

motives a foul and infamous libel on the character of the President; of exciting against him the hatred and contempt of the people of this country, by gross and malicious falsehoods—then, indeed, would it be his duty to bring before me this tribunal, it would be yours to convict, and the duty of the court to punish me.

But I hope, in the course of this trial, I shall be enabled to prove to your satisfaction, that I have published nothing which truth will not justify. That the assertions for which I am indicted are free from malicious imputation, and that my motives have been honest and fair.

You will observe, gentlemen of the jury, that the law requires it to be proved as a necessary part of the charge, that the passages for which I am indicted should be false and scandalous, and published from malicious motives. And before you will be able, consistently with your oaths, to convict upon this indictment, you must be thoroughly satisfied that both these parts of the charge are well founded. Nor does it appear to be that the expression of the act, to bring the President into contempt, can be fulfilled, if the accusation, as in the present instance, related to an examination of his public conduct, and no improper motives are imputed to him. And that I have carefully avoided imputing any impropriety of intention to the President, even in the very paper complained of; that the uniform tenor of my conduct and language has been to attribute honesty of motive even where I have strongly disapproved of the tendency of his measures, I can abundantly show.

You, and all who hear me, well know that this country is divided, and almost equally divided, into two grand parties; usually termed, whether properly or improperly, Federalists and Anti-Federalists; and that the governing powers of the country are ranked in public opinion under the former denomination—of these divisions, the one wishes to increase, the other to diminish, the powers of the executive; the one thinks that the people (the democracy of the country) has too much,