

THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

APRIL 1976

VOLUME 77

NUMBER 2



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THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
CHARLESTON, S. C.

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"A SHORT HISTORY OF THE A.E.O.C."

by Thomas Pinckney Rutledge

JAMES P. BECKWITH, JR.*

Possessed of many sterling qualities, the Yankee yet feels a jealousy toward him of the South which nothing can overcome; but the Southerner, characterized by pride, seldom grants *in his own heart* that a Yankee is his equal & never his superior.¹

So wrote Harvard senior Thomas Pinckney Rutledge on January 12, 1835, shortly before he left Cambridge to return to his native Charleston. Because he was writing the history² of a club for Southern students which he had founded in 1832, Rutledge had high purpose in mind. Written at a crucial time, the "Short History of the A.E.O.C." reveals how conscious Rutledge and his fellow Southerners were of their Southern identity. While they were gregarious and outgoing, the members of the A.E.O.C. did not hesitate to defend their regional viewpoints. Unfortunately, after the completion of his manuscript, Rutledge did not have long to live because he drowned at twenty-three in the 1838 explosion and sinking of the steam packet *Pulaski*.

Thomas Pinckney Rutledge was born in Charleston on March 6, 1815, the son of Frederick Rutledge and Harriott Pinckney Horry. His paternal grandparents were Governor John Rutledge and Elizabeth Grimké. On his mother's side, he was the grandson of Daniel Horry.

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He wishes to acknowledge the helpful assistance of Dr. George C. Rogers, Jr., of the University of South Carolina, and Dr. Stephen N. Dennis, Dr. J. Isaac Copeland, Anna Brooke Allan and Dr. Carolyn Wallace, all of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and Bonnie B. Salt of the Harvard University Archives.

¹ Thomas Pinckney Rutledge, "A Short History of the A.E.O.C.", (1835, hereinafter Rutledge, "History"), *infra*, 102.

² The Rutledge History begins with the founding of the A.E.O.C. in June, 1832. The founding occurred only eleven months after the close of Jacob Rhett Motte's celebrated diary. Jacob Rhett Motte, *Charleston Goes to Harvard*, ed. Arthur H. Cole (Cambridge, 1940). A number of Southerners who were friends of Motte's reappear in the Rutledge manuscript. There are apparently no records of the A.E.O.C. as yet found in the Harvard University Archives, and the meaning of the initials "A.E.O.C." is unknown.

and Harriott Pinckney, the daughter of Charles Pinckney and Eliza Lucas.³ Mrs. Horrÿ was the sister of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Thomas Pinckney, both of Revolutionary War fame, who were respectively the third and fourth Presidents—General of the Society of the Cincinnati. After secondary schooling at the famous Round Hill School⁴ in Northampton, Massachusetts, Rutledge entered Harvard College with advanced standing on May 27, 1832. He graduated with the class of 1835.⁵

With only 217 students in the College, the Harvard of which Rutledge wrote was an intimate community. The curriculum under authoritarian Josiah Quincy featured Latin, Greek, rhetoric and oratory, the sciences, and philosophy. Locke's *Essay* was required reading, and Joseph Story lectured on the youthful United States Constitution.⁶ With his administration just recovering from the Rebellion of 1834,⁷ President Quincy was an unpopular figure. The Southerners, or "young bloods",⁸ were a colorful and popular part of the social life of the College. Morison writes that the "Carolínians, in particular, were the *merveilleux* of that day."⁹ Rutledge appears to have been no exception. In his own class book Rutledge wrote that "I have never stood very high in the good graces of the College Government. But with my classmates it has been different; I have been exceedingly popular . . ." ¹⁰ So popular

³ Mabel L. Webber, "Dr. John Rutledge and his Descendents", *S. C. Historical Magazine*, XXXI (1930), 93-95; George C. Rogers, Jr., *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys* (Norman, Okla., 1969); Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel, *Charleston—The Place and the People* (New York, 1922), 475-79; Harriott Horrÿ Ravenel, *Eliza Pinckney* (New York, 1922).

⁴ The Round Hill School was founded in 1823 by George Bancroft and Joseph Green Cogswell. Modeled after the German *gymnasium*, the school combined a rigorous classical curriculum with an equally vigorous physical regimen. Many Southern families sent their sons to the school to take advantage of its innovative ideas. M. A. Dewolfe Howe, *The Life and Letters of George Bancroft* (New York, 1908), 166-80.

⁵ Charles Horatio Gates, *Memorials of the Class of 1835*, (Boston, 1886), 1.

⁶ Josiah Quincy, *Tenth Annual Report of the President of Harvard University* (Cambridge, 1836), ii.

⁷ For a scholarly account of the causes and consequences of the Rebellion of 1834 see Robert A. McGaughey, "The Usable Past: A Study of the Harvard College Rebellion of 1834", *William and Mary Law Review*, XI (Spring, 1970), 587-610; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard 1636-1936* (Cambridge, 1936), 250-54.

⁸ Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 199.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 198.

¹⁰ Gates, *1835 Memorials*, 1.

in fact, that he was elected to Porcellian, the most exclusive of Harvard clubs.¹¹

The A.E.O.C. was primarily social, but politics undoubtedly played a part in its organization. As Rutledge wrote, the A.E.O.C. was a place where "with feelings of joy . . . we could speak of Southern matters & Southern feelings unrestrained by the presence of colder spirits."¹² The period 1831-35 was a stormy one in which to organize a Southern fraternity in Cambridge. New Year's 1831 saw the first issue of William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*, followed in August by the Nat Turner Rebellion in Virginia. In 1832 the focus shifted to Rutledge's home state, with the South Carolina legislature meeting to nullify the Federal tariff, and the resignation of John C. Calhoun as Vice President. The spring of 1833 brought President Jackson's Force Bill. Discussions at the A.E.O.C. must have been lively.

A few months after finishing his History, Rutledge returned to Charleston and joined the mercantile house of John Kirkpatrick & Co. In the winter of 1837 he was married to Miss Frances M. Blake, the daughter of Daniel Blake and Anne Louise Middleton.¹³ In June, 1838, Thomas and Frances Rutledge made plans for a summer excursion to the North on board the steam packet *Pulaski*. Rutledge's sister, Maria, was also to be on board. The *Pulaski* arrived in Charleston Harbor from Savannah just before dusk on Wednesday, June 13, 1838. Sleek and elegantly outfitted, the new packet boat was the most modern transportation of the day. Early on the morning of June 14, with some sixty-two others, the Rutledges boarded the *Pulaski*. Georgians and South Carolinians were renewing old friendships as the *Pulaski*, her colors flying, passed Charleston bar in clear weather at 8:00 A. M.¹⁴ Later in the day, a fresh wind from the east made the seas rough, and progress was slowed, requiring full pressure in the boilers. The rough seas made many passengers seasick by dinnertime, and by ten o'clock most had either gone to bed or were dozing in settees on the deck. About 11:15 P. M. First Mate Hibbert, who had just taken over the watch, heard the second engineer turn the water cock on the starboard boiler. From the shrill whistle Hibbert knew that the boiler's water level was

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹² Rutledge, "History", *infra*, 108.

¹³ Langdon Cleves, "Blake of South Carolina", *S. C. Historical Magazine*, I (1900), 165.

¹⁴ R. R. Ward to John A. King, 10 August 1838, Couper Family Papers, (microfilm), Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (hereinafter SHC).

dangerously low. The blow cock had been negligently left open, emptying the boiler. Before he could warn the engineer not to add fresh water to the red-hot boiler, the blast of the explosion knocked Hibbert flat. Unable to contain the steam from the fresh water, the starboard boiler had exploded and demolished the *Pulaski* amidship. With its starboard side shattered and the promenade deck blown away, the steam packet began to take on water. Soon the *Pulaski* broke into three pieces, with survivors clinging to fragments of the bow and stern. Thomas, Frances, and Maria Rutledge were all lost.¹⁵

"Our community is again in mourning and in tears"¹⁶ wrote the *Charleston Courier* on the morning of June 20. The news had just reached Charleston from Wilmington, North Carolina, where the survivors were being cared for. *The Courier* noted that of the victims "comparatively few, perhaps only 20 or 25 were residents of our city, but among them we mourn the loss of some of the most estimable of our fellow citizens."¹⁷ Even as the Rutledges mourned the premature death of one of their most promising sons, the Rutledge manuscript¹⁸ lay behind unnoticed in Cambridge.

The Rutledge History was found among the papers of John Francis Heath of Petersburg, Virginia, a member of the Harvard class of 1840. Apparently Heath was a member of the A.E.O.C. and thereby obtained possession of the manuscript. Heath had entered Harvard in late 1837 shortly before Rutledge's death. While at Harvard, Heath moved in the Boston Transcendental circle and was the intimate friend of James Russell Lowell.¹⁹ In 1841 Heath went to Europe where he traveled and studied at the University of Berlin. Later he became a supporter of the Italian Revolution, visiting the hospitals for the wounded republicans with Margaret Fuller Ossoli.²⁰ Heath returned to the United States in 1849 and entered the University of Pennsylvania Medical School where he received his degree in 1853. After practicing medicine in Petersburg, Heath entered the Confederate service as a surgeon in 1861. He was stationed at the hospital at Fort Caswell near Wilmington, North

¹⁵ For accounts of the disaster see *The Charleston Courier*, 20 June 1838 *et seq.*; *The Wilmington (N.C.) Advertiser*, 18 June 1838 *et seq.*; Rebecca Lamar McLeod, Volume 2, Arnold-Screven Papers, SHC; S. A. Howland, *Steamboat Disasters and Railroad Accidents in the United States* (Worcester, Mass., 1843), 58-96; Charles Ellms, *The Tragedy of the Seas* (Philadelphia, 1848), 161-90.

¹⁶ *The Charleston Courier*, 20 June 1838.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ The manuscript consists of thirteen gilt-edge pages measuring 4½ by 7½ inches and bound together. They appear to have been removed from a larger bound volume.

¹⁹ James Russell Lowell, *The Letters of James Russell Lowell*, ed. Charles Eliot Norton (Cambridge, 1904), I, 80 *et seq.*

²⁰ Henry James, *William Wetmore Story and His Friends* (Boston, 1903), I, 113-79.

Carolina. In October, 1862, after an illness of three weeks, Heath died from yellow fever.²¹

The Rutledge History passed by inheritance to Heath's niece, Jane Rives Heath, Headmistress of St. Timothy's School in Catonsville, Maryland. Upon her death in 1935, the manuscript was inherited by Miss Heath's niece, Mrs. William Lunsford Long of Raleigh, North Carolina, the former Rosa Arrington Heath of Petersburg. The author, a grandson of Mrs. Long, inherited the Rutledge History in 1968. It is now on deposit with the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Thomas P. Rutledge

to the

A.E.O.C. of Harvard

A Short History of the A.E.O.C.

In drawing up a statement of facts, which does in truth constitute a History of this Association from its very origin, I console Myself with the idea that I have no very great period of time to review, no wondrous events to record, & have only to tell a "plain unvarnished tale."

Previous to the formation of this society, under a code of laws & with a name to mark it by, there had been a custom, prevalent among those of the South & West, to meet together in social amity for the enjoyment of that companionship which, from a similarity in taste & disposition, always rendered such meetings agreeable & pleasant. It was a favourite theme with every Southron, when warmed with the invigorating juice of the grape, to descant on the prowess of some fellow state's man²² who, with sinewy arms, had wielded the "Hell-fire club" famed in college record, or yet to mention the distinctions which had marked the course of a friend. As each one spoke of laurels worn by some Southern brow, his eye would gleam with delight; his Tale was never tedious; no odious comparison was ever made; if partiality ever led to exaggeration there were none to point it out; but we contented ourselves with thinking it but made us, in a greater degree, emulous of those who were gone.

There was a sort of tradition that in former times a society of Southerners had existed in college, alike supported by graduates & undergraduates. But secrecy was not a characteristic feature in their constitution, and its being known, was the premiss to the dissolution of the association. And here I may say a word concerning our Yankee

²¹ James Rives Childs, *Reliques of the Rives* (Lynchburg, Va., 1929), 639.

²² For a discussion of Southern hedonism and fondness for rhetoric, see W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York, 1941), 46-55.

brethren, which I hope may not be deemed mal-a-propos: possessed of many sterling qualities, the Yankee yet feels a jealousy toward him of the South which nothing can overcome; but the Southerner, characterised by pride, seldom grants *in his own heart* that a Yankee is his equal & never his superior; the Yankee watches the little band gathered from the various states, from Maryland to Louisiana, much as the cat observes the mouse; but with all their observation they want the grace, the agility, & the strength (which even superior numbers cannot give them) to entrap that little cluster of kindred spirits. In this respect, then, the Northerner is illiberal. What single word in our language can so definitely mark the difference 'twixt the two classes? The difference then so easily shewn, we will leave our Yankee countrymen to future consideration; that is, if they are ever worthy of it.

I have said 'twas customary for many of South & West to meet in social converse. We then would talk of the *possibility* of forming such a society such as is the A.E.O.C. Nothing is impossible, & we came to that conclusion without much ado. On the eleventh day of June, 1832, five of us being met together, we began to talk of the *expediency* of forming such an association. Messrs. Baillio²³ of Louisiana, Earle²⁴ of Maryland, Pendleton²⁵ of Maryland, Wayne²⁶ of Georgia & the humble writer of this "History", were the five alluded to. The discussion was not a long one, & it seemed as tho' unanimity was to be the corner stone of this new fabric. We argued well, that if the formation of this association was expedient, all *unnecessary* delay was inexpedient. The expediency of the framing this society was doubted on the ground that we were too few in number, and had it not been for the ready co-operation of those I have mentioned as invited to join with us, I am doubtful whether the society would have at this present time so distant a period to mention as its anniversary.

²³ Gervais Baillio attended Harvard College 1829-33 as a temporary student but did not receive a degree. Waldo Higginson, *Memorials of the Class of 1833* (Boston, 1833), 148-49.

²⁴ Either James Tilghman Earle (d. 1882), Class of 1834, or his younger brother, Richard Tilghman Earle III (1816-1895), sons of Richard T. Earle, a prominent judge in Queen Anne's County, Maryland. Thomas Cushing, *Memorials of the Class of 1834* (Boston, 1884), 38; James Bordley, Jr., *The Hollyday and Related Families of the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1962), 239-41.

²⁵ Isaac Purnell Pendleton (1813-1840), Class of 1833. Higginson, 1833 *Memorials*, 22-23; Harvard University, *Quinquennial Catalogue of the Offices and Graduates of Harvard University 1636-1915* (Cambridge, 1915), 191.

²⁶ Henry Constantine Wayne, Class of 1834, the son of U. S. Supreme Court Justice James M. Wayne. Cushing, 1834 *Memorials*, 108-09.

On the 13th of June, only two days after the discussing the matter, a meeting was held in Mr. Wayne's room. A code of laws was there-upon offered by Mr. Baillio & a preamble by Mr. Pendleton. I cannot recollect that there was any division of opinion respecting these productions, but I think they were at once accepted. Mr. Baillio was dignified with the title of Father Abbot, he having been called to the chair. Before proceeding farther, we determined upon asking the co-operation of Mr. Brune²⁷ of Maryland, then a law-student, Mr. Crafts²⁸ of South Carolina, Mr. Richard Earle²⁹ of Maryland & Mr. Henry Gray³⁰ of Charleston, S. C. With one consent they acquiesced in our views, and expressed their regret that they themselves could not claim the honour of having originated the society. Mr. Gray of Carolina was then chosen to officiate as scribe. I cannot pass over this name without a slight censure for neglect. And yet how hard to blame an absent friend. Gay in his frolic, yet thoughtful in his society, talented & witty, he was all that man would envy, woman wish. And yet to his negligence is to be ascribed our having no records from June 13th till Dec. 17 of the same year. But he knew not the responsibility he was under, nor dreamed his negligence was to be a matter of regret to after ages. He thought of the society as one which gave pleasure, but then 'twas only fleeting, and he believed that when our number was reduced, our spirits would be also. It is for those whose undaunted and unceasing spirit had borne the society thro' stormy times, to feel proud of their own conduct and amused at his mistake.

These two officers were chosen on the 13th of June to remain in office till the 17th of December. But in July our Father Abbot received intelligence from Louisiana which rendered his return to his native place almost necessary. Alas! Too fascinating was the spot where in

²⁷ Frederick William Brune (1813-1878), Class of 1831. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, 23 July 1878; Harvard, *Quinquennial Catalogue*, 188.

²⁸ George Inglis Crafts, Class of 1833. Crafts was born in Charleston on November 4, 1812. In 1835 he was admitted to the Bar but soon abandoned law as a career. He was a volunteer in the Seminole War and took a two-year tour abroad to the Mediterranean. He returned to his plantation in St. Andrew's Parish and was a post quartermaster in Charleston during the Civil War. He died in Charleston on December 16, 1892. James M. Crafts and William F. Crafts, *The Crafts Family* (Northampton, Mass., 1893), 325-26; Harvard, *Quinquennial Catalogue*, 190; Motte, *Charleston Goes to Harvard*, xvii.

²⁹ See n. 24 *supra*.

³⁰ Henry Yancey Gray, Class of 1833. Gray was born on November 23, 1813, and entered Harvard College as a junior in 1831. He was admitted to the Bar on December 16, 1838, and in April, 1840, married Elizabeth Cart. Gray died in Charleston on July 4, 1872. Harvard *Quinquennial Catalogue*, 190; Motte, *Charleston Goes to Harvard*, xvii-xviii; Higginson, 1833 *Memorials*, 56-57.

childhood he had lingered. The home, which for years he had loved to remember as the scene of all his youthful joys, was dear to his manhood & in the wilds of his nativity he found a charm irresistible to his glowing heart. The fair one smiled & . . . A year had not passed when intelligence was received which much astounded the friars of Harvard. Two smiling babes (oh! *too* precocious Bailliol) now claimed the privilege, which we alone had exercised, of calling him father. I will here relate an anecdote of Father B which, tho' it has no immediate connection with the A.E.O.C., may at least serve to relieve the monotony of this "History". When a candidate for admission into the Med Fac Society,³¹ the doctors taxed their wit to write friend Baillio such a notification of his election as would sustain the reputation of that society. For a long while they considered; at last the following scheme was resolved upon. But first let me say that he was famous as the founder & president of many societies, & the "IOH", the "Reunion Sociale" etc. etc. owe their origin to his exertions. Full length was drawn an animal (by what name known, I'll not insult our father by here commemorating), and for its ribs were the names of the various societies he belonged to, & for its tail was the immortal "Reunion Sociale". But the letters of our Society were neither among the ribs nor yet the head of this long eared animal. It is scarce necessary to say that our society was thus deprived of its Father Abbot. During the next term, Mr. Crafts of South Carolina was called to the chair rendered vacant by Father B's having left college. And about this time the title of Friars, which had hitherto been used rather reluctantly, was now used by all.

Dec. 17th, 1832, the election of officers as ordered by the Constitution took place: Friar Drausin Labranche³² of St. Charles Parish, Louisiana, was elected Father Abbot & Thomas Donaldson³³ of Balti-

³¹ Organized about 1818, the Med. Fac. was a "roaring burlesque" of learned bodies and the government of the College. At its meetings pseudo medical lectures were given and its members received elaborate fake diplomas. The Med. Fac.'s greatest hoax was the sending in 1824 of a bogus "honorary diploma" to the Emperor of Russia, Alexander I, who, thinking it was from the Medical Faculty of the University, returned gifts and profuse thanks for the honor. The Med. Fac. was supposedly suppressed in the aftermath of the 1834 Rebellion, but it was revived in the years after the Civil War and, to this day, any major prank on Harvard Yard is ascribed in whispers to the Med. Fac. Charles A. Wagner, *Harvard, Four Centuries and Freedoms* (New York, 1950), 85-86; Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 205-06.

³² Drausin Balthazar Labranche (1815-1853), Class of 1834. Cushing, 1384 *Memorials*, 15.

³³ Thomas Donaldson (1815-1877), Class of 1834. Cushing, 1384 *Memorials*, 33-36.

more elected scribe. The election was rendered the more interesting, as every one of us considered the coming Christmas an occasion which should be celebrated with great style. And, moreover, the general voice seemed to express a wish that Christmas *eve* should be henceforth celebrated as the anniversary of our little society. That the evening of the 24th of Dec. *was* so celebrated, I refer all readers of this account to the record as given by Scribe Donaldson. In truth I cannot with propriety enter into every minutiae, tho' I may strive to be particular & accurate. On the 2d of April, 1833, Friar Pendleton was elected Father Abbot, Friar Rutledge, scribe. Under this administration, the friars seem to have indulged much in conviviality. The Father was ever ready for a "spree", & the friars made it a point always to support their leader in good & in evil report. Officers were next chosen July, 1833: Robert Wickliffe³⁴ of Kentucky, Father Abbot, & Henry Wayne of Georgia, scribe. The graduating class deprived us of Friars Crafts, Gray, & Pendleton. Scribe Wayne, altho' of the Junior Class, also left college, and his office then being vacated, Friar E. K. Chaplain³⁵ of Maryland was chosen to supply his place. Dec. 16th, 1833 Friar Rutledge was chosen Father Abbot, & Friar Donaldson, scribe. The records show a warmth of spirit which the more clearly shew the interest he took in the society.

The anniversary supper³⁶ was near at hand, but, owing to the intended absence of the majority of Friars, it was voted to postpone it till the second Friday of the ensuing term. At the meeting succeeding the 2d Friday, the Father Abbot expressed his intention of visiting the South on account of his health, & consequently requested the election of some others to supply the vacated office. Much fear having been expressed that a visit to the South would result in a determination to remain there, Friar Rutledge was obliged to assure them that the conduct of Father Baillio had been so justly & strongly censured as to render it impossible for him to follow the example. Friar D. B. Labranche was then chosen in his place, & the society prospered much under his guidance. Friar R., returning from the South in April, 1834, brought with him as presents from Friars Crafts & Gray, a small engraving of Friar Tuck (character in *Ivanhoe*) together with a parody

³⁴ Robert Wickliffe (1815-1849), Class of 1834. Cushing, *1834 Memorials*, 13.

³⁵ Edward Kemp Chaplain, temporary student with the Class of 1836.

³⁶ Note inserted by Rutledge: "Perhaps I should have said the evening appointed by the club for the celebration of their anniversary was at hand, instead of the phrase used."

of his drinking song. The society immediately voted a letter of thanks³⁷ to the friars, who had evinced their undiminished interest in the welfare of the A.E.O.C., and also voted that the parody & engraving be inserted in the Constitution & Record book.

On the 25th of March, 1834, Friar Frick³⁸ of Baltimore was unanimously chosen Father Abbot, & Friar Wickliffe, scribe. To his ludicrous records the society was indebted for much amusement, & whilst paying this tribute to his memory, I cannot but feel that the association in losing him lost a gem which can never be replaced. Friar Frick presided over the Society at a time when everything was in disorder. It was during his term of office that the rebellion of 1834³⁹ was at its height. The measures of the Faculty were oppressive; and in accordance with true Southern Spirit, the friars were found foremost in opposing & resisting them. It owed its origin, too, to the mal-treatment of one of the Friars (I mean Friar Wm Barnwell⁴⁰ of South Carolina) by the Government of the College. As a necessary consequence of this opposition, our number was much reduced by rustication & suspension. The senior class was then graduating & the suspension of four reduced our number to four, namely, Frick, Wilkinson,⁴¹ Habersham,⁴² & Rutledge.

³⁷ Note inserted by Rutledge: "The letter referred to was written in accordance with the wishes of the immediate club, by a committee of two appointed for that purpose. The committee consisted of Friars D. B. Labranche & Rutledge."

³⁸ William Frederick Frick (born 1817), Class of 1835. Gates, *1835 Memorials*, 53.

³⁹ The rebellion, which began with an altercation in a classroom on Monday, May 19, 1834, flared violently for over two weeks and resulted in much property damage. The controversy extended over the summer months, but when most of the Class of 1834 stepped forward to receive their degrees in August, it was generally viewed that President Quincy had prevailed, albeit at a high cost. McGaughey, "Rebellion of 1834", 602-10; Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 250-54.

⁴⁰ Jonathan Barnwell, a sophomore transfer student. Barnwell was expelled following a chapel disturbance on Monday, May 26, 1834. Popular sentiment among the freshmen and sophomores quickly crystallized around Barnwell. It was felt that he had been singled out because he was a Southerner and little known. By Wednesday, May 28, after boycotts and rebellions had broken out, the entire sophomore class had been suspended and forty-four students sent home. McGaughey, "Rebellion of 1834", 602-03. The expelled student named Barnwell is identified as "Wm" by Rutledge and as "Jonathan" by McGaughey. The discrepancy is unexplained.

⁴¹ James Withers Wilkinson, Class of 1837. Wilkinson was from Charleston and married the sister of his classmate, Joseph Alston Huger. Henry Williams, *Memorials of the Class of 1837* (Boston, 1887), 120.

⁴² William Neyle Habersham, Class of 1836, of Savannah. He carried on a rice factorage business and was an authority on salmon fishing, with his name being

Friar W. was also about to leave Cambridge. The circumstances were sufficient to make us fear the dissolution of the association. But our spirit was great & rose in proportion as necessity called for it. Friar Rutledge was elected Father Abbot, & Friar Habersham, Scribe. Two more being added to our number, friars Read⁴³ of South Carolina & Gray⁴⁴ of Kentucky, we were five friars; all jovial souls, proud of the society as preserving that of which we all have reason to be proud—the Southern Spirit. It is somewhat remarkable that in no single case was any one invited to join this society who hesitated to accept the invitation, & it is some what more worthy of mention that, having joined, none wished to leave. The connection of the members with the association has always continued so long as did their connection with college, and to this day letters from old friends were frequently received enquiring after the prosperity and situation of the A.E.O.C.

The Constitution, as framed by Friar Baillio, June 13th, 1832, remained unchanged till April, 1834. Friars Labranche & Donaldson, being then appointed a committee for its revision, reported that little change was deemed requisite, & it remained *almost* the same as before. But in November of the same year a committee was again appointed for its revision. The said committee reported the constitution as defective & suggested the dividing the laws into a Constitution & Bye-laws. The suggestion was deemed good, & the laws were adopted under the existing form. Tho' the society has been open alike to graduates and undergraduates, only two of the former have ever been members, namely, Frederick Brune of Baltimore and J. Seawell Jones⁴⁵ of Shocco,

borne by the Habersham fly. Joseph Gaston Baillie Bullock, *A History and Genealogy of the Habersham Family* (Columbia, S. C., 1901), 3; Harvard, *Quinquennial Catalogue*, 193.

⁴³ John Harleston Read, Class of 1836. Second son of John Harleston Read and his first wife, Mary Withers, Read was a planter and lived at Belle Rive (formerly Smurden) Plantation on the Pee Dee River across from Sandy Island in Georgetown County. In 1840 Read married Esther Jane Lance, the daughter of the Rev. M. H. Lance. Read died in 1866. George C. Rogers, Jr., *The History of Georgetown County, South Carolina* (Columbia, 1970), 274 *et seq.*; Mabel L. Webber, "The Bond Family of Hobcaw Plantation, Christ Church Parish", *S. C. Historical Magazine*, XXV (1924), 17-18; Harvard, *Quinquennial Catalogue*, 193.

⁴⁴ John Thompson Gray, Jr. (1815-1902), Class of 1836 in the College and Class of 1839 in the Law School. *Louisville (Ky.) Times*, 17 July 1902; Harvard, *Quinquennial Catalogue*, 193, 692.

⁴⁵ Joseph Seawell Jones, Law School Class of 1833. Edwin A. Miles, "Joseph Seawell Jones of Shocco—Historian and Humbug", *N. C. Historical Review*, XXXIV (1957), 483-506; H. G. Jones, *For History's Sake* (Chapel Hill, 1966), 157-65.

N. C. The whole number of those who have belonged or do belong is twenty-four. The whole number of those who have officiated as Father Abbot since the foundation of the society, including those who have been chosen *pro tem*, amounts to nine, & the number of scribes is also nine. This number of officers seems almost disproportionate to the number of members, & the committee on the Constitution have tried to remedy this by making the officers henceforth semi-annual, rather than as before, biennial.

<i>List of Father Abbots</i>	<i>Term of Office</i>	<i>Residence</i>
Gervais Baillio	June 13 to Dec. 17	Alexandria, La.
George I. Crafts	<i>pro tem</i> Sep. 1st-Dec. 17	Charleston, S. C.
D. B. Labranche	Dec. 17 - Apl. 2d	Louisiana
T. P. Pendleton	Apl. 2d - July 16th	Maryland
Robert Wickliffe	July 16th - Dec. 16th	Kentucky
T. P. Rutledge	Dec. 16th - Mar. 25th	S. Carolina
W. F. Frick	Mar. 25th - Sep. 3d	Baltimore
T. P. Rutledge	Sep. 3d - Dec. 24th	S. Carolina
W. F. Frick	Dec. 24th - July 16	Baltimore

<i>List of Scribes</i>	<i>Term of Office</i>	<i>Residence</i>
H. Y. Gray	Jun. 13th to Dec. 17	S. Carolina
Thos. Donaldson	Dec. 17th " Apl. 2d	Maryland
T. P. Rutledge	April 2d " July 16th	S. Carolina
H. C. Wayne	July 16th " —	Georgia
E. K. Chaplain	<i>pro tem</i> " Dec. 16th	Maryland
Thos. Donaldson	Dec. 16th " Mar. 25	Maryland
Robert Wickliffe	Mar. 25th " Sept. 3d	Kentucky
Wm. Neyle Habersham	Sept. 3d " Dec. 24th	Georgia
John T. Gray	Dec. 24th " July 16th	Kentucky

The task I had *taken upon myself* is now finished. I have minutely stated all the leading matters of interest which have concerned the association since its very formation. I have watched its growth with eager & with anxious eye. I have seen it in prosperity and again when I dreaded its downfall. The last of its founders, I deemed that a memorial might serve well, to those who may hereafter become members, as a thing of reference. Thrice have we met to celebrate what is deemed our anniversary, and each time it has been with feelings of joy that we could speak of Southern matters and Southern feelings unrestrained by the presence of colder spirits. But when I look around & observe the smallness of our number, I cannot but deem that we have slumbered in forgetfulness of our good Greek motto. This may hardly be considered a proper place for the expression of my feelings, and yet

I cannot conclude without saying that to the A.E.O.C. I am indebted for many of the pleasantest evenings I have enjoyed during my college course. May all who are now of its number & all who may henceforth become so, derive from the association as much & as true pleasure as has fallen to the lot of myself.

THOMAS P. RUTLEDGE

Jan. 12th, 1835.

THE 1867 CHARLESTON STREETCAR SIT-INS

A Case of Successful Black Protest

WILLIAM C. HINE *

Considered merely as a pair of isolated incidents, the 1867 Charleston streetcar protests do not figure among the more momentous events of Reconstruction. Yet a closer examination of these black "sit-ins" provides some revealing insights into the factors that impelled social change during that era.¹

Despite the ravages wrought by the War in Charleston, a group of local businessmen, imbued with bold optimism and ready capital, formed the Charleston City Railway Company in the Summer of 1866.² Construction began in mid-October and two months later its first horse drawn vehicles were traversing the streets of the city.³ It was understood from the outset that Charleston's blacks would not ride in the cars, nor was an effort made to establish separate "jim crow" cars.⁴ Blacks were permitted to ride on the front and rear platforms, but the unwritten com-

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¹ There were several other streetcar protests in the post Civil War period in New Orleans, Richmond, Louisville and Savannah. New Orleans witnessed a successful "sit-in" movement against separate "star cars" for blacks. Roger A. Fischer, "A Pioneer Protest: The New Orleans Streetcar Controversy of 1867," *Journal of Negro History*, LIII (July, 1968), 219-33. There was a similar protest in Richmond against segregated cars in the same year. Alruthus A. Taylor, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia* (Washington, 1926), 52, 214. The Louisville affair was a planned non-violent campaign in a state that was not enduring military reconstruction. Marjorie M. Norris, "An Early Instance of Non-violence: The Louisville Demonstrations, 1870-71," *Journal of Southern History*, XXXII (November, 1966), 487-504.

² Prior to the War a streetcar company had been founded in Charleston and had received a charter in January, 1861. But the War abruptly ended that venture. Hence the effort in 1866 was actually a second attempt to bring streetcars to Charleston.

³ The downtown terminal of the streetcar line was at the Exchange or old post office. A double set of tracks ran over Broad street to Meeting and up Meeting to Calhoun street and then across Calhoun one block to King street. The tracks then ran up King to Shepard street which was the location of the uptown terminal. There was also a single branch route that ran off of the main line at the corner of Meeting and Wentworth streets. It ran across Wentworth to Rutledge and up Rutledge to Spring street. *Charleston Daily Courier*, October 15, 1866.

⁴ There had been some discussion by the company's directors concerning the establishment of separate cars or separate sections within cars for blacks. Nothing came of it, however. *Ibid.*