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## The North and the South.

A Lecture delivered before the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association of Cincinnati, Ohio, January 16, 1849.

BY ELWOOD FISHER.

There he found the portals of the infernal world. So Virgil conducts Eneas to the soulless and solemn forest of the Cumean sybil. But with our improved conceptions of the character of that place and its inmates, and the most direct avenues to approach it, the modern Epic poet who desires to give his hero a view of it, will have to fix the gateway in the heart of a great city where the vices hold their revels. 'Tis there

the gates of Hell are open night and day, Smooth the descent and easy is the way.

It cannot be said that the excessive mortality among the males of the North, is owing to their unwholesome employments. For the females are employed in similar or more destructive avocations. In Massachusetts about fifty thousand women work in factories, and yet in that State there is an excess of 7,673 females, whereas if the natural proportion of the sexes existed among the native population, or such as is found at the South, Massachusetts ought to have an excess of twenty-two thousand males. So that at present she has about thirty thousand females beyond the due proportion. It is true that Massachusetts loses a portion of her male population by emigration to the West, although she is reinforced again by the excess of males in the foreign emigrants that have settled there. But there still remains a large portion who must be perished by the sickness and vices of the towns and cities that contain so large a part of her people—Boston alone with its suburbs, having a population of 200,000, or nearly one-third of all the State. So then, the operation of the institutions of this model State of the North, is to violate the laws of nature by a separation of the sexes; to send thousands of her sons away from their happy condition at home, to encounter the hardships of the West; to send multitudes of others to die by dissipation in her cities, and to place her lonely and deserted women, not in convents, but in factories. I have said that there are about fifty thousand women employed in the factories of Massachusetts. Such is the testimony of the official census of the State in 1845. Those who are thus employed it is well known, are generally young, unmarried women, as such a vocation would be rather incompatible with the domestic duties of wives. Now according to the census of 1840, there were but about 57,000 women in that State, between the ages of 17 and 25. So that about seven-eighths of the marriageable women of Massachusetts, at a time of life that ought to be sacred to love and courtship, to pleasure and to hope, to home and to society, are sent forth from the parental roof, to labor for years, confined to a over-heated room, containing a hundred persons each, confined to a space five feet square, for thirteen hours a day, under a male overseer, and not permitted to receive a visit from a lover or a relative in the mill, except by the permission of the proprietor's agent, or at the boarding-house, except by the permission of the proprietor's house-keeper; for such are the regulations and condition of Lowell. This confinement to factories, postpones the marriage of the women of Massachusetts to an average of 23 or 24 years.\*

I do not know at what age precisely, marriages occur in Virginia, but the census shows that Virginia, with fewer adults, has 100,000 more of children.

In determining the condition of civilized communities, it is generally considered essential to enquire into the state of their pauperism; not only because the paupers themselves usually constitute a considerable class, but because their number affects vitally the condition of the entire laboring class.

In the State of New York the progress of pauperism has been rapid. In 1830, the number supported or relieved was 15,506. In 1835 it was 38,262, according to Chapman's U. S. Gazetteer for 1844. In 1843 or 4 the number had increased to about 72,000 permanent, and the same number of occasional paupers, making a total of 144,000, as appears from the Journal of Commerce. These were for the whole State, and there were thus, one pauper to every seventeen inhabitants. In 1847 there were received at the principal almshouses for the city of New York 28,692 persons, and out-door relief, was given out of public funds to 44,572 persons, making a total of 73,264. So that about one person out of every five in the city of New York was dependent, more or less, on public charity. The total cost that year of this pauperism was \$319,293 88.† For this present year of 1849, the estimate is \$400,000, according to the Mayor's message.

In Massachusetts, it appears by the returns, that there were in 1835 5,580 paupers, and in 1848, 18,603. These were all in the almshouses. Those relieved out of the almshouses, were 9,817, making a total of 28,510, according to the report of the Secretary of the State of Massachusetts. And the returns since made for these, it will be seen that twenty is a constant or occasional pauper.

It thus appears that in these two States pauperism is advancing ten times as rapidly as their wealth or population. It has become so great as to include large numbers of able-bodied men, who it appears cannot, or what is worse, will not, earn a subsistence, and if such be the case, what must be the condition of the great mass of people hanging on the verge of pauperism, but withheld by an honorable pride, from applying for public charity.

Now, throughout the greater part of Virginia and Kentucky, pauperism is almost unknown. I passed some time ago, the poor-house of Campbell county, Kentucky, on the opposite side of the river, and there was not a solitary inmate. And I have known a populous county in Virginia to have but one.

It has generally been supposed that the paupers of Massachusetts and New York, are principally foreign emigrants. But this is a mistake. In the 5,580 paupers of Massachusetts in 1836, only 1192 were of foreign birth—but little over one-fifth, which does not probably exceed the proportion then, of that population in the State. In 1845 of 1016 persons admitted into the almshouses of Boston, 490 were foreign, of whom 382 were Irish; but that was the year of Irish famine. In 1848, of 18,993 paupers received into the almshouses of Massachusetts, 7,413 were foreigners.\* We do not know what proportion of the people of that State are foreigners; in Boston there is about one-third.

When pauperism extends to the class that are able to labor, it is evident that the wages of labor are reduced to the cost of subsistence. And hence the whole class must be subjected to the melancholy and terrible necessity of working, rather to avoid the poor-house, than of bettering their condition.—And the pauper in an almshouse is a slave. He works under a master, and receives nothing but a subsistence. And there are already in New York and Massachusetts, about one hundred thousand persons in this condition; about an equal number occasionally so, and they are increasing at the rate of 200 per cent, whilst the whole population does not increase 20 per cent in ten years. In Cincinnati the number of paupers, permanent and occasional, already amounts to two thousand.

Whilst the property of the North is thus compelled to contribute to the support of this great and growing burden, and the labor of the North, must not only assist in its support, but must work in competition with it, they are subjected to another mighty evil, which springs from, or at least is aggravated by the same causes, and that is crime.

The number of convicts in the three penitentiaries of New York, Auburn, Sing Sing and Blackwell's Island, is about two thousand. In the penitentiary of Virginia there are only 111 whites, 89 blacks. This indicates four times the amount of crime in proportion to the white population in New York, as in Virginia. In Massachusetts there were in 1847, 288 persons in the State prison, which indicates more than twice the crime in that State as in Virginia. Taking all the New England States together, their penitentiary convicts are twice as numerous in proportion to population, as in Virginia, as will be seen by consulting the American Almanac for 1849. It contains sketches of the criminal statistics of the several States, and is New England authority. In Ohio there are 470 persons in the penitentiary—in Kentucky 130, Ohio being 25 per cent the most, according to population. According to the returns of the Kentucky penitentiary, one half of her convicts for the last ten years, came from the single county in which Louisville, her principal town, is located—and one third of the whole number were born in free States. So much for the States of the North, agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial, old and new, as compared with those of the South in crime. The results are uniformly, and largely in favor of the South.

If we turn to the official reports of crime in the great cities of the North, we behold a state of society exhibited, at which the mind is appalled. In Boston the number of persons annually arraigned for crime, exceeds four thousand, and of this number about one-third are females. So that one person out of every 14 males, and one out of every 28 females is arrested annually for criminal offences. There may be some who are arraigned more than once a year, but on the other hand, there must be many who escape detection altogether.

In New York the proportion of crime is about the same, some eighteen thousand persons having been arrested there last year. Of these, it is said six thousand were for drunkenness, twelve thousand were committed to the toms for examination of whom ten thousand were committed for trial. Of these there were sentenced to the State prison 119 men and 17 women—to the penitentiary 700 men and 170 women—to the city prison 102 men and 67 women—total 981 men, 254 women—showing an amount of crime in a single city greater than in all the Southern States together. In the Kentucky penitentiary there is not a single woman—in the Virginia, I believe there is none.

The enormous amount of crime in the Eastern cities, which already rivals the depravity of those of Europe, has been ascribed to the multitude of European emigrants.—But the returns do not sustain this plea. Of 7,009 persons in the jails and houses of correction in Massachusetts in 1847, only 1165 were natives of foreign countries. This is less than one-fourth of the whole number, and cannot vary materially from the proportions of the foreign and native population in the State.\*

Whilst the South has been so much more secure than the North in life and property from individual crime, it has been at least equally exempt from social disturbance. The apprehensions of danger from the dissimilarity of its white and black population have not been realized. The proportion of white and black remains as at first, about two to one. Even in Brazil where this proportion is reversed, where there are two blacks to one white, tranquility has reigned for a quarter of a century. And it is remarkable that Brazil and the United States, the only two nations on this continent, where African slavery prevails, are the only two which have succeeded in the establishment of stable and flourishing, social and political institutions. In all the Spanish American States, where the attempt has been made, to introduce political equality among distinct and dissimilar races, it has been followed by incessant insurrection, anarchy, poverty, vice, and barbarism.

When the Union between the North and South, under our present constitution was formed, the social, political, and economical operation of the institutions peculiar to each, were matters of theory and conjecture. We have now had the experience of half a century; and the result is before us in the facts I have presented, facts against which neither special pleading, nor sectional prejudice, nor egotism or fanaticism can prevail.

It will be observed I do not compare the whole people of the North with the whole population of the South. I am now comparing the whites only of both sections; it being the first object to ascertain the effects of their respective institutions on the whites of the two sections. I do not compare Northern cities with Southern—but the white people, rural and urban, together of one section with those of the other. I have referred more particularly to Northern cities because they contain so large a part of the population of Northern population—and are the boast and characteristic of the Northern system. I have also preferred to compare the old States of the sections not only because they are similar in climate and productions, but because in them the effects of the two systems are more developed, and as has been contended to the great disadvantage of the South.

There is a class of topics of a more intangible nature, but not the less important, and which are much insisted on in this controversy, that now remain to be briefly considered. It is urged that religion and education are more prevalent and flourishing in the North than in the South. It is true that the form of religion existing in New England, and by law established, was extremely strict and self-denying; as that of Virginia—the Episcopal—was then one of the most indulgent of Protestant sects. But it is well known that the Puritan character has been rapidly degenerating and passing away. Indeed the forms of that faith are no longer dominant in Boston, the ancient seat of its power, and in their place the Unitarians have prevailed, and they are gaining ground rapidly in New England. A change has occurred in Virginia, but a change in the opposite direction. Instead of the Episcopalians, the Baptists are predominant in Virginia. Thus under the operation of their respective institutions the religion of Massachusetts has receded from one of the most strict to one of the most relaxed systems of the Protestant faith—while Virginia has advanced from one of the most indulgent, to one of the stricter forms of religious discipline. There are no means of ascertaining the number of members in all the churches in the several States. Virginia has about 80,000 of Baptists alone, she has 30,000 Methodists,\* and large proportion yet of Episcopalians than any other State. Altogether she must have her full proportion.

But it is in Education that the North claims the great pre-eminence over the South. In Massachusetts, according to the census of 1840, there were but 4443 white persons above the age of twenty who could not read and write—and in Virginia there were 58,787. In Ohio there were 35,364, in Kentucky 40,016. In Illinois 27,502, in Mississippi 8,350. Thus it appears that whilst there are more than twelve times as many illiterate persons in the oldest Southern as in the oldest Northern States, the proportion changes, as we advance Westward until we find a greater proportion of them in a new State of the North than in one of the South. And thus it seems that in the new States where children are not educated at public expense, and where therefore their parents must provide for them, the children of the South are better educated; or rather, perhaps, it would seem, that the emigration from the North is much more ignorant than the South. Still, however, the odds of school instruction are decidedly with the North. This results from obvious causes. The territorial area of Virginia is probably nine times as great as that of Massachusetts. If therefore, Virginia were disposed to adopt the common school system it would require nine times the school houses and teachers to afford the same conveniences for attending school that exist in Massachusetts. Virginia is a thinly settled agricultural State intersected by several ranges of mountains. In many places there could not be found ten scholars in ten miles square.—In such places a population might be able to live comfortably, but not to establish a school, or send their children abroad to boarding schools. Hence their must be a considerable number without schools. In commercial and manufacturing States or those of small farms and dense agricultural population, this evil is not so much felt.

But Virginia has a system of oral instruction which compensates for the want of schools, and that is her social intercourse.—The social intercourse of the South is probably much greater than that of any people that ever existed. There is certainly nothing like the number of visits among the

families of a city or even the same square in a city as prevails in the country of the South.—And these visits are not fashionable calls, but last for days and weeks—and they are the great resources of the South for instruction and amusement. It is true that persons are not taught at such places to read or write, but they are taught to think and converse. They are the occasions of interchanging opinions and diffusing intelligence;—and to perform the duties, to enjoy the pleasures of such intercourse, to please, to shine, and to captivate, requires a degree of mental culture which no custom of the North so much demands. Accordingly the South exhibits the remarkable phenomenon of an agricultural people, distinguished above all others of the present day by the elegance of their manners and the intellectual tone of their society.

The North excels in books. In History she has Bancroft and Prescott, in Poetry, Bryant, Halleck and Whittier, in Criticism, Everett and Channing. In sculpture she has produced a Powers. Her Franklin has drawn the lightning from heaven, and taught it to play harmlessly around our very hearths—her Morse has even given letters to lightning, and lightning to letters! The North excels in the arts and the physical sciences in inventions and improvements. She excels in associative action, not merely for Railroads and manufactures, but for literary, benevolent and religious objects. I do not desire to detract one iota from her exalted merits and high civilization. But in individual character and individual action, the South excels. For a warm heart and open hand, for sympathy of feeling, fidelity of friendship, and high sense of honor; for knowledge of the sublime mechanism of man, and reason and eloquence to delight, to instruct and to direct him, the South is superior; and when the North comes into the action with the South, man to man in council or in the field, the genius of the South has prevailed from the days of Jefferson to Calhoun, from Washington to Taylor. And it is to the solicitude which the rural life of the South affords, so favorable to reflection, and it is to the elevated rural society of the South so favorable to the study of human nature, that we must ascribe those qualities of persuasion and self-command by which her statesmen and captains have moved the public councils and won so many a field.

The abolition of African Slavery in the South has been urged for many years by a proportion of Northern people. And now its restriction to its present territorial limits is the avowed purpose of almost every Northern States. The basis on which this policy rests is the assumption that slavery is sinful and unprofitable. The means now relied on to arrest its future progress is not the persuasion of the people of the slave holding States, but the numerical power of the free States acting through the Federal Government. Suppose now the South had a majority of votes, and were not to announce its determination to arrest the further progress of commerce and manufactures in consequence of their poverty pauperism, crime and mortality what would be the sentiment everywhere felt in the North? Why one of indignation, scorn and resistance. Such does the South feel now!

When the North American colonies confederated for resistance to Great Britain the territorial area of the Southern portion of them was 648,202 square miles—that of the Northern only 164,031, or about one-fourth as large. Virginia alone had, by Royal charter, the whole North western territory in her limits, and during the war had confirmed her title by the patriotism and valor of her own citizens—who rescued even Illinois from British power. But before the present constitution was formed Virginia, with a magnanimity almost infatuated, had ceded to the confederacy, for the formation of free States, the whole North-western territory now constituting the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, containing 261,681 square miles, and making the territory of the free States rather more than that of the slaveholding. The object of this cession and the ordinance of 1787 was to equalize the area of the two sections. The acquisition of Louisiana in 1803, added 1,383,103 square miles to our territory, of which, by the Missouri compromise, the South obtained only 226,013 square miles, or about one-fifth—the other four-fifths, notwithstanding it came to us as a slaveholding province, were allotted to the North, which thus had acquired more than 700,000 square miles of territory over the South. Florida and Oregon were acquired by the treaty of 1819, by which the South got 59,265 square miles, and the North 341,463, making the North about 1,000,000 of square miles the most. In 1845 Texas was annexed, which added only 325,520 square miles to the South, even if all Texas were included. In 1848 we obtained 526,078 square miles more in the territories of New Mexico and California. And now the North claims the whole of this also—and not only this but half of Texas besides, which would make the share of the North exceed that of the South nearly 1,500,000 square miles—a territory about equal in extent to the whole Valley of the Mississippi, and leaving the South only about 810,812 square miles, while the North retains 2,097,124, or nearly three-fourths of the whole! And thus too when the South contributed her full share of the men and money by which the whole territory was obtained. In the revolutionary war the South furnished an average of 16,714 men in each year, and the North 25,875, which nearly corresponds with their respective number of citizens, and that too, although the war was waged chiefly against the large cities of the North—cities being in war the most tempting and the most vulnerable, points of attack. In the war with Mexico the South supplied two thirds of the volunteers which constituted three fourths of the entire force employed. The

revenue by which these wars have been supported, the public debt paid, and the price for the territory furnished, has been raised chiefly by duties which have notoriously operated designedly and incidentally to promote the industry and capital of the North, and to oppress those of the South.

If after all this the South should submit to be plundered of her share of the territory now in dispute, when, as an agricultural people, she requires her full proportion, she would be recreant to her interests, her power, her right, her honor, and her fame;—recreant to her history and her destiny.

One of the proposed objects of these Northern reformers is to promote the prosperity of the South. I have shown that she wants none of their aid, and that there are at home thousands of criminals to reform and hundreds of thousands of paupers to be relieved, on whom their philanthropy may be exhausted.

Is it for the welfare of the slave they are contending? I hold it to be the duty even of him who undertakes to subvert the established order of things, to manifest at least as much respect for experience as experiment, and it so happens that the experience of emancipation has been ample and diversified.

In Hayti, the black, after exterminating the white population, remained independent and isolated, the exclusive architect of its own institutions and destiny. The result is that they have relapsed into pristine barbarism. The exports of Hayti amounted in 1789 to about twenty-five millions of dollars—they do not now amount to one tenth of that sum. The Haytien contents himself with the cultivation of a few yards for a mere subsistence, and a mere hut for a dwelling. The blacks and mulattoes are at civil war, and yesterday's papers announced that an army of twenty thousand men was advancing against the principal town, Port au Prince.

Another plan of emancipation is to send the liberated to Liberia. But besides the expense of such a system, which renders it impracticable, it is attended with the death of from one-fourth to one-half of the emigrants by the coast fever.

The third plan attempted is that by the British in their West Indies—the plan of gradual abolition by apprenticeship and ultimate equality of black and white; and this also has failed. The exports of Jamaica have already, in the first ten years of the experiment, fallen one-half. The negroes refuse to work even for high wages beyond what is necessary for mere subsistence, the planters are bankrupt, plantations are already abandoned, and the island is hastening to the condition of Hayti.

The fourth plan of emancipation is that which has been going on with us. That of manumission by the will of the master, the freeman remaining with black and white, or seeking other States. This experiment has not succeeded. The emancipated slave does not appear to be willing to perform the amount of work necessary to enable him to compete successfully with the white laborer. In the State of New York the Constitution conferred the right of suffrage on colored persons owning \$250 worth of property.—Yet in the city of New York in 1845, out of 11,939 colored people there were only 103 voters, and notwithstanding their numbers are augmented by frequent manumissions and fugitive slaves, they do not increase so rapidly as the slave population, which is evidence that their condition is not so comfortable. It is also a curious fact that of 336,293 free persons of color in 1840, nearly half (183,766) preferred to remain in the slave States, where certainly as a class they are treated with no peculiar favor. In Massachusetts, where so much sympathy is expressed for them they cannot or will not live. There are less now of them in Boston than there were twenty years ago, and in both Virginia and Massachusetts there are ten times as many free colored people in the penitentiary as their proportion of the white population. Is it then for the sake of such emancipation as the West Indian, which results in idleness, barbarism, and civil war among the blacks, or for Liberian, which exterminates, or the American, which subjects them to crime and want, the Philanthropy would undertake to overturn the unrivalled system of Southern civilization.

But we are told that slavery is an evil. Well, so is war an evil, and so perhaps is government itself an evil, since it also is an abridgement of liberty. But one of the first objects of our constitution is to provide for war—for the common defence. And the people of the United States prefer the evil of war to the greater evils of being plundered and subdued. They prefer the evil of government to the greater evil of anarchy. So the people of the South prefer slavery to the evils of a dense manufacturing and commercial population which appear to be inevitable without it; and the blackman may prefer the slavery of the South to the want, the crime, the barbarism and blood which attend his race in all other countries. In the practical affairs of human life in its present state, choice of evils is frequently all that is in our power. Good and evil in fact become relative, and not positive terms. And the necessity is recognized by the example of our Saviour, who applied the remedy of the lash to the money changers who profaned the temple.—It is consistent for a rigid sect like the Quakers to oppose slavery, because they proscribe and repudiate war and luxury and all other evils. And we may all hope for the time to come, when in the progress of Christianity the evils of slavery in the South, and those of pauperism, crime, and mortality in the North will be greatly mitigated or abolished. But the North can now make no protest, because the luxurious system of Northern civilization not only subjects the great mass of the people to unwonted labor and privation, but actually sacrifices in peace a greater amount of

than is usually expended by communities at war.

If then the welfare of neither white nor black in the South would be promoted by the restriction or abolition of slavery, would the prosperity of the North be advanced? The only thing of which the North complains on its own account is the ratio of representation fixed by the Constitution which gives the South a vote equal to three-fifths of the blacks. But on the other hand, in consequence of the existence of slavery in the South, the North has a monopoly of foreign emigration. This amounted as we have seen from 1829 to 1840 to a million and a half, including its increase. In the previous thirty years it must have been, with its increase to this day, at least half a million more. Since 1840 it has amounted to a million besides. So that the North has the vote and the power of three millions of people against the political power which slavery now confers, and that is equivalent to a white population only of about two millions.

And furthermore, by the peculiar agricultural employment of Southern industry and capital, the South is a customer and consumer of Northern manufactures and commerce and of North-western agriculture. Abolish slavery and convert the South into a people of mechanics, artisans and merchants, and instead of being a customer she becomes a competitor of the other section. And if the march of pauperism, crime, and mortality of the North be so great now, what would it be then?

The condition of modern civilization is far more laborious and oppressive than the ancient. The seats of ancient science and the arts were in the mild climates of the Mediterranean shore, or in the south of Asia and Europe. And in America the ruins of her unrecorded civilization are to be found in Palenque and Copan, all in a similar climate. The genius of England has carried civilization to a more northern latitude, and that of America has extended it, if not higher in latitude, to a still more rigorous climate than that of England. The wants of such a climate are great and imperious. The cost of fuel alone in the city of New York exceeds \$16,000,000 annually. The clothing must be much warmer, the houses more substantial, the food more nourishing and all more expensive than a milder climate. And this great augmentation of the burthens of civilized life must be borne in the North by freemen, not as of old by slaves. Hence have we seen the fearful struggle of Northern labor for subsistence; notwithstanding the immense aid it has derived from modern machinery and invention. But take from that labor the custom, and subject it to the competition of the South, where so much less is required for subsistence, and that so much cheaper, and the result would be as ruinous to the present system of the North as to that of the South. These two great systems have grown up together. That of the North could not have so much expanded without a market in Southern agriculture—nor could this have grown so great but for the demand and supplies of the North. Together they have flourished; together they must fall and fall. To restrict, therefore, the territorial extension of the South, and by circumscribing its industry render it unprofitable is to restrict and paralyze the prosperity of the North in all its departments. Together these institutions have marched harmoniously to that eminence and success which have won the prosperity of both at home and extorted the admiration of the world abroad. If either should fall by the hand of the other the crime would not only be fratricide—it would be suicide;—and over the mouldering ruins of both would deserve to be written the epitaph: Here were a people who disputed about the capacity of the African for liberty and civilization, and did not themselves possess the capacity to preserve their own.

LISTENING TO EVIL REPORTS.—The longer I live, the more I feel the importance of adhering to the rule which I have laid down for myself in relation to such matters:—

1. To hear as little as possible of whatever is to the prejudice of others.

2. To believe nothing of the kind till I am absolutely forced to it.

3. Never to drink into the spirit of one who circulates an ill report.

4. Always to moderate, as far as I can, the unkindness which is expressed towards others.

5. Always to believe that, if the other side were heard, a very different account would be given of the matter.—*Carr's Life of Simon.*

It is a bad sign to see a man with his hat off at midnight, arguing the rum seller's cause to a lamp post. It is also a bad sign to see a fellow lie down in the gutter, supposing it to be his bed, and commence calling a poor innocent hog all sort of hard names, mistaking it for his wife.

A young lawyer, not over young nor handsome, examining a young lady, a witness in court, determined to perplex her, and said, "Miss, upon my word, you are very pretty!" The young lady very readily replied, "I would return the compliment, sir, if I were not on oath!"

"How these shop-keepers will flit it," said Mrs. Partington, with an expression of pain on her venerable features: "that young man I bought these needles of, said they were good tempered, and only see how spitefully this one has mangled my finger."

An Irishman seeing an outside passenger of an English stage coach covered with dust, observed that if he was a potatoe he might grow without any further planting.

"If the devil should lose his tail, where would he get another?" In a dram shop, to be sure, where they retail bad spirits."

\* American Almanac.

† American Almanac.

\* American Almanac, 1849.

\* American Almanac, 1849.

\* American Almanac.