

9th CONGRESS.]

No. 217.

[2d SESSION.]

## BURR'S CONSPIRACY.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, JANUARY 22, 1807.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:*

Agreeably to the request of the House of Representatives, communicated in their resolution of the 16th instant, I proceed to state, under the reserve therein expressed, information received touching an illegal combination of private individuals against the peace and safety of the Union, and a military expedition planned by them against the territories of a Power in amity with the United States, with the measures I have pursued for suppressing the same.

I had, for some time, been in the constant expectation of receiving such further information as would have enabled me to lay before the Legislature the termination, as well as the beginning and progress of this scene of depravity, so far as it has been acted on the Ohio and its waters. From this, the state of safety of the lower country might have been estimated on probable grounds, and the delay was indulged the rather because no circumstance had yet made it necessary to call in the aid of the legislative functions. Information, now recently communicated, has brought us nearly to the period contemplated. The mass of what I have received, in the course of these transactions, is voluminous, but little has been given under the sanction of an oath, so as to constitute formal and legal evidence. It is chiefly in the form of letters, often containing such a mixture of rumors, conjectures, and suspicions, as renders it difficult to sift out the real facts, and unadvisable to hazard more than general outlines, strengthened by concurrent information, or the particular credibility of the relator. In this state of the evidence, delivered sometimes, too, under the restriction of private confidence, neither safety nor justice will permit the exposing names, except that of the principal actor, whose guilt is placed beyond question.

Some time in the latter part of September I received intimations that designs were in agitation in the western country, unlawful, and unfriendly to the peace of the Union, and that the prime mover in these was Aaron Burr, heretofore distinguished by the favor of his country. The grounds of these intimations being inconclusive, the objects uncertain, and the fidelity of that country known to be firm, the only measure taken was to urge the informants to use their best endeavors to get further insight into the designs and proceedings of the suspected persons, and to communicate them to me.

It was not until the latter part of October, that the objects of the conspiracy began to be perceived; but still so blended and involved in mystery, that nothing distinct could be singled out for pursuit. In this state of uncertainty, as to the crime contemplated, the acts done, and the legal course to be pursued, I thought it best to send to the scene where these things were principally in transaction a person in whose integrity, understanding, and discretion, entire confidence could be reposed, with instructions to investigate the plots going on, to enter into conference (for which he had sufficient credentials) with the Governors, and all other officers, civil and military, and, with their aid, to do on the spot whatever should be necessary to discover the designs of the conspirators, arrest their means, bring their persons to punishment, and to call out the force of the country to suppress any unlawful enterprise in which it should be found they were engaged. By this time it was known that many boats were under preparation, stores of provisions collecting, and an unusual number of suspicious characters in motion on the Ohio and its waters. Besides despatching the confidential agent to that quarter, orders were, at the same time, sent to the Governors of the Orleans and Mississippi Territories, and to the commanders of the land and naval forces there, to be on their guard against surprise, and in constant readiness to resist any enterprise which might be attempted on the vessels, posts, or other objects under their care; and on the 8th of November instructions were forwarded to General Wilkinson to hasten an accommodation with the Spanish commandant on the Sabine, and, as soon as that was effected, to fall back with his principal force to the hither bank of the Mississippi, for the defence of the interesting points on that river. By a letter received from that officer of the 25th of November, but dated October 21st, we learned that a confidential agent of Aaron Burr had been deputed to him, with communications, partly written in cipher and partly oral, explaining his designs, exaggerating his resources, and making such offers of emolument and command, to engage him and the army in his unlawful enterprise, as he had flattered himself would be successful. The general, with the honor of a soldier, and fidelity of a good citizen, immediately despatched a trusty officer to me, with information of what had passed, proceeded to establish such an understanding with the Spanish commandant on the Sabine as permitted him to withdraw his force across the Mississippi, and to enter on measures for opposing the projected enterprise.

The general's letter, which came to hand on the 25th of November, as has been mentioned, and some other information received a few days earlier, when brought together, developed Burr's general designs, different parts of which only had been revealed to different informants. It appeared that he contemplated two distinct objects, which might be carried on either jointly or separately, and either the one or the other first, as circumstances should direct. One of these was the severance of the union of these States by the Allegany mountains; the other an attack on Mexico; a third object was provided, merely ostensible, to wit, the settlement of a pretended purchase of a tract of country on the Washita, claimed by a Baron Bastrop. This was to serve as the pretext for all his preparations, an allurements for such followers as really wished to acquire settlements in that country, and a cover under which to retreat in the event of a final discomfiture of both branches of his real design.

He found at once that the attachment of the western country to the present Union was not to be shaken; that its dissolution could not be effected with the consent of its inhabitants; and that his resources were inadequate, as yet, to effect it by force. He took his course then at once; determined to seize on New Orleans, plunder the bank there, possess himself of the military and naval stores, and proceed on his expedition to Mexico; and to this object all his means and preparations were now directed. He collected from all the quarters where himself or his agents possessed influence all the ardent, restless, desperate, and disaffected persons who were ready for any enterprise analogous to their characters. He seduced good and well-meaning citizens, some by assurances that he possessed the confidence of the Government, and was acting under its secret patronage; a pretence which procured some credit, from the state of our differences with Spain; and others by offers of land in Bastrop's claim on the Washita.

This was the state of my information of his proceedings about the last of November; at which time, therefore, it was first possible to take specific measures to meet them. The proclamation of November 27, two days after the receipt of General Wilkinson's information, was now issued. Orders were despatched to every interesting point on the Ohio and Mississippi, from Pittsburg to New Orleans, for the employment of such force, either of the regulars or of the militia, and of such proceedings also of the civil authorities, as might enable them to seize on all boats and stores provided for the enterprise, to arrest the persons concerned, and to suppress effectually the further progress of the enterprise. A little before the receipt of these orders in the State of Ohio, our confidential agent, who had

been diligently employed in investigating the conspiracy, had acquired sufficient information to open himself to the Governor of that State, and to apply for the immediate exertion of the authority and power of the State to crush the combination. Governor Tiffin and the Legislature, with a promptitude, an energy, and patriotic zeal, which entitle them to a distinguished place in the affection of their sister States, effected the seizure of all the boats, provisions, and other preparations within their reach; and thus gave a first blow, materially disabling the enterprise in its outset.

In Kentucky a premature attempt to bring Burr to justice, without sufficient evidence for his conviction, had produced a popular impression in his favor, and a general disbelief of his guilt. This gave him an unfortunate opportunity of hastening his equipments. The arrival of the proclamation and orders, and the application and information of our confidential agent, at length awakened the authorities of that State to the truth, and then produced the same promptitude and energy of which the neighboring State had set the example. Under an act of their Legislature of December 23, militia was instantly ordered to different important points, and measures taken for doing whatever could yet be done. Some boats (accounts vary from five to double or treble that number) and persons (differently estimated from one to three hundred) had, in the meantime, passed the falls of Ohio to rendezvous at the mouth of Cumberland, with others expected down that river.

Not apprized, till very late, that any boats were building on Cumberland, the effect of the proclamation had been trusted to for some time in the State of Tennessee; but on the 19th of December similar communications and instructions, with those to the neighboring States, were despatched by express to the Governor, and a general officer of the western division of the State; and on the 23d of December our confidential agent left Frankfort for Nashville, to put into activity the means of that State also. But by information received yesterday, I learn that on the 22d of December Mr. Burr descended the Cumberland, with two boats merely of accommodation, carrying with him from that State no quota towards his unlawful enterprise. Whether after the arrival of the proclamation, of the orders, or of our agent, any exertion which could be made by that State, or the orders of the Governor of Kentucky, for calling out the militia at the mouth of Cumberland, would be in time to arrest these boats, and those from the falls of Ohio, is still doubtful.

On the whole, the fugitives from the Ohio, with their associates from Cumberland, or any other place in that quarter, cannot threaten serious danger to the city of New Orleans.

By the same express of December 19 orders were sent to the Governors of Orleans and Mississippi, supplementary to those which had been given on the 25th of November, to hold the militia of their Territories in readiness to co-operate for their defence with the regular troops and armed vessels then under command of General Wilkinson. Great alarm, indeed, was excited at New Orleans by the exaggerated accounts of Mr. Burr, disseminated through his emissaries, of the armies and navies he was to assemble there. General Wilkinson had arrived there himself on the 24th of November, and had immediately put into activity the resources of the place for the purpose of its defence, and on the 10th of December he was joined by his troops from the Sabine. Great zeal was shown by the inhabitants generally; the merchants of the place readily agreeing to the most laudable exertions and sacrifices for manning the armed vessels with their seamen; and the other citizens manifesting unequivocal fidelity to the Union, and a spirit of determined resistance to their expected assailants.

Surmises have been hazarded that this enterprise is to receive aid from certain foreign Powers, but these surmises are without proof or probability. The wisdom of the measures sanctioned by Congress at its last session has placed us in the paths of peace and justice with the only Powers with whom we had any differences, and nothing has happened since which makes it either their interest or ours to pursue another course. No change of measures has taken place on our part; none ought to take place at this time. With the one, friendly arrangement was proposed; and the law, deemed necessary on the failure of that, was suspended, to give time for a fair trial of the issue. With the same Power friendly arrangement is now proceeding, under good expectations, and the same law, deemed necessary on failure of that, is still suspended to give time for a fair trial of the issue. With the other, negotiation was in like manner preferred, and provisional measures only taken to meet the event of rupture. With the same Power negotiation is still preferred, and provisional measures only are necessary to meet the event of rupture. While, therefore, we do not deflect in the slightest degree from the course we then assumed, and are still pursuing with mutual consent to restore a good understanding, we are not to impute to them practices as irreconcilable to interest as to good faith, and changing necessarily the relations of peace and justice between us to those of war. These surmises are, therefore, to be imputed to the vauntings of the author of this enterprise, to multiply his partisans by magnifying the belief of his prospects and support.

By letters from General Wilkinson of the 14th and 18th of December, which came to hand two days after the date of the resolution of the House of Representatives, that is to say, on the morning of the 18th instant, I received the important affidavit, a copy of which I now communicate, with extracts of so much of the letters as comes within the scope of the resolution. By these it will be seen that of three of the principal emissaries of Mr. Burr, whom the General had caused to be apprehended, one had been liberated by *habeas corpus*, and two others, being those particularly employed in the endeavor to corrupt the General and army of the United States, have been embarked by him for ports in the Atlantic States, probably on the consideration that an impartial trial could not be expected during the present agitations of New Orleans, and that that city was not as yet a safe place of confinement. As soon as these persons shall arrive, they will be delivered to the custody of the law, and left to such course of trial, both as to place and process, as its functionaries may direct. The presence of the highest judicial authorities to be assembled at this place within a few days, the means of pursuing a sounder course of proceedings here than elsewhere, and the aid of the Executive means, should the judges have occasion to use them, render it equally desirable for the criminal as for the public, that, being already removed from the place where they were first apprehended, the first regular arrest should take place here, and the course of proceedings receive here their proper direction.

TH: JEFFERSON.

JANUARY 22, 1807.

#### *Deposition of General Wilkinson.*

NEW ORLEANS, November 25, 1806.

On the 30th of the same month I waited in person on Doctor E. Bollman, when he informed me that he had not heard from Colonel Burr since his arrival here; that he (the said Doctor E. Bollman) had sent despatches to Colonel Burr by a Lieutenant Spence of the navy, and that he had been advised of Spence's arrival at Nashville, in the State of Tennessee, and observed that Colonel Burr had proceeded too far to retreat; that he (Colonel Burr) had numerous and powerful friends in the United States, who stood pledged to support him with their fortunes, and that he must succeed; that he (the said Doctor E. Bollman) had written to Colonel Burr on the sub-

ject of provisions, and that he expected a supply would be sent from New York and also from Norfolk, where Colonel Burr had strong connexions. I did not see or hear from the doctor again until the 5th instant, when I called on him the second time. The mail having arrived the day before, I asked him whether he had received any intelligence from Colonel Burr. He informed me that he had seen a letter from Colonel Burr of the 30th of October, in which he (Colonel Burr) gave assurances that he should be at Natchez with two thousand men on the 20th of December instant, where he should wait until he heard from this place; that he would be followed by four thousand men more, and that he, (Colonel Burr,) if he had chosen, could have raised or got twelve thousand as easy as six thousand, but that he did not consider that number necessary. Confiding fully in this information, I became indifferent about further disguise. I then told the doctor that I should most certainly oppose Colonel Burr if he came this way. He replied, they must come here for equipments and shipping; and observed, that he did not know what had passed between Colonel Burr and myself; obliqued at a sham defence, and waived the subject.

From the documents in my possession, and the several communications, verbal as well as written, from the said Doctor Erick Bollman on this subject, I feel no hesitation in declaring, under the solemn obligation of an oath, that he has committed misprision of treason against the Government of the United States.

JAMES WILKINSON.

Signed and sworn to this 14th day of December, 1806, before me, one of the justices of the peace of this county.

J. CARRICK.

DEAR SIR:

PHILADELPHIA, July 25, 1806.

Mr. Swartwout, the brother of Colonel S., of New York, being on his way down the Mississippi, and presuming he may pass you at some post on the river, has requested of me a letter of introduction, which I give with pleasure, as he is a most amiable young man, and highly respectable from his character and connexions. I pray you to afford him any friendly offices which his situation may require, and beg you to pardon the trouble which this may give you.

With entire respect, your friend and obedient servant,

A. BURR.

His Excellency GENERAL WILKINSON.

*Extract of a letter from General James Wilkinson, dated*

NEW ORLEANS, December 14, 1806.

After several consultations with the Governor and judges, touching the arrest and confinement of certain known agents and emissaries of Colonel Burr, in this city and Territory, whose intrigues and machinations were to be apprehended, it is with their privity and approbation that I have caused three of them to be arrested, viz: Dr. Erick Bollman, Samuel Swartwout, and Peter V. Ogden, against whom I possess strong facts, and I have recommended to the Governor to have James Alexander, Esq. taken up on the ground of strong suspicion. These persons, and all others, who, by their character and deportment, may be considered hostile to the interests of the United States, or dangerous to this feeble frontier, under the menacing aspect of things from above, will, if my influence can prevail, be seized and sent by sea to the United States, subject to the disposition of Government, and accompanied with such information as may justify their confinement, and furnish a clew to the development of the grounds, progress, and projectors of the treasonable enterprise in which they are engaged.

This letter will accompany Dr. Bollman, who is to be this day embarked in a vessel bound for Charleston, under the charge of Lieutenant Wilson of the artillery, who has orders to land with his prisoner at Fort Johnston or Fort Moultrie, to forward this despatch by mail, and to wait the orders of the Executive. Mr. Swartwout will be sent to Baltimore by a vessel which will sail some time the ensuing week, in custody of another subaltern, who will be the bearer of strong testimony against him and also Colonel Burr; and the others will follow, under due precautions, by the earliest opportunities which may present.

I deem it essential to keep these prisoners apart, to prevent the adjustment of correspondent answers or confessions to any examination which may ensue; and I hope the measures of the Executive may be so prompt and efficient as to relieve the officers in charge of them from their trust before the interposition of the friends of the prisoners may effect their liberation.

By this procedure we may intimidate the confederates, who are unquestionably numerous in this as well as the adjacent Territory, disconcert their arrangements, and possibly destroy their intrigues; and I hope the zeal which directs the measure may be justified and approved, for whilst the glow of patriotism actuates my conduct, and I am willing to offer myself a martyr to the constitution of my country, I should indeed be most grievously disappointed did I incur its censure.

Here, sir, we find the key to the Western States, and here we must form one grand depository and place of arms. Combine to this disposition a river fleet competent to its occlusion, and post it thirty or forty leagues above the Yazoo river, and we may repose in security; for the discontent and sufferings of our insurgent citizens, which must immediately ensue, will soon open their eyes to the wickedness of their leaders, and work a radical reformation without bloodshed. This is my plan for resisting an internal attack; for external defence, gun-boats and bomb-ketches, with floating batteries, at the mouths of the Mississippi and the passes from Lake Pontchartrain, will be necessary.

*Extract of a letter from General James Wilkinson, dated*

NEW ORLEANS, December 18, 1806.

SIR:

Since my last of the 14th instant, writs of *habeas corpus* have been issued for the bodies of Bollman, Swartwout, and Ogden, the two latter by Judge Workman, who is strongly suspected of being connected with Burr in his conspiracy, as I have proof this man declared some time since that "the republican who possessed power, and did not employ it to establish a despotism, was a fool." His writ for Ogden was served on Captain Shaw of the navy, who had him in charge, at my request, on board the Etna bomb-ketch, and delivered him up, and Mr. Workman discharged him, without giving me a word of information, although he knew he was confined by my order for a treasonable combination with Burr, and Mr. Ogden now struts at large. Swartwout I have sent off, and shall so report, holding myself ready for consequences. Bollman was required by the superior court, but I have got rid of that affair also, under the usual liability for damages; in which case I shall look to our country for protection.

I, James Wilkinson, brigadier general and commander-in-chief of the army of the United States, to warrant the arrest of Dr. Erick Bollman, on a charge of treason, misprision of treason, or such other offence against the Government and laws of the United States as the following facts may legally charge him with, on my honor, as a soldier, and on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, do declare and swear, that, on the sixth day of November last, when in command at Natchitoches, I received, by the hands of a Frenchman, a stranger to me, a letter from Dr. Erick Bollman, of which the following is a correct copy:

SIR:

NEW ORLEANS, *September 27, 1806.*

I have the honor to forward to your excellency the enclosed letters, which I was charged to deliver to you by our mutual friend. I shall remain for some time at this place, and should be glad to learn where and when I may have the pleasure of an interview with you. Have the goodness to inform me of it, and please to direct your letter to me, care of ———, or enclose it under cover to them.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your excellency's most obedient servant,

ERICK BOLLMAN.

General WILKINSON.

Covering a communication in cipher from Colonel Aaron Burr, of which the following is substantially as fair an interpretation as I have heretofore been able to make, the original of which I hold in my possession.

"I, Aaron Burr, have obtained funds, and have actually commenced the enterprise. Detachments from different points, and under different pretences, will rendezvous on the Ohio 1st November. Every thing internal and external favors views. Protection of England is secured. T.\* is gone to Jamaica to arrange with the admiral on that station, and will meet at the Mississippi—England—navy of the United States are ready to join, and final orders are given to my friends and followers. It will be a host of choice spirits. Wilkinson shall be second to Burr only. Wilkinson shall dictate the rank and promotion of his officers. Burr will proceed westward, 1st August, never to return: with him goes his daughter: the husband will follow in October, with a *corps of worthies*. Send forthwith an intelligent and confidential friend with whom Burr may confer. He shall return immediately with further interesting details: this is essential to concert and harmony of movement. Send a list of all persons known to Wilkinson west of the mountains, who could be useful, with a note delineating the characters. By your messenger send me four or five of the commissions of your officers, which you can borrow under any pretence you please. They shall be returned faithfully. Already are orders to the contractor given to forward six months' provisions to points Wilkinson may name. This shall not be used until the last moment, and then under proper injunctions. The project is brought to the point so long desired. Burr guaranties the result with his life and honor—the lives, the honor, and fortune of hundreds, the best blood of our country. Burr's plan of operations is to move down rapidly from the falls on the 15th of November, with the first five hundred or one thousand men in light boats, now constructing for that purpose, to be at Natchez between the 5th and 15th of December: then to meet Wilkinson: then to determine whether it will be expedient, in the first instance, to seize on or pass by Baton Rouge. On receipt of this send Burr an answer. Draw on Burr for all expenses, &c. The people of the country to which we are going are prepared to receive us: their agents, now with Burr, say that, if we will protect their religion, and will not subject them to a foreign Power, in three weeks all will be settled.

"The gods invite to glory and fortune: it remains to be seen whether we deserve the boon. The bearer of this goes express to you: he will hand a formal letter of introduction to you from Burr, a copy of which is hereunto subjoined: he is a man of inviolable honor and perfect discretion; formed to execute rather than to project; capable of relating facts with fidelity, and incapable of relating them otherwise. He is thoroughly informed of the plans and intentions of ———, and will disclose to you as far as you inquire, and no further. He has imbibed a reverence for your character, and may be embarrassed in your presence: put him at ease, and he will satisfy you. Dr. Bollman, equally confidential, better informed on the subject, and more intelligent, will hand this duplicate.

"29th JULY."

The day after my arrival in this city, the 26th of November last, I received another letter from the doctor, of which the following is a correct copy:

SIR:

Your letter of the 6th instant has been duly received. Supposing that you will be much engaged this morning, I defer waiting on your excellency till you will be pleased to inform me of the time when it will be convenient to you to see me.

I remain, with great respect, your excellency's most obedient servant,

ERICK BOLLMAN.

9th CONGRESS.]

No. 218.

[2d SESSION.]

## BURR'S CONSPIRACY—ARRESTS.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, ON THE 26TH OF JANUARY, 1807.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:*

JANUARY 26, 1807.

I received from General Wilkinson, on the 23d instant, his affidavit charging Samuel Swartwout, Peter V. Ogden, and James Alexander with the crimes described in the affidavit, a copy of which is now communicated to both Houses of Congress.

\* Truxton.