

The Works Of the late Right Honorable Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke

In Five Volumes, complete.

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Letter I.

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STUDY of HISTORY.

LETTER I.

Chantelou in Touraine, Nov. 6, 1735.

My Lord,

HAVE confidered formerly, with a good deal of attention, the fubject on which you command me to communicate my thoughts to you: and I practifed in those days, as much as bufiness and pleasure allowed me time to do, the rules that feemed to me necessary to be observed in the study of history. They were very different from those which writers on the same fubject have recommended, and which are commonly practifed. But I confess to your lordship, that this neither gave me then, nor has given me fince, any distrust of them. I do not affect fingularity. On the contrary, I think that a due deference is to be paid to received opinions, and that a due compliance with received customs is to be held; tho both the one and the other should be, what they often are, absurd or ridiculous. But this fervitude is outward only, and abridges in no fort the liberty of private judgment. The obligations of fubmitting to it likewife, even outwardly, extend no further, than to those opinions and customs which cannot be opposed; or from which we cannot deviate without doing hurt, or giving offence to fociety. In all these cases, our speculations ought to be free: in all other cases, our practice L12

may be fo. Without any regard therefore to the opinion and practice even of the learned world, I am very willing to tell you mine. But, as it is hard to recover a thread of thought long ago laid afide, and impossible to prove fome things, and explain others, without the affishance of many books which I have not here; your lordship must be content with such an imperfect sketch, as I am able to fend you at present in this letter.

THE motives that carry men to the study of history are different. Some intend, if such as they may be said to study, nothing more than amusement, and read the life of Aristides or Phocion, of Epaminondas or Scipio, Alexander or Caesar, just as they play a game at cards, or as they would read the story of the seven champions.

Others there are, whose motive to this study is nothing better, and who have the further disadvantage of becoming a nusance very often to society, in proportion to the progress they make. The former do not improve their reading to any good purpose: the latter pervert it to a very bad one, and grow in impertinence as they encrease in learning. I think I have known most of the first kind in England, and most of the last in France. The persons I mean are those who read to talk, to shine in conversation, and to impose in company: who having sew ideas to vend of their own growth, store their minds with crude unruminated facts and sentences; and hope to supply, by bare memory, the want of imagination and judgment.

But these are in the two lowest forms. The next I shall mention are in one a little higher; in the form of those who grow neither wifer nor better by study themselves, but who enable

enable others to fludy with greater ease, and to purposes more useful; who make fair copies of foul manuscripts, give the fignification of hard words, and take a great deal of other grammatical pains. The obligation to these men would be great indeed, if they were in general able to do any thing better, and submitted to this drudgery for the sake of the public: as some of them, it must be owned with gratitude, have done, but not later, I think, than about the time of the refurrection of letters. When works of importance are preffing, generals themselves may take up the pick-axe and the spade; but in the ordinary course of things, when that presfing necessity is over, such tools are left in the hands destined to use them, the hands of common soldiers and peasants. I approve therefore very much the devotion of a studious manat Christ-Church, who was over-heard in his oratory entering into a detail with God, as devout persons are apt to do, and, amongst other particular thanksgivings, acknowledging the divine goodness in furnishing the world with makers of dictionaries! These men court fame, as well as their betters, by fuch means as God has given them to acquire it: and Lit-TLETON exerted all the genius he had, when he made a dictionary, tho Stephens did not. They deferve encouragement, however, whilst they continue to compile, and neither affect wit, nor prefume to reason.

THERE is a fourth class, of much less use than these, but of much greater name. Men of the first rank in learning, and to whom the whole tribe of scholars bow with reverence. A man must be as indifferent as I am to common censure or approbation, to avow a thorough contempt for the whole business of these learned lives; for all the researches into antiquity, for all the systems of chronology and history, that we owe to the immense labors

of a Scaliger, a Bochart, a Petavius, an Usher, and even a Marsham. The same materials are common to them all; but these materials are few, and there is a moral impossibility that they should ever have more. They have combined these into every form that can be given to them: they have supposed, they have guessed, they have joined disjointed passages of different authors, and broken traditions of uncertain originals, of various people, and of centuries remote from one another as well as from ours. In short, that they might leave no liberty untaken, even a wild fantastical similitude of sounds has served to prop up a system. As the materials they have are few, so are the very best, and such as pass for authentic, extremely precarious; as some of these learned persons themselves consess.

Julius Africanus, Eusebius, and George the monk, opened the principal fources of all this science; but they corrupted the waters. Their point of view was to make profane history and chronology agree with facred; tho the latter chronology is very far from being established with the clearnefs and certainty necessary to make it a rule. For this purpose, the ancient monuments, that these writers conveyed to posterity, were digested by them according to the system they were to maintain: and none of these monuments were delivered down in their original form, and genuine purity. The Dynasties of Manetho, for instance, are broken to pieces by Eusebius, and fuch fragments of them as fuited his defign, are fluck into his work. We have, we know, no more of them. The Codex Alexandrinus we owe to George the monk. We have no other authority for it; and one cannot fee without amazement such a man as Sir John Marsham undervaluing this authority in one page, and building his fystem upon it in the next. He seems even by the lightness of

his expressions, if I remember well, for it is long fince I looked into his canon, not to be much concerned what foundation his fystem had, so he shewed his skill in forming one, and in reducing the immense antiquity of the Egyptians within the limits of the Hebraic calculation. In short, my lord, all these systems are so many enchanted castles; they appear to be fomething, they are nothing but appearances: like them too, dissolve the charm, and they vanish from the fight. To diffolve the charm, we must begin at the beginning of them: the expression may be odd, but it is fignificant. We must examine fcrupuloufly and indifferently the foundations on which they lean: and when we find these either faintly probable, or grosly improbable, it would be foolish to expect any thing better in the superstructure. This science is one of those that are " a limine falutandae." To do thus much may be necessary, that grave authority may not impose on our ignorance: to do more, would be to affift this very authority in imposing false science upon us. I had rather take the DARIUS whom ALEXANDER conquered, for the fon of Hystaspes, and make as many anachronisms as a Jewish chronologer, than facrifice half my life to collect all the learned lumber that fills the head of an antiquary.