John Brown as an Independent Character from Warburton Circle

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Abstract

John Brown (1715-1766) and William Warburton (1698-1779) were two leading characters of the English Enlightenment. The enlightenment associated with their works could provide a political, social and intellectual situation of eighteenth century Britain. Therefore, they are worthy of attention. Britain became a trans-oceanic commercial and colonial power in the first half of the century and thus the growth of commercial society and empire changed the character of the nation. Warburton's works were presenting a complicated programme for reform. Warburton and also his party (Warburton circle) aimed to preserve the Great Britain from the effects of intolerance, superstition, religious enthusiasm and religious division. They aimed to maintain the Anglican establishment. Brown who was considered as a loyal member of Warburton circle, regardless their fall out later, introduced reform strategies for the eighteenth century Britain like other members. In this paper it is indicated that Brown was developing a different reform agenda to that of William Warburton. I argue that the Brown's main work "An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of The Times" (1757) can actually be read as a refutation of Warburton's thoughts and of the reform strategies developed by members of his circle and thus Brown need to be considered as a self-directed political reformist.

Keywords: John Brown, Eighteenth-century, English enlightenment, Warburton circle, Reform strategies.

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Warburton Camiası'ndan Bağımsız Bir Karakter Olarak John Brown

Öz

John Brown (1715-1766) ve William Warburton (1698-1779) İngiliz Aydınlaması'nın en önemli karakterlerindendir. Her ikisinin de yapıtları 18. yüzyıl İngilteresi'nin siyasi, sosyal ve entellektüel durumunu ve dolayısı ile İngiliz Aydınlanması'nı bize gösterdikleri için, çalışmaya değerdir. Britanya 18. yüzyılın ilk yarısında okyanus aşırı ticari bir güç ve bir sömürge imparatorluğu olduğu için, ulusun karakteri değişikliğe uğramıştır. Bu sebepten Warburton, eserleri aracılığı ile İngiltere için ulusal bir reform program sunar. O ve onun akımını takip edenler (Warburton camiası) Büyük Britanya'yı hoşgörüsüzlük, batıl inanç, dini fanatizm ve dinsel uzlaşmazlığın etkilerinden korumayı ve Anglikan düzeni korumayı amaçlarlar. Warburton camiası'nın sadık bir üyesi olan Brown, sonradan bu camiadan ayrılmış olsa da Warburton'u takip eden diğer bireyler gibi dönemin İngilteresi için reform stratejileri önermiştir. Bu çalışmada, Brown'un Warburton'dan daha farklı bir reform program sunduğu gösterilmiştir. İddiam şudur ki, Brown'un esas çalışması olan "Dönemin İlke ve Davranışlarına Dair bir Tahmin- An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of The Times (1757) adlı eseri Warburton'un ve onun camiasının düşüncelerini ve reform programlarını çürütme niteliğinde bir yazı olarak okunabilir. Bu yüzden Brown bağımsız bir siyasi reformist olarak değerlendirilmelidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: John Brown, 18. Yüzyıl, İngiliz aydınlanması, Warburton camiası, Reform planları.

Introduction

John Brown (1715-1766) was famous, not for being a clergyman, but as an author, political reformer, and moralist. There are many ways to study Brown; as an essayist, utilitarian, musician, dramatist, writer on education and historian of aesthetics. He preached sermons, wrote tragedies, poems, published his sermons, and wrote on music which was considered as the complete picture of musical history ever to be printed in England. I prefer studying him as a political reformist in contrast to historians who did not take his politics sufficiently serious as a contribution to the reform philosophies of his time.

William Warburton (1698-1779) was a religious controversialist. His literary power, his account of toleration, his insistence on reasoned argument and his ability in convincing others

to support his views, led him to be a leading figure in the eighteenth-century Britain. Warburton's significance stems from the fact that any analysis of his works reveals his relevance to the intellectual thought of that period. As one of Warburton's biographers, Evans (1932: 2-3) claimed that "he epitomizes the mid-eighteenth century". Warburton became the representative figure of the Anglican Enlightenment in Britain. His aspiration was to lead Britain to religious tranquillity, as he believed that the only way to eliminate disorder, and thereby to establish civil peace, was to end religious controversy (Hurd, 1811). Warburton and his party were the preeminent characters who introduced reform strategies for Britain in that era. As a member of Warburton circle, Brown also had similar ideas with Warburton. However, the aim of this paper is to prove that Brown was developing a different reform agenda to that of Warburton, with whom he was closely related, and who was also trying to preserve Britain in times of national crisis. I argue that the *An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of The Times* (1757) can actually be read as a refutation of Warburton's thoughts and of the reform strategies developed by members of his circle.

Warburton's *The Alliance between Church and State* (1736) was part of a complicated programme for reform that Brown was fascinated by. Warburton aimed to preserve Great Britain from the effects of intolerance, superstition, religious enthusiasm and religious division. Briefly, he and his party tried to maintain the Anglican establishment, which was considered to be the central pillar of the British polity. To this end, recognising Brown's gifts as a writer, Warburton introduced Brown into his circle. Although, the analysis of Brown's early works written before 1757 shows the parallels between Brown and Warburton, the former's purpose of writing the *An Estimate of the Manners and the Principles of the Times* was to reveal his own voice as opposed to that of those he had hitherto been associated with.

The illness and the cure of Britain for William Warburton

The enlightenment associated with the works of Warburton was to provide a political, social and intellectual context for Brown's works, especially his *Estimate*. Firstly the main ideas of Brown and Warburton should be examined to underscore the intimacy between them in order to indicate how the *Estimate* worked as a refutation of the Warburton Circle's ideology.

The religious nature of the Anglican Enlightenment can be revealed by means of the debates encompassed by works of Brown and Warburton. Warburton had endeavoured to defend the reasonableness of Protestantism and religious toleration based on natural law. He believed that what he termed the happy establishment of Britain was going to be destroyed by political and moral disintegration caused by fragmentation within the church (Warburton, 1745). He

saw the preservation of the Anglican Church as the duty he owed to his country (Warburton, 1746). He and his party formed what later historians have called the Warburton Circle, aiming to defend Anglicanism as the established church of Britain. The circle encompassed John Towne, Thomas Balguy, Jonathan Toup, Richard Hurd, William Mason and John Brown, although they later fell out. All these disciples had attempted to harness religion as a political tool and use the Anglican Church as the state church to maintain the national unity of Britain. Warburton held that the whole security of religion, laws and liberties of England depended on the Protestant succession and the exclusion of non-conformists from the throne (Warburton, 1736:20). Considering Anglicanism was not only the most fitting theology for contemporary Britain but also one of the most important pillars of the British constitution. Warburton believed that Anglican thought alone would preserve national unity. This was the basis for Warburton's argument in favour of the necessity of an alliance between the Anglican Church and the state. To him,

> An Alliance is the most effectual remedy: by establishing one Church, and giving a full Toleration to the rest, but excluding their Members from the public Administration; from the Admission into which these Disorders arise (Warburton, 1736:67).

This means that according to Warburton, any religion could not be established by depending on its religious truth. Rather, the civil power should determine which religion to ally with. As the true faith did not offer a foundation the church needed another basis to maintain their co-operation.

It is evident that Warburton advocated the link between the material and spiritual world, and considered any attempt to separate them as detrimental to the happiness of society. Moral obligation was the main pillar of natural law, and God was the one of natural religion. Both the natural laws and natural religion were the foundations of Christianity; thus the morality and the existence of God were interrelated. In this light, Warburton also wanted to refute the Third Earl of Shaftesbury's scheme of virtue and his elimination of God in moral theory. The Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713) had been concerned with the problem of the separation of doctrine and morals in a systematic way. For Warburton, this created a vital threat to the social order. Shaftesbury's theory needed to be discredited in eighteenth century Britain, and Warburton assigned John Brown for this significant task.

In 1745 Brown published a eulogistic essay about Alexander Pope, entitled *An Essay on Satire: occasion'd by the death of Mr. Pope*. The essay clarified the role of the passions in corrupting man's character. Brown (1745) introduced the necessity for the guidance of reason in human action, arguing that reason rectified the character by motivating passions to serve

the public good (Brown, 1745). This main argument served as opposition to Shaftesbury's moral theory, and attracted the attention of Warburton a year after its first edition (Nichols, 1812). After Warburton had learnt that the author was Brown, Warburton asked Brown for permission to publish it in his edition of Pope (quoted by Eddy, 1971:9-10). Brown accepted the invitation, and subsequently the essay was published in Warburton's edition of the collected works of Alexander Pope (Warburton, 1751).

It is believed that the essay achieved success by means of Pope's works because it became "infinitely more diversified, and delights with a thousand varied charms" (Green, 1810, 56). It is not possible to know whether the *Essay on Satire* would have achieved the same success had it not been published in the edition of Pope's works. However, it is certain that Brown entered the world of literature by means of Warburton's guidance. Moreover, while the edition was being prepared for publication, Warburton encouraged Brown to expand his ideas on *Essay on Satire* into a more general critique of Shaftesbury's deism and moral theory (Warburton, 1809). It is apparent that Brown's ability in literature made him, for Warburton, the best person to write a refutation of Shaftesbury's account of religion and morality.

Warburton asked Brown to undertake an examination of Shaftesbury's *Characteristiks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (under his superintendence). Brown's *Essays on the Characteristics of the Earl of Shaftesbury* was published in 1751. Its success meant that it had reached fifth edition by 1764, and as a result, Brown gained a reputation in literary world and also was admitted into Warburton's circle. Although there is no evidence regarding Brown's perspective on Warburton's party, it is possible to make some assumptions from clues in letters and evidence from those around him. It has been stated that in eighteenth century Britain, that men from humble origins had a chance to become a bishop on the condition that they were supported by an influential patron (Holmes, 1982). Many young clergymen wanted to be introduced into the Warburton circle because becoming a Warburtonian was "a position that enabled one to occupy positions of authority in the first decades of George III's reign" (During, 2008:178).It is reasonable to argue that an intimacy with Warburton would be beneficial in pursuing a career as a bishop. In an anonymous letter, it was stated that Brown wrote in the hope of receiving a bishopric (Anonymous, 1772). If Brown's aim was to get a bishopric, he must have known that Warburton could be a patron for him. However Brown may have entered into the Warburton Circle through his passion to become a literary figure. It is not possible to know what Brown may have aspired to, but being a member of Warburton's circle and the publication of the *Essays on the Characteristics* (or both facts) contributed to Brown's fame as a prominent literary figure (Eddy, 1971). Regardless of the reason behind their friendship, their common aim was to argue against Shaftesbury's ideas directly and to

protect Anglican establishment indirectly. But they have resembling ideas before their intimacy as well.

Warburton tried to draw attention to the superiority of reason while he was defending religious principles, submission to God and the essential link between morality and religion. Warburton favoured reason as the sole guide (Warburton, 1789). Similarly, Brown (1745) underlined the rectifying character of reason in motivating passions to serve the public good (Brown, 1745). He claimed that the guidance of reason was required to correct selfish nature. That is to say, he thought that man could not determine what is true, false, good or evil and fix "out Opinions and Passions on their proper Objects" without the faculty of reason (Brown, 1751:14-15). Reason directed the unbridled passions towards the common good. As both of them advocated the use of reason as the test of truth, they defended Protestantism by means of an emphasis on reason, and later they both discussed the relationship between Protestantism and liberty. For Warburton there was an established link between Protestantism and liberty. He reconciled civil and religious liberties and claimed that the former could only be produced by true religion (Warburton, 1746). Protestant principles and civil liberty impacted on one another; when civil liberty was destroyed, superstition replaced it because the arbitrary power required superstition's support in order to be effective. Similarly, when true religion was gone the annihilation of civil liberty necessarily followed it (Warburton, 1746). Protestantism was the true religion, which produced the greatest human good, plus civil and religious freedom. Warburton (1789) defined the liberty that was achieved by means of Protestant principles as "the Balm of human Misery, the Quintessence of human Felicity, and the best Recompence for the Loss of a Terrestial Paradise" (Warburton, 1789:93). At this juncture, it should be stated that Brown mentioned similar arguments in his sermons in 1746 that were preached before he met Warburton. He focused on the relationship between liberty and religion. He stated that a nobler foundation of liberty could only be found through Christianity (Brown, 1746:18). It was the "the Knowledge of pure Religion" that made mankind free (Brown, 1746:17). Brown thereby tried to find "the Liberty and Happiness of this Kingdom on the solid Basis of Religion and Virtue" (Brown, 1757:191-192). In Britain, Protestantism provided "a surer and nobler Foundation of Liberty than any ancient Heathens were ever possessed of" (Brown, 1746:18). For Brown, people could only achieve freedom in the possession of their rights. He therefore came to the conclusion that only the knowledge of pure religion (Protestantism), would make the subjects free (Brown, 1746:25-26).

The fear of God and religion is necessary for both. The Church and religion should contribute to the durability of the state, as religion was required as a cornerstone of society (Warburton, 1788). The fear of God and the sanctions of rewards and punishments supported the civil laws

and the moral order in Warburton's theory. The authoritative character of divine reason by means of the "Truth and Purity of Faith" would enforce the hearts and minds of the people (Warburton, 1745:5). Religion was to "teach Men subjection on Motives of Piety and true Holiness, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience sake" (Warburton, 1745:6).Thus civil laws could be enforced on a principle of right as well as power by the aid of the religious laws (Warburton, 1736). Religion would impart the necessity of legal obedience to men's consciousness, reinforcing the conformity of people while contributing to the stability of the commonwealth.

Similarly to Warburton, Brown employed the same arguments in his sermon *On the Natural Duty of a Personal Service* preached in 1761. This sermon defined the moral and civil duties of people, and accentuated the necessity of obedience to laws for achieving wealth and peace in society (Brown, 1764). Like Warburton, Brown claimed that people were commanded to obey the king and common laws because "the sacred Scripture…given us the most express Commands; enforcing our Obedience to the established Constitution, on the Principles of Religion" (Brown, 1764:209). He defended the view that the people should not resist the ordinances of God and had to obey the civil laws as well as the moral ones. They had to obey not only from the fear of punishment but also they believe that it is right (Brown, 1764). Religious laws served for the same purpose, namely for directing people to obey the laws.

Brown's sermon *On the Use and Abuse of Externals in Religion* was preached during their friendship in 1753 and indicated the same underlying reasons for the necessity of religion in society. To Brown (1753), men could be prevented from relapsing into state of barbarism if they listened "to the warning Voice, which bids them return to the right Way, and walk in it" (Brown, 1753:7-8). This is possible only through religion. In the sermon, he also stated that "[t]here is a strong and mutual Connexion between the Body and the Soul; between the Senses and Imagination, the Passions and the Reason of Mankind" (Brown, 1753:9). Religious principles were compulsory in order to achieve harmony between them. This is the reason why he believed that irreligion was a direct attack to the common good and needed to be refuted. Religion was required in the world to prevent contradiction between passions and reason, namely the selfish appetites and common good of society.

Furthermore the fear of God was significant in the moral theories of Brown and Warburton moral theories. For Warburton, man had the tendency to behave according to their selfish interests and required religion to "frighten [him], by the Terror of an invisible Judge, from those Crimes which escape the Notice of the Magistrate" (Warburton, 1746:32). In his *Characteristics* Brown, like Warburton, drew attention to the fear caused by God and represented it as a political instrument to maintain national unity. For him, the fear of God

compelled men to devote their personal interests to public interest, and it was "absolutely necessary to his Happiness" (Brown, 1751:251). The fear of God as the sure basis of human ethical behaviour, for Brown, prevented men from doing evil (Brown, 1751).

According to Brown religious laws were more authoritative than the civil laws (Brown, 1746). He stated that religion should also be used to resist the solicitations of the senses and passions. Brown put special emphasis on the enforcement of religious sanctions. Therefore, religion and "the Sanctions of future Rewards and Punishments, from which it derives its Force, must be very strongly impressed on the human Mind" in order to maintain social and political order (Brown, 1746:32-33).

Likewise, Warburton regarded civil laws as insufficient and claimed that the inadequacy of civil laws lay in the absence of the sanctions of rewards (Warburton, 1736). For the author (1736), only the religious laws were able to provide these sanctions, and he stated that religion, saw "the most secret Actions and Intentions of Men, and [had] given Laws for the perfecting their Nature, [it would] oblige of those Duties of perfect Obligation, which human Laws cannot reach, or sufficiently enforce" (Warburton, 1736:17).

To conclude, the necessity of religion, moral laws, the fear of God, the sanctions of rewards and punishments all serve for the preservation of the national unity. Both Warburton and Brown considered the separation of ethical world and religious world as perils for the society. Since they believed that selfish passions of people were stronger than the idea of common good, they argued for the necessity to direct men to behave in accordance with their desire for general happiness. They strengthened the link between the moral world and God and used religion as an object of fear and as an instrument of policy.

Brown's distinctive reform agenda

If we disregard Brown's arguments on reformation and consider only the similarities discussed above, we will mistakenly deduce that Brown also suggested the preservation of Anglican Church as a guarantee to eliminate future threats. In fact Britain was portrayed as a peaceful and free kingdom on the condition that Protestantism was preserved. We could easily assume that as a member of Warburton Circle, Brown had promulgated the same remedy as Warburton. However, he had not. The publication of the *Estimate* in 1757 offered a different cure for the ills of Britain. Instead of advocating unity under the Anglican Church, Brown had defended the need for a moral regeneration that revealed the differences between his theory and that of Warburton. This book amounted to Brown making clear his own voice.

First of all, and against Warburton, Brown argued that the situation of religion and the resulting divisions within the Church was not the only reason for the corruption in society. He did not believe that the preservation of Anglican Church as the established church would provide national unity. As the moral part of the body, its manners and the principles were able to maintain the durability of the state, so their restoration alone could protect the state from corruption. In Warburton's theory (1736) however, neither the state nor the church was adequate to achieve public wealth. He concluded that society alone was not sufficient to accomplish social order without the assistance of religion. The coordination of civil and moral laws was essential to keep people in order and force them to behave according to common welfare. Religion alone served for supporting morality and thus state.

Disregarding the necessity for such an alliance, Brown focused on the moral structure of the state. According to him, nothing could cause disorder as long as the manners and the principles were upright. Religion was vital in Brown's theory, but he did not defend an alliance between state and church and did not see religion as the only tool to protect the state. Instead he indicated that political integrity would be preserved by manners and principles *per se* (Brown, 1765). Brown regarded moral principles as the soul and security of the state. Thus the durability of the state and the happiness of the subjects depended on the preservation of moral unity. What strengthened the nation was neither the increase in trade and wealth which was the ruling maxim of the day, nor the alliance between church and state; rather it was the significance of moral integrity; a salutary moral structure (Brown, 1757). It could be stated that the cause of the forthcoming threat was the religious controversies in Warburton's theory, while it was the corruption of the moral character for Brown.

Warburton and Brown also pursued different approaches in their view of Protestantism. In Warburton's theory the interdependence of the state and the church served public utility (Warburton, 1736). But the interests of the state regarding the church had nothing to do with the abstract truth of particular religion. Therefore, only the utility of religion could determine which religion was going to ally with the state (Warburton, 1736).

The state should prefer the largest of the existing religious bodies in its alliance with the church and the state could transfer its allegiance if the church lost its majority support. Public utility and religious truth always coincided in Warburton's alliance. It is clear that Warburton did not defend Protestantism only because it was the true faith, but it was also the largest religious group. His concern was more political than religious. What he emphasised was not the truth of Protestantism, but a convenience that emerged from the numerical superiority of Protestants. Alternatively, Brown believed that the Protestant Church had to be preserved because it was the true faith, and because of its (numerical) advantages in public life (Brown,

1751; Brown, 1765). However, it is clear that the truth of its doctrine preceded its civil utility in Brown's theory.

Unlike Warburton, Brown never favoured the establishment of any religion for the sake of the society. While he was criticising the harmful effects of irreligion and the necessity of religious principles, he mentioned Protestantism particularly and he worried about the destruction of Protestantism rather than religion in general. Especially after his sermons entitled *the mutual connexion between religious truth and civil freedom* which appeared before he met with Warburton, he became regarded as a popular preacher of protestant principles (Crimmins, 2004). Brown affirmed Protestantism to be religious truth, because true Christianity was Protestantism (Brown, 1746).

Brown attacked Catholicism by emphasising its harmful effects on the English liberties. Nevertheless Warburton laid more emphasis on the elimination of the fear of God since he saw its damage to moral and political order. Brown prioritised the liberty of society, while Warburton drew more attention to the security of Britain. This brings us to state that, for Warburton, the permanency of the state was more significant than the liberties of subjects. In Warburton's defence of Anglicanism, it was more essential to establish political unity than guaranteeing the freedom of the subjects. However, it appeared that the liberty of people was both essential and sufficient, for Brown, to guarantee the nation's stability. Warburton used Protestantism to preserve the state and Brown considered it as the true faith that was necessary to make people free. Protestantism had a political justification in Warburton's theory and it had a theological justification in Brown's. According to Brown the church was also engaged in the political sphere, although he endeavoured to maintain its ecclesiastical power and the role of the clergy as well, while Warburton tried to preserve it as a political party of alliance. Brown was in consequence a more zealous defender of Protestantism than Warburton. In addition to this, Brown's established link between virtue, truth and liberty was also different to Warburton's sense of these issues. Brown's defence of the relationship between liberty and religion was supported by virtue and truth. It provided more solid basis than Warburton's. For Brown, men should be induced, compelled and motivated to sacrifice their private interests. By means of the restraints of law to compel them to behave according to the common welfare, men could achieve freedom. In order to accomplish the liberty of the subjects, laws had to curb, fix and oblige the desires of individuals to yield the common good. Thereby; the civil liberty could be produced by law and law only through the means of religion. Religion made the laws more authoritative and it directed men to the public happiness under which people gained civil liberty (Brown, 1765). For Brown, virtue and truth were the same but they differed in name. According to Brown, men would achieve truth by

means of virtue (Brown, 1743). In his poem, *On Liberty* (1749), he stated that freedom aided the heart, truth refined it and together they "warm the Heart with Virtue's Flame divine" (Brown, 1749:9). This induced Brown to claim that anything vicious could not be true.

According to Brown people should discard from the chains of passions to become virtuous and guided by reason (Brown, 1745:6). After indicating that point, he introduced the relationship between passion, virtue and reason on the basis of religion; Protestantism specifically as he believed that it is the rational religion. Brown stated that religion was necessary for men to be virtuous (Brown, 1753). Without religion man was left with his selfish desires and unsatisfied pleasures, hence he could not be virtuous. It was religion which directed them to be virtuous and made them free subjects (Brown, 1746). The interrelation between freedom, truth, virtue and religion in Brown's theory provided a well-established moral system resting on Protestant principles. However, Warburton attempted to combine freedom of the subjects with their subjection to the Anglican establishment. For this end, he used the Anglican Church to justify the obedience of free subjects to the state (Warburton, 1736). Protestantism was used to guarantee the freedom of the subjects under their submission to the state for Warburton while its main aim was to make people virtuous in Brown's theory. At this point it is necessary to underline the fact that the unity of Protestantism and the preservation of the Anglican Church did not play the same role for both men. Brown was regarded as a popular Protestant preacher after the Jacobite rebellion and dedicated himself to defend Protestant principles. Although he did not use the word 'Protestantism' in his *Estimate*, he called it a "rational religion" when discussing how the spirit of defence differentiated from one religion to another.

While Brown used religion as a political tool and defended the cooperation of morality with religion, he did not attack deists and atheists in the same manner as Warburton. Brown did not see their ideas as the key source of contemporary corruption. In Warburton's view, religious debates were the sole source of social disorder and therefore these people needed to be opposed. If Warburton had been right in considering the maintenance of the Anglican establishment as the only way to public happiness, Catholic France would have been in a miserable situation in the given era and on the brink of defeat in the Seven Years' War. In Brown's theory, therefore, the preservation of the Anglican Church as the established was not introduced as the only way to secure Great Britain.

These are the points that made Brown an independent character within the Warburton circle. Brown tried to find an answer to the question of how Britain could be a virtuous and free association, and he considered moral regeneration as the way towards it. The vulnerability lay in "Degeneracy or Corruption of the Manners and Principles of the People" (Brown,

1757:20). This main argument could be considered as a direct confutation of Warburton's Anglican centred system. It could also be seen as the reason of Brown's breaking away from Warburton's party.

After the success of the *Estimate* which was in its sixth edition in less than six months, Warburton wrote a letter and stated his ideas on the book;

> I from time to time, and by degrees, insinuated to him that his success was partly owing to the critical juncture, partly to his clear and popular way of writing, and partly to the chance that attends these sort of things: that, as to the rest, he had told the world no news, nor indeed any thing else but what had been retailed to them for this last twenty years in newspapers (Garrick, 1832:86).

For Warburton, both he and his party should concentrate on writing for the preservation of the Anglican Church against the dangers caused by free thinkers, atheists, deists and Catholics. Warburton tried to discourage not only Brown but all his clerical protégés from pursuing other literary projects. To Warburton they needed to pay attention to their clerical duties only. The (institutional) reason was that, "the profession was a 'sacred one' and that its business 'lay elsewhere' than literature" (During, 2008:184).Since there was a danger caused by the pressures both of free-thought and Catholicism during the eighteenth-century, Warburton wanted to direct his circle to give their attention to the maintenance of the public good.

Although the supervision by Warburton of Brown's *Essays on Characteristics* gave rise to an intimacy between them and led Brown's membership of the Warburton Circle, the publication of the *Estimate* ended their friendship.

Conclusion

Brown and Warburton made sagacious observations on the nature of the political body, and challenged contemporary arguments concerning the future of Britain. The primary goal of both of Brown and Warburton was to maintain the state. In this light, both argued for the superiority of reason over passions, the necessity of religion in social order and the strong positive relationship between liberty and Protestantism. Their arguments and ideas were often similar, but Brown separated from Warburton by publishing the *Estimate*. He wrote it not as a member of Warburton's party, but as an independent political reformist and a self-directed author. This paper examined how the *Estimate* replaced Warburton's national church with moral integrity as the basis of a political society and indicated Brown as an independent character from Warburton Circle.

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