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WILLIAM C. RIVES:

A STUDY IN TRANSFORMATION FROM DEMOCRAT TO WHIG

Thesis

for

Dr. F. W. Gregory

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree

Bachelor of Arts

University of Richmond

Frances S. Taylor

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Until 1840, the state of Virginia occupied a prominent position in national affairs. Home of many of the country's great political leaders, Virginia's support for a man or an issue was often the key to success. Although the 1830s weakened Virginia's importance as the population pushed westward and Virginia's declining economic prosperity occurred, the state still attracted national figures and presidential contenders sought her endorsement.¹ William Cabell Rives, active in the party, political, and economic issues before the nation in the decade, played a significant part in the emerging and shifting party structure of these years. A Jacksonian Democrat by 1827, he split with the party in 1837, participated in the founding of an amorphous Conservative party where he headed the state organization, and finally transferred his allegiance to the Whig party in 1840. Key factors in this transformation were the economic issues of a national bank, the Specie Circular, and the Independent Treasury.² In his attempt to find solutions to these problems, he kept a conscious eye on Jeffersonian political ideals and the misuse of them in the Jackson period.

Born on 4 May 1793, William C. Rives attended Hampden-Sydney College and, following two years of study under Thomas Jefferson, he worked for his law degree at William and Mary. In 1817 and 1822 he represented Nelson County in the Virginia House of Delegates where his experience in law and finance placed him on the strategic committees for Courts of Justice, Finance, and Executive Expenditures. By 1823, he had moved to the national House of

of Representatives where he was to serve his state until 1829.³

During this early portion of his political career, Rives received the support of the western section of his state, which at this time included the present state of West Virginia. Reflecting the revolutionary sentiments of Jefferson and Madison in the early republic, Rives touched a sympathetic cord in the electorate of western Virginia when he emphasized the importance of the individual. Individual liberty, equal justice for all men, and man's right to freedom and happiness appealed to their belief in the importance of the individual regardless of his station in life. Rule by the majority and support of the state governments in their rights enforced their dislike of a centralized government threatening individual state freedom.⁴

Rives' rising prominence in Virginia and the nation came at a time when Andrew Jackson was making his second bid for the presidency and was seeking support from prominent Virginians sympathetic with his ideas. The two men were brought together when Martin Van Buren, the "little magician", visited Richmond where he gained the support of Thomas Ritchie, Rives' close friend and editor of the Richmond Enquirer. Ritchie had behind him a powerful political machine, the Richmond Junto, which Van Buren quickly perceived as an asset to Jackson's campaign if that support could be obtained. Shortly thereafter Ritchie backed the rising Democratic party and convinced Rives to support Old Hickory in the forthcoming election.⁵

Van Buren and the other Jacksonians' efforts paid off and Jackson succeeded John Q. Adams as president of the country. Recognizing Rives' contributions to his victory in Virginia, Jackson appointed him ambassador to France in 1829. Rives left the House of Representatives to accept the post and served at the French court until 1832 when, on 10 December 1832, the Virginia legislature elected him to complete Littleton W. Tazewell's

term in the U. S. Senate.⁶

Rives' election occurred simultaneously with controversy over the actions taken by a South Carolina convention. Meeting in November, the South Carolina delegates declared the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 null and void claiming that the federal government could not collect the duties. If the federal authorities used force to extract payment, the state would dissolve its connection with the government. Not waiting for Congress to convene, Jackson responded by denouncing South Carolina's refusal to comply with the laws and by sending revenue cutters to ensure compliance. Recognizing the inequitability of the tariffs, the president believed they should be reduced but expressed his belief that the federal laws were sufficient for coping with the situation.⁷

Jackson's use of force against South Carolina alienated the Virginia legislature and produced an anti-administration party in the state. Attention in the Old Dominion fell on its newly appointed federal senator and his position on South Carolina's statements. In a 14 February ^{speech} to the national Senate, Rives described himself as anti-nullification, basing his position of ~~the~~ concept of the compact theory of government. In opposing nullification of the tariffs, the Virginia senator faced assertions that Jefferson's Resolution of 1798 actually approved of nullification as a means of preventing the central government from breaking the compact. John C. Calhoun, a U.S. senator, Democrat, and prominent figure in South Carolina's action, interpreted the resolutions to be saying that one state could declare acts of Congress and proclamations of the president null and void. For Calhoun, sovereignty resided in the people of one state. Rives, however, considered Jefferson's principle of rule by the majority to be the answer to the dilemma. A single state could not nullify acts of Congress; a clear majority - three-

So .

fourths of all the states - had to approve such drastic action. While opposing the tariff for much the same reasons as Jackson, Rives found it impossible to endorse South Carolina's action.⁸

Rives' stand placed him in direct opposition with the Virginia radical Democrats, who reflected the states rights position of Calhoun, which marked his first disagreement with party members. Rives raised further doubts in the minds of his constituents with his decision to support the Force Bill, Congressional approval of Jackson's November actions. Recognizing the danger inherent in Jackson's action, Rives emphasized presidential and Congressional power to use force to deal with opposition to federal laws. His address clarified the extent to which he was willing to condone the use of executive power, thus widening the rift within his party. Those Democrats who had agreed with Rives' rejection of South Carolina's nullification refused his acceptance of presidential use of force and formed a coalition with the Virginia radicals. Rives acknowledged the growing strength of the anti-administration forces in his state and warned his brother Alexander that "[t]he design of their mischievous agitation cannot be too closely watched, or too often exposed to the views of the people" Rives' remaining Democratic supporters failed to adhere strictly enough to his advice and lost their majority in the Virginia legislature in the 1833 spring election.⁹

By the fall, the coalition had firmly established its control in the legislature and waited for an overt act to test Rives' loyalty. That came in October with Jackson's withdrawal of the deposits from the Second Bank of the United States¹⁰ and the selection of certain state banks to serve as

federal depositories. This action divided the business community. In Virginia, the presidential order led to the formation of a Whig party. Western Virginia, the source of Rives' major support, called Jackson's action " executive usurpation of power. " In spite of obvious hostility in his state, Rives backed Jackson, blaming the country's economic problems on the monopolistic practices of the BUS. Answering Whigs who labeled the removal an affront to the BUS, Rives stated that the Bank and not Congress broke its contract by failing to include government officers in its important meetings and by allowing its president, Nicholas Biddle, to exercise too much control. For these reasons, Rives concluded Jackson had acted legally in ordering the removal.¹¹

The Whig-dominated Virginia legislature seized this opportunity to remove Rives from the Senate and to replace him with a man supportive of its views. To do so, it used a legislative gimmick to force his resignation. Under state law, a Virginia legislature could pass a resolution directing its representatives in Congress to cast a specific vote in a pending bill. The legislature directed its federal senators to vote for the restoration of the deposits and for Henry Clay's bill censuring the president for the withdrawal. Virginia's senior senator John Tyler¹², receiving the request, formally presented his state's instructions before the national Senate. Rives stated he was willing to vote for restoration but could not censure the president's act as dangerous and unconstitutional. He thought Clay's resolutions were not " proper measures " that should be tied to " restoring the public moneys to the BUS. " Unwilling to comply, Rives resigned.¹³

Rives' political career seemed at a standstill. His approval of presidential actions cost him the support of the more radical members of his party and his Senate seat. Wishing to serve in political office, he accepted

his friends' confidence and agreed to seek the Democratic party's nomination for vice-president for the 1836 election. His terms in both the state and federal legislatures illustrated his ability; his loyalty to Jackson proved the strength of his party conviction. Despite the support of Massachusetts and Virginia, New York's backing proved essential. A political alliance enforced by commercial ties had existed between Virginia and the Empire State since Jefferson's day, but by 1835 the axis had weakened. The area west of the Alleghenies had gained sufficient strength to alter the political balance within the party. A candidate from Virginia, even including the present West Virginia, could no longer attract the western vote. At the Baltimore convention, New York, wary of the western support for Whig presidential contender William Henry Harrison, supported a Kentuckian, Richard Johnson, who became Van Buren's running mate. ¹⁴

The decision at Baltimore disappointed Rives and other Virginia Democrats who supported Van Buren but wanted William Smith of Alabama for vice-president. The rise of the abolitionist movement in the North and Nat Turner's rebellion in the state caused slavery to be an issue in the campaign and these Virginians feared the absence of a Southern man on the ticket spelt certain defeat. ¹⁵

Failing to obtain both re-election to the U.S. Senate in 1835 and the vice-presidential nomination, Rives worked to get back in the Senate. His opportunity came when the Senate brought to the floor a resolution to expunge from the record Clay's censure of the president for withdrawing the deposits. The author of the expunging resolution was a close friend of Jackson, Thomas Hart Benton, an influential Democratic senator from Missouri who wished to clear Jackson of the suggestion of undue use of executive power. Rives and

Ritchie, approving of the plan, worked through the Virginia legislature which instructed its senators, Tyler and B.W. Leigh, to vote for the resolution. The tactic worked; Tyler resigned and the Virginia legislature elected Rives to fill the vacancy. ¹⁶

Rives' actions in the first six months of his second term in the national Senate revealed his continued support of the president and the Democratic party. In March, he stated his compliance with Benton's expunging resolution and, in June, his backing of Jackson's Deposit Bill, a plan to oversee more carefully the federal funds placed in state banks. It also allowed for the distribution of surplus revenue among the states by means of periodic dispersions, a provision that placed Rives with Jackson as favoring the bill and Benton and Van Buren as opposing it. Shortly thereafter, Jackson issued his famous Specie Circular, requiring gold and silver for land purchases in an attempt to control land speculation. ¹⁷

For the first time, Rives could not support the president. The Virginia senator, having a keener sense of economic and business realities, recognized that land sales, especially in the debtor region of the West, could not be negotiated on a specie basis. Believing the Specie Circular to be a temporary measure, Rives suggested a plan which called for all monies accruing to the United States from customs, land purchases, and other public transactions to be made in specie or bank notes issued by banks paying specie on demand. No notes would be accepted from banks issuing notes of less than five dollars. ¹⁸

Jackson viewed Rives' plan as a censure of his actions. The president expressed bewilderment over the Virginian's move and used the pocket veto to kill a bill formulated along Rives' guidelines. Rives gained the confidence of conservative Democrats and some Whigs but lost the support of hard

money Democrats in Virginia who backed Benton and Van Buren. Despite his opposition to the Circular, Rives kept his promise to support Van Buren in the 1836 presidential race. Rives, aware of the importance of a national Democratic victory, campaigned vigorously to defeat the Whig contenders. The issue of whom to back divided the Virginia Whigs; the eastern branch of the party supported Hugh Lawson White of Tennessee, while the westerners wanted Harrison. Despite a July 1836 Whig convention in Staunton designed to effect a remedy to the split, Virginia Whig disunity continued, weakening the party. Rives and the Virginia Democrats capitalized on this split and delivered the state to Van Buren. With Van Buren's inauguration, Rives urged him to rescind the Circular. The president's refusal, based on campaign promises, alienated Rives, Nathaniel P. Tallmadge, a New York Democrat, U.S. senator, and Rives' correspondent, and many other conservative Democrats.¹⁹

Friends, fearing a split in the Democratic party, urged Rives to be wary of supplying the Whigs with additional means of gaining strength through his criticism of the Specie Circular. Rives assured his friend Ritchie that, while he disagreed with the president, he remained committed to the party's principles and that the administration would never find him its enemy so long as it remained a "friend of the country."²⁰

The rifts in the Democratic party and the exhibitions of Whig strength stemmed partly from the economic disasters facing the nation. The nation encountered a sharp depression in the spring of 1837 which resulted in eastern banks' suspending specie payments, a situation followed shortly by the fall of less stable pet banks in the West. A new banking policy was imperative and the president, desiring party unity and attempting to win Rives' support, wrote the Virginia senator for advice. Presidential ad-

visors had suggested three alternatives to the Specie Circular: a national bank, the continuance of the deposit bank system, and a separation of the federal government from the banks. The last plan encompassed three ideas. First, the government could accept and disburse only specie; second, government funds would be kept in banks in ten major cities; third, the government would not use private bank credit.²¹

Rives remained committed to the deposit system established in 1836, questioning the wisdom of switching to an untested system. The first alternative was unacceptable to Rives who viewed national banks as unconstitutional. The Virginian commented extensively on the third suggestion. He felt a separation of government and private finances could only result in the creation of a stronger executive branch.²²

Not all of Rives' friends agreed with his opposition to ~~to~~ the Independent Treasury plan. John Brockenbrough, president of the Bank of Virginia and a longtime friend of Rives, visited Van Buren in the spring of 1837 and presented the idea to the president. Based on plans devised by economist William Gouge in 1833 and U.S. Representative William Gordon of Virginia in 1834, The Virginia banker's plan provided for a system of federal depositories without a clause calling for the sole use of metallic currency. Although Van Buren altered his plan, Brockenbrough supported the Independent Treasury and was joined in his backing by Ritchie.²³

Rives, joined by conservative Democrats throughout the nation, sensed that his views were no longer being accurately reported in the Washington Globe. That paper, edited by Francis P. Blair, was the voice of the administration and stood ready to destroy the president and the party's critics. Thomas Allen, an anti-Van Buren Democrat, with the backing of men such as

Rives and Tallmadge, edited and published the Madisonian, the first edition appearing on 16 August 1837. Rives contributed numerous articles to this publication which attempted to capture Madison's ideas as expressed in the Kentucky Resolution of 1799. The Madisonian's establishment confirmed Virginia Democrats' fears and the party issued a plea for unity. ²⁴

Fellow Citizens of the Democratic Party! Defeat and disgrace await us, if we allow ourselves to be split into factions by . . . our opponents. Differ as we may about details, we all profess to agree in opposing the creation of any National Bank. We all see, that the hopes of the ~~National~~ National Bank are found upon our own divisions and upon the disasters growing out of our latter State Bank System. We all agree that that system . . . will not do; but must be reformed ²⁵

Rives could not answer this plea since he did not believe that the state bank system ^{was} the cause of all the financial difficulties. Former president Jackson saw the paper as marking the founding of a conservative and hostile party, directing barbs at the administration. Writing to Blair, he commented " [t]he Madisonian is to be the organ to the no party party . . . whose design it is to put down the present administration and raise a mongrel party on its ruins. " ²⁶

Van Buren, having witnessed the consequences of opposition to the Specie Circular, continued to insist on the necessity of the Independent Treasury and encouraged Silas Wright, a New York Democratic senator and chairman of the finance committee, in his presentation of the Independent Treasury bill to the national Senate in September 1837. The bill called for a divorce of the

government from state banks allowing the government full control of its funds and freeing Congress of bank influence. Senators proposed amendments to Wright's bill. Following Calhoun's proposal for a sole metallic currency, Rives introduced an amendment calling for the continued use of the deposit system. The Virginian feared the creation of another national bank with the president serving as its head. Such a position exceeded the constitutional duties of the chief executive and provided him with too much power. Rives' amendment revised the deposit system to correct its weak points. To avoid charges of executive favoritism, Rives required Congressional approval of the banks selected as depositories for federal funds. The Virginia senator called for a reduction in the number of depositories for one hundred to twenty-five, thinking that number adequate for the nation's and private business^{es} purposes. Rives' scheme allowed the state banks to use the federal monies for business purposes, a plan that Van Buren's Independent Treasury did not allow. ²⁷

Despite the support of radical Democrats, the Independent Treasury bill encountered difficult times in Congress. Not until 1840 could presidential supporters secure its passage. The debates over federal economic policy in 1839-40 at last pushed Rives out of the Democratic party and into the Whig camp. Rives' decision came with Van Buren's persisting with his scheme despite^d the expression of Congressional disapproval. The president refused to withdraw his idea thus violating the fundamental Jeffersonian principle of majority rule. Thereupon Rives moved to a halfway position between the Democrats and the Whigs. As a proclaimed Conservative, he incurred the wrath of Ritchie, Jackson, Benton, and Van Buren. Yet he refused to return to the Democratic party, Jackson's "republican fold" since he could ". . . never forget that he had a country to serve, as well as a

party to obey. " 28

As previously, Van Buren tried to unify the Democratic party by appealing to Rives. In August of 1838, the president visited Rives, the leader of the Virginia Conservatives, at his home, Castle Hill, to persuade him to rejoin the party. Rives resisted the president's tactics, writing " Principles and Policy of the Conservatives " in September 1838 to express his new party's ideas and to illustrate his conviction. In a series of articles, he cited the Independent Treasury scheme as the major cause of his split with the Democrats, since it created another national bank. He praised the state bank or deposit system for its productive use of wealth through the interchange of government and private funds. Outlining his party's principles, Rives emphasized freedom of opinion and liberty of conscience.²⁹

Rives declared himself a candidate for re-election to the Senate seat which he occupied. Nominated by the Virginia Conservatives, Rives faced Democrat John Mason and Whig John Tyler in the race for appointment by the state legislature. The major issue was the sincerity of Rives' switch; the Independent Treasury issue played a minor part. With most Democrats preferring to die rather than vote for the traitor, Rives, the Conservatives worked to persuade Whigs to support Rives. Some Whigs, remembering Rives' positions on the deposit withdrawal and the expunging resolutions, refused to back him. In addition to long memories, these Whigs wanted Tyler in the national legislature. The voting began in mid-February 1839. Even with Tyler's withdrawal from the race, neither Rives nor Mason obtained a majority and the Virginia legislature postponed the election indefinitely.³⁰

Rives' bid for re-election unsettled, he focused his attention on the presidential election of 1840. Separated from the Democratic party, he

refused to back Van Buren's candidacy and had to decide on whom he would urge Virginia Conservatives to support. Rives considered three men: Winfield Scott, Henry Clay, and William Henry Harrison. Scott, popular in the South and West, did not have enough Northern support while Clay fared well in the North and West but not in the South. Harrison seemed the only choice but his selection would mean a dilemma for the Virginia Conservatives. Tippecanoe's close link with the Whigs as their candidate in 1836 and upcoming 1840 elections posed the problem of whether the Conservatives could retain their identity if they named the same man. Particularly in Virginia where the local Whig party threatened to absorb the hybrid Conservative coalition, many warned Rives that to support Harrison would compromise the independence of their organization. In responding, Rives assured them that he would not pledge himself to any candidate merely to gain votes.³¹

Despite the Conservative dilemma, Rives examined Harrison's credentials, having promised friends that he would not back Harrison unless the general's principles paralleled his own. In February 1840, Rives declared his ^{support} for Harrison. He contrasted and compared Harrison with Van Buren, finding few similarities. Tippecanoe opposed the Independent Treasury and executive usurpation of power while the "little magician" advocated the first and practiced the second. Rives emphasized Harrison's commitment to the ideas of the Jefferson school. Harrison's willingness to serve only one term and his announced hesitancy to use the veto power indicated to Rives that the general would make careful use of executive power.³²

Rives' action destroyed the Conservative party in Virginia. From its beginning, he had been its cohesive force and without his guidance the other members either joined the Whig party or returned to the Democratic fold.

These developments reflected similar courses of events in such states as New York, Missouri, and Ohio. Naturally his change in party affiliation delighted Clay, Harrison, and Tyler but touchy Daniel Webster, anxious for the leadership position himself, accused Rives of making his change for political reasons. Ritchie, astounded by Rives' bolt, castigated him in the Enquirer. To be expected, the decision angered Jackson, even calling him a traitor. Such shifting of political allegiance, in Old Hickory's eyes, raised the question whether any party could have confidence in him again. ³³

Most Whigs nevertheless accepted Rives' transfer of party allegiance. In Virginia, the postponed senatorial election of 1839 finally took place electing Rives to the Senate in 1841 where he remained for the rest of his political life. ³⁴ The economic issues that intensified the political struggles of the 1830s became too esoteric for the public understanding in the 1840s. A decision on a national bank was long postponed; internal improvements fell to the states and private enterprise; lone among the issues, the tariff, a complex problem at best, occasionally demanded the limelight. Instead the decade had to deal with the highly emotional and increasingly important issues of slavery and annexation of western territory including Texas. In light of these problems, Rives' grasp of the fundamentals of the republic were in tune with the Whig ideas. His insistence on the importance of majority rule and the dangers of executive usurpation of power were Whig concepts which he could accept. His willingness to accept the dissolution of the Conservative party, it seems, came not from political ambition but from his realization that the only way of maintaining the political tenets he embraced was by moving to the Whig party.

ENDNOTES

¹ James R. Sharp, The Jacksonians versus the Banks: Politics in the States after the Panic of 1837 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 266.

² The term Independent Treasury will be used in lieu of Sub-Treasury.

³ Russell S. Wingfield, " William Cabell Rives, " D.R. Anderson, ed., Richmond College Historical Papers, vol.1, no. 1 (Richmond: Richmond Press, Inc., 1915), pp. 57, 58.

⁴ Wingfield, " Rives," p.57; Henry C. Dethloff, ed., Thomas Jefferson and American Democracy (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1971), p. xiii; Bernard Mayo, " The Strange Case of Thomas Jefferson, " in Dethloff, pp. 85-86.

⁵ Robert V. Remini, The Election of Andrew Jackson (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1963), pp. 57-58, 167.

⁶ Joseph W. Everett, " William Cabell Rives (1793-1868)," Library of Southern Literature, 10: 4477, 4478.

⁷ Glyndon G. Van Deusen, The Jacksonian Era:1828-1848 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), pp. 72-74.

⁸ Henry H. Simms, The Rise of the Whigs in Virginia, 1824-1840 (Richmond: William Byrd Press, Inc., 1929), pp. 67, 68; U.S., Congress, Senate,

Register of Debates in Congress, 22nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1833, 9, pt. 1: 498.

⁹ U.S., Congress, Senate, Register of Debates in Congress, 9: 498; Rives to A. Rives, 18 April 1833, William C. Rives Papers, 1833-1861, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA. Henceforth Rives will signify W.C. Rives unless otherwise stated.

¹⁰ Henceforth BUS.

¹¹ Raymond C. Dingleline, Jr., " The Political Career of William Cabell Rives " (Ph. D. diss., University of Virginia, 1947), p. 204; U.S., Congress, Senate, Register of Debates in Congress, 23rd Cong., 1st sess., 1834, 10, pt. 1: 263, 267, 268, 270, 271, 273, 288.

¹² Tyler, a Democrat, switched to the Whig party.

¹³ Dingleline, " The Political Career, " p.211; William C. Rives, " Remarks of William Cabell Rives of Virginia, on Resigning his Seat in the Senate of the United States, 22 February 1834," William C. Rives Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA, pp. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁴ Van Deusen, The Jacksonian Era, p. 57; DAB, " Richard Mentor Johnson,"

vol. 5, p. 115.

¹⁵ Dingleline, " The Political Career, " p. 244; Charles H. Ambler, Thomas Ritchie: A Study in Virginia Politics (Richmond: Bell Book and Stationery Co., 1913), p. 180; Simms, The Rise of the Whigs, p. 100.

¹⁶ Simms, The Rise of the Whigs, p. 94; DAB, " Thomas Hart Benton, " vol. 1, p. 211; Ambler, Thomas Ritchie, p. 178.

¹⁷ U.S., Congress, Senate, Register of Debates in Congress, 24th Cong., 1st sess., 1836, 12, pt. 1: 999, 1821.

¹⁸ U.S., Congress, Senate, Register of Debates in Congress, 24th Cong., 2nd sess., 1826, 13, pt. 1: 121, 122, 123.

¹⁹ A. Jackson to A.J. Donelson, 11 January 1837, ed. John S. Bassett, Correspondence of Andrew Jackson (New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969), p. 450; Niles Weekly Register, 21 November 1835, p. 187; Richard P. McCormick, The Second American Party System: Party Formation in the Jacksonian Era (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), p. 194; Van Deusen, The Jacksonian Era, p. 110.

²⁰ E. Fontaine to Rives, 26 June 1837, William C. Rives Letters, Library of Congress; Rives to T. Ritchie, 3 June 1837, William C. Rives Letters, Library of Congress. Library of Congress, henceforth, L of C.

²¹ M. Van Buren to Rives, 25 May 1837, William C. Rives Letters, L of C; David Kinley, The History, Organization, and Influence of the Independent Treasury of the United States (Boston; Thomas Y. Crow^well and Co., 1893), p. 83.

²² Rives to M. Van Buren, 3 June 1837, William C. Rives Letters, L of C.

²³ Brockenbrough to Rives, 20 May 1837, William C. Rives Letters, L of C; J. Anderson to Rives, 25 July 1837, William C. Rives Letters, L of C; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1946), pp. 227, 228, 234.

²⁴ Frank L. Mott, American Journalism: A History, 1690-1960 (New York: MacMillan Co., 1962), p. 179; Van Deusen, The Jacksonian Era, p. 33, Tallmadge to Rives, 28 June 1837, William C. Rives Letters, L of C; Allen to Rives, 15 August 1837, William C. Rives Letters, L of C.

²⁵ " The Union of the Democracy throughout the Union, " Richmond Enquirer, 18 August 1837, p. 2.

²⁶ Jackson to F. Blair, 6 September 1837, in Bassett, Correspondence, p. 509.

²⁷ DAB, " Silas Wright, " vol. 10, p. 566; Reginald C. McCrane, The Panic of 1837: Some Financial Problems of the Jacksonian Era (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), p. 214; U.S., Congress, Senate, Congressional Globe, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., 1838, ^{pt. 1} 6: 613.

²⁸ Rives to C.S. Morgan, 22 October 1837, William C. Rives Letters, L of C; Rives to C.S. Morgan, 31 December 1837, William C. Rives Letters, L of C; Jackson to F. Blair, 16 January 1838, in Bassett, Correspondence, p. 526; U.S., Congress, Senate, Congressional Globe, 6: 614; Van Deusen, The Jacksonian Era, p. 128.

²⁹ Ambler, Thomas Ritchie, pp. 205, 206; Tallmadge to Rives, 26 August 1838, William C. Rives Letters, L of C; " Principles and Policy of the Conservatives, no. 1, " Richmond Enquirer, 17 January 1839, p. 4.

³⁰ Simms, The Rise of the Whigs, pp. 132, 133, 142; Sharp, The Jacksonians, p. 235.

³¹ Allen to Rives, 14 September 1839, William C. Rives Letters, L of C; Sharp, The Jacksonians, p. 236, Van B. Reynolds to Rives, 16 December 1839,

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³² Niles National Register, 7 March 1840, pp. 6, 9, 10.

³³ Allen to Rives, 30 September 1838, William C. Rives Letters, L of C;
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 → on Old Hickory.

Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

William C. Rives Papers, 1833-1861.

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 these letters were useful in portraying the reactions of Rives'
 family to his political moves.

Library of Congress.

William C. Rives Letters.

Since he was a federal senator, Rives' correspondence is located in
 this library. This collection includes the Virginian's letters
 to and from prominent politicians in Virginia and the nation.

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