

## Governor Cabell and the Republican Schism in Virginia, 1805-08

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THE YEARS 1805-08 were trying ones for the Republican Party and its leader, President Thomas Jefferson. During this period party unanimity suffered greatly as a struggle between members to inherit the mantle of leadership from Jefferson developed into a serious schism. By 1808 the Republicans were for the first time unable to unite solidly on a candidate for President.<sup>1</sup>

The most significant contest for leadership among the party members took place in Virginia, the President's home state. Here the party had been formed before progressing to a position of national ascendancy under Jefferson. After 1803 the rule of Republicans within the state practically went uncontested. Enthusiasm for the Louisiana Purchase, particularly in the former Federalist strongholds of the transmontane country, and an interval of unusual economic prosperity in the Piedmont and the Valley, temporarily crushed Federalism in Virginia.<sup>2</sup> But the unchallenged Republican Party soon experienced trouble from another quarter. By late summer of 1805 there existed unmistakable signs that the inevitable struggle for party leadership threatened a schism within the Republican ranks.

It is therefore all the more astonishing to note that with all of the scholarship done on Virginia during Thomas Jefferson's administration, little or nothing has been revealed about the governor during most of Jefferson's second term. The Old Dominion, at the time still the most populous and largest of the states, had by no means clearly relinquished the quintessence of its power to the federal government. Its chief executive from December of 1805 to December of 1808 was William H. Cabell, elected at the age of thirty-two. Historians have been reluctant to classify him outright as Federalist, Quid or Jeffersonian Republican.<sup>3</sup>

The neglect of Cabell has in large part been due to the paucity of sources relating to his early career.<sup>4</sup> In addition the Cabell family,

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quite prominent in Virginia politics from 1725 on, were never united in their political views. Cabell numbered among his uncles and cousins Republicans, Federalists, and "Randolphites."<sup>5</sup> Yet Cabell, who in 1796 at the age of 24 served the first of his six terms as a delegate from Amherst, consistently voted Republican. The *House Journals* verify that he supported the Virginia Resolutions of 1798 and actively led the fight to make Virginia militarily independent.<sup>6</sup>

Just as Cabell became governor the dissension in Republican ranks broke out into the open. Although it is impossible to reconstruct Cabell's role as that of a major instigator of the split—again perhaps due to scarcity of his personal records, it is possible to establish with finality his political actions and inclinations. In examining anew the course of the schism from 1805-1808, the conduct of Cabell confirms that during those years he remained, as previously, an active friend and admirer of Jefferson and his political lieutenants.

For the Republican opponents of Thomas Jefferson, majority leader John Randolph of Roanoke—that master of invective—was the Congressman around whom they rallied. The first hostility evidenced by Randolph toward President Jefferson and his Secretary of State James Madison came during the congressional debates of 1804 and early 1805 over the Yazoo land claims. Randolph was violently opposed to paying claimants for their lands. Madison, however, was one of a three-member national commission which investigated the claims of the landowners and reported that it was expedient for the government to compromise reasonably with the claimants.<sup>7</sup> During the debates Randolph gained a strong following in Virginia.<sup>8</sup> In December of 1804, young Thomas Ritchie, editor of the Republican *Richmond Enquirer*, praised Randolph's stand and urged Virginians to instruct their Congressmen to vote against the payments. But at the same time Ritchie was careful to defend the character and lofty motives of Madison.<sup>9</sup>

Although differences of opinion existed, Randolph's open break with Jefferson did not come until after the impeachment of Justice Samuel Chase of the United States Supreme Court. Acting as manager for the administration in the Senate trial, Randolph personally led the fight to convict the jurist on eight counts of misconduct in office. The acquittal of Chase in early 1805 brought the discredit of defeat on Randolph and dealt a severe blow to his party prestige.<sup>10</sup> The additional belief that Madison, one of his chief rivals in the contest to succeed Jefferson as Republican leader, was



amused at the setback further embittered Randolph.<sup>11</sup> By that summer John Randolph was expressing his dissatisfaction with the administration's leaders, and when he returned to Washington for the session of 1805-06 he was clearly in opposition to Jefferson's policies.<sup>12</sup>

Under these circumstances a loosely-knit group of politicians known as Quids came into existence. Technically the term "Quids" applied only to "the little personal following which Randolph built up in Congress."<sup>13</sup> Yet the Quid influence was extensive and in the Virginia legislature a sizeable Republican minority, in sympathy with Randolph, developed in opposition to the regular Republicans. This new group, bound together only by a common sense of dissatisfaction with the existing party leaders, and a professed abhorrence of the centralizing tendencies of the national government, had no formal organization.<sup>14</sup> Its members, however, for all practical purposes at times composed a minority party.

The original aim of the Quids in the Assembly was to gain leadership within the Republican Party. This strategy first became evident during the fall of 1805, a month prior to Cabell's election as Governor. Shortly after Randolph's open revolt, the disgruntled faction began holding informal meetings, although no statements of policy were announced. By early November "Randolphites" were reportedly caucusing in Richmond for the purpose of selecting a governor.<sup>15</sup> The real extent of the Quids' power was unknown.

In this atmosphere the General Assembly met on Dec. 7, 1805, to elect a governor.<sup>16</sup> The nominee of the regular Republicans was fiery Alexander McRae, a prominent Richmond attorney who had served on the Council of State since 1796.<sup>17</sup> As one of the publishers of the short-lived Republican *Richmond Press*, McRae had been an ardent and tempestuous follower of Jefferson.<sup>18</sup> In opposition to him, Cabell was nominated by Alexander Smyth of Wythe County, a veteran of six terms in the House of Delegates. Seconding speeches were offered by Hugh Mercer, son of the Revolutionary martyr, General Hugh Mercer, and by General John Minor, both delegates from Spotsylvania County. Delegates speaking in McRae's behalf represented Greensville, Powhatan, Russell, and Harrison (now in West Virginia) Counties. But the most impassioned plea for McRae came from Lewis Harvie, a fellow Richmonder, in his first year in the Legislature. Aside from the generalization that the three Cabell backers were older men and as a group had served twice as long in the Assembly as had McRae's advocates, there is little to indicate sharp political differences between the two rival groups of orators. All were Republicans.<sup>19</sup>



In the balloting Cabell defeated his opponent by the narrow margin of nine votes, ninety-nine to ninety. Actually McRae received more Republican votes than did Cabell, for a substantial majority of the twenty-five Federalists voted for the latter. Thomas Ritchie doubted if even five Federalists cast their ballots for McRae. But Ritchie denied that the election of Cabell was a triumph for the Federalists, admitting, however, that the opposition had decided which Republican candidate was to be governor. The young editor went further, also denying that the outcome was a result of a coalition between Federalists and disgruntled Republicans. He could see no cause for alarm; since the new Governor was "a republican in heart and in principle, his administration must be guided by the same patriotic spirit."<sup>20</sup>

Ritchie's belief that William Cabell was a devoted Republican was correct. But the fact remained that Federalists and Quids had joined hands in support of Cabell. Still this merger by itself could hardly have delivered the total number of votes necessary to secure victory for the Amherst legislator. Unquestionably many regular Republicans did not view the selection of a governor as a critical decision in a contest for power and in turn voted for Cabell. Though not as outspoken as McRae, Cabell had been a loyal and hardworking Republican. His endeavors had been more than acceptable to the party regulars and his candidacy was certainly more appealing than McRae's to the party dissidents. At this time, Cabell and his former classmate, Randolph, were on friendly personal terms.<sup>21</sup>

With regard to the Federalist support, Cabell had grown up in a family of divided political loyalties and had learned to live amicably with people of differing views. Furthermore, his second marriage in early 1805 to Agnes Gamble, daughter of the wealthy and prosperous Colonel Robert Gamble of Richmond, brought him into close contact with the prominent Richmond Federalists.<sup>22</sup> For Colonel Gamble, once a Republican, had become an ardent Federalist in 1798.<sup>23</sup>

Despite Ritchie's continued reassurances that all was well with the Republican Party in the General Assembly, a post-election uneasiness was evident. Virginia's Attorney-General, Philip Norborne Nicholas, wrote from Richmond to his brother Wilson Cary Nicholas, informing him of the outcome. Although he did not comment unfavorably, Philip Nicholas stressed the need for all able Republicans, such as his brother and John Taylor, to offer themselves for office again during this critical period. He was convinced that "the turn which public affairs will essentially depend on is



the impulse given them during one or two sessions."<sup>24</sup> John Taylor of Caroline noted that in the Assembly of 1805-06 the unanimity of the past was missing and a third party "between the federalists and the republicans, recruited from both was appearing in force in Virginia."<sup>25</sup> At the conclusion of the session even Editor Ritchie, who had never openly taken sides in the Cabell-McRae election, expressed concern over the Assembly's behavior. After first pointing out that his evaluation of Cabell as a loyal Republican had been vindicated, he admitted that failure to agree on a candidate had created an atmosphere of "peculiar distrust and agitation."<sup>26</sup>

If the Federalists and rebellious Republicans voting for Cabell thought they would be able to win him to their position, they were sadly mistaken. The new Governor soon found himself closely allied with an entirely different group of rising politicians. These were members of the secret and select Junto, a small band of prominent Richmond Republicans who gradually grew in power until, after the War of 1812, they were undisputably the controlling political power in Virginia.<sup>27</sup>

The Junto, or Richmond Party as it was later called, was founded about 1804 by three influential Richmonders. Judge Spencer Roane, President of the Virginia Court of Appeals, and his brother-in-law, Dr. John Brockenbrough, who was a director and later president of the Bank of Virginia, were two of the originators of this clannish group. The third partner was Roane's cousin, Thomas Ritchie. Together they represented a powerful coalition of judicial, financial, and journalistic interests in Virginia. Their original aims were to revive sagging Republican influence in Federalist Richmond and to secure important positions for their families and friends.<sup>28</sup>

From this beginning the organization increased in power and membership. Soon William Brockenbrough, Wilson Cary Nicholas, and William Wirt, to name only a few, were closely affiliated with the group. These old friends of Cabell were respected by him and undoubtedly exerted much influence over the Governor from his first days in office.<sup>29</sup> Cabell soon also numbered Ritchie and Roane among his close associates. There is little reason to doubt that by the time he vacated the Governor's chair in 1808 he was intimately associated with the Richmond Junto.

Throughout the first year of his administration Cabell maintained an official and personal silence about his political views. Actually there arose within the state few controversial issues which affected him directly. Even the legislature from 1805-08, though engaged in a struggle for party leadership, rarely discussed meas-



ures which evidenced the existence of an opposition group.<sup>30</sup> Cabell's first opportunity to make clear in a public statement his evaluation of the national administration came in his annual message to the Assembly in December of 1806. The Governor left no doubt in the minds of the representatives as to his sentiments about the Jeffersonian leadership when he proclaimed:

By the most happy organization, our foreign relationships are entrusted to the Federal Government, and they are now under the guidance of an administration, whose wisdom, virtue and unceasing solicitude for the public welfare command all our confidence . . .<sup>31</sup>

Although Virginia customarily re-elected governors to three terms, it is surprising to note that Cabell was re-elected shortly after this speech without the "slightest opposition."<sup>32</sup>

Several months later a drama unfolded in Richmond which illustrated the division in Republican ranks. This was the trial of Aaron Burr for his alleged conspiracy to dismember the United States. That the former Vice-President by his organized expedition had striven to annex Spanish possessions and also actually tried to separate some states from the Union seems to be conclusively settled.<sup>33</sup> Throughout 1806 the nation had viewed with some alarm reports of Burr's mysterious activities, and finally in the fall the President issued a proclamation for his arrest.<sup>34</sup>

When the first inklings reached Jefferson concerning the questionable intentions of Burr, the President had been reluctant to believe such news. Editor Ritchie shared this early disbelief. On the other hand many Federalists and Quids were the first to insist loudly that the nation was confronted by an ominous threat of dismemberment.<sup>35</sup> Randolph was convinced in 1806 of the determination of Burr to detach the United States' western lands.<sup>36</sup>

The last-minute betrayal by Burr's confidant, General James Wilkinson, who was Governor of the Louisiana Territory and ranking officer of the Army, resulted in Burr's capture in the Mississippi Territory early in 1807. On March 30 the former Vice-President was brought before Chief Justice John Marshall in Richmond for a preliminary hearing. After ordering Burr to appear before a grand jury for misdemeanor, not for treason, Marshall released the schemer under a ten-thousand-dollar bond.

By this time the account of Burr's military preparations on Blennerhassett's Island and other damaging reports had reached Richmond and completely changed the views of many Jeffersonian Republicans in regard to the purpose of Burr's expedition. In Richmond, Ritchie and Cabell felt reasonably certain that Burr's intentions and actions could easily have been treasonable. The



Quids and Federalists also did an about-face and were proclaiming Burr's innocence while trying to discredit the Administration. While Ritchie referred to "Burr's Conspiracy," the opposition used the expression, "Burr's Project."<sup>37</sup>

Richmond had perhaps never experienced such excitement. From all over the nation interested spectators swarmed into the city of five or six thousand people. Some came in a business capacity, as did the young reporter Washington Irving. Others were simply attracted by the promise of an entertaining spectacle. Taverns were unable to cope with the throngs, and out of necessity many visitors camped along the capital's outskirts.<sup>38</sup> On the first of April, Cabell wrote his younger brother, Joseph Carrington Cabell, that public anxiety was greater than he had ever known.<sup>39</sup>

In this atmosphere of political tension and public excitement Aaron Burr, while awaiting the arrival of the grand jurors, was entertained lavishly by the fashionable Federalists of Richmond society. The Carringtons, Gambles, and Wickhams spared no expense in proving to the rest of the city that they felt an innocent man was being persecuted. Governor Cabell, although still maintaining an official silence, was thoroughly disgusted with the proceedings. He was shocked that John Marshall attended the party given by his neighbor, John Wickham, at which Burr was a guest. Cabell sensed that the trial was to become a political arena. The usually soft-spoken Governor exploded.

The Federalists have completely made this a party question. [he wrote his brother] They unblushingly say that the prosecution originated with Mr. Jefferson in revenge and is kept up by the Republicans from the same motives. God damn their souls, they do not see that it is their enmity to Mr. Jefferson that makes them in love with misdemeanors and treasons, provided they can bring his administration into contempt. Since this trial commenced, I have had feelings which I have not experienced since 1798. It is vain to look for a reconciliation of parties. The federalists will not bear it. They must be annihilated or triumphantly preeminent. Which side do you prefer? . . . You may burn this letter, for your sake and mine too.<sup>40</sup>

Finally on May 22, 1807, the grand jury was impaneled, and Marshall appointed Jefferson's bitter critic John Randolph as its foreman. Among the names of the distinguished jurors was the Governor's brother, Joseph C. Cabell. Aristocratic John Wickham, head of the Richmond bar, and the embittered Edmund Randolph served as counsel for the defense. Aiding them were slovenly Luther Martin and young Benjamin Botts. All four were Federalists and



shared an intense dislike for Jefferson. For the prosecution District Attorney George Hay enlisted the help of William Wirt and Alexander McRae, now Lieutenant-Governor. The trial lagged until the arrival of the key witness, General Wilkinson, on June 15. After a turbulent fortnight during which the loquacious soldier almost indicted himself by his testimony, the grand jury on June 24 returned an indictment against Aaron Burr for treason and misdemeanor.<sup>41</sup>

The trial began in August, and the acquittal of Burr several weeks later came as a keen disappointment not only to Governor Cabell but to many other Virginians. Cabell earnestly believed that a public display of the entire proceedings would once and for all damn Burr and his friends.<sup>42</sup> Consequently he appealed to his brother who, as a juror, had taken voluminous notes of all the evidence and testimony offered the distinguished grand jury. Cabell, though bothered a little by the impropriety of such a move, was anxious for his friend Ritchie to publish the younger Cabell's records in the *Richmond Enquirer*.<sup>43</sup> Although Ritchie was eager, Joseph declined to place the notes before the public at this time.<sup>44</sup>

On June 22, just before the grand jury's indictment against Burr, the British cruiser *Leopard* made its extra-ordinary attack on the *Chesapeake*.<sup>45</sup> The President's Proclamation of early July ordering British warships out of American territorial waters was originally opposed in Virginia only by those citizens who felt that stronger retaliatory measures were in order. The patient Jefferson, hopeful of receiving satisfaction from the British, tried to avoid open conflict. When Congress met in the late fall, the President's answer to the problem of impressment was an embargo, virtually interdicting all commerce with foreign nations. John Randolph, in another queer reversal, bitterly denounced the Embargo Act in Congress. However there were in Virginia many loyal Republicans who, though desiring stronger measures, nevertheless supported the Embargo. Ritchie, Roane, W. C. Nicholas, and United States Senator William Giles fell into this category.<sup>46</sup>

Jefferson's political lieutenant, W. C. Nicholas, who had returned to Congress as a representative in 1807 after resigning from the Senate three years before, wrote Governor Cabell a confidential letter asking him to evaluate the state's reaction toward the act. The answer was not evasive:

If however any . . . evidence should be required as to the opinion of our fellow citizens at large, I can confidently assure, so far as my information extends that there never was a public measure more generally supported by the approbation of the people. They feel its



unhappy influence on the price of every species of produce, but they also feel its necessity for the preservation of our seaman and our property and as the most the injustice of foreign nations.<sup>47</sup>

The Assembly of 1807-08 was solidly behind Jefferson's action, almost unanimously passing a resolution praising the President's conduct. No measures were discussed which gave any indication of an opposition group.<sup>48</sup> The effect of the Embargo had not then been felt at the polls.<sup>49</sup>

Despite this apparent unanimity in the General Assembly, it was during the session of 1807-08 that Virginia Republicans experienced the most serious schism since the rise of the Quids. The selection of a candidate for President was the occasion of this intra-party conflict. The regulars ultimately advanced the name of James Madison, whom they believed to be Jefferson's hand-picked successor. Led by Randolph, the Quid Party in Virginia supported the candidacy of James Monroe.<sup>50</sup> In the ensuing struggle to capture the regular Republican electors, both factions of the party attracted men from the opposite intra-party group.

Originally the leaders of the Richmond Junto, particularly Roane and Ritchie, had been receptive to the idea of supporting George Clinton of New York against the heir-apparent, James Madison. They had been joined by Senator Giles, who also feared that since a Virginian had filled the Presidency for sixteen of the past twenty years, party expediency dictated that the office should go to another state. But as the strength of the Federalist candidate, C. C. Pinckney, increased and the Quid Party became more vociferous in behalf of Monroe, the Junto leaders switched to the Madison camp. They recognized the need for party unity in Virginia and felt that if the field were to be narrowed between Monroe and Madison, the latter deserved the nomination because of his superior ability and seniority in service.<sup>51</sup>

Many of the Madison advocates also opposed Monroe for his supposedly pro-British views.<sup>52</sup> But in Virginia, Republicans saw as the serious drawback to his candidacy the attitude of the Randolph group which backed him. The Quids were vociferously anti-Administration. The specific criticisms bitterly leveled at Madison concerned the Secretary of State's stand in the Yazoo Land claims and his deviation from the state rights principles of 1798.<sup>53</sup> But Monroe, the Quids insisted, was above all a state rights interpreter of the Constitution.<sup>54</sup> The backing of these bitter followers cost Monroe the aid of many influential leaders in the state, some of whom were his personal friends. Roane and Ritchie were two who



could not tolerate his supporters. William Wirt, an old and close friend, sounded a familiar note when he wrote Monroe of his refusal to help:

although personally more warmly attached to you than Mr. Madison,—for I know you much better,—and although I thought it would make very little difference to the happiness of the people of the United States, which of you was President, yet for political considerations, I preferred Mr. Madison. I went further . . . I added that I much feared, if your friends persisted in running you . . . that it might have a permanently ill effect on your political standing . . . I feared that there was danger that the people of the United States might identify you with that minority . . . the opponents of the present most popular administration.<sup>55</sup>

The Governor once again aligned himself with the Junto and the party regulars. Replying to Nicholas, who worked feverishly in Congress for the nomination of Madison, Cabell agreed that the Secretary of State was the only choice. He added that as Governor he felt he should not officially participate in the campaign, but secretly he was publishing letters in the *Enquirer* calling for the selection of electors pledged to Madison. Cabell also pointed out that in the state Monroe advocates were violently anti-Madison, but the followers of Madison were by no means unfriendly to Monroe. He suggested that Nicholas conduct a congressional caucus to name Madison the choice of the Republicans as soon as possible. The Governor saw no real cause for alarm, though, and predicted Monroe would be easily defeated.<sup>56</sup>

While the Madison advocates plotted, the opposition was also busy. Joining forces with Randolph and John Taylor of Caroline were other former Republican regulars. Alexander McRae became an ardent supporter of his in-law, Monroe. George Hay, the candidate's son-in-law, also crossed the intra-party lines.<sup>57</sup> Not a few Federalists realized that their only hope of defeating the administration consisted of once again uniting with the Quid faction.

For Monroe's candidacy, the crushing blow came in Richmond, January 21, 1808. On that day two caucuses were held by members of the General Assembly. At the request of Giles and W. C. Nicholas, one hundred and twenty-four delegates and senators assembled in the Bell Tavern and nominated Madison for President. The rival nominating meeting for Monroe, held at the Capitol, attracted only sixty-six of the legislators.<sup>58</sup> It was obvious that if Monroe could do no better than this in his own state, his chances were indeed slim. Two days later a Congressional caucus, which the Virginia Quids and Federalists failed to attend, confirmed the action of the Assem-



bly majority, with eighty-three of eighty-nine Congressmen present voting for Madison. George Clinton of New York was nominated for Vice-President.<sup>59</sup>

Once the nomination for President had been made, Cabell and the other regulars entertained little fear of the Quids and Federalists in Virginia. The Monroe followers offered a set of electors and continued campaigning bitterly, but small doubt of the outcome existed. Shortly before the election Cabell commented that though the Richmond opposition employed "unexampled exertion" in their effort to rally supporters of their candidate, he was certain that Monroe's candidacy was finished.<sup>60</sup> The Virginia returns in November supported him. Madison received 12,451 votes to 2,770 for Monroe and 435 for Pinckney. In the nation the regular Republican nominee garnered 122 of 176 electoral votes, with most of the opposing votes coming from Federalist New England states.<sup>61</sup> Monroe received no electoral votes.

Before Cabell concluded his final year as Governor, he had earned for himself a place of confidence within the controlling political clique in the state. In the space of two years he had become a trusted advisor and co-worker of Republican William Wirt, Spencer Roane, Thomas Ritchie and Wilson Cary Nicholas. His original rival in the Republican Party, Alexander McRae, by contrast now found himself ostracized from party councils. The Richmond lawyer had been chastised for his support of Monroe when the controlling Republicans in the Assembly ousted him from the Council of State after the Madison nomination was effected.<sup>62</sup> Cabell, however, was rewarded for his conscientious services as Governor when the General Assembly appointed him a Judge of the General Court in December of 1808. Three years later he was elected to the Council of State and elevated to the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals. During the eleven years before his death in 1853, Cabell served as President of that distinguished judicial body. Thus during his lifetime he attained the unusual distinction of becoming head of both the executive and judicial branches of Virginia government.

Although his long stay on the bench received recognition, he was known as the "Mansfield of Virginia,"<sup>63</sup> his political career as governor has far too long gone unrevealed. However, Cabell's public expressions of confidence in the Jefferson Administration, his convictions against Burr and his followers, and his loyalty to Madison, Nicholas and the Republican lieutenants dispel all doubts



as to allegiance. Governor Cabell was neither Quid nor Federalist, but rather a staunch supporter of Thomas Jefferson and the Republican regulars in Virginia.

- 1 Irving Brant, *James Madison, Secretary of State 1800-1808* (Indianapolis, 1953), 380-81.
- 2 Charles Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia from 1776-1861* (Chicago, 1910), 81-82.
- 3 In his valuable biography, *Thomas Ritchie, A Study in Virginia Politics* (Richmond, 1918), Charles Ambler infers that Cabell was a Quid or Federalist (p. 32), which was not the case. Other students of Virginia history in this period, such as Harry Ammon in his masterful work, *The Republican Party in Virginia, 1789-1824* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1948), simply shy away from classifying Cabell.
- 4 In combing archives for Cabell records, such as those at Hampden-Sydney and William and Mary (his undergraduate and law schools), the Library of Congress, the Virginia State Library, and in the voluminous Cabell collections at the University of Virginia, this writer could find no manuscript in Cabell's handwriting dated prior to 1799. Only about a hundred personal letters written before 1809 were discovered.
- 5 For example, during the twenty years preceding Cabell's first term in the legislature (1796), there were at least two Cabell's from Amherst in the Virginia Assembly every year except one. In 1795 one of William H. Cabell's brothers-in-law was sheriff, another was Congressman, and eight Cabells or husbands of Cabell girls were justices of the peace in Amherst. Earl G. Swem and John M. Williams, *A Register of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1776-1918, and of the Constitutional Conventions* (Richmond, 1918), 1-45; Alexander Brown, *The Cabells and Their Kin* (Richmond, 1939), 131ff.
- 6 *Journal of the House of Delegates, 1798-99* (Richmond, 1798), 20, 27-34, 77-78. For the most complete and accurate account of the debates, see *The Virginia Resolutions of December 21, 1798, The Debates and Proceedings . . .* (Richmond, 1850), 24-156.
- 7 In 1795 the Georgia Legislature had been bribed into selling 35,000 acres of western or Yazoo land to four land companies for about one and one half cents per acre. The following year the state legislature repealed the action, but meanwhile most of the land had been sold for a large profit to third parties. Georgia later ceded the controversial land for a modest sum to the United States with a reservation that the United States adjust unsettled private claims. Randolph felt the commissioners were dealing with crooks in compromising and believed Georgia possessed the right to rescind the sale. Madison thought it necessary to recompense innocent victims and was uncertain as to the constitutionality of Georgia's annulment. Brant, *Madison, Secretary of State*, 234-40.
- 8 Ambler, *Ritchie*, 30-31.
- 9 *Richmond Enquirer*, Dec. 15, 1806.
- 10 Brant, *Madison, Secretary of State*, 250.
- 11 William Cabell Bruce, *John Randolph of Roanoke, 1773-1833* (2 vols., New York, 1939), I, 215.
- 12 Ammon, *Republican Party*, 292.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 293.
- 14 Ambler, *Ritchie*, 31.
- 15 *Richmond Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, 9 Nov. 1805.
- 16 *House Journal*, 1805-06, 16.
- 17 *House Journal*, 1796, 16. The eight-man Council of State, elected by the General Assembly, acted with the governor as the Executive and possessed veto powers on the governor's administrative actions. See "Constitution of Virginia, 1776" in Francis N. Thorpe, ed., *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws* (7 vols., Wash., 1909), VII, 3812-19.
- 18 Joseph Shulim, *The Old Dominion and Napoleon Bonaparte* (New York, 1953), 80.
- 19 *Enquirer*, 8 Dec. 1805, and 10 Dec. 1805.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 10 Dec. 1805.
- 21 Cabell and Randolph had been associated together at William and Mary College. *The History of the College of William and Mary from its Foundation, 1733 to 1870* (Baltimore, 1870), 88-90.
- 22 This marriage gained for Cabell, in addition to an influential father-in-law, a lasting friend in young, brilliant William Wirt, who also married one of Colonel Gamble's daughters. Much correspondence between the two is found in John P. Kennedy, ed., *Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1850).
- 23 Ammon, *Republican Party*, 147.
- 24 P. N. Nicholas to W. C. Nicholas, 13 Dec. 1805, Nicholas Papers, University of Virginia.
- 25 John Taylor to James Monroe, 27 Feb. 1806, in *John P. Branch Historical Papers of Randolph-Macon College*, II (1908), 291.
- 26 *Enquirer*, 6 Feb. 1806.
- 27 Rex Beach, Judge Spencer Roane, A Champion of States Rights (M.A. Thesis, University of Virginia, 1941), 52.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 48-50. Both the Bank of Virginia and the *Richmond Enquirer* came into existence in 1804. Ambler, *Ritchie*, 19, 26.
- 29 Nicholas had more or less served as Cabell's legislative tutor in the General Assembly before the former's elevation to U.S. Senator in 1799. The two continued a warm correspondence afterwards. As an Amherst lawyer, Cabell had conducted friendly business negotiations with Brockenbrough. Wirt, of course, was Cabell's brother-in-law. Cabell to W. C. Nicholas, 29 Nov. 1799 and 23 Apr. 1801, Nicholas Papers.



- 30 Ammon, Republican Party, 331.  
 31 *Enquirer*, 5 Dec. 1806.  
 32 *Ibid.*, 8 Dec. 1806.  
 33 For a convincing argument, see Thomas P. Abernethy, *The Burr Conspiracy* (New York, 1954).  
 34 Brant, *Madison, Secretary of State*, 340-349.  
 35 Ambler, *Ritchie*, 37-39.  
 36 Bruce, *Randolph*, I, 299.  
 37 Ambler, *Ritchie*, 39.  
 38 Albert J. Beveridge, *Life of John Marshall* (4 vols., Boston, 1919), III, 400.  
 39 Cabell to J. C. Cabell, 2 Apr. 1807, Cabell Papers, UVA.  
 40 Cabell to J. C. Cabell, 9 Apr. 1807, Cabell Papers, UVA. As did Ritchie, Cabell usually used the term "Federalist" also to include Quids.  
 41 Abernethy, *Burr*, 234-40.  
 42 Cabell to J. C. Cabell, 8 Sept. 1807, Cabell Papers, UVA.  
 43 Cabell to J. C. Cabell (day and month unknown) 1807, Cabell Papers, UVA.  
 44 Carol M. Tanner, Joseph C. Cabell (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1948), 64.  
 45 In making impressment demands for the first time on a U.S. Navy ship, the British killed three and wounded eighteen Americans during the surprise attack off the Virginia coast. Gov. Cabell temporarily activated almost 3,000 militia-men to patrol the Chesapeake area. See his official correspondence for June-July in the Executive Letter Book, 1807, Virginia State Library, Richmond.  
 46 Ambler, *Ritchie*, 43; Dice R. Anderson, *William Branch Giles: A Study in the Politics of Virginia and the Nation from 1790 to 1830* (Menasha, Wis., 1941), 113. Virginia's other Senator at this time, Andrew Moore, also supported the administration. Freeman H. Hart, "Andrew Moore," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., (20 vols., New York, 1928-36), XIII, 113-14.  
 47 Cabell to W. C. Nicholas, 9 Jan. 1808, Wilson Cary Nicholas Papers, Library of Congress.  
 48 Ammon, Republican Party, 311.  
 49 The main effect of the Embargo in Virginia was to revive Federalist strength, particularly in the Congressional and Assembly elections of 1808. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, 87-88.  
 50 Bruce, *Randolph*, I, 350.  
 51 Ambler, *Ritchie*, 47-50. Beach, Roane, 60.  
 52 Generally this centered around the Monroe-Pinkney Treaty of 1806 with England which, because of its failure to settle the impressment question, was never accepted by the administration.  
 53 Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, 89; Bruce, *Randolph*, I, 332.  
 54 Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, 89.  
 55 Wirt to Monroe, 8 Feb. 1808, in Kennedy, ed., *Wirt*, I, 228-29.  
 56 Cabell to W. C. Nicholas, 9 Jan. 1808, Wilson Cary Nicholas Papers. W. C. Nicholas had worked for Madison from the outset. For his part in the campaign, see Elinor J. Weeder, *Wilson Cary Nicholas, Jefferson's Lieutenant* (M.A. Thesis, University of Virginia, 1946), 89ff.  
 57 Ammon, Republican Party, 310, 316. Other prominent Virginians, all intimately connected by blood or friendship with Monroe or his backers, who joined the Monroe camp were Henry St. George Tucker, Randolph's half-brother, see Armistead Dobie, "Henry St. George Tucker" in *D.A.B.*, XIX, 32-33; Benjamin Watkins Leigh, son-in-law of John Marshall and friend of Randolph, see Robert Tunstall, "Benjamin Watkins Leigh," *D.A.B.*, XI, 152-53; Littleton W. Tazewell, also a friend of Randolph and former student of John Wickham, see Wendell Stephenson, "Littleton Waller Tazewell," *D.A.B.*, XVIII, 355-56. Most complete information on Hay is in Robert Cotterill, "George Hay," *D.A.B.*, VIII, 429-30.  
 58 *Enquirer*, 23 Jan. 1808. In addition to the Quids, Federalists also attended the Monroe meeting. Anderson, *Giles*, 124.  
 59 *Ibid.*, 124-25.  
 60 Cabell to J. C. Cabell, 19 Oct. 1808, Cabell Papers, UVA.  
 61 Anderson, *Giles*, 127.  
 62 Ammon, Republican Party, 326.  
 63 Washington *National Intelligencer*, 18 June 1853.