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- (1) The present position of the Federal Government.
- (2) The objects of the war, and its pro[-] bable issue.
- (3) The state of public opinion, of the press, &c., in the North with reference to slavery; and
- (4) The state of feeling in the South, among both white and colored population, and the probable influence of the war on slavery.

Referring, then, more immediately to the last-named point, Mr. Kinnaird concluded by expressing his fervent hope, that the issue of the war might be to enable the American people to wash their hands of the most iniquitous and deplorable system. (Applause.)]

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grateful acknowledgment of English sympathy for the negro race, he expressed his belief that the apparent indifference to the cause of the North in this country, and, on the other hand, the irritability awakened in the North by the harsh criticisms of the English press, were the fruit of mutual misunderstandings. This was especially the case in regard to the opinion entertained in England as to the extent of anti slavery feeling in the North—a feeling much deeper, and more widely spread than we supposed. He illustrated at some length the proposition, that the origin of the war was the desire of the South to have slavery supreme; pointing out, in much detail, how for years past the slave States, notwithstanding their inferiority in population extent, and wealth, had exercised predominant power in the Legislature, Administrative and Executive departments of the country. Thus, out of eighteen Presidents, twelve had been from the South, and six only from the North. At length the Northern people found that slavery was asking too much. The passing of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the slaveholding assault on the Hon. Charles Sumner on the floor of the Senate Chamber were among the things which roused the North to resistance[.] Then came the war in Kansas, where, in fact, the first battle between slavery and freedom was fought; the North having, by this time, come to an united sentiment, that slavery should not be established in that territory.—

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The growth of anti-slavery feeling in the North was evidenced by the constant rescue of fugitive slaves; the adoption by eleven States of Personal Liberty Bills, securing these fugitives trial by jury; and the refusal of the use of gaols for their detention. Coming then more immediately to the question of the war, Mr. Martin denied the truth of the representation, that it was a fratricidal war; it was no more a fratricidal war than any other war. But whatever it was, the South began it, and let any horrors attaching to it be added to its guilty head. (Hear, hear.) There was, indeed, war before the actual outbreak; every white man going South was subjected to Lynch law and other atrocities, and slavery was, in fact, a chronic state of war. If one war would put an end to continual war, good service would be done to the cause of humanity. (Hear, hear.) The cause for which the South had gone out of the Union, and for which it was now fighting, was to maintain slavery, and none other. It was in allusion to slavery that the Southern Vice President, Mr. Stephens, had profanely used a Scripture simile—'The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner,' (sensation,) an applicaion wicked beyond expression. (Hear, hear.)

This maintenance of slavery would involve the necessity of re-opening the African slavetrade, without which the supply of slaves could not be kept up; for, such was the wear The growth of anti-slavery feeling in the North was evidenced by the constant rescue of fugitive slaves; the adoption by eleven States of Personal Liberty Bills, securing these fugitives trial by jury; and the refusal of the use of gaols for their detention. Coming then more immediately to the question of the war, Mr. Martin denied the truth of the representation, that it was a fratricidal war:

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This maintenance of slavery would involve the necessity of re-opening the African slavetrade, without which the supply of slaves could not be kept up; for, such was the wear and tear of the sugar, rice and cotton plantations, that the average life span of the slave was not more than nine years. (Hear, hear.)— The Southern slaveholding interest aimed at making slavery supreme on the American continent, embracing, not only their own States, but the Brazils, the Spanish possessions, Central America and Mexico; and in view of this ambitious project, the North resisted for its own existence. (Hear, hear.)— It might be asked, why not let them (the Secession States) go? For the same reason, that England would not let Ireland go—that London would not let Marylebone go. The moment the right of Secession was conceded, all government became impossible. Mr. Martin next argued that the war no[w] waged by the Federal Government was essentially an anti slavery war. (No.) At all events, if they were not fighting avowedly to put down slavery, it was enough for him that they were fighting slaveholders. (Hear.) To show the tendencies of the war, he called attention to the Act of the last Congress, by which every slave, whose master was a rebel, was conficated by the fact of rebellion. He pointed also to the reception and protection of 800 fugitives in Fortress Monroe. The reply of the Washington Government to the inquiry of General Butler, as to what he was to do with the slaves who had escaped from loyal masters, was to the effect that the substantial rights of loyal masters would be best protected by

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receiving such fugitives, as well as fugitives from disloyal masters, into the service of the United States. A record was directed to be kept showing the name and description of the fugitives and other necessary facts. Upon the return of peace, Congress would (it was said) doubtless provide for all the persons thus received into the service of the Union. and for a just compensation to loyal masters,' but nothing was said of returning the fugitives to the condition of slavery. Whereever, therefore, the Northern army went, it went as an emancipator. (Hear, hear.) He repeated his strong conviction of the antislavery feeling of the North and his earnest hope and anticipation that, not only would the rebellion be put down, but that i[t]s cause would be abolished. Whichever of the belligeren's 'whipped' the other, this would, he believed, be the result. The South could only win by calling in the assistance of the slaves, and this assistance could, he believed, only be obtained by the masters giving them their freedom. If a compromise should t[a]ke place, slavery would take care of itself. Am insurrection among the slaves for their own freedom would only have the effect of turning both North and South down upon them.— After bearing warm testimony to the generous reception accorded to himself, as an escaped slave, by the people of Massachusetts, the Rev. gentleman closed with a fervid peroration.

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