

been slaveholders; and if we consider that by the death of General Harrison, the Executive power, during the rest of his term, fell into the hands of a Virginian slaveholder, and that of the five Northern Presidents *three* went into office the understood representatives of the Southern policy, while one of the three was actually a native of the South, it will appear that the South has held the Executive power of the Union throughout five-sixths of the life-time of the nation. Meanwhile, we find that of the other great offices of State, the South has obtained up to 1852,—17 out of 28 Judges of the Supreme Court; 14 out of 19 Attorneys General; 61 out of 77 Presidents of the Senate; 21 out of 33 Speakers of the House; 80 out of 134 Foreign Ministers. And on further investigation we discover that of the Northern holders of high office the proportion has steadily diminished during the century. Such facts strike a foreigner with amazement, and demand an explanation. The policy of the Union is a too intelligible comment upon their meaning. It is beyond our present purpose to investigate the causes of the political ascendancy which the South has undoubtedly exercised, and still continues to exercise, with increasing power, over the Union, and especially over the Northern States, in spite of their acknowledged superiority in population, in wealth, in cultivation, in popular education, and in the practice of free institutions. This problem is one of the most curious which the condition of the United States presents, and it may be briefly explained by the comparatively *aristocratic* character which the peculiar institutions of the South have given to those communities. By the Constitution of the United States—(ART. III.) Representatives and direct taxes are apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, *three-fifths of all other persons.*

“This somewhat obscure expression designates the slaves, who therefore are reckoned (where they exist) in the proportion of three-fifths in that estimate of the population, which determines the number of representatives, though, of course, the exercise of the suffrage is confined to the whites and freemen. Hence three millions of slaves, who are in fact property, count in the basis of the Southern representation for two millions of free men, but the power thus conferred by their numbers is exercised by their masters only to rivet their chains. Such a power is essentially contrary to the theory of democratic equality, since the slaveholding interests are represented in Congress not only by their own numbers, but by this species of property-qualification, which alone countervails the votes of the Free States.

“Again, the habits of life in the Southern States are more aristocratic; the traditions of the older families of the Union are more carefully retained; the descendants of these families are more carefully trained for public life, and above all, the predominant interest and the common dangers of those slaveholding communities unite them, as one man, in the defence of their cause, whilst the societies of the North are broken up into a multitude of factions by political differences of very inferior importance. The result has been not merely a successful defensive policy on the part of the South, by which slavery has been upheld, but a systematic policy of extension and aggression by which its territorial area and its political power have been steadily increased.”

CONGREGATIONAL UNION, ENGLAND.

[A fierce discussion, called the “Rivulet Controversy,” has been going on for some time among the English Congregationalists, and is threatening to rend the denomination asunder. The immediate occasion of it is a Hymn Book, published by the Rev. Mr. Lynch, a member of the Union, which is said to be of a Neological, or Socinian tendency. The Rev. Dr. Campbell, of the Tabernacle, London, has denounced it with his usual vehemence. The Rev. Thos. Binney, of the Weigh House Chapel, London, one of the most distinguished ministers of the body, has appeared on the opposite side. Mr. B. expresses himself as follows respecting the