

Supplement to the American... June 5, 1807.

TRIAL OF AARON BURR. (Continued from this day's American.)

Circuit Court of the United States,
VIRGINIA DISTRICT,
Richmond, May 25, 1807.

THURSDAY, May 25.

Same Judge present as yesterday. The proceedings of yesterday, were read. The Grand Jury appeared in court, and their names being called over, they were adjourned till to-morrow 10 o'clock.

William Duane, Esq. appeared as a witness for the U. S.

Luther Martin, Esq. appeared as Counsel for Mr. Burr. He enquired of the court, whether he should qualify? Chief Justice. It is the usual form; but, it is not absolutely material. It may be dispensed with.

Mr. Martin. I did not suppose so; and as I am unwilling to take up the time of the court—

The court then proceeded to the consideration of the point made yesterday, relative to Dubas' affidavit. A deutory conversation ensued between the counsel and the Bar, on the proceedings before the Supreme Court of the U. S. and on a case quoted from Washington's Reports.

Mr. Martin observed, that in fact this point had not been made before the Supreme Court in Washington.

Mr. Hay. It seems that the able and intelligent counsel who were employed for the U. S. did not deem it necessary to state this objection. It passed *sub silentio*. It was not once noticed, even in the material case of Gen. Wilkinson's affidavit. Why was it neglected? or why did the able and zealous counsel, who certainly spared no exertions in the cause of their clients, omit to raise this very objection to the form of authentication?

Mr. Martin. Although I was counsel in these cases before the Supreme Court of the U. S. I am confident that this objection was never raised. Gen. Wilkinson was known to be at New-Orleans, and the magistrate who certified his deposition, was known to have been duly commissioned. In fact the other objections to that affidavit were so material, that they were thought to be amply sufficient. This one escaped our notice.

The Chief Justice then pronounced the opinion of the court, in the following words:

On the part of the U. S. a paper purporting to be an affidavit has been offered in evidence, to the reading of which two exceptions are taken:

1st. That an affidavit ought not to be admitted where the personal attendance of the witness could have been obtained;

2dly. That this paper is not so authenticated, as to entitle itself to be considered as an affidavit.

That a magistrate may commit upon affidavits, has been decided in the Supreme Court of the United States, though not without hesitation. The presence of the witness to be examined by the committing justice confronted with the accused, is certainly to be desired; and ought to be obtained, unless considerable inconvenience and difficulty exists in procuring his attendance. An *ex parte* affidavit, perhaps, by the person procuring the prosecution will always be viewed with some suspicion and acted upon with some caution, but the court thought it would be going too far to reject it altogether. If it was obvious that the attendance of the witness was easily attainable, but that he was intentionally kept out of the way, the question might be otherwise decided.

But the particular case before the court does not appear to be of this description. The witness resides at a great distance; and there is no evidence that the materiality of his testimony was known to the prosecutors or to the executive in time to have directed his attendance. It is true that general instructions, which would apply to any individual, might have been sent, and the attendance of this or any other material witness obtained under those instructions; but it would be requiring too much to say, that the omission to do this ought to exclude an affidavit. This exception, therefore, will not prevail.

The 2d is, that the paper is not so authenticated, as to be introduced as testimony on a question, which concerns the liberty of a citizen. This objection is founded on two objections in the certificate.

The first is, that the place at which the affidavit was taken does not appear.

The second, that the certificate of the

governor does not state the person who administered the oath to be a magistrate, but goes no further than to say, that a person of that name was a magistrate.

That, for aught appearing to the court, this oath may or may not in point of fact have been legally administered, must be decided.

The place, where the oath was administered, not having been stated; it may have been administered where the magistrate had no jurisdiction, and yet the certificate be perfectly true. Of consequence there is no evidence before the court, that the magistrate had power to administer the oath and was acting in his judicial capacity.

The effect of testimony may often be doubtful; and courts must exercise their best judgment in the case, but of the verity of the paper, there ought never to be a doubt. No paper writing ought to gain admittance into a court of justice as testimony, unless it possesses those solemnities which the law requires—Its authentication must not rest upon probability, but must be as complete as the nature of the case admits of. This is believed to be a clear, legal principle. In conformity with it, is, as the court conceives, the practice of England and of this country, as is attested by the books of forms; and no case is recollected, in which a contrary principle has been recognized. This principle is in some degree illustrated by the doctrine with respect to all courts of a limited jurisdiction. Their proceedings are erroneous, if their jurisdiction be not conclusively shown. They derive no validity from the strongest probability that they had jurisdiction in the case; none certainly from the presumption that being a court, an usurpation of jurisdiction will not be presumed. The reasoning applies in full force to the actings of a magistrate whose jurisdiction is local. Thus in the case of a warrant, it is expressly declared, that the place where it was made ought to appear.

The attempt to remedy this defect by comparing the date of the certificate given by the magistrate, with that given by the governor cannot succeed.—The answer given at bar to this argument is conclusive. The certificate wants those circumstances which would make it testimony, and without them no part of it can be regarded.

The second objection is equally fatal. The governor has certified that a man of the same name with the person who has administered the oath is a magistrate, but not that the person who has administered it, is a magistrate. It is too obvious to be controverted, that there may be two or more persons of the same name, and, consequently to produce that certainty which the case readily admits of, the certificate of the governor ought to have applied to the individual who administered the oath. The propriety of this certainty and precision in a certificate, which is to authenticate any affidavit to be introduced into a court of justice, is so generally admitted, that I do not recollect a single instance in which the principle has been departed from.

It has been said, that it ought to appear, that there are two persons of the same name, or the court will not presume such to be the fact. The court presumes nothing. It may or may not be the fact, and the court cannot presume that it is not. The argument proceeds upon the idea that an instrument is to be disproved by him who objects to it, not that it is to be proved by him who offers it. Nothing can be more repugnant to the established usage of courts.

How is it to be proved that there are two persons of the name of Cenas in the territory of Orleans? If with a knowledge of several weeks, perhaps months, that this prosecution was to be carried on, the executive ought not to be required to produce this witness, ought the prisoner to be required, with the notice of a few hours to prove that two persons of the same name reside in N. Orleans? It has been repeatedly urged that a difference exists between the strictness of laws which would be applicable to a trial in chief and that which is applicable to a motion to commit for trial.

Of the reality of this distinction, the present controversy affords conclusive proof. At a trial in chief, the accused possesses the invaluable privilege of being confronted with his accuser. But there must be some limit to this relaxation, and it appears not to have extended so far as to the admission of a paper, not purporting to be an affidavit and not shown to be one.

When it is asked whether every man does not believe that this affidavit was really taken before a magistrate, it is answered that this cannot affect the case. Would a man of probity declare a certain

fact within his own knowledge, he would be credited by all who knew him, but his declaration could not be received as testimony by the judge who firmly believed him. So a man might be believed to be guilty of a crime, but a jury could not convict him, unless the testimony proved him to be guilty of it. This judicial disbelief of a probable circumstance does not establish a wide interval between common law and common sense. It is believed in this respect to shew their intimate union.

The argument goes to this, that the paper shall be received and acted upon as an affidavit, not because the oath appears to have been administered according to law, but because it is probable that it was so administered.

This point seems to have been decided by the constitution.

"The right of the people (says that instrument) to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the places to be searched and the persons or things to be seized."

The cause of seizure is not to be supported by a probable oath, or an oath that was probably taken, but by an oath absolutely taken. This oath must be a legal oath; and if it must be a legal oath, it must legally appear to the court to be so. This provision is not made for a final trial; it is made for the very case now under consideration. In the cool and temperate moments of reflection, undisturbed by that whirlwind of passion with which in those party conflicts which most generally produce acts or accusations of treason, the human judgment is sometimes overthrown; and the people of America have believed the power even of commitment to be capable of too much oppression in its execution to be placed without restriction even in the hands of the national legislature. Shall a judge disregard those barriers which a nation has deemed it proper to erect?

The interest, which the people have in this prosecution has been stated; but it is firmly believed, that the best & true interest of the people is to be found in a rigid adherence to those rules, which preserve the fairness of criminal prosecutions in every stage.

If this was a case to be decided by principle alone, the court would certainly not receive this paper. But if the point is settled by decisions, they must be conforming to.

It has been said to have been settled in the supreme court of the U. States by admitting the affidavit of Wilkinson, to which an exception was taken, because it did not appear that the magistrate had taken the oaths prescribed by law. It was said, that as by law he could not act, until he had taken the oaths, and he was found acting, it must be presumed that this pre-requisite was complied with; that is, that his acting as a magistrate under his commission was evidence that he was authorized so to act.

It will not be denied that there is much strength in the argument; but the cases do not appear to be precisely parallel. The certificate that he is a magistrate and that full faith is due to his acts, implies, that he has qualified, if his qualification is necessary to his being a complete magistrate, whose acts are entitled to full faith and credit.

It is not usual for a particular certificate that a magistrate has qualified to accompany his official acts. There is no record of his qualification and no particular testimonial of it could be obtained.

These observations do not apply to the objections which exist. But it is said that the certificate is the same with that in Wilkinson's affidavit. If this objection had been taken and overruled, it would have ended the question. But it was not taken so far as is now recollected, and does not appear to have been noticed by the court. It is not recollected by the judge who sat on that occasion to have been noticed. A defect, if it be one, which was not observed cannot be cured by being passed over in silence.

The case in Washington was a civil case and turned upon the point; that no form of the commission was prescribed, and consequently that it was not necessary to appear on the face of it, that it was directed to magistrates. That it was the duty of the clerk to direct it to magistrates, and he should not be presumed to have neglected his duty, in a case in which his performance of it need not appear on the face of the instrument.

That the person intending to take this exception, ought to have taken it sooner and not surprise the opposite party when it was too late to correct it.

But the great difference is, that the privilege examination was a mere ministerial act—the administration on oath is a judicial act.

The court is of opinion that the paper purporting to be an affidavit made by Dubas, cannot be read, because it does not appear to be an oath.

Mr. Bay then addressed the court. It is extremely uncertain how long this examination will continue; whether it may occupy ten hours or ten days. And if gentlemen continue to make the same captious objections, which they have already done in every stage of the enquiry, it is impossible to foresee any termination to it. All this time, however, Aaron Burr is at liberty, and he may depart from this city at any moment that he pleases. On the very first day that I made this motion, he ought to have been held to bail or in custody, and day after day until the court should have given their decision. I expect general Wilkinson here this day or to-morrow; as I have received a letter from the secretary of war stating that he would probably be here on the 28th or 30th. As to colonel Burr's counsel they may have that confidence in his innocence, which dismisses all apprehensions of his intention to escape. For my own part I freely confess that my confidence is much less and my fears infinitely greater. I rise therefore to give notice, that unless this examination is finally settled this day, unless all the evidence and argument be concluded and the opinion of the court finally delivered, I shall move that he be bound to appear here to-morrow, to answer the charge of treason.

After some deutory conversation between opposite counsels, Mr. Hay proceeded: I know not, sirs, whether this motion can be considered as regularly before the court. I certainly intended it as a mere notification of a motion, which I intended to make under certain circumstances. Is there any possible impropriety in such a motion? I consider Aaron Burr as standing here as if he were formally brought by a warrant before your honor; as standing precisely in the same situation as he did before you on a former examination. At that time, sir, after having the evidence before you, though without hearing the argument of counsel, you bound him to bail from day to day.

Mr. Wickham observed, that this was a most extraordinary motion; it was however, ingenious; as it had the very effect they had contemplated by the motion for commitment. It was stated, that col. Burr is placed in the same situation, as he was on a former examination; and that the court ought, therefore, to bind him over from day to day as they did then. But the analogy is false. At that time, colonel Burr was not bound at all, and it might have been necessary to have demanded some pledge for his personal attendance. But now colonel Burr comes into court actually bound; himself in the sum of 10,000 dollars, and his securities in 10,000 dollars more. And this sum is precisely double of that, which was exacted from him on his former examination, to secure his attendance from day to day.

Mr. Martin. The recognizance which already bound colonel Burr compels him to be in court; why bind him up in a greater sum? Is there any reason to suspect him guilty of treason? Has any thing like an oath come from Wilkinson that colonel Burr was engaged in treason? There is not a single sentiment, not a single expression in Wilkinson's deposition which implicates any high treason perpetrated by him? The present application is contrary to every principle of justice, but if the court thinks that he ought to be bound for this charge, we shall submit with deference to its decision.

Mr. Randolph. The question is, whether there exists probable evidence of High Treason, against Col. Burr. But this is a novel and most extraordinary proceeding. Why does not the prosecution show that there does exist sufficient cause? Why do they not produce their evidence? If it be sufficiently strong, the court will no doubt pursue the necessary measures.

Mr. M' Rae. Gentlemen seem to consider the present recognizance as amply sufficient under any possible circumstances, to detain Aaron Burr here to answer to the charge of Treason I am of a very different opinion. I think with the Attorney for the U. S. that nothing is more probable than that certain circumstances may induce him to effect his escape; nor have I the same confidence which his counsel seem to entertain, in the possibility of his remaining for trial.—On the former examination, he was bound over; but even then it was evidently for a very small sum; and why? Because the Chief Justice himself observed that as Col. Burr was withdrawn from the circle of his friends, it would increase the difficulty of his obtaining even a small bail even for this smaller offence; and because he completely excluded from his view the present charge. As then he decided, that this sum in which Col. Burr is now bound is a smaller one than the charge of high Treason would have warranted; it seems to me that too great reliance is placed upon the present recognizance.

Mr. Wirt begged leave to make a few remarks on this subject, though he had not so fully prepared himself as he would have wished, because he had not expected that it would provoke such discussion.—Mr. Wickham appears not to have understood this subject with his usual correctness, when he declares that the granting of this motion would have the very same effect as granting the motion for commitment. What is the object of this last motion? To commit A. Burr for High Treason. But the object of this present motion is merely to keep his person here to abide the opinion of the court. The other will be to keep him for trial. The effect therefore is widely different; and we should not, as Mr. Wickham contended, to gain our point.—He supposes too that the present recognizance will hold A. Burr to answer the charge of Treason. But if he looks at the terms of the bond, it will at once appear that it is a strong reliance only for misdemeanor, and not as the customary form is, to appear to answer for

or any other crime which may be brought against him. This recognizance may therefore be sufficient as to the misdemeanor; but not on the charge of Treason. It is precisely immaterial that the present motion is brought before the court; it is precisely the same thing as if it were brought before the same judge in his own chambers.—But if in that case if the examination were to continue for more than one day, what would the judge decide? Would he let the accused go at large? or would he not rather at the close of each evening bind him over to his appearance on the subsequent day? In fact, the court has already taken this very step. On the former examination, the Chief Justice demanded and took bail; and surely what was proper then, is proper now. I apprehend that the present recognizance is to be forfeited only in the case of the misdemeanor; but if Col. Burr is to be brought up for High Treason, ought he not to forfeit something more considerable?—The motion in fact resolves itself into this simple question: If A. Burr be brought before the court on the charge of Treason and supported by probable cause, will not the court bind him to his appearance on this distinct original motion?

Mr. Botts observed that the strange principle advanced by the prosecution was, that the former examination did not at all preclude the present motion. But if this be true, what would be the consequence? That every edition of the volume of evidence might justify a new enquiry.—No warrant has been issued for the apprehension of Col. Burr; and of course he did not stand in the same predicament, as on the former occasion.—The counsel for the prosecution seemed to have profited by one of the fashions of old times; when they wanted to try which if the swim, he was of course condemned to death; if he was drowned, he was to be acquitted; and thus in the very experiment of deciding whether he was guilty of a crime, they inflicted upon her the very punishment, which belonged to that crime. In the same manner Col. Burr is to sustain the same punishment, while enquiring whether he deserves it, as would only have resulted from the unfavorable decision.—Let us suppose a case were I to suggest to this court, that some person present has been guilty of a crime, as the court think itself justified upon the credit of my bare word to bind over that person for his examination? I presume not. Col. Burr is already bound by his recognizance. This recognizance is sufficient to keep him here, until the court may discharge him. If he departs, the penalty is of course effaced.

Mr. Hay. A few remarks only, sirs! This is a discussion which at the time I certainly could not have expected. Mr. Burr stands here charged with high treason. The violence will take a considerable time to be finished, even without the unnecessary interruptions, which we have so often experienced. This charge is of immense importance; it involves no less than the liberty and life of the accused; it is a subject which has excited the deepest and an universal attention throughout this country. It is not possibly to be decided in one, two, perhaps several days.—Suppose, then, the doctrine of the opposite counsel to be correct, and I suppose, what is certainly true, that there can be no secrecy thrown over the evidence against him; then, sir, after we had exhibited all this evidence; after you had determined that there was probable evidence of guilt, the accused equally perceiving the force of that testimony, only marches off and leaves the court to pronounce its decision. Would not this be a ridiculous situation? Would it not be a farce, sirs? And would it not expose us to the scorn of the United States?

Can our preparation be deemed an unreasonable one? We ask, merely, that Col. Burr should be kept here to answer the decision of the court. This is no common case. It is one of immense importance; it has already imposed a great expense upon the public. I am informed by the secretary of war, that we may expect General Wilkinson between the 28th and 30th of this month. If he comes, the bills both for a misdemeanor and treason will certainly be laid before the grand jury.—Will the court then positively decide, that Col. Burr may in the mean time effect his escape?—But if Wilkinson does arrive and if Aaron Burr does apprehend that we have sufficient evidence of the crime of treason; will he hesitate to fly to save his life? sir, it is disagreeable for me to express such conjectures; but they obviously arise from the very nature of the case. I repeat that from the commencement of the criminal code to the present day, no instance has ever occurred where the ministers of the law have ever said to the criminal: "You are charged with a capital crime. There is reason to believe you guilty. But we leave you at liberty to dispose of yourself as you please, till we decide upon your case."—Whatever be the universal usage, let us apply it to this very case, and this very man. Gentlemen will excuse me, if I say, they seem to suppose that all the laws and precedents which have ever been established must be accommodated to their own convenience in this particular case. Why more to Aaron Burr, sir, than to any other man? Why more to him, than to those humble and deluded beings, who have been the instruments and may be the victims of his ambition?—Mr. Wickham excuses him from the present application, by saying that he is already bound. But what kind of an excuse is this? Because a man has been guilty of one crime, he must not be bound for another? because he has done one wrong, that therefore we must not suspect him of another? This is a violation of that fundamental rule of the law, that no man is to profit by his own wrong.—Mr. Botts contends that he has already given bail for one crime; but how inferior is that to the one which is now brought against him? The highest punishment which can be inflicted against this misdemeanor is 3 years imprisonment and a fine of 3000 dollars; and even these are not fixed by the law; but depend upon the discretion of the court and the jury. The criminal may therefore be condemned to no more than an imprisonment for 3 months and a fine of 100 dollars. Shall then a recognizance for such an inferior crime afford him protection against another, where his health is concerned? Mr. Botts stated that there was a difference between this and the former examination; that in the latter case Col. Burr was brought before you by a warrant; but that he is not really at this time before the court. But why was this warrant issued on a former examination? Because Col. Burr was not before the judge.—It was necessary. But when that warrant was discharged it was void; it was *functio officii*. Col. Burr was in custody until he gave bail. It was immaterial how the accused man comes before the magistrate, whether by warrant, by voluntary delivery, or by the compulsion of others. But what is to be done, charged with an offence, when involved both liberty and life—no certainly should not