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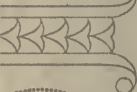
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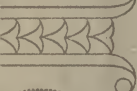
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MORE AWAY
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NINE LETTERS.

ON THE

SUBJECT

OF

AARON BURR'S

POLITICAL DEFECTION,

WITH AN

APPENDIX.

BY JAMES CHEETHAM.

New-York :

PRINTED BY DENNISTON & CHEETHAM, NO. 142, PEARL-STREET.

.....
1803.

District of New-York, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the fourteenth (L. s.) day of February, in the twenty-seventh year of the Independence of the United States of America, James Cheetham, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as author, in the words following, to wit,

“ Nine Letters on the Subject of Aaron Burr’s Political Defection, with an Appendix.—By James Cheetham.”

IN CONFORMITY to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled “ An act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts and Books to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies, during the times therein mentioned.”

EDWARD DUNSCOMB,
Clerk of the District of New-York,

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Letter from Gov. Bloomfield to Col. Burr. VT

TRENTON, Sept. 17, 1802.

DEAR SIR,

IT cannot have escaped your knowledge, that two pamphlets, entitled, "The Narrative" and "The View," published in your city, have engaged much of the public attention.

What regards the suppression of Wood's "*History of the Administration of John Adams*," has become of no moment since the book itself has been published; for it seems to be universally agreed that the book, so far as any effect could be produced by it, was calculated to do more injury than benefit to the republican cause. But the bold allegations which purport that you combined with the federal party to defeat the election of Mr. Jefferson, occasion some solicitude among those to whom you are unknown.

Those, indeed, who have witnessed your various and uniform exertions in the cause of liberty, and the firmness and independence of your conduct on every occasion, are not to be shaken in their confidence or esteem by anonymous calumnies;* but they can only express their own

* Governor Bloomfield, certainly without due reflection, pronounces the facts contained in the "Narrative" and the "View," calumnies, since, we presume, those works are anonymous. This, although a freedom frequently taken with *anonymous* writings, is incompatible with that dignity of deportment and cultivation of mind which are requisite characteristics of a Chief Magistrate. The Editors of the AME-

opinions, and repeat the declarations which they are informed you have made. This leaves room for our common enemies to cavil. If some one were authorised from you to make these declarations, it would, I think, remove the apprehensions which are entertained by some honest men, warm in the cause of freedom, jealous of their rights, and watchful of those who have the honour to be their servants.

AMERICAN CITIZEN, the writers of these letters, flatter themselves they have evinced, through every stage of this interesting discussion, that the principal facts contained in those two pamphlets are *true*. Those facts have been assailed by four persons, first by Mr. Abraham Bishop of Connecticut. In page 44 of the "View" it is stated, that to further his projects in Pennsylvania, Mr. Burr *sent* Mr. Bishop to the Seat of Government of that State during the session of the Legislature. Mr. Bishop has been pleased to deny this statement in two letters which were published in the American Citizen, But in the discussion it appeared, first, that Mr. Bishop was at Lancaster while the Legislature was in session; second, that Mr. Burr procured for him letters of recommendation; and third, that he manifested great interest in the journey of Mr. Bishop. In the controversy with the writers of these letters Mr. Bishop yielded every point but one; he insisted that he was not *sent* to Lancaster by Mr. Burr, but acknowledged that he was there. It was impossible to prove that he was *sent* in the strict sense of the word, and yet it was shewn that Mr. Bishop visited Mr. Burr frequently before his departure, that Mr. Burr sent for Ezekiel Robins to his own house to write or sign letters of recommendation for Mr. Bishop, and from the train of Mr. Burr's machinations, which have been developed in the View and in these letters, it is far from being doubtful that, in whatever light Mr. Bishop looked upon himself, Mr. Burr viewed him as *his agent*.

Second, in page 48 of the "View" the intrigues of Mr. Burr in South Carolina are noticed, and it is stated that he *dispatched* an agent to Columbia also, the seat of government of that place, during the session of the Legislature, to promote those intrigues. See the "View." It is added that Mr.

Our intimacy in our youth and in the army, is generally known in this state. My address to the people of Bur-

Green wrote to Mr. Burr regularly from Columbia under cover to Mr. John Swartwout, the Marshal of this district.

Mr. Green acknowledges, first, that he was at Columbia as stated in the "View," but denies that he was *dispatched* thither by Mr. Burr. He confesses that he was solicitous for an equality of votes between the two Presidential candidates; (the only object of his mission as stated in the View) that he wrote to his friend and the confidant of Mr. Burr, Mr. Swartwout, but *denies* that he wrote letters to Mr. Burr directed for him under cover to Mr. Swartwout. The object of the View in stating that Mr. Green wrote at all from Columbia under any modification or arrangement, was merely to shew that he transmitted information to Mr. Burr of the progress of his mission. Whether, therefore, that information was directed to Mr. Burr or not under cover to Mr. Swartwout, or not directed to him at all, is immaterial to the main point, provided Mr. Burr received that information through a confidential channel. And that he did, is not nor cannot be denied. Mr. Swartwout was the medium between Mr. Green and Mr. Burr, and thus Mr. Burr obtained the requisite information from Mr. Green.—Mr. Swartwout regularly conveyed Mr. Green's letters to Mr. Burr.

Third. Mr. Swartwout communicated for publication in the AMERICAN CITIZEN an *affidavit* which was duly noticed by the Editors. In this he *denies* that Mr. Green wrote letters to Mr. Burr wrapt in covers directed to himself. But as he takes care not to touch the chief point, as he does not say that he did not receive letters from Mr. Green and carry them slyly and carefully to Mr. Burr, the affidavit is of no avail.

Fourth. Mr. Burr's denial of the negotiation with the federal party. It is unnecessary to say any thing on this disavowal here. The following letters will abundantly shew that he has endeavoured to *betray* his party, and that the declarations contained in his letter to Governor Bloomfield, *are not entitled to belief.*

If, then, after so severe a trial even the *subordinate* facts contained in the two pamphlets are found unassailable, is Gov. Bloomfield justified in denominating the "Narrative" and the "View" *anonymous calumnies?*

lington, in September, 1800, wherein I stated your services in the field and in the cabinet, and recommended you for Vice-President, is not forgotten; & these circumstances have occasioned more enquiries of me respecting the calumnies against you, than would otherwise have been made.

I have no other apology to offer for this intrusion, than to assure you that it proceeds from motives founded in patriotism, and in that cordial friendship which has ever subsisted between us.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew the assurances of my respect and esteem; and that I am,

Most truly, your Friend,

ROBERT BLOOMFIELD.

*The Hon. Aaron Burr, Vice-President }
of the United States. }*

ANSWER.

NEW-YORK, Sept. 21, 1802.

DEAR SIR,

You are at liberty to declare from me, that all those charges and insinuations which aver or intimate that I advised or countenanced the opposition made to Mr. Jefferson pending the late election and balloting for President; that I proposed or agreed to any terms with the federal party, or with any individual of either party; that I assented to be held up in opposition to him, or attempted to *withdraw* [with-hold] from him the vote or support of any man, whether in or out of Congress; that ALL SUCH ASSERTIONS ARE FALSE AND GROUNDLESS.

I *have* [had] not thought that calumny, unsupported by proof, or *the authority of a name*, could so far receive at-

tention from the public as to require an answer, or even a denial: yet if you shall imagine that any declaration from me can be necessary to remove doubts from the mind of one honest man, you may consider this letter as submitted to your discretion, to publish if you shall think proper.

Accept, I pray you, my thanks for your friendly solicitude, and assurances of the highest respect and consideration with which I am,

Your obedient servant,

A. BURR.

His Excellency Gov. Bloomfield.

To Aaron Burr, Esq.

LETTER 1.

“Appearances justify suspicion: and when the safety of a nation is at stake, suspicion is just ground of enquiry.”

JUNIUS.

SIR,

We make no apology for addressing these letters to you. Between Citizen and Citizen none is necessary. We approach the office you fill with that diffidence a proper respect for public opinion inspires. Nature sometimes makes fit and visible distinctions between an office and the incumbent. Your case is an admonitory instance of this kind. Considering ourselves, as it respects *character*, not inferior to you; viewing your conduct, which forms the subject of these letters, as that of a mere citizen, we offer no apology for them. We shall treat you with respect because of your office; with decency because you are a

man. Your answer to the letter of Governor Bloomfield, has rendered these letters necessary.

You have at length pierced through the fable cloud in which you have been so long and so conveniently enveloped, and exhibited yourself before your fellow-citizens on *an important accusation* preferred against you in the "View of your Political Conduct." It is not unknown to us that you have for some months been endeavouring to appear before the public in an attitude essentially different from the one in which we now behold you. No pains, no exertions, no importunities have been spared to enable you to appear in your defence supported by testimony other than your own. Your efforts were not crowned with correspondent success. In this, were you an innocent man, you would be an object of commiseration; your guilt, however, was the cause of your failure. Your refined arts failed in the production of their wished-for and wanted success. The testimony of two respected Clergymen in this city, which you solicited in a manner not honorable to yourself, to contradict a statement in the "View" respecting your negotiation with the federalists pending the Presidential election, was peremptorily refused. You felt and manifested all that mortification which, in *your* situation, so prompt and manly a repulse was calculated to excite. This shall be explained in its proper place.

You deny the *capital* charge exhibited against you in the "View." If we mistake not you will regret this timidity before we take our leave of you. You carefully abstain, however, from disavowing the *general charges* brought against you in the "Narrative" and the "View." You simply declare that you *did not enter into the negotiations*

mentioned with the federalists, nor make use of any arts to “withdraw” from Mr. Jefferson the vote or support of any man. The other charges contained in the “View,” and which are of a highly important nature, you leave untouched. Your denial of the *principal* charge was to have been expected. It imputes to you such a depth of wickedness, such unheard of treachery, that few men could believe you would either sanction it by your silence or confirm it by your pen. Your negative declaration can have but little effect. It is not usual for men voluntarily to acknowledge offences which would at once strip them of every title to respect, and render them odious to their fellow-citizens. Those who best know you will not implicitly believe your denial; and those who know you least will *enquire* before they accredit it.

We ask for no more than this enquiry; we solicit only a candid and patient hearing. We have accused you of offences, which ought, if you are guilty of them, to *banish you forever from the affections of ALL parties, but especially the REPUBLICAN*. That you are guilty of those acts which we have laid to your charge, we shall, in the course of these letters, notwithstanding your denial, endeavour to prove by the testimony of men respectable for their years, their approved good standing in society, and for their talents. It, however, best comports with our views first to give a general historic sketch of your political conduct, and then to offer proof in contradiction to your denial.—We therefore, a second time, beg the reader to accompany us with attention through our remarks. The subject is important; it involves the dearest interests of the commu-

nity. We shall pursue you with diligence and care thro' your various windings. We shall note you when

- “ Often on the brink of some discovery
 “ You stood tottering, yet still kept your ground
 “ So well, that the busiest searches ne'er could follow
 “ Those subtle tracts which puzzled all suspicion.”

L E T T E R II.

“ The eminence of your station gave you a commanding prospect of your duty. The road, which led to honor, was open to your view. You could not lose it by mistake, and you had no temptation to depart from it by design.”

JUNIUS.

SIR,

JUNIUS had a character like yours in his “mind’s eye” when he penned the above lines. They are descriptive of your conduct and your station. The “road which led” to “*honor*” was indeed before you; but it suited not the wayward disposition of your mind to march with fidelity to it. The first function of the Republic tempted your ambition, and, pursuing the Jusuitical maxim that the end will justify the means, you grasped at the prize before it had been awarded to you by your country. You rose in the political world without merit; the elevated object was indeed seen, but the cause of the exaltation was inscrutable. Your adventitious fame stood not on solid ground. It was splendid only when viewed at a distance: it yielded to the touch of investigation. There is no point in your character on which a reflecting mind can rest with satisfaction.

Strip you of the false glare with which you are surrounded, and we pronounce that, since the revolutionary war, there is not an action of your life that has been eminently useful to your country. Like the appendages of a kite, you ascended with the well-earned fame of others. He who will examine your character will be astonished at your elevation. What is there in it that entitles you to the confidence of the people? What are your claims? In what have you distinguished yourself as a statesman? As a politician you have been wavering and inconstant. You have veered with every gale that promised you a harbour to gratify your boundless ambition. Fickle in disposition, you have shifted with every adverse blast. Emphatically, you have been "all things to all men." The federalists have viewed you as an enemy in the republican camp. We shall shew that they were not mistaken. They well understood your character. To the **REPUBLICANS**, until lately, it has been enveloped in mystery. Sir, you never distinguished yourself as a **WRITER**. Your inelegant letter to Governor Bloomfield abundantly proves that you are ignorant even of the art of composition. The public have no hold of you—you have given them no pledge—you appear intangible. Yet with all your art to conceal your defects, with all your cunning to undermine public opinion and set at naught the very **SUFFRAGE** of the **COMMONWEALTH**, we have grappled you! We hold you fast, nor shall you escape. We will "drag you to the altar of public opinion;" and, when we have done this our duty,

call on our fellow-citizens, in language too impressive to be resisted, to perform theirs.

Permit us now, Sir, to sketch your political likeness, and be patient while we perform the irksome task. Every prominent feature shall be noticed, that the LEADING one, which you renounce, may be recognized as your own.

You filled in the revolutionary army a subordinate post, from which you retired long before the close of the war. From the restoration of peace to the year 1789, you were so little heard of in the world that it may be said you died a political death. Nor was the trump of the federal constitution sufficient to raise you up from your torpid state. To the importance of the time, you were listless; to the eloquence of our wise men, immovable. The chords of your heart refused to vibrate in unison with the shouts of the most important and joyful period the world ever beheld. This is a trait in your character difficult to delineate. If you were *then* AMBITIOUS, there was room enough to gratify it. If PATRIOTIC, your country called and freedom demanded your exertions. But if you were neither ambitious nor patriotic, you acted consistently in folding your arms and resisting every kind emotion in favour of your country.

In 1789 you made your first appearance on our political theatre. Here we should imagine you would have taken your political ground. Hence it is important to contemplate the commencement of your career. You first attached yourself to the *federal* party, and acted with

them with zeal and energy. You arrayed yourself in opposition to that sound patriot and eminent statesman Melancton Smith, and those with whom he had uniformly acted. You were a coadjutor of General Hamilton, and united with him in federal committees to oppose the election of governor Clinton. This was your first stand. But from the federal party you had no hopes of gratifying your ambition: Like Cæsar, but without his talents, you would rather be the "first in a village than the second in Rome." The superior lustre of Hamilton, an orb of inferior magnitude, threw a shade on your character. You were jealous of the high estimation in which he was held by the federalists. And no sooner was it ascertained, after an election uncommonly contested, that the republicans were predominant in the state, than you abandoned the *federal* and attached yourself to the *republican* party. This transition was viewed at the time by the enlightened men of both parties, as the effect of jealousy on the one hand and unwarrantable ambition on the other. You were in hopes that the republican party would fondly embrace you, and gratify your ambition by conferring upon you an *office*.

You were gratified. In the year 1791, the seat of General Schuyler in the federal senate became vacant. General Schuyler is the father-in-law of General Hamilton, and is known to have aided, if he did not first recommend, the English funding system, which General Hamilton, with so little wisdom but much zeal, proposed to Congress when secretary of the treasury. Your jealousy of General Hamilton afterwards ripened into implacable hatred. You aspired to fill the vacant seat in the senate,

and found means to intimate your wishes to the state legislature, which was then *republican*. General Schuyler's predilection for the funding system, rendered him deservedly unpopular with our state legislature, and this dislike of the father-in-law naturally extended to the son, who was of the two the more mischievous instrument. Your hatred of Hamilton and the cause of it were not unknown to the Legislature; you were therefore deemed a proper person to oppose his funding and other ruinous measures. Still were your principles suspected; for although you had attached yourself to the republican party, your fidelity to the cause was doubted. After, however, assurances had been received from yourself that you would support in the federal senate republican measures, you were appointed to fill the vacant seat.

Here, Sir, you "rose like a rocket." In 1788 you were unknown in the political world. In 1789 you appeared in opposition to the republican party; and in 1791 you found yourself in the Senate of the United States, and owed your elevation to a *republican* Legislature. You were the mere child of Fortune. You had done nothing to merit the distinguished honor. You had neither manifested talents nor consistency. You had given no pledge superior to a promise, and that promise was "as a broken reed."

LETTER III.

“ The more he protested, the more his countrymen thought he dissembled, accounting his *seeming* integrity to be but a *cunning* face of falsehood.

SIDNEY.

WE never witnessed so much anxiety in the public mind as is now manifest respecting the controversy between the friends of the administration and the Vice-President. There are but few persons even in this city, who think Mr. Burr innocent of the charges exhibited against him in the “View of his Political Conduct.”—All, however, are solicitous to be furnished with *proof* of his *guilt*. In DUE TIME *as full and complete proof SHALL be laid before the public as the case will admit of*. Patience is recommended to our friends, and we promise them it shall not be abused. Our mode of handling the subject has been adopted on mature reflection, and in the sequel will be found satisfactory. We wish to lay before our country subscribers a faithful sketch of Mr. Burr’s political character. Of this, little has been said in our paper, and of near seven hundred subscribers for the Watch Tower, it is believed not more than fifty have read the “View.” It is proper that so large and respectable a body of *republicans* should be made acquainted with the character of the Vice-President previous to laying proof of his offences before them. On all hands the subject is allowed to be of immense interests to the country, and a knowledge of it should be equal to its importance. Our *Cits* ought to remember that if *they* are acquainted with the intrigues of

Mr. Burr, the union at large is not; that if *they* are ripe for *proof* of his *guilt*, our fellow-citizens in the country have not had the same opportunities to acquire the previous requisite information.

It is our intention, and we will not permit ourselves to be diverted from it, to unfold the prominent intrigues of the Vice-President. When this is done it will then be apparent that those machinations with which he is charged, which he has denied, and of which we shall offer satisfactory testimony, are consistent with his general character. Seeing, therefore, as our fellow-citizens no doubt do, the importance of the subject, we ask for nothing more than permission to manage it in such a way as to produce, in our opinion, the greatest possible good. In this stage of the business we do not think it proper to go farther than to say that, *in direct opposition to Mr. Burr's denial*, WE WILL PROVE THE NEGOCIATION AS STATED IN THE "VIEW." Let this be remembered, and for the present suffice.

We resume the subject of Mr. Burr's character.

We stated, Sir, at the close of our second letter, that you were elected a federal senator for this state at a period when you had not performed a single act which distinguished you either as a man of talents, or political probity. That "in 1788, you were unknown in the political world. In 1789, you made your first appearance in *opposition* to the *Republican* party; and in 1791, two years only after your first entrance into political life, you found

yourself in the Senate of the United States, and owed your election to a *republican* legislature."

You felt no gratitude to the Republicans for this signal act of unmerited munificence. Although raised to so elevated an office by a magnanimous party, the supreme object of your adoration was *yourself*. Every step of your political life has been marked more by *cunning* than by *wisdom*. Instead of attaching yourself with zeal and sincerity to that party from whose bounteous hand you had received in advance the distinguished honor you enjoyed, you were wrapped up in *selfishness*, and looked forward only to the accomplishment of unwarrantable designs.— But your views were too boundless for your talents, and in grasping at the whole you overlooked the means necessary to secure a part. If the ultimate point of your ambition was the Presidency, your wavering department was ill calculated to attain it. The Federal party could have no confidence in so versatile a genius, and those of the Republican who watched your motions could not but suspect your views.

In 1792, one year after your Senatorial appointment, the election for Governor of this state recurred. Here, with that art and dissimulation which have accompanied you through life, and which you played off so admirably at the late Presidential election, you sily offered yourself a candidate to the Federal party. You thus early aspired to the seat of the state government. You first tried stratagems, in the invention of which you are so fruitful, to get yourself

nominated, by the party to whom you had attached yourself, in opposition to the Republican Candidate agreed upon, but finding the Republicans were not so fond of you as you were of yourself, your friends, few in number and with your consent, very *modestly* tendered your services to the *federal* party. From them, also, you met with a repulse. They had no confidence in the man! who, for an office, attached himself to the *Republican* party, and who, in one year after his ambitious desire was gratified, made overtures to join the *Federal* party for one of a *higher* grade. The Federalists nominated Mr. Jay, and *then* with your *usual* diffidence, you formally declined being considered a candidate! [See Greenleaf's paper, February 29th, 1792.]

Your character, Sir, is visible in all your walks. Your convenient temper in the year 1792, comports with your accommodating disposition at the Presidential election of 1800. In 1792, you manifested a willingness to abandon your party for the office of Governor of the State. In 1800, as we shall prove, you negotiated to SELL your party to attain the Presidency of the United States! You have always been the same intriguer—the same selfish mortal—the same aspiring genius. Stability is not nor was it ever an attribute of your character.

In 1792, as in 1800, you worked with “ropes and pulleys.” You continued behind the curtain, and was seen to peep through it only by those who kept their eyes steadfastly upon you. Your agents were then as visible as now. The farce of your *declining* to be considered a candidate, when you had found that neither the Republicans nor Fe-

deralists would take you up, was acted at a secret conference held with you at Princeton, New-Jersey, by a few of your friends, and accordingly with great pomp and formality announced to the public.

You were not disheartened by your defeat. You still kept your eye on the Governorship of the state. The rejection by the federalists of the proffer of your services in 1792, convinced you that you had nothing to expect from them. Your hopes were now centered in the Republican party; and you were sensible that unless the then Governor could be persuaded to resign, and make an early announcement of his intention to do so, you had no chance for success. To this point you directed your attention. Intrigues were set on foot but to no purpose. Your agents and yourself were every where busy. Misrepresentations were industriously circulated. Three of your friends in this city presumptuously wrote a circular letter to various influential republican characters in the state, representing the necessity of the Governor's declining. The selfish design was, however, generally perceived. In every movement you were visible, and measures were accordingly taken to defeat your machinations. The Governor's ill health rendered his resignation necessary for his own comfort, but he very prudently took care not to announce his intention to resign until a late period. After his resignation was proclaimed, your friends, composed of Federalists and Republicans, were as busy as bees; their buz was heard throughout the city. A meeting of forty representatives and other influential gentlemen was held to nominate a candidate for the office of Governor. This was the feat

of action for your *friends*. They cut, however, but a sorry figure. Of the forty votes, you had only six! Judge Yates was the Republican candidate agreed upon.

This gentleman you supported for the office of Governor in the year 1789—when you were on the Federal side—with great zeal and activity. It was expected that you could do no less in the year 1794, when you professed yourself to be a Republican. But no, you were a disappointed man; you wished to have been nominated yourself in the room of Judge Yates, and as you could gain nothing by the election, you resolved to take no active part in favor of your successful rival. “If you could do nothing for yourself, you would do nothing for the party to whom you were *professedly* attached.” You were neutral; you retired fullen to your closet, and viewed the contest with perfect indifference.

In this state of listlessness you continued until the end of your Senatorship, March 3d, 1797.

L E T T E R I V .

SIR,

THIS year (1797) you were a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. Your claims in that office were founded on a general ignorance of your real character. You had done nothing to merit the distinction. You were hardly known in the country. Your pretensions were rather a subject of ridicule than of serious import. You were

suspected too, of having tampered with some of the federal party in our state legislature. It is believed, on good authority, that Mr. John Bird and Mr. Thomas Morris were in your interest, and it was contemplated, and in fact attempts were made, to hold up a ticket of federal electors, two of whom, *pointed out by yourself*, it was expected would, from a mutual interchange of good offices; and a presumed congeniality of sentiment, vote for you: As an evidence of your intrigue on this subject, at that period, the reader is referred to the Journals of the Assembly, which, to any one acquainted with the persons then in the Legislature, will sufficiently indicate it. You were, however, as was to have been expected, unsuccessful. Of the one hundred and thirty-eight votes for President and Vice-President, you had only *thirty*. Those who knew you doubted your attachment to the republican cause, and those who knew you not were not likely to give you their support. Some of the electors supported you from a hope that in company with Mr. Jefferson you could do no essential injury to the cause. Your subsequent conduct has evinced that this was a mistaken notion.

During your senatorship, you signalized yourself by one act only of magnanimity and firmness. You opposed the ratification of the British treaty. For this solitary act we give you full credit. It is the more deserving of particular notice as it stands alone.

In the same year (1797) you were elected a member of the State Assembly for this city. Here, Sir, your conduct was suspicious. To those of the party to whom you at

tached yourself, and who had conferred upon you all your political honours, your deportment was supercilious; to the adverse party pliant and ambiguous.—You were inattentive to your duty as a Legislator. You were rarely found in your seat but when some *bridge law*, or some such scheme, was before the house, and which was principally designed to feather the nests of a few favorites. To these things you were ever attentive. To whatsoever, indeed, had a tendency, in your opinion, to benefit *yourself*, you were never indifferent. But where any great principle was concerned, whenever a salutary blow was to be struck in favor of the cause of freedom, you were either not to be found in your place, or stood there tottering in your shoes. There is only one exception to these remarks; and that is on the question of the Massachusetts amendment to the federal constitution, principally aimed at Mr. Gallatin. On that proposition you made an elaborate and ingenious speech. You did yourself much credit; but you risked nothing. The amendment was odious in the sight of the republicans, and not very popular with the federalists in the Assembly. There was a known majority against it.

Your conduct was very different on the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions. On them you displayed no energy; no eloquence. You appeared uninterested in the issue of the momentous question; you were indifferent to its fate. You voted in favor of them it is true, but you scarcely spoke in their defence. There was a majority of federalists in the Assembly against them, and this, instead of exciting you to correspondent exertions, sealed your lips. The resolutions were censured fifty to forty-three.

This *trimming* conduct did not pass without notice. It was attributed to that *prudent* policy which, while it led not to an immediate rupture with your own party, had a tendency to conciliate the affections of the opposite sect in your favor. It had the desired effect; and their sense of your general conduct manifested itself at the Presidential contest in the House of Representatives. They viewed you as a seeker of power under a false exterior; as being secretly with them.

But though you were indifferent to these great national questions, you were ever attentive to those which promised a gratification of your desires. You devoted, without intermission, six months to the act to incorporate the Manhattan company. Here, no exertion on your part was wanting; you were not indifferent. From this you not only expected to derive forty or fifty thousand dollars, which it is said you actually made by the institution, but you anticipated a rich harvest of popularity from both parties, whom you took good care to interest in it. These were objects sufficient to command your serious attention, to animate your endeavours. They did so. The first was the principal cause of your exertion, the second an object not unwelcome to a man of your unbounded ambition. The act to incorporate the Manhattan company, your celebrated scheme for the erection of a new office to superintend the exaction of *eschets*, and a new insolvent bill—in all which you were *personally* interested—commanded your principal attention while in the State Legislature. To questions of national moment, you were in a great measure listless; to your party, generally contumelious. While you were eagerly pursuing projects of personal aggrandizement, you seem to have had neither the wisdom, prudence, nor suavity necessary for its attainment.

To your closet friends, you were bland ; to the community at large, your deportment was forbidding.

Such has been your conduct in and out of office from the year 1788 to the year 1800 ; conduct that exhibits neither talents, probity nor consistency. There is nothing in it to admire, nothing to applaud, but much to condemn. It manifests all that low cunning peculiar to little minds. It is neither useful nor magnanimous.

L E T T E R V.

“ A great man, in the success and even in the magnitude of his crimes, finds a rescue from contempt.”

JUNIUS.

SIR,

WE have followed your footsteps from your first political walks in the year 1789 to the year 1800. The journey, Sir, has been unpleasant to ourselves but to the country we hope not unprofitable. In every step we have advanced, we have beheld you, like a Proteus, transforming yourself with facility into shapes adapted to your various passions and projects. AMBITION, as we have seen, has been the spring to every political act of your life, and you have pursued it with the constancy of time and a zeal that no adversity could mitigate. In the pursuit of this haunting spectre of your mind, you have not been scrupulous about the means you have used to attain the supreme object of your heart, the chief magistracy of the union. Ambition, regulated by legitimate desires, is not only laudable, but conducive to public freedom and national magnanimity. But that ambition, Sir, that seeks, by art and corruption, to set at naught the *combined sus-*

frages of the commonwealth, to sap the foundation of the state, is more destructive than a pestilence. Of this nature is *your* AMBITION. Sir, you have not only nestled and profecuted with uncommon zeal and activity this alarming passion, but lo! when your ambitious projects were happily discovered and unfolded to your countrymen, you had that effeminate boldness, the very image of a desperate character, to disavow them. You have affixed your seal to a denial that you *negociated with the federalists to disappoint the Country of the man of its choice, and place yourself in the executive chair*. That denial, Sir, will seal your fate! We will, in a few days, prove that in this, as in every other act of your political life, you have sought to deceive your country. Let it be repeated that, in the year 1788, you were a *federalist*. Jealousy, ambition, and disappointment caused you to leave a party from whom you found nothing was to be gained. You left that party and attached yourself to the republican. From the republican party you obtained many favors. In 1790, one year only after you took a transient leave of the federalists, you were appointed by the *republicans* Attorney-General of the state, and in the year 1791, a federal Senator. Honors were heaped profusely upon you without any merit on your own. In 1792, one year after your senatorial appointment, you abdicated your *republican* friends, and tendered your services to the *federalists* for the chair of the State Government. In these mutations we perceive your genuine character; that character in which you appeared--to those who had their eyes rivetted upon you, at the Presidential election.—At this

election you offered your services to the federalists, in the same sly and secret manner, to obtain the Presidency. In this, therefore, when your character is properly understood, there is nothing marvellous. It is only a continuation of the same thing; it comports with your uniform conduct.

Your activity was uniformly apportioned to your selfishness. You were never active but when you had personal favors to expect. At the election for Governor in 1792, after the federalists refused to accept you as their candidate, you were not to be seen and scarcely to be heard of. In 1795, when the republicans made choice of Judge Yates in preference to yourself, you retired in dudgeon, and neither moved your lips nor lifted your pen in favor of his election. In 1796, you rendered no assistance to the republicans at the election for Assembly-men. In 1797, you manifested some concern for, and contributed your might to the success of, the republican ticket; but let it be remembered, that you were that year a candidate for the Assembly! In 1798, the darkest period the union has seen since the revolution, you neither appeared at the republican meetings, nor at the polls; you neither planned in the cabinet nor acted in the field. If you were then eloquent, it was the eloquence of the grave. At that portentous period, when the greatest exertions were necessary, you manifested none. In 1799 you were still in your shell: You were neither seen at the ward assemblies nor on the election ground. But in 1800, you were all activity, all zeal. Every ligament of your frame was brought into action. You de-

voted night and day to the success of the Republican ticket. You attended all our meetings, and harangued the assembled citizens at most. You even stood at the polls and challenged voters. All this was admired, since, without looking at the motive, it was serviceable. We give you full credit for your zeal and activity on the occasion, especially as it was the *first time* you exhibited either. But even here you were the same man. You were *peculiarly* interested in the success of the election. You knew that you would be candidate for the Vice-Presidency, and you, with the country at large, were of opinion that the success of the Presidential election depended principally on our triumph in that of our city. You had made nice calculations on this subject, and very clearly foresaw the necessity for herculean exertions. Accordingly you were all animation. You were first at the meetings, first at the polls. While our citizens applauded your conduct, they were ignorant of your motives : they knew little of your real character : it had been carefully enveloped in mystery. Like theirs, they fondly imagined that *your* zeal and industry were the effect of pure and disinterested patriotism. Alas ! Sir, they knew you not.

LETTER VI.

SIR,

We are now arrived at that important period when it becomes necessary to take a more critical view of your intrigues.

We were triumphant in our city election of 1800, and that triumph secured the elevation of Mr. Jefferson and yourself. Congress was then in session, and before its adjournment it was necessary to nominate two republican candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President. The Republicans with one voice were, from one extreme of the union to the other, in favor of Mr. Jefferson for the former ; they thought, indeed, of no other man for it ; in him their hopes were centered. There was some difficulty however in chusing a proper person for the office of Vice-Presidency. The members of Congress made choice of Governor Clinton, but he declined the offer. While the choice of a candidate for the Vice-Presidency was thus suspended, you visited Philadelphia, where Congress were then met, associated with the members, and conversed with them on the subject. It was deemed proper that the Vice-President should come from New-York, and you were ultimately agreed upon as the candidate. Mr. Jefferson however was the supreme object of the election ; *you* were brought in *only* to complete the republican system.

No sooner were you nominated than you set in motion a most refined and extensive system of intrigue. Your mind embraced the union, and you had agents in many of the states to promote your views. In this there was something exceedingly suspicious. Why these agents if your designs were honest ? The compensation of the Vice-Presidency could have been no temptation to you. One year's salary of that office would hardly defray the expenses of your

numerous agents scattered over the union to further your ambitious projects. You had undoubtedly a higher object in view ; you had fixed your eyes on the Presidency, and adapted your machinations to its attainment. The salary of the Vice-Presidency could have been no adequate inducement to you to quit a profession which yielded double the annual amount ; and every body knows that you depended on that profession for subsistence. The sequel of the sad tale will shew that, to you, even thus early, the Presidency, in direct opposition to the unequivocal wishes and expectations of the people, appeared an attainable object. All your intrigues, all your movements, subsequent to your nomination, tended directly to its attainment.

The state of New-York was *your* theatre of action, and the choice of the electors commanded all your care. When these were chosen you were a member of the State Assembly for the county of Orange : the choice was made by the State Legislature. On this occasion you were all vigor and activity. You were solicitous for the appointment of one of your bosom friends, and you were eventually gratified. The electors met at Hudson. Suspicions however had gone abroad that some foul play was intended. The period was a critical one, and suspicion, whether well or ill-founded, naturally excited precaution. The method of voting by ballot, though excellent in itself, is admirably calculated to conceal treason. It was necessary, therefore, for one or two of the electors, whose suspicions were lively, and who had conversed on their mutual doubts, to devise

a plan whereby the vote of each might be seen by the whole, without giving offence to any. This was done in the following manner :

General Floyd was made chairman. Pierre Van Courtlandt, Esq. sat accidentally at the table next to the pen, ink and paper. This gentleman was requested by one of the electors to write him a ticket for Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. Whether Mr. Van Courtlandt took the hint or not we cannot say ; but he very readily fell into the measure, wrote one for himself, and shewed it to the electors. He was then asked by General Floyd to write him a similar ticket : he did so. This was repeated by a third elector, and so on until in this way Mr. Van Courtlandt wrote nearly the whole of the electoral tickets. If one of the electors entertained improper designs, this method, to all appearances inadvertently adopted, was well calculated to defeat them. Every ticket was seen by the electors.

Time has shewn the wisdom of the precaution. One of the electors, † nominated by Mr. Burr in the legislature, afterwards said, at the house of the Mayor of Hudson, that if he could have known that Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr would have had an equal number of votes, he would have dropped Mr. Jefferson ! We state this fact on unquestionable authority. Lest, however, an inference unfavorable to the Mayor of Hudson, should be drawn from the simple fact of the expression having been used at his house, it is deemed proper to say, that that gen-

† *Mr. Lespinard.*

tleman is and always was a warm and sincere friend of Mr. Jefferson.

Such is the fact from which the reader will make his own inference, Let it be added, Sir, that the elector is now *devoted* to you, and *unfriendly* to the administration.

After the electoral affairs were fixed to your mind in New-York, you visited Connecticut and Rhode-Island. You returned from Rhode-Island with the most flattering accounts. You stated that there was every probability that Mr. Jefferson would have one if not two of the votes of that state, and yourself none ! This, Sir, we repeat, was flattering, since there was not, we will venture to say, a *faithful* Republican in the union who wished that equality of votes which was afterwards deplored : it was hoped that Mr. Jefferson would have one or two votes more than yourself to avoid an appeal to the decision of the House of Representatives. It is known that Mr. Jefferson had not *one* of the Rhode-Island votes ; nor was there any probability that he would have. But you had an object to accomplish by the report. You wished an equality of votes, without which you could do nothing ; and you were afraid that a southern state would omit your name on one or two votes, if the electors thereof were not induced to believe that a state east of the Hudson would give Mr. Jefferson one vote at least more than yourself. Hence you not only propagated that report yourself, but your confidential friends were also busily employed in writing letters to the southern states, representing it as certain that Mr. Jefferson would have two votes in Rhode-Island and yourself none. We could mention the names

of persons who wrote such letters ; but as they are now seemingly repentant it would be improper.

By such arts, an equality of electoral votes was effected. It was desirable to prevent the election of a federalist to the Vice-Presidency ; and it was known that if many votes were diverted from you, one of the federal candidates must succeed. It was enough therefore for the southern states to be assured, by persons whose infidelity to the cause was unknown and unsuspected, that Mr. Jefferson would have two votes more than yourself to the eastward of the North-River. They were taught to believe this, and the consequence of the intrigue was that eventually you had an equality of votes with Mr. Jefferson.

LETTER VII.

SIR,

AFTER your return from Connecticut and Rhode-Island, you turned your attention to the southern states. It is not necessary to describe the situation of Pennsylvania respecting the Presidential election ; it is well known. The pertinacity of the "Spartan Band" was regretted by no man more than yourself.—Had the fifteen votes of that respectable state been republican, you had cause to believe your election to the Presidency would have been certain. You were then, as you are now, exceedingly intimate with Mr. Dayton. This intimacy partook at that time as it does now, more of affectionate cordiality, and was cemented by more mutual good offices, than are generally to be found among gentlemen of oppo-

site political sentiments. Your connection had, as it now has, a suspicious aspect. General Dayton declared since the election, that if all the votes of Pennsylvania had been republican, it was a fixed plan for New-Jersey to give you as many votes as would have made you President. We have this important fact from authority that we cannot doubt. And who that witnessed the contest in the House of Representatives will question the existence of such a project? If the entire of the Pennsylvania votes had been given to Mr. Jefferson and yourself, federal opposition would have ceased; the federalists could have had no hopes of success. They would have endeavored to effect that by *rap* which they could not achieve by numbers. They would, even according to General Dayton, have resorted to that expedient "to counteract the wishes and expectations of the people" which eventually in the House of Representatives they embraced. They were determined to go all lengths to prevent the election of Mr. Jefferson.

In the full knowledge of that project you had an agent at Lancaster, the seat of government of Pennsylvania, to do every thing in his power to hasten it. This agent went from your house, he is one of your confidential friends, he was furnished by you with letters of recommendation, and in turn, there is reason to believe, he sent you dispatches detailing the success of his mission. We had said that we believed *his* views were honest; we now repeat the assertion; but this makes him not a jot the less your agent;

it only acquits *him*, in our estimation, of *collusion* with yourself. But his agency was unproductive. No impression could be made on the *federal* members of the Pennsylvania senate. The modern was more successful than the ancient Spartan Band. The *British minister* was there ! and the federalists triumphed in their iniquity.

Meantime, Sir, you had your eye on South-Carolina. You had an agent, Mr. Timothy Greene of this city, at Columbia, the seat of government of that state. It was questionable whether South-Carolina would give you a single vote. At that period you were scarcely known in the state. Mr. Greene was at Columbia at least two months. He was your eulogist ; your intercessor. He sent dispatches regularly ; they were addressed to Mr. John Swartwout of this city under cover, and by him communicated to you. At length eight *republican* electors were chosen ; and as they imagined that no harm could result to the country from your rising to power with Mr. Jefferson, they voted for you in company with this illustrious statesman.

The South-Carolina votes completed the equality, and those who had dreaded an appeal to the House of Representatives now became alarmed. The plots of the federalists were well known ; their desperation and vindictiveness not less so. We had every thing to fear from their machinations, and nothing to hope from their justice.

On the 16th day of December, 1800, information from your agent, Mr. Greene, was received in this city detailing

the names of the South-Carolina electors, and stating, unequivocally, that previous to their appointment, they were pledged to vote for Mr. Jefferson and yourself. This rendered our knowledge of the equality of votes between Mr. Jefferson and yourself as certain as if known by official announcement. The mail that brought the letter from Mr. Greene, and which was published in this city on the 16th day of December, it is presumable, brought you the same information, and from the same person. Hence it may be inferred that on the 16th day of December you were certain that the electoral votes between Mr. Jefferson and yourself were *equal*. Yet on *the same day* you wrote your celebrated epistle to General Samuel Smith of Baltimore, in which you say, we believe contrary to the information received by you from Mr. Greene, and on which you undoubtedly relied, "It is highly *improbable* that I shall have an equal number of votes with Mr. Jefferson." The following is your letter to General Smith. It is peculiarly proper at this time to give it circulation.

"*Extract of a letter from Colonel Burr to General Smith of Baltimore, dated New-York, December 16th, 1801.*"

"It is highly improbable that I shall have an equal number of votes with Mr. Jefferson: but if such should be the result, every man who knows me ought to know that I would utterly disclaim all competition. Be assured that the federal party can entertain no wish for such an exchange. As to my friends, they would dishonor my views and insult my feelings, by a suspicion that I would submit to be instrumental in counteracting the wishes and expectations of the United States. And I now constitute you my proxy to *declare these sentiments*, if the occasion shall require."

This letter, which gave *no* authority to General Smith to publish it, but which he very properly did, afforded some satisfaction at the time to those who thought you a *faithful* politician. But, Sir, if you had meant it for publication, and in fact and with sincerity to "disclaim all competition with Mr. Jefferson," it was of a nature so equivocal as to be inefficacious. Had you "really meant to disclaim all competition with Mr. Jefferson," there is one way, which must have been obvious to yourself at the time, in which you might have done so effectually. You ought, Sir, to have said "it is evidently the wish of the people to place Mr. Jefferson at the head of the government; and it is probable, from the usual conduct of the federalists, that, to disappoint the people, they may attempt to place the administration in my hands. I should cordially condemn so improper an act. I will never accept it from them. Should they by menace or by intrigue, by force or by fraud, be enabled to commit the executive power to my guidance, I *will instantly resign it to him to whom the people have exclusively allotted it.* I will accept no office contrary to their will."

But, Sir, it did not exactly suit your views to be thus explicit. You *did* mean to "counteract the wishes and expectations of the people," it shall be our business to prove this in our next letter.

LETTER VIII.

“ The Minister, who by secret corruption invades the freedom of election, and the ruffian, who by open violence destroys that freedom, are embarked in the same bottom.”

JUNIUS.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

WE are aware of the importance of the subject in which we have for some time been engaged. We have viewed it in all its aspects, and contemplated all its probable consequences. Since June, 1801, we have perceived something in Mr. Burr and in his acts, that alarmed us. From the first moment our suspicions were excited we watched him attentively until those suspicions ripened unto confirmed belief, that he was pursuing projects dishonorable to himself and unsafe to his country. Nor was this belief predicated on light surmises, or vague report. We *knew* that he possessed sentiments hostile to the executive; a spirit intent on personal aggrandizement, and inflamed by improper desires. And yet, sensible as we were that his conduct was a fit subject for public investigation and disclosure, we could not but foresee that to do either without success would involve us in pecuniary ruin, and draw upon us public disgrace. Had we consulted *personal interest*, we should have beheld in silent but sorrowful amaze the operation of schemes which, in our opinion, were dangerous to the freedom of the country. But unaided and unsupported we resolved, whatever might be the issue, to unfold those plans and assail those actions which appeared to us alike unjust and

alarming. We did not, however, long stand alone ; and we discovered that the more his conduct was examined, the more odious it appeared.

We have entered fully into an examination of his conduct, and found it uniform only in the pursuit of whatever had a tendency to raise himself to power. As a politician, he has been inconstant. In all his transitions from one party to the other, his motives have been apparent. At one period he was a *federalist*, at another a *republican*, as best suited his views, or promised to gratify his inordinate desires. *Ambition* has guided all his steps ; cunning marked his career ; and that laxity of principle which distinguished the Cæsars, the Cromwells, and the Bonapartes of the old world, has been apparent in his walks. In 1789, he left the federalists and joined the republicans for a high office, and was gratified ; and in 1792 he made *secret* overtures to rejoin the federalists for a *higher* office, but was not gratified, which has been established in a former letter. Is it then surprising that, in 1800, a third attempt was covertly made by Mr. Burr, to attach himself to the federal party to compass the Presidency ? In this we perceive a consistency of character ; an uniformity of conduct.

In a late pamphlet, entitled " A View," &c. Mr. Burr is accused with having *negotiated* with a *federal* gentleman to *place himself in the executive chair* at the late presidential election. After a long silence he has thought proper publicly and in the fullest and most unqualified manner, to deny the accusation. The fact is unquestionable, difficult as the proof may be of access. Mr. Burr, however,

and the writer of the "View" are now fairly at issue; and as we know the charge to be well founded, we have voluntarily undertaken to prove it. In doing this it will be proper first to lay the allegation before the reader, and secondly, Mr. Burr's denial.

The accusation is contained in the following words :

" Mr. Burr, while in the city of New-York, carried on a negociation with the heads of the federal party at Washington, with a view to his election as President of the United States. A person was authorised by them to confer with him on the subject, who accordingly did so. Mr. Burr assented to the propositions of the negociator and referred him to his confidential friend to complete the negociation. Mr. Burr stated that after the first vote taken in the House of Representatives, New-York and Tennessee would give in to the federalists."

View, p. 57—8.

Mr. Burr's denial of this charge is couched in the succeeding terms.

" You are at liberty to declare from me, that all those charges and insinuations which aver or intimate that I advised or countenanced the opposition made to Mr. Jefferson pending the late election and balloting for President; that I proposed or agreed to any terms with the federal party; that I assented to be held up in opposition to him, or attempted to withdraw from him the vote or support of any man, whether in or out of Congress; THAT ALL SUCH AS-

“*SERTIONS AND INTIMATIONS ARE FALSE AND GROUNDLESS.*”

Mr. Burr's letter to Governor Bloomfield, dated Sept. 21, 1802.

If Mr. Burr's denial be true he is innocent, *as far as it concerns this capital charge*, and ought to receive from his country a full and entire acquittal; but if guilty, then ought that guilt to seal his political fate and banish him forever from the trust and affections of the people.

Few men believe that Mr. Burr is innocent; many strongly suspect that he is guilty of the charge exhibited, and almost all are of opinion that he has managed the negociation with so much caution, dexterity, and art, as to defy the production of proof. The latter opinion is drawn from the known subtilty of his character, the general secrecy of his movements, and his scrupulous avoidance to commit to writing any thing which may, by possibility of accident, involve him in serious inconveniences. The known care and cunning too of Mr. Burr, it is generally and justly supposed, would be increased in proportion to the iniquity of the transaction, and the consequences likely to result from it to himself in case of a disclosure.—All these considerations, to which Mr. Burr paid suitable attention, and which he no doubt perceived before he embarked in the negociation, render, it is true, the production of proof difficult. And this difficulty becomes augmented when we consider that the negociation took place and was completed solely between Mr. Burr and the federalists, and that it is equally

the interest of both parties to keep it a profound secret. From the nature of the transaction, and the motives and objects of the two contracting parties, proof must be difficult of access, since this proof, it is fair to infer, is exclusively in the possession of Mr. Burr and the federal negotiator. Nor can it be supposed that Mr. Burr would be a self accuser, or that the federalists would be guilty of an act that would inevitably injure their party.— They are sensible that a division exists among the republicans; that this division is occasioned by the machinations of Mr. Burr; that it is propitious to their views, and that to disclose the testimony which would compose those divisions, would injure their party, inasmuch as it would unite the republicans not only against that party, but against the man who has in the most alarming manner attempted to betray their confidence. Mr. Burr, therefore, and the federalists feel every inducement that can possibly exist to keep back the proof. The federal party still hope to profit by Mr. Burr's convenient disposition and to triumph on our division. When these things are considered it will not be surprising if we should fail to lay before our country the fullest and most satisfactory proof of Mr. Burr's negotiation; and although it will not be deemed probable, under all the circumstances of the case, that more than *presumptive* testimony can be adduced, yet we shall prove substantially the negotiation, and that it was entered into by Mr. Burr to effect his election to the Presidential chair.

The following communication is written by a gentleman of unblemished character; one who is a member of the Rev. Mr. Abeel's congregation, and who informs us—and we place the utmost confidence in his information—that the ideas and the language of it are *precisely* those of Mr. Abeel and Dr. Linn; and although its publication is not strictly authorized by Mr. Abeel and Dr. Linn, yet the spirit and the language of it are emphatically their own. Neither of those two gentlemen will contradict in public or in private, the facts stated in the communication. And though Mr. Abeel and Dr. Linn are not pledged to *us* to maintain those facts; although indeed we have not had a personal interview with either, yet they are bound in honor and in truth to support the veracity of him who has been so obliging as to make to us the communication. If it be asked why the communicator does not avow his name, we answer that there is no occasion for such an avowal, since Mr. Abeel and Dr. Linn will not nor cannot contradict the facts it contains. If, however, contrary to expectation, they should contradict or endeavour to weaken those facts, then the communicator is pledged to support them by affidavit. Let it be remembered that Dr. Linn, Mr. Abeel, and the communicator, reside in this city.

New-York, June 25th, 1802.

Gentlemen,

“ Dr. Linn and the Reverend Mr. Abeel of this city
 “ told me, in a conversation I had with them, that they
 “ believed Aaron Burr, Esq. had corresponded with *fede-*

“*ral* members of Congress to get himself elected President of the United States, and that he had agreed to come into their measures. Some time after, I saw Mr. Abeel and he said it was a mistake that Mr. Burr had *corresponded* with *federal* members of Congress, but he had made a *verbal agreement* with them, and that if I wanted an investigation of the business the person was then in town who would prove the fact.”

“Note. I asked Dr. Linn his reason for believing that the correspondence took place? He replied that it could be proved in a court of justice, and Mr. Abeel subjoined that he would vouch for its truth.”

June 26.

“I called on Mr. Abeel this day and told him that I was going to make public what he and Dr. Linn had communicated to me respecting Mr. Burr. Mr. Abeel said that although the agreement which Mr. Burr had made with the federalists, was not told to him as a secret, yet, as the gentleman who was his author *had the character of Mr. Burr in his hands*, he would not perhaps wish his name to be given up without his consent. Mr. Abeel promised to see him between this day and Monday next.”

June 28.

“I called on Mr. Abeel and asked him whether he had seen the gentleman above referred to? He answered no, but that he had considered the subject and did not think his informant would contradict what he had said, but that he was afraid it would produce a duel between him and Mr. Burr. I then told him that I would make public what he had

“ communicated to me. He said, well ! but added that it
 “ might be attended with disagreeable consequences.”

Such is the communication of our friend.

It is probable that Mr. Abeel was made acquainted with the negotiation entered into between Mr. Burr and the *federal* gentleman by the negociator himself ; for so firmly was he persuaded that Mr. Burr had cordially received the negociator and assented to his propositions, that he authorized the gentleman, who communicated to us the above information, to repeat it to Mr. Burr, and to add that Mr. Abeel was his author. The gentleman did not, however, communicate the information to Mr. Burr, but he frankly gave it to us for the use of the writer of the “ View.” Accordingly it was introduced into that work, which Mr. Burr has read. Mr. Abeel and Dr. Linn are the two clergymen mentioned in it, and were generally known as such. Thus situated, Mr. Burr could hardly do less than visit Dr. Linn and Mr. Abeel on the subject. The following facts are also from Dr. Linn and Mr. Abeel, and, like the communication just read, will not be contradicted. After considerable time had elapsed, Mr. Burr sent to Dr. Linn a friend, who asked him to sign a certificate for Mr. Burr. This certificate stated that the information given by Dr. Linn to the gentleman who had communicated it to us for publication in the “ View,” was derived from *common report*. The bearer of the certificate subjoined, that Mr. Burr wished Dr. Linn to do no more than simply to certify that he got his information concerning the negotiation from

common report. Dr. Linn sent for Mr. Abeel to consult him on the subject. Mr. Abeel waited on Dr. Linn accordingly. Dr. Linn in the presence of the bearer of the certificate, asked Mr. Abeel whether he would sign it? Mr. Abeel replied no, Dr. Linn, you cannot; the information we gave of Mr. Burr's negotiation *was not* obtained from *common report.* Dr. Linn then said he could not sign the certificate and the bearer of it took his leave.

Mr. Burr afterwards wrote a note to Dr. Linn requesting a conference with him at his house *alone*—When the note was received, Dr. Linn again sent for Mr. Abeel to confer with him on the solicited interview. Mr. Abeel advised Dr. Linn to avoid a conference with Mr. Burr *alone*, and expressed a readiness to accompany him provided Mr. Burr would receive them together. This was agreed upon, and they accordingly waited on Mr. Burr at *his own house*, where an interview was had in the presence of a gentleman whose name is to us unknown. Mr. Burr addressed himself to Dr. Linn and very politely enquired whether the information stated in the "View" concerning his negotiation with the federalists, and said to have come from two respectable clergymen in this city, was not derived by them from *common report*? Mr. Abeel said no—the information was not derived from *common report.* Dr. Linn coincided with Mr. Abeel. A pause ensued. Mr. Abeel says that he expected Mr. Burr would have immediately enquired "from whom, gentlemen, did you receive the informa-

tion?" but that no such enquiry was made; no such question asked. Mr. Burr manifested no disposition to sift the matter so closely: he enquired no further about it. Mr. Abeel then observed that himself and Dr. Linn had given the information to the gentleman who communicated it to us for publication in the "View" and that they were bound to support his veracity: they were sorry to say any thing against Mr. Burr, &c. Mr. Burr thanked them for their politeness and they retired.

This is a faithful narrative of this singular interview, on which we hope we may be permitted to offer a few remarks.

The extreme sollicitude of Mr. Burr to procure a certificate from Mr. Abeel and Dr. Linn, importing that they had received their information concerning his negotiation with a federal gentleman from common report, plainly indicates a disposition to defend himself against the principal charge exhibited in the "View" in the most conclusive manner. That he has not vindicated himself by *testimony*; that he has not given to the world other and better proof than his own denial of the negotiation, is solely attributable to his incapacity to do more. The charge is of so serious a nature, and, from the known character of Mr. Burr, so probable, as to have induced him to call into action every power of his mind to repel it. Accordingly he availed himself of the only alternative that promised success. Mr. Burr had great reason to believe that Mr. Abeel, if not Dr.

Linn, had been informed of the negotiation by the negociator himself. Still he deemed it *possible* to obtain from them a certificate purporting that *common report* was their authority. Even *such* a certificate would have been consoling to Mr. Burr, and no doubt published with great triumph; and this, knowing, as he did, the connection of Mr. Abeel and Dr. Linn with the negociator, was the *only* one for which he could ask. Hence those gloomy reflections which sealed his lips, when the certificate was in fact twice refused, may be readily accounted for. But why did not Mr. Burr ask, when Mr. Abeel boldly said *we did not* receive the information from *common report*, from whom, then, was it derived? If the monitor within had not proclaimed his guilt, had he not negotiated with federalists to place himself in the Presidency, would he not have said, with an air of innocent triumph, if you received not your information from *common report*, from whom was it derived? I deny that it is true; I defy the world to prove it; I challenge investigation of it; I insist that you had your information from common report, since it has no foundation in truth. Would not a guiltless man, accused of an offence so enormous, have demanded from whom the two Reverend Gentlemen had obtained their information? Mr. Burr, however, made no such enquiry.

On the other hand, the refusal of Dr. Linn and Mr. Abeel to give the required certificate, evinces their implicit reliance on the source of their informa-

tion ; that they had good cause to deem it correct ; that they were in fact almost as certain that Mr. Burr *had negotiated to place himself in the Presidential chair*, as if they had themselves been the negociators. The refusal is not, indeed, conclusive proof of the negociation, but it shews, in a clear point of view, that Mr. Abeel and Dr. Linn had satisfactory cause to believe that Mr. Burr had cordially received the negociator and entered into his views.

That Mr. Abeel and Dr. Linn were convinced Mr. Burr had negotiated with a federal gentleman, will be still more apparent when we state who that gentleman is. We then declare that the FEDERAL GENTLEMAN WHO NEGOCIATED WITH MR. BURR, and who was *authorized* to do so by leading federal members of Congress, then assembled at Washington, is DAVID A. OGDEN, Esquire, COUNSELLOR AT LAW. Mr. OGDEN resides in this city, and is professionally connected with General Hamilton ; we believe they are co-partners. They, however, both transact professional business in one office. Mr. Abeel and Dr. Linn are known to be intimate with Mr. Ogden and General Hamilton. Hence when the two Reverend gentlemen stated to Mr. Burr that their information *was not* derived from *common report*, the allusion must to him have been very obvious, and the source of their information, though never that we know of by them mentioned, will not appear to the public less so.

More than eight months ago we knew that Mr. Ogden was the *negociator*, and it is now stated as *an undeniable truth*.

There is reason to believe that the *negociation* with Mr. Burr was first planned in this city. This is, however, merely a surmise, not very material in itself, but proper to be mentioned. On the 16th day of December 1800, we received information that the electors of South Carolina were chosen. From that day the success of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr was no longer doubted by either party. The last resource of the federal party was to effect the election of Mr. Burr to the Presidency. Means were immediately devised, and we think in this city, to accomplish that object. On the 27th day of December, eleven days only after the South-Carolina news was received, Mr. David A. Ogden engaged a seat in the mail stage for Philadelphia. It is probable that previous to his going to Philadelphia, he conferred with Mr. Burr on the subject of effecting his election to the Presidency by the efforts of the federal party, and that he went to Washington to consult with the leading federal members of Congress on the scheme. It is believed that Mr. Ogden had no professional business to transact at Washington, and it is therefore difficult to conjecture what induced him, at that bleak season of the year, to visit the seat of government, unless to consult with the federal members of Congress on the project to negotiate with Mr. Burr the terms of his election to the Presidency. It is probable that Mr. Ogden went to Washington expressly for that purpose, and that he previously conferred with Mr. Burr on the design.

We have stated that Mr. Ogden left this city in the mail stage for Philadelphia on the 27th day of December.

The following certificate, which proves that *Mr. Burr and himself rode together in the same mail-stage*, establishes the fact :

“ New-York, Saturday, 27th December,
1800, one o'clock.

Mail Stage.

Mr. Ogden, 1 seat to Philadelphia, £3 0 0

Col. Burr, 2 seats to Princeton, 3 15 0

I certify that the above is a true copy from the Stage-Books. MATTHIAS C. LYON.”

Mr. Burr and Mr. Ogden might have ridden together in the mail without preconcert ; whether they *did so* or not every reader will judge for himself. To us this simple act speaks a pertinent and eloquent language : it indicates much.

Mr. Ogden did not remain long at Washington.— While there, he was authorized by leaders of the federal party to negotiate with Mr. Burr the terms on which they proposed to elect him President of the United States. Thus commissioned, Mr. Ogden returned to this city early in January, 1801, had an interview with Mr. Burr and submitted to him propositions which shall by and by be explained. To these Mr. Burr assented.

Immediately after Mr. Ogden's interview with Mr. Burr, a letter was written by a *leading federalist* in this city, to an influential member of Congress at Washington, giving a full and accurate detail of the negotiation. The

following letter, addressed to a gentleman in this city, and written at Washington at the time, fully explains the one penned by the *leading federalist* just mentioned.

“ Washington, 29th January, 1801.

“ It is not true that there is an inequality in the votes
 “ of South-Carolina favorable to Mr. Jefferson, and the
 “ Union, I fear, will have deep cause to lament it.—The
 “ prospects are far less bright and decisive than could be
 “ wished, which makes it more interesting that the real
 “ friends of Mr. Jefferson’s election should be watchful
 “ against the intrigues which are in train for the purpose
 “ of defeating it.”

“ The following information comes through dif-
 “ ferent channels in which implicit confidence may be
 “ placed.”

“ Mr. David A. Ogden of your city, when not long
 “ since at Washington, was authorized by some leading
 “ men on the federal side in Congress, to have a confer-
 “ ence with Col. Burr for the purpose of ascertaining two
 “ things; first, what would be the conduct he would
 “ observe if elected by the means of the federalists, in re-
 “ spect to certain *cardinal* points of *federal policy*? Se-
 “ cond, what co-operation and aid he could and would
 “ afford towards procuring success to his own election, if
 “ the attempt should be made.”

“ Mr. Ogden, having made a communication accord-
 “ ingly to Col. Burr, was answered by him in substance,
 “ that as to the first point it would not be proper or ex-

“ pedient to enter into explanation. That as to the second
 “ point, the federalists might be assured that New-York
 “ and Tenneffee on a second ballot would vote for him,
 “ and that probably New-Jerfey and one of the fouthern
 “ states might be induced to do the fame.”

“ In a fubfequent conference, he referred to a gentle-
 “ man who he faid would be entrusted to fpeak more par-
 “ ticularly, and was to be his confidential friend at the feat
 “ of government.”

“ The *material points* of this negociation, though not
 “ with all the particulars mentioned above, have been com-
 “ municated in a letter from a *high federal character* in your
 “ city, and one who has long had a predominant controul
 “ in his party, to an influential member of Congress.”

“ Thus is the well known wifh of the people bartered
 “ to promote individual intereft, and a man elevated to
 “ the great office of ftate who has been raifed into notice
 “ by the well earned popularity of him he would fup-
 “ plant.”

“ This comes to me in a fhape which renders any com-
 “ munication of it embarrassing in the extreme, and re-
 “ quires particularly that the name of the negociator
 “ fhould be kept a profound fecret ; but it appeared to
 “ me effential that you fhould be apprifed of it the better
 “ to enable you to obferve the future motion of the par-
 “ ties.”

“ Means of a very prompt and imperative nature muft
 “ be adopted to counteract the fcheme. *You may remotely*

“ *hint* the possibility of some overtures from the profligacy
 “ and desperation of the party.”

“ Your delegation should be urged from different quar-
 “ ters to remain firm, regardless of temporary appearances
 “ or the opinions of wavering or timid minds. The fede-
 “ ralists discover a concert strongly indicative of some im-
 “ portant object.”

By adverting to the date it will be seen that the above letter was written immediately after Mr. Ogden's negotiation with Mr. Burr, and a letter had been received at Washington from a leading federal character in this city detailing the terms of that negotiation. It will also be seen that the letter is of an highly confidential nature, and that considerations of peculiar delicacy prevented its being made public. Nothing but the importance of the subject, and the bold, unblushing denial of the negotiation by Mr. Burr, could have induced the gentleman who wrote it to permit its publication. Nor was his consent to give it publicly obtained until a letter was written to him by a friend of ours for that purpose, to which the following is an answer.

“ 5th October, 1802.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I was absent on a visit and did not return 'till this
 “ morning after the mail had closed. I perceive the im-
 “ portance of the request which is made of you, but I am
 “ under restraints of peculiar delicacy.”

“ Our intelligent friends would I think be satisfied with
 “ my permitting the *substance* of my confidential commu-
 “ nication to you to be made known. The critical cir-
 “ cumstances under which I gave it to you, have justified
 “ me to myself. To give the exact terms of my letter,
 “ may involve me in very serious personal inconveniences ;
 “ but if you have reason to expect collusion between Burr
 “ and Ogden, and that engagements of secrecy have been
 “ made by others, you had then better authorize a literal
 “ publication, and in case Ogden denies the facts stated
 “ therein, you are authorized from me to give the name of
 “ , as the *high federal character* I alluded to, as the
 “ writer of the letter to Washington, and on which mine
 “ was predicated. I made a memorandum at the time.
 “ I thought I had taken the date, but I well recollect
 “ it was in January. If Ogden should prevaricate and
 “ this become necessary, it would conform with my wishes
 “ that you signify to my name.”

“ I am ably fully to establish the fact. I can hardly
 “ think he will lend his weight of reputation to counte-
 “ nance such extreme profligacy. But we ought to sup-
 “ pose nothing impossible when we consider the strong
 “ motives of party policy which may exist for disguising
 “ the transaction.”

The public will now be anxious to know the name of
 the “ *high federal character*” who wrote the letter from this
 city, to an influential member of Congress, detailing the
 negotiation. That name is still a mystery. It is eminent-
 ly due to the gentleman to whom the two letters above

were addressed, and who has kindly put copies of them in our possession, to say that he has not communicated to us the name of the "high federal character." Yet we are in possession of a variety of facts, derived from a multiplicity of correct sources, which do *more* than enable us to *conjecture*, with considerable accuracy, the name of the "high federal character." We therefore state it as our decided opinion, and on which we think the public may with safety rely, that GENERAL HAMILTON is that "high federal character." His connection with Mr. Ogden, the negotiator, is known to be of the most intimate and endearing kind. His knowledge of the negotiation will not therefore be doubted. He is also known as having long held "predominant controul" in the federal party.—The actual influence of General Hamilton in that party corresponds precisely with the description given in the two letters. Besides, there are other corroborating circumstances which irresistibly impose upon us the belief that General Hamilton *is* the "high federal character" described. We will mention a powerful one. During the sitting of the Supreme Court of this state at Albany, in the winter of 1801. Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Esq. General Hamilton, Judge Troup, Judge B. Livingston, and Judge Pendleton, all of the city of New-York, dined together at the Hotel.

After dinner General Hamilton declared, openly, that Mr. Burr, *had intrigued* with a *federal* gentleman to effect his election to the Presidency. When spoken to on the boldness of the declaration, General Hamilton added that he could prove it, or it could be *proved in a court of justice!*

The negociation was there made no secret of: General Hamilton made the declaration aloud and without reserve.

There are *other facts* in our possession which authorize us to state, *unequivocally*, that GENERAL HAMILTON is the "high federal character" alluded to in the two letters. If he is not, he will deny it *publicly*; if he is, he has too much honor and integrity to disavow an act of his own:

If these facts stand in need of corroboration, there are concurring circumstances in abundance which strongly indicate the existence of the plot. The letter dated Washington, 29th January, 1801, states that Mr. Burr observed, in reply to the second proposition of the negociator, to wit, "what co-operation and aid he could and would afford towards procuring success to his own election?" that "the federalists might be assured that New-York and Tennessee on a second ballot would vote for him, and that probably New-Jersey and one of the southern states might be induced to do the same." Such was the answer of Mr. Burr to the second proposition of the *negociator*.

The negociation was commenced in the city of New-York about the 15th of January, 1801. The letter of General Hamilton to a *leading federal member of Congress* detailing the negociation, was written about the 20th of the same month. That which gives the substance of General Hamilton's letter, is dated Washington, January 29, 1801. The negociation was complete before January 20th. On or about the 24th of January, Mr. Burr left this city for Albany to take his seat in the state assembly. The same day or the day after, Mr. William P. Van Ness, who was

not a member of the Legislature, followed him to Albany. On the arrival of Mr. Burr, enquiries were made of him touching the Presidential election. To every question he answered, with the utmost confidence and cheerfulness, that Mr. Jefferson would certainly be elected, and that no opposition could or would be made in the House of Representatives. He uniformly treated the idea of material opposition in the House as extravagant and chimerical. This was precisely the conduct of Mr. Burr at Albany. And yet he knew that he had negotiated with Mr. Ogden to effect his own election to the Presidency, and that in consequence of that negotiation every effort within the compass of the federal party would be employed to accomplish it. This conduct of Mr. Burr at Albany, was such as every consummate and unprincipled intriguer would adopt. It was a matter of importance to him to prevent the transmission of letters from Albany to Washington urging firmness and perseverance in our Representatives in favour of Mr. Jefferson's election; and Mr. Burr vainly imagined his placid deportment calculated to compass that object by allaying reasonable fears and composing alarming apprehension. His intrigues were, however, perceived by a few individuals at Albany, and his representations were therefore little heeded,

Let us now view the conduct of his confidential friend Mr. William P. Van Nefs, of this city, who accompanied Mr. Burr to Albany. Those who have read the "Narrative" will perceive that this is the same gentleman who negotiated for Mr. Burr the suppression of the History of the Administration of Mr. John Adams.

While Mr. Burr was openly declaring at Albany that there was no foundation for apprehension concerning the election of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. William P. Van Nefs, observed, in *secret*, a conduct the reverse. He was unremittingly employed in furthering the negociation of Mr. Burr and Mr. Ogden. While at Kinderhook, he wrote a letter to our Representative, Mr. Edward Livingston, then at Washington, representing it as the *the sense of the republicans of this state*, that, *after the first or second vote in the house Mr. Jefferson should be given up!!* This corresponds with Mr. Burr's reply to the second proposition of Mr. Ogden, the negociator, namely, that "on a second ballot, New-York would vote for him!" We do not assert on vague report that Mr. Van Nefs wrote the letter to Mr. Livingston; it is stated as an *undeniable fact*, one which, if not true, is easy of refutation. The name of Mr. Van Nefs the writer, and of Mr. Livingston the receiver of the letter, are mentioned; and both live in this city.

Mr. Burr also replied to the second proposition of Mr. Ogden, that, "on a second ballot New-Jersey might be induced to vote for him." What covert measures Mr. Burr had taken to effect this, is not known; but it is certain that Mr. Van Nefs wrote a letter to an influential republican who resides at Poughkeepsie, urging him in strong terms to procure letters from New-Jersey, advising the New-Jersey republican members in Congress to *drop* Mr. Jefferson on the second ballot in the house!

Such were the proceedings of Mr. Burr and his confidential friend Mr. Van Nefs at Albany, proceedings which

exactly accord with the terms of the negotiation concluded between Mr. Burr and Mr. Ogden.

Nor were the confidential friends of Mr. Burr either silent or inactive in this city. Mr. Mathew L. Davis, *one of the depositories of the secrets of Mr. Burr*, and on this account *only* deserving of notice, ran about from Republican to Republican during the balloting in the house, declaring that the Republicans in Congress acted very improperly in not giving up Mr. Jefferson, averring that they *must* eventually abandon him, that persevering opposition would *injure* the feelings of Mr. Burr, and that *no one could foresee the consequences* of such stubborn conduct if Mr. Burr should at length be elected! It is probable that Mr. Davis at that time was apprised of the negotiation between Mr. Burr and Mr. Ogden.

Our wonder at the pertinacity of the federalists in the House of Representatives will henceforward cease. The cause of it may now be clearly perceived. That opposition to Mr. Jefferson in the house, which alarmed the country and brought it to the brink of civil war, was *founded on the negotiation* concluded between Mr. Burr and Mr. Ogden. *Six and thirty times was the tranquillity of the country endangered to elevate an intriguer to office contrary to the known will of a majority of the people.* Americans! You have infinite cause to be thankful that the plot is discovered.

The federalists in the house of representatives relied on the declaration of Mr. Burr to Mr. Ogden that “on the second ballot New-York and New-Jersey would vote for him.” Hence at every ballot, they flocked round the ballot boxes of these two states, and with extreme solicitude

enquired how the votes stood? They were particularly attentive to the ballot box of New-York; for it was very reasonably supposed that if the state of New-York gave way, others would follow the example. On the second ballot, however, this state as well as New-Jersey was found *faithful*. Still were the federalists in hopes, placing much confidence in the promises and machinations of Mr. Burr. Finding that they were twice disappointed, they yet persevered, deeming it probable that the *Republican* representatives, on whose infidelity Mr. Burr had made his calculations, intended only to exhibit a shew of firmness previous to an unqualified surrender. In this vain hope (but one though, by the by, not entirely without foundation) they continued to vote until it was found, *from whatever cause*, that no impression could be made on those *republican* members on whose *unfaithfulness* Mr. Burr had predicated all his expectations. The contest was then, and not till then, abandoned by the federalists.

We come now to notice the propositions submitted by Mr. Ogden to Mr. Burr and his answers thereto. On the correctness of these propositions and answers the public may implicitly rely; and should they be contradicted, either by General Hamilton, whom *we* say is the writer of the letter from this city to a leading member of Congress at Washington, or by Mr. Ogden, the negociator, the reader will perceive that the gentleman, who has done the country so much service in communicating those propositions and answers, stands pledged virtually to "prove the facts." We are persuaded, however, that neither the one nor the other can or will be done.

The first proposition of Mr. Ogden to Mr. Burr is this :
 “ What would be the conduct he would observe, if elected
 “ by the means of the federalists, in respect to certain *car-*
 “ *dinal* points of *federal policy* ?” To which Mr. Burr made
 the following reply ; “ As to the first point it would not
 “ be proper or expedient to enter into explanation—that
 “ the federalists must rely upon the situation in which he
 “ would be placed if raised to the Presidency by their
 “ votes in opposition to the adverse party.”

This answer is as full and satisfactory, for a *first inter-*
view, as could possibly have been expected. Mr. Burr,
 aware of his *peculiar situation*, says—but in such a manner
 as not in the least to indicate a repulse—that it would “not
 be proper or expedient to enter into explanation.”—That is
 to say, into *minute detail* ; and that such “ explanation,” or
 minuteness, would not be “ expedient” for two reasons, first,
 because of the *delicacy* of *his* situation, and second, that so
 far as it was proper to satisfy the federalists as to “ certain
cardinal points of *federal policy*” general remarks in *that*
stage of the negotiation would be sufficient. He then makes
 these general remarks, and says “ the federalists must rely
 upon the situation in which he should be placed if raised
 to the Presidency in opposition to the adverse party.”
 Here Mr. Burr is too explicit to be misunderstood. If
 raised to the Presidency by the federalists, he should owe
 his election to them, and consequently that the *cardinal*
 points of his administration should accord with *federal po-*
lity. This is a plain and fair interpretation of Mr. Burr’s
 reply to the first proposition, which is stronger, and con-
 cedes more to Mr. Ogden, than could well have been ex-
 pected on a first interview.

But a *second* conference was had with Mr. Ogden in which Mr. Burr “referred to a gentleman who he said would be intrusted to speak more particularly, and who was to be his confidential friend at the seat of government. “This *confidential friend was intrusted*” by Mr. Burr to *complete the details of the general principles of the negotiation*, to which Mr. Burr had previously and fully assented.

Mr. Burr’s *reply* to the *second* proposition of Mr. Ogden clearly elucidates the meaning—if any elucidation be necessary—of his answer to the first. The first proposition is in these terms. “What co-operation and aid he could and would afford towards procuring success to his own election if the attempt should be made?” To which Mr. Burr replied “The Federalists might be assured that New-York and Tennessee on a second ballot would vote for him, and that probably new-Jersey and one of the southern states might be induced to do the same.” In this reply is contained not only his assent to be held up by the federalists in opposition to Mr. Jefferson, but a positive assertion, alike consoling to himself and to the federal negociator, that, “on a second ballot new-York and Tennessee would vote for himself, and probably new-Jersey and a southern state might be induced to do the same.” What is this but entering *fully* into the *views* of the federal negociator, and holding out to him the most alluring temptations to oppose the election of Mr. Jefferson, and promising him indeed, in the event, the completest success? Nay, does not Mr. Burr’s reply import that he meant to use the most refined arts of seduction to effect his purposes? He says “that probably new-Jersey and a south-

ern state might be *induced* to do the same." The word "*induced*" is uncommonly pertinent, and has a peculiar signification when uttered by a man negotiating with an antagonist to betray his cause ! How were the two states to be *induced* to vote for Mr. Burr ? Certainly not by the constituents of those representatives who were *believed* to be ardent for the election of Mr. Jefferson. For we witnessed an enthusiasm among the republicans at that period ready to unsheath the sword, if necessity required, in favour of his election. No, the *inducement* was to be of that *peculiar kind* which belongs exclusively to Mr. Burr ; it was to employ undue means to allure the representatives of the country from a discharge of their duty.

But how came Mr. Burr to be so *certain* that NEW-YORK would, on a second ballot, vote for himself ? Had THIS state manifested a preference for Mr. Burr ? *Certainly not.* The state of New-York would have been among the *last* in the union to have made choice of Mr. Burr in preference to Mr. Jefferson. And so conscious was Mr. Burr himself of the predilection of this state for Mr. Jefferson, that the resistless current of public opinion compelled him to manifest an assumed exterior, indicative of affection for Mr. Jefferson, at the very moment he was *secretly* negotiating with Mr. Ogden to supplant him. But we are treating on delicate ground. We draw the curtain over a transaction on which we cannot dwell with safety, not to Mr. Burr, but to others.

How then stands the account ? First, that Mr. Burr negotiated, as stated in the "View of his political conduct" with a *federal* gentleman to effect his election to the Presidency. Second, that Mr. DAVID A. OGDEN of this city

was the *negociator*. If it be said that because Mr. Ogden has not *certified* this himself it will not be believed; we answer that it cannot be expected that he would do so, for two reasons, first, because his own connection with Mr. Burr in the novel transaction would necessarily forbid it; and second, since his doing so would at once heal that division from which the federalists expect to profit. But it is nevertheless as *true* that Mr. Ogden *did negociate* with Mr. Burr, as if he had made an affidavit of the negotiation; and should Mr. David A. Ogden publicly deny it, a thing by no means expected, his denial *shall* be *disproved* by *testimony* that will silence even calumny itself and impose conviction on the most incredulous and incorrigible Burrite,

Third, Mr. Ogden went from this city to Washington to consult with the *leaders* of the federal party, at the seat of government, on the 27th of December 1800.—Mr. Burr and himself rode together in the mail stage. Mr. Ogden was authorized at Washington to negociate with Mr. Burr the terms on which the federal party proposed to elect him to the Presidency. Mr. Ogden returned with great expedition. About the 15th January 1801, Mr. Ogden completed his negotiation with Mr. Burr. The connection between Mr. Ogden and General Hamilton is so well known in this city, as to warrant the assertion that the one could hardly be possessed of a political secret without communicating it to the other. It will be believed, as highly probable, that Mr. Ogden informed General Hamilton of the negotiation. About the 20th of January, *we* say that General Hamilton wrote the letter on which the one herein inserted is

predicated, and which is dated "Washington, January 29 1801." This letter, which *we* ascribe to General Hamilton, details the negotiation, the propositions submitted to, and the answers of, Mr. Burr. If General Hamilton is not the writer of that letter, if he is not that "HIGH FEDERAL CHARACTER" who has long held "predominant controul" in the federal party, he will of course deny it. But *we* are persuaded he cannot. If, however, he should disavow having written a letter of that nature, a thing not anticipated, then will the writer's name be divulged by the gentleman who communicated the letter from Washington giving an account of the negotiation, and that negotiation be as completely brought home to Mr. Ogden as if the letter which *we* ascribe to General Hamilton had been written by him.

Fourth. It appears that Mr. Burr, on the first interview with Mr. Ogden, entered fully and cordially into his views, and assented to his propositions: and that accordingly, while he himself affected to disguise his own projects at Albany, his confidential friend, Mr. Van Ness, was writing letters, requesting one of *our* representatives, as the *sense of the republicans at Albany*, to drop Mr. Jefferson and vote for Mr. Burr; and that this conduct on the part of Mr. Van Ness corresponds with the terms of Mr. Burr's negotiation with Mr. Ogden.

Such is the state of this deep laid-plot, such the agents who have been active in it; and happy indeed is it for the country that it is at length brought to light.

We have much more to say: we have still a very powerful *corps de reserve* of testimony. But as the evening grows late, and the developement must appear according to promise, we close for the present with inviting, in the late language of Mr. Burr "AN UNION OF ALL HONEST MEN" to save the country.

L E T T E R IX.

"The people having reserved to themselves the choice of their
 " *Representatives*, as the fence to their properties, could do it
 " for no other end, but that they might always be freely *chosen*,
 " freely act, and advise, as the necessity of the Commonwealth,
 " and the public good should upon examination and mature de-
 " bate be judged to require. But when the arts of *perverted*
 " *men* are made use of to destroy all that stand in the way of
 " bad designs, and will not comply and consent to *betray the*
 " *liberties of their country*, it will be past doubt that something
 " is wrong. What power they ought to have in society,
 " who thus employ it contrary to the trust went along with
 " it in its first institution, is easy to determine; and one cannot
 " but see that *he*, who has once attempted any such thing as
 " this, *cannot any longer be trusted.*"

LOCKE.

*The following letters are extracted from the Morning Chronicle of
 November 25 :*

SIR,

Though I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with you, I flatter myself that this letter will preclude the necessity of an apology for addressing you.

It has been asserted in various publications that Mr. Burr, during the late election for President and Vice-President, entered into negotiations and agreed to terms with the federal party, or with certain individuals of that party, with a view to advance himself to the office of President, to the exclusion of Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Burr, in a letter to Gov. Bloomfield, dated the 21st Sept.

last, declared that all such allegations were false and groundless; and the charges have been renewed in more recent publications, which point to you by name, as the person through whom such negotiations were carried on and terms concluded. It has now become interesting to a great portion of the community to be informed how far these assertions and charges have been authorized by you, or are warranted by your knowledge of facts.

Having received frequent anonymous communications for the *Morning Chronicle*, relative to these matters, and being unwilling to occupy the paper with vague and unsubstantiated conjectures or remarks on a subject of such importance, I am induced to apply directly to yourself as an authentic source of information. I do this with the more confidence, from a persuasion that you can have no wish to suffer false reports to circulate under the authority of your name, for mere party purposes; and that, in the actual posture of things, you cannot be averse to declare publicly and explicitly your agency, if any, in the business. I take the liberty therefore of requesting your written declaration to the points above stated, together with any circumstances you may be pleased to communicate, tending to establish the truth or falshood of the charges in question.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obed't serv't,

P. IRVING,

New-York, Nov. 24, 1802.

David A. Ogden, esq.

New-York, Nov. 24, 1802.

SIR,

Though I did not conceive it to be incumbent upon me, or in itself proper to notice a publication in a newspaper, in which my name was used without my permission or knowledge, yet I have no objection to reply to an enquiry which comes in the shape of that contained in your letter, and from a person of your standing in society.

I declare that my journey to the city of Washington, in the year 1800, was purely on private business, and without any understanding or concert whatever with Col. Burr, whom I met at the stage-office on his way to Trenton, not having had before the least intimation of such a meeting; and that I was not then or at any time, charged by him with any commission or errand of

a political nature. In the course of our journey no political conversation took place but of a general nature, and in the presence of the passengers.

When about to return from the city of Washington, two or three members of Congress, of the federal party, spoke to me about their views as to the election of President, desiring me to converse with Col. Burr on the subject, and to ascertain whether he would enter into terms. On my return to New-York, I called on Col. Burr and communicated the above to him. He explicitly declined the explanation, and did neither propose nor agree to any terms. I had no other interview or communication with him on the subject, and so little was I satisfied with this that in a letter which I soon afterwards wrote to a member of Congress, and which was the only one I wrote, I dissuaded from giving support to Col. Burr, and advised rather to acquiesce in the election of Mr. Jefferson, as the less dangerous man of the two to that cause with which I believed the public interest to be inseparably connected.

There are no facts within my knowledge tending to establish the truth of the charges specified in your letter.

With due respect,

I am, sir, your ob't serv't,

DAVID A. OGDEN.

Dr. P. Irving.

Doctor Irving's letter was written, as stated in it, in consequence of the accusations maintained in our eighth on the subject of Mr. Burr's machination to compass the Presidency in opposition to the wishes and expectations of the people, and *seemingly*, with a view to ascertain whether or not they were well founded? In that letter we adduced a variety of proof in support of the charges preferred against the Vice-President, which, although not of the most *positive* kind—the transaction not admitting of point blank testimony—was nevertheless so circumstantial and highly presumptive as to be entitled, without weightier counter-evidence, to full credence. It was

stated, on the reluctant authority of the Rev. Mr. Abeel and Dr. Linn, first, that Mr. Burr had negociated with a federal gentleman to effect his election to the Presidency, which remains *uncontradicted*. Secondly, that Mr. Burr, anxious to avail himself of whatever would contribute to his defence, solicited, *in person*, of the two reverend gentlemen, a certificate importing that the information they had received of his negociation was derived from *common report*; which was refused: this *has not been denied*.—Thirdly on the same authority it was affirmed that Mr. Burr, “*assented to the measures of the negociator.*” This remains *unimpaired*, as in the course of our remarks we shall evince, notwithstanding the refined evasions contained in the letter of the negociator.

Let us for a moment digress to attend to the probable truth of the important declaration of Mr. Abeel and Dr. Linn. The intimacy which subsists between these clergymen and him who has avowed that he was clothed by leading federalists at Washington with powers to negotiate with Col. Burr the terms on which they proposed to elect him President, is here well known to be great. Dr. Linn, in all human probability, advised with Gen. Hamilton before he wrote his “*Serious Considerations:*” a work confessedly penned to prevent the election of Mr. Jefferson; and they are known, even now, to confer on political subjects. This familiar and confidential intercourse is alike holden between General Hamilton, the negociator, and the two clergymen. It will probably be

deemed superfluous to repeat in this city facts so notorious, but the information may, nevertheless, be useful in the other states.

The two clergymen told Mr. Burr, emphatically, that their information of his having negotiated with a federal gentleman with a view to his election to the Presidency, was not derived from *common report*. May we then be permitted to ask from whom was it derived? From their habits of intercourse with Mr. Ogden, is it not highly probable that they received it from him?

How otherwise shall we account for their conviction that Mr. Burr had negotiated with Mr. Ogden and “*assented to his measures?*” This they have declared, and take upon themselves the responsibility of the declaration.

Shall we say that, contrary to their assertions, they have deliberately propagated and adhered to a fact on no better foundation than light surmise; or rather ought we not to conclude that their information was correct, that they received it from Ogden himself, and that his studied evasions do not clash with or impair their declaration, that Mr. Burr “*Assented to the measures of the negociator?*”

The propriety of commenting on the material assertion, will form an adequate apology for his momentary depar-

ture from consistent arrangement. We resume the enumeration of the contents of our last letter.

Fourthly. It was stated that *General Hamilton* was the “*high federal character*” alluded to in the letter dated “Washington, January 29, 1801,” detailing the negotiation. This, however, was merely advanced as the opinion of the Editors, who at that time were not authorized by the writer of it to point to General Hamilton by name as the person described. Fifthly—That in case Ogden denied the facts contained therein, the name of *blank* was to be given to the public as the “*high federal character*” alluded to by the writer. Sixthly—That “If Ogden should prevaricate, it would conform with the wishes of the writer that his name be signified to *blank*.” And lastly, it was affirmed that, in accordance with Mr. Burr’s answer to the *second* proposition of the negociator, to wit: “What aid he could and would afford toward procuring success to his own election in case the attempt should be made by the federalists.” William P. Van Ness, *one of the confidential friends of Mr. Burr*, wrote to Mr. Edward Livingston, our then representative, advising him, *as the sense of the republicans*, to relinquish Mr. Jefferson after the first or second ballot in the house, and vote for Mr. Burr! This momentous fact, although the writer, Mr. Van Ness, and the receiver of the letter, Mr. Livingston, reside in this city, *remains uncontradicted!*

Having recapitulated the heads of our eight letter we proceed to fulfil our engagements with the public ; but as from their *attentive* and *artful phraseology*, the letters of Dr. Irving and the negociator are calculated to deceive, we shall previously notice their contents, convinced that a slight examination will shew that Mr. Ogden's letter contradicts no one material fact advanced in our last.

Dr. Irving says " It has been asserted in various publications that Mr. Burr, during the late election for President and Vice-President, entered into *negociations* AND *agreed to terms* with the federal party, or with certain individuals of that party, with a view to advance himself to the office of President to the exclusion of Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Burr in a letter to Governor Bloomfield, dated the 21st September last, declared that all such allegations were false and groundless ; and the charges have been renewed in more recent publications, which point to you by name, as the person through whom *such negociations* were carried on and *terms concluded*." He adds, " I am induced to apply directly to yourself, as an authentic source of information—I do this with the more confidence, from a persuasion that you can have no wish to suffer false reports to circulate under the authority of your name, for mere party purposes, and that, in the actual posture of things, you cannot be averse to declare publicly and explicitly your agency, if any, in the business. I take the liberty, therefore, of requesting your written declaration to the *points above stated*, together with any circumstances you

may be pleased to communicate, tending to establish the truth or falshood of the *charges in question.*" See the letter above.

Now let us see how admirably the answer of Mr. Ogden is adapted to the enquiries of Dr. Irving? Persons more suspicious than ourselves would really conclude, from the perfect harmony that reigns between the Doctor's letter and the negociator's answer, that there had been a previous arrangement; a kind understanding between them. We cannot, however, prove this *in a court of justice!*

Mr. Ogden says "When about to return from the city of Washington, two or three [This convenient mode of expressing an indefinite number may include *twenty* as well as *two or three*] members of Congress; of the federal party, spoke to me about their views as to the election of President, desiring me to converse with Col. Burr on the subject, and to ascertain whether he would *enter into terms.* On my return to New-York I called on Col. Burr and communicated the above to him.* He

NOTE.

* New-York, 26th, Nov. 1802.

In consequence of the appearance in the Morning Chronicle of yesterday of the letter of the Editor to Mr. David A. Ogden and his answer, I this day went to Sing-Sing† to converse with General DELAVAN who resides there, having understood that

† A village on the banks of the Hudson, 36 miles from the city of New-York.

explicitly *declined the explanation*, and did neither propose nor *agree to any terms*. I had no other interview or communication with him on the subject, and so little was I satisfied with this, that in a letter which I soon afterwards wrote to a member of Congress, and which was the only one I wrote, I dissuaded from giving support to Col. Burr, and advised rather to the election of Mr. Jefferson, as the less dangerous of the two to that cause with which I believed the public interest to be inseparably connected."

Since the publication of our Eighth Letter Mr. Burr had talked with him concerning it. Mr. Josiah Rhodes, who resides at SPARTA, one mile from Sing-Sing, accompanied me to General Delavan's. The General stated that Mr. Burr in a conversation with him adverted to the charges that had been preferred against his political conduct. These he declared were false, and that he intended to repel them in a manner that would be satisfactory to his friends, but could not set up a defence in the AMERICAN CITIZEN. Alluding to that part of our eighth letter where it is stated that Mr. Ogden was authorized by leading federalists at Washington to call on Mr. Burr to negotiate with him the terms on which they proposed to elect him President, he *assured* General Delavan that he *did not know Mr. Ogden*, meaning, as the General supposed, that he knew him not in political affairs, and had not the least recollection of Ogden's having spoken to him on the subject. He spoke of Mr. Ogden with great contempt, as, said General Delevan a *sap-head*; these, the General added, were not Mr. Burr's words, but, that was certainly his idea.

The above is a faithful relation of General Delavan's conversation with me in the presence of Mr. Rhodes.

DAVID DENNISTON.

What shall we think of the *veracity* of Col. Burr? Ogden declares that he called on him agreeably to the powers with which he was clothed at Washington and *at least conversed* with him on the project of *leading federalists* there to elect him to the office of President. Mr. Burr denies it, declares that he does not know Ogden, and has not the least recollection of his having spoken to him on the subject! **O times! Q morals!**

“ There are no facts within my knowledge tending to establish the truth of *the charges specified in your letter:*”
So far Mr. David A. Ogden.

We cannot complain of the *management* apparent in these two letters; they exhibit quite as much *cunning* as we had imagined *Dr. Irving* and *Mr. Ogden* possessed. The letter of the latter goes far to disprove *Mr. Burr's* remarks when he calls him a *sap-head*; and if General Hamilton had no hand in its composition certainly evinces that his title to that appellation is defective!

An inattentive observer would conclude, after reading *Mr. Ogden's* letter, that *Mr. Burr* is a much injured man, and calumniated beyond example; that he is innocent as a lamb, and than whom a more immaculate patriot never breathed. Fatal conclusion! There lives not in the union a man more faithless; one less deserving the confidence of the people. Let us measure the solid contents of the two letters?

Dr. Irving says, “ It has been asserted that the Vice-President entered into *negotiations* AND *agreed to terms* with the federal party to advance himself to the Presidency.” He then adds, that “ *The charges* have been renewed in more recent publications,” and concludes with these words; “ I take the liberty, therefore, of requesting your written declaration *to the points above*

stated." This is the quintessence of his letter, as the reader will see by a reference to it.

It is hardly necessary to remark that the letter is so *loosely* and yet so *attentively* worded as to afford an opportunity to Mr. Ogden to give a *negative answer* to it without at the same time contradicting a single material accusation contained in our eighth. The words, "The Vice-President entered into *negociations* AND *agreed to terms,*" convey to the mind no *precise idea*; they are so ambiguous as to admit of a two-fold construction; so indefinite as to permit Mr. Ogden to contradict the *terms* of the letter, without at the same time affecting the transaction about which they are employed. For example, Mr. Burr might have given Mr. Ogden satisfactory assurances of a disposition to act cordially with the federalists without entering into *precise terms*. Admitting for a moment that he did so—which we shall by and by prove—Mr. Ogden might consistently say, in reply to the unmeaning letter of Dr. Irving, that Mr. Burr "Did neither propose nor agree to any terms," and "That there are no facts within my knowledge tending to establish the truth of the *charges specified* in your letter," *because*, as is evident, there are in it *no charges specified*.

Permit us to illustrate the subject by stating what really occurred between Mr. Burr and Mr. Ogden who acknowledges that he was authorized, when at Washing-

ton; by *federal members of Congress*, to call on and *converse* with him about *their views* as to the election of President, and to ascertain whether he would enter *into terms*; that is, in good old English, to tender to Mr. Burr the specific terms on which the federal members of Congress proposed to elect him President, in case he would consent to *betray* his party and *oppose the wishes and expectations of the people*. Mr. Ogden accordingly calls on Mr. Burr and submits to him two propositions.

First. What, Mr. Burr, would be the conduct you would observe, if elected by the means of the federal party, in respect to certain *cardinal points of federal policy*? To which he replies in gentle accents, “With regard to this question it would not be *proper or expedient* to enter into *explanation*.” In this answer, which is the one he actually gave, although we perceive a solicitude to avoid *agreeing to definite terms*, because it *would not be proper or expedient*, yet it is apparent that he was disposed to favor the project, and to give such assurances to Mr. Ogden of a willingness to act cordially with his party, if elected by their means, as would to them be perfectly satisfactory. This is as much—considering the *nature of the transaction*—as could be expected; and yet, as Dr. Irving expresses it, it is not entering *into terms*!

Secondly. What co-operation and aid, Mr. Burr, could you and would you afford towards procuring success to your own election, if the attempt should be made?

To which he answers, "That as to *this point*, the *federalists* might be assured that New-York and Tennessee on a second ballot would vote for him, and that probably New-Jersey might be induced to do the same." Now here Mr. Burr enters not into *terms* to use the *elegant* and *accommodating* phrase of Dr. Irving, and yet it is apparent that he gives the negociator such an unequivocal earnest of his approbation of the scheme, as to leave not a doubt on the mind of himself, or of those who had vested him with diplomatic powers, of his disposition to promote it; so that although Mr. Ogden says Mr. Burr "did neither *propose* nor *agree to terms*," it does not thence follow that he did not give the most *undeniable assurances* of willingness, nay of solicitude to *aid* in carrying the *federal* project into prompt and vigorous execution; on the contrary it is conclusive evidence of an entire assent unencumbered with the inconveniences of an agreement to *specific terms*.

From these remarks it follows that Irving and Ogden's letters are mere *nullities*, and if not intended are certainly calculated to deceive; for although the former asks whether *terms* were entered into by Mr. Burr, and the latter denies that they were, yet it is palpable that he might have entered fully into the *views* of the negociator without *agreeing to terms*. Dr. Irving, therefore, risked nothing for his friend Mr. Burr when he asked the negociator whether he had entered into *terms*, and requested a "Written declaration to the *points above stated*."

And what are those *points above stated*? If the reader will cast his eye on the Doctor's letter and read it over with attention, he will find that it contains *no points* to which this inapt allusion is made. The only passage in it called *points above stated* is included in the *second paragraph*, thus expressed "It has been asserted," &c. that Mr. Burr "*entered into negociation and agreed to terms*;" if the reader can find in these words any *precise points*, to which Mr. Ogden could satisfactorily reply, then will we say that the Doctor's phraseology is *correct*, and that he had no intention to mislead.

To Dr. Irving's request of a written declaration to the *points above stated*, the negociator answers, "There are no facts within my knowledge tending to establish the truth of the *charges specified in your letter*." The reader is by this time no doubt convinced that there are *no charges in the Doctor's letter*, and therefore Mr. Ogden might with truth say that there were no facts within his knowledge tending to establish them!

One word more. If the *points above stated* include the *negociation entered into*, then has Mr. Ogden contradicted himself, for he expressly declares that he was empowered by federal members of Congress to *converse* with Mr. Burr, and to ascertain whether he would enter into *terms*; that he accordingly waited on Mr. Burr and submitted to him suitable propositions.

But if the *points above stated* mean *terms*, as the Doctor very neatly has it, then have we shewn that there are *no points*, because Mr. Burr might have given, and did actually give, every encouragement within his power to the iniquitous scheme without *agreeing to definite terms*.

Let us now suppose that Dr. Irving, actuated by a laudable desire to ascertain the truth with regard to the negotiation, wrote his letter to Mr. Ogden. What method ought he to have pursued to accomplish this object? We have seen that his asking Mr. Ogden whether Mr. Burr *entered into negotiations and agreed to terms*, was as useless, as Mr. Ogden's answer, that he *did neither propose nor agree to terms*, was ridiculous.

He ought to have said—Sir,

“ It has been publicly asserted that you were authorized by leading federalists at Washington to negotiate with Mr. Burr the conditions on which they proposed to elect him President; that you accordingly waited on and submitted to him two propositions.

“ First, What would be the conduct he would observe, if elected by the federalists, in respect to certain *cardinal points of federal policy*? And secondly, What co-operation and aid he could and would afford towards procuring success to his own election, if the attempt should be made”?

“ To which it is subjoined Mr. Burr made the following answer in *substance*.

“ That as to the *first point*, it would not be proper or expedient to enter into explanation. That as to the *second point*, the federalists might be assured that New-York and Tennessee on a second ballot would vote for him, and that probably New-Jersey might be induced to do the same.”

“ Will you be so obliging as to inform me in writing whether those propositions were made by you, and these answers given by Mr. Burr”?

The propositions and answers above are extracted from our eighth letter, and if they had been put to Mr. Ogden by Dr. Irving as here stated, and as they ought to have been, Mr. Ogden would have had no *loop-hole* to have crept out of. But instead of submitting these plain interrogatories to Mr. Ogden, he is asked whether Mr. Burr entered into *negociations and agreed to terms* !

This was *irrelative*, since it is obvious that Mr. Burr does not, in the above answers given by him, *agree to terms*, and yet who will say that they do not manifest entire acquiescence in the project of the negociator? If those questions had been asked, Mr. Ogden must have told us whether Mr. Burr, by encouraging the opposition to Mr. Jefferson in favor of himself, did not say

that after the second ballot New-York and Tennessee would vote for him, and that probably New-Jersey might be induced to do the same? This would have determined how far Mr. Burr favored the opposition to Mr. Jefferson and the views of the negociator, for Mr. Ogden could not have availed himself of *unworthy evasion*. In saying, therefore, in answer to Dr. Irving's letter, that Mr. Burr *did neither propose nor agree to terms*, Mr. Ogden leaves the only material point untouched; for if Mr. Burr told the negociator, in answer to his question, *what co-operation and aid he could and would afford towards procuring success to his own election?* that after the second ballot New-York and Tennessee would vote for him, and probably New-Jersey might be induced to do the same, it was in fact meeting the views of Mr. Ogden as fully as if Mr. Burr had entered into *specific terms*.

We repeat that the answer of Mr. Burr to the second proposition was the only point that called for the interposition of Dr. Irving and the letter of Mr. Ogden. *We did not state in our eighth letter* that Mr. Burr either entered into *explanation* or *agreed to terms* with the negociator. It suited, however, the views of the friends of Mr. Burr in this city that Dr. Irving's letter should be couched as if we had so stated, that a denial from Mr. Ogden might appear, to the less thinking part of the community, as a contradiction of the facts contained in our eighth letter. It was a shallow artifice; a branch of the necromancy of the machinators.

Let us see how far Mr. Ogden's letter and our eighth differ.

In that letter we stated, first, that Mr. Ogden was authorized by leading federalists at Washington to negotiate with Mr. Burr the terms on which they proposed to elect him president; that to the first proposition, namely, "What would be the conduct he would observe, if elected by the means of the federalists, in respect to certain *cardinal* points of *federal policy*?" he answered, that "it would not be *proper* or *expedient* to enter into *explanation*." See the eighth letter. That to the second, to wit, "What co-operation and aid he could and would afford towards procuring success to his own election, if the attempt should be made?" He replied, that "the federalists might be assured that New-York and Tennessee, on a second ballot, would vote for him, and probably New-Jersey might be induced to do the same." These were the propositions and answers as stated in our eighth letter, which see.

Let us now compare them with Mr. Ogden's letter, and see whether the two differ in any *essential point*.

Mr. Ogden says that he called on Mr. Burr according to the powers with which he was clothed and of course, submitted to him his proposition, but that he "*explicitly declined the explanation*." So far we agree;

we say he replied to the first proposition, that “ it would not be *proper* or *expedient* to enter into *explanation*.” But Mr. Ogden states that Mr. Burr “ *did neither propose nor agree to terms*.” WE NEVER SAID HE DID; so that here there is no difference between us. Nor was it, to enter fully into the views of Mr. Ogden, essential that he should *agree to terms*, as we have already shewn. His declaring that the states enumerated would relinquish Mr. Jefferson after the second ballot and vote for him, evinces that, without entering into *precise terms*, he *assented* to the propositions of the negociator, and entered fully into his views.

Mr. Ogden, however, differs from us in this: we say he had *two* interviews with Mr. Burr; he says only *one*; but this is quite immaterial. We shall nevertheless give an extract from a letter *written by General Hamilton*, to prove that he *had two* interviews with Mr. Burr.

So much for the letters of Dr. Irving and Mr. Ogden which, it may be emphatically said, are *mere* “ Traps to catch Woodcocks.”

There is one remark, however, in Mr. Ogden’s letter that ought to be noticed. He says, “ I had no other interview or communication with Mr. Burr on the subject, and so little was I satisfied with this, that in a letter which I soon afterwards wrote to a member of Con-

gress, and which was the only one I wrote, I dissuaded from giving support to Col. Burr," &c.

It is to us problematical whether Mr. Ogden's zeal to co-operate with a handful of Mr. Burr's friends in this city—to throw a matter of doubt over the transaction—has not induced him, *at this period*, to misrepresent the past convictions of his own mind concerning his negotiation with Col. Burr, and the cordiality with which he was received by him. Since the presidential election, Mr. Ogden has expressed an opinion the reverse of that which we have just quoted. In a conversation which he had with Dr. TILLOTSON, secretary of state, of this state, he declared himself as follows. "If it had not been," says Mr. Ogden, "for a foolish letter, or d—d foolish letter, Col. Burr wrote to General Smith of Baltimore, he would now have been President of the United States." This declaration, for the truth of which the reader is referred to Dr. Tillotson, Mr. Ogden made in Albany. He has since repeated it to Dr. Tillotson in the presence of Mr. RIKER, of this city, the district attorney. We have shewn the words in inverted commas to Mr. Riker, who says they are correct.

Now on what was Mr. Ogden's opinion founded, that if it had not been for a *foolish* letter written by Mr. Burr to General Smith he would have been President of the United States? Was it not on the arrangements he had made with Mr. Burr? Was it it not on Mr. Burr's

prospect, as Mr. Ogden thought, of success if it had not been for a *foolish* letter he afterwards wrote? Mr. Ogden *now* says, “And so little was I satisfied with that interview, that in a letter I afterwards wrote I dissuaded, &c.” And yet sometime before he wrote his famous epistle to Dr. Irving, so *well satisfied* was he with the arrangements he had made with Col. Burr, that he declared if it had not been for a *foolish letter Mr. Burr wrote to General Smith, he would have been President of the United States!* We leave the reader to determine whether he will believe Mr. David A. Ogden after the Presidential election, or Mr. David A. Ogden in his letter to Dr. Irving? If his remarks to Dr. Tillotson were correct—which is most probable—those contained in his letter to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle just quoted, are not; and on the other hand, if those which he communicated to Dr. Irving are *true*, we need not denominate the complexion of the declaration he made to Dr. Tillotson, and confirmed in the presence of Mr. Riker. Mr. David A. Ogden may take his choice of the dilemma, and reconcile if he can the contradictions!

We are, however, persuaded that Mr. Ogden has been induced, by much solicitation and importunity, to write his letter to Dr. Irving, and to couch it in such terms as leave no favorable impressions of his heart. Grains of allowance, perhaps, ought to be made on account of the *artfulness* of the *double-meaning letter* to which he replied. He was asked for information *only* on “negotiations ex-

tered into and *terms*" concluded between himself and Col. Burr ; and being confined to this limited, and, as it respects the word " terms," *unknown* enquiry, *no terms* having been *agreed upon*, he was in a manner compelled, by the curious phraseology of Dr. Irving's letter, to say *only* that *Mr. Burr entered not into terms*. Had Mr. Ogden stated the *encouragement* held out to him by Col. Burr, such as his *mentioning the states who would relinquish Mr. Jefferson after the second ballot*, and his opinion of Mr. Burr's *perfect acquiescence in his propositions*, although he did *not agree to terms*, he would have transcended the clear design of Dr. Irving's letter, which was to confine him to *terms agreed upon*. Still he is not blameless ; for on a subject of so much importance he ought to have told the *truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth*, however ill it might have comported with the object of him who *affected* to make enquiries appropriate to the accusations with regard to the negociation, viz. the propositions of Mr. Ogden, and the answers given by Mr. Burr.

Circumstances, however, concur to favor the opinion, that between General Hamilton, Col. Burr, the negociator, Mr. J. O. Hoffman, late attorney general of this state, and Dr. Irving, there was a *previous understanding*.

The *coincidence of phraseology* between the letter of Dr. Irving, and the answer of Mr. Ogden, is calculated to awaken suspicions of a previous understanding. Dr. Irving, evidently solicitous to avoid *particulars*, asks Mr.

Ogden if Mr. Burr *agreed to terms*, and in his reply, the negociator, equally anxious to shun *detail*, avails himself of the same *generality* of expression, as if by preconcert, and says Mr. Burr *did neither propose nor agree to terms*.

In the *second* paragraph of his letter Dr. Irving observes, *and the CHARGES have been renewed in more recent publications, &c.* and in the last paragraph he says, *I take the liberty therefore of requesting your written declaration to the POINTS ABOVE STATED.* That these words should be used by Dr. Irving, is not a little remarkable; there are no *precise* CHARGES enumerated in his letter, no POINTS ABOVE STATED.

Reader, observe the accordance between Dr. Irving's CHARGES and POINTS ABOVE STATED, and the answer of Mr. Ogden thereto.

In the last paragraph of his letter, which see, Mr. Ogden says, "*there are no facts within my knowledge tending to establish the truth of the CHARGES SPECIFIED IN YOUR LETTER.*" This is undoubtedly true, and for the plainest reason in the world, *because the doctor's letter contains no CHARGES*, unless it be said that *terms are charges*, and if so, let it be remembered that they were never made *by us*; for although we were extremely sensible that Mr. Burr entered fully into the views of the negociator, in the manner already

explained, yet we were not less so that he did not *agree to specific terms.*

Could Dr. Irving and Mr. Ogden, whose letters are gross impositions upon the public, have played so admirably into each other's hands without *preconcert*? Could Dr. Irving have penned a letter which, strictly speaking, did not admit of an answer touching the *actual charges preferred* against the Vice-President, but which at the same time was eminently calculated to screen Mr. Burr by drawing from Mr. Ogden a reply intended and fitted to perplex a transaction in its nature extremely mysterious?

The conduct of the Morning Chronicle and Evening Post is, on this subject, a circumstance worthy of notice. If the former is not under the direct influence of, it is undoubtedly patronized by, *Col. Burr*; the latter is unequivocally controuled by the will of *General Hamilton*. In every question agitated concerning the Vice-President since the establishment of the Morning Chronicle, this paper and the Evening Post have pursued the same system, acted in the same manner, declaimed with equal zeal and illiberality in favour of Col. Burr, petulantly and magisterially pronounced him innocent, and accused us of being actuated by improper motives in our endeavours to develope a most mischievous plot at some hazard, and with no little labour and anxiety.

The remarks of Dr. Irving, whether intended to exculpate Mr. Burr, or to criminate ourselves, are uniformly published in the Evening Post, accompanied with commendatory observations from Mr. Coleman, and effusions of a most rancorous and malignant nature against ourselves for the part we have acted in the controversy, are now acting, and shall continue to act. In short, there is, whether by express agreement or not we cannot say, a most cordial co-operation between these two papers in every thing that concerns Col. Burr.

Can we then say that the leaders of the *federal* party in this city do not favour the schemes of Col. Burr; that a coalition in fact is not formed between them, himself, and his few friends here? What better evidence do we want of this coalition, what more convincing can we have than that *union* of their presses, the barometers of public opinion, which is too palpable to be doubted?

It must be that General Hamilton *connives* at this union for *party purpose*, to corroborate his party by the division of our own, or Mr. Coleman would not for a moment act in concert with the Morning Chronicle.

Hence we conjecture that there is an understanding between Col. Burr and General Hamilton, and the ground of this conjecture is a cordial *union* of action, in whatever relates to the former, between the two prints presumed to be devoted to the promotion of their views.

Again—Mr. J. O. Hoffman, a *federalist*, who is known to be on the best terms of friendship with Col. Burr, and a most warm and obsequious attendant on General Hamilton, teased and pestered the negociator to write in exculpation of the Vice-President; and he seems to have ultimately succeeded in inducing Mr. Ogden to pen that unmeaning thing on which we have commented.

Nor was the appearance of Mr. Ogden's letter unexpected by us. We had reason to suspect *preconcert* between the persons named. We were not ignorant of the importunities of Mr. Hoffman; we knew that Mr. Burr paid visits to the negociator, and we were told by Mr. Melancton Smith, (a relation by affinity to Mr. Swartwout, marshal, and who we have good cause to believe knows well the secret movements of the parties in questions) we were told by Mr. Smith on the 19th day of November, *five days before* Mr. Ogden's letter appeared, that he had *giving a writing denying*, as he said, *the facts stated in our eighth letter with regard to the negociation*; and so confident was he of this, that he offered to wager, and would have wagered one *hundred dollars* with the writer, that Mr. Ogden had given such a writing. Mr. Smith's cousin, is, with Dr. Irving, joint proprietor of the Morning Chronicle. We will add one or two other reasons for suspecting a previous understanding among the parties.

When our eighth letter appeared Mr. Ogden was out of town, but shortly after returned. Between his return and the date of his letter to Dr. Irving several weeks elapsed. During this interval the movements of this heterogeneous body were strongly indicative of contrivance to favour Mr. Burr. Nothing particular, however, was done until Mr. Ogden concluded to write something which it was hoped would operate, if not an acquittal of Mr. Burr, at least to embarrass the public mind. It is believed that this decision was, immediately after it was come to, made known to Col. Burr, who in all probability communicated it to his confidential friends, Messrs. Swartwout and Van Ness, and that matters were so arranged as that Dr. Irving should write to Mr. Ogden in the capacity of an Editor, and shape his letter by the manner in which it was understood Mr. Ogden would write.

Accordingly, on the 24th of November, all things prepared, Dr. Irving wrote to Mr. Ogden, to which an answer was immediately returned and both appeared the following day in the Morning Chronicle.

It is well known in this city, that on that day, Mr. Ogden was, the greater part if not the whole of it, actually engaged in court in a suit of immense consequence involving in its issue the sum of TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS.

It is not pretended that Mr. Ogden could not discharge in court pressing professional duty and answer Dr. Irving's letter the same day. But is it usual for a legal character to leave business in which he is intensely engaged to answer a letter immediately after its reception, and that too so early in the day as that both shall appear in a public print the following morning? Is it not probable that the matter was perfectly understood previous to the date of the letters, that it was known *how far* Mr. Ogden would go, if not by Dr. Irving, at least by *intermediate* persons who acted between Mr. Burr, the negociator, and himself?

If, notwithstanding what has been said, doubts still remain in the mind of any concerning this *previous understanding*, Dr. Irving has himself furnished us with such clear and undeniable testimony of it as cannot fail to dissipate them. He has confessed sufficient for our purpose, and we will venture to say to satisfy every reflecting man, that a previous understanding between Mr. Ogden, Mr. Burr, or some of his *confidential friends* did undoubtedly exist. To this confession, which is extremely important, we invite the attention of the reader, not for our own but for his sake, for it indicates much and proves satisfactorily an understanding between the partizans of Mr. Burr, (if not Mr. Burr himself) and the negociator.

On Monday last a communication appeared in the AMERICAN CITIZEN, signed "PLAIN DEALER." In

this Dr. Irving and Mr. Ogden are accused of *preconcert*. Dr. Irving, in the *Morning Chronicle* of Wednesday, attempts to justify himself in a production to which he *affixes his name*. The remarks, which contain his defence, we here lay before the reader, that he may have a full view of the subject, and be enabled to judge for himself from the confessions of Dr. Irving, who says,

“ I feel a propriety in declaring that though, from our mutual residence in this city, I have probably seen Mr. Ogden, he has never been designated to me, and I have no personal knowledge of him, nor have I had any conversation with him, either verbal or written, except merely that letter and reply.”

“ *I had several times heard of Mr. Ogden's having expressed in conversation a readiness to speak explicitly on the subject of his reported negotiation with Col. Burr, if requested by any person whom he should consider worthy of an answer ; yet I entirely and unequivocally disavow any preconcert or private understanding with him, direct or indirect, either with respect to that correspondence, or to any transaction whatever.*” In *this* paragraph, as the reader will perceive, Dr. Irving fully confirms the suspicions we have suggested of an *understanding*. Illustration, however, may be useful.

It is admitted, because so stated, that Dr. Irving is totally unacquainted with the *person* of Mr. Ogden. But what

has this to do with a *full understanding* between the parties? It was not necessary that Dr. Irving should be *personally* acquainted with Mr. Ogden to *comprehend* in *what manner* he would write or *how far* he would venture to *commit himself* to the public in exculpation of Mr. Burr. Both these points could be accurately conveyed to Dr. Irving by *intermediate persons* in whose *veracity* he could rest as securely as if communicated to him *by Mr. Ogden himself*. This truth every one will readily comprehend, and to it cordially assent. Whence it follows that it was not *necessary* for Dr. Irving to be *personally* acquainted with Mr. Ogden to *understand* him most fully on the subject. His remarks, therefore, on *personal acquaintance* are as *futile* as they are *irrelevant*.

This, although not perceived by himself, Dr. Irving amply concedes in his following paragraph above quoted and *underscored*. He says, "*I had several times heard of Mr. Ogden's having expressed in conversation a readiness to speak explicitly on the subject on his reported negotiation with Col. Burr, if requested by a person whom he should consider worthy of an answer.*"

SEVERAL TIMES HEARD! To *whom* did Mr. Ogden *express* this *readiness* to speak on the negotiation, and *who* communicated to Dr. Irving his having so expressed himself? Were they not the *partizans* of Mr. Burr to whom Mr. Ogden *so expressed himself*, and who with

alacrity *conveyed* the agreeable expressions to Dr. Irving? Say, were they the *friends* of the *administration*, men who *reprobate* the *plots* of Mr. Burr, to whom Mr. Ogden made this free communication of his *readiness* to speak on the negotiation, and who *several times* repeated them to Dr. Irving? 'Tis impossible; it is the most preposterous of all absurdities to suppose it.

Let us suppose a case to evince, as far as a *negative* position can be proved, that it was not to persons known or supposed to be inimical to the machinations of Col. Burr to whom Mr. Ogden freely *expressed* his *readiness* to write on the negotiation he entered into with him, and who *several times* repeated the expressions to Dr. Irving. We will presume that this *expressed readiness* had been communicated to a friend of ours, and by him imparted to us. We accordingly write to Mr. Ogden and say,

“ Sir,

“ We have in our possession the most indubitable testimony that you were authorized by leading federalists at Washington to tender to Mr. Burr two propositions to which, if he assented, they proposed to elect him President; that accordingly you called on him in this city and submitted the propositions, to wit.”

“ What would be the conduct he would observe, if elected by the federalists, in respect to certain *cardinal* points of *federal policy*?”

“ And secondly, What co-operation and aid he could and would afford toward procuring success to his own election, if the attempt should be made ?

“ To which, the *same authority informs us*, Mr. Burr gave the following answers, viz.

“ That as to the *first point*, it would not be *proper or expedient* to enter into *explanation*. That with regard to the *second point*, the *federalists* might be assured that New-York and Tennessee on a *second ballot* would vote for him, and that probably New-Jersey might be induced to do the same.”

“ Did you tender to Mr. Burr those propositions and receive from him these answers ?”

In answer to these propositions and replies Mr. Ogden could not have *prevaricated*. His saying Mr. Burr *agreed not to terms* would have been impertinent. He must have told us whether he submitted to Mr. Burr the *questions*, and received from him the *answers* stated. Had he replied in the *affirmative*, there would have been *an end to the matter*, since Mr. Burr's answer to the *last* proposition, is a *full assent* to the terms *offered* ; if in the *negative*, which as a man placing some value on his reputation he *durst not*, we would have proved to the conviction of all *honest and reflecting* men, that Mr. Ogden is *utterly destitute of veracity*, and *unworthy of credence*.

But he wished not to be put to such a test ; he sighed for an opportunity to *evade* and *prevaricate* ; and he therefore communicated his *readiness* to the *partizans* of Col. Burr, the *manner* in which he would write, the extent to which he would *go*, and all this was imparted and repeated *several times* to Dr. Irving who, *understanding* him perfectly, although *unacquainted* with his *person*, wrote to him accordingly about *terms agreed upon*, and *charges*, and *points above stated* !!

Again. *It cannot be* that Mr. Ogden expressed his *readiness* to citizens hostile to the wicked contrivances of Col. Burr ; if he had, the information *must* have been conveyed to us. For who were so fit to write to him on the subject as those who had publicly accused himself and Mr. Burr of the negotiation ? And yet we *never heard a word* of such a *readiness*. On the contrary we were persuaded that if Mr. Ogden valued his reputation, it would comport with its preservation to remain silent ; we were therefore of opinion that unless some *uncommon* artifice should be resorted to by himself and Col. Burr, some profound collusion made use of, his lips would be sealed and his hand arrested.

But Mr. Ogden, says Dr. Irving, “ Expressed his *readiness* to speak on the subject of the negociation if requested by *any person whom he should consider worthy of an answer*.” Nothing is more certain than that Mr. Ogden would consider *any person unworthy* of an answer who should

confine him too closely to the point. Accordingly the friends of Mr. Burr, to whom Mr. Ogden *expressed his readiness*, conveyed the expression of it to Dr. Irving who, in conformity to it, wrote his memorable letter. We find *this arrangement* recognized and approbated, in Mr. Ogden's answer to Dr. Irving, in the following terms.

“ I have no objection,” says he, “ To reply to *an enquiry* which comes in the *shape of that contained in your letter*, and from a person of *your standing in society.*” Every thing *here* is quite agreeable ; the *shape of the enquiry*, as well as the *person* who penned it ! The arrangement, therefore, was complete in all its parts although Dr. Irving is altogether ignorant of the *person* of Mr. Ogden !

From all these circumstances the reader will determine whether there was not a *good understanding* between the parties *before* the two letters were written, and an *union of action* between COL. BURR, GENERAL HAMILTON, Mr. HOFFMAN, the NEGOCIATOR, and DR. IRVING ?

Having evinced the futility of Dr. Irving and Mr. Ogden's letters we might rest satisfied and say *hitherto have we gone and we need not go further.* Lest, however, doubts should remain in the minds of reasonable men concerning Mr. Burr's negociation with Mr. Ogden, as stated in our eighth letter, we proceed to corroborate what we therein advanced.

In that letter we were not authorized to designate Gen. Hamilton by *name* as the “*High federal character*,” mentioned in the one included in it dated “Washington January 29th, 1801,” detailing the *propositions* tendered to Mr. Burr and the *answers* given by him to Mr. Ogden. We are now, however, authorized to say that GEN. HAMILTON *is* that “High federal character.” On this subject we have been favored with the following letter, to wit,

LETTER No. I.

CITY of WASHINGTON, 18th Dec. 1802.

“Gentlemen,

“There can be no doubt but that Gen. Hamilton some time in January, 1801, communicated to a federal member of Congress at Washington, that an application was made to Mr. Burr, by a federal gentleman (who was authorized by some of the leading federalists at Washington) to know what plan of policy he would pursue if elected to the Presidency by the aid of the federal party, and what assistance he could render to accomplish this object? that Mr. Burr declined entering into any specific terms, mentioned the name of a friend who would be more explicit, and declared that there were strong reasons to suppose that Tennessee and New-York would relinquish Mr. Jefferson on the second ballot, and probably that New-Jersey might also concur,

“ I cannot pretend to give the precise terms of Mr. Hamilton’s communication, but I *know* that he wrote substantially to the above effect ; and the mode of obtaining this information is so perfectly authentic and unexceptionable, that I have not the least objection that you should give up my name to Mr. Hamilton on his application ; and in case of his denial, (which is scarcely possible) you are at liberty to communicate it to the public as subscribed to this letter.”

“ I am, Gentlemen,

“ Your most obd’t servant.”

“ *Messrs.* DENNISTON & CHEETHAM,

“ *Editors of the American Citizen.*”

In this letter, which imparts the substance of General Hamilton’s communication to his friend at Washington, a member of the *Senate*, Mr. OGDEN is not mentioned as the negociator. It seems that general Hamilton studiously avoided to designate Mr. Ogden in his letter as the negociator, and satisfied himself with describing him as the *federal gentleman* authorized by leading federalists at Washington to *negociate* with Col. Burr, presuming, and very justly, that the intimation would be perfectly understood. There is, however, no difficulty on this head, as Mr. Ogden has himself confessed that he was the *federal gentleman* !

In conformity with the permission contained in the above letter, General Hamilton is informed that the *name*

of the writer of it *shall be communicated to him on application* to the Editors, whether *personally* or by *writing*.

The public are also assured that if General Hamilton, failing to call for the name of the writer of the above letter, should *publicly deny* that he wrote, *some time in January* 1801, a communication to his friend at Washington containing the substance of it, then shall that name be published in the American Citizen. The Editor considers himself fully and unequivocally *pledged* to the public to perform these promises.

It may, however, be objected that although General Hamilton wrote the letter mentioned in the one above, specifying the conditions proposed to Mr. Burr, and the answers received from him by Mr. Ogden, yet as this gentleman has *denied* that Mr. Burr *agreed to terms—agreed to terms!* how laughable!—it is probable that he wrote it on no better foundation than *mere surmise*.—Reader, we will settle this question to thy satisfaction; we will lay before thee testimony, which no reasonable man can reject, to prove that MR. OGDEN is *the man*—yes, that Mr. Ogden is himself the man who, notwithstanding the *dishonorable evasions* contained in his letter to Dr. Irving—*communicated to General Hamilton* the propositions he had submitted to Col. Burr, and the answers received from him.

The following letter is from the gentleman who communicated to us the one contained in our eighth, dated

“Washington, January 29th, 1801,” giving a summary account of Mr. Ogden’s negotiation with Col. Burr, as stated in the letter written by General Hamilton to a *Senator* at the seat of government.

LETTER No. II.

“New-York, 11th December, 1802.

“The following are substantially if not verbally the contents of Gen. Hamilton’s letter, written to a federal gentleman and an influential member of Congress, in January, 1801, as far as relates to Mr. David A. Ogden’s interview with Mr. Burr,” to wit:

“A friend of ours, who lately returned from Washington, was intrusted by some leading members of Congress of our party, to have a conference with Col. Burr, for the purpose of ascertaining *two* things; First, What would be the conduct he would observe if elected by our means in respect to certain *cardinal* points of Federal policy? Second, What co-operation and aid he could and would afford towards procuring success to his own election?”

“He accordingly made the communication to Col. Burr, and as he informed me, was answered by him in substance, that as to the first point, it would not be proper or expedient to enter into explanation.”

“That as to the second point, there was good reason to expect that New-York and Tennessee, on a second

ballot, would vote for him, and New-Jersey might perhaps do the same."

" In that or a subsequent conference he referred to ***** , as his confidential friend for further explanation. This gentleman leaves New-York in a few days for Washington."

" *Gentlemen,*

" I have received the fullest and most satisfactory proof that General Hamilton, in January preceding the late Presidential election by the House of Representatives, wrote a letter to an influential member of Congress in the Federal interest to the effect above stated. The evidence within my controul is such as will enable me to establish the fact most clearly, even should it become the subject of a judicial examination."

" You are at perfect liberty to give my name to the public if General Hamilton denies it, which, from his character and situation in life, I believe to be impossible ; or if that gentleman calls upon you for the source of your information, I authorize you to give it to him without hesitation or reserve."

" I am, Gentlemen, your most ob'dt."

" *Messrs. DENNISTON & CHEETHAM,*

" *Editors of the American Citizen.*"

Agreeably to the *authorization* contained in the above letter, *the name of the writer of it shall be communicated to*

General Hamilton on application by him to the Editor for that purpose, whether personally or by letter.

It shall also, according to the same authority, be laid before the public in case General Hamilton denies that he *wrote the letter* of which the above is an *extract*.

In the above letter the propositions of Mr. Ogden and the answers given thereto by Mr. Burr, as stated in our eighth, are specifically enumerated. General Hamilton, with great perspicuity, *details* two propositions submitted by Mr. Ogden to Mr. Burr and the answers received from him; to wit, first, "What would be the conduct he would observe if elected by *our means* (i. e. by the means of the federalists) in respect to certain *cardinal* points of federal policy? Second. What co-operation and aid he could and would afford toward procuring success to his own election?"

To which Mr. Burr answered "That as to the *first point*, it would not be *proper*, or *expedient* to enter into *explanation*."

"That as to the *second point* there was *good reason* to *expect* that New-York and Tennessee on a *second ballot* would vote for him, and New-Jersey might perhaps do the same."

Such are the questions put by Mr. Ogden to Col. Burr, and the replies of Mr. Burr to Mr. Ogden.

And who communicated these questions and answers to General Hamilton? It is true General Hamilton does not in his letter mention *Mr. Ogden* as the negociator; he simply says *a friend of ours who lately returned from Washington was entrusted by some leading members of Congress of our party to have a conference with Col. Burr for the purpose, &c.* Mr. Ogden has, however, acknowledged that *he* was that friend; that *he* was the negociator; so that on this subject there is no room for cavilling.

General Hamilton then says "HE (that is, *Mr. Ogden*) accordingly made the communication to Col. Burr, AND AS HE INFORMED ME was answered by him in substance."

"That as to the *first* point, it would not be *proper* or *expedient* to enter into explanation.

"That as to the *second* point there was *good reason* to expect that New-York and Tennessee on a *second* ballot would vote for him, and New-Jersey might do the same."

It then appears that *Mr. Ogden* communicated those facts to General Hamilton, who accordingly forwarded them by letter to one of those *leading* federal members of Congress who had *authorized* Mr. Ogden when at Washington to

have a *conference* with Col. Burr for the purpose already mentioned. And yet, says Mr. Ogden, in his *evasive* reply to the *quibbling* letter of Dr. Irving, Mr. Burr did neither propose nor *agree to terms!*" The *artfulness* of Mr. Ogden's letter exempts him from the imputation of palpable *untruth*; for it is obviously true, as he says, that Mr. Burr did not *agree to terms* although it is not less so that he *entered fully into Mr. Ogden's views*. While therefore it is apparent that Mr. Ogden, in his letter to Dr. Irving, has been guilty of an attempt to *deceive* the public by unworthy subterfuge, we cannot strictly say that he justly lies under the imputation of *falshood*.

General Hamilton says in his letter, an extract of which is inserted above, that Mr. Ogden communicated to him the negotiation as stated in it; if Mr. Ogden did not, General Hamilton has told an *untruth*; if he did then does Mr. Ogden stand convicted before the public of *prevarication*. General Hamilton and Mr. Ogden may settle the point between them!

Again. Mr. Ogden in his letter to Dr. Irving assures that he had only *one* interview with Col. Burr. General Hamilton *on the authority* of Mr. Ogden says, in the *above* extract from his letter, which see, that "In *that* or a *subsequent* conference he [Mr. Burr,] referred to as his confidential friend for *further explanation*. This gentleman leaves New-York in a few days for Washington." Here General Hamilton plainly enough states that

Mr. Ogden had *two* conferences with Col. Burr, and this information he tells us was communicated to him by *Mr. Ogden himself*; and yet he says in his letter to Dr. Irving that he had *only one*!

Let us here repeat that if General Hamilton's information is to *two interviews*, is *true*, that part of Mr. Ogden's letter to Dr. Irving where he says he had *only one*, is not so. But as General Hamilton expressly relates that he was told by Mr. Ogden himself that he had *two* conferences with Col. Burr, and as it is evident that Mr. Ogden in his letter to Dr. Irving is guilty of gross prevarication, those who *know* the two persons will find no difficulty in determining which is most entitled to belief?

Let us now bestow a few moment's consideration on the propositions of the negociator and the answers given by Mr. Burr thereto.

The first proposition is in these words, viz.

“ What would be the conduct he [Mr. Burr] would observe if elected by means of the federalists in respect to certain *cardinal* points of federal policy?

To which Mr. Burr gives this answer. “ That as to *this point* it would not be *proper* or *expedient* to enter into *explanation*.”

Is there aught of *rejection* contained in this mild answer? certainly not. And why would it not be *proper* to enter into *explanation*? Because the proposition was replete with *treason*, not indeed in legal contemplation, but as it regarded the audible and unequivocal expression of the public will in favour of the election of Mr. Jefferson. The term, *proper*, here expressed is used in a *peculiar* sense. It is evidently not meant to convey an idea of the impropriety of the proposition *abstractly* considered, but to shew that, viewing the relative situation of the two parties, the clearly expressed opinion of the union in favour of Mr. Jefferson, the affection which the people had supposed Mr. Burr felt to the republican party, and the singularity of going into minutiae on such a proposition, it would not be proper to enter into *explanation*.

Neither would it be necessary to an understanding between the two contracting parties that they should enter into *explanation*, since they might fully comprehend each other's views, and mutually unite in them, as well without *explanation* as with it. *General* expressions of assurances in so *delicate* a transaction would be sufficient.

Nor would it, says Mr. Burr, be *expedient* to enter into *explanation*. How emphatically the term *expedient* is here used! It would not be *expedient* because in so singular an act it is the business of a *crafty politician* to manage so as to guard against every possible accident, that he may ultimately elude detection.

The word *explanation* in such a transaction is simply used to distinguish between that *generality* of expression by which bargains of the nature of the one entered into between Mr. Burr and Mr. Ogden may be mutually concluded to the satisfaction of both, and the *refined specification* of things which, in a treacherous act, may eventually lead to a developement of it.

His referring the negociator to his *confidential friend* for *further explanation*, demonstrates that his declining to enter into *explanation* with Mr. Ogden was an act of *precaution* not of *integrity*. It speaks home to the understanding and informs it most significantly that Mr. Burr was perfectly willing that his *friend* in whom he had *confidence* should *explain* for him ; but that *he* was fearful of explaining himself lest the scheme eventually fail, and his *explanation* furnish conclusive proof of his want of faith to the party to whom he had pretended attachment, and of his utter disregard of public and private virtue.

Mr. Burr only objects to entering into *explanation*. This by no means repudiates the idea of treating with Mr. Ogden in *general terms*, and of imparting such a plain indication of his assent to the overtures of the negociator as could neither be mistaken nor dissatisfactory.

Accordingly, to the *second* proposition of the negociator, namely, " What co-operation and aid he, Mr. Burr,

could and would afford towards procuring success to his own election?" He answers, "That as to *this point*, there was *good reason to expect* that New-York and Tennessee on a second ballot would vote for him, and New-Jersey might perhaps do the same."

This answer leaves us not at liberty to doubt. It imports full assent to the views of the negociator. A more ample and emphatic acquiescence could not have been given. It holds out the most flattering encouragement. It does more : it points to the very states which he says he has *good reasons to expect* will vote for him on a *second* ballot. It designates the state of New-York in which his *confidential friend* resided, and of which he was a representative. It pointed out New-Jersey where himself and his *friend* Mr. Senator Dayton had already commenced their *intrigues*.

These two states were sufficient for his purpose ; and if they had given way, in all probability Tennessee, according to Mr. Burr's calculation, would have followed. The representation of the states in the House stood thus ; eight for Mr. Jefferson, six for Mr. Burr, and two *divided*. If therefore Mr. Burr's intrigues in New-York and New-Jersey had been as successful as he had *good reason to expect* ; if the flattering prospects he held out to Mr. Ogden of these two states receding from Mr. Jefferson on a second ballot and voting for himself, had been realized, alas ! he would have been President of the United States !

We were on the brink of a precipice we saw not ; but thank God we are saved.

It may be said by the blind and infatuated partizans of Mr. Burr, that General Hamilton did not write the letter of which communication No. 1 herein inserted is the *substance*, and No. 2 an extract. The grounds of this objection will perhaps be our with-holding the *names* of the two gentlemen who have done us the distinguished honour of placing them in our hands. But this objection will appear futile when it is considered that we are *pledged* to communicate them to General Hamilton. if called for by him, or, if he publicly disavows the letter, that we are equally committed to our fellow citizens to publish them. Idle curiosity may wish to know the gentlemen, but delicacy forbids the mention of them unless imperious circumstances should call for it ; in either of the two cases stated their names shall be given up ; in no other can they be, nor is it necessary they should.

It may also be said that General Hamilton, conscious that he wrote the letter in question will neither disavow it nor call on the Editors for the writers of the two communications. This will be as good negative evidence as can well be furnished that he wrote it, and on which the public *might* rest satisfied. There is, however, a remedy for the evil which, although not in *our* possession, is certainly in that of thousands of our citizens, particularly of

Dr. Irving. And as we wish the public to be in possession of all proper information on this momentous subject, we will take the liberty to point it out.

Dr. Irving is a *gentleman* of "Respectable standing in society," he is acknowledged to be so by the negociator himself, who is an honorable man! Now suppose Dr. Irving, or any other person of equal "Standing" should write to General Hamilton and ask him whether he penned the letter in question? We should, however, prefer *Dr. Irving* because he is actively engaged for Mr. Burr, and has been employed in this species of enquiry. General Hamilton could not refuse him an answer since Mr. Ogden has recognized and proclaimed his *respectable standing in society*. We ask Dr. Irving, therefore, *to write* to General Hamilton requesting information, not about *terms agreed upon, charges, and points above stated*, but whether he penned the letter in question, repeating its contents as detailed in letter No. 2, and whether he derived his information from Mr. Ogden? If to such an enquiry General Hamilton says he *did not* write it, and that too on the *authority* of Mr. Ogden, then will we publish the names of the two gentlemen who communicated to us the above letters, numbered 1 and 2. This we hope the public will deem sufficient on our part. The two gentlemen are pre-eminent in republicanism, in rank, in integrity, and in honour.

In confirmation, however, if confirmation be necessary, of the propositions of Mr. Ogden and the answers of Col. Burr, *as stated in the communications number 1 and 2*, it is proper to say, that the Hon. Judge Livingston of this city, a gentleman whose intelligence and integrity will not be questioned, repeated, in a conversation with the *Editors*, and authorized them to state, the following facts; namely, that General Hamilton did, at the *Hotel in Albany*, and in the company of gentlemen of *both parties*, explicitly declare, in February 1801, *immediately after Mr. Ogden's negociation*, that Burr had *negociated* or *intrigued* with a federal gentleman for the Presidency [the Judge is not certain which term he made use of] and that he told the *negociator*, or the person with whom he had *intrigued*, that after the *second* ballot in the House, New-York and New-Jersey would relinquish Mr. Jefferson and vote for him! It was observed by some one in company that it was *indiscreet* for General Hamilton to make *such* a declaration in *such* a company; to which the General replied "Not at all, I can *prove it in a court of justice!*" This declaration Judge Livingston, a *few days after* it was made by General Hamilton, communicated to the Hon. De Witt Clinton. We repeat that we were some time since authorized by Judge Livingston to make this statement, and those who doubt it are referred to him for its verification.

In conformity with the answer of Mr. Burr to the *second* proposition of Mr. Ogden, viz. that after the *second* ballot in the House of Representatives New-York and New-Jersey would relinquish Mr. Jefferson and vote for him, Mr. Burr prosecuted with vigour his plans of intrigue to induce this fatal event. *One* of his *confidential* agents, a man devoted to the furtherance of these objects, was Mr. William P. Van Ness of this city. Although this person is not blessed with more than a common understanding, yet he was well adapted to the end; he has a brooding, plotting mind, and was well fitted for the work. He married a lady of fortune; he is *pecuniarily* connected with Col. Burr; he is a surety in his memorable negociation with the Manhattan Company, of which we a few days since laid a statement before the public.

Mr. Ogden went to Washington on the 27th day of December 1800, and after being clothed, by *leading* federalists there, with diplomatic powers returned to this city: the negociation was completed about the 15th. To induce New-York and New-Jersey to relinquish Mr. Jefferson on a *second* ballot and vote for him, was a primary object with Mr. Burr. With respect to New-York he had already made arrangements on which he founded sanguine calculations; nothing, therefore, was necessary but a rigid perseverance in the execution of them. In regard to New-Jersey, although himself and his *friend*, Senator Dayton, had *tampered* with a repub-

lican representative of that state, something more efficient, influence more powerful, was to be employed. To carry his projects the more securely into execution in respect to these two states, Mr. Burr went to Albany, where, he imagined, his presence would lull suspicion if any existed: the legislature was about to be in session. Mr. Burr and his *friend* Van Ness applied to the Albany stage office for seats that they might go together, but as both could not be accommodated, Mr. Burr left this city in his own carriage on the 21st of January; Mr. Van Ness followed him on the 22d, and Mr. Swartwout in a day or two after.

The following letter, with which we have been obligingly favoured by Mr. Pennington, a member of the executive council of New-Jersey, will shew most clearly, when viewed in conjunction with what has been already said, the *aequiescence* of Mr. Burr in the *projects* of the *negociator*, and that the means he employed to carry them into effect were in perfect accordance with his *answer* to the *second* proposition of Mr. Ogden, to wit, that after the *second* ballot he had *good reason* to *expect* that New-York and New-Jersey would recede from Mr. Jefferson and vote for him.

LETTER III.

New-York, December 22d. 1802.

“DEAR SIR,

“By authority, which we cannot doubt, we have been informed that letters have been shewn to you, written by

Mr. John Swartwout of this city, marshal, and Mr. William P. Van Ness, of the same place, addressed to Mr. Robert Williams of Poughkeepsie on the subject of the late Presidential election. We intend, shortly, to re-touch the subject of Mr. Burr's negotiation with Mr. Ogden, and as in doing so it may be necessary to notice those letters, and lay before the public, as far as has come to our knowledge, the substance of them, we beg you to favour us with your impressions of their contents.

“ We are, with unfeigned respect, sir,

“ Your most obd't serv'ts,

“ DENNISTON & CHEETHAM.”

“ *To William S. Pennington, Esq.*

“ *Newark, New-Jersey.*”

LETTER IV.

Newark, 27th Dec. 1802.

GENTLEMEN,

It is a thing that has ever been very foreign from my expectations, that any thing which passed between Mr. Robert Williams and myself, on the subject to which you allude, would ever become a matter of public investigation. In the summer of 1801, I mentioned, without any expectation of its being again noticed, some facts respecting it, to a gentleman of respectable standing in your state; and I understand that it is through the medium of this gentleman that you have obtained your information. Since what hath passed is to be made public, it is certainly best that the transaction should be stated with correct-

ness. I shall therefore endeavour to do it with as much exactness as my memory will enable me to.

In the winter of 1800 and 1801 I resided with my family at Poughkeepsie. The subject of the Presidential election, as it was natural it should do, engaged much attention, and excited much public anxiety. For my own part I did not think that the federalists were sincere in their attempt to make Mr. Burr President, but that their plans were calculated to prevent Mr. Jefferson's election that they might have a pretence for creating an executive officer of their own party; and thereby either retain in their own hands the executive power, or in case it was denied them, to disturb the repose of the union. Information received from the eastern states, and especially Connecticut, served to strengthen the opinion. I therefore thought that the election of Mr. Jefferson ought to be persevered in as long as there was any probability of success; but if the republicans were driven to the alternative of either electing Mr. Burr, or of putting in hazard the public tranquillity, I thought as the least of the two evils it would be best to encounter the first. Under this impression I wrote to several of the New-Jersey members in congress, and particularly to Mr. Linn, and endeavoured to impress the opinion on their minds. I was intimately acquainted with Mr. Williams and in habits of friendship with him. He appeared to accord with me in sentiment, and I have had no reason to doubt his

sincerity. About this time, and while Mr. Burr was at Albany, Mr. Williams first shewed me a letter from a Mr. Van Ness to him, dated, I think, at Albany, suggesting the propriety of electing Mr. Burr, rather than have no President, and at the same time informing Mr. Williams that he understood that a Mr. Pennington, from New-Jersey, resided at Poughkeepsie, who, it was thought, had influence with Mr. Linn, and requesting Mr. Williams to prevail on him to write to Mr. Linn on the subject and endeavour to bring him into the measure. This, according with my own opinion, encouraged the measure I was pursuing; but I could not conceive how this Mr. Van Ness should know any thing of me, as I had no acquaintance with or knowledge of him, nor do I now recollect his other names; but Mr. Williams described him to me as the young gentleman who had lately married a young lady by the name, I think of M'Evers, to whom Mr. Daniel H. Beize, late of this town, deceased, had bequeathed a very handsome legacy. Shortly after this, I think the next day, Mr. Williams either shewed to me, or read to me a letter from Mr. John Swartwout of nearly the same import, as that of Mr. Van Ness. Mr. Swartwout was then attending the Legislature at Albany, and as I had some acquaintance with this gentleman, I thought the circumstance no way remarkable. I am not certain that I read the letter from Mr. Swartwout, and rather think Mr. Williams read the letter to me or part of it, and informed me that it was

from Mr. Swartwout. Some short time after this I was on an evening at the hotel in Poughkeepsie in company with Mr. Williams, when the northern mail arrived ; this was the last mail expected to reach Washington before the day of election. We went together to the post-office. Mr. Williams received a letter and after we returned to the hotel, and he had read it, he handed it to me to read. This was another letter from Mr. Van Ness. In this letter Mr. Van Ness developed the views of himself, and I think he said of the republicans at Albany, which were to promote Mr. Burr's election *at all events*. In this I think he calculated on Mr. Livingston and Mr. Bailey of New-York, and Mr. Linn of New-Jersey, and urged Mr. Williams to write *all night* to his friends in Congress, in order to promote the measure, informing that he, Mr. Van Ness, would do, or had done the same ; there was something in the letter about Mr. Van Ness's coming to Kinderhook or lower down, which I do not particularly remember. This is the substance of the letter as well as I can, after this distance of time, recollect. After I had read the letter, Mr. Williams asked me what I thought of it, to which I replied, that I thought the thing altogether wrong and improper, and that it ought not to be countenanced, as it disclosed an evident design to obtain the election of Mr. Burr, in preference to Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Williams assented to the truth of my observations, and declared that he would not write a single letter on the subject, nor trouble himself further about it.

Mr. Williams can afford you a more substantial account of these transactions than I can ; perhaps he has preserved the letters. I would therefore advise you to apply to him, should you think the matter of sufficient importance to justify the trouble of the application.

I am, with respect,

Your very humble serv't,

WILLIAM S. PENNINGTON.

To Messrs. Denniston & Cheetham.

It would be well for the reader to *analyze* Mr. Pennington's letter, for the more it is examined the more iniquitous the conduct of Messrs. Burr, Van Ness, and Swartwout will appear.

It was necessary for Mr. Burr to have agents to carry his schemes into execution, and accordingly we find that Mr. Van Ness and Mr. Swartwout, who are perfectly in his confidence, were, amongst others, chosen in this state.

The plans pursued by Mr. Swartwout and Mr. Van Ness as represented in Mr. Pennington's letter, were *master-strokes of intrigue*, and authorize the suspicion that Mr. Burr was the projector of them. Mr. Van Ness writes, it is believed, from Albany, where Mr. Burr then was, to Mr. Williams, suggesting the propriety of acquiescing in the election of Mr. Burr rather than have

no President.—The *next day*, or shortly after, Mr. Swartwout writes to the same gentleman, from the same place, and to the same effect! This, we repeat, was a *master-stroke of intrigue*; for it is evident that those letters were simply designed to prepare the way for the reception of the *second* from Mr. Van Ness in which he urges the election of Mr. Burr at *all events*! The intriguers foresaw that such a letter, without the previous ones from Mr. Swartwout and Mr. Van Ness, must shock Mr. Williams extremely, and indeed notwithstanding the anterior letters, it appears to have done so.

But the grand object of thus writing to Mr. Williams was to induce him to prevail on Mr. Pennington to use his influence with Mr. Linn, one of the *Republican* Representatives of New-Jersey, on *the subject*, that is, as Mr. Van Ness expressed himself in his letter to Mr. Williams, *to elect Mr. Burr at all events*! It appears that neither Mr. Swartwout nor Mr. Van Ness were personally acquainted with Mr. Pennington, and they were therefore constrained to apply to an *intermediate* person to prevail on Mr. Linn, to vote for the *election of Mr. Burr at all events*!

And why was this influence to be employed upon Mr. Linn? Is the question difficult to solve? Mr. Burr told Mr. Ogden, in answer to the *second* proposition, that on a *second* ballot New-Jersey, he had *good reason* to

expect, would relinquish Mr. Jefferson and vote for him? Accordingly influence *had been employed* and was still to *be employed* to produce this relinquishment.

Influence *had been used*. Senator Dayton, who advanced Mr. Burr *twenty thousand dollars* on a mortgage, and who is *now* one of his sureties in his money negotiation with the Manhattan Company, actually offered, *before* the balloting commenced in the House of Representatives, to make Mr. Linn governor of New-Jersey in case he would relinquish Mr. Jefferson and vote for Mr. Burr!! This attempt to alienate Mr. Linn from his duty was unsuccessful.

Mr. Linn, however, was to be assailed in favour of Mr. Burr by *both parties*. The intriguers were sure that if they could induce Mr. Pennington to prevail on Mr. Linn to vote for the *election of Mr. Burr at all events*, his answer to Mr. Ogden, that he had *good reason to expect* that New-Jersey on a second ballot would recede from Mr. Jefferson and vote for him, would be realized. But MR. PENNINGTON could not be converted into an instrument to carry into effect the iniquitous plot. He no sooner saw the design, apparent in the letter of Mr. Van Ness, than it drew from him an unfeigned reprobation.

Mark the zeal with which Mr. Van Ness enters into the service of Mr. Burr! "In this letter", say Mr.

Pennington, "Mr. Van Ness developed the views of himself, and I think he said, of the republicans at Albany, which were to promote the election of Mr. Burr *at all events*." Merciful God! Who but one abandoned to all wickedness, devoid of all shame, of public virtue and private honour, could have written such a letter? But he was not contented with writing this letter.—"He urged Mr. Williams," says Mr. Pennington "to write *all night* to his friends in Congress in order to promote the measure, informing him, Mr. Williams, that he, Mr. Van Ness, would do or had done the same!"

This letter then developed, according to Mr. Van Ness, the *views* of the *Republicans* at Albany, which were to elect Mr. Burr *at all events*! What a gross and presumptuous *untruth*! Under the *pretext* of representing the views of the *Republicans*, the very liberties of the country were, by a few base intriguers, put at hazard!

The *same pretext* was set forth by Mr. Van Ness in the letter which he wrote at the same time to Mr. Edward Livingston then our representative. - This letter was dated at Albany in February 1801, a little before the balloting in the House of Representatives commenced. In it he stated that the republicans were *alarmed* at the aspect of affairs, and requested Mr. Livingston, as the sense of the *Republicans* at Albany, [and by this was meant the *sense* of the Legislature then in session] to

recede from Mr. Jefferson, after the *first* ballot, and vote for Mr. Burr! We willingly appeal to Mr. Livingston, although we never conversed with him on the subject, for the truth of this statement of the contents of the letter.

It then appears first, that the letters of Dr. Irving and Mr. Ogden touch not the true points of controversy; that, in one word, they are sheer deceptions artfully contrived to mislead the public.

And secondly, That Mr. Burr entered fully into the views of Mr. Ogden, although he did not *agree to terms!* This is evident, first, from the letter of General Hamilton, written, as he states, on the authority of Mr. Ogden. Secondly, from the machinations of Messrs. Burr, Van Ness, Swartwout, and Dayton, to induce New-York and New-Jersey to relinquish Mr. Jefferson on a second ballot, agreeably to Mr. Burr's answer to the *second* proposition of the negociator, to wit, that he had *good reason* to expect that those two states would recede from Mr. Jefferson and vote for him. These are actions that speak for themselves, and they are proved, first, by the letter of Mr. Pennington detailing the contents of Mr. Van Ness's to Mr. Williams of Poughkeepsie; secondly, by Mr. Van Ness's letter to Mr. Edward Livingston, thirdly, by Mr. Dayton's proffer to make Mr. Linn governor of New-Jersey in case he would forsake Mr. Jefferson and vote for Col. Burr, and

fourthly, by the holding out of the *federalists* in the House of Representatives in the full expectation that New-York and New-Jersey would, according to Mr. Burr's answer to the *second* proposition of Mr. Ogden, desert Mr. Jefferson and vote for Col. Burr. These facts speak too audibly and eloquently to the senses to be resisted.

Since the Presidential election Mr. Burr has manifested hostility to the administration: his proceedings on the Judiciary question are evidence of it.

He *calumniates* the *executive* in his private correspondence with his *friends*. The Editor could name one of them who received from Col. Burr a letter written by him while at Washington during the last session, in which he speaks indecorously of the executive and pointedly reprobates his administration. While he *knows* the fact he is not at liberty to mention the name of the person to whom the letter was written.

The immediate *friends* of Col. Burr speak contemptuously of the executive and of his administration.

Between the Morning Chronicle, a paper devoted to their views, the Evening Post, under the immediate influence of General Hamilton, and the New-York Gazette, principally controuled by Dr. Linn of this city, who

is notoriously guided by General Hamilton, there is a perfect accordance of action in every thing that relates to the Vice-President.

Seeing these things, it is high time for the friends of the administration ; for those who are inimical to usurpation, whether by *force* or by *intrigue*, to unite in the support of the one, and in disapprobation of the other. Circumstances render it necessary that we should view the advocates of Mr. Burr as *federalists*, and in our intercourse with them to treat them accordingly.

A P P E N D I X.



TO THE PUBLIC.

THE false colouring given by the relation of one William S. Pennington, in a letter to Denniston and Cheetham, which appeared in the American Citizen of the 22d inst. and their subsequent malicious remarks, oblige me once more to ask pardon for obtruding myself on the public attention.

I declare, on my honour, that I did not, at any time advise the election of Mr. Burr, as President of the United States, to the exclusion of Mr. Jefferson ; nor did I ever write to any person or persons to that effect : and I hereby authorize Mr. Robert Williams to publish any letter or letters he may have received from me on the subject of the presidential election. I am induced to contradict the base slander of those exclusive patriots, by a regard to truth only and not from a conviction that it would have been either dishonourable to me or disadvantageous to the country, or the republican party, to have promoted the election of Mr. Burr to the Presidential chair.

JOHN SWARTWOUT.

New-York, Jan. 23, 1803.

TO JOHN SWARTWOUT, Esq.

MARSHAL.

SIR,

Notwithstanding the *rudeness* of your remarks, we have not hesitated for a moment to give them a place in the CITIZEN. It is proper that an offender should be heard where his offence is urged against him.

While patriotism frowns upon your intrigues, charity disposes us to make allowances for the irritability of your temper. Rely on it, sir, your passion injures no one but yourself; it is neither calculated to convince nor conciliate those who believe you not immaculate with regard to Mr. Burr's negociation with Mr. Ogden. To be formidable, whether your political conduct, with respect to the negociation, has been honourable or dishonourable, it is essential that you be dispassionate; to convince your fellow-citizens that you were not a subordinate agent in that alarming plot, much more than your delusive and indecorous address to the public is necessary. We would advise contrition for the past, and, as a pledge for the future, a public renunciation of your errors and *political* connections.

Did we perceive in your address a disposition to repentance, we would invigorate your resolution to reform. But it does more than indicate a perverse and sullen determination to persevere in error: we shall therefore proceed to exhibit its want of candour and of truth.

R

You accuse Mr. Pennington of having given "False colouring" to his circumspect relation of the letter you wrote to Mr. Robert Williams of Poughkeepsie, and ourselves of having made upon that relation "Malicious remarks." You, however, content yourself with making these accusations without endeavouring to prove by argument or by testimony either the one or the other. No one could expect from you the former, the latter the public have a right to demand.

Let us examine the charge against Mr. Pennington.

After Mr. Pennington had stated that Mr. Van Ness wrote to Mr. Williams "Suggesting the propriety of electing Mr. Burr rather than have *no* President," he says "Shortly after this, I think the next day, Mr. Williams either shewed to me, or read to me, a letter from Mr. John Swartwout, of nearly the same import as that of Mr. Van Ness. Mr. Swartwout was then attending the Legislature at Albany, and as I had some acquaintance with this gentleman, I thought the circumstance no way remarkable. I am not certain that I read the letter from Mr. Swartwout, and rather think Mr. Williams read the letter to me, or part of it, and informed me that it was from Mr. Swartwout." This is *all* that is said of you in Mr. Pennington's letter, which see.

Now, sir, if you wrote the letter in question, which you have not denied, nor will you, we are of opinion, find it *convenient* to deny, what terms could Mr. Pennington have chosen more modest, more circumspect or less deserving the epithet you have applied to them? Can any reader but

yourself find "False colouring" in his remarks? Have you, in truth, discovered it? Or is it not an *art* dexterously played off, with an intention to *deceive* the public?

Mr. Pennington's solicitude to avoid mistatement is apparent in his relation of the contents of your letter. He is extremely circumspect, and we therefore conclude, accurate. There is not in his narrative any thing like "*colouring*" as the reader will see; whether true or false. It is concise, plain, and elegant.

After accusing Mr. Pennington of "False colouring," the *unsupported* charge of *maliciousness* you have brought forward against ourselves, will not surprise. To repel this it is not necessary to say a word. A person convicted of one *error* will find little credence in the assertion of *another*. You may too, sir, be indulged in wild declamation, in groundless terms; it is the harmless privilege of one entangled in his own mazes. Your raving exhibits your impotence.

The calumnies of yourself and your compatriots affect us not; they are powerless. We expect not from you either justice or mercy. Subsequent to the developement of that iniquitous scheme in which you acted a part it would be vain to hope for the former; the latter we ask not, seek not.

In your laconic address there is a passage that deserves peculiar notice; it is that in which you *totally*, and we think *wilfully*, misrepresent Mr. Pennington and ourselves. In this, however, *you* cannot succeed. Your attempt to mislead the

public is too stupid to elude the most obtuse sense. Rely on it, sir, nature gave you not adequate powers, and you do but mistake her office when you attempt it. You have neither a tongue nor a pen that "Would wheedle with the devil." We must divest you of the factitious air you have drawn from associating with the Vice President, and shew you to the world as you are. For this you will thank us not; but remember that your own imprudence has rendered it necessary.

You say, "I declare, on my honour, that I did not at any time, advise the election of Mr. Burr as President of the United States to the *exclusion* of Mr. Jefferson; nor did I ever write to any person or persons to that effect."

One, sir, who watches not with Lynx eyes the *arts* of yourself and your colleagues, would be apt to imagine that you were contradicting, *on your honour*, a charge advanced against you either by Mr. Pennington or ourselves. As Mr. Abraham Bishop says 'tis all *delusion*. Your *rich* fancy, roaming to shield yourself and your favourite, has conjured up an accusation which, *on your honour*, you deny! And do you, Mr. Swartwout, really think the public can be deceived by such an artifice?

Are you so swollen with vanity, or besotted with ignorance as to believe that those who have entered the recesses of your brooding councils, unfolded your craft, and warned the country of its danger, are to be imposed upon by a subterfuge so shallow? Sir, the fate of Dr. Irving and Mr. Ogden, which

was before your eyes when you penned your address, ought to have taught you better. They too, by an artificial stroke much more ingenious than yours, sought in vain to divert the attention of the public from the real points of controversy. They too, unhappy men! Chuckled at the comfortable idea of covering Mr. Burr by *terms agreed upon, charges, and points above stated!!*

The charge which with so much seeming solemnity you deny, was *never made against you*. Neither Mr. Pennington nor ourselves stated that in your letter to Mr. Williams you “Advised the election of Mr. Burr as President to the *exclusion,*” as you *elegantly* term it—as if he could be elected at all *without the exclusion*—“of Mr. Jefferson.” Mr. Pennington cautiously asserts, and we repeated the assertion, that you urged the election of Mr. Burr *rather* than have *no* president. You neither deny that you wrote that letter, nor that it contained this advice. But, anxious to make the world believe you contradict something contained in our ninth letter, you pompously declare, *on your honour*, that you did not advise the election of Mr. Burr to the *exclusion* of Mr. Jefferson. And pray, Sir, who ever said you did so advise? *On our honour* we declare, that neither Mr. Pennington nor ourselves ever accused you of such advice. On the contrary it was explicitly stated that in your letter to Mr. Williams you *advised* the election of Mr. Burr *rather* than have *no* president. It was remarked by ourselves—and the public will judge of the probable truth of the remark—that your letter and Mr. Van Ness’s were intended to prepare the way for the reception of his second, in which that *unas-*

suming and *faithful* young man urges, as the sense of the *republicans*, the election of Mr. Burr *at all events*, requests Mr. Williams to write *all night* to *promote* the measure, and by way of inducement, adds, that he either has done or shall do so himself!

What then was the object of your address? Not to contradict aught contained in our ninth letter, for you contradict nothing, nor, it would seem, to make a public renunciation of your errors : was it not then to mislead the public?

But pray, sir, why did you advise the election of Mr. Burr *at all*? Was the presidency intended by the Republicans for *him*? The negative of this question is so obvious that it will appear superfluous to say *no*. It is true that by various *intrigues*, of which you are not ignorant, and a concurrence of *perverse* circumstances, he obtained an equality of votes with Mr. Jefferson. But did this equality change public opinion with regard to the choice between the two candidates for the Presidency? Undoubtedly not. The dilemma consequent on that equality arose from a *defect* in the constitution, not of the expression of the public will in favour of Mr. Jefferson, for this was too unequivocal to be misunderstood. We then repeat the question, how came you to advise the election of Mr. Burr *at all*; for the idea of having *no* president was ridiculous? We must have a president, and the only question was, which of the two parties shall submit to the other? Shall the majority yield to the minority, or the latter to the former? This interrogatory needs no answer. It was the business of the republicans to remain firm at their posts;

to be faithful to the people; to persevere in carrying into effect the expression of their will; and if in so doing the *stubbornness* of the Representatives of six of the sixteen states impelled the country to arms, they were answerable for the consequences. He who betrays the people in such a case by yielding to the improper and exorbitant pretences of a small minority, is himself a traitor.

Sir, you have certainly sense enough to know this, and yet you wrote to Mr. Williams from Albany, where Mr. Burr and Mr. Van Ness then were, and the day after the latter had written requesting him to use his influence with Mr. Pennington to prevail on Mr. Linn, of New-Jersey, to vote for Mr. Burr rather than have *no* President! And when did you thus write, for this enquiry is essential to a due appreciation of your motives? Had you written *after* the House had balloted thirty-six times, when that long and painful contest had menaced the tranquillity of the states, and advised the election of Mr. Burr rather than have *no* President, we might have found an adequate excuse in your timidity. But you wrote at least two weeks before the balloting commenced; yes, sir, previous to its being officially known that the minority would oppose the majority, but *after* Mr. Burr had given the negotiator assurances that New-York and New-Jersey would vote for him, you made a requisition of the good offices of Mr. Williams to use his influence with Mr. Pennington to prevail on Mr. Linn to vote for Mr. Burr *rather* than have *no* President! How significant was such a request at that time, after Mr. Burr's negotiation, and when too we consider that Mr. Linn was to be operated upon by these surgical

gentlemen to *vote* for Mr. Burr—rather than have *no* President! We say especially when we consider that Mr. Linn was the gentleman designated, for according to the plan of the machinators his fidelity to the cause was to be tested on the one side by Senator Dayton and other federal persons, and on the other indirectly by yourself and Mr. Burr's other *good* friends, *sweet* friends. Mr. Linn, however, was faithful; he resisted the bribes offered to withdraw him from his duty.

When therefore we consider the *time* when you wrote, your intimate connection with Mr. Burr and Mr. Van Ness, and the second letter of this youth in which he urges the election of Mr. Jefferson *at all events*, we cannot be at a loss to determine your motive, the more especially when we reflect on the explicit declaration with which you close your address.

In this, sir, you tell us expressly, that it would not have been “either dishonourable to yourself or disadvantageous to the country, or the republican party, to have promoted the election of Mr. Burr to the Presidential chair!” We expected that when the friends of Mr. Burr could no longer deny his negotiation they would resort to this last refuge and openly proclaim and exult in their profligacy. Neither *dishonourable* to yourself nor *disadvantageous* to the Republican party to have promoted Mr. Burr's election to the Presidency! What, not dishonourable to one who pretends to be a *Republican* to oppose the “wishes and expectations” of his party; of the country! Merciful God, do we witness the time when this abominable doctrine is boldly and openly proclaimed! a doc-

trine that strikes a fatal blow at elective franchise and renders nugatory the voice of the people! Will you, sir, on your *honour* say that it was the intention of the *Republican party* to elect Mr. Burr President? if so we shall know how to estimate your *honour*; if not, would it have been *honourable* to have promoted his election contrary to the clearly expressed intention of the Republican party? You say yes; be ye then judged by your own confession.

On the question, how far the election of Mr. Burr would have been disadvantageous to the country? we wish not to dilate. In our opinion it would have been the ruin of the country. At this moment instead of basking in the sunshine of peace, the harsh clarion of war would have assailed our ears; the union would have been convulsed; armies raised; expeditions as wild and romantic as that of Bonaparte to Egypt undertaken; the military in all probability superior to civil authority, and freedom swallowed up in the magnitude and splendour of military power. Whether such a train of probable measures would have issued in a *consular* government may be *much* doubted by some, but by us very little, if at all.

The contemptible manner in which you *affect* to speak of Mr. Pennington comports with your inordinate vanity, and exhibits your breeding. You say "The relation of *one* William S. Pennington, &c. Respect for the public if not for yourself ought, sir, to have taught you better. Do you not know Mr. Pennington, or did you, without knowing it,

wish to display the awkward mixture of a *lordly* exterior with a *grovelling* mind? Mr. Pennington, sir, whom you contemptuously term *one* William S. Pennington, is a member of the executive council of New-Jersey, a very eminent counsellor at the bar, is deservedly beloved by the republicans of that state, and ranks among the foremost men in it. He is a frank and intelligent *republican*, equally adverse to *federalism* and to *intrigue*.

Newark, Jan. 25th, 1803.

MR. COLEMAN,

I have observed in a paper of yesterday Edited by you, a publication wherein Mr. John Swartwout charges me with giving a false colouring to a relation of facts contained in a letter of mine to the Editors of the *American Citizen*, in answer to one from them. I am much surprized at the word *colouring* made use of by Mr. Swartwout, because my letter, and more especially that part of it which related to him, is nothing more than a plain narrative of facts, as nearly as I could recollect them, and as far as my mind is capable of understanding the subject, without the least colouring. And I am still more surprized that Mr. Swartwout should deny in so positive and peremptory a manner, and connect that denial with my name, that he ever wrote letters to any person advising the election of Mr. Burr, in *exclusion* of Mr. Jefferson. For my own part I never heard or suspected that he did, nor is there any thing in my letter to Messrs. Denniston and Cheetham, that can with propriety be said even to intimate the fact. I

will not trouble you nor the public, with a repetition of the facts contained in my letter, which has become the subject of Mr. Swartwout's animadversion, but content myself with observing, that whoever will take the trouble to examine both my letter and Mr. Swartwout's observations, will find, that the one does not contradict the other. In penning that letter, I adhered to what I believed to be substantially the truth, and if the facts therein stated should be found to be incorrect, in substance, I shall henceforth distrust every faculty of my mind, and hereafter relate with great doubt and uncertainty, every thing that depends on my memory. But I have the more confidence in my correctness, as Mr. Swartwout hath not denied a single fact which I stated. As you have published Mr. Swartwout's address to the public, I trust your impartiality will induce you to give place to this note.

I am, with respect, your humble servant,

WILLIAM S. PENNINGTON.

Mr. Coleman.

F I N I S.

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general
 introduction of the subject, and to a statement of the
 objects of the present investigation. It is then shown
 that the problem is equivalent to the determination
 of the roots of a certain equation, and that this
 equation can be reduced to a form in which the
 roots are expressible in terms of radicals. The
 method of solution is then given, and the results
 are compared with those obtained by other
 methods. The paper concludes with a summary of
 the results, and a list of references.

Received at the office of the Secretary of the
 Royal Society, London, on the 15th day of
 January, 1885.



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