peculiar interests and attention, every measure that was adopted and every circumstance that was disclosed on the subject of your character and conduct. The experience of seven months, however, during which the inquiry was pending, and the charges against you might have been substantiated, had fully prepared them for a decided verdict also to yourself, and to total to your guilness.

We should, sir, the accusation brought forward under a concurrence of circumstances which rendered the manifest in its intimation doubtful and suspicious. On the first whisper of detraction, we saw you court the inquiry which had been solicited by your accusers, while they, as if conscious of their precipitancy and weakness, endeavored to retract the steps they had taken.

An invitation was given to your enemies to make a full development of their knowledge on the subject—to bring their witnesses to meet you before judicial tribunal—but they denied you the honest and unprecedented privilege of being confronted with your accusers—they attacked you on a field which you were not prepared to enter, and while they refused to the Senate and incompetency of the Court of enquiry, they refused to the people, perhaps a power. Such was the primary aspect of their inconsistent proceedings. Such were the disadvantages under which you were compelled to labor in conducting your vindication. But with a spirit of liberality and innocence you waved all legal objections to the introduction of the miscellaneous documents which were laid before Congress as evidence against the country and though nothing might have assured your acquittal. You proceeded in a manner developed to the enlightened tribunal of your countrymen, and your country from the horror of actual war. These signal services will never be forgotten by a free people.

Had not the honest energy of your character actuated all your conduct as Minister Plenipotentiary, had you preferred the indolence and ease of private life to the arduous and laborious duties of patriotism, a fair portion of America must have been lost to your country and that the enemy have gained the boat that was intended for your disposition has fallen harmless over her, and we regret, sir, that you have to complain over the arts of your enemies, and proved yourself deserving of the confidence of your country.

In behalf of the meeting.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CORNELIUS CONINGHAM, *Chairman.*

Washington, July 15, 1808.

GREETLEMAN: Next to the consciousness of having done my duty, and more than my duty, I prize the approbation of the immediate spectators of that persecution, which has unmoved by heavy on the state; and thereby fore this testimonial from the citizens of the metropolitan district, cannot but be acceptable to a board, whose sensibilities have been rent by the rudest assertion of envy and disappointment.

We have seen in other times and in other cases, an uniform series of public officers undergoing continued service, expiate the latest offences, and recommend to the public confidence those who had deserved ill at all in country; but by some strange aberration, I merited for the public weal, instead of yielding martyr misconduct, have produced a conspiracy of the public weal, and a jumbled retrospection of my whole life and actions, to wound my character and blast my fame.

I would accompany my sincere acknowledgements, gentlemen, for this manifestation of confidence and esteem, with some suitable declaration; but promises are too often, and professions too frequently delusive I will therefore intend of my fellow citizens to judge, on by my works, and not by the machinations of those who seek my destruction; and as they may find, may to let them estimate me.

I beg you to accept my best wishes for your prosperity and happiness—and an with great respect.

Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES WILKINSON.

To Cornelius Coningham, Esq., and the Committee of Citizens.

The connection between Harper and the traitor Burr is of long standing—the following was written by Harper to him eight years ago—

Baltimore American.

[COPY.]

Washington, Dec. 24, 1806.

MY DEAR COUSIN,

The votes of Tennessee are come in, and decide the fate. The language of the democrats is, that you will yield your pretensions to their favorite—and it is whispered in confidence, that it is not to be, or are, made to you. I advise you to take no step whatever, by which the choice of the House of Representatives can be impeded or embarrassed. Keep the game perfectly in your own hands, but do not answer this letter, or any other that may be written to you by a political man, yet, not to any of that party.

ROBERT G. HARPER.

At every numerous meeting of Republican Citizens of the Second Ward, in the city of Baltimore, convened by previous public notice, at the long room of A. B. Martling, on Tuesday evening, July 19th, 1808.

ALEXANDER called to the chair, and DAVID TURNBULL there appointed secretary, the object of the meeting being read, and approved unanimously, with the exception of a few dissenting voices.

WHEREAS it appears to this meeting, reasonable and consistent with the principles we profess to represent, and essentially necessary to preserve the harmony and union of our party, that when a difference of opinion arises among ourselves, with regard to particular men, the minority should yield to, and acquiesce in the wishes of the majority; whenever such opinion has been fairly ascertained—and whereas we have seen with pain the republican members of Congress have, in conformity with usual practice, unanimously recommended one, James Madison, for the office of President, and George Clinton, for the office of Vice President of the U. States; and we believing that there is no one better calculated to ascertain the sentiments of the republicans of the U. States, on this important subject, therefore,

Resolved, as the opinion of this meeting, that JAMES MADISON is the only "rightful" republican candidate for the office of President, and that GEORGE CLINTON is the only "rightful" republican candidate for the office of Vice-President of the U. States; and we do therefore cordially acquiesce in the recommendation.

Resolved, as the sense of this meeting, that the present opposition to the nomination of Mr. Madison, "has a tendency to prostrate the dignity of the state—to excite disorder—to destroy the harmony of the community, for its public functionaries—to weaken their faith in a republican form of government, and to cause it to be believed that every political struggle is a mere contest for office, and not a contest for principles.

And whereas we have for some time past with great indignation observed the publications in the newspapers printed in this city, entitled an "American Citizen" and "Republican Citizen" which appear to be under the garb of republicanism are not only endeavoring to excite local prejudices, and to impugn single the most base and infamous calumnies against the Presidential Congress, and the Heads of Departments; and "after repeated proofs of the unshaken patriotism and republican principles, begin to destroy their confidence in their public agents by exaggerating the errors of the republicans, and by ungenerously concealing the causes that lead to it," and which still renders indispensable; therefore,

Resolved, as the sense of this meeting, that these American Citizen," and "Republican Citizen" "author and publisher Publications of this city as Jacobins and Tyrannicides, and comparing them to a Parisian mob merit the contempt and abhorrence of every republican.

Resolved, That we consider the right "of assembling together openly and publicly, and discussing freely the conduct of public men and public measures, and expressing our resolutions and opinions to the world," an inherent right of freemen, and absolutely necessary to the support of a republican government.

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

FRIDAY, APRIL 8, 1808.

(Mr. Adams's speech continued.)

But in addition to the evidence exhibited before the departure of Mr. Smith from this place, a multitude of other depositions were produced: most of them obtained by himself, for the purpose of his own exculpation and two in direct flagrant contradictory additional circumstances against him; even those which he, brings, for his defence, tend to aggravate a fact of the highest import, in my estimation, very unfavorably to his defence. Hence the studious avoidance of appearing before the grand jury at Frankfort, in Kentucky, on the second complaint against Mr. Burr, in December 1806. From the fullest consideration, to which I have been able to bestow upon the whole mass of this additional testimony, I have not discovered in it any ground, sufficient for the rejection of this resolution. I still am convinced, that it ought to be.

The most material of all the witnesses, to demonstrate that conduct of Mr. Smith, which, in my mind, proposes upon the Senate the necessity of coming to this decision is *himself*. It is upon his own testimony, the character of conduct and that of Mr. Burr, I his own lately acknowledging to have given an unlimited commission; and his own consciousness of participation in the treasonable designs, the testimony of his own witnesses, which constitute the most irresistible evidence against him. The extent of his connexions and the circumstances of the times, chiefly serve to corroborate and elucidate, the direct, and circumstantial, or feeble characters, and indisputable, security.

To exhibit this coincidence of conduct between Mr. Smith and Mr. Burr, in the manner in which it participates it may be necessary, Mr. President, to review the transactions, which have been made the basis of projects, from the time when he descended from that chair in which you now sit, to the period of the President's proclamation at Cincinnati, on the 12th December, 1806. In the first place, I have heard, Mr. Smith, contemporaneous with the several events which constitute the basis of his testimony, the witnesses, in the volume of evidence taken at Richmond, Virginia, and laid before Congress by the President of the United States, with the purposes and views of Mr. Burr, and the measures of the Congress of this country.

On the 3d of March, 1805, the term, Mr. Burr's career as Vice-President of the United States expired. How long before that time he had been revolving in mind his designs upon the western division of the Union, I know not, but I believe that they were then not entirely new, there is every reason to believe, it is known to many of the members of the members of this body, who were in Senate at that time; that Mr. Burr was then strongly impressed, and studied attention, and professed a peculiar respect to Mr. Smith. Very soon after this, in the spring, summer, and autumn of 1805, Mr. Burr was traversing the western country, descending down to New-Orleans, busily engaged in making every preparation possible for the execution of his designs of the ensuing year; even then we find from a great variety of testimony, that towards Mr. Smith's place of residence, was a spot where a great portion of Mr. Burr's conversation was made; even then from the depositions now produced by Meg Smith, the wife of the Senator, resident in *Cincinnati* for its capital, had been fully disclosed to William M'Farland, that Mr. Smith would be ready to serve to explain Mr. Wilkinson, relative to major Hitchie, that if Burr succeeded, he would make Fort Jay, Cincinnati, rather than at Baltimore or Philadelphia.

In the winter of 1805, Mr. Burr returns to spend his time at this place, and at Philadelphia, in which he made his overtures to Mr. Eaton, from whose testimony, I must ask, Mr. President, your attention to two or three extracts, shewing how far his projects were then matured.

"Colonel Burr had opened his project of revolutionizing the territory, west of the Allegheny; establishing an independent empire there New-Orleans to be the capital, and he himself to be the chief; organizing military force on the waters of the Mississippi, and carrying conquest to Mexico."

"He stated to me, that he had in person (I think the preceding season) made a tour through that country; that he had secured to his interests and attached to his person the most distinguished citizens of Tennessee, Kentucky, and territory of Orleans; that he had inexhaustible resources and funds; that the army of the United States would act with him; that it would be reinforced by 10,or 12,000 men from the abovementioned states and territory."

"He had mentioned to me some as principally and decidedly engaged with him, but General Wilkinson, a Mr. Alston, who I afterwards learnt was his son-in-law; and a Mr. Ephraim Kibby, who I learnt was late a captain of rangers in Wayne's army."

"Of Kibby he said, that he was brigade major in the vicinity of Cincinnati, (whether in Ohio or Kentucky I know not) who had much influence with the militia, and had already engaged the majority of the brigade, to which he belonged, who were ready to march at Mr. Burr's signal. Mr. Burr thought of this revolution as a matter right inherent in the people, and constitutionally a revolution which would enable administration to send the ministerial to the Atlantic states; a revolution which must eventually take place and for the operation of which the present crisis was peculiarly favorable; that there was no energy to be exhibited in the general government, and his conversations denoted a conviction that his arrangements were so well made that he should meet with no opposition at New-Orleans, for the seizure and the other chief citizens of that place were ready to receive him."

Such then was the plan of Mr. Burr, and such, by his declarations, the state of his preparatory measures in the winter of 1805-6, and I, Mr. President, will shew, that the statement relative to major Kibby, (and I mention it now, lest I might hereafter forget, because it may serve to explain what Mr. Smith said to major Hitchie, before the arrival of the President's proclamation at Cincinnati; that he Smith) knew nothing of Burr's plans than any man in the state of Ohio except one. Here it seems there was no mention, who knew them very sincerely; and it appears by the depositions produced by Mr. Smith, that William M'Farland also knew very little deal of them.

Let us follow Mr. Burr to Philadelphia, and notice some particulars of his conversations there with Commodore Truxtun, in July 1806. I shall read from the Commodore's testimony only those parts which may serve, not to contract the plan of Mr. Burr and to shew the consistency of Burr's purposes. He had previously in the winter talked with this Truxtun, about local speculations, but in July 1805, "He observed, (says the Commodore) that he relinquished one or to make me (I do not recollect which) Minister, or Secretary, to Spain, in expedition into Mexico, in the event of a war with Spain, which he thought inevitable. He (Burr) said, that he would take the command of a naval expedition. I asked him if the Executive of the United States was privy to or concerned in the project. He answered me emphatically that they were not. I told Mr. Burr that he would have nothing to do with it." Mr. Burr replied, that in the event of a war, he intended to establish an independent government in Mexico; and William Smith, then one of the officers of the navy would join." I replied, that I could not see how any of the officers of the United States could join."

"Mr. Burr asked me if I would not write to General Wilkinson, he was about to dispatch two couriers to him. I told him that I did not conceive it to be my duty to write to him, and I declined writing."

"This conversation was about the last of July, and I remember, about one or two passages in the famous cypher-ed letter to General Wilkinson. In the copy I have before me, it is dated 4th, but the formal letter of introduction which Mr. Swartwout carried with it, is dated 26th July, 1806. I was then written on or near the same day when Mr. Burr had his last conversation with Commodore Truxtun."

This letter indicates the Mr. Burr plan on the point of departure for the execution of his enterprise which it declares he had actually commenced; that detachments were to be collected on the Ohio, 1st November, and to move down rapidly from the falls on the 15th of November, with a force of 500 or 1000 men, in light boats, constructing for that purpose.

"I advise Burr will proceed eastward 1st August, never go western; if he joins his force together; the business will follow in October, with a corps of varities."

Finally, two letter contains also this passage—"Already are orders to the contractor given to forward six months provisions to points Wilkinson may name; this shall not be used until the last moment, and then under proper injunction."

Whether Mr. Burr did actually leave Philadelphia on the 1st of August, in his letter announces, I am unable to collect from any of the testimony that has fallen under my observation; but on the 21st of August he had reached Pittsburg; and there he invited himself to dinner the next day with Col. Morgan, in a manner precisely similar to that in which he so shortly afterwards invited himself to pass five or six days at the House of Mr. Smith. At Col. Morgan's he dined and lodged one night. I shall not recur specially to the remarkable testimony of Col. Morgan and his son, for it must be fresh in the recollection of every gentleman of the house me. I shall barely notice that during his short visit here, he broached all his designs, expressed his high opinion of the present administration, and the rights, the interests, and the wrongs of those which by western people had to separate from the Atlantic states. He was unreserved in the mode of operation for effecting the dismemberment of the union, which lit his unbounded ambition. Col. Morgan to Mr. Smith, he states to be the only mode in which that object could be accomplished, and that expedition did not commence in the right place. His attempt to tamper with men of honor and sentiment, met the reception it deserved. He left the house before breakfast the next morning.

On the 1st of September he had descended the river, and was upon Blennerhasset's island—and on the 4th of the same month appeared in the newspaper at Marietta the first notice of his arrival, which was followed by two or three more, of which the substance is, that he, in these papers, but the substance of their contents is well known. Their tendency, is to shew the opinion of the people in that part of the country for a separation from the Atlantic states, and the illiberal reproaches and epics so familiar in the mouth of Mr. Burr, and so much were they identical with his sentiments, that Mr. Wirt, the one of the witnesses at Richmond, with whom Burr had conversed on these subjects in the summer of 1805, declares that on his first perusal of these papers, he drew from their internal evidence the conclusion that the ideas were Burr's, and the language Blennerhasset's. Blennerhassett was indeed the writer, and precisely at the same time and immediately after, was ranging the country with the activity and spirit of a recruiting officer—providing the place of ranks at Neal's tavern and of Mexican mines—setting the heroic fire of adventure in the young men, and teaming with embassies and empires.

On the very same day that the first number of the Querist appeared at Marietta, the 4th of September, Mr. Burr left Blennerhassett's, and drove himself to the House of Mr. Smith, in Cincinnati, where he is hospitably received and entertained for five days. During this time he spends an evening at Williams's tavern, where he yields exactly the same kind of conversation about the impotence of government, the rights and wrongs of the western country, and their indicements to separate from the rest of the union, which the 4th of September he leaves Mr. Smith's, proceeds to Lexington in Kentucky, and there, in the presence of Mr. Wilkinson, contracts for the Washita lands, but forbears to mention Mexico.

Mr. Smith in his answers to the queries of the committee, (an answer which he offers to make upon oath) says that on this visit Burr carried with him five or six days, and then introduced to his acquaintance what he next adds, I must refer in his own words. "But he did not disclose to me the nature of the plan he had in view. Meanwhile the voice of suspicion and jealousy was raised against him; and I believe it was the duty of the officers in visiting the western states, as well as of yourself, Sir, to have maintained him in conformity to the laws towards which I was treated, and his conduct, to my own mind perfectly, I felt uneasiness and jealousy in consequence of these reports."

The character of Col. Burr is now generally well understood—and when considered with the circumstances of his conduct, and his plan, the ends which I am about to mention, it is difficult to conceive that his first visit to Marietta, and Williams's tavern, had been made without design. For the projects of Blennerhassett, and Wirt, shew that attempting to carry into execution, Mr. Smith was a man of weight, influence, and power. The name of the C. States, it is obvious how useful his services might become, in his attentions here during the session of Congress. As a contractor for building gun boats and for supplying the army with provisions, he could without exciting suspicion, and without danger of detection, be of the greatest use, in performing the same services, and furnishing for Mr. Burr the same kind of supplies. As a man of influence and consideration in the state to which he belonged, his aid in propagating the doctrine of disunion, and in contributing to the accomplishment of that end were not less desirable. The motives of friend of disunion which might be

Were dated 26th July.