

Congress from these States, taken collectively, two-thirds were against a declaration of war.*

In this season of public calamity, of division among ourselves, and war with a foreign power, the duties we owe to ourselves, our families, our country and our God, require that we cultivate candid, friendly and peaceable dispositions, one toward another; that we carefully look into the state of our public concerns; examine the measures of our rulers; and adhere strictly to our excellent constitutions, and to all the just laws of our country. To do

* It may be asked, why this great difference, between the Southern and Northern States, on this subject?

That many of the southern gentry, and that the great body of the French and Irish inhabitants, or residents, in the Southern States, have strong prejudices against G. Britain, and partialities toward France, is well known. The Northern States must be far the greater sufferers in this war. If large armies are raised, the greater number of men must be drawn from the Northern States. The duties on salt, and some other articles, must fall much more heavily on the Northern, than on the Southern States. The northern merchants, farmers, traders in lumber, mechanics, fishermen, sailors, &c. must be great sufferers, and many of them thrown almost out of employment; while the Southern States will suffer comparatively little.

The Southern States have few vessels, the Northern States many. The southern planters, who formerly shipped their produce in vessels belonging to the Northern States, can now ship in Spanish, Portuguese, or other foreign neutral vessels for good markets, or can sell, for ready money, to these vessels, at handsome prices; but the surplus produce of the Northern States must remain on hand, or be disposed of at great sacrifice, while such of the northern vessels as are abroad, are exposed to capture, and such of them as are at home, must lie useless at the wharves, or be put to the worse than useless employment, of privateering.

I believe, the great body of the friends of peace, deprecate a separation of the States, as an event, which would involve the ruin of this country; but it is a serious question, whether the measures of our present rulers have not a tendency to produce so dreadful an event? "We shrink from the separation of the States, as an event fraught with incalculable evils, and it is among our strongest objections to the present course of measures, that they have in our opinion, a very *dangerous* and *alarming* bearing, on such an event. If a separation of the States *ever should* take place, it will be, on some occasion, when one portion of the Country undertakes to controul, to regulate, and to *sacrifice* the interest of another; when a small and heated *Majority* in the Government, taking counsel of their passions, and not of their reason, contemptuously disregarding the interests, and perhaps stopping the mouths, of a large and respectable *Minority*, shall by hasty, rash, and ruinous measures, threaten to destroy essential rights, and lay waste the most important interests. It shall be our most fervent supplication to Heaven to avert, both the *event* and the *occasion*; and the Government may be assured, that the tie that binds us to the UNION, will never be broken by us."—[*Memorial of the Rockingham Convention of the friends of peace.*]