

whether the following address from citizen magistrates to the leaders of the plebeians was ever delivered in Florence or not, it certainly has, on more than one occasion, lately been delivered at Paris.

"Trusting that we had to do with those who possessed some feeling of humanity and some love of their country, we willingly accepted the magistracy thinking that by our greatness we would overcome your ambition. But we perceive from experience that the more humble our behaviour, the more concessions we make, the prouder you become and the more exorbitant are your demands. And though we speak thus, it is not in order to offend, but to amend you. Our design is to communicate only what is for your good. Now we would ask you, What is there yet ungranted that you can with any appearance of propriety, require? You wished to have authority taken from the Capitani di Parte; and it is done. You wished that the billotings should be burnt, and a reformation of them take place; and we consent. You desired that the admonished should be restored to their honours; and it is permitted. At your entreaty we have pardoned those who have burnt down houses and plundered churches; many honourable citizens have been exiled to please you; and at your suggestions, new restraints have been laid upon the Great. When will there be an end of your demands? and how long will you continue to abuse our liberality? Why would you reduce to slavery, by your discords in a time of peace, that city, which so many powerful enemies have left free, even in war? What can you expect from your disunion but subjugation? or from the property of which you have plundered us, or may yet plunder us, but poverty? for this property is the means by which we furnish occupation for the whole city, and if you take it from us, our means of finding that occupation is withdrawn. Besides, those who take it, will have difficulty in preserving what is dishonestly acquired, and thus poverty and destitution are brought upon the city."

But the plebeian rioters are not without their speeches and their spokesmen also; and the following, or something very like it, was doubtless delivered behind many a barricade in the late insurrection of Paris:

"If the question now were, whether we should take up arms, rob and burn the houses of the citizens, and plunder churches, I am one of those who would think it worthy of further consideration, and should, perhaps, prefer poverty and safety to the dangerous pursuit of an uncertain good. But as we have already armed, and many offences have been committed, it appears to me that we have to consider how to lay them aside, and secure ourselves from the consequences of what is already done. I certainly think, that if nothing else could teach us, necessity might. You see the whole city full of complaint and indignation against us; the citizens are closely united, and the Signors are constantly with the magistrates. You may be sure they are contriving something against us; they are arranging some new plan to subdue us. We ought therefore to keep two things in view, and have two points to consider; the one is, to escape with impunity for what has been done during the last few days, and the other, to live in greater comfort and security for the time to come. We must, therefore, I think, in order to be pardoned for our old faults, commit new ones; redoubling the mischief, and multiplying fires and robberies; and in doing this, endeavour to have as many companions as we can; for when many are in fault, few are punished; small crimes are chastised, but great and serious ones rewarded. When many suffer, few seek vengeance; for general evils are endured more patiently than private ones. To increase the number of misdeeds will, therefore, make forgiveness more easily attainable, and will open the way to secure what we require for our own liberty. And it appears evident that the gain is certain; for our opponents are disunited and rich; their disunion will give us the victory, and their riches, when they have become ours, will support us. Be not deceived about that antiquity of blood by which they exalt themselves above us; for all men hav-

ing had one common origin, are all equally ancient, and nature has made us all after one fashion. Strip us naked, and we shall all be found alike. Dress us in their clothing, and they in ours, we shall appear noble, they ignoble—for poverty and riches make all the difference. It grieves me much to think that some of you are sorry inwardly for what is done, and resolve to abstain from anything more of the kind. Certainly, if it be so, you are not the men I took you for; because neither shame nor conscience ought to have any influence with you. Conquerors, by what means soever, are never considered aught but glorious. We have no business to think about conscience; for when, like us, men have to fear hunger, and imprisonment, or death, the fear of hell neither can or ought to have any influence upon them. If you only notice human proceedings, you may observe that all who attain great power and riches, make use of either force or fraud; and what they have acquired by deceit or violence, in order to conceal the disgraceful methods of attainment, they endeavour to sanctify with the false title of honest gains. Those who either from imprudence or want of sagacity avoid doing so, are always overwhelmed with servitude and poverty; for faithful servants are always servants, and honest men are always poor; nor do any ever escape from servitude but the bold and faithless, or from poverty, but the rapacious and fraudulent. God and nature have thrown all human fortunes into the midst of mankind; and they are thus attainable rather by rapine than by industry, by wicked actions rather than by good. Hence it is that men feed upon each other, and those who cannot defend themselves must be worried. Therefore we must use force when the opportunity offers; and fortune cannot prevent us one more favourable than the present, when the citizens are still disunited, the Signory doubtful, and the magistrates terrified; for we may easily conquer them before they can come to any settled arrangement. By this means we shall either obtain the entire government of the city, or so large a share of it, as to be forgiven past errors, and have sufficient authority to threaten the city with a renewal of them at some future time. I confess this course is bold and dangerous; but when necessity presses, audacity becomes prudence, and in great affairs the brave never think of dangers. The enterprises that are begun with hazard always have a reward at last; and no one ever escaped from embarrassment without some peril. Besides, it is easy to see from all their preparations of prisons, racks, and instruments of death, that there is more danger in inaction than in endeavouring to secure ourselves; for in the first case the evils are certain, in the latter doubtful. How often have I heard you complain of the avarice of your superiors and the injustice of your magistrates. Now then is the time, not only to liberate yourselves from them, but to become so much superior, that they will have more causes of grief and fear from you than you from them. The opportunity presented by circumstances passes away, and when gone, it will be vain to think it can be recalled. You see the preparations of our enemies; let us anticipate them; and those who are first in arms will certainly be victors, to the ruin of their enemies and their own exaltation; and thus honours will accrue to many of us, and security to all."

The following reflections of Machiavelli are the text and the substance of half the leading articles in the leading newspapers of Europe:

"Republican governments, more especially those imperfectly organized, frequently change their rulers and the form of their institutions; not by the influence of liberty or subjection, as many suppose, but by that of slavery and licence; for with the nobility or the people, the ministers respectively of slavery or licentiousness, only the name of liberty is in any estimation, neither of them choosing to be subject either to magistrates or laws. When, however, a good, wise, and powerful citizen appears (which is but seldom), who establishes ordinances capable of appeasing or restraining these contending dispositions, so as to prevent them from doing mischief, then the government may be called free, and its in-

stitutions firm and secure; for having good laws for its basis, and good regulations for carrying them into effect, it needs not, like others, the virtue of one man for its maintenance. With such excellent laws and institutions, many of those ancient republics, which were of long duration, were endowed. But these advantages are, and always have been, denied to those which frequently change from tyranny to licence, or the reverse; because, from the powerful enemies which each condition creates itself, they neither have, nor can possess any stability; for tyranny cannot please the good, and licence is offensive to the wise; the former may easily be productive of mischief, while the latter can scarcely be beneficial; in the former, the insolent have too much authority, and in the latter, the foolish; so that each requires for their welfare the virtue and the good fortune of some individual who may be removed by death, or become unserviceable by misfortune."

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

THE DEAD SEA EXPEDITION.—The September number of the *Southern Literary Messenger* contains an article of profound interest on this subject, from the pen of Lieut. M. F. Maury. He gives a history of this expedition, brief but lucid, which will increase the anxiety of the public to see the Report of Lieut. Lynch, who has made a successful survey, and who, we are glad to learn, is expected to return soon to this country. This expedition was planned by Lieut. Lynch, and authorized by Secretary Mason, both Virginians. In the spring of 1847, Lieut. Lynch first addressed the Secretary on the subject, recommending a circumnavigation and exploration of the Dead Sea and its entire coast; representing that the expense would be trifling, as our ships frequently touched at Acre in Syria, forty miles from Lake Tiberias, or the Sea of Galilee, from which the river Jordan runs into the Dead Sea; that the frame of a boat, with crew and provisions, could be transported on camels from Acre to Tiberias, and there put together again.—Only one traveller, Mr. Costigan, had ever circumnavigated the Dead Sea, and he had died at the termination of his voyage, without leaving any journal or notes behind. It was contended also that, independently of the eager curiosity of all Christendom in regard to this mysterious lake, this expedition was of value to the interests of navigation.—The Secretary of the Navy received favourably the proposition of Lieut. Lynch, and an opportunity soon occurred, by which it could be conveniently carried into effect. It was necessary to send a store-ship to the Mediterranean squadron, and, as after her arrival she would have no employment for months, the Secretary determined to send Lieut. Lynch and his party in her, so that, after meeting the wants of the squadron, she could proceed up the Levant, and land the Lieutenant and his companions. This was done. The store-ship, the "Supply," was provided with two metallic boats, one of copper, the other of iron,—the former named "Fanny Mason," and the latter "Fanny Skinner." On arrival at their destination their troubles began, and in the march to Lake Tiberias the boats had to be transported over the most formidable mountain-gorges and heights, and to be lowered down precipices with ropes. But these difficulties were surmounted with true sailor like skill and perseverance, and on the 8th of April, the two "Fannies," each with the American ensign flying, were afloat upon the beautiful blue waters of the Sea of Galilee. "Emblematic of its Master," it alone of all things around them remained the same. Just as the Apostles saw it when our Saviour said to it, "Peace, be still," this little band of rovers now beheld it. The navigation of the Jordan was found to be most difficult and dangerous from its frequent and fearful rapids. Lieut. Lynch solves the secret of the depression between Lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea, by the tortuous course of the Jordan, which, in a distance of sixty miles, winds through a course of two hundred. Within this distance the Lieut. and his party plunged down no less than twenty seven threatening rapids, besides many others of less descent. The difference of the level between the two seas is over