

sient terror into the people; and says the odium of them will soon vanish, if it is not kept up by a continued succession of other cruelties: as if the murder of a thousand men in one day was not so atrocious a crime, as dispatching them at different intervals.

But it is not sufficient merely to refute these principles horrid as they are; it is likewise in some measure necessary to shew how little regard Machiavel has had to truth in some particulars of the examples upon which he founds his maxims; and how unfair a use he makes of them. It is false, in the first place, that Agathocles enjoyed the fruits of his crimes in peace. He was almost continually at war with the Carthaginians: he was forced to fly out of Africa by his own Soldiers who had mutinied there and cut the throats of his Sons when he was gone: and after all, was poisoned by his own grandson. [Oliverotto da Fermo was perfidiously put to death by Cæsar Borgia, about a year after he had made himself Prince of that City. Thus one Villain was punished by another, and escaped the scourge which the public was preparing for him by falling a Victim to private malice] [b].

But supposing a Tyrant could commit the most flagrant crimes with security; supposing him to be under no apprehensions of a tragical death: he must still be miserable in seeing himself detested and abhorred by all mankind: he never would be able to stifle the evidence of his conscience, that domestic witness, which would be continually accusing him: he would have no respite from those insupportable torments which he must perpetually carry in his breast: no arts can ever silence that piercing voice that makes itself heard even by Kings upon their thrones: nor could he by any means elude those horrors that would haunt his imagination day and night like so many furies [i].

[b] Here the first Edition runs thus: " Oliverotto da Fermo perit par la perfidie de Borgia, digne salaire de ses crimes: & comme ce fut une annee apres son usurpation, sa chute paroît si acceleree qu'elle semble avoir prevenue par sa punition ce que lui pre- paroît la haine publique. L'exemple d'Oliverotto ne devoit donc point etre cite par l'auteur, puisqu'il ne prouve rien. Machiavel voudroit ne prouve rien. Machiavel voudroit que le crime fut heureux, & il se flatte par-la d'avoir quelque bonne raison de l'accréditer, ou du moins un argument passable a produire. Mais supposons que le crime puisse se commettre avec securite, & qu'un tiran puisse exercer impunement la sceleratesse, &c."

[i] Furiarum maxima juxta

Accubat

Exurgitque facem attollens, atque intonat ore.—

Æneid. vi. 605.

Wretched certainly must be the condition of Tyrants, " possunt enim (says Tully de Offic. lib. iii. c. 21.) cuiquam esse utiles angores, sollicitudines, diurni & nocturni metus, vita infidiarum periculorumque plenissima? . . . Hunc tu quas conscientie