

## NOTES

### CHAPTER I

1. John Adams to James Lloyd, Feb. 17, 1815; John Adams, *Works*, C. F. Adams, *ed.*, X, 123.
2. I am indebted chiefly for genealogical data on the Burrs to *A General History of the Burr Family*, by Charles Burr Todd, 1902.
3. Parton's *Burr*, 31.
4. *Ibid.*, 31-2.
5. Davis' *Burr*, I, 17-18.
6. *Ibid.*, 18.
7. MSS. Sermons, Yale Univ.; MSS. Letter, Burr to Mr. Hogg, Dec. 3, 1775 [an obvious error for 1755], Princeton Univ.
8. *A General Account of . . . the College lately established in the Province of New-Jersey . . . by the Trustees of the College*, 4.
9. Both Davis and Parton yield Burr the honor of being its first President. But see Princeton Univ. Archives.
10. *A General Account*, etc., *supra*, 5.
11. *New York Gazette*, July 20, 1752; Davis' *Burr*, I, 20.
12. Joseph Shippen, Jr., to his father, July 6, 1752; N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc., First Series, V, 169.
13. Joseph Shippen, Jr., to his stepmother, August 1, 1752; *ibid.*, 169-70.
14. MSS. Letter, Princeton Univ.
15. MSS. Letter, Esther Burr to Lucy Edwards, Nov. 4, 1754; Princeton Univ.
16. MSS. Diary, Esther Burr; Yale Univ.
17. *Ibid.*
18. MSS. Letter, Burr to Mr. Hogg, Dec. 3, 1755; Princeton Univ.
19. MSS. Letter, Burr to the Gov. & General Court of Conn., May 8, 1754; Conn. State Lib.
20. Esther Burr *Diary*; *supra*.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*

### CHAPTER II

1. Esther Burr *Diary*; *supra*.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Burr to Mr. Hogg, Dec. 3, 1755; *supra*.
4. Esther Burr *Diary*; *supra*.
5. *Ibid.*
6. MSS. Letter, Burr to George Whitefield, Feb. 16, 1757; Princeton Univ.
7. Esther Burr *Diary*; *supra*.
8. MSS. Letter, Burr to Naphalis Daggett, Prof. of Divinity, Yale College, May 10, 1757; Yale Univ.
9. Esther Burr *Diary*; *supra*.
10. *Diary*, Ezra Stiles, II, 337.
11. A MSS. inventory of the joint estates of Aaron and Esther Burr in 1765 discloses seemingly that the totals received amounted to some 5679 pounds,

with disbursements over the course of years of 1106 pounds, including debts and current expenses; Princeton Univ.

12. Parton's *Burr*, 47.
13. Davis' *Burr*, I, 23-4.
14. *Ibid.*, 26.
15. Parton's *Burr*, 53.

## CHAPTER III

1. Beam, *American Whig Society*, 60.
2. Williams, *The Cliosophic Society*.
3. Beam, *American Whig Society*, 30.
4. Davis' *Burr*, I, 44.
5. Burr, *Journal*, Bixby, ed., II, 73. See also *ibid.*, I, 8.
6. MSS. Letter, McLean to Editors *Presbyterian Journal*, Jan. 27, 1875; Princeton Univ. Archives; Researches of V. Lansing Collins and Jacob Beam, of Princeton.
7. Davis' *Burr*, I, 28; the *Essay on Dancing* is in the Pa. Hist. Soc.
8. Wandell and Minnigerode, *Burr*, I, 27.
9. Davis' *Burr*, I, 27-8.
10. Patterson to Burr, Oct. 26, 1772; Davis' *Burr*, I, 39-40.
11. MSS. Letter, Burr to Jonathan Sergeant, June 12, 1772; Princeton Univ.
12. Same to same, Aug. 15, 1772, *ibid.*
13. Princeton Univ. Archives.
14. Patterson to Spring, Oct. 5, 1772; Davis' *Burr*, I, 40.
15. Patterson to Burr, Jan. 17, 1772; *ibid.*, 37.
16. Same to same, Oct. 26, 1772; *ibid.*, 37.
17. Spring to Burr, May 15, 1772; *ibid.*, 43.
18. Ogden to Burr, Aug. 9, 1774; *ibid.*, 47.
19. Davis' *Burr*, I, 45.
20. MSS. Letter, Richard Platt to Burr, undated; N. Y. Pub. Lib.
21. Timothy Edwards to Burr, Feb. 11, 1774; Davis' *Burr*, I, 46.
22. Correspondence between Ogden and Burr; *ibid.*, 47-56.
23. Burr to Ogden, Aug. 17, 1774; *ibid.*, 48-9.

## CHAPTER IV

1. Wandell and Minnigerode, *Burr*, I, 42.
2. Sally Reeve to Burr, Sept. 2, 1775; W. C. Ford, *Some Papers of Aaron Burr*, 22.
3. Davis' *Burr*, I, 65-6.
4. The source material, including the *Journals* of Arnold, Senter, Henry, Ware, Dearborn, Wild, Ogden, etc., as well as secondary works, notably John Codman's *Arnold's Expedition* and the two books of Justin H. Smith, to wit, *Arnold's March* and the *Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony*, has been freely used for this account.
5. Ogden's *Journal*, MSS., Washington Assn. of N. J.; published in N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc., Jan., 1928.
6. *Ibid.* According to Davis, I, 66, this incident occurred to Burr himself.
7. Arnold to his officers, Oct. 27, 1775.
8. Davis (*Burr*, I, 77) avers the doubtful honor was first offered by Arnold to Burr, who refused it as a silly, futile move. He places the incident, however, after the assault, which seemingly disposes of it as apocryphal.

9. Ogden's *Journal*, *supra*.
10. Codman, *Arnold's Expedition*.
11. Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 386.
12. Davis' *Burr*, I, 67-9.
13. The story of Burr's "forlorn hope" is narrated in detail in Davis' *Burr*, I, 70-1, a source always to be viewed with suspicion. But it was obviously based on Burr's own statements in after life, and involves no such self-contradictions as some of the other tales. Codman accepts it whole, while Smith's skeptical attitude is based on nothing more definite than a belief that Montgomery's notable caution precluded any discussion of plans with his men. He forgets that a regular Council of War had been held, and that Burr was Montgomery's aide-de-camp at the time.
14. Testimony of Capt. Richard Platt, cited Davis' *Burr*, I, 177.
15. Statement of Spring to Senator William Plumer; Plumer's *Memorandum of Proceedings*, 612. Here again a merry controversy has raged. Parton embellished the story with lofty language and romantic details. (75-7) Justin H. Smith disbelieves the entire episode (*Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony*, II, note LXXV), basing his disbelief on the fact that Spring's account was not given until 45 years later, and not published until 1838, 19 years after Spring's death, and on the more important fact that, according to J. J. Henry's *Journal*, p. 109, Spring had helped the wounded Arnold to the hospital, and therefore could not have been present with Montgomery's column. But Henry did not compose his *Journal* until considerably later, to wit, between 1805 and 1811, when he was in feeble health, and the blurring effect of time may be charged equally to him as to Spring. His testimony is as follows: "Now we saw Colonel Arnold returning, wounded in the leg, and supported by two gentlemen, a Parson Spring was one, and in my belief, a Mr. Ogden the other." But Dr. Isaac Senter, who was in charge of the hospital that night, notes in his *Journal* (MSS., N. Y. Hist. Soc.) that "Col. Arnold was brought in, supported by two Soldiers, wounded in the leg . . . Before the Col. was done with, Major Ogden came in Wounded through the left Shoulder, which proved only a flesh wound." So that Ogden definitely was not one of the good Samaritans, as Henry averred, and it is not likely that Senter, who knew Spring to be a Chaplain, would refer to him anonymously as a "Soldier."
16. Arnold to Gen. Wooster, Dec. 31, 1775; *Correspondence of the Revolution*, Sparks, ed., I, 500.
17. Wm. Bradford, Jr., to Burr, Jan. 24, 1776; Davis' *Burr*, I, 75.
18. Reeve to Burr, Jan. 27, 1776; *ibid.*, 75-6.
19. Ogden to Burr, Mar. 20, 1776; *ibid.*, 77-8.
20. Burr to Sally Reeve; Wandell and Minnigerode, *Burr*, I, 56. (*Italics* mine.)
21. Ogden to Burr, June 5, 1776; Davis' *Burr*, I, 80.
22. Burr to Ogden, June 18, 1776; *ibid.*, 81.
23. Mrs. Coghlan's *Memoirs*.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Davis' *Burr*, I, 90-2.
26. Mrs. Coghlan's *Memoirs*.
27. G. W. Greene, *Life of Greene*, I, 212; Wm. Jay, *Life of Jay*, II, 7.
28. Eyewitness account, Van Tyne, *The War of Independence, American Phase*, 250.
29. Depositions of Hezekiah Ripley, Nathaniel Judson, Isaac Jennings and Andrew Wakeman, all of Silliman's Brigade; Davis' *Burr*, I, 102-6.
30. MSS. Letter, Burr to Sally Reeve, Oct. 27, 1776; Yale Univ.

31. Burr to Ogden, Mar. 7, 1777; Davis' *Burr*, I, 109.
32. Horatio Gates Papers, N. Y. Hist. Soc.
33. Putnam to Burr, July 14, 1777; Davis' *Burr*, I, 110.

## CHAPTER V

1. Burr to Washington July 21, 1777; Davis' *Burr*, I, 111.
2. Davis' *Burr*, 112.
3. Statement, Lt. Robert Hunter; *ibid*, 116.
4. Statement, Judge George Gardner; *ibid*, 113-4; Statement, Lt. Hunter, *supra*; Putnam to Burr, Sept. 27, 1777, Force Transcripts, Lib. of Congress.
5. Col. Burr's *Orderly Books*, Whitmarsh, 1777; N. Y. Hist. Soc.
6. Col. Burr's *Orderly Books*, Valley Forge, 1778; N. Y. Hist. Soc.
7. MSS. Letter, Burr to Lord Stirling, Apr. 10, 1778; Princeton Univ.
8. Stirling to Burr, July 4, 1778; Davis' *Burr*, I, 129.
9. Benson to Burr, Aug. 2, 1778; *ibid*, 131-2.
10. Stirling to Burr, July 4, 1778, *supra*.
11. W. C. Ford, *Some Papers of Aaron Burr*, 39.
12. MSS. Letter, Commissioners for conspiracies to Col. John Fisher, Sept. 7, 1778; Emmett Coll., N. Y. Pub. Lib.
13. Lee to Burr, Oct. 1778; MSS. Letter, Pa. Hist. Soc.
14. Burr to Washington, Oct. 24, 1778; Davis' *Burr*, I, 136-7.
15. Washington to Burr, Oct. 26, 1778; *ibid*, 137.
16. MSS. Letter, McDougall to Parsons, Jan. 9, 1779; McDougall Papers, N. Y. Hist. Soc.
17. Burr to McDougall, Jan. 13, 1779; Davis' *Burr*, I, 142-3.
18. McDougall to Burr, Jan. 15, 1779; *ibid*, 145.
19. Burr to McDougall, Jan. 12, 1779; *ibid*, 140.
20. Same to same, McDougall Papers, N. Y. Hist. Soc.
21. Burr's *Orderly Books*; N. Y. Hist. Soc.
22. Statement of Samuel Young; Davis' *Burr*, I, 158-66.
23. Washington to Burr; *ibid*, 168.
24. Patterson to Burr, Mar. 18, 1779; *ibid*, 170.
25. Hull to Burr, May 29, 1779; W. C. Ford, *Some Papers of Aaron Burr*, 48-9.
26. Davis' *Burr*, I, 172.
27. Ezra Stiles, *Diary*, II, 351.
28. *Ibid*.

## CHAPTER VI

1. Monroe to Mrs. Prevost, Nov. 8, 1778; Davis' *Burr*, I, 185-6.
2. Washington to Mrs. Prevost, May 19, 1779; *ibid*, 186.
3. See p. 60.
4. Patterson to Burr, Sept. 29, 1779; Davis' *Burr*, I, 187-8.
5. Troup to Burr, Jan. 16, 1780; *ibid*, 188-91.
6. Burr to Patterson; *ibid*, 193-4.
7. Troup to Burr, Feb. 29, 1780; *ibid*, 194-7.
8. Troup to Burr, June 27, 1780; *ibid*, 204-5.
9. Burr to Alden, Feb. 15, 1781; *ibid*, 221-2.
10. Peter Colt to Burr, July 7, 1780; *ibid*, 206.
11. Smith to Burr, Mar. 1, 1781; *ibid*, 223.
12. Theodosia Prevost to Burr, May, 1781; *ibid*, 226-7.
13. Same to same, Feb. 12, 1781; *ibid*, 224-5.

14. Same to Tapping Reeve, May 29, 1781; Tapping Reeve Papers, Yale Univ.
15. Theodosia Prevost to Burr, Sept. 11, 1781; Davis' *Burr*, I, 228.
16. Burr to Morris, Oct. 21, 1781; *ibid*, 231-2.
17. Burr to Mrs. Prevost, Dec. 6, 1781; *ibid*, 234.
18. *Ibid*, 234-5.
19. Burr to Mrs. Prevost, Dec. 23, 1781; *ibid*, 241-3.
20. Marriage Certificate; *Some Papers of Aaron Burr*, W. C. Ford, ed., 52.
21. MSS. Letter, undated, copy in Princeton Univ. Archives.
22. Burr to an uncle, Nov. 1783; Wandell and Minnigerode, *Burr*, I, 102.
23. Aug. 19, 1783, Tapping Reeve Papers; Yale Univ.
24. MSS. Letter, Burr to Barnard Gratz, June 21, 1785; Pa. Hist. Soc.
- "Yesterday Mrs. Burr presented me another Daughter, and is as well as can be expected." This unpublished letter has been overlooked by previous biographers, and settles definitively the long controversy over Burr's second child.
25. Mar. 22, 1784; Davis' *Burr*, I, 247-8.
26. Oct. 29, 1784; *ibid*, 248.
27. MSS. Letter, undated; Tapping Reeve Papers, Yale Univ.
28. MSS. Letter, May 1, 1786; *ibid*.
29. Hobart to Burr, June 17, 1783; Pa. Hist. Soc.

## CHAPTER VII

1. N. Y. State Assembly Journal, Session Oct. 12, 1784.
2. *Ibid*, Session Jan. 27, 1785; 77-9.
3. *Ibid*, Session Jan. 1785; 53, 64, 76, 77.
4. *Life of Hamilton*, H. J. Ford, 331.
5. MSS. Docket of Cases; N. Y. Hist. Soc.
6. MSS. Letter, Jan. 12, 1790; N. J. Hist. Soc.
7. *Greene Folio* Vol., Case I; N. Y. Hist. Soc.
8. *De Peyster Papers*, Vol. I, III; *ibid*.
9. *Ibid*, Vol. VIII.
10. Parton's *Burr*, 154.
11. Davis' *Burr*, II, 14.
12. *Ibid*.
13. MSS. Brief of Law Suit re Title of Wayawanda Patent; N. Y. Pub. Lib.
14. Parton's *Burr*, 152.
15. *Ibid*.
16. *Travels . . . in the U. S. A.*, J. Davis, 24-5. Nevertheless this was the language of panegyric. Davis had come to America in 1798 to seek his fortune with a translation of Bonaparte's *Campaign in Italy*. Burr sought him out, opened his house, table, purse and library to the young poetaster. His accounts of his Travels are full of airy flights of fancy and the poetic touch, and are famous for his misleading eye-witness account of Jefferson's inauguration.
17. Apr. 1785; Davis' *Burr*, I, 253.
18. Apr. 1785; *ibid*.
19. May 1785; *ibid*, 256-7.
20. Aug. 28, 1785; *ibid*, 269.
21. Aug. 29, 1785; *ibid*, 270.
22. Nov. 1787; *ibid*, 279.

23. Maunsell to Mrs. Watkins, Dec. 14, 1783; *My Forefathers*, A. M. Bradhurst, 40.
24. *Ibid.*, 116. Cf. Wandell and Minnigerode, *Burr*, I, 141.
25. Maunsell to Miss Watkins, ca. spring, 1791; *My Forefathers*, A. M. Bradhurst, 117.
26. Burr to Mrs. Burr, June 1791; Wandell and Minnigerode, *Burr*, I, 112.

## CHAPTER VIII

1. *A Political Hist. of N. Y.*, D. S. Alexander, I, 15.
2. Parton's *Burr*, 169.
3. Davis' *Burr*, I, 286.
4. *Hist. of Polit. Parties in N. Y.*, J. D. Hammond, I, 39.
5. Davis' *Burr*, I, 329.
6. *Hist. of Polit. Parties in N. Y.*, J. D. Hammond, I, 56-61.
7. See Wandell and Minnigerode, *Burr*, I, 110; Davis' *Burr*, I, 291 *et seq.*
8. *Travels . . . in the U. S. A.*, J. Davis, 25.
9. Schuyler to Hamilton, Jan. 29, 1792; Hamilton, *Works* (J. C. Hamilton, ed.), V, 494.

## CHAPTER IX

1. July 23, 1791; Davis' *Burr*, I, 298.
2. Burr to Mrs. Burr, Oct. 30, 1791; *ibid.*, 304.
3. Same to same, Dec. 15, 1791; *ibid.*, 312.
4. *Travels . . . in the U. S. A.*, J. Davis, 25. His account, however, cannot be considered as impartial. Burr was his patron.
5. *Annals of Congress* (Gales & Seaton), III, 15.
6. *Ibid.*, 15, 26, 30, 50, 90, 104, 110.
7. *Ibid.*, 638.
8. Feb. 19, 1792; Davis' *Burr*, I, 315.
9. Jefferson to Burr; *ibid.*, 331.
10. Schuyler to Hamilton, Jan. 29, 1792; Hamilton, *Works* (J. C. Hamilton, ed.), V, 492-4.
11. Isaac Ledyard to Hamilton, Feb. 1, 1792; *ibid.*, 494-5.
12. *Hist. of Polit. Parties in N. Y.*, J. D. Hammond, I, 56.
13. Davis' *Burr*, I, 354-5.
14. Burr's opinion; *ibid.*, 339-41.
15. Statement of Canvassers; *ibid.*, 335-6.
16. *Ibid.*, 338, 341.
17. Hunt vs. Burrill, 5 John R. 137.
18. Burr to Tapping Reeve, undated; Tapping Reeve Papers, Yale Univ.
19. Burr to James Monroe, Sept. 10, 1792; Monroe Papers, Lib. of Congress.
20. Burr to Jacob De Lamater, June 15, 1792; Davis' *Burr*, I, 357.

## CHAPTER X

1. Dr. Benjamin Rush to Burr, Sept. 24, 1792; Davis' *Burr*, I, 316-7.
2. MSS. Letter in cipher, Theodore Sedgwick to Burr, Sept. 9, 1791; Pa. Hist. Soc.
3. King to Hamilton, Sept. 17, 1792; Hamilton, *Works*, V, 526.
4. MSS. Letter, Hamilton to Washington, Sept. 23, 1792; Pa. Hist. Soc.
5. Hamilton to —, Sept. 21, 1792; Hamilton, *Works*, V, 527.

6. Hamilton to —, Sept. 26, 1792; *ibid.*, 529.
7. Hamilton to Steele, Oct. 15, 1792; *ibid.*, 535.
8. Same to King, Sept. 23, 1792; *ibid.*, 528.
9. MSS. Letter, John Beckley to Madison, Oct. 17, 1792; James Madison Papers, N. Y. Pub. Lib.
10. Abigail Adams to Mrs. Shaw, Sept. 27, 1789; *Letters of A. Adams* (C. F. Adams, ed.), 399-400.
11. Same to Brand-Hollis, Sept. 6, 1790; *ibid.*, 402-3.
12. Same to Mrs. Smith, Nov. 21, 1790; *ibid.*, 405.
13. *Travels . . . in the U. S. A.*, J. Davis, 26.
14. MSS. Letter, Burr to Peter Van Gaasbeck, June 21, 1795; possession of Edward Coykendall.
15. *Ibid.*, same date.
16. For the essential data on Vanderlyn, I am indebted to a manuscript *Biographical Sketch of John Vanderlyn*, by Robert Gossman, deposited with the N. Y. Hist. Soc.
17. Burr to Marinus Willett, Dec. 9. —; Burr MSS., N. Y. Hist. Soc.
18. Burr to —, Feb. 27, 1796; *ibid.*
19. Troup to King, Jan. 20, 1797; Rufus King Papers, *ibid.*
20. Memo. of Acct., undated, Lamb Papers, *ibid.*
21. Lamb Papers, *ibid.*
22. Deed of Sale, Burr to Sir John Temple; Burr MSS., *ibid.*
23. *The Golden Earth*, Arthur Pound, 271-3.
24. June 7, 1797; Burr MSS., N. Y. Pub. Lib.
25. Jan. 12, 1798; Lamb Papers, N. Y. Hist. Soc.
26. Burr to Lamb, May 6, 1799; Harison to Burr, May 6, 1799; *ibid.*
27. Burr to Mrs. Burr, Feb. 15, 1793; Davis' *Burr*, I, 362.
28. Same to same, Feb. 16, 1793; *ibid.*, 363.
29. Same to same, July 17, 1791; *ibid.*, 297.
30. Mrs. Burr to Burr, July 2, 1791; *ibid.*, 292-4.
31. Same to same, July 23, 1791; *ibid.*, 298.
32. Burr to Mrs. Burr, Dec. 4, 1791; *ibid.*, 308-10.
33. Same to same, Feb. 8, 1793; *ibid.*, 361-2.
34. MSS. Letter, Burr to Theo Burr, Jan. 2, 1792; Pa. Hist. Soc.
35. Burr to Theo, Feb. 24, 1793; Davis' *Burr*, I, 365.
36. Same to same, Dec. 16, 1793; *ibid.*, 366-7.
37. Same to same, Jan. 23, 1797; *ibid.*, 395.
38. *Travels . . . in the U. S. A.*, J. Davis, 26.
39. Burr to Theo, Jan. 4, 1799; Davis' *Burr*, I, 396.

## CHAPTER XI

1. MSS. Letter, Burr to Nicholson, July 16, 1793; Pa. Hist. Soc.
2. *Annals of Congress*, IV, 32, 33.
3. *Ibid.*, 46-7.
4. *Ibid.*, 58.
5. *Ibid.*, 78, 79.
6. *Ibid.*, 90.
7. *John Jay*, Frank Monaghan, 367; Davis' *Burr*, I, 408.
8. *Annals of Congress*, IV, 116, 120.
9. *Life . . . of Manasseh Cutler*, W. P. Cutler, I, 522.
10. *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and Adams* (G. Gibbs, ed.), I, 379-80.

11. Davis' *Burr*, I, 408-9.
12. *Administrations of Washington and Adams* (G. Gibbs, ed.), II, 24.
13. *Annals of Congress*, IV, 794.
14. *Ibid.*, 840, 843.
15. *Annals of Congress, Senate Executive Journal*, IV, 860-1.
16. June 29, 1795, Adams' *Gallatin*, 151.
17. *Annals of Congress, Senate Executive Journal*, IV, 862-3.
18. MSS. Letter, Burr to Monroe, July 5, 1795; Monroe Papers, Lib. of Congress.
19. Parton's *Jackson*, I, 173.
20. *Annals of Congress*, V, 99.
21. MSS. Letter, Madison Papers, N. Y. Pub. Lib.
22. Burr to Monroe, Sept. 6, 1796; Monroe Papers, Lib. of Congress.
23. Williamson to McHenry, Oct. 20, 1796; *Life of McHenry*, Steiner, 200.
24. Burr Misc. MSS., N. Y. Pub. Lib.
25. Parton's *Burr*, 198.

## CHAPTER XII

1. Parton's *Burr*, 232.
2. Correspondence between Hamilton and Monroe, Monroe and Burr; quoted in *American Book Prices Current*, 1926-7; also Hamilton, *Works* (Lodge, ed.), VII, 125.
3. Jefferson to Burr, June 17, 1797; Jefferson MSS., Lib. of Congress.
4. Burr to Jefferson, June 21, 1797; *ibid.*
5. Adams to James Lloyd, Feb. 17, 1815; John Adams, *Works*, X, 123-4.
6. *Boston Patriot*, 1809; *ibid.*, IX, 294.
7. Troup to King, June 10, 1798; Rufus King Papers, N. Y. Hist. Soc.
8. Burr to Ebenezer Stevens, August 17, 1798; Stevens MSS., N. Y. Hist. Soc.
9. Same to same, August 8, 1798; *ibid.*
10. N. Y. State Assembly Journal, Session, Aug. 9, 1798; 8, 9, 23-30.
11. Troup to King, Oct. 2, 1798; Rufus King Papers, *supra*.
12. *Ibid.*; cf. *Albany Centinel*, July 13, 1798.
13. N. Y. State Assembly Journal, Session, Jan. 2, 1799; 41 *et seq.*
14. *Ibid.*, 241; cf. *Hist. of Polit. Parties in N. Y.*, Hammond, I, 122-4.
15. N. Y. State Assembly Journal, *supra*, 114-123.
16. For the data of the ensuing narrative I am chiefly indebted to a doctoral thesis by Paul D. Evans, entitled *The Holland Land Company*, appearing in 1924 in the Buffalo Historical Society Publications, XXIV. Mr. Evans had access to the original records of the Company in Holland. All references to such records are taken from his monograph.
17. MSS. Letter, Burr to John Nicholson, July 16, 1793; Pa. Hist. Soc.
18. MSS. Letter, same to same, Mar. 26, 1795; *ibid.*
19. Burr to —, Oct. 6, 1799; Davis' *Burr*, I, 419.
20. *Laws of N. Y.*, Chap. 58, 19th Sess., April 11, 1796.
21. *Ibid.*, Chap. 36, 20th Sess., Mar. 17, 1797.
22. Cazenove to P. & C. Van Eeghen, Feb. 22, 1798; Holland Co. Papers, possession of Van Eeghen & Co., Amsterdam.
23. Holland Co. Papers, possession of Van Eeghen & Co., Amsterdam.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Benson to Cazenove, Apr. 4, 1798; *ibid.*
26. Cazenove to P. & C. Van Eeghen, May 21, 1798; *ibid.*
27. Troup to King, Sept. 2, 1799; Rufus King Papers, *supra*.
28. Burr to —, Oct. 6, 1799; Davis' *Burr*, I, 418-23.

29. *Memorial Hist. of N. Y. C.* (J. G. Wilson, ed.), II, 46.
30. *An Act of Incorporation of the Manhattan Company*, 1830; N. Y. Pub. Lib.
31. *Ibid.*
32. N. Y. State Assembly Journal, Session, 1799; 263.
33. Davis' *Burr*, I, 414.
34. Troup to King, Apr. 19, 1799; Rufus King Papers, *supra*.
35. See Parton's *Burr*, 238-9; Wandell and Minnigerode, *Burr*, I, 177-8.
36. Report of the Manhattan Committee, 1799; N. Y. Pub. Lib.
37. Burr's *Journal* (Bixby, ed.) I, 211.
38. *An Act of Incorporation of the Manhattan Company*; *supra*.
39. Troup to King, May 6, 1799; Rufus King Papers, *supra*.
40. Same to same, June 5, 1799; *ibid.* (Italics mine.)

## CHAPTER XIII

1. See p. 165.
2. Jefferson, *Works* (Ford, ed.), X, 134-6, 154-9.
3. *Gallatin*, H. Adams, 232-4.
4. John Adams, *Works*, X, 125.
5. See Horatio Gates Papers, N. Y. Hist. Soc.
6. Davis' *Burr*, II, 58-9. See also *An Examination of the Charges against Aaron Burr*, by Aristides (Wm. P. Van Ness). Clinton, however, was to deny these allegations, which emerged as a result of a campaign of mutual recriminations, charges and countercharges.
7. *Commercial Advertiser*, Apr. 26, 1800. See also *Jefferson and Hamilton*, by Bowers.
8. *The History of Tammany Hall*, by Gustavus Myers.
9. *American Citizen*, July 18, 1809.
10. *The History of Tammany Hall*, Gustavus Myers, 15-16.
11. Davis' *Burr*, II, 16-17.
12. May 1, 1800; *Gallatin*, H. Adams, 237-8.
13. *N. Y. Spectator*, May 7, 10, 1800.
14. May 7, 1800; Hamilton, *Works*, VI, 438-40.
15. See p. 152.
16. The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay, IV, 271-3.
17. May 5, 1800; *Gallatin*, H. Adams, 239-40.
18. May 6, 1800; *ibid.*, 240-1.
19. Nicholson to Gallatin, May 7, 1800; *Gallatin*, H. Adams, 242.
20. De Witt Clinton Papers, Columbia Univ.
21. Statement of James Nicholson, Dec. 26, 1803; De Witt Clinton Papers, Columbia Univ.
22. Gallatin to his wife, May 12, 1800; *Gallatin*, H. Adams, 243.
23. Hamilton, *Works*, VI, 440.
24. *Ibid.*, 441.
25. Aug. 9, 1800; Rufus King Papers, *supra*.
26. Sept. 14, 1800; *ibid.*
27. Aug. 6, 1800; Hamilton, *Works*, VI, 453.
28. Aug. 10, 1800; *ibid.*, 454.
29. Nov. 26, 1800; Burr Misc. MSS., N. Y. Pub. Lib.
30. Nov. 29, 1800; *ibid.*
31. Burr to P. Edwards (?), Nov. 20, 1800; *ibid.*
32. Date unknown, 1800; Madison, *Writings* (Congress Ed.), II, 160.
33. Oct. 21, 1800; *ibid.*, 162.

## CHAPTER XIV

1. Madison to Monroe, Nov. 10, 1800; Madison, *Writings* (Congress Ed.), II, 163.
2. Am. Hist. Rev., IV, 120.
3. Mass. Hist. Coll., Seventh Series, I, 80.
4. *Some Papers of Aaron Burr*, W. C. Ford, ed., 60-1.
5. *Davis' Burr*, II, 75.
6. Burr to Jefferson, Dec. 23, 1800; Jefferson MSS., Lib. of Cong. McMaster, in his *Hist. of the U. S.*, Vol. II, cites this letter by date, without, however, giving any inkling as to its contents.
7. Gouverneur Morris, *Diary* (A. C. Morris, ed.), II, 396-7.
8. Harper to Burr, Dec. 24, 1800; *Life of Matthew Lyon*, McLaughlin, 386.
9. Hamilton to Wolcott, Dec. 16, 1800; Hamilton, *Works*, VI, 486.
10. Gouverneur Morris, *Diary*, II, 397.
11. Sedgwick to Hamilton, Jan. 10, 1801; Hamilton, *Works*, VI, 511-14.
12. Troup to King, Dec. 31, 1800; Rufus King, *Works* (C. R. King, ed.), III, 358-9.
13. Parsons to Otis, Jan. 23, 1801; *Harrison Gray Otis*, S. E. Morison, I, 213-4.
14. Hamilton to Wolcott, Dec. 17, 1800; Hamilton, *Works*, VI, 487.
15. Hamilton to G. Morris, Dec. 26, 1800; *ibid*, 498-9.
16. Same to Bayard, Dec. 27, 1800; *ibid*, 499-500.
17. Same to same, Jan. 16, 1801; *ibid*, 419-24.
18. Jefferson to Madison, Dec. 19, 1800; *Davis' Burr*, II, 69-70.
19. Sewell to Otis, Dec. 29, 1800; *Otis*, S. E. Morison, I, 212.
20. McHenry to King, Jan. 2, 1801; Rufus King, *Works* (C. R. King, ed.), III, 362-3.
21. *Ibid*.
22. Jefferson, *Works* (Ford, ed.), IX, 166.
23. George Clinton to De Witt Clinton, Jan. 13, 1801; De Witt Clinton Papers, Columbia Univ.
24. Rodney to Nicholson, Jan. 3, 1801; Nicholson MSS., Lib. of Congress.
25. Madison to Jefferson, Jan. 10, 1801; Madison, *Writings* (Congress Ed.), II, 166-7.
26. MSS. Letter, Nicholson to a Constituent, Jan. 15, 1801; Pa. Hist. Soc.
27. Jefferson to Tench Coxe, Dec. 31, 1800; Jefferson, *Writings* (Monticello Ed.), X, 188.
28. Burr to Theodosia Alston, Feb. 17, 1801; *Davis' Burr*, II, 145.
29. Burr to Gallatin, Jan. 16, 1801; *Gallatin*, H. Adams, 245.
30. Livingston to Davis, Feb. 5, 1801; *Some Papers of Aaron Burr*, W. C. Ford, 64.
31. Gallatin to his wife, Jan. 15, 1801; *Gallatin*, H. Adams, 254.
32. Jefferson, *Writings* (*Anas*, Feb. 14 and Dec. 31, 1801—Monticello Ed.), I, 440, 442. There were many other rumors and charges which Jefferson was careful to set down in his *Anas*, for future publication. Such as reports from Edward Livingston anent attempts by Bayard of Delaware to tempt him to change his vote; of an offer to General Samuel Smith, Jefferson's political henchman, of the Secretaryship of the Navy, if he voted for Burr; of a proposal to Dr. Linn of New Jersey to make him Governor. (*Ibid*, I, 439-40). Even in 1804 Jefferson was still recording matters prejudicial to Burr. These *Anas*, however, are singularly unreliable. Jefferson, great man though he was, was not averse to certain small distortions of the truth in this private *Diary*, which he knew would some day reach the public eye. Livingston was to deny,

years later, when Jefferson's *Anas* were published, any recollection of having made such a report to Jefferson. General Samuel Smith, of Maryland, then a United States Senator, on Jan. 28, 1830, emphatically denied that any such proposition was ever made to him.

33. Jefferson to Burr, Feb. 1, 1801; Jefferson, *Writings* (Monticello Ed.), X, 193-4.
  34. Burr to Jefferson, Feb. 12, 1801; Jefferson MSS., Lib. of Congress. Claude G. Bowers, in his *Jefferson and Hamilton*, p. 500, comments on the alleged fact that Burr had never responded to Jefferson's denouncement of the forgery, and deduces therefrom implications that are decidedly unfavorable to Burr. To same effect, see Chinard's *Jefferson* (1929), p. 371.
  35. Boston *Centinel*, Jan. 28, 1801.
  36. *Ibid*, Feb. 18, 1801.
  37. N. Y. *Commercial Advertiser*, Jan. 17, 1801.
  38. Conn. *Courant*, Feb. 11, 1801.
  39. As given in a *Circular Letter* by Robert G. Harper to his Constituents, Feb. 24, 1801; *Papers of James A. Bayard* (Donnan, ed.), in Annual Report of the Amer. Hist. Assn., II, 132-7. McMaster, in his *Hist. of the U. S.*, II, 524, cites a different set of figures without quoting any authority. In his table, Jefferson had a majority of the individual votes.
  40. John Randolph to St. George Tucker, Feb. 11, 1801; *Randolph*, W. C. Bruce, I, 168.
  41. H. C. Otis to his wife, Feb. 11, 1801; *Otis*, Morison, I, 207-8.
  42. Gallatin to his wife, Feb. 12, 1801; *Gallatin*, H. Adams, 260-1.
  43. MSS. Letter, Uriah Tracy to Mr. Gould, Feb. 16, 1801; Pa. Hist. Soc.
  44. Burr to Gallatin, Feb. 12, 1801; *Gallatin*, H. Adams, 246.
  45. Jefferson, *Writings* (Monticello Ed.), X, 201-2.
  46. David A. Ogden to Peter Irving, Nov. 24, 1802; N. Y. *Morning Chronicle*, Nov. 25, 1802.
  47. Bayard to Hamilton, Mar. 8, 1801; Hamilton, *Works*, VI, 522-4.
  48. Cooper to Morris, Feb. 13, 1801; *Davis' Burr*, II, 113.
  49. MSS. Memorandum, Feb. 8, 1858; Van Buren Papers, Lib. of Congress.
- In connection with this controversy, the *New York Times*, Sept. 22, 1886, quoted an alleged letter from Burr to Peter Van Gaasbeck, Congressman from Orange County. The letter is undated, and was copied from the *Rondout Freeman*, Sept. 21, 1886. The *Freeman* alleged that the autograph letter had just been found in a bundle of old papers, and that this letter was positive evidence that Burr in fact had been intriguing to displace Jefferson. I have made every attempt to trace the original of this published letter, but without success. It seems to have disappeared from sight. On the face of it, if in truth Burr's autograph, the letter seems wholly incriminating. "From the returns in Pennsylvania," it reads, "it is certain that Adams cannot be elected. The President and Vice-President must therefore be taken from Jefferson, Pinckney and Burr. Six or seven votes for Burr in this State will make him President or Vice-President. You know, I suppose, that no distinction can be made by the Electors. They vote for two men without declaring the offices for which they intend them. You see how important and critical the thing is, and must therefore spare no pains. It will be surprising, indeed, if you, Addison Bivier, and others cannot influence Miller and Cantine so far as to induce them to do what is right. Burr must be spoken of, however, only as Vice-President for the present. This caution must not be neglected for cogent reasons, which will in due time be communicated. Somebody must confer with Miller and Cantine personally and without delay."

A little consideration, however, discloses innumerable inconsistencies in

this alleged find. For one thing it is absurd to believe that Burr had to tutor Van Gaasbeck, a Congressman, in the method of electing a President. It is an all too obvious effort by the writer of the incriminating document to enlighten the modern reader. For another, Burr still did not know the returns from Pennsylvania on November 22nd or even on November 26, 1800. (See p. 185, *supra*.) On November 6th, however, New York had already chosen its Presidential Electors. Neither Miller nor Cantine was on the list of Electors. Hence it would have been futile to urge certain measures upon men who had nothing to do with the election one way or another. On this alone the letter must be pronounced a forgery. There are other minor inconsistencies as well. Such as the statement that Pinckney would overshadow Adams. At the time of the Pennsylvania vote Burr knew Adams to be in the lead. The statement that "six or seven votes for Burr in this State will make him President or Vice-President" does not make sense. New York had twelve Electors, and all twelve were already pledged to vote for Burr. The forger was very clumsy indeed.

50. Interrogatories of James A. Bayard, in *re* James Gillespie vs Abraham Smith, Apr. 3, 1806; Davis' *Burr*, II, 129-33.

51. Jefferson to Monroe, Feb. 15, 1801; *supra*.

52. Jefferson, *Writings* (Anas, Monticello Ed.), Apr. 15, 1806; I, 448-53.

53. Interrogatories of Gen. Samuel Smith, in *re* Gillespie vs Smith, Apr. 15, 1806; Davis' *Burr*, II, 133-7.

54. Papers of James A. Bayard (Donnan, ed.), *supra*, 126.

55. *Hist. of the U. S.*, H. Adams, I, 294-5.

56. Troup to King, May 27, 1801; Rufus King, *Works* (C. R. King, ed.), III, 459-60.

## CHAPTER XV

1. *Hist. of the U. S.*, H. Adams, I, 207.
2. May 17, 1801; Jefferson, *Works* (Ford, ed.), VIII, 67-70.
3. *Constitutional History of New York*, Chas. Z. Lincoln, I, 600 *et seq.*
4. See Letter from Burr to Wm. Edgar, Nov. 7, 1801; William Edgar Photostats, N. Y. Pub. Lib.
5. *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, III, 290.
6. Jefferson, *Works* (Ford, ed.), IX, 254-5.
7. Burr to Gallatin, June 28, 1801; *Gallatin*, H. Adams, 283.
8. Gallatin to Jefferson, Sept. 12, 1801; *Gallatin, Writings* (Adams, ed.), I, 47-8.
9. Same to same, Sept. 14, 1801; *ibid*, 51-3.
10. Jefferson to Gallatin, Sept. 18, 1801; *ibid*, 54.
11. Burr to Gallatin; *Gallatin*, H. Adams, 289.
12. Jefferson to Burr, Nov. 18, 1801; Jefferson MSS., Lib. of Congress.
13. MSS. Letter, Osgood to Madison, Apr. 24, 1801; Madison Papers, *ibid*.
14. William Edgar Photostats, N. Y. Pub. Lib.
15. *Hist. of the U. S.*, H. Adams, I, 332.
16. Truxton to Burr, Feb. 14, 1802; *Some Papers of Aaron Burr*, W. C. Ford, 73-4.
17. T. Sedgwick to King, Feb. 20, 1802; Rufus King, *Works* (C. R. King, ed.), IV, 74.
18. MSS. Letter, Emmett Collection, N. Y. Pub. Lib.
19. Burr to Edgar, Nov. 18, 1801; William Edgar Photostats, *ibid*.
20. Same to same, Nov. 7, 1801; *ibid*.
21. *Richmond Examiner*, Feb. 6, 1801.
22. Bayard to Bassett, Jan. 25, 1802; Papers of James A. Bayard (Donnan, ed.), 147.

23. *Annals of Congress*, XI, 147.
24. Morris to R. Livingston, Aug. 21, 1802; Morris, *Diary and Letters*, II, 426.
25. *Annals of Congress*, XI, 148-9.
26. *Ibid*, 150. Burr devoted a good deal of thought to this bill. He had sought the advice of his Republican friends who were also Constitutional lawyers. To Joseph Alston he wrote, Feb. 2, 1802, "Of the constitutionality of repealing the law I have no doubt, but the equity and expediency of depriving the twenty-six judges of office and pay is not quite so obvious. Read the Constitution, and . . . write me how you view the thing." Davis' *Burr*, II, 171. To the same effect, see communication addressed to Barnabas Biddle, *ibid*, 169, as well as congratulatory letters from A. J. Dallas and Nathaniel Miles, *ibid*, 81, 83-4. Pierpont Edwards sent him, in response to an inquiry, a detailed series of amendments which he conceived necessary to the old system. See unpublished letter, Burr to Edwards, Mar. 12, 1802, Pa. Hist. Soc.
27. *Annals of Congress*, XI, 154, 160, 183.
28. *Life of Marshall*, Beveridge, III, 68, footnote.
29. Cited in newspaper clipping, name missing, Feb. 1802; N. Y. Pub. Lib.
30. Bayard to Hamilton, Apr. 12, 1802; Hamilton, *Works* (Hamilton, ed.), VI, 539.
31. Hamilton to G. Morris, Mar. 4, 1802; Hamilton, *Works* (Lodge, ed.), X, 427-8. But Burr's version of the incident, according to John P. Van Ness, made the whole affair a mere impromptu accident. In an unpublished letter to his brother, Van Ness informed him that "Mr. Townsend was to explain the transaction of the federal Dinner. Burr did not dine with the federalists, but was politely invited to dine with a party of their Gentlemen on that day which he declined. After dinner, however, he went into their Room, and to his astonishment found the whole corps there celebrating Washington's birthday; he immediately discovered the object of the business, not knowing it before, and after having sat a moment or two retired:—In the mean time, however, they called on him for a Toast—and he gave the one you mention." (John P. to William P. Van Ness, Apr. 2, 1802; Van Ness Papers, N. Y. Pub. Lib.) The attempted explanation makes Burr more naive in his conduct than can readily be believed.
32. *A Correct Statement*, etc., John Wood, 15.
33. Davis' *Burr*, II, 87-9.
34. *A Correct Statement*, etc., John Wood (1802).
35. N. Y. *Evening Post*, May 26, 1802.
36. Burr to Alston, July 3, 1802; Davis' *Burr*, II, 205.
37. N. Y. *Evening Post*, Aug. 9, 1802.
38. *American Citizen*, Aug. 4, 1802.
39. N. Y. *Evening Post*, Aug. 10, 1802.
40. N. Y. *Chronicle-Express*, Nov. 25, 1802, May 2, 1803, Feb. 9, 1804.
41. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1907-8, *Third Series*, I, 46-51.
42. *Ibid*, 58.
43. *Nine Letters*, etc., Cheetham (1803), 41.
44. *Ibid*, 90.
45. *An Examination*, etc., Aristides.
46. Dec. 11, 1803; De Witt Clinton Papers, Columbia Univ.
47. MSS. Letters between Clinton and Ward & Gould; *ibid*.
48. Jefferson to De Witt Clinton, Oct. 6, 1804; De Witt Clinton Papers, *supra*.
49. W. C. Nicholas to De Witt Clinton, Aug. 13, 1802; *ibid*.
50. Gallatin to Jefferson, Sept. 21, 1802; *Gallatin, Writings*, I, 101.

51. MSS. Letter, Van Ness to Van Buren, Feb. 22, 1804; Van Buren Papers, Lib. of Congress.
52. Van Buren to Van Ness, Mar. 13, 1804; *ibid.*

## CHAPTER XVI

1. Theodosia Alston to Burr, June 9, 1803; Davis' *Burr*, II, 227.
2. Same to same, June 14, 1803; *ibid.*, 232.
3. Plumer to Judge Smith, Feb. 21, 1803; *Life of Wm. Plumer*, Wm. Plumer, Jr., 256-7.
4. Bloomfield to Burr, Apr. 16, 1803; Princeton Univ.
5. Pres. Samuel S. Smith to same, Jan. 2, 1804; *ibid.*
6. Jefferson, *Writings* (Anas, Monticello Ed.), Jan. 26, 1804; I, 443-8.
7. Nov. 26, 1803; Jefferson MSS., Lib. of Congress.
8. Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford, ed.), VIII, 282.
9. *Anas*. See note 6, *supra*.
10. Jefferson to Gideon Granger, Mar. 9, 1814; Jefferson, *Writings* (Monticello Ed.), XIV, 113.
11. *Pol. Hist. of N. Y.*, J. D. Hammond, I, 202-4.
12. *Albany Morning Chronicle*, Feb. 17, 1804; also Hamilton, *Works* (Lodge, ed.), VII, 851.
13. *Pol. Hist. of N. Y.*, J. D. Hammond, I, 208.
14. Plumer to Jeremiah Smith, Feb. 10, 1804, and Feb. 28, 1804; Plumer MSS., Lib. of Congress.
15. Jan. 29, 1804; *New England Federalist*, H. Adams, 341.
16. Plumer, *Memorandum of Proceedings* (E. S. Brown, ed.), 517-8.
17. Mar. 4, 1804; *New England Federalist*, H. Adams, 351-2.
18. Mar. 11, 1804; *ibid.*, 354-6.
19. *Hist. of the Republic of the U. S.*, J. C. Hamilton, VII, 781 *et seq.* See also Rufus King, *Works*, IV, 356.
20. Campaign Poster, 1804, signed *Sylphid*, N. Y. Pub. Lib. See also, for a more moderate tone, a Broadside, signed *A Republican and no Burrite*, in the Emmett Coll., *ibid.* The worst of all is merely entitled *Burr*, a copy of which is in the N. Y. Hist. Soc.

## CHAPTER XVII

1. Charles Biddle, *Autobiography*, 305.
2. *Albany Register*, Apr. 24, 1804.
3. *Ibid.*
4. The famous correspondence leading up to the duel may be found in various sources. Davis' *Burr*, II, 294 *et seq.* gives it complete, together with Van Ness's notes of his conversations with Hamilton. It has also been published separately, culled from the columns of the *Evening Post*, by William Coleman, under the title, *The Death of Hamilton*.
5. Charles Biddle, *Autobiography*, 303.
6. Burr to Theo, June 24, 1804; Davis' *Burr*, II, 290.
7. Same to same, July 10, 1804; *ibid.*, 322-3.
8. Burr to Alston, July 10, 1804; *ibid.*, 324-6.
9. Hamilton's Statement; *ibid.*, 318-21.
10. Van Ness to Biddle; Biddle, *Autobiography*, 304-5; see also, Davis' *Burr*, II, 309-10.
11. Gouverneur Morris, *Diary and Letters*, II, 456-7.
12. A. M. Bradhurst, in *My Forefathers*, p. 65, tells of a family tradition to the effect that, prior to the Hamilton duel, Burr had fought a secret duel

with Samuel Bradhurst, in which Bradhurst had received a sword cut. There exists no corroborating evidence, and the story must accordingly be treated with marked reservations.

13. Randolph to Nicholson; Nicholson MSS., Lib. of Congress.
14. Davis' *Burr*, II, 327-8.
15. Burr to Theo, July 20, 1804; *ibid.*, 328.
16. Burr to Alston, July 29, 1804; *ibid.*, 328-9.
17. Davis' *Burr*, II, 329-30.
18. Aug. 11, 1804; *ibid.*, 332.
19. Davis' *Burr*, II, 171.
20. *Ibid.*, 348.
21. *Ibid.*, 349.
22. *Ibid.*, 351-2.
23. Burr to Alston, Dec. 15, 1804; *ibid.*, 353; John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs* (C. F. Adams, ed.), I, 317-8.
24. Charles Biddle, *Autobiography*, 308.
25. Jan. 28, 1805; Davis' *Burr*, II, 355.
26. MSS. Letter, Jan. 31, 1805; Pa. Hist. Soc.

## CHAPTER XVIII

1. Plumer to Daniel Treadwell, Nov. 6, 1804; Plumer MSS., Lib. of Congress.
2. Plumer to Jeremiah Smith, Dec. 6, 1804; *ibid.*
3. Cutler to Dr. Torrey, Mar. 13, 1804; *Life . . . of Manasseh Cutler*, by W. P. and J. P. Cutler, I, 166.
4. Plumer to Thompson; Plumer MSS., Lib. of Congress.
5. Plumer, *Memorandum of Proceedings* (E. S. Brown, ed.), Nov. 26, 1804; 203-4.
6. Gideon Granger wrote Judge Rufus Easton on Mar. 16, 1805 that "Doctor Browne of New York is appointed Secretary upon the special and single recommendation of Aaron Burr." Cited in *The Bench and Bar of Missouri*, by W. V. N. Bay, 598.
7. Plumer, *Memorandum of Proceedings*, 220-1.
8. Plumer to Sheafe, Jan. 9, 1805; Plumer MSS., Lib. of Congress.
9. *Annals of Congress*, *Trial of Samuel Chase*, reported by Smith and Lloyd, XIV, 100.
10. Mar. 1, 1805; *Life . . . of Cutler*, W. P. and J. P. Cutler, I, 193.
11. Plumer, *Memorandum of Proceedings*, 239, 278, 282-3, 285.
12. *Ibid.*, 310.
13. *Washington Federalist*, Mar. 13, 1805.
14. *Annals of Congress*, XIV, 71. See also *Washington Federalist*, *supra*; John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs* (C. F. Adams, ed.), I, 365-7; Plumer to his wife, Mar. 2, 1805, Plumer MSS., Lib. of Congress.
15. John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs*, *supra*, I, 367.
16. *Annals of Congress*, XIV, 68, 1211.
17. Mar. 10, 1805; Plumer MSS., Lib. of Congress.

## CHAPTER XIX

1. *Life of Henry Clay*, Prentice, 77.
2. Jefferson to Claiborne, July 13, 1801; Jefferson MSS., Lib. of Congress.
3. See p. 258.
4. Dec. 22, 1802; cited in *Hist. of the U. S.*, Henry Adams, I, 429.

5. *Hist. of the U. S.*, Adams, II, 58.
6. *Ibid.*, 61.
7. Nov. 15, 1803; Amer. State Papers, II, 573.
8. Merry to Hawkesbury, Mar. 1, 1804; Adams Transcripts, Lib. of Congress.
9. Miranda to Hamilton, Oct. 19, 1798; Davis' *Burr*, II, 377.
10. Aug. 22, 1798; Hamilton, *Works*, VI, 347-8.
11. June 27, 1799; *ibid.*, V, 283-4.
12. Jan. 22, 1806; Madison MSS., State Dept. Archives.
13. Biddle, *Autobiography*, 314.
14. Burr to Jeremy Bentham, Oct. 16, 1811; Burr, *Journal* (Davis, ed.), II, 254-5.
15. *Some Papers of Aaron Burr*, W. C. Ford, 82-3.
16. See unpublished letter, Burr to Williamson, Oct. 19, 1798; N. Y. Hist. Soc.
17. Charles Williamson was of noble English birth, brother to Baron Balgray, protégé of Lord Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty, and intimate friend of General Hope.
18. *Life of Marshall*, III, 287.
19. Merry to Lord Harrowby, Aug. 6, 1804; Adams Transcripts, Library of Congress. These transcripts were made by Henry Adams from the original documents in the archives of the British, French and Spanish Foreign offices. Many of them are quoted in Adams' *History of the United States*.
20. See the article by I. J. Cox, entitled *Hispanic-American Phases of the "Burr Conspiracy,"* in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XII, No. 2, 1932, pp. 145-75.
21. Williamson to Melville, Oct. 6, 1804; *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, *supra*, 151.
22. *Ibid.*, 151.
23. *Ibid.*, 150.
24. Williamson to Melville, Feb. 19, 1805; *ibid.*, 152.
25. *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, Cox, *supra*, 166.
26. Merry to Harrowby, Mar. 29, 1805 (No. 14); Adams Transcripts, Lib. of Congress.
27. Same to same, Mar. 29, 1805 (No. 15); *ibid.*
28. May 23, 1805; *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, Cox, *supra*, 157.
29. Turreau to Talleyrand, Mar. 9, 1805; Adams Transcripts.
30. Navarro to King of Spain, Apr. 30, 1789. See *Wilkinson and the Beginnings of the Spanish Conspiracy*, by W. L. Shepherd, in *American Historical Review*, IX, (1904), 494. This monograph is based on source material in the various Spanish archives.
31. *Ibid.*, 496-503. For the text of the memorial, or "Reflections," see *Louisiana Under the Rule of Spain*, J. M. Robertson, II, 325-47, where, however, it is wrongly attributed to Folch. Folch had merely translated the "Reflections" into Spanish for home consumption, and had certified to its accurate rendition.
32. Cited by W. L. Shepherd, in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, IX, (1904), 765.
33. McHenry to Hamilton, June 27, 1799; Hamilton, *Works*, V, 282-3.
34. Hamilton to Washington, June 15, 1799; *ibid.*, 270-1.
35. *Proofs of the Corruption of Gen. James Wilkinson*, etc., Daniel Clark, App., 33.
36. *Ibid.*, App., 25; also *General Wilkinson and His Later Intrigues with the Spaniards*, by I. J. Cox, in *Amer. Hist. Rev.* XIX (1914): 794-812, based on Spanish documents in *Papeles de Cuba*.

37. *Report of the Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Conduct of Brig. Gen. J. Wilkinson*, May 1, 1810.
38. Folch was correct in his prophecy. The Cuban archives remained in the control of Spain until the end of the century. It was the second decade of the twentieth century before Professor I. J. Cox discovered the pertinent documents which proved conclusively Wilkinson's infamy. See *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XIX (1914), 807-8.

## CHAPTER XX

1. Davis' *Burr*, II, 366-7.
2. Mar. 22, 1805; *ibid.*, 365.
3. Burr to Theo, Apr. 30, 1805; *ibid.*, 368.
4. Feb. 25, 1811; Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II, App., LXVIII.
5. See the Blennerhassett Papers (Wm. H. Safford, ed.) for the life and career of Harman Blennerhassett.
6. Laws of the Indiana Territory, 1801-1806, pp. 94-108.
7. For complete details of this interesting episode see *The Burr Conspiracy in Indiana*, by I. J. Cox, in the *Indiana Mag. of Hist.*, XXV (1929), No. 4.
8. May 28, 1805; Clark's *Proofs of the Corruption*, etc., App., 158.
9. Mar., 1807; Davis' *Burr*, II, 380.
10. Davis' *Burr*, II, 370.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II, App., No. LXXI.
13. Mar. 18, 1805; June 9, 1805; *Audienca de Santo Domingo*, cited in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XIX, *supra*, 801.
14. Davis' *Burr*, II, 371.
15. McCaleb argues that Burr met only Americans in New Orleans, that he could not possibly have had any dealings with the Creoles, who hated the American interlopers and wished for independence. But the Ursuline nuns were Creoles; so, too, were the Catholic authorities with whom he consorted, and who entered into his schemes. Mexican freedom was as dear to the Creole heart as to the American, and they cared little for Spanish rule. Nor were the Deputies with whom Burr had become so intimate in Washington of American lineage.
16. Burr to Theo; Davis' *Burr*, II, 373.
17. Davis' *Burr*, II, 372.
18. Testimony, Major Bruff; *Trial of Aaron Burr*, Carpenter, III, 340, 346. It should be noted that it was Burr who called him as a witness. Furthermore, he was obviously animated by a hatred of Wilkinson, who had court-martialed him for insubordination, though the conviction had been reversed.
19. *West Florida Controversy*, Cox, 189; *Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, McCaleb, 32-3.
20. Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II, App., XXXIII.
21. *Ibid.*, LXXXVI.
22. Clark's *Proofs of the Corruption*, etc., App., 141-2.
23. Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II, 303.
24. Copied by the *Lexington Gazette*, and quoted in turn by the *Kentucky Palladium*, Sept. 7, 1805, which used them as the base for a structure of charges and insinuations all its own.
25. Merry to Mulgrave, Aug. 4, 1805; Adams Transcripts, *supra*.
26. Same to same, Nov. 25, 1805; *ibid.*
27. Yrujo to Cevallos, Aug. 5, 1805; Spanish Archives.

28. MSS. Cuban Papers, Lib. of Congress; quoted in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, X, 837-40.
29. Blennerhassett Papers (W. H. Safford, ed.), 115-6.
30. *Ibid.*, 116-9.
31. Yrujo to Cevallos, Dec. 5, 1805; Adams Transcripts, *supra*.
32. Dec. 12, 1806; Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II, App. LXXXIV.
33. Yrujo to Cevallos, Jan. 1, 1806; Adams Transcripts, *supra*.
34. Same to same, Feb. 13, 1806; Spanish Archives, cited by McCaleb.
35. Cevallos to Yrujo, Feb. 3, 1806; *ibid.*
36. Plumer, *Memorandum of Proceedings*, 436.
37. Jefferson, *Writings*, Apr. 15, 1806 (*Anas*, Monticello Ed.), I, 448 *et seq.*
38. Apr. 15, 1806; Blennerhassett Papers, 119-21. It has been claimed that Burr had never met Blennerhassett before August, 1806. This letter shows a definite personal acquaintance of long standing.
39. *Trials of Aaron Burr*, reported by David Robertson, I, 473 *et seq.*
40. Eaton's deposition, Jan. 26, 1807; *Life of Eaton*, Prentiss, 396-403. See also *Trial of Aaron Burr*, Carpenter, III, 233-4.
41. *Trials of Aaron Burr*, Robertson, I, 474-8.
42. *Ibid.*, 479, 483-4.
43. Plumer, *Memorandum of Proceedings*, 583.
44. *Trials of Aaron Burr*, Robertson, I, 486-90.
45. Biddle, *Autobiography*, 313-4.
46. Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II, App. LXXXIII.
47. Yrujo to Cevallos, May 14, 1806; Adams Transcripts, *supra*.
48. Same to same, June 9, 1806; *ibid.*
49. Cevallos to Yrujo, Mar. 28, 1806, July 12, 1806; *ibid.*
50. Merry to Fox, Nov. 2, 1806; *ibid.*

## CHAPTER XXI

1. Parton's *Jackson*, I, 313-4.
2. Viana to Cordero, June 3, 1806; Bexar Archives, cited in *Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, McCaleb, 64.
3. *Trials of Aaron Burr*, Robertson, I, 328-9.
4. *Trial of Aaron Burr*, Carpenter, III, App. L.
5. *Ibid.*, 243-4, 249, 252.
6. *Ibid.*, App. L.
7. *Hist. of the U. S.*, Adams, III, 253-4. The original cipher manuscript and the key to it are now in the possession of Gabriel Wells, of New York.
8. *Letters in Relation to Burr's Conspiracy*; Lib. of Congress.
9. *Trials of Aaron Burr*, Robertson, I, 497-9.
10. *Ibid.*, 502.
11. *Journal of Congress*, IV, 341.
12. *Letters in Relation*, etc., Lib. of Congress.
13. *Trials of Aaron Burr*, Robertson, I, 504.
14. Blennerhassett Papers, 132-40.
15. *Ibid.*, 142-3.
16. Sept. —, 1806; Parton's *Jackson*, I, 315-6.
17. Burr to B. H. Latrobe, Oct. 26, 1806; Burr Misc. MSS., N. Y. Pub. Lib.
18. Same to Wm. Wilkins, Oct. 21, 1806; *ibid.*
19. Jefferson to Hay, June 5, 1807; Jefferson, *Writings* (Monticello Ed.), XI, 218-9.
20. Yrujo to Cevallos, Nov. 10, 1806; Adams Transcripts.

21. Same to same, Dec. 4, 1806; *ibid.*
22. Sept. 9, 1806, *Official Letter Books*, Claiborne (D. Rowland, ed.), IV.
23. *Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, McCaleb, 121.
24. Sept. 8, 1806, *Annals of Congress*, 1807-08, App., 568.
25. Quoted partly in letter by Adair to *Orleans Gazette*, May 16, 1807, partly in Plumer MSS., Feb. 20, 1807, Lib. of Congress.
26. *Letters in Relation*, etc., Lib. of Congress. Wilkinson's plethora of italics has been omitted as confusing.
27. Wilkinson to Cordero, Sept. 23, 1806; Cordero to Wilkinson, Sept. 29, 1806; Bexar Archives, cited in *Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, McCaleb, 134.
28. *Annals of Congress*, 1807-08, App., 570.
29. *Trial of Aaron Burr*, Carpenter, III, 237.
30. Yrujo, hearing of Burr's betrayal by Wilkinson, analyzed his conduct with a just and accurate perception of motives. He had no illusions about No. 13! Nevertheless, he was convinced that Wilkinson had saved Mexico and West Florida for Spain, no matter what his underlying reason might have been for the act of salvation. (Yrujo to Cevallos, Jan. 28, 1807; Adams Transcripts.)
31. Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II, App. XCII.
32. *Letters in Relation*, etc., Lib. of Congress.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Oct. 21, 1806; *ibid.*
35. Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II, App. CI.
36. Cabinet Memo; Jefferson MSS., Lib. of Congress.
37. Bexar Archives, cited in *Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, McCaleb.
38. Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II, App. XCIX.
39. *Ibid.*, App. C.
40. Nov. 13, 1806; *Letters in Relation*, etc., Lib. of Congress.
41. Iturrigaray to Cevallos, Mar. 12, 1807; Mexican Archives, cited in McCaleb, *Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, 169.
42. Mar. 12, 1807; *Letters in Relation*, etc., Lib. of Congress.

## CHAPTER XXII

1. *A View of the President's Conduct*, Daveiss, 10-11.
2. *Ibid.*, 12, 13.
3. *Ibid.*, 25.
4. *Ibid.*, 25-6.
5. *Hist. of Kentucky*, Marshall, II, 375. A highly colored and biased account of the proceedings by a man who was one of the chief actors.
6. *Hist. of Kentucky*, Marshall, II, 377-8.
7. *Ibid.*, 386-92.
8. *Moniteur de la Louisiane*, Dec. 31, 1806.
9. *Trials of Aaron Burr*, Robertson, I, 493-4.
10. Oct. 26, 1806, Senate Report, 33.
11. Parton's *Jackson*, I, 316-7.
12. *Palladium*, Nov. 13, 1806.
13. *A View of the President's Conduct*, Daveiss, 30.
14. *Letter Books*, Claiborne, IV, 53-4.
15. Parton's *Jackson*, I, 318-9.
16. Burr to Clay, Dec. 1, 1806; *Private Corresp. of Henry Clay* (C. Colton, ed.), 13-14.
17. *A Full Statement of the Trial . . . of Aaron Burr*, John Wood, 9.
18. *Ibid.*, 18-32.

19. *Ibid.*, 33.
20. *Ibid.*, 34.
21. *Ibid.*, 34-5.
22. *Palladium*, Dec. 11, 1806.
23. Easton to Granger, Feb. 17, 1807; *Bench and Bar of Missouri*, W. V. N. Bay, 598.
24. Madison MSS., Lib. of Congress.
25. Cabinet Memoranda; Jefferson, *Writings* (Monticello Ed.), I, 459-60.
26. *Ibid.*, 460 *et seq.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. Jefferson to T. M. Randolph; Mass. Hist. Coll., *Seventh Series*, I, (1900), 118.
29. Nov. 4, 1806; Jefferson MSS., Lib. of Congress.
30. Cabinet Memoranda; Jefferson, *Writings* (Monticello Ed.), I, 462-5.
31. Nov. 27, 1806; *Messages of the Presidents*, J. D. Richardson, I, 404.
32. Dec. 2, 1806; *ibid.*, 405.
33. Erskine to Fox, Dec. 4, 1806; Adams Transcripts.
34. Graham to Madison, Nov. 12, 1806; *Letters in Relation*, etc., Lib. of Congress.
35. Blennerhassett Papers, 148-52.
36. Graham to Madison; *Letters in Relation*, etc., Lib. of Congress.
37. *Trials of Aaron Burr*, Robertson, I, 507-12.
38. Tupper's deposition, Sept. 8, 1807; Quarterly Publ. of the Historical and Philosophical Soc. of Ohio. IX, (1914), No. 1.
39. Letter dated Dec. 21, 1806, by a participant, to the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, issue of Jan. 13, 1806; copy in *Letters in Relation*, etc., Lib. of Congress.
40. McCaleb, *Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, 248-9.
41. Belknap to Danielson, Oct. 11, 1806; *Letters in Relation*, etc., Lib. of Congress.
42. Affidavit of John Coffee; 1815; Parton's *Jackson*, I, 322.
43. Parton's *Jackson*, I, 322; Beveridge's *Marshall*, III, 326.
44. Parton's *Jackson*, I, 321.
45. Bissell to Jackson, Jan. 5, 1807; *Annals*, 9th Cong. 2nd Sess., 1017-8.
46. Parton's *Jackson*, I, 326-7.
47. *Ibid.*, 328-9.
48. *Trial of Aaron Burr*, Carpenter, III, 300.

## CHAPTER XXIII

1. Nov. 12, 1806; Claiborne, *Letter Books*, IV, 55.
2. Claiborne to Jefferson, Nov. 5, 1806; *ibid.*, 33.
3. Same to Mead, Nov. 18, 1806; *ibid.*, 36.
4. Same to Madison, Nov. 25, 1806; *ibid.*, 37-8.
5. Claiborne and Shaw to Madison, Dec. 4, 1806; *ibid.*, 39-40.
6. Claiborne to Madison, Dec. 4, 1806; *ibid.*, 41.
7. Wilkinson to Claiborne, Dec. 6, 1806; *ibid.*, 46-7.
8. Same to same, Dec. 7, 1806; *ibid.*, 49.
9. Claiborne to Madison, Dec. 9, 1806; *ibid.*, 50-2.
10. Wilkinson, *Statement*, Dec. 6, 1806; *Letters in Relation*, etc., Lib. of Congress.
11. Claiborne to Madison, Dec. 9, 1806; (two letters), Claiborne, *Letter Books*, IV, 51-2; 52-3.
12. Dec. 12, 1806; *ibid.*, 57.

13. Plumer, Feb. 21, 1807; Plumer MSS., Lib. of Congress.
14. Claiborne, *Letter Books*, IV, 58-61.
15. *Ibid.*, 61.
16. *Orleans Gazette*, Dec. 18, 1806.
17. Burr to Livingston, July 26, 1806; *Life of Edward Livingston*, C. H. Hunt, 130.
18. *A Letter*, etc., James Workman, 14.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Claiborne to Wilkinson, Dec. 25, 1806; Claiborne, *Letter Books*, IV, 69.
21. McCaleb, *Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, 220-1.
22. This time, however, Wilkinson stumbled. No doubt his outrageous seizure and abduction of Adair were intended to head off any disclosures by the latter. He had written Adair certain letters which might have made uncomfortable reading. A year later, Adair brought suit against him for false arrest and imprisonment. The action dragged for ten years, to result finally in a verdict for Adair of \$2500, the jury declaring that they would have awarded far more substantial damages if it were not well known that Wilkinson was then wholly penniless. But a complaisant Congress proceeded to indemnify the defendant.
23. Dec. 17, 1806; Claiborne, *Letter Books*, IV, 68.
24. Wilkinson to Clark, Jan., 1807; Clark's *Proofs*, Note 71.
25. *Trial of Aaron Burr*, Carpenter, III, 268, 291-2.
26. Claiborne, *Letter Books*, IV, 65-6.
27. Nov. 23, 1806; *ibid.*, 82-3.
28. Gayarré, *Hist. of Louisiana*, IV, 178; *Orleans Gazette*, Extra, Mar. 20, 1807.
29. May 8, 1807.
30. Third Annual Report of the Dept. of Archives and History of Mississippi (1903-4), App. II, 40, 42-3.
31. Mead to Woolridge, Jan. 12, 1807; *ibid.*, 49.
32. Mead to the Legislature, Jan. 12, 1807; *ibid.*, 49-51.
33. Shields to Baker, Jan. 13, 1807; *ibid.*, 51.
34. Wilkinson to Claiborne, Jan. 14, 1807; Claiborne, *Letter Books*, IV, 94-5.
35. *Annals of Congress*, 1807-8, 683.
36. Fitzpatrick to Mead, Jan. 12, 1807; Report of the Miss. Dept. of Archives, *supra*, App. II, 51.
37. Wool[d]ridge to Mead, Jan. 14, 1807; *ibid.*, 54-5.
38. Burr to Mead, Jan. 12, 1807; *Trial of Aaron Burr*, Carpenter, III, App. C.
39. Jan. 13, 1807; Report of the Miss. Dept. of Archives, App. II, 52-3.
40. Mead to Burr, Jan. 15, 1807; *ibid.*, 57-58.
41. Fitzpatrick to Mead, Jan. 15, 1807; *ibid.*, 60-1.
42. Mead to Claiborne, Jan. 16, 1807; *ibid.*, 62-3.
43. Mead to Dearborn, Jan. 19, 1807; *ibid.*, 64-6. The manuscript of the formal agreement for an interview between Burr and Mead is now in the possession of Gabriel Wells, of New York. It is dated Jan. 16, 1807.
44. Dinsmore to Col. McKee; Transactions of the Alabama Hist. Soc. III, (1898-9), 168.
45. Blennerhassett Papers, 184-92.
46. *Hist. of Louisiana*, Gayarré, IV, 177.
47. Wilkinson to Silas Dinsmore, Dec. 4, 1806; *Letters in Relation*, etc., Lib. of Congress.

48. Robert Smith to Capt. Shaw, Dec. 20, 1806; *ibid.*
49. Harry Toulmin to Capt. P. P. Schuyler, Feb. 7, 1807; *ibid.*
50. Miss. Dept. of Archives, *supra*, App. III, 101.
51. *Trial of Aaron Burr*, Carpenter, III, 217-8; Amer. State Papers, Misc., I, 566; Quarterly Publ., Hist. and Philos. Soc. of Ohio, IX, Nos. 1 and 2, 35-8.
52. Undated; *Trial of Aaron Burr*, Carpenter, III, App. F.
53. Burr to Williams, Feb. 12, 1807; *Letters in Relation*, etc., Lib. of Congress.
54. Williams to Burr, Feb. 13, 1807; Miss. Dept. of Archives, *supra*, App. II, 75.
55. Testimony of David Fisk; *Trial of Aaron Burr*, Carpenter, III, 188.
56. Annals of Congress, 1807-8, 589. McCaleb asserts that the name of the discoverer of the note was never disclosed, but the *Mississippi Messenger*, Feb. 17, 1807, (cited in Miss. Dept. of Archives, *supra*, App. III), gives his name as William Fairbanks.
57. *Hist. of Mississippi*, Claiborne, 282.
58. Mar. 20, 1807; *Letters in Relation*, etc., Lib. of Congress.
59. The narrative of Burr's arrest follows in the main Chapter XXIX of A. J. Pickett's *History of Alabama*. Pickett had personally interviewed the chief actors in the drama.
60. Gaines to Wilkinson, Mar. 4, 1807; Jefferson MSS., Lib. of Congress.
61. Same to Jefferson, July 23, 1807; *ibid.*
62. *Letters in Relation*, etc., Lib. of Congress.
63. Graham to Madison, Mar. 5, 1807; *ibid.*
64. *Hist. of Alabama*, Pickett, II, 227.
65. Randolph to Nicholson, Mar. 25, 1807; Nicholson MSS., Lib. of Congress.

## CHAPTER XXIV

1. Jefferson to Robert R. Livingston, Mar. 24, 1807; Jefferson, *Writings* (Monticello Ed.), XI, 171-2.
2. Same to —, Mar. 25, 1807; *ibid.*, 55.
3. Plumer to B. Cilley, Dec. 9, 1806; Plumer MSS., Lib. of Congress.
4. Plumer to Jeremiah Mason, Jan. 4, 1807; *ibid.*
5. Plumer, *Memorandum of Proceedings*, 513.
6. Jan. 22, 1807; *Messages of the Presidents*, Richardson, I, 412 *et seq.*
7. Plumer, *Memorandum of Proceedings*, 591.
8. John Adams to Rush, Feb. 2, 1807; *Old Family Letters, Series A* (1892), 128-9.
9. Annals of Congress, XVI; 44, 403.
10. Blennerhassett Papers, 227-30.
11. Jefferson, *Writings* (Monticello Ed.), XI, 127-30.
12. *Ibid.*, 147-50.
13. Jefferson to Claiborne, Feb. 3, 1807; *ibid.*, 150-1.
14. Jefferson to James Bowdoin, Apr. 2, 1807; *ibid.*, 185-6. (Italics mine.)
15. Plumer, Jan. 30, 1807; Plumer MSS., Lib. of Congress.
16. Madison, *Writings* (Congress Ed.), II, 393-400.
17. Nicholson to Jefferson, Feb. 18, 1807; Jefferson MSS., Lib. of Congress.
18. Jefferson to Nicholson, Feb. 20, 1807; *ibid.*

## CHAPTER XXV

1. 4 *Cranch Reports*, U. S., 125-6.
2. Plumer's *Memorandum of Proceedings*, Feb. 21, 1807, p. 619.
3. Feb. 13, 1807; *Letters in Relation*, etc., Lib. of Congress.
4. *Trial of Aaron Burr*, Carpenter, III, 346, 348.
5. Beveridge's *Marshall*, III, 371-2.
6. *Trials*, Robertson, I, 3-4.
7. *Ibid.*, 6-8.
8. *Ibid.*, 14-18.
9. Jefferson to Bowdoin, Apr. 2, 1807; Jefferson, *Writings* (Monticello Ed.), XI, 185-6.
10. Cabinet Memoranda, Feb. 27, 1807; Jefferson MSS., Lib. of Congress.
11. Jefferson to Giles, Apr. 20, 1807; Jefferson, *Writings* (Monticello Ed.), XI, 187-91.
12. Apr. 26, 1807; Davis' *Burr*, II, 405.
13. MSS. Letter, Hay to Caesar A. Rodney, Apr. 15, 1807; Pa. Hist. Soc.
14. May 15, 1807; Davis' *Burr*, II, 405-6.
15. Lt. Gen. Scott, *Memoirs*, I, 13.
16. *Trials*, Robertson, I, 45.
17. *Ibid.*, 46.
18. *Ibid.*, 55.
19. *Ibid.*, 79-81.
20. May 26, 1807; Jefferson, *Writings* (Monticello Ed.), XI, 209-10.
21. *Trials*, Robertson, I, 83.
22. *Ibid.*, 88-9.
23. *Ibid.*, 102.
24. Parton's *Jackson*, I, 333.
25. Randolph to Monroe, May 30, 1807; Monroe MSS., Lib. of Congress.
26. Irving to Mrs. Hoffman, June 4, 1807; *Life of Irving*, P. M. Irving, I, 191-2.
27. June 3, 1807; Davis' *Burr*, II, 406.
28. Hay to Jefferson, June 9, 1807; Jefferson MSS., Lib. of Congress.
29. *Trials*, Robertson, I, 128.
30. Jefferson to Hay, June 12, 1807; Jefferson, *Writings* (Monticello Ed.), XI, 228-30.
31. *Trials*, Robertson, I, 180-8.
32. Hay to Jefferson, June 14, 1807; Jefferson MSS., Lib. of Congress.
33. Jefferson to Hay, June 19, 1807; Jefferson, *Writings* (Monticello Ed.), XI, 235-6.
34. Same to same, May 20, 1807; Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford, ed.), X, 394-401.
35. Same to same, June 19, 1807; *supra*.
36. *Trials*, Robertson, I, 191 *et seq.*
37. Irving to Paulding, June 22, 1807; *Life of Irving*, P. M. Irving, I, 194.
38. Wilkinson to Jefferson, June 17, 1807; *Letters in Relation*, etc., Lib. of Congress.
39. Irving to Paulding, June 22, 1807; *supra*.
40. *Ibid.*
41. See Wilkinson to Jefferson, June 17, 1807; *supra*.
42. *Trials*, Robertson, I, 238, 242.
43. *Ibid.*, 268-72.
44. June 21, 1807; Jefferson, *Writings* (Monticello Ed.), XI, 248-50.
45. June 25, 1807; Nicholson MSS., Lib. of Congress.

46. June 28, 1807; *ibid.*
47. Hay to Jefferson, June 25, 1807; Jefferson MSS., Lib. of Congress.
48. Blennerhassett Papers, 298.
49. Parton's *Jackson*, I, 335.
50. Blennerhassett Papers, 459-60.
51. June 24, 1807; Davis' *Burr*, II, 408.
52. Blennerhassett Papers, 314. For the opinion itself, see pp. 396-7.

## CHAPTER XXVI

1. *Trials*, Robertson, I, 328-9.
2. *Ibid.*, 351.
3. Burr to Theo. July 3, 1807; Davis' *Burr*, II, 409.
4. *Life of Irving*, P. M. Irving, I, 201-2.
5. June 29, 1807; Blennerhassett Papers, 244-5. He had left his wife and two young sons behind to find a new home at Bayou Sara.
6. Blennerhassett to his wife, July 14, 1807; Blennerhassett Papers, 259-62.
7. Blennerhassett Papers, 279 *et seq.*
8. *Ibid.*, 313.
9. *Ibid.*, 315-6.
10. *Trials*, Robertson, I, 420.
11. Aug. 11, 1807; Jefferson MSS., Lib. of Congress.
12. *Trials*, Robertson, I, 426.
13. *Ibid.*, 446.
14. *Ibid.*, 469-72.
15. *Ibid.*, 483.
16. Blennerhassett Papers, 343.
17. *Trials*, Robertson, I, 489-90.
18. Blennerhassett Papers, Aug. 13, 14, 1807; 324, 327.
19. *Ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1807; 328-9.
20. *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 1807; 356-8.
21. *Trials*, Robertson, I, 520 *et seq.*
22. *Life of Taxewell*, Grigsby, 73.
23. *Trials*, Robertson, II, 1-2.
24. *Ibid.*, 25-6.
25. *Ibid.*, 96-7.
26. *Ibid.*, 193.
27. *Ibid.*, 401.
28. *Ibid.*, 443-5.
29. *Ibid.*, 446.
30. *Ibid.*, 446-7.
31. Sept. 1, 1807; Jefferson MSS., Lib. of Congress.
32. Jefferson to Hay, Sept. 4, 1807; Jefferson, *Writings* (Monticello Ed.), XI, 360-1.
33. Blennerhassett Papers, Sept. 13, 1807, p. 402.
34. *Trial of Aaron Burr*, Carpenter, III, 160 *et seq.*
35. *Ibid.*, 180.
36. Undated, *Letters in Relation*, etc., Lib. of Congress.
37. Blennerhassett Papers, 412-3.
38. Oct. 23, 1807; Davis' *Burr*, II, 411-2.
39. Oct. 15, 1807; Jefferson MSS., Lib. of Congress.
40. Gallatin, *Writings*, I, 375-6.

41. Rodney to Madison, May 11, 1809; *Letters in Relation*, etc., Lib. of Congress.
42. Blennerhassett Papers, Oct. 21 and 28, 1807; 461, 467-8.
43. *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1807; 475-6.
44. *Ibid.*, 477.
45. *Ibid.*, 477-82.
46. *Autobiography*, Chas. Biddle, 323.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Nicholas Biddle to Monroe, Jan. 2, 1808; Monroe MSS., Lib. of Congress.
49. Jefferson to Edward Tiffin, Jan. 30, 1808; Jefferson, *Writings* (Monticello Ed.), XI, 435.
50. Blennerhassett Papers, Mar. 2, 1811, 533-8.
51. I. J. Cox, in *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, *supra*, 170-1; citing Melville Papers.

## CHAPTER XXVII

1. Burr's *Journal* (Davis, ed.), I, 20-1.
2. *Ibid.*, 21. The Davis edition is considerably bowdlerized, and often inaccurately transcribed. "G. H. Edwards," instead of "H. E. Edwards," is an example. The edition of Wm. K. Bixby (1903) is complete and unexpurgated, and will be used as the preferred reference for the text of the *Journal*. The Davis edition, however, contains copies of letters not found elsewhere.
3. Pinkney to Madison, Apr. 2, 1808; Madison MSS., Lib. of Congress.
4. Same to same, August 2, 1808; *ibid.*
5. Burr to Williamson, July 19, 1808; Burr's *Journal* (Davis, ed.), I, 23.
6. Williamson to Burr, June 19, 1808; *ibid.*, 24.
7. Burr's *Journal* (Bixby, ed.), I, 3.
8. *Ibid.*, 3.
9. Sept. 9, 1808; Burr's *Journal* (Davis, ed.), I, 47.
10. Oct. 14, 1808; Burr's *Journal* (Bixby, ed.), I, 10, note 1.
11. Bollman to Burr, Aug. 11, 1808; Burr's *Journal* (Davis, ed.), I, 29-30.
12. Theo to Burr, Sept. 30, 1808; *ibid.*, 58.
13. See MSS. Letter, Theo Burr Alston to Joseph Alston, Dec. 3, 1809; Pa. Hist. Soc.
14. Theo to Burr, Oct. 31, 1808; Burr's *Journal* (Davis, ed.), I, 72.
15. Burr to Alston, Nov. 10, 1808; *ibid.*, 83-4.
16. Same to Theo, Apr. 22, 1809; *ibid.*, 210-11.
17. Same to Bentham, Oct. 1, 1808; *ibid.*, 61.
18. Burr's *Journal* (Bixby, ed.), I, 11.
19. Merry to Burr, Nov. 6, 1808; Davis' *Burr*, II, 413.
20. Burr's *Journal* (Bixby, ed.), I, 15-6.
21. *Ibid.*, 19-20.
22. *Ibid.*, 11-12.
23. Jefferson to Dr. Brown, Oct. 27, 1808; Jefferson, *Writings* (Monticello Ed.), XII, 182-4.
24. Burr's *Journal* (Bixby, ed.), I, 41-2.
25. *Ibid.*, 44.
26. *Ibid.*, 45-6. See Voltaire's *Candide* for the origin of this expression.
27. Burr to Bentham, Jan. 13, 1809; *ibid.*, 54.
28. Jan. 29, 1809; *ibid.*, 69.
29. J. H. Koe to Burr, Jan. 17, 1809; Burr's *Journal* (Davis, ed.), I, 137.
30. Burr's *Journal* (Bixby, ed.), I, 77.

31. *Ibid*, 80-1.
32. *Ibid*, 82.
33. *Ibid*, 93.
34. *Ibid*.
35. *Ibid*, 99.
36. Burr to Mrs. —, Apr. 25, 1809; *Burr's Journal* (Davis, ed.), I, 212.
37. Theo to Burr, Aug. 1, 1809; *ibid*, 285.
38. *Burr's Journal* (Bixby, ed.), I, 128.
39. *Ibid*, 116.
40. *Ibid*, 165.
41. *Ibid*, 198.
42. *Ibid*, 221.
43. *Ibid*, 226-7.
44. *A Narrative of the Celebrated Dyde Supper*, Wm. Rose; also *Polit. Hist. of New York*, Alexander, I, 152.
45. *Burr's Journal* (Bixby, ed.), I, 243.
46. Burr to Mme. —, Sept. 26, 1809; *Burr's Journal* (Davis, ed.), I, 310-1.
47. John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs* (C. F. Adams, ed.), II, 67.
48. *Ibid*, 103.
49. *Burr's Journal* (Bixby, ed.), I, 250.
50. Lüning to Burr, Oct. 21, 1809; *ibid*, 255.
51. *Burr's Journal* (Bixby, ed.), I, 263.
52. *Ibid*, 274.
53. *Memoirs of Napoleon*, De Bourrienne, IV, 108.
54. *Burr's Journal* (Bixby, ed.), I, 291.
55. *Ibid*, 337.
56. *Ibid*, 338.
57. *Ibid*, 352-3.
58. *Ibid*, 358.
59. *Ibid*, 386-7.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

1. *Burr's Journal* (Bixby, ed.), I, 419.
2. *Ibid*, 430.
3. *Burr's Journal* (Davis, ed.), I, 441-2.
4. Anonymous Letter to Madison; Madison MSS., N. Y. Pub. Library.
5. Joel Barlow to Madison, Sept. 26, 1812; Madison MSS., Lib. of Congress.
6. See Wandell and Minnigerode, *Burr*, II, 262-9. See also article on *Aaron Burr*, by Prof. I. J. Cox, in the Dictionary of American Biography.
7. *Archives Nationales*, AF IV, 1681A, No. 37; MSS. Notes, possession of Dr. Waldo G. Leland, deposited with the Carnegie Institution of Washington.
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