with sentence of death. I trust the general will mitigate this."^{xvii} Rather than the legal aspect of war, Hayes preferred action in the field. With promotion of Rosecrans to a brigade and Matthews' return to his legal career, Hayes became colonel in command of the 23rd Regiment OVI.

In combat he soon proved his valor and military skill. His ability as a leader became famous. "A bright young staff sergeant, serving in the 23rd, (William McKinley, future U. S. President) said, "Hayes was the sunny, agreeable, generous gentleman off the battlefield, but his whole nature seemed to change in battle, becoming intense and ferocious." Another of his men recalled. "It put fight in us, seeing Colonel Hayes riding full gallop toward the rebel battery waving his sword with grand anger of battle flashing in his eyes. Who could not follow him into battle?"^{xviii} Hayes was wounded three times, seriously in the assault on South Mountain and had two horses

shot from under him. On recovery, he was back in the fray. Eventually, he led a full brigade of 5000 troops. After Lee's surrender at Appomatox in April 1865, Brevet Brigadier General Hayes left the Army on June 9th four years to the day from joining his regiment. For the fascinating story of Hayes' four- year service during the Civil War, see T. Harry Williams' excellent book, *Hayes of the 23rd*.^{xix}

Despite the hazards of war, Hayes fondly remembered the Literary Club. On the night of October 29th 1861, in his tent at Camp Tompkins near New River in western Virginia, he reminisced in his diary, "This is the anniversary of the Literary Club - the society with which so much of my life is associated. It will be celebrated tonight. The absent will be remembered. I wish I was there. How many who have been members are in the tented field! What a roll for our little club! I have seen these as members: General Pope, now commanding in Missouri; Lieut. Col. Force of the 20th in Kentucky; Major Noyes of the 39th in Missouri; Lieut. Col. Matthews in Virginia; Secretary Chase, the power (brain and soul) of the Administration: Governor Corwin, Minister to Mexico: Tom Ewing, Jr., Chief Justice of Kansas; Ewing Sr., the great intellect of Ohio; Nate Lord, colonel of a Vermont or New Hampshire regiment; McDowell, a judge in Kansas; J.H. McDowell, a senator and major in Kansas: Oliver and Mallon, common pleas judges; Stanton, a representative in the Ohio House; and so on. Well, what good times we have had! Wit, anecdote, song, feast, wine and good fellowship – gentlemen and scholars. I wonder how it will go off tonight. All this I write, thinking of the debates, the conversations and the happiness of the Literary Club. It has been for almost twelve years an important part of my life. My best friends are among its members."^{xx}

Late in the War, friends in Cincinnati rallied for his nomination as Congressman. On August 24th 1864 he replied to his friend, Wm H. Smith, from the Camp of Sheridan's Army, "Your favor of the 7th came to hand on Monday. It was the first I had heard of the doings of the Second District Convention. My thanks for your attention and assistance. I cared very little about being a candidate, but having consented to the use of my name I preferred to succeed. Your suggestion about getting a furlough to take the stump was certainly made without reflection."---- "An officer fit for duty who at this crisis would abandon his post to electioneer for a seat in Congress ought to be scalped. You may be perfectly sure I shall do no such thing."^{xxi} Elected by a heavy majority, Hayes entered Congress in December 1865.

His political career was well on the way. Between 1867 and 1876, he served three terms as Governor of Ohio. At its national convention in Cincinnati in 1876, the Republican Party chose Hayes as its candidate for President. The Democrats nominated Governor Samuel Tilden of New York as their banner bearer. In his formal "Letter of Acceptance" to the Republican Party, Hayes made a bold statement to reform the spoils system of hiring federal employees, that had plagued the Grant administrations, called for North-South harmony as long as the South accepted constitutional protection for blacks and also said it was his 'inflexible purpose not to be a candidate for a second term. Tilden was already extolled for reform because of his victory over the corrupt Boss Tweed gang in his state.^{xxii} So began the most cantankerous Presidential election in U. S. history.

On election night, Hayes, in Columbus, received reports that vote-rich New York had gone for Tilden. "From that time", he noted in his journal, "I never supposed there was a chance for Republican success." He went to bed after midnight, sure he had lost. Tilden, in New York, celebrated victory with a dinner party. But it was far from settled. At 3:45 next morning, the *New York Times* received a telegram from a Democratic Party official. "Please give me your estimate of electoral votes secured for Tilden at once." Editor John Reid, was astounded. After time in a Confederate prison during the Civil War, Reid had little use for northern Democrats who had been against the war. He knew the election might be close, but if a top Democrat could not figure out who had won, the outcome must really be uncertain. He checked the figures and found that nothing final had come in from Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida, the last three Southern states still under Reconstruction, carpetbagger government. The totals from the other states showed that if these three states went Republican, Hayes would win. Reid wired the three governors: 'Hayes elected if we have carried Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida. Can you hold your state? Answer immediately.'

A nasty political firestorm began that continued until the very eve of Inauguration Day, "Meeting a December 6th deadline, the Returning Boards reported to Washington officially, giving Hayes the crucial votes from Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida. Democrats on the Boards immediately challenged the results reporting their own tallies favoring Tilden. The election now depended on which set of returns would be accepted. Under the Constitution, how the validity of votes should be determined was unclear. Congress now had to decide. "The northern Democrats were ready for a fight and wanted to give up nothing. The

southern Democrats, particularly former plantation owners and southern businessmen, had had enough of war, and more than anything else, wanted to avoid conflict and to get federal subsidies to rebuild the devastated South.^{xxiii}

Bigwigs of both parties met at Wormley's Hotel in Washington to hammer out a compromise. Neither candidate was there nor had anything to do with all of the riotous political infighting. In the course of the meeting at Wormley's, the southern Democrats agreed to drop their support of a filibuster that would block the completion of the electoral vote count and in effect, shut down the government. In exchange, the South was promised aid for rebuilding and railroad construction, a Cabinet seat and a voice in doling out federal jobs in the South. It was also agreed that federal troops would be removed from South Carolina and Louisiana in return for the promise that the new voting and civil rights of the blacks would be protected.

A committee of five Congressmen, five Senators and five justices of the Supreme Court was appointed to settle the matter. On February 1st the committee began to examine thousands of pages of evidence showing much illegality. It would rule on the 22 disputed electoral votes. No one knew for sure how the committee would decide. With every day that passed, the United States moved closer to the end of Grant's term on March 4th. The committee haggled on through February and into March.

“The end of the drama came on March 2nd 1877 and was over in about twenty minutes. At 3:45 AM, the House doorkeeper announced the arrival of U.S. Senators for a joint session of Congress. Senate President T.W. Ferry of Michigan led the party, closely followed by four men carrying revolvers. The armed guard carried two mahogany boxes containing the electoral returns from 38 states. As the senators took their seats, ten more armed men took places at the front of the House chamber, posting themselves near the Speakers chair, the ballot boxes and Senator Ferry.”

“At this point, Congressman John Ellis of Louisiana shouted, ‘Democrats leave your seats.’ About 60 lawmakers walked out or to the back of the chamber. Thirty Democrats stayed seated. The joint session continued. Ferry, looking tired and nervous, stepped up to the rostrum and called for the reading of the resolutions on the electoral count. The last 10 votes, those of Wisconsin went to Hayes. At 4:05 AM, Ferry declared, ‘This concludes the count of the 38 states of the Union.’ He then asked for the results from the clerk. A silence fell on the chamber as Ferry, shaking with emotion, put the

final official signature on the document and said: ‘Wherefore I do declare: that Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, having received a majority of the whole number of electoral votes, is duly elected President of the United States commencing March 4, 1877.’^{xxiv} In another few minutes the lawmakers left for home and bed, the chamber was empty, the lights were turned off and so ended the most riotous political campaign before or since.

During his term in office, Hayes did much to correct the rampant ‘spoils system’. He removed the last remaining ‘reconstruction’ troops in South Carolina and Louisiana. He appointed a southerner to his cabinet and fostered federal aid for rebuilding the South. He acted honestly and thoughtfully to the best of his ability and did much to reunite the fractured nation.

Despite the rigors of office, his admiration for the Literary Club remained intact. To celebrate the Club’s anniversary in 1878, he sent the following invitation:

“The President and Mrs. Hayes request the pleasure of your company at dinner, October 29th at 7 o’clock to meet the members of the Cincinnati Literary Club residing in Washington”

Fifteen Literary Club members responded. After informal greetings in the Blue Room, they with a few other guests, were seated around the banquet table for a lavish dinner. The ladies graciously retired when coffee and cigars announced the Club’s going into executive session. Sam. Butler, one of the members who attended the meeting at the White House, wrote a short, delightful reminiscence of the affair much of which bears repeating.

“Ainsworth Spofford was ushered into the presiding officer’s chair. The budget was in the hands of General Mussey. Of four contributions, one was a humorous poem by Rogers; another, a sentimental poem by Guilford; a third, a memorial ode by Butler. The only prose that dared assert itself was a cluster of personal sketches by Judge James. To make the humiliation of prose complete, a poetical effusion by General Tom Anderson which had been read before at the Club in Cincinnati, was expressed to Washington to grace the White House Jubilee. It was read in handsome style by Aaron Dutton.”

“Words of cheer from the Alma Mater in the Queen City were profuse. Numerous letters of greeting were read by chairman Spofford which he charmingly annotated with side remarks on old members whose foibles and character traits he well recalled. It was when Spofford closed that the President threw himself into the breach with all the ardor of a boy, adding points that even wonderful memored Spofford had forgotten. The incident served to prove how acutely alive was the President’s fond recollection of delightful links in the old Club chain.”

“Judge James brought down the house by alluding, in serio-comic vein, to a moss-grown incident of Cincinnati days when Brother Hayes made an anarchistic motion to abolish the constitution of the Club, and he called it the irony of Fate that a merciless Nemesis should now charge this same conspirator with the awful duty of enforcing the Constitution of the United States. This White House anniversary dinner was a most happy reunion from start to finish.”^{xxv}

In his fascinating 1912 paper, William Cochran tells the story of Hayes’ election as an Honorary Member of the Club. “At the meeting of April 28th 1877, (less than two months after Hayes’ inauguration as President), John Herron moved that Hayes be elected an Honorary Member. At the time there was no precedent for this action and no constitutional provision for it. There was still rancor among the few Democrats in the Club who had been against Hayes in his recent, highly contested election. But the older members, who knew him, his character and affection for the Club, prevailed and Rutherford Hayes was duly elected our first Honorary Member”

From his 1912 perspective, Cochran gives his opinion of Hayes’ administration as President. “Our first honorary member must be credited with having given the country one of the cleanest and best administrations ever known. He lived up to his letter of acceptance in every particular. Peace was restored to the Southern States; military interference with local elections was ended; civil service reform was put into practical operation.”^{xxvi}

Rutherford B. Hayes richly deserves his honored place in the Literary Club and adds significant luster to our roster.

John Diehl

Literary Club

31 October 2011

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- ⁱ Photo of Hayes at the time of his election to the Literary Club.
- ⁱⁱ *Diary and Letters of Rutherford B. Hayes* Charles Richard Williams 1922 (D&L-RBH)
- ⁱⁱⁱ *ibid* Vol. I Pg. 277
- ^{iv} Club minutes 2 Feb. 1850
- ^v (D&L-RBH) Vol. I Pg. 285
- ^{vi} *ibid* Pg 286
- ^{vii} *ibid* Pg 295
- ^{viii} Cincinnati Directory 1853 Pg 169
- ^{ix} (D&L-RBH) Pp 303 - 305
- ^x *ibid* Pg 317
- ^{xi} *ibid* Pp 329 -330
- ^{xii} *Rutherford B. Hayes* Neal E. Robbins 1989 Pg. 17 (Robbins)
- ^{xiii} *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of the Courts and Bar* Judge A.G.W. Carter 1880 Pp 438 -448
- ^{xiv} *Cincinnati Commercial* July 14th 1878
- ^{xv} Carter Pp 444--445
- ^{xvi} (D&L-RBH) Vol. 2 Pg 26
- ^{xvii} *Ibid* Vol 2 pg 126
- ^{xviii} (Robbins) Pg 37
- ^{xix} *Hayes of the 23rd*, T. Harry Williams , Knopf 1965
- ^{xx} (D&L-RBH) Vol 2 Pg 127
- ^{xxi} (D&L-RBH) Vol 1 Pg 497
- ^{xxii} *Ibid* Pg 61 - 65
- ^{xxiii} (Robbins) pg 71
- ^{xxiv} *Ibid* Pp 72 - 73
- ^{xxv} *President Hayes' Reception to Club Members 1878* Club Paper S.P. Butler Oct. 26, 1905
- ^{xxvi} *Our First Honorary Member* Club paper W. C. Cochran October 26, 1912