

SPECIAL
COLLECTIONS
DOUGLAS
LIBRARY



QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
AT KINGSTON

KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA

MODERATION

AND

No Moderation.

ADAM SMITH

THE THEORY OF MORALS AND POLITICS

Moderation and no Mo-
deration.

A
LETTER
FROM A
T O R Y
TO A
Whiggish Member of
PARLIAMENT.

By Mr. SAGE.

L O N D O N :

Printed, and sold by *John Morphew*
near *Stationers-hall*. 1715. Price 3d.

[Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page]



*Moderation and no Mode-
ration.*

THERE is nothing more natural, than for us to pass our Animadversions upon those Passages of Life, that respect our Selves and Country. An honest Concern for the latter, has in a more particular manner engag'd me to recommend a Word of Caution to your Consideration: And here, it will not be improper for me, to take a previous View of the wide Distance, betwixt the Pretence and Practice of you Gentlemen, call'd the Whigs. Towards the Conclusion of the late Reign, when you were under a sort of Necessity of appearing modest, for want of Power to be otherwise, the Doctrine then in vogue, was Moderation,
Mode-

Moderation, which Word we are sorry to find since, you only made use of, as a decenter way of imploring Mercy ; for no sooner were you freed, by Her Majesty's Demise, from the Impediments of your Inabilities, but your Disguises were immediately thrown off, and you become the most violent Actors imaginable.

Now from whence could this unaccountable Change proceed ? If it was premeditated, you must acknowledge your selves, of course, guilty of Knavery or Cowardise, that you were either ashamed to own your Principles, or afraid to defend them : Or if on a sudden, your Resolves alter'd with the Occasion, you are then inexcusable, because inconstant. For how is it possible, that Men acting thus inconsistently with themselves, should be sincere ? Sincerity is an hearty Concurrence of the Will with what the Understanding judges to be right. A strict Adherence to our Principles, is the only Overtact to evidence that Sincerity. Now that you have been too defective in this great Duty is
 very

very notorious. What rigorous Expedients of late, have you left unexecuted, that might in the least Probability of Reason tend to the Disservice of the Church? Some few Years since you mov'd indeed with so much Caution, and your Expressions concerning her, were so ambiguous, that you were only suspected to be no very extraordinary Friends of hers; till in the Doctor's Case, you were pleas'd to explain yourselves with that Vehemence, as demonstrated it to be a Truth positive and beyond all Contradiction: And yet you are the only Gentlemen forthwith that aim at the Interest of the Nation, and Prosperity of the Church: But sad is the Truth, you make not the Benefit of either, so much your Study, as the Establishment of your Party-Humour. Think not this Charge unjust. If you distrust my Candour, convince yourselves of your Mistake, by reflecting on the illegal Methods taken in the late Elections; 'tis well known the Name of a Whig was Recommendation enough to stand for a Burrough, his Life and Conversation were

were never examined into ; he was a Well-wisher to the Cause, and that was Character sufficient to deserve the Sum of 500 Pounds, to assist him in his pious Endeavours. Thus Gentlemen of known Integrity and experienc'd Fidelity to their Country, Men of considerable Estates, and therefore capable of continuing their Services to her, were oblig'd to make room for Stock-jobbers and God knows whom ; but how came these honest Gentlemen to miscarry in their Attempt ? Why tho' their Behaviour had been such, as that they thereby merited the Esteem of their Neighbours, yet sufficient Care was taken to poison their Affections, so by this means those worthy Candidates became disappointed ; large Sums of Mony were distributed with the utmost Art and Industry, to way-lay the Inclinations of the vulgar Freemen, who (being for the most part extremely ignorant of their Duty in those important Cases, were upon this Temptation (however inclin'd before) content to give their Votes, in favour of their present Bene-

Benefactors. Yet, Gentlemen, this is the Free Parliament of *England*, and the Expence we have been at in collecting it, is a most notable Stratagem to pay off the Debts of the Nation. Now, that this unwarrantable Method has been taken, is very apparent: Nay, so palpably indirect have your Practices been, that tho' in several Places, (particularly at *Bristol*) the Tories have had a considerable Majority of Voices on their side (the legal Test of deciding such Controversies) notwithstanding the good Sheriffs (of your own *Kidney* no doubt) as an Instance of their Respect for the Laws, have set their own Choice in opposition to Justice, and return'd whom they liked best. If Injuries of so publick a nature as this be connived at, what Security can any Gentleman have of his Estate? If the Freeman's Priviledge of voting be infringed, what pretence of Liberty has he left? Whoever but aims at devesting him of that Immunity, passes an Affront upon the whole Kingdom, because 'tis a National Concern. 'Tis

by the Indulgence of the same Laws, he enjoys this Freedom as protects us and our Estates. Insolences so daring as these ought not to be conceal'd. *Qui non vetat peccare cum possit, jubet.* But what Remedy can we expect? 'Tis now reckon'd a piece of Merit to scoundrel the late Ministry, and turn the Lenity of the Queen into Ridicule: Errors of Mildness are certainly venial; and none but ungenerous Minds would construe Excess of Favour, a Crime.

To let fall a decent Expression of ones Affection to Her, is to run ones self into Scandal; there's a Mark of Distinction immediately set upon you, *Fœnum habet in cornu, he is a Jacobite; bunc tu Romane caveto,* is the Caution given in a moment. Nothing is more common now, than to hear His Grace the D— of O—d traduced by every Coxcomb; yet who has ever given a greater Specimen of Bravery, than that noble General? His Behaviour has been in no wise derogatory from his High Birth, he has devoted himself so intirely to the
Ser-

Service of his Country, that he has overlookt with Contempt his private Profit, nay has disdain'd to accept a Reward, when offer'd by the favourable Contingencies of War. What? Tho' he has not had Success always attend his great Designs, as is maliciously but weakly objected, yet that Circumstance of Misfortune is so far from obscuring, that it serves rather to illustrate his Character: If we are assured of Victory before we engage, where lies then the Glory of the Contest? The Honour increases in proportion to the Danger. That he was ever spurr'd on by a generous Contempt of Difficulty is most undeniable; yea, so far has his Zeal for the Welfare of his Country transported him, that he has manifestly sacrific'd his private Interest to the publick Good: Which of the Soldiers has not tasted the Benignity of his Temper? Whom has he defrauded? He has had the same Opportunities as other Men, but ever scorn'd to make a bad Use of such Advantages. And is it not hard, that after all these demonstrative Proofs

of his noble Disposition, he must be disregarded or reproach'd, for the Sin of being a Loyal and Brave Subject, My L—d B———ke now suffers also, for being esteem'd by Her Majesty ; in every Coffee-house his Name is upon the Board, his Character most rigorously handled, and none without Offence can pity him, Rebel and Traitor are the modestest Titles given him, and the most ignominious Death threatened him by every Mechanick ; to beg an Information of his Misdemeanors is with them to justify his Guilt. A Conscience of his Mismanagement, they say, has perswaded him to absent himself, and a prophetick Fear of Punishment, oblig'd him to throw himself at the Feet of some foreign Prince in Confidence of Protection, what the positive Charge exhibited against him is, I never could learn ; if therefore it be true, as his Lordship in his Letter suggests, and Liberty of Faith allowed, I cannot (after all their Zeal) blame him for obeying that Precept of Nature, Self-preservation. If he had been advertised that no heed wou'd have been
been

been given to his Vindication, what Encouragement had he to wait the Event of a Tryal? Be that as it will. To insult a Man behind his Back, is certainly an unmanly Indignity; no Provocation can warrant so base a Liberty, Provision was made against it in the Levitical Law. Were the Charge never so likely, we ought to suspend our Credit till the Fact appears; Probabilities are not always Truths; by too easy a Credulity, we may entertain a Calumny to the Prejudice of an innocent Person. My L—d P—*gh* is discountenanc'd at Court, and 'tis said, by the Procurement of a great Peer; but whoever the immediate Instrument may be, 'tis certain this piece of Service must be done him by the Contrivance of the Whigs, because none have shar'd in those Misfortunes but those known to be in the contrary Interest; 'tis that is their Quarrel. Has he not discharg'd the Offices of a Brave General, and Loyal Subject, with the utmost Strictness? *Spain* has sufficiently felt the Weight of his Valour: And what

what Expedition has he embarkt upon, wherein he has not shown Gallantry of Behaviour? But indeed his Merit is the Source of his Misfortune. How can these Measures, Gentlemen, be consistent with the Good of the Nation, and Safety of the King? Here are so many Noblemen, powerful in Estates and the Affections of the People turned away discontented, would they indulge a vindictive Temper, what Distractions are they capable of raising? Did not their Zeal for the King secure them from attempting an Innovation in Government, what Encouragement might they meet from the *Pr——r*? These Possibilities ought to be taken into Consideration. Think of the other ill Consequences also that may be cast in, by way of Accession. If ever the Tories get the Ascendant, (as nothing is impossible) these Indignities, 'tis reasonable to think, will be remembred. Besides, these Steps are no ways becoming the Dignity of Christians. If this be your way of treating the Memory of your Queen, and her Favourites, what Usage must
his

his present Majesty expect? Advances of this kind cannot be welcome to good Men. These bold Defiances of Royalty and Merit, being expressly repugnant to the Duty of Gratitude, and Commands of Gospel, must exasperate the more discerning and honest part of Mankind. No Rule influences like Example. Would you therefore by a Recantation alone for your past Indecencies, we might then hope to recommence happy; but if you are fully resolv'd to work a thorough Reformation, and make your Party-humour general, methinks common Prudence shou'd caution you against Precipitancy. Repentance, the bitterest of Sorrows, is generally the Reward of Temerity; and as it is the Duty of all to endeavor the Promotion of their Country's Interest, so it no less concerns them to lay regular Schemes, and take safe methods for the attaining that great End; lest by hurrying on with too much Eagerness, we, thro' Inadvertency mistake an Injury for a Benefit. One rash Action may be the Ruin of a whole Nation. And

a long Succession of Heroick Exploits, will not many times wipe off the Scandal of a single Slip.

You have not as yet sat long in the Saddle, 'tis possible your own violent Motions may juttle you out. *Nulum violentum est perpetuum* is a good Maxim, grounded upon sound Reason, and prov'd by many Facts; what has been, may be again, and you may find your selves mistaken, in saying you have a King for your turn.

'Tis beneath Majesty to judge by Appearance only, they may possibly be false, but Actions are infallible. The Queen indeed, unfortunately misled by your fawning Protestations, and counterfeit Humility, had her Credulity for some time imposed upon: She being naturally of a mild Disposition, was taken with your Shew of Moderation; you had insinuated so far into her Esteem, that she was content, your Directions should be the Rule of her Government, till (happy was the Occasion) it appear'd by your violent Proceedings, that you were moderate against your Will. By this Irregularity

rity it was plain you had no good Design. 'Tis true, we are commanded to judge charitably of all Men, but then we are by no Precept oblig'd to judge against Reason and Matter of Fact. 'Tis generous to pity a Man that's involuntarily in the Wrong. But to cast away that Pity upon a Man whose Actions contradict his Declarations, would be a Sin. When a Man acts according to the Perswasions of Conscience, he is certainly Honest, to be mistaken in the means can be no Crime, because it is an Error in the Judgment, not in the Will, nor is Salvation confin'd to one Opinion. But for one that is manifestly Insincere, that's to say, who is one thing in shew, and another in reality, no Respect is to be reserved. That you *Whigs* have been too fond of this levity needs now no Proof. However, as it happen'd this Fault of yours, to do you Justice, is more commendable than adherence to your Principle would have been. By the latter you are prom-

C

pted

pted to commit things altogether unjustifiable, by the former you have happily evaded the Execution of these pretended Duties. By Principle as you can relish a King no longer than he pleases you, so by the same Principle you are oblig'd to demonstrate your Resentment by dethroning him, unless he alters his Measures and acts in conformity to your Wishes. In this Point indeed you once shewed your selves most barbarously Sincere. 'Tis to be hoped, since the severity of your Resolves is something mollified; I would otherwise be gladly inform'd, if you could upon occasion re-act the same Bloody Tragedy you play'd in Forty Eight; and whether your Zeal for *Whiggism* could upon any pretence urge you to deal out the same Fate to his present Majesty, as to his Sacred Predecessor King *Charles I.* for scrupling to sign that religious Bond of Iniquity the Scotch Covenant. But if you please, we will now inquire by what Authority you presume to call the Man-
 nage-

nagement of Kings into Question : Qualified, as Judges, you cannot be, because you are a Party concern'd ; but such is the Favour of our Laws toward the King, that he alone is Umpire in his own Cause, though he deliver the Sentence by the Mouth of his Judges. 'Tis a Proverb in *England* the King can do no Wrong. And where there is no Injury 'tis injustice to inflict a Punishment. What have you now to Plead in justification of your Principle? What Pretence for being thus Rampant? 'Tis true in some other Points the Law may seem to counterballance the Privilege abovementioned, as by restraining him in Ecclesiastical Cases. We are crying after Liberty and Property, and complaining of the Abuses put upon the Church; and who is it that gives us cause to Murmur? The King it cannot be, for he, as I but now hinted, is so far from giving us Interruption, that he is debarr'd ev'n the Exercise of his own Religion, if not Consonant to the Church of *England*; nay so weak is

his Power in this important Case, that he has not a Privilege equal to the meanest of his Subjects; a rigorous Imposition? Must every petty Fellow enjoy the Benefit of Toleration turn Presbyterian, or be of what manner of Worship he pleases, whilst the King and Father of the Nation labours under anxiety of Mind for not being able to serve God his own way, 'tis without doubt a great Felicity for the King and Peoples Opinions, especially in Matters Sacred to correspond; but 'tis hard the Enjoyment of the Crown should depend on that sole Circumstance. Ought not Kings to have the Freedom of obeying the Dictates of Conscience as well as other Men? Have they not the same Passions, or feel they not the same Rebukes?

If our Conscience the Judge of all Duties reprehends us, what Satisfaction can the Scepter lend? However, from this Prohibition 'tis plain there are other Members design'd as Assistants in the regulation of Affairs; you Gentlemen employ'd in those Posts

Posts have it almost wholly in your Power to deal out Happiness or Misery to the Nation, the Eyes of all are upon you expecting the mighty Event. It is therefore to be hoped you will now affectionately espouse the Interest of your Country, that you will choose rather to exert your selves as Zealous Patriots, than as Whigs, that is, employ your Endeavours in the repelling intruding Mischiefs, not in opposing and insulting the contrary Party, an Humour you have too much allow'd your selves in. To gratify Revenge is a Womans Property. ~~Learn not to proceed too~~ violently at first, lest by too eager a Pursuit you run your selves out of Breath, and are lost beyond all possibility of resource, by indulging Passion oftentimes our Designs become Abortive; and Prejudice is generally the Mother of innumerable Mistakes. We ought not with ill-tim'd Application to enter upon those Matters where the greatest Caution and most mature Deliberation is required, but consult, and provide against those Impediments

pediments Accident may throw in our way.

'Tis the part of a Politition, like a good Physician, to examine the Pulse and Temper of the Patient e'er he proceeds to a Prescription, lest by ordering a strong Dose, before the Body be disposed to receive it, he over-charges Nature, ruins the Constitution of the Patient and his own Reputation.

Sat cito si sat bene.

F I N I S.





