

Burnet, etc.

Composed of Burnet Rifles, the Burnet Flag and the List of Civil War Members of the Literary Club

John C. Steiner

November 21, 2011

I have entitled this talk, Burnet, etc., for I will discuss Burnet Rifles, the Burnet Flag, and a terrible list of members of the Literary Club during the Civil War that resides on the second mantle in our present quarters.

At our 162nd Anniversary Dinner, our historian, John Diehl, recounted events in the life of Rutherford B. Hayes, a Literarian who became the 19th President of the United States.¹

This account extends the Hayes's story. The men of Fort Sumter's garrison in Charleston, South Carolina's harbor surrendered on April 13th, 1861 and marched out the morning of April 14th. The men boarded an ocean-going steamboat and departed for New York's Harbor.

That afternoon President Abraham Lincoln wrote a proclamation of war. He called for 75,000 militiamen to come to Washington for 90 days, to defend the capital and suppress the rebellion, and called upon Congress to convene on July 4th, 1861.² The proclamation was printed nationwide and required just over three column inches in the Cincinnati Daily Gazette on Monday morning, April 15th.³ Ohio Governor William Dennison called for the formation of 13 Volunteer infantry regiments.⁴

Hayes called an emergency meeting of the Literary Club on Wednesday evening, April 17th, 1861, to organize a military company.⁵ Without Hayes' effort, ELSE there would never have been the Burnet Rifles company, for it was named after Robert Burnet, their first drill instructor, who was a West Point graduate, and he quietly withdrew.⁶ Later, Burnet insisted that the Unit elect a Literarian to lead that company. He had turned the drilling over to Active Duty Captain John Pope, and said that because of hoarseness, he withdrew. When Pope was ordered west, the company trained at Newport Barracks parade ground, and within a short time, that company had gone from being led by two West Point graduates to a foul-mouthed sergeant, who apologized for his commands.

Dire warnings began in Cincinnati long before the war's outbreak. James Faran, Editor of the Daily Enquirer, and its former Mayor and United States Congressman, feared that Confederates would capture Cincinnati if war was declared. His concern was realistic but there was a 16 month delay until General Henry Heath marched into Northern Kentucky. For Faran, Cincinnati's line of defense was the top of the right bank of the Ohio River -- the Cincinnati side.⁷

The State of South Carolina was the first state to secede on December 20th, 1860. Major Anderson, on his own, moved his garrison from the indefensible Fort Moultrie to the island Fort Sumter the night of December 26th, 1860, a mile across the harbor to the south east,⁸ and when Charleston's citizens awakened that next morning they saw an enormous American flag flying over the fort.⁹

Anderson's younger brother, Larz Anderson, traveled to Washington, to attend President James Buchanan's final White House New Year's Eve soiree.¹⁰ Larz Anderson probably persuaded Buchanan to send a re-supply ship to Fort Sumter and wanted Buchanan to approve Anderson's move.¹¹

Larz Anderson then visited his brother at Fort Sumter,¹² but left before the arrival of the steamboat, Star of the West, that was shelled and withdrew before it could off load, on January 9th, 1861.

Literarian R. Delavan Mussey, Editor of The Cincinnati Daily Gazette believed that firing on the supply ship, that flew the American flag was an act of war.¹³ Buchanan did nothing.

Hayes had recently been voted out of office as the City of Cincinnati's solicitor, for there was a sweep of elections. He recognized Cincinnati's need for protection during the Civil War, and called an emergency meeting of the Literary Club two days after Civil War was finally acknowledged. The notice for an emergency meeting was published in the Wednesday morning paper of the April 17th issue of Daily Gazette.

Hayes brought the meeting to order. E. E. Hutcheson, Club President, presided, and R.H. Stephenson, one of the 12 original Club members, told the members that this meeting was called to form a military company.¹⁴

Hayes likely prepared for three "ad hoc" groups who reported to the assembled group about the validity of the meeting's purpose, the need to march that night, and armaments and uniforms. Those topics were likely pre-arranged between Hayes and President Hutcheson, and R. H. Stephenson. Hayes, became a member of the first "ad

hoc" group, reported that the meeting's purpose was acceptable. The second group suggested that marching should begin that night. The third group was concerned with arm and equipment.¹⁵

A strongly supported purpose was for the unit to become an artillery company. Literarians had too few men to field a full company. Artillery would amplify the Literarians' small numbers. They invited non-members to drill with them.

It was very expensive to purchase artillery equipment. The artillery company venture was dropped, likely because of cost, and they needed another purpose.

Hayes invited non-member Robert Burnet to attend as his guest to drill the members. By roll call vote, 33 of about 42 Literary Club members voted to march that night.¹⁶ The Club was not up to full strength, a condition that our Literary Club's President continues to remind us.¹⁷

Absent Literarians were not recorded by name. The Literarians had set their maximum number of members at 50, some years before. No final count of all marchers was recorded.

Burnet addressed the marching group and said that he was rusty with commands, but would do his best.

I secured a copy of the Burnet Rifles' Constitution, Bylaws, and Rules of Order, in the Rare Book Room of the Cincinnati and Hamilton County Public Library.¹⁸ Other than swearing fidelity to one's fellow members, it had no higher purpose.¹⁹

Minutes of one meeting suggest an intent to join others in a home guard. Hayes does not appear to have been involved in writing the Constitution. Burnet's only role in its writing was to refuse the Captaincy, for it is likely that he was elected in absentia, for his captaincy announced by the Daily Gazette, on May 3rd, BUT the Constitution was signed on May 1st. It would be a long effort and he did not want to lead. He did not want to get up at night to deal with situations for which he was needed. He had NOT called the emergency meeting, but (he) attended it at the behest of Hayes, and believed that a Literarian must be chief. Thus, Attorney, M.W. Oliver was elected captain of Burnet Rifles.²⁰

The Constitution quietly quelled the election of Company B officers, for there was no intent to have a regiment-sized company. Therefore the ersatz Company B did not exist.²¹

Many sought Burnet's leadership. Four days before, he was elected President of the Voluntary Military Hospitals Committee on Supervision and Finance. This hospital was organized by Dr. William Mussey, brother of R. Delavan Mussey, Editor of the Daily Gazette.²²

Burnet and his friends had gone together to pay the required bond to use the hospital. It was built but was never furnished and it was locked until the bond was paid. They would deal with sick Volunteers who were trained and lived outdoors, and not the wounds of war.

(E R R O R Hayes was chosen as fourth Corporal E R R O R). But he had been appointed by the Governor as a Major in the 23rd Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment, and he would leave with in the month.

According to its bylaws, Burnet Rifles' members would march on May 1st, the date its Constitution was approved;²³ on July 4th, and on February 22nd. They would drill twice a week,²⁴ and Burnet Rifles would endure so long as there were 15 members.²⁵ On June 13th, accompanied by the Newport Band, 65 men marched to the homes of Robert Burnet, Congressman William Groesbeck and Literarian Charles Dexter, to serenade them. The flag they likely used was not the flag in our reading room. It was likely the 33-star American Flag.

Robert Ralston Jones, the Club's historian in a later era, said that no Literary Club meetings were held from April 1861 to February 1864.²⁶ This is not exactly true. While the club met, attendance and meetings were irregular that year, before suspension of all meetings, and the Club attendance was generally below its quorum of 12 members.²⁷

The negative effects of Burnet Rifles on the Cincinnati Literary Club was, at first, intense. There were a few meetings. The young men who marched with Burnet Rifles were energetic, and while they marched twice a week, they had limits, and often did not attend the Saturday evening Literary Club meetings.

In July, casualties began arriving by steamboat.

Union forces were defeated at the First Battle of Manassas. The war would not end in 90 days, as it was once said, and the Voluntary Military Hospital would cede control to the Army Medical Department in late August 1861. There was also the enervating effect of having many battles fought in the Western Theatre on the Ohio River or its tributaries in the 14 months before. Casualties from Fort Donelson, Shiloh,

Cornith were brought to Cincinnati, so civilians likely saw the wounds of war, and were not yet hardened to this gruesome sight.

Civilians met the steamboats that carried wounded men who survived the five or more days on their steamboat voyage to Cincinnati. Civilians often used their own carriages and wagons to supplement the Army's horse-drawn vehicles, and took patients to military hospitals, when the boats arrived at all hours. Wounded men from the north were put aboard trains, and transported north, for the Little Miami Railroad tracks ran at the top of The Public Landing, where steamboats docked.

With only informal meetings, the club's leaders decided that the Club would become dormant and set the date to be October 8th, 1862.²⁸ They must have been surprised when 24 members came, who were recorded by name.²⁹ Had half on them come, they would met quorum. The minutes of the Literary Club then were recorded to indicate "Not dead but sleepeth."

Seventeen months passed.

To decide if it was time to begin the Club's regular weekly meeting again, founding member, Reuben H. Stephenson contacted each member. Before February 19th, 1864, and 14 months before Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox, he inquired of those who were away at war. Should the Literary Club of Cincinnati be reactivated?

Fifteen members responded yes. There were three more than the original 12 who began the club. The reactivation meeting occurred in Stephenson's small law office.

In the nine months of 1864, 35 new Literary Club members were elected to bring the active members to 50. In 1865, nine new members elected.³⁰ New quarters were rented at Fifth and Walnut Streets. Then Club quarters were at 24 West Fourth Street for 16 years. Then a building was constructed where the Club could meet, at 25 East Eighth Street, its home for 46 years, before 500 East Fourth Street, our present abode since 1930.

Burnet Flag

The Burnet Rifles' flag adorns the east wall of our reading room. It is said that this flag was tacked to the wall in Club's prior quarters before it was encased, but there are no photographs of those early quarters to show that flag.³¹ That view not prove that it was not there.

The flag was never flown, and it was likely completed after that military company ceased to exist, and it was probably given to the Club after it emerged from 17 months of dormancy in February 1864, as a memento of what had been.

Flags generally have a canton and a field. The American flag's canton is a lighter shade of blue than is the canton of the Burnet Flag. There are rows of stars that represented the states. The 13 alternating red and white stripes represented the original colonies.

The Burnet Flag was a handmade and reflected the addition of the state and star of Kansas before the national flag was revised. I was told that women who made the flag could not count. Yet the flag's symbols were well conceived.

Lincoln had decreed earlier that secession was illegal and thus the national flag would continue to reflect the 33 states of the union, not the seven states that seceded before he was inaugurated nor the four states that withdrew afterwards. A new American Flag was set forth in mid 1861.

Four states, Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri were neutral, and a star that represented each of those states was positioned in each corner of the Burnet Flag's canton. Missouri later was classified as a Confederate state, but throughout the war, there was a strong presence of Union Troops.

A 'neutral' state designation did not limit that state from battle. There were 28 battles in Missouri. Skirmishes were not counted. In Kentucky, the Battle at Richmond, Kentucky on August 29-30, 1862, was a Confederate victory. In Maryland, near Sharpsburg, the Battle of Antietam was an eked-out Northern victory later in September. 1862.

It took time after the declaration of war for some states to decide whether they supported the Union, Confederacy, or chose to remain neutral.

I asked three members, each with 20 or more years of Club membership when and where the flag was hung, and they all were cautious. The flag has not been noted as club treasure either in the 1903 or 1925 Anniversary volumes, but both volumes carried Lloyd Johnson's name, and in the 1903 volume, he was credited with framing it. He served as the Club Steward from 1872 to some time after 1910.

John Herron became a member in the club's first year, but was not one of the original 12 members. Errors abound. His Death Memoriam was read in 1898.³² The date

of the death memorial may have been in error, for he presided as well at the Club's 50th anniversary in 1899 ³³

His short budget paper was read in 1903 for its original reading, He wrote ³⁴

"... this beautiful flag, which [is] now all tattered and torn, but beautifully framed, hangs upon the wall of the club. Visitors look upon it with a reverential feeling, think of the long service, which it witnessed, and they look for some stains of blood upon its face. But the Burnet Rifles never saw active service. The flag was never out of Cincinnati and [it] was never touched by powder or ball of the enemy. But it gave birth to and motivated that military spirit which resulted in giving to the nation . . ."

When a flag is unfurled, it is translucent. The square box that encases the Burnet flag suggests a square battle flag. But the flag is folded back on itself, and although truncated, it is still a battle flag. Under usual circumstances in battle, a battle flag was a stabilizing battlefield marker. The Flag Bearer or Ensign was most often shot. If the flag was on the ground, it was not a rallying point. BUT Burnet Flag was never in battle and may have never left the club.

The stars of the Burnet Rifles' Flag can easily be totaled. There are five stars in five groups, In line with five more central stars that total 30 stars that are positioned as a larger star. They represent all the fighting states except the four neutral states that are symbolized by a star in each corner of the canton.

Rather than thirteen stripes, there are but nine. FOUR stripes were omitted in the Burnet Flag because four of the original colonies, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, withdrew.

Of the original colonies, seven of the 13 states that were original colonies remained Federalist or neutral. Lincoln said that it would be a catastrophe if Kentucky joined the South.

In both Delaware and Maryland, no secession vote was held. Baltimore was occupied by Union troops throughout the war. But, if a Marylander believed in the Confederacy's cause, he could walk across the state line to Virginia, and join the other side.

Maryland had several Confederate artillery and cavalry units. Were these military units self sufficient, or did they depend upon individual member contribution?

The four “neutral” states with slaves were not affected by the Emancipation Proclamation. Lincoln proclaimed the slaves’ freedom in states that he and the Union did not control. It was a political act that recognized the power of the slaves.

The dye mordant, if used to stabilize the flag’s colors, was inactive, and the field has turned brown prematurely. Deterioration of cloth occurs when there is direct or bright light, pollution, excess heat and humidity, fungus, insects, and age.

There is a flagpole end mounted on the left upper box: a small ax and sickle or moon, but the flag was probably never carried on a flag pole. There are no nail rips in either the left top or bottom of that flag to indicate that it was on a pole.

The top and bottom stripes have a reddish cast but the stripes have melded into shades of brown. A thick cloth edge, about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, disconnected from the field, has a small tack hole that can be seen in the rot of the flag’s right field edge.

What materials were used to make this flag? The field fabric stripes of red and of white, now brown, may have been made of silk. They could also have been made of linen, dyed with natural dyes, and the coarser threads that can be seen on the bottom stripe supports that contention. Silk dry rots. Heat accelerates deterioration, I did not smell cedar that repels insects.

Could the flag canton been made of two pieces, front and the back? We see only the front canton in its encased state. Perhaps if it was removed, and the potentially sandwiched canton was opened, one might find 68 separate stars on two pieces of opposed cloth that makes up the canton that one might see -- 34 stars on the front piece, and 34 stars on the unseen piece.

The distal flag field, chewed or “tattered, and is folded back. The browning of the flag could have been accelerated by members’ cigar smoke, for it took days for cigar odor to clear from earlier Club’s quarters. Certainly, there was summer’s heat and ambient humidity before air conditioning.

The process of slow deterioration has continued even after the flag was encased. There are bits and pieces of the flag that have fallen into the lower right side of the box. There is little obvious damage to the canton. Perhaps this piece of cloth was properly dyed – was part of a darker blue blanket.

The edge of the stars line-up on the outer negative-sloping leg, the right positive-sloping leg, and across the horizontally arranged stars.

What flag did the Burnet ensign carry? Not this flag! Given that Burnet Rifles marched at least once in public, the ensign likely carried a regular unrevised 33-star American Flag.

Several years ago, then Literary Club President, Robert Dorsey, inquired about restoring the Burnet Rifles' flag. He photographed it and several renovators inspected it here. The flag was not removed from its case. Dorsey sent photographs to another conservator, who told him to immediately remove it from its case, but he was not told what to do with the fragments. It would cost \$20,000 and take two years to restore it. Mr. Dorsey did the right thing – Nothing. Perhaps the restorationists did not want that job, either.

Who encased the flag? It was probably tattered when it was obtained or deteriorated the eight years that it was in the club rooms. It was encased before Club secured this present house and the East Eighth Street home.

An accounting of the club's treasures is in the 75th Anniversary Volume of 1925, the thickest, with light blue binding. Our present historian, John Diehl gave me a clue. In that volume, the flag was attributed to non-Literarian, but he was not identified as the Club Steward.

The earlier 1903 volume notes that Johnson encased the flag, but there was no date. Thus between Johnson's start date as club steward in 1872, and perhaps the year before John Herron died, it was encased. I favor the earlier date.

The Club's most prolific writer, Charles B. Wilby, and its President in 1882-83, wrote about Johnson on April 26, 1916.³⁵ Wilby's short paper seems to have been a delayed obituary, for Johnson was the club's steward for more than 40 years.

Mr. Johnson was born in 1845 in Havre de Grace, Maryland and came to Cincinnati in 1868 at the age of 23, the son of a slave and a native American. His serving style was noted by all in one of the finer Fourth Street boarding houses. He operated a small catering shop, and lived on Broadway, at the edge Bucktown, where most Blacks lived during the Civil War. According to the 1910 Federal Census, he worked at the Club House. He was sought to work at the club in 1872, and developed a strong attachment to the Club, and named one of his children, Julius Dexter Johnson, after a club member.

Each week, Johnson sold the two fine cigars at his shop. An officious Literary Club member saw those cigars, and complained to officialdom, but the club's officers told him that Johnson was entitled to take two cigars each week. What was Johnson paid?

Johnson brought much more than crackers and Catawba wine for the members, and added to what the club trustees continue to bring forth after the paper.

The Role of Members in Service to the United States.

Our librarian, Dale Flick, found this broadsheet of Literarians in this building's attic. It lists 50 Literarians who served in the Union Army, and it was previously framed and now it is displayed on the Club's second fireplace mantle. It was carelessly and haphazardly typeset, has many errors, and the conclusions in the table at its base can not be independently constructed from the data on that chart. The Club's publication of 1903, which notes the 50th Anniversary Dinner of the Literary Club, may have been the source of some of that data, but it was modified.

It was supposed to contain Literary Club members who were elected in 1860 or before. Perhaps it was consigned to the attic because of errors.

But two members elected in 1861 were counted. One member was elected in 1864 and was on that chart. The chaplain had no rank. Nowhere is there an accounting of the man who served in the brown-water navy. Brevetted, non-permanent ranks at discharge were not counted. But one was, for a major general's rank was never attached to a person. No men with the rank of private were counted among the Club's members. One man died as a private.

But there is intrigue. M. Hazen White, President pro tem at the first Literary Club in October 1849, was the Mercantile Librarian. He was a Major in the 4th Arkansas Cavalry. That unit is listed as a Union outfit. He was 47 years old, and the initials behind his name specified "A.A.I.G. in the Dept of AR Jan. 1, 1865." Could he have been an acting assistant inspector general?

Three members died. Seven men were wounded, and returned to their units as did brevetted and five times' wounded Major General Rutherford Hayes. Brevetted Major General Manning F. Force was shot in the face and eye. He credited the skills of a Lieutenant Colonel - medical inspector - brigade surgeon, Dr. William H. Mussey, one of the nine elected en mass as a Literarian in 1861, for his skillful surgery.³⁶

Thus . . .

Burnet Rifles was created at the call of Rutherford B. Hayes, who marched with others after Fort Sumter surrendered. He proved his leadership in the war and distinguished himself in battle. Robert Burnet got the credit for leading Burnet Rifles, but he withdrew, in less than two weeks. He believed that a Literarian must lead.

Only when The Literary Club closed in October 8th, 1862, did 24 members in town come to that final meeting. Dormancy saved the club. The passage of time shook out all but 15 members.

A standard American flag was likely used in 1861. The never-used Battle Flag must have been presented to the Club as a memento of what once was. Lloyd Johnson, the club steward, encased the already tattered flag. Its makers may not have used a color-fast mordant.

The list of Literary Club Members on the broadsheet, likely listed, and edited from the list in the 1903 book, has many errors.

The 4th Arkansas Cavalry Major, once the Mercantile Librarian, served in a Union unit, and his service might be the subject of another paper.

Note. On the podium, I said that Hayes was 4th Corporal in Burnet Rifles. This is in error. He had no rank as one the officers in the Burnet rifles.

References

Full text, bound volumes (two penny) editions of the second half of 1860 and the first half of 1861 can be obtained for use at the Cincinnati and Hamilton County Library. Dime editions can be found at the Cincinnati Historical Society Library

¹ Diehl J. Rutherford B Hayes. Cincylit.org Paper of 10/28/2011

² Lincoln, A. Declaration of War. Cincinnati Daily Gazette, April 15, 1861 , p 1 on the 2 penny edition. p 3 on the dime edition

³ The President's Proclamation, Cincinnati Daily Gazette, April 15, 1861, p 1

⁴ Wemberg RJ Cincinnati and the Civil War. Off to Battle Vol 1, Ohio Book Store, Cincinnati 1991, p 11

-
- 5 Partridge CA, Full Text of Meeting Minutes of April 17, 1861. The Cincinnati Literary Club Publication--1849-1903. pg 160
- 6 The Wikipedia lists Burnet as leader of Burnet Rifles, although the Burnet Rifles Constitution does not support this. It is assumed that Burnet insisted that the men pick a Literarian, that was done when the official election was held. Cullum reported his academic rank as 41st of 45 in his class, and while Cullum never said it, quite possibly, Burnet never called the drill at West Point (Cullum G. Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point NY. 3rd Edition, Houghton and Milflin, New York, 1891 p 445). Burnet served 4 years as a Second Lieutenant, usual in that day. But that was Burnet's highest rank.
- 7 Wilson CR. The Cincinnati Daily Enquirer in Civil War Politics. A Study in Copperhead Opinion. PhD Thesis. University of Chicago, 1934, p 58-60
- 8 One can go to www.maps.google.com, and search on Fort Sumter National Monument SC., to determine the distance. The direction they moved was more southwest.
- 9 Account of U.S. Department of the Interior spokesman on 9/11/2011 at Fort Sumter.
- 10 Cincinnati Daily Gazette, January 6.1861 p 3
- 11 "The President's Special Message," Cincinnati Daily Gazette, January 10, 1861 p 2
- 12 "Excitement at Charleston." Cincinnati Daily Gazette. January 10, 1861 (3rd paragraph)
- 13 Editorial, "War Begins." Cincinnati Daily Gazette. January 13, 1861. p 2
- 14 Literary Club Minutes for the Meeting of April 17, 1861, Reprinted in The Cincinnati Literary Club 1849-1903, p 161
- 15 Op cit, Literary Club Minutes of April 17, 1861 .
- 16 While 33 members were named who volunteered to march, the full Membership number was not given. However, there were 9 members who were elected in 1861 by acclimation of a single vote. The non-members were not counted that also marched.
- 17 On November 7, 2011, Literary Club President, Fred McGavern, reported that there were 92 regular members. 100 active members exist plus honorary members and associate members.
- 18 Constitution and Bylaws of Burnet Rifles, in the Rare Books or Cincinnati Room. Cincinnati and Hamilton County Public Library.
- 19 Constitution and Bylaws of Burnet Rifles, p 18.
- 20 Constitution and Bylaws of Burnet Rifles, p 4
- 21 Constitution and Bylaws of Burnet Rifles, p 7

-
- 22 Cincinnati Daily Gazette, May 20, 1861 p 3
- 23 Constitution and Bylaws of Burnet Rifles, p 14 (May 1st, when the constitution was signed)
- 24 Constitution, op cit, p ____
- 25 Constitution op cit. p 14. 15 members create a military quorum
- 26 Jones RR. History of the Club. Cincinnati Literary Club, 1849=1925. Ebbert & Richardson Co, Cincinnati, p10
- 27 Constitution of the Literary Club, 1925, Article IV, Section 2. p23
- 28 Full text of the Minutes of October 8, 1862 p 8-9, In The Literary Club of Cincinnati 1849-1925.
- 29 Full Text Meeting of October 8th, 1862
- 30 Based in 1925 lists, there were 5 member elected in 1859, 23 elected in 1860, 9 in 1861, none in 1862 or 1863, 35 in 1864, 12 in 1865, 9 in 1866, 22 in 1867, 14 in 1868, 12 in 1869, 5 in 1870. Some moved to a different city, and others just resigned.
- 31 Photograph on the smoking room of 500 E. Fourth Street of the meeting room at Fourth and Walnut Street, and photograph opposite p 15 of the 1925 Literary Club 1849-1924.
- 32 Death Memorandum. The Literary Club, 1925, p 160 John W. Herron June 25, 1898.
- 33 The Literary Club of Cincinnati 1849-1903. P12 Herron was said to have been alive and sitting next to Ainsworth Spofford, at the 50th Anniversary of the Club. However his death memorial was dated in 1898. See p 160. The Literary Club on Cincinnati 1849-1924.
- 34 Herron J. Passing Away of a Club Home June 27, 1903. Publication of Literary Club. Vol 25, p 1032, 1903
- 35 Wilby, C. Lloyd Johnson April 27, 1916.
- 36 Diehl, J. M.F. Force C incylit.org