

J. Crocker

A
DISCOURSE,
BY WAY OF
GENERAL PREFACE
TO THE QUARTO EDITION OF
BISHOP Warburton's Works.

[Entered at Stationers Hall.]

A
DISCOURSE,
BY WAY OF
GENERAL PREFACE
TO THE QUARTO EDITION OF
BISHOP Warburton's Works,

CONTAINING SOME ACCOUNT OF THE
LIFE, WRITINGS, AND CHARACTER OF THE AUTHOR.

By D.^r Hurd, Bishop of Worcester.

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M DCC XCIV.

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- P. 26. l. 17. for *in* read *him*.
P. 108. note, last line but one, for *unica* r. *unico*.
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THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1794.

WILLIAM WARBURTON was descended from an antient and very considerable family in Cheshire, at the head of which is the present Sir Peter Warburton, baronet, of Arley, in that county.

I leave the rest to the Genealogist; and go no farther back in his pedigree than to his grandfather, of the same name, who distinguished himself in the civil wars of the last century. He was of the Royal party, and shewed his zeal and activity in that cause by serving under Sir George Booth at the affair of Chester. I mention this little circumstance chiefly for the use I shall make of it elsewhere. All that I know more of him, is, That he married Frances, daughter of Robert Awfield of Etson, in the county of Nottingham, by whom he had three sons; the second of whom, GEORGE, was Mr. Warburton's father.

It seems probable that upon this marriage he removed into Nottinghamshire. His residence was at Shelton, a village about six miles from Newark, where he died.

B

Mr.

Mr. George Warburton, the second son, as I observed, of William Warburton, Esq. of Shelton, was bred to the law. He settled at Newark, where he practised as an attorney, and was particularly esteemed for his integrity in that profession.

He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Hobman, Alderman of Newark, and had by this marriage five children, George, William, Mary, Elizabeth, and Frances.

George died very young. William (the subject of this memoir) was born at Newark, Dec. 24, 1698. He was first put to school there under Mr. Twells, whose son afterwards married his sister, Elizabeth: but he had the chief part of his education at Okham, in Rutlandshire, under Mr. Wright. Here he continued till the beginning of the year 1714; when his cousin, Mr. Warburton (who also bore the name of William), being made head master of the school at Newark, he returned to his native place, and was, for a short time, under the care of that learned and respectable person, of whom more will be said presently. I only now add; that he was father to the reverend Mr. Thomas Warburton, the present very worthy Archdeacon of Norfolk, to whom I am indebted for the particulars here mentioned, concerning his family.

I cannot, I confess, entertain the reader of this narrative with those encomiums which are so commonly lavished on the puerile years of eminent men. On the best enquiry,

quiry, I have been able to make, I do not find that, during his stay at school, he distinguished himself by any extraordinary efforts of genius or application. My information authorizes me to go no further than to say, That he loved his book, and his play, just as other boys did. And, upon reflexion, I am not displeased with this modest testimony to his merit. For I remember what the best judges have thought of premature wits. And we all know that the mountain-oak, which is one day to make the strength of our fleets, is of slower growth than the saplings, which adorn our gardens.

But, although no prodigy of parts or industry in those early years, with a moderate share of each, he could not fail of acquiring by the age of sixteen (the time when he left school) a competent knowledge of Greek and Latin under such masters, as those of Okeham and Newark.

It had been his misfortune to lose his father very early. He died in 1706; and the care of his family devolved, of course, upon his widow; who, as we have seen, gave her son the best school-education; and, in all respects, approved herself so good a woman, as well as parent, that her children paid her all possible respect: her son, in particular (all whose affections were naturally warm), gave her every proof of duty and observance, while she lived, and, after her death, retained so tender a regard to her memory, that he seldom spoke of her but with tears.

The circumstances of the family could be but moderate ; and when Mr. Warburton had now finished his education at school, he was destined by his friends to that profession, which is thought to qualify men best for the management of their own affairs, and which his father had followed with so much credit in that neighbourhood.

He was accordingly put out clerk to Mr. Kirke, an eminent attorney of Great Markham, in Nottinghamshire, in April, 1714, and continued with that gentleman five years, *i. e.* till the spring of the year 1719. Tradition does not acquaint us, how he acquitted himself in his clerkship. Probably, with no signal assiduity. For now it was that the bent of his genius appeared in a passionate love of reading, which was not lessened, we may believe, but increased, by his want of time and opportunity to indulge it.

However, in spite of his situation, he found means to peruse again and digest such of the classic authors as he had read at school, with many others which he understood to be in repute with men of learning and judgement. By degrees he, also, made himself acquainted with the other elementary studies ; and, by the time his clerkship was out, had laid the foundation, as well as acquired a taste, of general knowledge.

Still, the opinion and expectation of his friends kept him in that profession, to which he had been bred. On the expiration of his clerkship, he returned to his family at Newark ;

Newark ; but whether he practised there or elsewhere as an attorney, I am not certainly informed. However the love of letters growing every day stronger in him, it was found adviseable to give way to his inclination of taking Orders : the rather, as the seriousness of his temper and purity of his morals concurred, with his unappeasible thirst of knowledge, to give the surest presages of future eminence in that profession.

He did not venture, however, all at once to rush into the church. His good understanding, and awful sense of religion, suggested to him the propriety of making the best preparation he could, before he offered himself a candidate for the sacred character. Fortunately for him, his relation, the Master of Newark School, was at hand to give him his advice. And he could not have put himself under a better direction. For, besides his classical merit (which was great), he had that of being an excellent Divine, and was a truly learned as well as good man.

To him then, as soon as his resolution was taken of going into Orders, he applied for assistance, which was afforded him very liberally. “ My father (says Mr. Arch-
 “ deacon Warburton in a letter to me) employed all the
 “ time he could spare from his school in instructing him,
 “ and used to sit up very late at night with him to assist
 “ him in his studies.” And this account I have heard confirmed by his pupil himself ; who used to enlarge with
 pleasure

pleasure on his obligations to his old tutor ; and has celebrated his theological and other learning in a handsome Latin epitaph, which he wrote upon him after his death.

At length he was ordained Deacon the 22d of December, 1723, in the cathedral of York, by Archbishop Dawes : and even then he was in no haste to enter into Priest's Orders, which he deferred taking till he was full twenty-eight years of age, being ordained Priest by Bishop Gibson in St. Paul's, London, March the 1st, 1726-7.

Some will here lament that the precious interval of nine years, from his quitting school in 1714 to his taking Orders, was not spent in one of our universities, rather than his private study, or an attorney's office. And it is certain, the disadvantage to most men would have been great. But an industry, and genius, like his, overcame all difficulties. It may even be conceived, that he derived a benefit from them. As his faculties were of no common size, his own proper exertion of them probably tended more to his improvement, than any assistance of tutors and colleges could have done. To which we may add, that living by himself, and not having the fashionable opinions of a great society to bias his own, he might acquire an enlarged turn of mind, and strike out for himself, as he clearly did, an original cast both of thought and composition ;

Fastidire lacus et rivos ausus apertos :

while

while his superior sense, in the mean time, did the office of that authority, which, in general, is found so necessary to quicken the diligence, and direct the judgement, of young students in our universities.

The fact is, that, without the benefit of an Academical education, he had qualified himself, in no common degree, for Deacon's Orders in 1723: and from that time till he took Priest's Orders in the beginning of the year 1727, he applied himself diligently to complete his studies, and to lay in that fund of knowledge, which is requisite to form the consummate Divine. For to this character he reasonably aspired; having that ardour of inclination, which is the earnest of success, and feeling in himself those powers which invigorate a great mind, and push it on irresistibly in the pursuit of letters.

The fruits of his industry, during this interval, appeared in some pieces, composed by him for the improvement of his taste and style, and afterwards printed (most of them without his name) to try the judgement of the publick. As he never thought fit to reprint or revise them, they are omitted in this edition. But they are such as did him no discredit; on the contrary, they shewed the vigour of his parts, and the more than common hopes, which might be entertained of such a writer.

Among these *bloffoms of his youth* (to borrow an expression from Cowley) were some notes, communicated to
Mr.

Mr. Theobald, and inserted in his edition of Shakespear ; which seems to have raised a general idea of his abilities, before any more important proof had been given of them. But of this subject more will be said in its place.

It was, also, in this season of early discipline, while his mind was opening to many literary projects, that he conceived an idea, which he was long pleased with, of giving a new edition of Velleius Paterculus. He was charmed with the elegance of this writer ; and the high credit in which emendatory criticism (of which Paterculus stood much in need) was held in the beginning of this century, occasioned by the dazzling reputation of such men as Bentley and Hare, very naturally seduced a young enterprising scholar into an attempt of this nature. How far he proceeded in this work, I cannot say : but a specimen of it afterwards appeared in one of our literary journals, and was then communicated to his friend, Dr. Middleton ; who advised him very properly to drop the design, *as not worthy of his talents and industry, which, as he says, instead of trifling on words, seems calculated rather to correct the opinions and manners of the world.*

These juvenile essays of his pen, hasty and incorrect, as they were, contributed, no doubt, very much to his own improvement. What effect they had on his reputation, and how soon they raised it to a considerable height among his friends, will be seen from the following curious fact.

In the year 1726, a dispute arose among the lawyers about the judicial power of the Court of Chancery. It is immaterial to observe on what points the controversy turned, or with what views it was agitated. It opened with a tract, called, *The History of the Chancery; relating to the Judicial Power of that Court, and the Rights of the Master*; printed without a name; but written, as was generally known, by a Mr. Burrough; and so well received by the Lord Chancellor King, that he rewarded the Author of it, the same year, with a Mastership in Chancery.

To this book an answer presently appeared, under the name of, *A Discourse of the Judicial Authority of the Master of the Rolls*; and so well composed, that they who favoured the cause of the *Historian*, saw it must suffer in his hands, if it were not supported by some better writer than himself, who was evidently no match for the *Discourser*.

In this exigency, he was advised by one of his friends (I forget, or never heard, his name) to have recourse to Mr. Warburton, as a person very capable of supplying his defects. Accordingly, when he had prepared the proper materials for a reply, he obtained leave to put them into Mr. Warburton's hands, and afterwards spent some time with him in the country; where, by their joint labours, the whole was drawn out and digested into a sizable volume, which came out in 1727, and was entitled, *The Legal Judicature in Chancery stated*. This book was so manifestly

superior to the *History*, that such of the profession as were not in the secret, wondered at Mr. Burrough's proficiency in the art of writing; and the Lord Chancellor King, as much as any body. The author of the *Discourse* saw it concerned him to take notice of such an adversary, and in 1728 re-printed his work "with *large additions*—together "with a *Preface* occasioned by a book entitled, *The Legal "Judicature in Chancery stated.*" And with this reply, I believe, the dispute closed.

Many years afterwards (the secret being now of no consequence) Mr. Warburton chanced to mention, in conversation, to Mr. Charles Yorke, the part he had taken in this squabble: when Mr. Yorke smiled, and said he fancied he was not aware who had been his antagonist; and then named his father, the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, who, though Attorney General at the time, had undertaken to plead the cause of his relation, Sir Joseph Jekyll, then Master of the Rolls.—But I have dwelt, perhaps, too long on this little anecdote.

Upon Mr. Warburton's taking Priest's Orders, Sir Robert Sutton procured for him the small vicarage of Griesley, in Nottinghamshire; and in 1728 presented him to the rectory of Brand-Broughton, in the diocese of Lincoln. He was, also, the same year, and, I suppose, by the same interest, put upon the King's list of Master of Arts, created on his Majesty's visit to the university of Cambridge.

Brand-

Brand-Broughton was a preferment of some value, and, from its situation in the neighbourhood of Newark, pleased him very much. Here then he fixed himself, with his family, and spent the best part of his life, that is, from 1728 to 1746.

They who are unacquainted with the enthusiasm which true genius inspires, will hardly conceive the possibility of that intense application, with which Mr. Warburton pursued his studies in that retirement. Impatient of any interruptions, he spent the whole of his time that could be spared from the duties of his parish, in reading and writing. His constitution was strong, and his temperance extreme. So that he needed no exercise but that of walking; and a change of reading, or study, was his only amusement.

His mother and sisters, who lived with him and were apprehensive of the hurt he might do himself by this continued industry, would invite themselves to drink coffee with him in his study after dinner, and contrive to lengthen their stay with him as much as they could. But when they had retired, they saw no more of him that evening; and his sister, Mrs. Frances Warburton, told me, that he usually sat up a great part of the night. What is most extraordinary, the vigour of his parts was such, that his incessant labour neither wearied his spirits, nor affected his health.

In this way it was, that he acquired that habit of deep thinking, with that extensive erudition, which afterwards astonished the reader in his works ; and made himself acquainted with the whole range of polite and elegant learning, in the way of diversion, and in the interval of his graver studies.

I express myself with exact propriety. For it was his manner at this time (and the habit continued with him through life) to intermix his literary pursuits in such sort as to make the lighter relieve the more serious ; and these again, in their turn, temper and correct the other. He was passionately fond of the more sublime poets, and (what is very uncommon) had almost an equal relish for works of wit and humour. One or other of these books he had always lying by him, and would take up when he found himself fatigued with study ; and, after spending some time in this sort of reading, was so much refreshed by it, that he returned with new life to the work he was upon ; and so made these amusements, which are apt to get the mastery of common minds and to exhaust their whole force, only subservient to his more important meditations.

And this humour (to observe it by the way) of associating the so different powers of reason and fancy in the course of his studies, passed into his style, and indeed formed one distinctive character of it. For in all his wri-

tings, on whatever subject, you see him, occasionally, ennoble his expression by picturesque imagery, or enliven it by strokes of wit: And this (though the practice be against rule) with so much ease, and with so little affectation, that none but a very captious, or very dull, reader can take offence at it.

With that passion for letters, which, as I observed, transported Mr. Warburton at this time, the sobriety of his judgement is to be admired. The little taste he had had of fame in the early publications, before alluded to, did not corrupt his mind, or seduce him into a premature ambition of appearing as an author in form, till he had fully qualified himself, by the long course of reading and meditation, now mentioned, to sustain that character. It was not till the year 1736 that he published the first of those works, on which his great reputation is raised. This was, *THE ALLIANCE BETWIXT CHURCH AND STATE*: the occasion, and end, and substance of which work cannot be expressed in fewer or clearer terms, than his own.

After a short historical view of religious parties in England, from the Reformation downwards; of the discordant notions entertained of Religious establishments; and of the heats and animosities which those notions had produced: he proceeds thus —

“ In this ferment, and in this embroiled condition, the
 “ Author of the *Alliance between Church and State* found
 “ the

“ the sentiments of men concerning religious Liberty and
 “ Establishments, when he proposed his *Theory* to their
 “ consideration : a Theory, calculated to vindicate our pre-
 “ sent happy Constitution, ON A PRINCIPLE OF RIGHT, by
 “ adjusting the precise bounds of either Society ; by shew-
 “ ing how they come to act in conjunction ; and by ex-
 “ plaining the nature of their union : and from thence,
 “ by natural and necessary consequence, inducing, on the
 “ one hand, an ESTABLISHED RELIGION, with all its rights
 “ and privileges, secured by a TEST LAW ; and on the
 “ other, a full and free TOLERATION to all who dissented
 “ from the national worship.

“ He first shewed the use of Religion to Society, from
 “ the experience and practice of all ages : He inquired
 “ from whence the use arose, and found it to be from cer-
 “ tain original defects in the very essence and plan of
 “ Civil Society. He went on to the nature of Religion ;
 “ and shewed how, and for what causes, it constituted a
 “ Society : And then, from the natures of the *two Societies*,
 “ he collected, that the object of the Civil, is only the
 “ *Body* and its interests ; and the object of the Religious,
 “ only the *Soul*. Hence he concluded, that both Societies
 “ are Sovereign, and Independent ; because they arise not
 “ out of one another ; and because, as they are concerned
 “ in contrary provinces, they can never meet to clash ;
 “ the immensity of *original*, or the immensity of *administration*,
 “ being

“ being the only causes which can bring one, of two distinct Societies, into natural subjection to the other.

“ To apply Religion therefore to the service of Civil Society, in the best manner it is capable of being applied, he shewed it was necessary that the two Societies should UNITE: For, each being sovereign and independent, there was no other way of applying the service of Religion in any solid or effectual manner. But no such union could arise but from *free compact* and convention. And free convention is never likely to happen, unless each Society has its mutual motives, and mutual advantages. The Author therefore, from what he had laid down of the natures of the two Societies, explained what these motives and advantages were. Whence, it appeared that all the rights, privileges, and prerogatives of the two Societies, thus united, with the Civil Magistrate at their head, were indeed those very rights, privileges, and prerogatives, which we find established and enjoyed under our present happy Constitution in Church and State: The result of this was that an ESTABLISHED CHURCH and a free TOLERATION are made perfectly to agree by the medium of a TEST LAW. This Law therefore the Author in the last place proceeded to vindicate, on the same general principles of the law of Nature and Nations.

“ This

“ This is a true, though short analysis of the *Alliance between Church and State* *.”

This work made a great impression on the best judges. One † of them, to whom he had sent a present of his book, expresses himself thus —

“ I had formerly been very agreeably entertained with
 “ some emendations of your’s on Shakespear, and was ex-
 “ tremely pleased to find this work was by the same hand.
 “ Good learning, great acuteness, an ingenious working
 “ head, and depth of thought, will always please in an
 “ author, though we are not entirely in the same ways of
 “ thinking.”—And, in the close of it, he adds—“ You
 “ have not, Sir, only my thanks for what you have done,
 “ but my sincere wishes, that what was intended for the
 “ service of the publick may prove also to be for your
 “ own, to which my endeavours, in any proper way, shall
 “ not be wanting.”

This was candid and generous, considering that the eminent person was not altogether in the author’s sentiments on the subject of his book. But he was struck with his great abilities, and became from this moment his sincere friend.

The truth is, no sort of men, either within or without the Church, was prepared, at that time, for

* Vol. VI. p. 781—3.

† Bishop Hare.

an indifferent reception of this new theory, which respected none of their prejudices. It was neither calculated to please the High-Church Divines, nor the Low; and the Laity had taken their side with the one or the other of those parties.

However, though few at that time were convinced, all were struck by this essay of an original writer, and could not dissemble their admiration of the ability, which appeared in the construction of it. There was indeed a reach of thought in this system of Church-policy, which would prevent its making its way all at once. It required time and attention, even in the most capable of its readers, to apprehend the force of the argumentation; and a more than common share of candour to adopt the conclusion, when they did. The author had therefore reason to be satisfied with the reception of his theory, such as it was: and having thoroughly persuaded himself of its truth, as well as importance, he continued to enlarge and improve it in several subsequent editions; and in the last, by the opportunity, which some elaborate attempts of his adversaries to overturn it, had afforded him, he exerted his whole strength upon it, and has left it in a condition to brave the utmost efforts of future criticism *.

Some

* An eminent writer has delivered his opinion of it in these terms—
 “ Bishop Warburton, in his *Alliance between Church and State*, hath shewn
 “ the general good policy of an Establishment, and the necessity of a Test

Some indeed, have taken offence at the idea of an *Alliance*; but without cause: for the meaning is this, That our Church-Establishment is such as in equity it must have been, had the terms of it been settled by mutual agreement between the two parties. Which, in other words, is only saying, That those terms are just and reasonable.

The idea of an Alliance was conceived, in preference to any other mode of conducting the argument, because the theory of civil government had been formed on the like notion of a contract between Prince and People. This way of reasoning, therefore, without being less conclusive, had the advantage of being more popular, than any other, and as such was very properly adopted by our author.

Notwithstanding this management, the *Alliance*, as I observed, was not generally understood. But he did not wait for the reward of public favour, to encourage him in the resolution he had taken of dedicating his great talents to the service of religion. In the close of this first edition of *The Alliance*, he announced his next and greatest work, THE DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES; which he had now planned, and in part composed. For, when such a writer

“ for its security, upon principles which Republicans themselves cannot
 “ easily deny.—His work is one of the finest specimens, that are to be found
 “ perhaps in any language, of scientific reasoning applied to a political
 “ subject.” Dr. HORSLEY’S *Review of the Case of the Protestant Dissenters*.
 PREF. London, 1787.

as this, has by a long course of study laid in the proper materials for invention to operate upon, and has, by one vigorous essay, assured himself of his own strength, his progress to perfection is rapid, and almost instantaneous; like the pace of Homer's Gods, whose first step reaches to Olympus, and the second, to the ends of the earth.

It had been pretended by those who called themselves Deists, and, in the modesty of free-thinking which then prevailed, had, or affected to have, a respect for the natural doctrine of a future state, That the omission of this doctrine in the Mosaic law was a clear decisive proof of its imposture, as no institute of religion, coming from God, could be without that principle.

The author of the *Alliance* saw the *omission* in another light; and was so far from admitting the Deist's conclusion, that he thought himself able to prove, in the clearest manner, and with the evidence of what is called *Moral* demonstration, the divinity of the Mosaic Law, from that very circumstance.

Such then was the subject and scope of Mr. Warburton's capital work, *The Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated, on the principles of a religious Deist*. But in the conduct of this new and paradoxical argument, so many prejudices and objections, both of believers and unbelievers, were to be removed; and so many collateral lights to be let in upon it; that the discourse extended itself far and wide,

and took in all that was most curious in Gentile, Jewish, and Christian antiquity.

In the beginning of the year 1738, the first volume of this work appeared, and immediately drew all eyes upon it. Some were too weak, and some, too much dimmed or distorted by prejudices, to take a full and distinct view of its contents. No wonder then if such readers misconceived of the writer's purpose, and misrepresented it. Yet few were so blind, as not to admire the execution. "I hear nobody speak of your book," says the Bishop of Chichester, "who do not express themselves highly entertained with it; though they think the principal point which remains to be proved, a paradox *." And what the Bishop himself thought of it, before publication, when the sheets were sent to him from the press, he tells the author in these words—"I can say, without any compliment, that your papers have given me high delight. So many beautiful thoughts, such ingenious illustrations of them, such a clear connection, such a deduction of notions, and so much good learning upon so useful a subject, all expressed in proper and fine language, cannot but give an intelligent reader the greatest satisfaction †."

And to much the same purpose another learned friend, the Bishop of Salisbury ‡—"Last night I received some

* MS Letters, Feb. 21, 1737-8.

† Oct. 18, 1737.

‡ Dr. Sherlock.

“ sheets of your book, and ran them over with great
 “ pleasure, though not with the attention, which the sub-
 “ ject, and your way of treating it, demand *.” And in
 another letter, when he had taken time to consider the
 contents of this volume—“ The learning and ability of the
 “ author of the D. L. are not called in question; and the
 “ first part has raised a great desire and expectation of the
 “ second †.”

I quote these passages so particularly, because the Bishops,
 Hare and Sherlock, were, without doubt, among the ablest
 of his judges, and because their temper was far enough
 from inclining towards an officious and lavish civility to
 their friends.

After authorities of so much weight, I should not think
 it worth while to take notice of what was objected to him
 by ordinary writers, but that he thought fit to answer
 one ‡ of them, in a style so soft and elegant, that they
 who have a taste for the gentler polemics, will read it with
 great pleasure.

The real ground of the abuse cast upon him, though
 other causes were pretended, was the handsome manner in
 which he had spoken of Dr. Middleton, in his preface to
 the first volume. This ingenious man (of whom more
 will be said, as we go along) had written some things,

* MS Letters, Oct. 18, 1737.

† March 2, 1737 8.

‡ Dr. Webster. See Vol. VI. p. 3.

which

which gave occasion to suspect him of a leaning towards infidelity. Mr. Warburton was personally acquainted with him, and had a real esteem for him. He wished therefore, if possible, to draw his friend off from that bias, which his passions, rather than his judgement, he conceived, had impressed upon him, by putting the fairest constructions on his writings, and by affecting to understand them in the most favourable sense. But, instead of clearing his friend, by this means, from the guilt of heterodoxy, the effect was to involve himself in the suspicion of it: And it was thought proper that he should disclaim and repel so groundless an imputation. This it was not difficult for him to do, so far as respected his own character; but that of his friend required managing, and he would not justify himself at his expence.

In these delicate circumstances, he acquitted himself with dexterity, yet with perfect good faith, and to the singular satisfaction of his friends. “I received yesterday,” says Bishop Hare, “your Vindication, which I read twice over
 “with great satisfaction—The part that relates to Dr. Middleton, we think extremely well done. It was the only
 “difficult part, and it cannot but please every candid reader to see you do justice to yourself, and yet not do it at
 “his expence, nor say a word, that either he or his friends
 “can be offended at, or that is in the least giving up a
 “man,

“ man, with whom you live in friendship. Here is courage and integrity very agreeably joined *.”

The Bishop here gives a very just account of the *Vindication*, and indeed of Mr. Warburton's general conduct towards Dr. Middleton; as appears from the whole of his intercourse with him, which began in 1736, and was carried on, by a frequent exchange of friendly and affectionate letters from that time to 1741, when it seems to have ceased, or to have been interrupted at least, for reasons which will be mentioned hereafter.

In the whole course of these letters, which I have in my hands, every sort of polite insinuation is employed to soften and remove his prejudices against revealed religion; by joining with him, sometimes, in his graver complaints of bigoted divines, and, sometimes, in his ridicule of their pretended orthodoxy; but in taking for granted, every where, his respect for revelation, and his real belief of it, and in seeming to think that, if other opinions were entertained of him, they had proceeded from an ignorance of his true character.

But the friendliness of his views will best appear from his own words.

He had taken occasion to acquaint Dr. Middleton with the manner in which he meant to address the Free-thinkers, in his dedication to them, prefixed to the first volume

* March 23, 1737-8.

of the D. L. and with his purpose of making respectful mention of him in it. To this information Dr. Middleton replies, Sept. 22, 1737, “ I am pleased with the manner
 “ of your address to the Free-thinkers, and obliged to you
 “ for your friendly intentions with regard to myself; and
 “ though I should be as proud to have the testimony of
 “ your judgement and good opinion, as of any man, yet
 “ I would have you consider, how far such a declaration of
 “ it may expose you to a share of that envy, which has lain,
 “ and still lies very heavy upon me.”

This was handsome on his part, but was not likely to divert his friend from the measures he had taken. Accordingly in a letter, dated Dec. 23, 1737, after telling him that his book was coming out, and that he had ordered a copy of it to be sent him, he proceeds thus, with a manifest allusion, in the concluding sentence, to Dr. Middleton's letter—“ I have your pardon to ask for the
 “ liberty I have taken of designing you, by your charac-
 “ ter, in one place of the body of the book, as well as in
 “ the dedication to the Free-thinkers. For I would fain
 “ contribute to abate an *unjust prejudice*, that might lie in
 “ the way of those honours which wait for you, and are
 “ so much your due. *And I shall reckon it for nothing, in*
 “ *so honest an attempt, to run the risk of sharing that pre-*
 “ *judice with you.*”

And

And again, writing to him March 18, 1737-8, on the subject of his answer to the author of the Weekly Miscellany, he says, “ I am to thank him for the agreeable
 “ necessity of vindicating you (by a quotation in one of
 “ the defences that pass for yours) from his *false accu-*
 “ *sation* of denying the inspiration of scripture; and from
 “ his *imagination* (which is the ground of this clamour)
 “ that you defend Revelation, not as true, but only use-
 “ ful; and that, as to other points, you and I can differ
 “ without breach of common humanity, friendship, and
 “ Christian charity.”

I have put these things together, because I would not interrupt the recital of what concerns the first appearance of those two capital works, The Alliance, and Divine Legation (so closely connected with each other that the former, in the original design, was but a chapter of the latter); the reception they met with from the publick; and the occasion they gave him of justifying an obnoxious friend, as well as explaining his own sentiments.

.. I must now go back a little to mention a circumstance in his life, which does the parties concerned too much honour to be omitted by me, and which happened in the latter end of the year 1737. The Alliance had now made the author much talked of at Court; and the Bishop of Chichester, on whom that work had impressed, as we have seen, the highest ideas of his merit, was willing to

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take

take that favourable opportunity of introducing him to the Queen. Her Majesty, it is well known, took a pleasure in the discourse of men of learning and genius; and chancing one day to ask the Bishop, if he could recommend a person of that description to be about her, and to entertain her, sometimes, with his conversation, the Bishop said, he could, and mentioned the author of *The Alliance between Church and State*. The recommendation was graciously received, and the matter put in so good a train, that the Bishop expected every day the conclusion of it, when the Queen was seized with a sudden illness, which put an end to her life the 20th of November, 1737.

I find this transaction alluded to in a letter from the Bishop, dated Nov. 11, that is, nine days before that unhappy event. His lordship thanks Mr. Warburton for some sheets of the first volume of the *Legation*, which were just then sent in from the press, and, after making some remarks upon them, takes notice of a stroke of pleasantry, which, it seems, had escaped him, on Mr. Wollaston's famous book on *The Religion of Nature*, and which he advises him to strike out, *as it would give great offence to the admirers of that book. I have besides*, continues his Lordship, A PARTICULAR REASON *for advising you to alter that passage, which you shall know at a proper time.*

And, afterwards, in the same letter—*I would advise, not only the cancelling that leaf, but the doing it IMMEDIATELY,*

that it may not get into many hands. When I see you, I am persuaded, you will allow this is right advice from a FRIEND.

The secret was, that he was then endeavouring to serve his friend with the Queen, and was apprehensive that the freedom he had taken with that work, which She much admired, might hurt him in her Majesty's opinion, and defeat his design.

This disappointment, when he came to know it, did not abate his ardour in prosecuting his studies at Brand-Broughton. After publishing the *Vindication*, before mentioned, early in the year 1738, he applied himself with great industry to compose the second volume of his work, notwithstanding the clamours, which had been raised, and now grew louder, against the first. "I go steadily on," says he in a letter to Dr. Middleton, Nov. 12, 1738, "amidst much ill treatment. If you ask, what it is that supports me, I will tell you, my excellent friend: It is the love of truth, and a clear conviction of the reality of the Jewish and Christian Revelations."

Animated with these principles, he went on with his great design, and seems to have spent the two or three succeeding years upon it. Only, in 1739, he drew up and published a short defence of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man, against Mr. de Croufaz, who had written a book to shew that it was constructed on the principles of Spinoza, and contained a dangerous system of irreligion. But though

this was a flight thing, and took up little of his time, yet as it respected so eminent a person, and had great consequences with regard to himself, it will be proper to enlarge upon it.

It has been objected to Mr. Warburton, that, in his earlier days, he had himself entertained a prejudice against Mr. Pope, and had even expressed it in very strong terms. The offence taken had probably been occasioned by a severe reflexion, in one of his satires, on Mr. Warburton's friend and patron, Sir Robert Sutton. And, in that case, it is likely that he might express himself of the poet, with too much warmth. For I will not conceal or disguise the infirmity of my friend. When his moral feelings were touched, he was apt to be transported into some intemperance of expression, and was not always guarded, or even just, in his censures or commendations. But a mind, naturally great, does not long retain this fervour, and, when cooled by reflection, is in haste to make amends for its former excesses. It is impossible, indeed, that, under any provocation, he should be blind to so much merit, as our great poet possessed; and what he saw of this sort in any man, he was not backward to declare to others. In his Vindication of himself, last year, he had shewn how much he admired Mr. Pope, by quoting a fine passage from him, and applying it to himself in a way, that shewed an esteem of his morals, as well as poetry.

Since

Since that time, he had suffered so much abuse himself from angry zealots, and felt so strongly, in his own case, what it was for a well-meaning man to have his religious sentiments misrepresented, that this attack of M. de Croufaz would naturally find him in a disposition to resent it.

Add to all this, that he saw with concern the ill use which some were ready to make of the supposed fatalism of Mr. Pope, and how hurtful it was to religion to have it imagined, that so great a genius was ill-inclined towards it.

These reasons, working together, seem to have determined him to take the part of the injured poet; as indeed he explains the matter himself in a letter of July 16, 1739, to Dr. Middleton :—" A certain great man is very
 " angry with me for speaking of you in the manner I did.
 " I make no question but another sort of those they call
 " *great* men will hold themselves outraged by me in my
 " vindication of Mr. Pope against M. de Croufaz, in some
 " letters which are going to be collected together and published. But I cannot forbear shewing my esteem of
 " merit, and my contempt of their calumniators, or thinking that it is of use to Religion to prove so noble a genius
 " is a friend to it."

These letters were much read, and gave a new lustre to Mr. Warburton's reputation. They shewed the elegance of his taste in polite literature, as well as his penetration into moral subjects. Mr. Pope was supremely struck with them,

them *, and might now exult, as his predecessor Boileau had done, when he cried out, in the face of his enemies—

“ Arnould, le grand Arnould, fait mon apologie.”

From this time there was an intimate acquaintance formed between the poet and his commentator. The effects of this union will be taken notice of presently. I now only add, that it was strongly cemented by a mutual profession of esteem, and a constant interchange of letters.

Among these, I find one which Mr. Warburton addressed to his friend, in vindication of Sir Robert Sutton; written, as appears, with the view of prevailing with him to strike that gentleman's name out of his satires. As it sets the author in an amiable light, and seems to confirm my conjecture, that his former dissatisfaction with Mr. Pope had arisen from this circumstance, I shall give it in the Appendix [A].

Towards the end of this year [1739] he published a new and improved edition of the first volume of the D.L., and sent it to his friend Bishop Hare; who, in a kind letter of Dec. 1, 1739, returns his thanks for it, and adds—“ I hope not only posterity, but the present age, “ will do justice to so much merit, and do assure you, it “ shall not be my fault if it do not.” Which I mention to shew that the envy which was then rising very fast

* See his Letter in his Works, April 11, 1739.

against the author of the D. L., and which was supposed to have the countenance of some considerable Churchmen, had made no alteration in the sentiments of that great prelate, or lessened his esteem of him. Indeed on all occasions he expressed his regard for Mr. Warburton in the friendliest manner, of which the following instance must not be omitted.

Sir Thomas Hanmer, who was a man of business, and had been Speaker of the House of Commons in Queen Anne's time, grew ambitious, in the latter part of his life, to be taken notice of as a critick on Shakespeare. He had seen some notes on his favourite poet by Mr. Warburton in Mr. Theobald's edition: And as he was now preparing one of his own, which he afterwards printed at the Clarendon press, he very justly conceived that the assistance of Mr. Theobald's co-adjutor might be of service to him in the execution of that project.

With this view he got himself introduced to Mr. Warburton by the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Sherlock, and managed so well as to draw from his new acquaintance a large collection of notes and emendations, which were, in confidence, communicated to him in a series of private letters.

What followed upon this, and what use he made of those friendly communications, I need not repeat, as the
account

account is given by Mr. Warburton himself in the lively preface to his and Mr. Pope's edition of Shakespeare, of which something more will be said in its place. It is enough to say here, that he very reasonably resented this usage, and complained of it to his two friends, the Bishops of Salisbury and Chichester. The *former* expresses his concern at this ill-treatment, and the more so, he says, *as he had in some measure been the occasion of it*; i. e. by bringing Mr. Warburton and Sir Thomas Hanmer together.

The *latter* tells him, in a letter of May 9, 1739—"Sir
 " Thomas Hanmer's proceeding with respect to Shakespeare
 " is very extraordinary.—I think you do very well to get
 " your own papers out of his hands: 'tis pity, they have
 " been so long in them, since 'tis probable he has squeezed
 " what he could out of them; which is most ungenerous
 " treatment." He concludes with saying—"I hope you
 " will find leisure to give the world a Shakespeare, your-
 " self, which the sooner 'tis made known the better."

And thus ended this trifling affair, which I should scarcely have mentioned but to do justice to the friendly temper of Bishop Hare, who interested himself so kindly in all his concerns; and to shew that Mr. Warburton's conduct was not directed by caprice or petulance, but was that of a man of sense and honour, and as such was approved by his most judicious friends.

Mr.

Mr. Warburton was so taken up with his studies, and found so much delight in them, that he rarely stirred from home; which he would often say there was no good reason for doing, except necessary business, and the satisfaction of seeing a friend. What the world calls amusement from a change of the scene, passed for nothing with him, who was too well employed to be tired of his situation, or to have a thought of running away from himself; which, after all, they, who are incessantly making the experiment, find impossible to be done. Yet he sometimes found himself obliged to go to London; as he did in the spring of the year 1740; and he took that opportunity of making his first visit to Mr. Pope, of which he immediately * gave Dr. Middleton the following account.

“ I passed about a week at Twickenham, in the most agreeable manner. Mr. Pope is as good a companion, as a poet; and what is more, appears to be as *good* a man.”

The last was indeed the consideration, that so much endeared Mr. Pope to him. He found him an honest and well-principled man; zealous to promote the interests of virtue, and impressed with an awful sense of religion, natural and revealed. In short, he found an image of himself in his new acquaintance: no wonder then, their

* May 6, 1740.

esteem and affection grew so fast as to give umbrage, in no long time, to a certain nobleman, who had taken to himself the honour of being the *guide and philosopher* of Mr. Pope.

The acquisition of this new friend came very seasonably to support Mr. Warburton under the loss of another, the excellent Bishop Hare, who died after a short illness the 6th of April this year.

How he felt that loss, the publick has been informed by himself in the preface to the second volume of the D. L., and with a flow of sentiment and expression, which only the truest friendship, operating on a mind like his, could inspire. But we are better pleased to hear him express his sense of it in a private letter to a friend. Speaking of the Bishop's death to Dr. Middleton, in the letter above mentioned of May 6, 1740, he says—"He has not
 " left his fellow behind him for the love and encourage-
 " ment of learning. I have had a great loss in his death.
 " He honoured me with his esteem and friendship. This
 " I esteemed a great obligation. I never sought to increase
 " it by any other dependance upon him; and by the terms
 " on which we kept up a correspondence, he did me the
 " justice to believe, I expected no other."

This freedom of correspondence does honour to both parties; and was observed, with address, in this letter to Dr. Middleton, who had conceived Bishop Hare to have

taken a prejudice against himself, for his liberty in professing some sentiments, not conformable to his Lordship's. He therefore insinuates there was no ground for such a suspicion, for that he himself, so much and so long in the Bishop's favour, had lived with him on the same free terms. He knew very well, that nothing could recommend his patron or himself to his friend's good opinion more, than such liberality on the one part, and so manly a conduct on the other.

But the truth is, though Mr. Warburton very properly *sought not* to increase his obligation to Bishop Hare, he would certainly have received the highest, had it been in the Bishop's power; which very probably ended with the Queen's death.

In May, 1741, was published the second volume of the D. L. which completed the argument, although not the entire plan of that work. A work! in all views, of the most transcendant merit, whether we consider the invention, or the execution.

A plain simple argument, yet perfectly new, proving the divinity of the Mosaic Law, and laying a sure foundation for the support of Christianity, is there drawn out to a great length by a chain of reasoning, so elegantly connected, that the reader is carried along it with ease and pleasure; while the matter presented to him is so striking for its own importance, so embellished by a lively fancy,

and illustrated, from all quarters, by exquisite learning and the most ingenious disquisition, that, in the whole compass of modern or antient theology, there is nothing equal or similar to this extraordinary performance.

Such is the general idea of the Divine Legation of Moses. But for a more distinct conception of its frame; to see at once

—“the bearings and the ties,

“The strong connections, just dependencies;”

the reader is referred to the recapitulation at the end of the Vith book*, where the author himself has drawn up a brief comprehensive view of his whole scheme, with great spirit.

This year, but something earlier, came out Dr. Middleton's famous *History of the Life of Cicero*; which was received by the publick, as it deserved to be, with great applause. Mr. Warburton took the first occasion to compliment his friend upon it; And, as in the concluding part of that work Dr. Middleton had controverted the account given of Cicero's philosophical opinions in the first volume of the D. L. he takes notice, that *he had a more particular pleasure in the last section, as he was more particularly interested in it*; and then proceeds to moralize in the following manner—“We perhaps shall neither of us be
“esteemed orthodox writers. But this we shall do, we

* See Vol. III. p. 467.

“shall

“ shall give an example to the world, which orthodox
 “ writers rarely do, and perhaps of more use to mankind,
 “ than most of the refined subjects they engage in, that
 “ we can differ in many important points, and publicly
 “ avow our difference, without the least interruption of
 “ the declared friendship and esteem, we bear to each
 “ other. And the Life of Tully, and the D. L., will be
 “ a rule, which few have set us and perhaps few will fol-
 “ low, how men, who esteem and love each other, should
 “ comport themselves when they differ in opinion. So
 “ that whichever is right or wrong in *opinion*, the honest
 “ part of the world will judge both of us to be right in
 “ *sentiment* *.”

To whom Dr. Middleton replies, with great complacency, in the same strain—“ As to the circumstance, from
 “ which you draw so just and useful a lesson, of our dif-
 “ fering from each other in some particular opinions, as
 “ I was always persuaded that it could not have any other
 “ effect upon you, so I have the comfort to assure you,
 “ that I never felt the least impression from it disadvanta-
 “ geous to our friendship. It is the necessary consequence
 “ of that privilege of our nature on which all men of sense
 “ set the highest value, the liberty of judging for our-
 “ selves ; yet since it would be a great satisfaction to me

* April 29, 1741.

“ in all cases to find my judgement confirmed by yours,
 “ so, when you are at full leisure, I should be glad to
 “ know the particular reasons which force you to differ
 “ from me on the subject of Cicero’s opinions; to which
 “ alone our difference in the present case is to be referred,
 “ that as far as is possible we may come still nearer to each
 “ other*.”

Thus these two ingenious men; and the same spirit breathes through the rest of their letters: So that their whole temper seems to have resolved itself into a principle of general candour. Yet, within a month or two, a fresh difference of opinion taking place (though on a subject of no more importance than the other about Cicero, respecting only the origin of popish ceremonies) and neither side giving way, our two candid friends cooled insensibly towards each other, and seem, thenceforward, to have discontinued their correspondence; for I find no letters, that passed between them, of a later date, than those of this year which touch upon that difference. A memorable instance of our common weakness! which shews how little stress is to be laid on those professions of candour, with which our letters and conversations overflow; and how impossible it is for any lasting friendship to subsist between men of opposite principles and persua-

* Cambridge, April 5, 1741. I suppose a misdate for May 5th. or Mr. Warburton’s letter is misdated.

sions, however their feelings may for a time be diffembled, or disguised even to themselves, by a shew of good breeding.

For a contrary reason, the conformity of their sentiments, the friendship between Mr. Warburton and Mr. Pope became every day closer and more confidential. In the beginning of this summer, when the business that had called him to London, on the publication of his book, was over, he went down again to Twickenham, and passed some weeks with Mr. Pope there, and in a country-ramble, which led them at last to Oxford. The university was naturally pleased at the arrival of two such strangers, and seemed desirous of inrolling their names among their graduates. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was intended for the Divine, and that of Doctor of Law for the Poet, as a testimony of their great respect for each. But intrigue and envy defeated this scheme; and the university lost the honour of decorating, at the same time, the two greatest geniuses of the age, by the fault of one or two of its members*. Mr. Pope retired with some indignation to Twickenham, but consoled himself and his friend with this sarcastic reflexion—"We shall take our degree together in Fame, whatever we do at the university †."

* Pope's Works, Vol. IX. Lond. 1753. Letter CVII.

† Sept. 20. 1741.

The time they spent together this summer gave occasion to some interesting conversations. Mr. Warburton suggested many alterations and improvements of Mr. Pope's moral writings, and particularly advised him to strike out *every thing in them that might be suspected of having the least glance towards fate or naturalism*, which he consented to, we are told, *with extreme pleasure* *. It was, also, at this time that he concerted with him the plan of the IVth book of the Dunciad †.

Mr. Pope lost no time in carrying it into execution. In November following he presses his friend to meet him at Prior-Park, on the invitation of Mr. Allen, with whom he then was, and tells him it was there that he should find most leisure to profit by the advice he had given him "to resume the studies, which he had almost laid aside by perpetual avocations and dissipations."

Here accordingly they met: a great part of the new poem was read and highly approved: the rest was finished in the course of the year 1742, and a project formed for making Mr. Warburton the Editor of the IV books complete; which was executed very early in 1743; and so much to the author's satisfaction, that he afterwards engaged him to sustain the like office with regard to the rest of his Works ‡.

* Pref. to his Works.

† Pope's Works, Vol. IX. Letter CX. note.

‡ Letters 112, 113, 114, 115.

I shall find a fitter place, in the course of these reflexions, to speak my own sentiments of the edition of Mr. Pope's works. All I have now to add on this interesting part of Mr. Warburton's life, is, that the most unreserved confidence continued between the two friends till Mr. Pope's death in May, 1744 : and with what warmth of affection on both sides, appears from the last will and testament of the latter, and from the zeal of the former to fulfill his intention and to do all possible honour to his memory.

It must, indeed, be regretted that this memorable friendship commenced so late, and ended so soon. We might otherwise have seen the most valuable fruits of it. Their hearts and heads were exactly attuned to each other ; and, had the life and health of Mr. Pope permitted, this harmonious agreement in the powers and purposes of two such men could not have failed to produce many a noble design in favour of virtue and religion.

The death of our great poet, was an event that could not fail of putting the spirits of the ingenious in motion, and of exciting an emulation, among the lovers of polite literature, to adorn his memory and virtues. It accordingly produced Mr. Brown's *Essay on Satire*, which was addressed to Mr. Warburton, and so far approved by him, as to be prefixed to his edition of Mr. Pope's works. It also brought on the dawn of Mr. Mason's genius, in *The*

Monody, entitled *Musæus*; which gave so sure a preface of his future eminence in poetry, and so advantageous a picture of his mind, that Mr. Warburton, on the sight of it,

“ With open arms received one poet more.”

Soon after Mr. Pope's death, Mr. Warburton received a letter from a learned and ingenious lady, Mrs. Cockburne, lamenting that event, and making some enquiry after Mr. Pope's works; but the real purpose of the letter-writer was to draw Mr. Warburton into an explanation of his system concerning *Moral Obligation*, as delivered in the first volume of the D. L., it being different from one espoused by herself, which was that of Dr. Samuel Clarke.

His answer to this Lady is written with great civility and politeness, and was so well received, that, when, a year or two afterwards, she drew up her confutation of Dr. Rutherford's Essay on Virtue, she sent the manuscript to Mr. Warburton; who was extremely pleased with it, and wrote a short preface in recommendation of that work. His Letter may be seen in the Appendix [B].

But to return to what I was saying of Mr. Pope's friendship for Mr. Warburton.

Next to the enjoyment itself of such a friendship, the chief benefit Mr. Warburton derived from it, was the being introduced by his means to his principal friends; particularly Mr. MURRAY, and Mr. ALLEN; two of the
greatest

greatest and best men of the age. As I had myself the honour of being well acquainted with these excellent persons, and very much obliged to them, I may the rather be allowed to indulge myself in the recollection of their virtues.

Mr. MURRAY, afterwards Earl of Mansfield and Lord Chief Justice of England, was so extraordinary a person, and made so great a figure in the world, that his name must go down to posterity, with distinguished honour, in the public records of the nation. For his shining talents displayed themselves in every department of the state, as well as in the supreme Court of Justice, his peculiar province; which he filled with a lustre of reputation, not equalled perhaps, certainly not exceeded, by that of any of his predecessors.

Of his conduct in the House of Lords, I can speak with the more confidence, because I speak from my own observation. Too good to be the leader, and too able to be the dupe, of any party, he was believed to speak his own sense of public measures; and the authority of his judgement was so high that, in regular times, the House was usually determined by it. He was no forward, or frequent speaker; but reserved himself, as was fit, for occasions worthy of him. In *debate*, he was eloquent as well as wise; or rather, he became eloquent by his wisdom. His countenance and tone of voice imprinted

the ideas of penetration, probity, and candour ; but what secured your attention and assent to all he said, was his constant good sense, flowing in apt terms and the clearest method. He affected no fallies of the imagination, or bursts of passion ; much less would he condescend to personal abuse or petulant altercation. All was clear, candid reason, letting itself so easily into the minds of his hearers as to carry information and conviction with it. In a word, his public senatorial character resembled very much that of Messala, of whom Cicero says, addressing himself to Brutus—

“ Do not imagine, Brutus, that, for worth, honour,
 “ and a warm love of his country, any one is comparable
 “ to Messala : So that his eloquence, in which he won-
 “ derfully excels, is almost eclipsed by those virtues. And
 “ even in his display of that faculty, his superior good
 “ sense shews itself most : with so much care and skill
 “ hath he formed himself to the truest manner of speak-
 “ ing ! His powers of genius and invention are confess-
 “ edly of the first size ; yet he almost owes less to them,
 “ than to the diligent and studious cultivation of his judge-
 “ ment *.”

* “ Cave putes probitate, constantiâ, curâ, studio reipublicæ, quid-
 “ quam illi simile esse ; ut eloquentia, quâ mirabiliter excellit, vix in eo
 “ locum ad laudandum habere videatur. Quanquam in hac ipsâ sapientia
 “ plus apparet : ita gravi judicio multâque arte se exercuit in verissimo
 “ genere dicendi. Tanta autem industria est, tantumque evigilat in stu-
 “ dio, ut non maximè ingenio, quod in eo summum est, gratia habenda
 “ videatur.” Cic. ad Brutum, I. 15.

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In the commerce of private life, he was easy, friendly, and agreeable, extremely sensible of merit in other men, and ready on all occasions to countenance and produce it. From his early youth, he had attracted the notice, and obtained the friendship and applause, of our great poet.

Mr. ALLEN was a man of plain good sense, and the most benevolent temper. He rose to great consideration by farming the cross-roads; which he put into the admirable order in which we now find them; very much to the public advantage, as well as his own. He was of that generous composition, that his mind enlarged with his fortune; and the wealth he so honourably acquired, he spent in a splendid hospitality, and the most extensive charities. His house, in so public a scene as that of Bath, was open to all men of rank and worth, and especially to men of distinguished parts and learning; whom he honoured and encouraged; and whose respective merits he was enabled to appreciate, by a natural discernment and superior good sense, rather than any acquired use and knowledge of letters. His domestic virtues were above all praise. With these qualities he drew to himself an universal respect; and possessed, in a high degree, the esteem of Mr. Pope, who, in one of his moral essays, has done justice to his modest and amiable character.

To these two incomparable persons, Mr. Pope was especially anxious to introduce his friend; and it was not

long before he experienced the most substantial benefits from this recommendation.

In the mean time, his attention was turned towards that numerous host of answerers, which the D. L. of Moses had brought down upon him. The extensive argument, and miscellaneous nature of that work, had led him to declare his sentiments on a multitude of questions, on which he thought differently from other writers, and of course to censure or confute their opinions. Whole bodies of men, as well as individuals of the highest reputation, were attacked by him; and his manner was to speak his sense of all with freedom and force. So that most writers, and even readers, had some ground of complaint against him. Not only the free-thinkers and unbelievers, against whom the tenour of his book was directed, but the heterodox of every denomination were treated without much ceremony; and of the orthodox themselves some tenet or other, which till then they had held sacred, was discussed and reprobated by him. Straggling heresies, or embodied systems, made no difference with him; as they came in his way, no quarter was given to either: "his end and manner of writing," as Dr. Middleton truly observed, "being to pursue truth, wherever he found it, and, from the midst of smoke and darkness, to spread light and day around him *."

* Letter VII. in Dr. Middleton's Works, vol. II.

Such

Such a writer (independently of the envy, which ever attends superior genius) must needs have innumerable enemies. And as all could not receive, nor the greater part deserve, his notice, he determined to select a few of the more respectable, out of the gross body of assailants, and to quit his hands of them at once, in a general comprehensive answer. This was done by *Remarks on several occasional Reflexions*, in two parts; the *former* published in 1744, and the *second* (which he styles the *last*) in 1745; and both, executed in such a manner as was not likely to invite any fresh attacks upon him.

Yet the rage of his answerers was not presently subdued. Writing to a confidential friend from Prior-Park the year following [July 15, 1746] he tells him—"I have a deluge of writers against me. But two great men have made me promise to answer none of them. They said—'You imagine the world takes as much notice of your answerers, as you yourself do. You are mistaken. The names of none of them were ever heard of in good company. And the world wonders you should so misemploy your time.' To this I said, "It was true. But that there was another body to which some regard should be had, the inferior Clergy." They said, if such writers missed them, it was in vain for me to think of them. And indeed I begin to think Aristotle mistaken when he defined man to be a rational animal. Not but I know the
source

source of all this opposition is rather to be attributed to a bad heart, than a bad head. And you would be surprized at the instances of envy I could give you. Had I the complaisance to die to-morrow, it would all be over, before the end of the week. I am in this condition of a dead man, already, with regard to the Indies, there being at this immense distance no room for envy, as you will see by the following extract of a letter I received from one of the governors of Virginia :

“ I never had so much profit from any book, except
 “ the Bible, as from your’s. The flood of infidelity has
 “ reached us. The blessing of God upon your excellent
 “ pen will, I hope, preserve us from the evil influence:
 “ Pennsylvania seems to be over-run with Deism. The
 “ Quakers are generally infected, and it being their con-
 “ stitution to have no established religion, their too-uni-
 “ versal toleration receives all without distinction. And
 “ they who worship God, and they who do not, are in
 “ the same esteem.

“ Your first and second volumes of the Divine Legation
 “ came over to their public library. I recommended it
 “ strongly. It soon became the subject of all conversa-
 “ tion. Never were such struggles about any book, who
 “ should first read it. The reasonable were convinced;
 “ the obstinate were astonished. A friend of mine
 “ of learning and station there spoke of it with the
 “ warmest

“ warmest praise : he said, it had made him ten times
 “ more a Christian, than he had ever been.”—

These reflexions were consolatory to him, and made him bear with more temper the petulance of his adversaries ; whom he seems to have neglected, till one of high fame and confident pretensions forced him again into the field of controversy. But this was not till some years afterwards.—I now go on with my narrative from 1745.

Mr. Pope had very early introduced his friend to the notice of Lord Chesterfield ; who going this year Lord Lieutenant to Ireland, was desirous of taking Mr. Warburton with him, as his first Chaplain. He had his reasons for declining this offer ; but he had a proper sense of the civility, and made his public acknowledgements for it in a dedication of the *Alliance*, reprinted with many corrections and improvements in 1748. The style of compliment in this piece will perhaps be censured as too high. But the truth is, that specious nobleman had the fortune to be better thought of, in his life-time, than he has been since. The general opinion therefore (which came confirmed to him by Mr. Pope) very naturally inflamed the expression of his gratitude, in that panegyrical epistle.

After an acquaintance of some years, Mr. Allen had, now, seen so much of his friend, that he wished to unite him still more closely to himself by an alliance of marriage with an accomplished Lady of his own family *.

* Miss Gertrude Tucker, Mr. Allen's favourite niece.

This event took place in the beginning of the year 1746; and soon after, the preachership of Lincoln's-Inn happening to become vacant, Mr. Murray, then Solicitor General, easily prevailed with the learned Bench to invite so eminent a person, as Mr. Warburton, to accept that office.

II.

From the time of his marriage, Mr. Warburton resided chiefly at Prior-Park. In so agreeable, or, rather, splendid a retreat, he enjoyed health, affluence, and leisure; the best company, when he chose to partake of it; and every other accommodation, which could be acceptable to a man of letters. His ambition was, also, gratified with the highest personal reputation; and, in due time, he succeeded to the chief honours of his profession. All this he could not but be sensible of. Yet, I have heard him say, that the most delicious season of his life was that which he had spent at Newark and Brand-Broughton. So delightful are the springing hopes of youth! and so enchanting the scenes which open to a great genius, when he comes first to know himself, and to make trial of his powers! The impression, these left upon him, is very agreeably described in a letter to Mr. C. Yorke, so late as the year 1758. Mr. Yorke had acquainted him with an excursion he had been making into Nottinghamshire. In his answer from P. P. Oct. 2, 1758, he says—"I am
" glad

“ glad to understand you have amused yourself agreeably
 “ with a ramble into Nottinghamshire. It would have
 “ been the greatest pleasure to have chopped upon you at
 “ Newark: And I would have done so, on the least in-
 “ timation. I could have led you through delicious walks,
 “ and picked off, for your amusement in our rambles, a
 “ thousand notions which I hung upon every thorn, as I
 “ passed, thirty years ago.”

But to return from this reflexion.

The Preachership of Lincoln's-Inn had been offered him
 in so handsome a manner, that it could not be refused.
 Otherwise, the thing was not agreeable to him.

In a letter to Dr. Taylor * from Prior-Park, May 22,
 1746, he says—“ I think I told you in my last, that the
 “ Society of Lincoln's-Inn had made me an unanimous
 “ offer of the Preachership; which therefore I could not
 “ refuse, though I would gladly have done it. For it will
 “ require five or six months attendance. And the advan-
 “ tage of the thing itself you may judge of, by this :
 “ Mr. Allen would have me take a house, for which I pay
 “ as much rent, as the whole preachership is worth. This
 “ only to you. And don't think I speak with any affectation
 “ when I tell you in your ear, that nothing can be more

* The physician—first of Newark, afterwards of London; very eminent
 in his profession, and from his early youth a friend of Mr. Warburton's.

“ disagreeable to me, than this way of life. But I hope
 “ and determine that it shall not continue long. Don’t
 “ you pity me? I shall be forced to write sermons: and
 “ God knows what will become of the D. L. But if I
 “ can do any good in this new station, I shall know how
 “ to bear the disagreements of it, and that’s all How
 “ capricious is the fate of mortals! Any other clergyman
 “ would think himself happy in such an honour as the
 “ Society has done me. I believe it is the first * has been
 “ done to their Preacher. Yet I have no joy in it.”

The truth is, the attendance on the term broke in upon
 his leisure; and, what was worse, the necessity he was
 under of composing sermons, with which he was but
 slenderly provided, diverted him from other things, for
 which he judged himself better qualified, and which he
 had more at heart.

The fruits of his industry in this new office there will
 be occasion to speak of, and to appreciate hereafter. For
 the present, it is true, his greater designs received some
 interruption, and particularly, as he intimates, that of the
 D. L.; although other reasons concurred to make him
 defer (indeed much too long) the prosecution of that noble
 work.

In the year 1747 appeared his edition of Shakespeare’s
 works, which he had undertaken at the instance of Mr.

* He means, by the *unanimous* offer of their preachership.

Pope. “He was desirous”—the editor speaks in his own person—“I should give a new edition of this poet; and
 “that his edition should be melted down into mine. In
 “memory of our friendship, I have therefore made it our
 “joint edition *,”

As the public envy was now at its height, from the rising fortune, as well as fame, of the author, this edition awakened a spirit of criticism, which haunted him in every shape of dull ridicule, and solemn confutation. Happening to speak of this, in a letter written to him 1749 (for by that time I had the honour of being personally acquainted with him) he replies to me in the following lively manner—“I have, as you say, raised a spirit without designing it. And, while I thought I was only conjecturing, it seems I was conjuring. So that I had no
 “sooner evoked the name of Shakespeare from the rotten
 “monument of his former editions, than a crew of strange
 “devils, and more grotesque than any he laughs at in
 “the old farces, came chattering, mewling, and grinning
 “round about me †.”

The outcry against him was, indeed, pretty much what is here so pleasantly described. His illustrations of the poet's sense were frequently not taken; and his corrections of the faulty text, not allowed. And, to speak candidly,

* Preface to Shakespeare.

† Prior Park, Sept. 28, 1749.

it could scarce be otherwise. For, though all pretend to be judges of poetry, few have any idea of poetical criticism. And, as to what concerns the emendation of the text, the abler the critic, the more liable he is to some extravagance of conjecture (as we see in the case of Bentley himself); it being dullness, and not judgement, that best secures him from this sort of imputation *.

For the rest, such is the felicity of his genius in restoring numberless passages to their integrity, and in explaining others which the author's sublime conceptions, or his licentious expression, had kept out of sight, that this fine edition of Shakespeare must ever be highly

* The apology, which an eminent French writer makes for Joseph Scaliger, may serve for all Commentators of his size :

“ Je ne sçay si on ne pourroit pas dire que Scaliger avoit trop d'esprit, et trop de science, pour faire un bon commentaire ; car à force d'avoir de l'esprit, il trouvoit dans les auteurs qu'il commentoit, plus de finesse et plus de genie, qu'ils n'en avoient effectivement ; et sa profonde littérature étoit cause qu'il voyoit mille rapports entre les pensées d'un auteur, et quelque point rare d'antiquité. De sorte qu'il s'imaginait que son auteur avoit fait quelque allusion à ce point d'antiquité, et sur ce pied-là il corrigeoit un passage. Si on n'aime mieux s'imaginer que l'envie d'eclaircir un mystere d'érudition inconnu aux autres critiques, l'engageoit à supposer qu'il se trouvoit dans un tel ou tel passage. Quoiqu'il en soit, les commentaires qui viennent de lui, sont pleins de conjectures hardies, ingénieuses, et fort sçavantes. mais il n'est gueres apparent que les auteurs ayent songé à tout ce qu'il leur fait dire. On s'éloigne de leur sens aussi bien quand on a beaucoup d'esprit, que quand on n'en a pas, &c.”

Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, Juin, 1684.

valued by men of sense and taste ; a spirit, congenial to that of the author, breathing throughout, and easily atoning, with such, for the little mistakes and inadvertencies, discoverable in it.

Mr. Warburton very properly neglected all attacks on his own critical fame. But of one, that was made soon after on the moral character of his friend, he took more notice. In 1749 an insignificant pamphlet, under the name of *A Patriot King*, was published by Lord Bolingbroke, or by his direction, with a preface to it, reflecting highly on Mr. Pope's honour. The provocation was simply this. The manuscript of that trivial declamation had been intrusted to the care of Mr. Pope, with the charge (as it was pretended) that only a *certain* number of copies should be printed. Mr. Pope, in his excessive admiration of his Lordship (which was the chief foible of his character) took that opportunity, for fear so invaluable a treasure of patriot-eloquence should be lost to the publick, to exceed his commission, and to run off more copies, which were found, after his death, in the printer's warehouse ; but with so little secrecy that several of his friends, and in particular Mr. Allen (as he told me) was apprized of it at the time, and by Mr. Pope himself. This charge, however frivolous, was aggravated beyond measure ; and, notwithstanding the proofs Lord Bolingbroke had received of Mr. Pope's devotion to him, envenomed
with

with the utmost malignity. Mr. Warburton thought it became him to vindicate his deceased friend; and he did it so effectually, as not only to silence his accuser, but to cover him with confusion.

And here let me have leave to pause a little, while, in emulation of this generous conduct of my friend towards one great man, I endeavour to perform the same office towards another; the most amiable of his time; who has suffered, in the public opinion, by a charge of immoral meannesses brought against him by Mr. Pope himself, and, as I am persuaded, without the least foundation. The person I mean is Mr. Addison, in whose good name, as in that of Mr. Pope, Virtue herself has an interest. He and Mr. Pope were, likewise, friends; and this relation between them brings the two cases into a still nearer resemblance with each other.

The charge, I allude to, is briefly this—Mr. Addison had uniformly * advised and encouraged Mr. Pope's translation of the Iliad, from the year 1713, when the design of that work was first communicated to him. He had even been zealous to promote the subscription to it; and in May, 1716, when a considerable progress had been made in the translation, and some parts of it published, he speaks of it in the *Freeholder*, N^o 40, in the following manner:

* See Letters to and from Mr. Addison, in Mr. Pope's Works.

“ When

“ When I consider myself as a British freeholder, I am
 “ in a particular manner pleased with the labours of those
 “ who have improved our language with the translation
 “ of old Latin and Greek authors; and by that means
 “ let us into the knowledge of what passed in the famous
 “ governments of Greece and Rome. We have already
 “ most of their historians in our own tongue: and what
 “ is still more for the honour of our language, it has
 “ been taught to express with elegance the greatest of their
 “ poets in each nation. The illiterate among our coun-
 “ trymen may learn to judge, from Dryden’s Virgil, of the
 “ most perfect Epic performance: and those parts of Homer
 “ which have already been published by Mr. Pope, give us
 “ reason to think the Iliad will appear in English with as
 “ little disadvantage to that immortal poem.”

Notwithstanding all this, Mr. Pope believed, and his
 friends, as was natural, believed with him, that in 1715
 Mr. Addison either translated himself, or employed Mr.
 Tickell to translate, the first book of the Iliad, in opposition
 to him.

If we ask on what grounds this extraordinary charge is
 brought against such a man as Mr. Addison, we are only
 told of some flight and vague suspicions, without any
 thing that looks like a proof, either external or internal.
 What there is of the *latter* tends to confute the charge.
 For whoever is acquainted with Mr. Addison’s style and

manner, must be certain that the translation was not *his own*, though Steele, in a peevish letter, written against Tickell *, has, it seems, insinuated some such thing. And for *external* proof, we have absolutely nothing but a report from hear-say evidence, that Mr. Addison had expressed himself civilly of Tickell's performance; whence it is concluded that this translation was, at least, undertaken by Mr. Addison's advice and authority, if not made by himself.

Still, it will be owned, that so generous a man as Mr. Pope must believe he had some proof of this charge against his friend: and I think, I have, at length discovered what it was.

I have seen a printed copy † of Tickell's translation, in which are entered many criticisms and remarks in Mr. Pope's own hand. And from two of these, compared together, I seem to collect the true ground of the suspicion. But the reader shall judge for himself.

* Dedication of the Drummer to Mr. Congreve.

† It was then in Mr. Warburton's hands. It was afterwards sold, by mistake, among the other books which he had at his house in town, to Mr. T. Payne, and came at length into the possession of Isaac Reed, Esq. of Staple-Inn; who was so obliging as to make me a present of it, to be kept in the library at Hartlebury (in which that of Mr. Pope is included), where it now remains.

To the translation, are prefixed a DEDICATION, and ADVERTISEMENT. The *latter* is in these words—"I must inform the reader, that, when I began this first book, I had some thoughts of translating the whole Iliad: but had the pleasure of being diverted from that design, by finding the work was fallen into a much abler hand. I would not therefore be thought to have any other view in publishing this small specimen of Homer's Iliad, than to bespeak, if possible, the favour of the Public to a translation of Homer's Odyssey, wherein I have already made some progress."

To the words in this advertisement—*when I began this first book*—Mr. Pope affixes this note—*See the first line of the Dedication.*

Turning to the dedication, we find it begin thus—"When I first entered upon this translation I was ambitious of dedicating it to the late Lord Halifax.—Over against which words is, likewise, entered, in Mr. Pope's hand, the following note. *The translator was first known to him [Lord Halifax] four months before his death. He died in May, 1715.*

Now, from comparing these two notes together, one sees clearly how Mr. Pope reasoned on the matter. He concluded from Tickell's saying—*when he first entered on this translation*, that is, *began this first book*, he thought of dedicating his work to Lord Halifax—that he could not have

entertained this thought, if he had not at that time been *known* to Lord Halifax. But it was certain, it seems, that Mr. Tickell was *first* known to that Lord only *four months* before his death, in May, 1715. Whence it seemed to follow, that *this first book* had been written within, or since, that time.

Admitting this conclusion to be rightly made by Mr. Pope, it must indeed be allowed that he had much reason for his charge of insincerity on Mr. Addison, who, as a friend that had great influence with the translator, would not have advised, or even permitted, such a design to be entered upon and prosecuted by him at this juncture. But there seems not the least ground for such a conclusion. Lord Halifax was the great patron of wits and poets: and if Tickell had formed his design of translating the Iliad, long before Mr. Pope was known to have engaged in that work, he might very well be supposed to think of dedicating to this Mæcenæ, as much a stranger as he then was to him. Nothing is more common than such intentions in literary men; although Mr. Pope might be disposed to conduct himself, in such a case, with more delicacy or dignity.

I see, then, no reason to infer from the premises, that Mr. Tickell began *his first book* but four months before Lord Hallifax's death. For any thing that appears to the contrary, he might have *begun*, or even *finisbed* it, four
years

years before that event, and have only relinquished the thoughts of prosecuting his translation from the time that he *found this work had fallen, as he says, into an abler, that is, Mr. Pope's, band.*

These passages, however, of the *Advertisement* and *Dedication*, reflected upon and compared together, furnished Mr. Pope, as I suppose, with the chief of those *odd concurring circumstances*, which, as we are told*, convinced him that this translation of the first book of the Iliad was published with Mr. Addison's participation, if not composed by him. If the work had been begun but *four* months before its appearance, it must have been at least by his allowance and participation: if before that time (Mr. Tickell's acquaintance with Lord Halifax not being of so early a date) it was, most probably, his own composition. And to this latter opinion, it seems, Mr. Pope inclined.

How inconclusive these reasonings are, we have now seen. All that remains therefore is to account for the publication at such a time. And for this, I see not why Mr. Tickell's own reason may not be accepted as the true one—*that he had no other view in publishing this specimen, than to bespeak the favour of the publick to a translation of the Odyssey, in which he had made some progress.*

The time, it must be owned, was an unlucky one. But if Mr. Addison had reason to believe his friend's

* In the notes on Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot.

motive to be that which he professed, he might think it not fit to divert him from a work which was likely to serve his interest (poetical translation being at that time the most lucrative employment of a man of letters), and though it had less merit than Mr. Pope's, to do him some credit. And for the civility of speaking well of his translation afterwards, or even of assisting him in the revival of it, this was certainly no more than Mr. Addison's friendship for the translator required.

That Mr. Addison had, in fact, no unfriendly intention in the part he had taken in this affair, is certain from the passage before cited from the *Free-holder*, where he speaks so honourably, in May 1716, of Mr. Pope's translation, after all the noise that had been made about Mr. Tickell's first book in the summer of 1715. We may indeed impute this conduct to fear, or dissimulation: but a charge of this nature ought surely not to be made, but on the clearest and best grounds.

I have the rather introduced these observations into the account of my friend's life, as he himself had been led, by Mr. Pope's authority, to credit the imputation on Mr. Addison, and, on more occasions than one, had given a countenance to it. And it is but justice to him to assure the reader that when, some years before his death, I shewed him this *Vindication*, he professed himself so much satisfied

fied with it, as to say, if he lived to see another edition of Mr. Pope's works, he would strike out the offensive reflexions on Mr. Addison's character.

To return now to our subject.

We left Mr. Warburton illustrating the works of one of our great poets, and vindicating the moral character of another. But whatever amusements, or friendly offices, might employ his pen, he never lost sight of what he had most at heart, the defence of religion. And a controversy then carrying on, concerning the miraculous powers of the Christian Church, between Dr. Middleton and his opponents, and so managed, on both sides, as to hurt the cause of Christianity itself, gave him occasion to explain his own sentiments on the subject in an admirable book, entitled JULIAN; or, *A Discourse concerning the earthquake and fiery eruption which defeated that emperor's attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem.* This work was published in 1750, and is written throughout in the genuine spirit of its author.

It is introduced by an exquisite preface on the literary character of the Fathers, and on the condition of moral science before, and after, the appearance of Christianity.

This excellent book had the fate of the author's other writings, to be censured at home. In a letter from Prior-Park, to Dr. Balguy, Jan. 17, 1751-2,—“They tell me,” says he, “there are some remarks published against my
“ Julian.

“ Julian. I don’t know the nature of them, nor ever
 “ shall. That matter interests every clergyman, that is to
 “ say, every Christian, in England, as much as myself.
 “ Besides, I have long since bid adieu to controversy. I
 “ give my sentiments to the publick, and there’s an end.
 “ If any body will oppose them, he has my leave. If any
 “ body will defend them, he has my thanks. I propound
 “ them freely : I explain them as clearly and enforce them
 “ as strongly, as I can. I think I owe no more either to
 “ myself or truth. I am sure I owe no more to the publick.
 “ Besides, I know a little (as you will see by the new edi-
 “ tion of the first and second volumes of D. L.) how to
 “ correct myself ; so have less need of this assistance from
 “ others : which you will better understand, when you
 “ see that I have not received the least assistance from the
 “ united endeavours of that numerous band of answerers,
 “ who have spared no freedoms in telling me of my faults.”

Again, some months afterwards, writing to the same
 friend—Bedford Row, May 12, 1752, he observes,

—“ I think you judge rightly of the effects of Lord
 “ Bolingbroke’s writings, as well as of their character. As
 “ to his discourse on the Canon of Scripture, I think it
 “ below all criticism, though it had mine. He mentions
 “ (and I believe, with good faith) that foolish rabbinical
 “ fable of Esdras’ restoring the whole lost canon by Inspi-
 “ ration ; and argues from it. However, the redoubtable
 “ pen

“ pen of Sykes, though now worn to the stumps, is drawn
 “ upon him; or, at least, threatened to be drawn. He
 “ threatened, too, to draw it upon poor Julian, but he left
 “ the execution to another. And who do you think that
 “ other proves? Somebody or other, by far more curious
 “ than myself, would unearth this vermin: And he is
 “ found to be one Nichols, which your university some
 “ time ago prosecuted for stealing their books, or rather
 “ should have prosecuted. Have I not reason to blame
 “ you for your ill-timed clemency? Had they hanged
 “ him, as Justice called upon them to do, my book had
 “ been safe. It is true, he has not fulfilled the old
 “ proverb, but rather contributed to a new one, “Save a
 “ rogue from the gallows, and——he will endeavour to
 “ save his fellow. I had gibbeted up Julian, and he
 “ comes by night to cut him down.”—The pleasantry of
 these reflexions has drawn me into a citation of them.
 Otherwise, it was scarce worth while to tell the reader what
 some of our own prejudiced countrymen thought of Julian.
 For the learned abroad were generally much taken with
 this work. Among others, the president Montesquieu*,

* “ Quand vous verrez Mr. le Docteur Warburton, je vous prie de lui
 “ dire l'idée agréable que je me fais de faire plus ample connoissance avec
 “ lui; d'aller trouver la source du sçavoir, et de voir la lumiere de l'es-
 “ prit: son ouvrage sur Julien m'a enchanté, quoique je n'aie que de très
 “ mauvais lecteurs anglois, et que j'ai presque oublié tout ce que j'en
 “ sçavois.”

K

who,

who, it seems, was then meditating a visit to his friends in England, writes thus to Mr. Charles Yorke from Paris, June 6, 1753 : “ When you see Dr. Warburton, pray let
 “ him know the satisfaction I propose to myself in making
 “ a further acquaintance with him, and in taking a nearer
 “ view of his great talents. *His Julian charms me* ; al-
 “ though I have but indifferent English readers, and have,
 “ myself, forgotten a great deal of what I once knew of
 “ that language.”

And speaking of this work some years afterwards, in a letter to me, Mr. Warburton says, “ My Julian has had a
 “ great effect in France, where Free-thinking holds its head
 “ as high as in England. This is a consolation to me, as
 “ my sole aim is to repress that infernal spirit.” And again,
 —“ It has procured me the good will of the best and
 “ greatest man * in France, while there is hardly a noble-
 “ man in England knows I have written such a book †.”

* Duc de Noailles.—The intelligence was communicated to the author by his friend, M. de Silhouette : who was a great admirer of his writings, and translated some of them. See Preface to *Alliance*.

† In planning his treatise on Julian, he had proposed, as the title-page sets forth, to *enquire into the nature of that evidence, which will demand the assent of every reasonable man to a miraculous fact*. But this part of his plan he reserved for another discourse. The subject was, in fact, resumed, and has been sufficiently explained in the discourse on the Resurrection, vol. V. P. 473.

This

This admirable work, as I observed, took its rise from Dr. Middleton's Inquiry concerning the miraculous powers in the Christian Church. That ingenious man died towards the end of this year ; and although some difference had arisen between them in 1741, and seems to have kept them asunder for the rest of Dr. Middleton's life, yet no change appears to have been made, by this misadventure, in Mr. Warburton's opinion or even esteem of him, (so constant was he in his friendships !) as the reader will see in the following extract from a letter, which he wrote to me just before the Doctor's death : “ Prior-Park, July 11, “ 1750.—I hear Dr. Middleton has been at London (I suppose to consult Dr. Heberden * about his health) and is “ returned in an extreme bad condition.—I am much concerned for the poor man, and wish he may recover, “ with all my heart. Had he had, I will not say, piety, “ but greatness of mind enough, not to suffer the pretended injuries of some Churchmen to prejudice him “ against Religion, I should love him living, and honour

* Dr. Heberden had been well known to Dr. Middleton at Cambridge, where he flourished in great reputation for several years, and then removed to London. He has now [1794], for some time past, declined all business ; but, through the whole course of his practice, was the most universally esteemed, of any physician I have known, not only for his skill, but generosity, in the exercise of his profession.—My own personal obligations to him must be my excuse for the liberty I take in paying this small tribute of respect to his merit and character.

“ his memory, when dead. But, good God, that man,
 “ for the discourtesies done him by his miserable fellow-
 “ creatures, should be content to divest himself of the true
 “ viaticum, the comfort, the solace, the asylum from all
 “ the evils of human life, is perfectly astonishing! I
 “ believe no one (all things considered) has suffered more
 “ from the low and vile passions of the high and low
 “ amongst our brethren, than myself. Yet God forbid, it
 “ should ever suffer me to be cold in the Gospel-interests!
 “ which are indeed so much my own, that without it, I
 “ should be disposed to consider humanity, as the most
 “ forlorn part of the creation.”

What this letter tenderly hints at, was the exact truth. Dr. Middleton was an elegant scholar, and very fine writer: but, his vanity having engaged him early in religious controversy on a subject which he did not understand, he had given just offence to some considerable Churchmen, and yet would not condescend to recover their good opinion by retracting what he had hastily and unwarily advanced. Hence, the obstruction to his views of preferment; which by degrees soured his temper so much, that his best friends (as Mr. Warburton found by experience) could not calm his resentments, or keep them from breaking out into some unhappy prejudices against Religion itself. This misadventure was the effect of his passion, not judgement: for his knowledge of theology was but slight, and his talents

not

not those which qualified him to excell in that science. The bent of his genius and studies lay another way, and had raised him to great eminence in polite literature; of which his *Letter from Rome*, and his *Life of Cicero*, are shining instances. His other works are of much less value, and will soon be forgotten.

Nothing shews the extent of Mr. Warburton's genius, and the command he had of it, more, than his being able to mix the lightest with the most serious studies, and to pass, as his friend speaks,

“From grave to gay, from lively to severe,”
with so much grace and facility: a striking instance of which power we have, here, in finding *Julian* between our two poets. For in the very next year [1751] he appeared again, as a critic and commentator, in the noble edition he gave of Mr. Pope's works. And, as here there was no room for emendatory criticism, of all others the easiest to be misapplied or misconstrued, so the public found very little to censure on this occasion. Indeed the main object of the edition being to do justice to his friend, it was natural for him to exert his whole force upon it; and as none can *divine* so happily of a poet's meaning, as the well-exercised critic, if he be at the same time of a congenial spirit with his author, it is no wonder that he made this (what I formerly said of it, and still think it to be) *the best edition that was ever given of any classick.*

But,

But, admirable as Mr. Warburton was in this elegant species of literature, we are now to take our leave of him under that character; his editions of Shakespear and Pope being, as he himself expressed it to me, *amusements, which his fondness for the works of one poet, and for the person of another, had engaged him in.* We are, henceforth, to see him only in his proper office of Divine; which he resumed, when Mr. Pope's volumes were out of his hands, and ennobled by a set of Sermons, preached by him at Lincoln's-Inn, and entitled *Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion, in two volumes*; the former published in 1752, and the other in 1754; to which he added a *third* in 1767, consisting chiefly of occasional discourses.

I bring his works of this sort together under one view, that I may consider them at once, and give the reader an idea of their true character.

He had used himself very little to write sermons, till he came to Lincoln's-Inn. His instructions to his parish had either been delivered without notes, or extracted from the plainest discourses of our best preachers. In his present situation, he found it necessary to compose his sermons, and with care; his audience consisting wholly of men of education, and those accustomed to reasoning and inquiry. Here was then a scene, in which his learning and knowledge might be produced with good effect; and it was in this kind of discourse, that his taste and studies had qualified

lified him to excell. His sermons are accordingly, all of them, of this cast; not slight harangues on ordinary subjects, but close, weighty, methodical discourses, on the most momentous doctrines of natural and revealed religion; opening the grounds of them, and supporting them against objections; expressed in that style of nervous eloquence, which was natural to him, and brightened occasionally, but without affectation, by the liveliest strokes of imagination. In short, they were written for the use of men of parts and learning, and will only be relished by such. They are masterly in their way; but fitter for the closet, than the church; I mean, those mixt auditories, that are usually to be expected in that place.

There had been a friendship of long standing between Mr. Warburton and Mr. Charles Yorke; cultivated with great affection and esteem on both sides; the fruit of which appeared in 1753, in the offer of a prebend in the church of Gloucester, by the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. In acknowledgement of this favour Mr. Warburton addressed the first volume of the D. L. to his Lordship, when he gave the next edition of that work. Some, who were curious in observing coincidences, and meant to do honour both to the patron and client, took notice that the stall, to which Mr. Warburton was preferred, was the same in which the Lord Chancellor Nottingham, that great patron of all the learned Churchmen in his time, had placed Dr. Cudworth :

worth : Such a similitude was there apprehended to be between the two Magistrates ; and, still more strikingly, between the two Divines, authors of *The Intellectual System*, and *The Divine Legation* !

But what idea of Dignity soever might be annexed to this prebend, he exchanged it, a year or two after, for one of more value in the church of Durham, which Bishop Trevor (who did himself honour by the disposal of his preferments) very obligingly gave him, at the request of Mr. Murray (now Attorney General) in 1755.

He had been made Chaplain to the King, the year before ; and that promotion, as well as the present, making it decent for him to take his Doctor's degree, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Herring, very wisely took to himself the honour (which the University of Oxford had unhappily declined) of conferring that distinction upon him.

But while his friends were vying with each other in their good offices and attempts to serve him, a matter far more interesting to him, than any preferment, engaged his attention during the course of these two years.

Lord Bolingbroke died in 1751, and his philosophical works were published in 1753. Every one knows the principles and presumption of that unhappy nobleman. He was of that sect, which, to avoid a more odious name, chuses to distinguish itself by that of *Naturalism* ; and had boasted in private, what feats he should be able to perform

perform, in the attack, he had long threatened, on *all our metaphysics and theology*; in other words, on natural and revealed religion.

Some had the simplicity to believe him on his word; and others, it may be, wished him success. All serious men stood aghast at the loud vaunts of this Goliath of the infidel party; and, prepossessed with the ideas of consequence, which the fond applauses of his friends, and (what must ever be lamented) of his *tuneful* friend, had thrown about him, waited with anxiety for the event.

In the mean time, as that friend said divinely well (for surely, in this instance, he prophesied, as well as sang)

“Heaven with loud laughter the vain toil surveys,

“And buries madmen in the heaps they raise.”

Dr. Warburton had very early penetrated the views of Lord Bolingbroke; and, observing some tincture of his principles (but without the knowledge of the author, who could not be trusted with the secret) artfully instilled into the *Essay on Man*, had incurred his immortal hatred by making the discovery, and, in consequence of it, by *reasoning Mr. Pope out of his hands* *. It was easy to foresee what would follow from this vigilant and able Divine, when his Lordship's godless volumes should come forth; and the dread of it seems to have kept them back, for the

* Works, Vol. VII. p. 839.

remainder of his life. The interval, however, was made good use of, in seasoning them with poignant invectives against the Alliance and Divine Legation, and with whole pages of the grossest personal abuse. So that, when they appeared, Dr. Warburton was provoked, as well as prepared, to give them a strict examination, and was animated to the undertaking by a just resentment, as well as religious zeal.

And these two principles (the most operative in our nature) were never exerted to better purpose, or with greater effect. He planned the *VIEW* of his Philosophy in *Four Letters to a Friend**, and in writing it has surpassed himself; the reasoning and the wit being alike irresistible, the strongest and keenest that can be conceived. He himself was not a little pleased with this work, and says in confidence to a friend †, “I have given to it all the finishing in my power; and reckon, if any thing of mine should stumble down to posterity, it will have as good a chance as any. And now—*Cæsus artemque repono*.”

Some of Dr. Warburton's friends (such of them, I mean, as had been the friends of Mr. Pope) had, of course, been acquainted with Lord Bolingbroke; and were very naturally in the common opinion of his parts and abilities, without knowing much, or perhaps any thing, of his

* Mr. Allen of Prior-Park.

† Dr. Balguy.

religious

religious sentiments. These were likely to take offence at the freedom of the *View*, which was to shew him in a light very different from that in which the world had hitherto seen him. The consequence to himself was clearly foreseen, and with no small concern.

Writing from P. P. to Mr. C. Yorke, Aug. 24, 1754, while these letters were drawing up, he says—"I am busy
 " with my second volume of Sermons, which I propose to
 " publish early in the winter. I amuse myself too with
 " another thing, which, were you here, you would be
 " plagued with: because I never like my things so well
 " as while you are reading them. I have a better reason
 " for your reading them. But, to tell you the truth, this
 " flatters me most. The thing will be without my name,
 " and a secret. I wish it may in no degree displease one
 " I have so much reason to value, as our friend; nay, I
 " would not have it displease any of his friends, on his
 " account. You will ask me then why I venture upon it?
 " I will tell you sincerely. I think it my duty; for I am
 " a Christian. I think I was designed to be the declared
 " enemy of Infidelity; for I am a little fanatical."

In a letter also to me, Sept. 7, 1754, he says—"As to
 " my View of Bolingbroke, I tell it you in confidence, I
 " am apprehensive of displeasing some by it whom I most
 " honour, and at a critical time. So that I solemnly assure
 " you, nothing but the sense of indispensable duty, as a

“ Christian and a Clergyman, could have induced me to
 “ run the hazard of doing myself so much injury. But
 “ *jacula est alea*. All other considerations are now past
 “ with me ; and I let Providence take its course without
 “ any solicitude on my part.”

And again, Dec. 10, 1754, some time after the two
 first letters were published, and while he was preparing
 the two last—“ I go on pushing this grand enemy of God
 “ and Godliness. But what I predicted to you, I am sorry
 “ to tell you, I have experienced to be true ; that I tread
 “ *per cineres dolosos*. However, my duty tells me, this is
 “ a capital case, and I must on.”

What he alludes to, is an anonymous letter, sent him
 by the post, and expostulating with him, but in the friend-
 liest terms, on the manner in which he had treated the
 subject of the *View*, in the parts already printed. He guessed
 at the writer *, and had the highest respect for him. He
 resolved, therefore, to make his apology to him, and (as
 he was denied the opportunity of a private explanation)
 in a public answer to his letter. Accordingly, in 1755,
 he printed the two concluding letters of the *View*, with
 an *Apology for the two first* ; which now stands in this
 edition, as it did in the subsequent ones of the *View* in the
 author's life-time, as a prefatory discourse in vindication of
 the whole work. The occasion of the subject fired the

* Mr. Murray.

writer.

writer. His very soul came out in every sentence, and is no where seen to more advantage than in this Apology; which is written throughout with a peculiar glow of sentiment and expression, and is, at once, the most interesting, and the most masterly of all his works.

It had the effect, which was natural, on the so much respected letter-writer; who thought fit to preserve an inviolable silence in regard to this apology, but, by a signal act of friendship, done to the author very soon after, shewed how entirely satisfied he was with him.

As to the View itself, it was universally read and admired. The followers of Lord Bolingbroke and his philosophy hung their heads: the friends of religion took heart: and these big volumes of impiety sunk immediately into utter contempt.

After this complete triumph over the great Chieftain of his party, it would scarce be worth while to celebrate his successes against inferior adventurers, if *one* of them had not published his own shame; and if what I owe to Dr. Warburton's memory did not require me to explain a trifling matter, in which I happened to be concerned.

Mr. Hume had given an early specimen of his free-thinking philosophy in some super-subtile lucubrations of the metaphysical kind: which however did no great mischief to religion; and, what chagrined him almost as much, contributed but little to his own fame, being too
sublime,

sublime, or too dark, for the apprehensions of his readers. For so good a purpose as that of assisting in the common cause of impiety, he thought fit to come out of the clouds, and to attempt a popular vein of writing, as the more likely to get himself read and talked of in the world. In 1749 he therefore gave the publick a hash of his stale notions, served up in the taking form and name of *Essays*, and with a stronger, at least a more undisguised, mixture of Atheism than before.

Dr. Warburton, who was then sending his *Julian* to the press, saw these *Essays*, and had thoughts of closing that work with some strictures upon them. In a letter of Sept. 28, of that year, to a friend at Cambridge, he says, —“ I am tempted to have a stroke at Hume in parting. “ He is the author of a little book called *Philosophical “ Essays*: In one part of which he argues against the being “ of a God; and in another (very needlessly, you will say) “ against the possibility of miracles. He has crowned the “ liberty of the press. And yet he has a considerable “ post under the government. I have a great mind to do “ justice on his arguments against miracles, which I think “ might be done in few words. But does he deserve this “ notice? Is he known amongst you? Pray, answer me “ these questions. For if his own weight keeps him down, “ I should be sorry to contribute to his advancement to any “ place, but the pillory.”

No

No encouraging answer, I suppose, was returned to this letter ; and so the author of the *Essays* escaped, for this time. His next effort was to discredit Religion by what he calls, its *natural history*. This book came out early in 1757, and falling into the hands of Dr. Warburton, provoked him, by its uncommon licentiousness, to enter on the margin, as he went along, such remarks as occurred to him. And when that was too narrow to contain them all, he put down the rest on loose scraps of paper, which he stuck between the leaves. In this state the book was shewn to me (as I chanced at that time to be in London with the author) merely as matter of curiosity, and to give me an idea of the contents, how mischievous and extravagant they were. He had then written remarks on about two thirds of the volume : And I liked them so well, that I advised him, by all means, to carry them on through the remaining parts of it, and then to fit them up, in what way he thought best, for public use, which I told him they very well deserved. He put by this proposal slightly ; but, when I pressed him again on this head, some time after, in a letter from Cambridge, he wrote me the following answer.

“ As to Hume, I had laid it aside ever since you were
 “ here. I will now, however, finish my skeleton. It
 “ will be hardly that. If then you think any thing can
 “ be made of it, and will give yourself the trouble, we
 “ may

“ may perhaps between us do a little good, which I dare
 “ say we shall both think will be worth a little pains. If
 “ I have any force in the first rude beating out the mass,
 “ you are best able to give it the elegance of form and
 “ splendour of polish. This will answer my purpose, to
 “ labour together in a joint work to do a little good. I
 “ will tell you fairly, it is no more the thing it should be,
 “ than the Dantzick iron at the forge is the gilt and painted
 “ ware at Birmingham. It will make no more than a
 “ pamphlet; but you shall take your own time, and make
 “ it your summer’s amusement, if you will. I propose it
 “ bear something like this title—‘Remarks on Mr. Hume’s
 “ late Essay, called, *The natural history of Religion*, by a
 “ Gentleman of Cambridge, in a Letter to the Rev. Dr.
 “ Warburton.’—I propose the address should be with the
 “ dryness and reserve of a stranger, who likes the method
 “ of the Letters on Bolingbroke’s philosophy, and follows
 “ it here, against the same sort of writer, inculcating the
 “ same impiety, Naturalism, and employing the same kind
 “ of arguments. The address will remove it from me;
 “ the author, a gentleman of Cambridge, from you; and
 “ the secrecy of printing, from us both.”

I saw by this letter, he was not disposed to take much
 trouble about the thing. Accordingly his papers were
 soon after sent down to me at Cambridge, pretty much in
 the state I had seen them in at London, so far as they
then

then went, only with additional entries in the latter part of the book. However, in this careless detached form, I thought his observations too good to be lost. And the hint of the *Address* suggested the means of preserving them, without any injury to his reputation, and indeed without much labour to myself. Having, therefore, transcribed the Remarks * with little alteration, I only wrote a short introduction and conclusion, merely to colour the proposed fiction; and in this form, sent them to the press.

When Dr. Warburton saw the pamphlet, he said, I should have done much more, and worked up his hasty remarks in my own way. He doubted, also, whether the contrivance, as I had managed it, would not be seen through. But in this he was mistaken; for the disguise, as thin as it was, answered its purpose in keeping the real author out of sight.

Mr. Hume in particular (understanding, I suppose, from his bookseller, who was also mine, that the manuscript came from me) was the first to fall into the trap. He was much hurt, and no wonder, by so lively an attack upon him, and could not help confessing it in what he calls his *own Life*; in which he has thought fit to honour me with greater marks of his resentment, than any other of the

* They are given in this edition [Vol. VI. p. 847.] in their original form.

writers against him : nay the spiteful man goes so far as to upbraid me with being a *follower* (indeed a closer, in this instance, than he apprehended) of the *Warburtonian school*.

This idle story would not have been worth the telling, but for the reason already given, That I could not, in justice to the author, take the merit of so fine a work to myself. And yet in disclaiming it, the reader sees, I make but an awkward figure, as being obliged to open the secret of our little stratagem, in which the grace of it mainly consists.

Dr. Warburton had now, for some time, been preparing, and in 1758 he printed, a correct and improved edition of the first volume of the D. L. The notes to this edition are numerous and large ; some of which are answers to objections made to him by Archbishop Secker. " Where you find me, says he in a Letter to one of his " friends [P. P. April 19, 1758], speaking, in the notes, " of objections that have been made, understand them of " the present Archbishop's, who formerly gave me some " sheets of them, which I have still by me, and have in " this edition considered all I thought worth observing."

Dr. Secker was a wise man, an edifying preacher, and an exemplary Bishop. But the course of his life and studies had not qualified him to decide on such a work, as that of the D. L. Even in the narrow walk of literature
he

he most affected, that of criticizing the Hebrew text, it does not appear that he attained to any great distinction. His chief merit (and surely it was a very great one) lay in explaining clearly and popularly, in his sermons, the principles delivered by his friend, Bishop Butler, in his famous book of *The Analogy*, and in shewing the important use of them to Religion.

Of this last admirable prelate, what Dr. Warburton's sentiments were, appears from a letter he wrote to Dr. Balguy on his death, which happened in 1752—"You
 " have heard of the death of the poor Bishop of Durham.
 " The Church could have spared some other prelates
 " much better ; and, in its present condition, could but ill
 " spare him. For his morals and serious sense of religion
 " (to say nothing of his intellectual endowments) did ho-
 " nour to his station. His death is particularly unhappy
 " for his chaplain, Dr. Forster. He is my friend, whom
 " I much value, as one of great worth, and whose ill luck
 " I much lament. He has not only seen his hopes drop
 " through, when he was every thing but in the very
 " possession of them, but has lost a patron, who deserved
 " the name of *friend*, which goes much harder in the sepa-
 " ration than the other." [P. P. June 21, 1752.]

In the memoirs of such a life, as I am now writing, nothing, I am sensible, interests the reader less than the chapter of preferments. Yet these must not be wholly

overlooked. Towards the end of the year 1757 Dr. Warburton had been promoted to the Deanery of Bristol. And in the beginning of the year 1760, by Mr. Allen's interest with the minister, Mr. Pitt, he was advanced to the Bishoprick of Gloucester.

III.

In the common estimation, this last was a preferment suitable to his merit. Mr. Pitt himself gloried in it, as what did honour to his administration. I remember to have seen a letter of his, in which he said—*that nothing of a private nature, since he had been in office, had given him so much pleasure, as his bringing Dr. Warburton upon the bench.* This virtuous self-gratulation became the minister; and others may be of his mind. But I have sometimes doubted with myself, whether the proper scene of abilities, like his, be not a private station, where only great writers have the leisure to do great things.

Here, at least, it was that THE ALLIANCE and DIVINE LEGATION were written: And here, too, was composed the immortal work of ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY, which, in the end, proved so fatal to our *English* *Disciplinarians*; now rising again in the shape of *Levellers* and *Socinians*; but to fall again, in good time, by one or other of our learned clergy, going forth against them, in the spirit of order

order and orthodoxy, from the cool invigorating shade of private life *.

But let me not be misunderstood. When I say that great men should not be taken from their privacy, I speak of great men *indeed*. The Church is, no doubt, much benefited and adorned by a learned prelacy. The pastoral functions cannot well be discharged by any other. But a genius of the high order, here mentioned, is given by a gracious Providence, now and then, in a course of ages, *to correct*, as Dr. Middleton observed, *the sentiments and manners of mankind*.

Such a man as this, is lessened by elevation: he is, in himself, methinks, too great to be advanced.

But be this, as it may; it must be allowed that religion and learning suffered somewhat by his promotion, as it interrupted those designs which he had formed for the service of both, and would have executed, if his whole time had been at his command. He himself lamented this inconvenience of his public station; and, after all, was not able (such was the root his former habits of study had taken in him) to be so active in it as he wished.

* Soon after I had hazarded this prediction, I had the pleasure to see one half of it completely fulfilled. See Dr. Horsley's *Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of St. Alban's*, and his unanswerable *Letters*, in vindication of it.—This able Divine was deservedly advanced to the see of St. David's in 1788; and has since [1793] been translated to that of Rochester.

He

He performed the ordinary duties of his office with regularity ; but further than this he could not prevail with himself to go. And perhaps, on the whole, it was better that he did not ; as the leisure he thus procured to himself, was spent to more advantage in defending Religion, than it could have been in a vain endeavour to support that discipline, which the spirit of the times has utterly overthrown.

They who stood at a distance from him, and knew him only by the report of such as had no kindness for him, concluded, at least, that he would take an active part in the House of Lords. I have heard of a certain minister, who dreaded his promotion on this account, and thought he saw a second Atterbury in the new Bishop of Gloucester. But all such were egregiously mistaken. Alas, he had neither talents nor inclination for parliamentary intrigue or parliamentary eloquence. He had other instruments of fame and consideration in his hands, and was infinitely above the vanity of being caught

“ With the fine notion of a busy man,”
as one of our poets * well expresses it.

On the 30th of January, 1760, ten days after his consecration, he preached the customary sermon before the Lords. I mention this only, because his sermon, which of course was printed, is one of the best he ever wrote,

* Dryden.

and

and the best, without question, that ever was preached on that day. It could not be any other, since, besides his great abilities, as a writer, he possessed a perfect knowledge of our history, and of that period of it in particular. I have heard him say, there was scarce a pamphlet or memoir, published between 1640 and 1660, which he had not read. This predilection for the history of the rebellion, seems to have been occasioned by a circumstance just touched by me in the entrance of this discourse. I observed that his grandfather had been active in that scene. His grandmother, a woman of sense and spirit, lived to a great age, and would often (as I have heard him say) take a pleasure to relate to him, when a boy, such passages of those times as she remembered and was well acquainted with. This taste of those transactions, made interesting to him by the part which his family had taken in them, raised an eager curiosity in him, as he grew up, to know more of the subject. And thus, he not only acquired an early insight into that part of our history, but continued through life to be so fond of it, that he had thoughts, at one time, of writing the history of the civil wars; and would without doubt have done it with supreme ability, and, as the tenour of his sermon shews, with equal candour, if the studies of his own profession had left him at leisure to engage in so great a work.

Lord

Lord Clarendon was one of his favourite characters, as well as writers; he honoured the man, and admired his history of the Grand Rebellion in the highest degree. Yet there is a copy of that work, now extant and in the hands of his family, in which he has entered marginal notes containing so minute a censure of all that is blameable in it, that a stranger who had heard nothing of his predilection for Lord Clarendon, would be apt to think him an enemy to the noble person's writings and reputation. With such wonderful impartiality is the censure made *!

Another instance of his skill in the story of those times, and of his fairness in representing it, may be mentioned. When he was one summer in residence at Durham, he found Neal's history of the Puritans in their library, and for his amusement took it with him to his own house, and *scribbled enough upon the margins of the several volumes* (I use his own words in a letter to me), *to expose and confute the mistakes and misrepresentations of the writer.* By the favour of a friend, I have obtained a correct copy of those notes, and believe the reader will agree with me, that they deserve a place in this complete collection of his works †.

* Since I wrote this paragraph, the valuable copy, alluded to, of Lord Clarendon's history has been very obligingly put into my hands, to be preserved in Hartlebury Library.

† Vol. VI. p. 891.

To put things of a fort together, I will here mention another book, which he has rendered valuable by some manuscript animadversions. Writing to me from Weymouth, where Mr. Allen had a house, and where he generally passed some part of the year with his family, he tells me how his hours of leisure were employed at that place. The letter is dated Sept. 3, 1758. “If you were
 “here, you would see how I have scribbled over the
 “margins of Tindal’s *Christianity as Old as the Creation*.
 “I think I have him as sure as I had Collins. That is, I
 “overturn the *pillars* of this famous edifice of impiety :
 “which all the writers against him hitherto have left
 “standing : busying themselves only to untile his roof.
 “This is my present amusement for a fortnight at Wey-
 “mouth *.”

The Bishoprick of Gloucester was the more agreeable to him (as the Deanery of Bristol had been for the same reason) on account of its situation, being in the neighbourhood of Prior-Park. At so small a distance from his diocese, he could perform the duties of it without much trouble, or loss of time in journeys, which were always irksome to him. Yet some months in the summer he usually passed at Gloucester, and resided there altogether after Mrs. Allen’s death.

* This book is also in my possession, and will be found in the Library at Hartlebury.

Wherever he was, he chiefly employed himself in revising his printed works, with the view of making them as complete and useful as he could.

Among others, he spent some time on his *Sermons*; and in 1761 he reprinted one of them, which he took to be of importance, in a small size, that it might be more known, than it was likely to be in the larger volume. This was a well-considered and elaborate discourse on *the Lord's Supper*: a subject, which had been so embroiled by two eminent writers of opposite principles, that it became necessary to take it out of their hands, and to guard the publick from being bewildered and misled, either by a Popish or Socinian comment. In a moderate compass (for he never dealt in the verbiage of ordinary writers) he has refuted the system of either party, and explained his own notion of the sacrament (which was, also, that of the great Cudworth) in so clear a manner, that few men of sense and judgement will now question where the truth lies.

But the good Bishop was always meditating something for the benefit of religion. What is called Methodism, had now spread among the people. It was a new species of Puritanism, or rather the old one revived under a new name. This sect first appeared at Oxford, where two fellows of colleges, Mr. George Whitefield and Mr. John Wesley, were its chief promoters and supports. They were both of them, it may be, frank enthusiasts at setting out.

out. The former is said to have been a weak, the latter was unquestionably a shrewd, man.

Mr. Wesley had rambled through a part of Germany and North America, as well as Great Britain and Ireland, pretending every where to a sort of Apostolic mission : and, at a convenient distance of time from these peregrinations, his manner was to print journals of them, for the edification of his followers. The Bishop of Gloucester had watched his motions with care for some years ; and now thought he had gained such an insight into his views and character from his journals, which he constantly read, as to be able to give a fair and full account of him to the publick.

It seems to have been principally for this reason that he altered and enlarged what he had written on the influence of the Holy Spirit, in the second volume of his Sermons : or rather, he composed that discourse anew, and with many improvements moulded it into a regular treatise on the subject ; which he published in 1762, under the name of *The Doctrine of Grace : or, The Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit vindicated from the insults of Infidelity, and the abuses of Fanaticism*, in two small volumes, 12mo *.

He designed this work, as the title shews, for a vindication of that most important Christian doctrine from the

* See Vol. V. of this edition, p. 535, &c.

abuses of libertine as well as fanatical writers. The former he confuted with his usual energy and precision. The latter, as not being accessible on the side of reason, he attacked with ridicule, in holding up to view and exposing their leader and archetype, John Wesley, out of the materials, largely furnished to him in that adventurer's own journals. This discourse, like Pascal's Letters, and for the same reason, the singular merit of the composition, will be read, when the sect, that gave occasion to it, is forgotten; or rather the sect will find a sort of immortality in this discourse.

As to the grave and reasoning part of this work, that also, as I said, is written with great weight and authority. But I think I see a degree of labour, in the expression of some parts, which shews his pen had now lost something of its wonted freedom and facility, though it retained its force.

From this time, he seems to have planned no new work of difficulty and length, but to have confined himself very properly to the single purpose of giving the last finishing* to his former writings.

* The Bishop grew very exact and critical in giving the later editions of his works; so that he would review the same sheet several times, and, of course, gave the compositor no small trouble. Which made his learned printer, Mr. Bowyer, whom he much esteemed for his friendly qualities, as well as merit in his profession, say pleasantly to him on a certain occasion—'Those were fine times, when you never blotted a line, but allowed me to print your copy as fast as it came to hand, and without interruption.'

Ac-

Accordingly in 1765 he published a new edition of the *Second* Part of the D. L. in three volumes ; and, as it had now received his last hand, he presented it to his great friend, Lord Mansfield ; as he had done the *former* part, when finished to his mind, to Lord Hardwicke. But there was this difference in the character of the two Dedications. That to the Lord Chancellor, was respectful and ceremonious, being little more than a letter of thanks to his patron : this other to the Chief Justice, was sublime and pathetic, in short, the overflowing of an affectionate heart to a generous and much-esteemed friend.

The subject, too, of the latter is of that high importance which a great writer chuses, when he would consult his own and his friend's dignity, and transmit them both, with advantage, to succeeding times. It sets before him the state of religion in England for half a century past, and, with a confidential freedom, deduces the causes of that alarming neglect, into which it had fallen, and by which indeed the author had been induced to project this defence of it, and to put it into his Lordship's hands. The information is interesting ; and the manner in which it is conveyed, solemn and awful. It will be read hereafter with no small attention ; and the time will come, when this discourse will be reckoned among the chief honours of the noble person addressed.

This

This edition of 1765, besides many other improvements, with which it was enriched, is further distinguished by a remarkable discourse, printed at the close of the last volume, and entitled, *An appendix concerning the book of Job*; In this short piece (which is exquisitely written) he repels an attack made upon him by Dr. Lowth. The dispute was managed, on both sides, with too much heat; but, on the part of the Bishop, with that superiority of wit and argument, which, to say the truth, in all his controversial writings, he could not well help.

Dr. Lowth, afterwards Bishop of London, was a man of learning, and ingenuity, and of many virtues: but his friends did his character no service, by affecting to bring his merits, whatever they were, into competition with those of the Bishop of Gloucester. His reputation, as a writer, was raised chiefly on his Hebrew literature, as displayed in those two works—*his Latin Lectures on Hebrew poetry—and his English Version of the Prophet Isaiah*. The *former* is well and elegantly composed, but in a vein of criticism not above the common: The *latter*, I think, is chiefly valuable, as it shews how little is to be expected from Dr. Kennicott's work (which yet the learned Bishop pronounces to be *the greatest and most important, that has been undertaken and accomplished since the revival of letters* *), and from a new translation of the Bible, for public use.

* Prel. Diff. p. 62.

On the subject of his quarrel with the Bishop of Gloucester, I could say a great deal; for I was well acquainted with the grounds and the progress of it. But, besides that I purposely avoid entering into details of this sort, I know of no good end that is likely to be answered by exposing to public censure the weaknesses of such men.

In the next year, 1766, he gave a new and much-improved edition of *The Alliance*; meaning to leave these two great works, now wrought up to all the perfection he could bestow upon them, as legacies to the publick; or rather as monuments to posterity of his unwearied love of the Christian religion, and (for the sake of so dear an interest) of the Church of England.

With a third volume of Sermons, already alluded to, and printed in 1767, he closed his literary course: except that he made an effort towards publishing the IXth and last book of the Divine Legation; on a subject, he had much at heart; which he had long and diligently considered; and which now, for some years, he had been labouring to digest and explain in the best manner he could. But of this matter it will be expected that I give the reader a more particular account.

The argument of the D. L. properly so called, was completed in six books: but the plan of it required three more; in which the author proposed, as he tells us, “To
“ remove all conceivable objections against the conclusion,
“ and

“ and to throw in every collateral light upon the pre-
 “ mises *.”

But the argument itself was so ill received and so violently opposed by many of the clergy, that he grew disgusted at the treatment he met with, and could not be prevailed upon to finish his design in support of it. His letters are full of complaints on this head. In 1741, some time before he published the second volume, he says to one of his friends—“ I am still condemned to drudge
 “ in the mines of antiquity. I may well give it that flavish
 “ appellation, while I am so used by my masters, the
 “ clergy, for whose ease and profit I am working.” And writing to another in 1754, when the two first letters of the View were coming out, he observes with indignation—
 “ You will see there is a continued apology for the clergy :
 “ yet they will neither love me the more, nor forgive me
 “ the sooner, for all I can say in their behalf †.”

And so on a hundred other occasions. The truth is, his resentment at the established clergy for their long and fierce opposition to his favourite work, was the greatest weakness I ever observed in him. The number of books and pamphlets, that appeared against him for twenty years together, was, indeed, very great. But, the nature of his work considered, and his own freedom in dissenting from all others, as occasion offered, what less could be expected ?

* Vol. III. p. 504.

† MS Letters in my hands.

And

And when he had given two or three of his principal adversaries, as he did, a complete answer, he should not have suffered the clamour of the rest to divert him from the great design, he had projected. But his conduct in this instance was not that which might have been expected from his usual magnanimity. When I sometimes expostulated with him upon it, his answer was—"I surely
 " have reason to think myself very ill used. The enemies
 " of Revealed Religion and of the Church of England I
 " have treated as they deserved, and am neither surprized
 " nor hurt at their resentments against me. To their
 " censures or commendations I can be equally indifferent.
 " But that my brethren, the established clergy, the friends
 " of religion, and fellow-members of that society whose
 " cause I am pleading, that these should set themselves
 " against me with so much rancour, is what I cannot so
 " well bear. If indeed the published volumes of the D.L.
 " be so weak or so mischievous, as they suppose, I will not
 " add to the offence given them by adding any more."

One sees what was at the bottom of the good man's mind. He loved the Church of England and its ministers, and had shewn his zeal for them on all occasions. He was therefore hurt at not receiving that return of good-will from them, which his life and conscience told him, he might expect, and had deserved. Yet, as much as he felt the injury, and complained of it, he was never moved

by it (as many others, with less provocation, and of less irritability, have been) to retract his good opinion of them, or to alter his conduct towards them in any respect.

He only withheld the sequel of his capital work from them; and unhappily he persisted in this resolution till time had softened their passions, and, of course, his own. At length, the orthodoxy of his sentiments seemed gradually to be acknowledged; his own resentments proportionably abated; and, from the time he had given the corrected edition of his D. L. in 1765, he was in earnest about resuming so much at least of his long-neglected work, as he had meant to comprize in the last or IXth book. The VIIth and VIIIth (though the materials for them, too, were at hand) he had long since despaired of composing: but this last, being an attempt to give a *rationale* of Christianity, he anxiously wished, for the importance of the subject, to leave behind him complete.

But the time was now past. Not only the business of his station broke in upon his leisure: The infirmities of age came insensibly upon him. His faculties, hitherto so bright and vigorous, suffered some eclipse and diminution of their force, from his growing indispositions. “I read
“ still,” he would often say to me, “with the usual pleasure. But I compose with less ease, and with less spirit.” In a letter to me from Gloucester, Sept. 4, 1769, he writes in the following manner.

“ I have

“ I have received your kind letter of *advice* *.——You
 “ know, by experience, how difficult it is, when we have
 “ once got into a wicked habit of thinking, to leave it off.
 “ All I can promise is, if that will satisfy you, to *think to*
 “ *no purpose* : And this I know, by experience, I can do ;
 “ having done so for many a good day.

“ I think you have heard me say, that my delicious
 “ season is the autumn ; the season, which gives most life
 “ and vigour to my mental faculties. The light mists, or,
 “ as Milton calls them, the *fleams*, that rise from the fields
 “ in one of these mornings, give the same *relief* to the
 “ views, that the blue of the plumb (to take my ideas from
 “ the season) gives to the appetite. But I now enjoy little
 “ of this pleasure, compared to what I formerly had in an
 “ autumn-morning, when I used, with a book in my
 “ hand, to traverse the delightful lawns and hedge-rows
 “ round about the town of Newark, the *unthinking* place of
 “ my nativity.”

And again, July 11th, 1770—“ Hunter sent me his
 “ View of Lord Bolingbroke’s character. He is a good
 “ man ; but in this book, I think, he has shewn himself
 “ very absurd and indiscreet : absurd, in a florid declama-
 “ tion ; and indiscreet, as well as very injudicious, in the
 “ most extravagant encomium of Bolingbroke’s parts that

* Not to pursue his studies too closely.

“ ever was, even to say—*he reasoned with the pride of a*
 “ *superior spirit, and I had almost said with the faculties of*
 “ *an angel.*

“ This disposed me to look again into the reasoning of
 “ this *superior spirit*, this *angelic man*, as I have collected
 “ together the best he has, in my View of his Philosophy.
 “ I have done it justice. But this retrospect is accom-
 “ panied with a mortifying conviction, that the time is now
 “ past when I was able to write with that force. Expect to
 “ find in my future writings the marks of intellectual decay.
 “ But so much for that matter.”

In my answer to this letter from Thurcaston, July the
 23d, to sooth the mind of my friend under this unwelcome
 discovery, and to prevail upon him, if I could, to relax
 those efforts in composition, which, not being so easy to
 him as they had been, might affect his health and spirits,
 I wrote as follows—“ As to what you say of your not
 “ writing with the *force*, you formerly did, it may very
 “ well be, and yet be no subject of mortification. For,
 “ besides that you can afford to abate something of your
 “ antient force and yet have enough left, *force* itself has
 “ not, in all periods of life, the same grace. The close of
 “ one of these long and bright days has not the flame and
 “ heat of noon, and would be less pleasing if it had. And
 “ I know not why it may not be true, in the *critical* as well.
 “ as moral sense of the poet’s words,

“ *Lenior et melior fit accedente senectâ.*”

“ But

“ But what I would chiefly say, on the subject, is this,
 “ That, whether with force, or without it, I would only
 “ wish your future writings to be an amusement to you,
 “ and not a labour; and this I think is the proper use to
 “ be made of your observation, if it be ever so well
 “ founded.”

In short, I continued to express myself in this way to him and his family with so little reserve, that he saw my intention was to draw him off, by degrees, from writing at all; which he takes notice of in a letter of the next year, June 2, 1771, though with some little chagrin, as was but too natural, at this plain dealing.

“ I never believed I should feel so tenderly for —— as
 “ I now do. A suffering friend's good qualities, in such a
 “ condition, separate themselves, and rise superior to his
 “ failings, which we are insensibly disposed to forget. If this
 “ be the case of common acquaintance, in certain seasons,
 “ what must be our constant sentiments of a real friend, at
 “ all seasons; who loses no occasion of expressing every
 “ mode of tenderness towards those he loves! I fell into
 “ this train of thinking by what my wife told me, with
 “ much pleasure, a little before I left London. She said
 “ that Dr. Hurd assured her, that I would write no more. I
 “ received this news, which gave her so much satisfaction,
 “ with an approving smile. I was charmed with the ten-
 “ derness of friendship which conveyed, in so inoffensive a
 “ manner,

“ manner, that fatal secret which Gil Blas was incapable
 “ of doing, as he ought, to his patron the Archbishop of
 “ Granada.”

I insert these extracts, chiefly in reference to the IXth book of the D. L., which twenty years before would have been finished in a few weeks, and with that flame of genius which irradiates the former books, but which now lay under his hands many years, was written by snatches and with difficulty, and left incomplete by him at last*. An unwelcome part this of the little history I am writing! yet not unuseful, if it may admonish superior writers to place a just confidence in themselves, and little ones to treat them with something more respect. Cudworth and Warburton are memorable and instructive instances, to either purpose.

The misfortune, in the case of the latter, was, that although he had digested in his own mind, long ago, the substance of the IXth book, and was perpetually meditating upon it, yet he had committed very little of it to paper; his way being to put down in writing only short notes of what he intended to enlarge upon, and to work them up

* Yet it may be concluded from the subject, which is a general view of God's moral dispensations from Adam to Christ [See Vol. III. p. 505 and 612], that very little is wanting to complete the author's design; only, what he had proposed to say on the apocalyptic prophecies, and which may be supplied from the discourse on Antichrist.

only when he was preparing to send his copy to the press. This, in his best days, was so easy to him, that, in printing some of his elaborate works, he had not in his hands two sheets together, but sent the copy to his printer as fast as it was composed.

I know indeed that many persons, from the compass and variety of his learning, imagined that he drew the materials of it from a voluminous common-place. The fact was just otherwise. His memory was so tenacious, that he trusted every thing to it: or, if he may be said to have kept a common-place, it was nothing more than a small interleaved pocket-almanack, of about three inches square; in which he inserted now and then a reference to a curious fact or passage, that he met with in his reading, but chiefly short hints of sentiments and reflections, which occasionally struck him, and might some time or other be put to use. At the end of every year, he tore out of his almanack such leaves as contained any of those reflections, and put them together under general heads, that he might recur to them, on occasion, the more readily. Of these papers, or rather collections of papers, I have many in my hands, relative to the subjects of the three last books of the D. L.; and from these the IXth book, such as he left it, was composed.

Another inconvenience, attending the late composition of this book, was, That he had occasionally delivered, in
his

His sermons, and other printed works, some of the leading principles contained in it. Thus, he had, in effect, anticipated a good part of his subject. Nor was this all. Finding the labour of composing troublesome to him, he quoted from himself very freely; and such passages, as had found a place elsewhere, when the purpose of completing the last book was suspended or laid aside, were now inserted in it, without much alteration, in order to carry on the thread and order of his discourse.

From both these causes therefore (his not having reduced to form the materials he had provided for the IXth book, and his having already worked up some part of them) it is easy to see the disadvantage with which he came, in the close of his long life, to the composition of this work. His memory and invention were not what they had been; his facility and variety of expression was not the same; and, what was worst of all, the grace of novelty in the subject was in some measure gone off.

It was therefore matter of deliberation with me, for some time, whether I should insert the IXth book (though printed, so far as it goes, by himself) entire and in its own form, or only some fragments of it. But, on further consideration, I judged it right to give that work exactly as the author left it: especially, as the subject is highly interesting, and even new, unless where anticipated by himself; the method, clear and exact; and the whole
cast

cast of composition, masterly ; his reasonings being carried on, if not with the splendid ease and perspicuity of his best manner, yet with a force and spirit, both in the sentiment and expression, which may well excite our admiration, when the circumstances, under which he wrote, are considered.

In a word, this IXth book of the D. L. under all the disadvantages with which it appears, is the noblest effort that has hitherto been made to give a *Rationale* of Christianity. How far it may satisfy those who have so long and so loudly called for it, will be now seen : without doubt, no farther, than as it may agree (if, in any respects, it should agree) with *their* reason. In the meantime, the investigation is made with the best design :

“ To justify the ways of God to man ; ”

and, let me add, in a way that entitles it to another sort of regard, than is due to theories, constructed, as they usually are, on fanciful suppositions, and arbitrary assumptions : Since every thing, here, is advanced on the sure grounds of natural and revealed religion : the one, estimated by the purest reason ; the other, interpreted with an awful reverence of the written word, and according to the rules of the soundest and soberest criticism.

While the good Bishop was thus exerting his last strength in the cause of religion, he projected a method by which he hoped to render it effectual service after his death. This

was by the institution of a Lecture on PROPHECY ; a subject, which he conceived had not been considered with the care it ought ; and from a thorough discussion of which, he assured himself, much additional force would arise to the proof of the Christian religion. He had himself opened a way to the successful investigation of the general subject, in some principles delivered in the D. L., and in his confutation of Collins's book by means of those principles. But some particular prophecies had struck his attention, as furnishing the most decisive argument for the truth of Christianity. In the preface to his remarks, part II. printed so long ago as 1745, he says—"I have ever
 " thought, the prophecies relating to Antichrist, inter-
 " spered up and down the New and Old Testament, the
 " most convincing proof of the truth of the Christian re-
 " ligion, that any moral matter is capable of receiving."
 And again—"This question (namely, what individual
 " power is meant in the prophecies) is one, on the right
 " determination of which alone, I am fully persuaded, one
 " might rest the whole truth of the Christian religion*."

Under this persuasion then in 1768 he gave £. 500. in trust to Lord Mansfield, Sir Eardley Wilmot, and Mr. Charles Yorke, for the purpose of founding a Lecture at Lincoln's Inn, in the form of a sermon, 'To prove the truth of revealed religion in general, and of the Christian in particular, from the completion of the prophecies in the Old

* See Vol. VI. p. 383.

and

and New Testament, which relate to the Christian Church, especially to the apostacy of Papal Rome.'

The subject is infinitely curious, and of vast extent : for those who have taken it to be too much narrowed by specifying the prophecies concerning Antichrist, seem not to have understood the compass of the controversy, nor the terms of the institution itself. The truth is, there is more danger that Lecturers will be wanting to the institution, than that it will not afford matter and scope enough for their discussion. He was anxious to leave this important trust in the best hands. And while it continues in such as have had the management of it, there is no doubt that the best supply, which the age furnishes, will be provided for this lecture. And, if I had not myself preached the first course of these sermons, I should add that, hitherto, their choice of lecturers has afforded no signal cause of complaint.

It was afterwards in the Bishop's contemplation to double the original endowment. But he was diverted from this design (though with some difficulty) by those who represented to him, that the sum given was sufficient to answer his purpose of engaging men of ability to read his lecture if they were influenced by such motives as became them, a regard for their own honour and a zeal for the service of religion ; and that more could answer no good purpose, nay might easily be abused to bad ones, if they were not.

The last years of the Bishop's life were clouded with misfortune, as well as indisposition. He had for some time been so sensible of his declining health, that he read little, and wrote less. But, in the course of the year 1776, the loss of a favourite son and only child *, who died of a

* He had been placed, much to his father's satisfaction, under the care of Dr. Halifax; then an eminent tutor of Trinity Hall at Cambridge, and the king's professor of law in that university; who in 1782 was advanced to the see of Gloucester, and translated in 1789 to that of St. Asaph. He died March 4, 1790.—His distinguished worth and ability deservedly raised him to the high rank he held in the church.—But his character is given more at large in the following elegant inscription, composed by his father-in-law, the Reverend Dr. William Cooke, dean of Ely, and provost of King's College, Cambridge, and engraved on his monument in the church of Warfop in Nottinghamshire; of which church the bishop was rector, and in which, for the reason assigned in the two first lines of the inscription, he was buried.

“ Hic juxta filiolum dulcissimum acerbo olim fato
Præreptum paternas exuvias deponi voluit vir
reverendissimus Samuel Halifax LL. D. & S. T. P.
Ex hac vicinia oriundus primisque literis imbutus in
academiâ protenus Cantabrigiensi floruit juris civilis
prælector publicus & professor regius in curiâ prærogativâ
Cantuariensi facultatum registrarius in hac ecclesiâ
rector in ecclesiâ cathedrali Glocestriensi primò deinde
Asaphensi episcopus quæ per omnia officia ingenio clarum
& eruditione & industriâ singulari summa in ecclesiam
Anglicanam fide concionum vi ac suavitate flexanima
Scriptorum nitore & elegantia vita insuper id quod primarium sibi semper
habuit inculpabili
Natus est apud Mansfield Jan 18. 1733, calculo oppressus properata
morte obiit Martii 4, 1790, ætatis æheu 57. Catharina conjux cum filio
unico & sex filiabus superstitibus relicta in aliquod desiderii sui solamen
interens P.”

consumption in his 18th year, when every hope was springing up in the breast of a fond parent, to make amends, as it were, for his want of actual enjoyment—this sudden affliction, I say, oppressed him to that degree, as to put an end to his literary labours, and even amusements, at once. From that disastrous moment, he lived on indeed for two or three years; but, when he had settled his affairs, as was proper, upon this great change in his family, he took no concern in the ordinary occurrences of life, and grew so indifferent to every thing, that even his books and writings seemed, thenceforth, to be utterly disregarded by him. Not that his memory and faculties, though very much impaired, were ever wholly disabled. I saw him so late as October, 1778, when I went into his diocese to confirm for him. On our first meeting, before his family, he expressed his concern that I should take that journey, and put myself to so much trouble, on his account. And afterwards, he took occasion to say some pertinent and obliging things, which shewed, not only his usual friendliness of temper, but the command he had of his attention. Nor was this all. The evening, before I left him, he desired the family to withdraw, and then entered into a confidential discourse with me on some private affairs which he had much at heart, with as much pertinence and good sense, as he could have done in any former part of his life. Such was the power he had over
his

his mind, when roused to exert himself by some interesting occasion ! But this was an effort, which could not be sustained very long. In less than half an hour, the family returned, and he relapsed into his usual forgetfulness and inattention.

In this melancholy state he languished till the summer following, when he expired at the Palace in Gloucester, on the 7th of June, 1779, and was buried in his cathedral, at no great distance from the West door, and near to the grave of one of his predecessor's, Bishop Benson.

A neat mural monument has been put up there to his memory, with the following inscription :

“ TO THE MEMORY
 OF WILLIAM WARBURTON, D. D.
 FOR MORE THAN 19 YEARS BISHOP OF THIS SEE :
 A PRELATE
 OF THE MOST SUBLIME GENIUS, AND EXQUISITE LEARNING :
 BOTH WHICH TALENTS
 HE EMPLOYED, THROUGH A LONG LIFE,
 IN THE SUPPORT
 OF WHAT HE FIRMLY BELIEVED,
 THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION,
 AND
 OF WHAT HE ESTEEMED THE BEST ESTABLISHMENT OF IT,
 THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.”

IV.

It only remains for me to draw together the several parts of the Bishop's character, and to present them to the reader in one view; which I shall now attempt, with the affection of a friend, no doubt, yet on the whole, with as much severity as I ought. For I remember the wise and humane reflexion of the great biographer, who in his life of Cimon expresseth himself to this purpose: "When a
 " painter undertakes to give us the portrait of a beautiful
 " person, if there be any smaller blemishes in his subject,
 " we do not expect him to omit them altogether; for then
 " the picture would be unlike: nor to express them with
 " too much care; for then it becomes disgusting.

" In like manner, it being difficult, or rather impossible,
 " to find a faultless character, the writer of a great man's
 " life will lay himself out in delineating his good qualities,
 " and not dwell with pleasure, or an anxious diligence, on
 " his foibles; out of a respectful tenderness to human na-
 " ture, which unhappily is not capable of attaining abso-
 " lute perfection *."

And with this little apology for myself, I proceed to give the outline of my friend's character.

* Plutarch. Cimon. sub init.

HE possessed those virtues, which are so important in society, Truth, Probity, and Honour, in the highest degree ; with a frankness of temper, very uncommon ; and a friendliness to those he loved and esteemed, which knew no bounds : not suspicious or captious, in the least ; quick, indeed, in his resentment of real manifest injuries ; but then again (as is natural to such tempers) of the utmost placability.

He had an ardent love of Virtue, and the most sincere zeal for Religion ; and that, the freest from all bigotry and all fanaticism, that I have ever known. He venerated the civil constitution of his country, and was warmly attached to the Church of England. Yet he was no party-man, and was the sincerest advocate for toleration. It was not his manner to court the good opinion of our Dissenters. But he had nothing of prejudice or ill-will towards them : he conversed familiarly with such of them as came in his way ; and had even a friendship with some of their more noted ministers * ; who did not then glory in Socinian impieties, or indulge themselves in rancorous invectives against the Established Church.

I know, indeed, that he spoke his sense of men and things, occasionally, with force, which in the language of some persons will be termed bigotry. And the truth is,

* See a *Collection of Letters to and from Dr. Doddridge of Northampton* ; published by T. Stedman, M. A. vicar of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, 1790.

he never indulged his candour so far as to treat all opinions and all characters alike. On the contrary, he held profane and licentious writers to be fit objects of public reproof: and though civil penalties should not be applied to the coercion of mistaken, or even, to a certain degree, of hurtful opinions, yet literary chastisement, he thought, should; an equal acceptance of *all* being the ready way to introduce Scepticism, under the specious name of Liberality, or rather irreligion itself, under the mask of charity. And if this zeal may be abused, as without doubt every thing may, at most, he had only to answer for that abuse: The use itself being surely unquestionable, if there be truth or meaning in the Apostle's aphorism, "That it is always good to be zealously affected in a good matter." But the reader, if he thinks fit, may see his own vindication of himself in the Apology for his *View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy*.

Indeed his conduct had been always uniform, in this respect. Even in the year 1738, when the first volume of the D. L. was published, he makes a full and frank declaration of his character. For, in his Dedication to the Free-Thinkers, speaking of the advantage he should have, in that address, of not being called upon to disgrace himself, or them, by a style of adulation, he goes on thus—
 "Not but I must own you have been managed, even by
 "some of our order, with very singular complaisance.

Q

"Whether

“ Whether it was that they affected the fame of moderation,
 “ or had a higher ambition for the honour of your good
 “ word, I know not ; but I, who neither love your cause,
 “ nor fear the abilities that support it, while I preserve
 “ for your persons that justice and charity which my pro-
 “ fession teaches to be due to all, can never be brought to
 “ think otherwise of your character, than as the despisers
 “ of the Master, whom I serve, and as the implacable
 “ enemies of that order, to which I have the honour to
 “ belong. And as such, I should be tempted to glory in
 “ your censures ; but would certainly refuse your com-
 “ mendations.”

Such were his early, as well as late notions, of *candour*.
 They who affect to push them still farther, may do well
 to reflect, whether they be their own dupes, or the dupes
 of others : I mean, whether they have indeed any principle
 themselves ; or can be content to serve the views of those,
 whose interest it is, that men of principle *speak* and *act* , as
 if they had not any.

His love of letters was extreme, and his disposition to
 countenance all those in whom he perceived any kind or
 degree of literary merit, the most prompt and generous ;
 as appeared by his incessant recommendation of them to
 his great friends, when his own scanty patronage (as he
 would oft and vehemently complain) denied him the means
 of rendering them any service himself.

If

If we consider him as a WRITER, and a DIVINE, it is not easy to find terms that will do justice to his merit.

His reading was various and extensive; and his discernment exquisite. He saw and seized what was just and useful in every science which he cultivated, and in every book he read. The lumber and the refuse he shook off, and left to others. Perhaps, no learned writer ever dealt less in ordinary quotation. Even the more familiar passages, unless when cited by him as direct authorities, take an air and turn in his application of them, which makes them in a manner new. The same observation may be extended to his reasonings; which are either purely his own, or appear to be so, by his management of them. So that it seems a natural question which one* of his friends put to him, on the receipt of a volume of his sermons—*how do you manage always to say something new upon old subjects, and always in an original manner?*

To say all in a word, he possessed, in an eminent degree, those two qualities of a great writer, *SAPERE ET FARI*; I mean, superior sense, and the power of doing justice to it by a sound and manly eloquence. It was an ignorant cavil, that charged him with a want of taste. The objection arose from the originality of his manner; but he

* Mr. C. Yorke, in one of his letters, Feb. 2, 1767.

wrote, when he thought fit, with the greatest purity and even elegance, notwithstanding his strength and energy, which frequently exclude those qualities.

The character of his style, is freedom and force united. Nobody understood the philosophy of grammar better: yet in the *construction* of his terms he was not nice, rather he was somewhat negligent. But this negligence has no ill effect in works of reasoning, and of length; where the writer's mind is supposed intent on the matter, and where a certain degree of irregularity gives the appearance of ease and spirit.

In his use of the *terms* themselves, especially of what are called *mixt modes*, and in the nice adjustment of the *predicate* to the *subject* (in which the accuracy of style chiefly consists) he was of all writers the most scrupulously exact. It was by this secret in his expression (so far as it depended on art and design) that he is never stiff or languid in his style, but every where free and nervous. It never flattens upon you, not being over-laboured in the phrase, or too general in the terms. There is the appearance of freedom, with the utmost energy and precision.

For the rest, the higher excellences of his style were owing to the strength of his imagination, and a clear conception of his subject; in other words, to his sublime genius.

Thus his style was properly his own, and what we call, *original*. Yet he did not disdain to draw what assistance he

might from the best critics ; among whom, Quintilian was his favourite.

By this union of art and nature, he succeeded, of course, in all sorts of composition. But in one, especially, the **CONTROVERSIAL**, he was so much superior to himself, that barely to say he excelled in it, would be a poor and scanty praise.

From his first entrance on theological studies, he had applied himself with care to the reading of our best writers in controversy, such as Hooker, Chillingworth, and Locke ; of whom he was so fond, that he had their works bound up in small detached pieces, for the convenience of carrying them with him in his hand or pocket, when he travelled, or walked abroad by himself. Of these, I have several in my possession, which appear to have been much used. It is no wonder, he should have this taste ; for, besides that controversy was then in vogue, he disdained to oppose the enemies of religion in any other way, than that of logical confutation ; and *against those*, to use his own words in a letter to me, *he had denounced eternal war, like Hannibal against Rome, at the altar.*

Thus disciplined, he came with advantage to the use of his arms, when he found himself obliged, as he soon was, to take them up. Use and habit did the rest. So that he became consummate in this mode of writing, and at the same time original. For to the authority of Hooker,
the

the acuteness of Chillingworth, and the perspicuity of Locke, he added more than all their learning; together with a force of style, and poignancy of wit, of which we had hitherto seen no example in theological controversy.

With these talents and qualifications, he was the terror of the infidel world, while he lived, and will be their disgrace to future ages. His sublime reason, aided by his irresistible wit, drove them from their old fastnesses of logic and philosophy, and has forced them to take shelter in the thin cover of history and romance; whence we now see them shoot their arrows, dipt in irony and badinage; to the annoyance indeed of some witless passengers; but to the wary and well-appointed, who take a fancy to ramble into those paths, perfectly harmless and insignificant.

But, when I mentioned his making war on our free-thinking philosophers, let me be understood to mean, not the minute, and plebeian, but the more considerable, and, as one may say, *fixeable* men of that party; such as pretended to erudition; and reasoned at least, though weakly or perversely. For, as to those insect-blasphemers, of whatever condition, which the fashion, rather than the philosophy of the age has generated, and sent forth in swarms over a great part of modern Europe, he regarded them but as the summer flies, which teize a little by their murmurings (for stings, he would say, they have none) and are easily brushed away by any hand, or vanish of themselves.

Next

Next to infidels professed, there was no set of writers he treated with less ceremony, than the Socinian; in whom he saw an immoderate presumption, and suspected not a little ill faith. For, professing to believe the divine authority of the Scriptures, they take a licence in explaining them, which could hardly, he thought, consist with that belief. To these free interpreters of the word, he was ready to say, as St. Austin did to their precursors, the Manichæans—“ *Tell us plainly, that ye do not at all believe the Gospel of Christ: for ye who believe what ye will in the Gospel, and disbelieve what ye will, assuredly believe not the Gospel itself, but yourselves only* *.”

It is true, he himself would reason on revealed truths farther than to some may seem necessary; but he never reasoned *against* them. It was his principle, and his practice, to follow the Apostolic rule of *casting down all imaginations, that exalt themselves against the knowledge of God†*: which, when clearly revealed, he held it an extreme impiety in any Christian, not only to question directly, but to elude by any forced interpretation. In short, he regarded Socinianism (the idol of our self-admiring age) as a sort of infidelity in disguise, and as such he gave it no quarter.

* “ *Apertè dicite non vos credere Christi Evangelio: nam qui in Evangelio quod vultis creditis, quod vultis non creditis, vobis potius quam Evangelio creditis.*” *Contr. Faust.* L. 17. c. 3.

† 2 Cor. x. 5.

Other religionists he would confute, as occasion offered, with his usual vivacity : but he made allowance for their prejudices, and, when no malevolence intervened, treated their persons with respect. But enough, you say, of his controversial merits : let us hear something of his *defects*.

“ He was arrogant, and impatient of contradiction.”—It is true, he knew his own strength, and confided enough in it. But then, as that quality made him incapable of envying his opponents, it should have made him careless of being censured by them. Still, it must be owned, that he had the common infirmity of being better satisfied with such as adopted his opinions, than with those who rejected them. I say the *common* infirmity : for, I doubt, it adheres to our very nature, and that we shall in vain seek for a man dispassionate enough to be indifferent to contradiction ; especially, when direct, and public ; and urged, too, with some degree of eagerness, or rather sharpness, which is scarcely separable from controversy.

“ But he was *violent* in his resentments, and excessively severe in his expression of them.”—As to this charge, hear, first, his own apology for himself.—“ The paper I send you *, is the introductory note to ——. I need not explain it to you. You will understand every word. What I want to know is whether some parts of it be not too severe. Whatever there is of this kind, I shall

* In a Letter to me, Jan. 18, 1757.

“ gladly

“ gladly strike out. For though I have had provocation
 “ enough, I can assure you, I have no resentments. I
 “ perhaps may not be thought the best judge of my own
 “ temper in this matter, and reasonably. But why I say
 “ I have so little resentment, I collect from hence, that
 “ there is not one word in this volume against them [his
 “ adversaries], which I could not with the greatest in-
 “ difference strike out, either with reason or without. I
 “ do not expect the world should do me this justice, because
 “ they are to judge by appearances; and appearances are
 “ against me; for there are caustic strokes enough against
 “ the ignorance and ill faith of my adversaries. But, if
 “ this be resentment, it is the resentment I should shew in
 “ the case of any other honest man.”

His resentment then was impartial: and that it was so
 he shewed in his vindication of Mr. Pope, and in other
 instances. But I take upon me to go farther, and to assert,
 that the severity objected to him, was the effect of his
 genius, and of no vindictive spirit. For the difference
 between him, and ordinary writers, who seem to be at their
 ease in disputing, whether on religion or any other sub-
 ject, is merely this—He felt strongly and wrote forcibly:
 They are incapable of doing either. This is the simple
 truth, if it may be told; and hence it is, that the same
 complaint has been made of every great genius in contro-
 versy, from Jerom down to our author.

R

Not

Not but another consideration may be worth attending to. The end of controversy is either to convince the person you dispute with, or simply to confute his opinions. When the *former* is the object, without doubt the softest words are the best. But, the *other* is best done by vigorous expression ; because it shews the disputant to be in earnest, and sets the error, contended against, in the strongest light ; the likeliest means, to prevent others from being infected with it : And such was the Bishop's view in most of the controversies, in which he engaged. The same observation may be extended to what has been called his *dogmatic manner* of writing ; which is only the firm tone of one who believes what he says, and is indeed very different from the careless unconcerned air of the Sceptick.

But, lastly, I must observe, that the charges of *impatience*, and *severity*, in the sense intended by those that urge them, are not true. When no unfriendliness appeared in those who differed from him, he heard their reasons as patiently, confuted them as calmly, or gave way to them as readily, as other men. Which I may the rather affirm, having had the experience of it on many occasions. Our sentiments, no doubt, agreed in the main : there could not, otherwise, have been so entire a friendship between us, as there was. But I never took greater liberties with any man, than with him, nor with less offence ; and that, in matters of no small delicacy ;

as the reader will see from the following example, among many others which I could easily give him.

Voltaire had spent a great part of his miserable life in railing against the Jewish law and its Divine Author. His complete ignorance of the subject disposed men of learning, very generally, to treat his censures with neglect. But the Bishop of Gloucester, observing the impression they made on a licentious publick, thought it might be of use to shew this fashionable blasphemer in his true light; to strip his sophistical reasonings of the little plausibility they had; and, for the rest, to turn his favourite weapon of ridicule against him.

With this view, he had been at the pains to plan a work of some length, in *three Dissertations*, which would take in the whole of that subject, and give him occasion to expose, with much force, Voltaire's libertine glosses upon it. When he had sketched out the contents of this discourse, he sent it to me, and desired to know what I thought of it, and whether he should proceed in the design, or no. I told him very frankly, "That, although I thought his plan an excellent one, and could trust him with the execution of it, yet, upon the whole, I wished him to prosecute his design no farther. I said, there was no end of confuting every shallow, though fashionable scribbler against religion; that he had done enough already in exposing so many others of that family, and, very lately,

the noble writer that was at the head of it in England, to the just scorn of thinking men; that to go on in this agonistic course, was not only needless, but would bring a storm of envy upon him from all quarters, and that even his friends would, many of them, consider him as too fond of controversy, and as indulging himself too freely in the talent he had for it.—I added other considerations, and particularly this, That I thought it beneath him to commit himself with a person so little acquainted, as Voltaire confessedly was, with the matter in question; and that for *him* to answer such a writer in form, would be like *breaking a butterfly upon a wheel*, according to his friend Pope's ingenious illustration of such achievements.

In conclusion, I pressed him earnestly to leave this man of merriment to his own serious reflections, if he ever had any; and to reserve his force for some better occasion, than that of repelling the flight cavils of ignorant and ill-informed men."

This free remonstrance was not ill taken. He answered me without hesitation, and in one word—"In the matter of Voltaire, your advice will have its usual weight with me."—The plan was accordingly laid aside, and forgotten.

After such an example of facility in taking advice, the Bishop of Gloucester will not be thought that impracticable man, he has been sometimes represented to be. Many
perhaps

perhaps will think, with more reason, that his easiness went too far in this instance; for that his *Three Dissertations* on the Jewish law and history would have been highly entertaining, at least; and perhaps as useful in representing the petulance of the French poet, as the *Four Letters* had been in dismounting the arrogance of the English philosopher. And upon these grounds, I might indeed have repented me of the free advice I gave him, but for the pleasure I have since had in seeing the same design undertaken, and executed with great elegance and ability, by another hand *.

But perhaps I have misemployed my pains in setting the controversial character of my friend in a just light. There are those, I know, who will regard this praise, whatever it be, as injurious to the learned prelate, rather than honourable to him; who will be ready to tell us that controversial janglings are out of date; that they never did any good, and are now at length fallen into general and just contempt.

To these wise men I should have much to say, if I could find means to do it without disgracing myself, and disgusting them, by an air of controversy. And would to God that religious controversy were now of no use in this manly age of the world! I should then be for laying it aside with other childish things. But is this the fact? and when all

* See *Lettres de quelques Juifs, &c.* in 3 tom. 12mo. Par. 1776.

quarters,

quarters, besides, resound with controversy, is there no demand for it in the schools of religion? After all, the reader sees what is aimed at by this affected contempt of theological altercation. A hint, in passing, is more than enough on a subject, which the Bishop himself has treated at some length, and with his usual force *.

I apprehend therefore no discredit to my friend or myself, in having dwelt so long on the virtues of the *Controversial writer*. They were eminently conspicuous in him; and exerted for a just purpose, that of confuting error, and repressing calumny. Not that I am concerned to deny all mixture of frailty in my friend's exercise of his polemic talents. It will be found in our best performance of the best things. And it is credible enough, that the abundance of his wit, the vivacity of his temperament, and the petulance of his adversaries, may have sharpened his style too much in some instances. Yet, on the whole, he might apologize for himself, as Erasmus has done in a fine letter to his friend Sadollet—" *Some of my opponents*, says he, "*because they deserved no better of me, I have EXPOSED,*" "*perhaps, rather than confuted: yet with more temper, as I*" "*think, myself, than they attacked me. Although I am sen-*" "*sible, that passion may have biased my judgement. For I*" "*must confess that I am easily warmed by ill usage; but so,*

* See Volume IV. p. 707.

*“ as not to retain the resentment of it long, and to forget
“ injuries as soon as any man *.”*

As a DIVINE, properly so called, he filled and adorned that character with the highest ability.

Strength of reason, exquisite learning, a critical knowledge of antiquity, an enlarged view of the scheme of Revelation, a wonderful sagacity in discovering the sense of Scripture, and in opening the probable grounds of its clearly revealed doctrines, with the profoundest submission of his understanding to them, whether those grounds of reason were apparent to him or not—These rare and admirable qualifications shone out in him with greater lustre, than in any other ornament of our church, Stillingfleet, and Barrow, and Taylor himself not excepted. To which I must add that first and noblest quality, of all, A perfect honesty of mind, and sincere love of truth, which governed his pen in all his religious inquiries †.

After

* “ Quosdam, quia sic merebantur, irrisi veriùs quàm confutavi,
“ nusquam non temperatior his à quibus laceſſebar, ut mea quidem ser-
“ opinio; nam fieri et potest et solet, ut meo iudicio imponat affectus;
“ atque is sum fateor, qui possem laceſſitus incandescere, sed nec iræ per-
“ tinacis, et injuriarum obliviosus, ut si quis alius.” Ep. MXCIV. Ed.
Cler. L. B. 1703.

† Considering him in this view, I mean as a CONSUMMATE DIVINE, one cannot but lament the fate of a work he had projected, but never

After mentioning to me, in one of his letters*, some interesting meditations, he was then engaged in, he stops short,

executed, at least in the manner intended by him, *On theological studies, for the use of young people*: a plan of which he had digested in his own mind, and communicated to me, by letter, so early as the year 1750.

The principal heads were,

1. The right state and disposition of mind to make proper improvements—in this were to be considered the natures of scepticism, dogmaticalness, enthusiasm, superstition, &c.
2. The previous studies of morality and natural religion from their first principles and foundations; and of antiquity, critical, historical, and philosophical.
3. The study of the Scriptures.
4. Fathers and modern Divines.
5. Ecclesiastical history.
6. Sermonizing, or the art of preaching.

This work he reserved for the amusement of his declining years. But, as what is deferred so long, is rarely executed at all, and never so well as at an earlier season, so this noble design, which required the exertion of his best faculties in their full vigour, was not wholly neglected

* Jan. 12, 1757.

short, and asks—"But what is man ! A fit of the spleen,
 " a fit of illness, and lastly death, may wipe out all these
 " glorious visions, with which my brain at present is painted
 " over : as LAW said, it once was with hieroglyphics. But
 " I hope the best ; because I only aim at the honour of
 " God and good of men. When I say this I need not per-
 " haps add (as I do with the utmost seriousness) *that I*
 " *shall never wittingly advance one falsehood, nor conceal or*
 " *disguise one truth.*"

So that those, if any such there were, who thought he wrote for a party, with the views of interest, for the sake

glected indeed, but slightly attempted by him, a few years before his death : as I find from a brief sketch of it among his papers, which appears to have been drawn up hastily for the use of a friend, and was afterwards made to serve by way of charge to his clergy.

Such as it is, I have judged it worth preserving. The reader will be pleased to see the thoughts of so great a man on this subject ; and will, without doubt, make the proper allowances for their being laid before him in this imperfect state ; without the detail, which was intended, and without those embellishments of style and composition, which, in his best time, he could so easily have bestowed upon them.

This discourse, under the name of *Directions for the Study of Theology*, will be found in volume V. page 601. of his Works.

of reputation, or, in short, from any other cause than conviction, and the purest zeal for the advancement of truth, knew nothing of his character, and did him great wrong.

But to take him out of his study, and to consider him in the common walks of life.

He was of a chearful temper ; yet subject, at times, to fits of absence, and, if we may believe himself, even of melancholy. For so he paints his own complexional habit in two remarkable letters, addressed to a friend, and lately made public *.

In one of these, dated Feb. 14, 1742-3, he writes thus :
 —“ We have all something to make us think less compla-
 “ cently of the world. Religion will do great things. It
 “ will always make the bitter waters of Marah wholesome
 “ and palatable. But we must not think it will usually
 “ turn water to wine, because it once did so. Nor is it fit
 “ it should, unless this were our place of rest, where we
 “ were to expect the Bridegroom. I do the best I can, and
 “ should, I think, do the same, if I were a mere Pagan,
 “ to make life passable. To be always lamenting the
 “ miseries, or always seeking after the pleasures of it,
 “ equally takes us off from the work of our salvation. And
 “ though I be extremely cautious what sect I follow in
 “ religion, yet any in philosophy will serve my turn, and

* In the Collection before mentioned, p. 77.

“ honest

“ honest Sancho Panca’s is as good as any ; who on his
 “ return from an important commission, when asked by
 “ his master, whether they should mark the day with a
 “ *black* or a *white* stone ; replied, ‘ Faith, Sir, if you will
 “ be ruled by me, with neither, but with good *brown*
 “ *ochre*.’ What this philosopher thought of his commis-
 “ sion, I think of human life in general, *good brown ochre*
 “ is the complexion of it.”

The other letter, I hinted at, is dated Feb. 2, 1740,
 and is of a still darker cast. For, speaking of what had
 made him delay so long the second volume of his D. L.,
 he proceeds in the following manner—“ I would not have
 “ you think that natural indolence alone makes me thus
 “ play the fool. Distractions of various kinds, inseparable
 “ from human life, joined with a *naturally melancholy habit*,
 “ contribute greatly to increase my indolence, and force
 “ me often to seek in letters, nothing but mere amuse-
 “ ment. This makes my reading wild and desultory : and
 “ I seek refuge from the uneasiness of thought from any
 “ book, let it be what it will, that can engage my atten-
 “ tion. There is no one whose good opinion I more
 “ value than yours. And the marks you give me of it
 “ make me so vain, that I was resolved to humble myself
 “ in making you this confession. By my manner of wri-
 “ ting upon subjects, you would naturally imagine they
 “ afford me pleasure, and attach me thoroughly. I will

“ assure you, No. I have amused myself much in human
 “ learning, to wear away *the tedious hours inseparable from*
 “ *a melancholy habit*. But no earthly thing gives me
 “ pleasure, but the ties of natural relation, and the friend-
 “ ship of good men. And for all views of happiness, I
 “ have no notion of such a thing, but in the prospects
 “ which revealed religion affords us.”

These letters appear to have been written, the latter of them especially, in a splenetic moment. But what is said of a *melancholy habit* means no more (for there was no gloom of melancholy in the tenour of his life or conversation) than that, being of an inventive turn, or, in the language of his friend Bishop Hare, having an *ingenious working head**, the driving of his thoughts sometimes wore his mind too much, and forced him to relieve it by changing the object of his attention. Hence the *desultory reading*; which, however, stored his memory with images of all sorts, and, as I before observed†, while it repaired the vigour of his mind, threw a richness and variety of colouring over all his writings.

But to go on with what I proposed to say of his companionable qualities.

In mixed companies he was extremely entertaining; but less guarded than men of the world usually are; and disposed to take to himself a somewhat larger share of the

* P. 16.

† P. 12, 13.

conversation, than very exact breeding is thought to allow. Yet few, I believe, wished him to be more reserved, or less communicative, than he was. So abundant was the information, or entertainment, which his ready wit and extensive knowledge afforded them! In private with his friends, he was natural, easy, unpretending; at once the most agreeable and most useful companion in the world. You saw to the very bottom of his mind on any subject of discourse; and his various literature, penetrating judgement, and quick recollection, made him say the liveliest, or the justest things upon it. In short, I was in those moments affected by his conversation, pretty much as Cato was by that of Maximus Fabius, and may say, as he does in the dialogue on *Old Age*—“*I was so fond of his discourse, and listened to it so eagerly, as if I had foreseen, what indeed came to pass, that when I lost him, I should never again meet with so instructive a companion* *.”

I spoke of his *private friendships*. They were with men of learning and genius; chiefly, with clergymen of the Established Church; and those, the most considerable of the time. It would be invidious to give a list of these. I shall only mention, by way of specimen, the learned Archdeacons of Stow and Winchester.

* “*Ejus sermone ità tum cupidè fruebar, quasi jam divinarem id, quod evenit, illo extincto, fore, undè discerem, neminem.*” *Cic. de Senectute*, C. IV.

The former of these, Mr. Towne, was of his early acquaintance, when he lived in Lincolnshire, and much respected by him to his death. He was an ingenious and learned man, and so conversant in the Bishop's writings, that he used to say of him, "He understood them better than himself." He published some defences of the Divine Legation, in which, with a glow of zeal for his friend, he shewed much logical precision and acuteness *.

The latter, Dr. Balguy, was a person of extraordinary parts, and extensive learning; indeed of universal knowledge; and, what is so precious in a man of letters, of the most exact judgement: as appears from some valuable discourses †, which, having been written occasionally on important subjects, and pub-

* The following is, I believe, an exact list of them:

1. Critical Inquiry into the Practice and Opinions of the antient Philosophers concerning the Soul, &c. Lond. 1748.
2. Exposition of the Orthodox System of Civil Rights, and Church Power; addressed to Dr. Stebbing.
3. Argument of the D. L. fairly stated. Lond. 1751.
4. Free and Candid Examination of Bishop Sherlock's Sermons, and Discourses on Prophecy. Lond. 1756.
5. Dissertation on the antient Mysteries. Lond. 1766.
6. Remarks on Dr. Lowth's Letter to Bishop Warburton. Lond. 1766.

† These discourses, with some others, were afterwards collected into one volume in 1785, and presented, with a handsome Dedication, to his Majesty.

lished

lished separately by him, had raised his reputation so high, that his Majesty, out of his singular love of merit, and without any other recommendation, was pleased in 1781 to make him the offer of the Bishoprick of Gloucester. Dr. Balguy had a just sense of this flattering distinction; but was unhappily prevented by an infirm state of health from accepting it.

With these, and such as these, the Bishop was happy to spend his leisure hours. A general conversation he never affected, or rather took much pains to avoid, as what he justly thought a waste of time in one of his temper, talents, and profession.

But to draw to an end of this long, and, as it may seem to those who knew little of him, too fond a character of my friend.

He had his foibles, no doubt; but such as we readily excuse, or overlook, in a great character. With more reserve in his writings and conversation, he had passed through the world with fewer enemies (though no prudence could have kept a genius, like his, from having many); and, with a temper less irritable, he would have secured a more perfect enjoyment of himself: But these were the imperfections of his nature, or rather the excrescences of his ruling virtues, an uncommon FRANKNESS OF MIND, and SENSIBILITY OF HEART. These qualities appear in all his writings, especially in his private letters;

in which a warm affection for his friends, and concern for their interests, is every where expressed. But his tenderness for his family, and, above all, his filial piety, strikes us with peculiar force.

In a letter to me from Durham, July 12, 1757, he writes thus—"I am now got (through much hot weather
 " and fatigue) to this place. I hurried from the heat of
 " London at a time, and under circumstances, when a
 " true Court Chaplain would never have forgiven himself
 " the folly of preferring the company of his friends and
 " relations, to attendance on the Minister. But every one
 " to his taste. I had the pleasure of finding you well at
 " Cambridge; I had the pleasure of finding a sister and a
 " niece well at Broughton, with whom I spent a few
 " days with much satisfaction. For, you must know, I
 " have a numerous family: perhaps, the more endeared to
 " me, by their sole dependance on me.

" It pleased Providence that two of my sisters should
 " marry unhappily: and that a third, on the point of ven-
 " turing, should escape the hazard, and so engage my
 " care only for herself.—I reckon this a lucky year: For
 " I have married a niece to a reputable grocer at York,
 " and have got a commission for a nephew in the regiment
 " of artillery. These are pleasures," &c.

What

What his filial piety was, will be seen from the following extracts.

“ I am extremely obliged to you” (says he to a confidential friend *) “ for your remembrance of my dearest, “ my incomparable mother, whom I do more than love, “ whom I adore. No mortal can ever merit more of me, “ than she has done.—Her decline of life possesses me with “ anxiety ; and I have no support for this but in the “ thoughts of that last meeting, which excludes all farther “ chance of separation. But I must break off. You have “ had long experience what pain it is to me to speak of “ subjects that affect me most.”

And, again, to the same person, on occasion of her death in 1748—“ You should have heard from me sooner, “ but that the afflictive news of my dear mother’s death, “ which met me at this place †, made me incapable of “ writing, or indeed of doing any thing but grieve for the “ loss of the most admirable woman that ever was. She “ was the last of her family ; and had in herself alone “ more virtues than are generally possessed by whole families throughout the whole course of their existence. “ My extreme sorrow for her death can only give place to “ my incessant meditation on her virtues and adoration of “ her memory. This is one of those losses that nothing

* Dr. Taylor. May 22, 1746.

† Prior Park.

“ can repair, and only time can alleviate. For I shall
 “ never enjoy that happiness as in the days when you and
 “ I were conversing together, while she was giving us our
 “ coffee. At present, I can think of nothing,” &c.

But I grow prolix again (for the reader's sake I will not say, *tedious*) while I indulge myself in extracting these tender passages from his letters.

To conclude at length, in one word.

How differently soever men might think of him in his life-time, all are, or will be, agreed in their opinions of him, now he is dead. For, as a Divine of his own size, and one after his own heart, said excellently well—“ When
 “ great prelates are living, their authority is depressed by
 “ their personal defaillances, and the contrary interests of
 “ their contemporaries; which disband, when they are
 “ dead, and leave their credit entire upon the reputation of
 “ those excellent books and monuments of learning and
 “ piety, which are left behind them *.”

What that *credit* of our great prelate is, this collection of his works will shew; and will, if I mistake not, deliver him down to posterity as the ablest Divine, the greatest Writer, and the first Genius of his age. They are faithfully printed from the last editions of the author, and

* Bishop Taylor, L. P. p. 210. 8vo. Lond. 1709.

those in many places corrected by his own hand. In one respect only, I have some apology to make to the reader. Several of his friends had observed to him (and he was, himself, convinced of it) that he had filled the margin of the *Alliance* and *Divine Legation* with too many notes; and had swelled those volumes too much by large extracts under the name of Postscripts, or Appendices, from his controversial tracts. The longer NOTES occupy the reader too much, and divert him from the main argument, which, as it lies in the text of the *Divine Legation* especially, is drawn out to a sufficient length: otherwise, they are infinitely curious and learned, and deserve to be read with great care. They are now, therefore, printed together at the end of each book, and referred to in the text. By this disposition, the reader's convenience is consulted, and the dignity of those capital works is preserved. As for such of the POSTSCRIPTS, as are extracted from his controversial works, these I ought, perhaps to have withdrawn: but, as hereafter they may have their use in separate editions of the *Alliance* and *Divine Legation*, I have permitted them to keep their place. I did this the rather, because these discourses are not merely repetitions, but have received many corrections and alterations from the author; while the controversial treatises, from which they are taken, were never retouched by him, but left in their original state.

Those CONTROVERSIAL PIECES themselves could by no means be suppressed, or altered in the least, as they present the liveliest image of the writer's character and genius, and derive a peculiar grace from being seen in that connection of thought, and glow of colouring, which they took, in the heat of composition, from his careless and rapid hand.

Some of his private letters (such as had been printed in his life-time by himself, or others) conclude the last volume; and shew how much he excelled in this sort of composition, for which he was indeed singularly qualified by the characteristic virtues both of his head and heart. The reader will therefore wish for a larger collection of them; and he may, in due time, be gratified with it, out of the Editor's long correspondence with him.

It may be proper to add, that this elegant edition of his works is given at the sole expence of his widow, now Mrs. Stafford Smith of Prior Park: who also erected the monument, before spoken of, to his memory in the church of Gloucester.

I have now, as I found myself able, and in the manner I judged most fit, discharged my duty to this incomparable man: a duty, which he seemed to expect would be paid to him by one or other of his surviving friends, when, in the close of his preface to Mr. Pope's works, he has these affecting words—"And I, when envy and calumny take
 " the same advantage of my absence (for, while I live, I
 " will

“ will trust it to my life to confute them) may I find a
 “ friend as careful of my honest fame, as I have been of
 “ his.”—I have, I say, endeavoured to do justice to his
 memory ; but in so doing I have taken, the reader sees,
 the best method to preserve my own. For, in placing my-
 self so near to him in this edition of his immortal works,
 I have the fairest, perhaps the only chance of being known
 to posterity myself. Envy and Prejudice have had their
 day : And when his name comes, as it will do, into all
 mouths, it may then be remembered, that the writer of
 this life was honoured with some share of his esteem ; and
 had the pleasure of living in the most entire and unreserved
 friendship with him, for near THIRTY YEARS.

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Hartlebury-Castle,
 Aug. 12, 1794.

R. WORCESTER.

11 JY 63

APPENDIX TO THE LIFE.

LETTER [A] P. 30.

—“ I HAVE known this Gentleman about twenty years. I have been greatly and in the most generous manner obliged to him. So I am very capable, and you will readily believe, very much disposed to apologize for him. Yet for all that, if I did not really believe him to be an honest man, I would not venture to excuse him to you. Nothing is more notorious than the great character he had acquired in the faithful and able discharge of a long embassy at Constantinople, both in the public part, and the private one of the merchants affairs. The first reflexion on his character was that unhappy affair of the Charitable-corporation. I read carefully all the reports of the committee concerning it : And as I knew Sir Robert Sutton's temper and character so well, I was better able than most to judge of the nature of his conduct in it. And I do in my conscience believe that he had no more suspicion of any fraud, carrying on by some in the direction, than I had. That he was guilty of neglect and negligence, as a Director, is certain : but it was only the natural effect of his temper (where he has no suspicion) which is exceedingly indolent.

And he suffered sufficiently for it, not only in his censure, but by the loss of near £. 20,000. And at this very juncture he lost a considerable sum of money (through his negligence) by the villainy of a land-steward, who broke and run away. Dr. Arbuthnot knew him well ; and I am fully persuaded, though I never heard so, that he had the same opinion of him in this affair that I have. But parties ran high, and this became a party matter. And the violence of parties no one knows more of than yourself. And his virtue and integrity have been since fully manifested. Another prejudice against him, with those who did not know him personally, was the character of his brother, the General, as worthless a man, without question, as ever was created. But you will ask, why should a man in his station be engaged in any affair with such dirty people ? 'Tis a reasonable question ; but you, who know human nature so well, will think this a sufficient answer. He was born to no fortune, but advanced to that station in the Levant, by the interest of his cousin Lord Lexington ; besides the straitness of his circumstances, the usual and constant business of that embassy gave him, of course, a mercantile turn. He had seen in almost every country, where he had been, societies of this kind, subsisting profitably to themselves, and beneficially to the public. For not to think he came amongst them with a view to his own profit principally, would indeed be absurd. Yet I am sure
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with a view of an honest profit. For he is very far from an avaricious man. He lives up to his fortune, without being guilty of any vice or luxury. He is an extreme good and faithful husband, and with reason indeed, for it is to one of the finest women in England. He is a tender and indulgent father to very hopeful children; a kind master, and one of the best landlords to his tenants. I speak all this of my own knowledge. He has a good estate in this place. My parishioners are good people. The times (till very lately) for this last fifteen years have been extreme bad for the graziers; I got of him, for them, two abatements, in their rents, at two several times. I will only beg leave to give you one more instance that relates to myself, and is not equivocal in his character. I chanced to know him, when I was very young, by means of my neighbourhood to Lord Lexington (whom I never knew) where he oft came. And, without any consideration to party or election-interest, he seemed to have entertained an early esteem for me. He had two good livings, on estates he had lately bought: and without the least intimation or solicitation he told me I should have the first that fell. He was as good as his word. But this was not all. As soon as I became possessed of the living, he told me, that (from what he had been informed by my predecessor, who at his death was going to commence a suit for his just dues) the living was much injured by a low and illegal composition. That

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he thought I ought to right myself, and he would join with me against the other freeholders (for his estate is something more than one half of the parish). I replied, that as he paid all the tithes for his tenants, the greatest loss, in my breaking the composition, would fall upon himself, who must pay me half as much more as he then did. He said, he did not regard that; I was his friend, and it was my due. I answered, that, however, I could not do it yet, for that the world would never conceive it to be done with his consent, but would say that I had no sooner got his living, than I had quarrel'd with him. But, when I came to my parish, I found them so good a sort of people, that I had as little an inclination to fall out with them. So (though to my great injury) I have deferred the matter to this day. Though the thing in the opinion of Sir R. Raymond, who gave it on the case, as drawn up by the parishioners themselves, is clear and indisputable; yet they won't give it up without a law-suit. In a word, there is nothing I am more convinced of than the innocence of Sir R. S. in the case of the Charitable Corporation, as to any fraud, or connivance at fraud. You, who always follow your judgement, free from prejudice, will do so here. I have discharged my duty of friendship both to you and him."—

LET-

LETTER [B] p. 42.

GOOD MADAM,

Newark, Jan. 26, 1744-5.

I HAD the honour of your obliging letter of the 25th of last August, sent me to Bath, where I then was. After some stay there, where my time was taken up more than I could have wished, I went to London, where I was still less in my own power. I am just now returned home; and the first thing I thought of was to make my acknowledgements for that favour.

I do not wonder that the goodness of your heart, and your love of letters, should make you speak with so much tenderness of poor Mr. Pope's death; for it was a great loss both to the literary and moral world. In answer to your obliging question, what works of Mr. Pope have been published with my commentaries and notes? I am to inform you, they are the *Dunciad* in quarto, and the *Essay on Man* and on *Criticism*, in the same size. Which affords me an opportunity to beg the favour of you to let me know into whose hands in London I can consign a small parcel for you: For I have done myself the honour of ordering these two volumes to be sent to you, as I believed you would with difficulty get them of your bookellers so far North; and I hope you will forgive this liberty.

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Towards:

Towards the conclusion of your letter, you have sent me one of the politest cartels imaginable. I think, his answer was generally commended, who told the Emperor, when he pressed him, that he never would dispute with a man who had twenty legions at his beck. And do you think I will enter the lists with a lady, whose writings have twenty thousand charms in them? If I confided in myself, and aimed at honour, I could not indeed do better: for the case is there, as in the works of the Italian poets; who have, with great decorum, when they introduced female warriors, made the overcoming one of them the highest point of valour and address in their heroes. Besides, to speak out of a figure, we differ in what is the true foundation of morality. I have said all I have to say on the subject. And though it be hard to guess when a writer, so much the mistress of her subject, has said all, yet if I believed what you have said was *all*, I might perhaps be in some measure excusable; as I see you say so much more than any writer of your side the question had done before you.

One thing, and only one, you will give me leave, Madam, to observe: that I am a little surprized at the consequence drawn from my position—"that, as without a God there could be no obligation, therefore the Atheist who believes there is none, (and might deduce that truth concerning obligation from the principles of right reason) would have no *tye* upon him." Hence

Hence I concluded, and I thought rightly, that Atheism was highly injurious to society. But how any one could conclude from this (for this is the amount of what I said on that subject) that, on my principles, (for as to my opinion, I believe no one would question that) *an atheist is not accountable in a future state for any enormities he may commit here*, I do not see. And my reason for saying so is this. It is a principle, I suppose, agreed on, “That crimes committed *upon wrong principles*, are equally punishable with those committed *against right*; for that the falling into this wrong principle was occasioned by some punishable fault in the conduct.” Now I have not said one single word, throughout the discourse, that tends to invalidate this principle: Consequently all I have said cannot affect that truth, That *an Atheist is accountable*. I ask your pardon, Madam, for this trouble. It is what I have not given to any other; though several have made the same objection. They deserved nothing at my hands; and you deserve every thing.

You inquire with great civility concerning the third volume of the Divine Legation. Several offices of friendship, several offices of domestic piety and duty, weariness with contradiction of *sinners* both against sense and grammar, (for such have been my adversaries) have prevented me doing any thing at the last volume, since the publication of the second. But now being just upon the point

of, not washing, but drying, my hands of controversy, I am about to sit down in earnest to the conclusion of the work.

I beg, Madam, not only my best respects and services to Mr. Cockburn, who, I presume, is your spouse, but, in that case, my congratulations with him, for his honour and happiness in such a comfort.

I am, Madam,

With the greatest regard and esteem,

Your very obliged and obedient humble servant,

11 JY 65

W. WARBURTON.

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