

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AURORA. Sir—So much has been said of my disclosures to the executive, respecting the pretended conspiracy of col. Burr, and they have recently been brought into notice by the counsel for the prosecution, against him in so extraordinary and unwarrantable a manner, that I think it incumbent on me, to make a few observations on that subject, with a view to removing erroneous impressions which a heretofore might prevail with regard to my character.

A few days after my arrival at New Orleans, in September last, letters were received in New Orleans from general Wilkinson, that the Sabine River, stating that hostilities with the Spaniards were unavoidable, that his next letter would bring the details of the first engagement, and that he hoped to give a good account of the war.

In consequence of this information, which occasioned considerable alarm, about three hundred men were dispatched from New Orleans, to proceed by land to the Sabine, to reinforce general Wilkinson. Some a tiller was sent off by water to ascend the Red river for the same purpose, and two gun-boats were ordered up the Mississippi, to be ready for an attack on Baton Rouge.

By what magic general Wilkinson, whose letter in so positive a manner, had amounted to a declaration of war, brought about such a change in the mind of the Spanish commander, who was at the head of fifteen hundred men, and actually invaded the territory of the United States, as to make him subscribe to terms of accommodation which general Wilkinson has so much toiled to induce him to retreat twenty leagues beyond the grand in dispute?—The fact is, that at the all moment of all the world, such an accommodation did take place, that general Wilkinson suddenly arrived at New Orleans, where he came, to see his own people, "to play the devil's game."

When I arrived at Charleston, A. S., and Washington, all the newspapers reported col. Burr as being at the head of two thousand men, and they were ringing at the same time with reports of his pretended treason. Their circumstances occasioned in my mind great solicitude, with regard to the reports just mentioned, and great solicitude lest gen. Wilkinson's conduct, and col. Burr's situation might lead to occurrences which would be deprecate, and which involuntarily, would put him in the wrong.

I therefore requested an interview with the president of the United States, for two decided objects. 1. To remove from his mind the false impressions he had received with regard to treason. 2. To endeavor to convince him of the interests of the United States would be best promoted by going to war with Spain, and giving countenance to the expedition which col. Burr had planned.

It appeared to me, that this step might do some good, could do no harm, and in my situation, ought to be attempted. I saw the result, together with Mr. Madison, and having first, when questioned on that point, declared to the former that I had no personal motives for this interview, spoke to them to the effect just mentioned.

The day after the interview I received the following note from the president, the original of which, in his own handwriting, now remains in my possession.

The communications which doctor Bollman made yesterday to Thomas Jefferson were certainly interesting; but they were too much for his memory. From their complexion and tendency he presumes that doctor Bollman would have no objection to commit them to writing; in all the details into which he went yesterday, and such others as he may have then omitted, Thomas Jefferson giving him his word of honor that they never shall be used against himself, and that the paper shall never go out of his hands.

I immediately complied with the president's request, and considering the communication, in conformity with the tenor of his note, as strictly confidential, I had no motive to be unusually guarded or to weigh every expression with more than ordinary care.

The paper, containing nearly twenty pages, was duly returned, when I immediately sent it to the president: he borrowed it from him some time afterwards when in prison, in order to take a copy, and then returned it. The whole of it goes to the two points above mentioned, viz. to disprove treason, and to show the expediency of war. It can give no other ideas, to an unbiased reader, unless one or two expressions, improperly used, and for which the advantages ought to be made, that the English word my native language, are singled out, and considered disrespectfully with what precedes and follows and construed in a hostile manner.

The president had given his word of honor, that this paper should not be used against myself; yet it was predicated he intended necessary of a pardon for my personal safety. The attorney for the district in open court, when offering me the patent of pardon referred to it. When I indignantly refused that pardon, he reminded me of the horrors of an ignominious death, in order, if possible, to change my determination. Is a paper not used against me?

Urged on this point gen. Wilkinson has declared before the grand jury, that after receiving Dr. Swartwout's communications on the Sabine River, he certified the Spanish commander with an account of an approaching expedition of the Spaniards, sufficiently strong to induce him to march to Mexico in spite of reluctance. By this means he made him listen and consent to an humiliating accommodation, which he had never intended to accept, which would have rendered it legal and lawful, which would have proved a character through the influence of a weak and treacherous friend.

When, on account of its contents misunderstood, I am thus assailed with the tender of a badge of infamy? Is life in Mr. Jefferson's opinion all, and character and reputation, which alone can render it desirable, nothing? The great iniquity of the nation after hearing a variety of testimony, and particularly that of gen. Wilkinson, by an opinion nearly unanimous on my subject have absolved me from guilt? No indictment has been preferred against me, though they have indicted various gentlemen in different parts of the U. States. Was it then becoming the first magistrate of the union, whom I had approached with some degree of confidence, who should pledge not to use that confidence against myself, and with regard to whom neither my conduct nor my language have ever been unfriendly—was it becoming in a measure to foretell the opinion of the grand jury and to stigmatize me a pardoned criminal?

The paper was never to get out of the president's hands—but it is now in the hands of the attorney for the Virginia district. On the 23d of June, an occurrence of which the prints have taken no notice—the grand jury came into court. Their foreman stated that one of the witnesses had mentioned to him an important paper, written by another witness, which was in the possession of Mr. Hay, the attorney, and of which they withheld the delivery. Mr. Hay replied that this referred to my letter to the president which was in his possession, but that he did not consider himself warranted to give it to the grand jury. He also declared it to be his own property, that the paper was written in my own hand writing; it has further appeared, that he had occasioned gen. Wilkinson to read it. Through him he had brought what is falsely stated to be its contents insidiously before the grand jury. Gen. Wilkinson, when before that body and of course on his oath, did assert that he saw the paper in Mr. Hay's hands; that it was my hand writing and my signature.

This measure, however, of the attorney, has not proved injurious to col. Burr. The contents of my letter were communicated to the grand jury, through such a channel of corruption and duplicity, as have had no influence on their decision. It is well understood that their indictment has arisen from a mis-contruction of the law of treason. From so to go unarmed men had assembled on Blennerhasset's island. They demanded themselves peaceably but embarked in three cuts and descended the river towards New-Orleans. They were, with others, to proceed all a way thither in case of certain contingent and probable events, in order to be equipped for a further expedition, but were to stop at the Waters, to effect a settlement, if all those events took place. This fact and the false supposition that New Orleans, for the purpose mentioned, was to be occupied by force, and was to be held by force, until the party were ready for their enterprise—these are the grounds which, in their opinion, have a right to indict me. A close investigation of the law & of the facts before a jury with the advantage of testimony from outside, will certainly correct that opinion, will remove every doubt with regard to col. Burr's patriotism and justice, and views.

I have nothing to add except that, notwithstanding the ill treatment I have on this occasion received from the president of the United States, I should have to be making these observations, if I had not been forced to it by considerations of self defence. I am obliged to believe that Mr. Jefferson has not been actuated by any ill will towards me.—His pardon was not intended to affect my character; he did not mean to bring his word and honor by transmitting my letter to Mr. Hay, the jury I have fulfilled remains the same. The history of the impression of treachery to a friend—this more detestable, more odious crime than a violation of the laws of the country, because especially fraught with turpitude, will be blended with my name in the minds of many who may never see this letter. And if all this injury could be mitigated by Mr. Jefferson who never will, merely from want of consideration under the disturbing influence of passion and resentment against col. Burr, notwithstanding his mature age, and the dignity of his station—it will amount to a strong proof at least, that I, in my humble sphere, and with a more youthful imagination, may have endeavored with the beautiful project of the emancipation of an enslaved kingdom—a project, which Mr. Jefferson himself approved of, and connived at when planned, not by col. Burr, but by Miranda & that I may have engaged in it without meaning any harm to the U. States, or to their president.

But not only have I been injured by Mr. Jefferson himself, his agents and confidants, from the secretary of state to his private secretary, and from him, still downwards to the attorney who represents him in the prosecution in Richmond, have on more than one occasion manifested hostility, and have been guilty towards me of glaring infractions of every rule of propriety and decorum. The secretary of state has detained letters directed to me, and has only given them up after I had accidentally discovered the fact, and when I urged them for their delivery. This private secretary has several times betrayed an unbecoming temper, and the attorney in particular sheltering himself behind his privileges as counsel, and taking advantage of the peculiar delicacy of my situation at this moment, has treated me in open court with the most unprovoked, and therefore most abominable indecency. If this was mistaken zeal, arising from an extreme want of discernment and sound policy—if it was unauthorized by the president, and if it is attributed to him at least, that if some unfortunately wild heads, lately associated with col. Burr, should have blended their own incongruous, prepossessions and apparently treasonable ideas, with his honorable views, their guilt ought not rathly to be transferred to their principal.

Even the papers in the interest of government propagate on my subject the most injurious falsehoods. Before the pardon came out, and before it was known, the president of the U. States, in transmitting my letter to him for Mr. Hay, had violated, his word of honor, no invectives appeared against me but since the measure of the pardon has approved abortive and ridiculous, and since the fact of his breach of the word of honor can no longer be denied—their tone is changed. As usual I am abused, not for the wrong I did, but for the wrong that has been committed upon me. They insinuate amongst other things at Washington I had obtained promises from Mr. Jefferson, and had agreed with him for a pardon; that I refused it at Richmond in order to have a pretext for withholding testimony on the ground that it would criminate myself, the agreement took place, and that before the grand jury, during an examination of upwards of two hours, I answered, without a single exception, every question that was asked me. Mr. William Duane, moreover says, that I am indebted for my life to the benevolence of Mr. Jefferson—Sixteen of the first characters of Virginia, after hearing evidence decided that there is no ground of accusation against me; but the judges of the court, without having any evidence, decided that I am indebted for my life to Mr. Jefferson's benevolence.

When party spirit and passion go so far, it would be improper to remain silent, and should what I have said, in my defence, operate to the prejudice of Mr. Jefferson or wound his feelings, it is not my fault. ERICK BOLLMAN.

THE EMISSARY BOLLMAN.

It appears to be one of the necessary consequences of criminality that it should, for warning of others and the moral good of the world, take no rest but such as is calculated to betray itself. When Bollman presented the article which we published yesterday, from the manner of his address, coupled with a declaration which he made in the hearing of the editor, in the district court of Richmond, that the communication of the treasonable projects of Burr, which he made to the executive, "should be made public by him," we expected that such was the paper he proffered for publication. After a perusal, however we perceived, that the real purport of the paper offered, was only the offspring of that system which the unfortunate author of treason has pursued towards the country, the public, the executive, the persons whom he detested, and those whom he failed to detest.

Instead of asserting his innocence or attempting to prove it by facts or evidence, Mr. Burr, has endeavored to roll back upon the government by which his treason has been frustrated, and on the public officers who have been most active in detecting his treason, and on the public officers who have conducted the prosecution,—odium and reproach and contumely.

Like matter like man! As Burr has done for does Bollman. This unfortunate object of mercy, with a pardon registered in a court of law, issued upon a voluntary revelation of his own treason and the treason of the "major party" by whom he was led; his is the man who comes forward to the public, with the expectation of making an impression on the public mind in favor of the man whom he had before betrayed, and of depreciating the character and conduct of the man to whose benevolence and good faith he owes his liberty and life.

Was the disclosure made by this person brought before the district court in an extraordinary and unwarrantable manner? The manner was: Mr. Hay, attorney for the district of Virginia, in discharge of his duty as public prosecutor, called the several witnesses for the public, to be sworn in open court on their passage to the grand jury. On Bollman being called, Mr. Hay stated that he conceived it to be his duty to inform the court in what situation Bollman stood as a witness. This disclosure made important disclosures of Burr's plans, projects, and the means of accomplishing them, and in consequence thereof the president had issued a pardon, which pardon Bollman had not received, then returned, then said he would neither receive nor reject. In this situation, Bollman stood when he came into court, and Mr. Hay there tendered the pardon to him in open court, which Bollman refused, and thereupon the pardon was recorded in the court by the clerk—here it.

Was this either an unwarrantable or an extraordinary manner of acting? Could any course be more fair and liberal? How could Mr. Hay omit to notice the pardon, when the man pardoned, was to be called as a witness and appeared to tamper between his first revelation of the treason, and his later intercourse with his accuser principal? The notice of the information given by Bollman to the executive, was rendered necessary then, by Bollman himself and was his own unprincipled conduct throughout, had rendered unavoidable, for every act, but that of the pardon, which rescued him from the gallows were his own voluntary act—he embarked in the treason with Burr, voluntarily—he went to New Orleans voluntarily—he opened his overtures to Wilkinson voluntarily—he was sent hence to Washington indeed involuntarily; but without any solicitation or expectation on the part of the executive, he voluntarily proposed to reveal the plans, projects, and means, by which Burr was to accomplish his treason. The executive however he must detest the traitor, was bound to hear the revelation of the treason; he condescended to let Bollman come into his presence, and to reveal at once the demonstration of his own criminal purposes, and the foreign aid which Burr was to receive, and had already received, and to which Bollman before his departure to New Orleans from Philadelphia, was privy and a participator.—Here then we see this Bollman, who first embarked in a scheme of perfidy to the United States, of which two foreign powers were the aiders, and abettors, it not the original instigators—after, but not till after, he is seized and transported from the proposed theatre of his perfidy, come forward with a new act of that very species of perfidy which he in his essay of yesterday dares to reprobate.

Bollman says that a few days after his arrival at New Orleans in September last, advices were received from general Wilkinson stating that he would enslave the *Dona*. Now the last question we would ask is—what has this to do with vindicating, Bollman's character, which he professes to be the object of his essay?

What has gen. Wilkinson's conduct, or his threats on the Sabine, to do with Bollman's pardon, or his disclosures to the executive? But a more important question precedes these enquiries—how and for what end came Bollman to Orleans? It was a letter to be addressed to him in cipher, under the name of Henry Williams? Why possessed of all the knowledge concerning the perfidious intentions of foreign powers against the U. S. did he go to New Orleans, endeavor to seduce the commander in chief of the army and leave his very tender solitudes for the U. S. and his ideas of the great necessity of a war with Spain unrevealed, until he came prisoner to Washington city? Why did he keep the plans concealed, until they were frustrated? And for what purpose was it, after they were frustrated, that he requested an interview with the executive?

It is ridiculous to say that he had no personal motives—he may deceive himself into the supposition, that others will be deceived by him, but the *liter* is the only one bitten! His concern in the plans—his being a principal emissary, his being taken in a situation which subjected him to be hanged as a spy—the very mercy of Wilkinson, which changed his fate from a gibbet to a transportation by sea to Washington—his situation at Washington—the mode in which he made the application to the president—the very disclosure of the sacred plans of Burr, and of the foreign resources from which Burr drew his funds, and his hopes, of establishing that empire, with which in or near the sixteenth year of his age "the most youthful imagination" of "Dr. Bollman, became enamoured in the prospect of emancipating an enslaved kingdom," Dr. Bollman stands precisely then in a situation similar to that of one of a number of highwaymen, seized on the road in the attempt to rob the robbery to be sure was not perpetrated, but the Dr. was there, and backs out with a fall (or a half fall) disclosure, and for his useful discoveries as these evidences, the executive deems him entitled to a pardon.

He is betrayed, and the reviver of a magistrate to whom he owes his being at large and exemption from punishment, and thus he inflicts the very people against whose peace and union he had been a confederate.

These we believe to be the real merits and the true character of Bollman's conduct all round—like his principal, he betrays and betrays every body—old friends and strangers, benefactors and partisans—all are alike the victims of his duplicity and wily artifice.

Under such circumstances, and against such an antagonist, to fall in the estimation of every man of worth and real honor, it may perhaps be superfluous to say another word. But public information demands a few further remarks, in relation to gen. Wilkinson and to the president of the U. States. The whole course of Burr's conduct, has been since his seizure, to heap revilement and distrust on gen. Wilkinson. Bollman, in his curious note upon gen. Wilkinson's returning to New Orleans "to play the devil," (and he appears to have played the devil with Burr, Bollman, and co) confesses the whole extent of Burr's treason; and he admits it too, in a curious way, for while it convicts Burr, it establishes the sagacity and sound generalship of Wilkinson; for says Bollman, Wilkinson made use of the information which Swartwout gave him of Burr's expedition, to close the dispute with the Spaniards, and then very ungratefully (he inters) after preventing the Spanish war, by using the name of Burr, he comes back and after having rendered both illegal and illaudable Burr's plan (by frustrating the Spanish war) he then fixes upon Burr's own project its original and true character of treason!

There is one other point in this note that merits notice. Bollman says Burr's expedition "acquired an illegal character through the immoral conduct of a weak and treacherous friend." The reader will do well to consider this sentence. Was Burr's expedition originally or at any time illegal? Did not Burr to more than ten of the witnesses who were examined by the grand jury, declare that it was not only without the knowledge or consent of the government, but that he held the government itself in contempt? But Bollman says that had not Wilkinson by a stratagem brought the Spaniards to a truce on the Sabine, Burr's project would then have succeeded.

Here then we have the due to "the immoral conduct of a weak and treacherous friend." That is, Wilkinson, was so weak as to avert a Spanish war by one stratagem, and to destroy a treasonable conspiracy by another; that the Spaniards had been lulled to go on, Wilkinson would not have aided them to go on, and he lulled Burr to come down to Orleans for he would not have acted immorally but by his renowned stratagem from the county of *Utah*, Wilkinson by frustrating both was weak and treacherous. We shall leave the weak and to be judged by the events; let us see by whom it is and how confidently gen. Wilkinson is called treacherous. Treacherous to whom? To his country?—No! To the Spaniards?—No! To whom then? Why treacherous (says Dr. Bollman, who expels Burr's treason as a term) fact) to Aaron Burr!—Was impudence and audacity ever so barbaled as in the conduct of this man Bollman? Let us suppose the very worst—that the evil spirit of deceit and treachery could inspire Burr, to influence or craft. Let us suppose the very worst, that Wilkinson had a previous knowledge of Burr's immoral designs—his determination to seize on New Orleans and make it the seat of his grand empire, of which the youthful fancy of Dr. Bollman was to enshroud it. Let us suppose even more than ever was asserted or surmised, that Wilkinson had entered in written engagements to confederate such a scheme of treason as the levitation of the western & southern territory—and having arrived at the point when Swartwout reached him; that at this moment he had determined and contrived to conceal this plot from every one but Swartwout and Bollman, and that on arriving at New Orleans, he had like Coriolanus at the gates of *Rome*, repented, and instead of prosecuting the scheme of treason and levitation of the national territory, compunction filled his bloom, and the love of his country triumphed over his premeditated scheme of treason; we suppose all this freely, because we know that the very reverse is the truth—but suppose this true. Why after all, Wilkinson would have had the merit of at least saving his country, and if he was guilty of treachery, it was treachery to the most treacherous of men, to one who he himself ought to be kept. We do not admire Mr. Bollman's idea of honor. It is that vulgar honor called *honor among thieves*. He cannot see any turpitude in treason, but he can discover treachery in having a nation from division of territory, and civil war, and its concomitant horrors—Wilkinson at the very worst has acted a nobler part than the admired Coriolanus. He has frustrated not only a foreign, but a civil war.

In this place, and we thank Bollman for the opportunity, we will inform the public of two important facts—and they will enable the public to determine the chastisement which this hardened conspirator merits, who has dared to speak as he has spoken of Wilkinson.

We above affirmed that Wilkinson had concealed the communication made by Burr to Swartwout and Bollman from every one, it has been repeatedly said that he concealed it and even Dayton's famous communications, from the government. Mark the real state of the case. Swartwout reached gen. W's camp in the afternoon, and made his communication that evening. The first emotion of Wilkinson was that he ought to be immediately disposed of as a spy; but recollecting that there were further communications to be made by Bollman, he determined to pursue another course. Early in the morning he called on colonel Cushing, the second in command, and to him communicated the mission and the dispatch brought by Swartwout; with him it was agreed to be held to temper with Swartwout, until the whole treason should be revealed by the prime emissary Bollman, and upon the possession of that full information to seize upon them and send them to the seat of government. The government was immediately addressed by an express dispatch; and Wilkinson took his measures with that admirable skill which has ended in preventing a Spanish war and in frustrating the conspiracy.

In like manner the recent rumours concerning measures proposed in the grand jury, were founded upon the assumption that gen. Wilkinson had concealed Dayton's treasonable letter from the government. Had any question been asked by the grand jury, this mistake could not have arisen, as a copy of Dayton's letter had been forwarded to the government and fully communicated to the President, and was known to the secretary of war. There are facts which we know to be true, and will appear on the trial.

Let us see it then in another point of view—we enter the pardon of gen. Wilkinson and of the president; for the indecency of naming them at the same time with Bollman, but he is the public enemy.

Wilkinson was treacherous, says Bollman to whom? To Burr? But it is Bollman who frustrated the treason, that complains of Wilkinson's treachery! What treachery!—Why good reader, Bollman upbraids Wilkinson for not aiding Burr in his treason, and his treachery confits in not being treacherous to his country—he loves his country and frustrates Burr, and for this Bollman calls him treacherous—this same Bollman who after detection betrays all Burr's schemes to the president voluntarily and without solicitation, nay, who writes five folio sheets of treachery to his principal.

Here then we find Bollman first a traitor to the country which received him with hospitality, and then treacherous to Burr—upbraiding the chief magistrate, who had not only frequently proved his good wishes for him, but who had on several particular occasions given him proofs of his good will; who after being guilty of treason upon his own confession, and guilty upon the proof of general Wilkinson and others; who after voluntarily revealing his treason and obtaining from the president the highest exertion of power and the greatest gift of mercy—his forfeit life; this man comes forward as the calumniator of his former benefactor, and of the head of that government which he had conspired to disserve, and of the individual who had been his generous benefactor.

Such is Bollman—but let us see what it is that he charges upon the president. His own story is, that he meant to "remove false impressions" of treasonable purposes; and to convince the president that he ought to go to war with Spain and give countenance to Burr! This is his own story! The reader will recollect that this self created privy councillor and teacher of political ethics, was no other than the prime minister of the *empire in prospect*. This very man Bollman, had gone to New Orleans with foreign gold in his pocket, and treason digested and methodised in his mind; detected in that treason and sent to the seat of the government against which he conspired; and he tells the American public in an address to the American people, that from the cell in which he was imprisoned as a traitor, he of his own motion undertook to become the privy councillor of the government he aimed to destroy, and to preach politics and purity to the executive.

It is his own story; he says he requested the interview for those two decided objects.—Well! let us see how he is treated. His story is heard; he said he had no personal motives, what motives then? If he had no personal motive, he must have meant only to aid another's scheme to the atrocious cheat, for he says he sought to remove impressions of treason, and to persuade the executive to a war with Spain. If these were the objects he must be one of the most flagitious and hardened of conspirators; we will not credit him, he is not entitled to it; we believe that he wished to save his life by turning state's evidence. The veriest prostitutes sometimes talk of purity—and disinterestedness. They nevertheless pursue their traffic with the world. Bollman revealed the secrets of his principal and was pardoned. Let us now see what were the conditions.

The president's note, which Bollman fortunately furnishes, speaks both the sentiments of the president concerning Bollman, and the purpose for which he wished to obtain the statement in writing. The president states that Bollman's communications were "interesting," because they unfolded designs against the peace and unity of the nation, and the connexion between the conspirators and foreign governments; but he assumes, that their complexion and tendency was such as Bollman would not scruple to "commit to writing, in all the details into which he had orally entered," but hints at "omissions," which hint must have alluded to some circumstances necessary to complete the narration, some incompleteness or inconsistency in the narrative given. The manner of the president's note is obviously decorous but distant, and it displays a guarded caution against the man, and a want of confidence in the completeness or fidelity of his communication. But the point that appears to be most dwelt upon by Bollman, is the promise of its being kept secret, & secluded from the public.

But as it regards Bollman, what does the president say—"Thomas Jefferson gives his word of honor that the communication in writing shall never be used against ERICK BOLLMAN."

Now what is the fact—have these papers ever been used against Erick Bollman? No! on the contrary to prevent the possibility of it, the president issues a pardon, so that—upon any change of president or any alteration of circumstances, that paper, which is an official paper, and which the president under the obligations of duty must file in the secret department of the state, he took care by issuing a pardon should never bring the author and informer into jeopardy. The pardon is issued and the promise is fulfilled. But let us see what was this revelation made by Bollman; it is not said that it specially concerned the president; but it is said deeply to concern the state; well then was the president to keep treason unrevealed & not to act upon it in any shape; was the promise never to use it against Bollman the whole end and purpose of the disclosure, and of the commitment in writing? Having brought the examination of Bollman's essay to this point we at once see the man, and his profile of states the public in the face. The communi-