ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA.

BOKHARA

BOKHARA, BUKHARA, or BUKHARIA, a country and khanate of Central Asia, in Turkistan or Independent Tartary, lying between lat. 37° and 41° N., and long. 62° and 69° E. Its extent has been greatly diminished during recent years both on the N. and S.,—in the former direction by the conquests of Russia, and in the latter by the encroachments of Afghanistan. A considerable stretch of country, including the important towns of Balkh, Andkhoi, and Meimene, was at various times regarded as an integral part of the khanate; but at present the River Oxus forms for the most part its southern boundary. To the W. it is conterminous with the khanate of Khiva and the desert of Kharezm, which now form part of the Russian empire; and on the E. it stretches to the khanates of Kunduz and Khokand. Its area is estimated at 100,000 square miles. A large part of the western half of the land consists of a desolate steppe of argillaceous clay, broken by hills of slate and bare granite rocks; the eastern parts are occupied by offshoots of the Hindu-Koh and Tien-shan ranges, and the Pamir steppe. The cultivated land is confined almost entirely to the immediate neighbourhood of the rivers, of which the most important are the Amu or Oxus, the Zer-Affshan, and the Karshee. The Amu (Jihon or Kohik), which only belongs to the khanate in the middle part of its course, flows from S.E. to N.W., and varies in width from 300 to upwards of 800 yards. The Zer-Affshan, inferior to the Amu in the volume of its waters, and superior to it in the populousness and cultivation of its banks, rises in the high lands east of Samarkand, and, passing north of that city and of Bokhara, forms a lake in the province of Karakul about 25 miles in length. Its whole course is about 340 miles. The Karshee rises in the mountains to the S.E. of Samarkand, and passes through Shehr-Sebz and Karshee, below which it is lost in the desert.

There are no gold mines in Bokhara, but that metal is found among the sands of the Oxus in greater abundance, perhaps, than in any of the other rivers which flow from the Hindu-Koh. The climate of Bokhara is exposed to great variations. In summer the heat is often very great, and in winter the cold is proportionally severe. The frosts commence about the end of November, and continue till towards the end of April. The Amu is generally frozen over for some weeks in winter so as to be passable for caravans. In the desert the heat in summer exceeds 100° Fahr. Thunder-storms and earthquakes are not unfrequent, especially in the spring; and there are sometimes violent tornadoes, generally blowing from the N.W.

Inhabitants.

The population of Bokhara, composed of Tadjiks, Arabs, Uzbeks, Turkomans, Persians, Mervi, and Jews, may be estimated at between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000. Meyendorff estimates it at 2,478,000, Khanikoff at from 2,000,000 to 2,500,000, Burnes at less than 1,000,000, and Wolff at 1,200,000. The Tadjiks are the aborigines of the country, and are said to have come from the west, and settled on the banks of the Zer-Affshan at a time when the country was uninhabited, and a jungle of reeds covered the place where the town of Bokhara now stands. Except in the town of Bokhara, where they constitute the majority of the population, there are few Tadjiks now in the khanate. They are mostly engaged in commerce, are peaceful or even cowardly in their disposition, and are characterized by avarice, faithlessness, and deceit. They are usually tall, with handsome and regular features, fair complexion, and black eyes and hair. The number of Arabs, though not considerable, exceeds that of the Tadjiks. They are the descendants of the followers of Kutribe, who conquered the country about the beginning of the 8th century, and compelled the inhabitants to adopt the Mahometan faith. Their numbers are stated at 60,000, and they inhabit the northern part of the khanate, especially the neighbourhood of Vardanzi and Vafkend. Like their ancestors they still continue to lead a wandering life, their chief occupation being the tending of their flocks. Their moral qualities seem to be of a higher character than those of the Tadjiks. The Uzbeks, the last people that conquered this country, are the most numerous, and are at present the dominant race. They are divided into a number of tribes, of which the principal is that of Manghit. To it the reigning dynasty belongs. Some of the Uzbeks are nomadic in their habits, others are engaged in agriculture or live in towns. They are more bold and straightforward in their manners than the Tadjiks, but have unfortunately degenerated from contact with that race. There are a considerable number of Persians in Bokhara, most of whom have been brought as slaves from their native country. They are readily distinguished by the regularity of their features, and their bushy black

hair. Large numbers of them rise by their intelligence and faithfulness to occupy important situations. Although outwardly conforming to the faith and manners of the country, they cordially hate the native races, and are ready to hail with joy any political revolution which might shake the power of the Uzbeks. The Jews, though long established in the country, form but a very inconsiderable part of its inhabitants. They are chiefly to be found in Bokhara and some of the larger towns, where they have separate quarters assigned to them. Their privileges are very restricted The Mervi, who number about 40,000, are the people who were transplanted from the city of Merv on its destruction about 1810 by Emir Said Khan. The Turkoman and Kirghiz part of the population is wholly nomadic, and is chiefly to be found in the regions south of the Oxus.

The orchards in the neighbourhood of the larger towns are numerous and highly cultivated. They produce grapes, figs, peaches, pomegranates, apricots, plums, apples, pears, and quinces. The cultivation of cotton, tobacco, and lucerne is extensively carried on, as is also that of the mulberry, beet, cabbage, carrots, radishes, onions, cucumbers, pease, beans, lentils, melons, and pumpkins. The soil being of a saline nature requires to be cultivated with some care, so that it is found to be much more profitably laid out in gardens than in fields; indeed, the returns from the former exceed by sevenfold the returns from the same quantity of the latter. Wheat, rice, barley, millet, and joar (*Sorghum vulgare*) are the principal kinds of grain grown. The last-named is one of the most useful productions of the khanate, and as it is cheap and nutritious, it forms the chief subsistence of the poor.

Animals.

The horses of Bokhara are numerous, but are more remarkable for strength than for beauty. Asses are also very plentiful, and are large and sturdy. The camels, by means of which the entire traffic of Bokhara is carried on, are reared chiefly by the wandering tribes, particularly the Turkomans. They have a sleek coat as fine as that of a horse, and shed their hair in summer; from the hair a fine waterproof cloth of close and rather heavy texture is manufactured. The goats are about the common size, of a dark colour, and yield a shawl-wool inferior only to that of Kashmir. The bulls and cows are miserably small, and in very wretched condition. The rearing of sheep is much attended to, particularly by the Arabs. There is a peculiar breed, said to thrive only in the district of Karakul, which produces a jet-black curly fleece that is much valued. The wild animals are few. Tigers of a diminutive species are found in the valley of the Oxus; wild hogs, herds of deer, antelopes, and the wild ass roam on the plains; and foxes, wolves, jackals, and ounces are found in some parts. All kinds of game are scarce. The scorpion is common. The most valuable insect is the silkworm, which is reared in all parts of the khanate where there is water—every rivulet being lined with the mulberry.

Bokhara owes its importance to its central position. Lying on the route between Europe and the richest part of Asia, it is the seat of a considerable transit trade. The Government has established custom-houses, built caravanserais, and constructed cisterns along such caravan roads as are insufficiently supplied with water, but otherwise does nothing to encourage traffic; and the roads are generally in a wretched condition. Religious fanaticism formerly rendered it impossible for any except Mahometan merchants to trade with safety in the country; but since 1868 all at least who are in any way under the protection of Russia have full freedom to import or transport their wares throughout the country. Bokhara carries on an extensive trade with Russia by means of caravans, which travel by the following routes, viz.,—by the route of Khiva to the shores of and across the Caspian from and to Astrakhan; by the route to and from Orenburg by land in sixty days, through Orghenj in Khiva; to and from Troidska in Tobolsk, by the route east of the Sea of Aral, in forty-nine days; and to and from Petropavlosk (Kizil Djar) in ninety days. From 5000 to 6000 camels are annually employed in this trade. Bokhara exports to Russia, besides cotton, which is the principal item, dried fruits, rice, raw and dyed silks, indigo, silk sashes, turquoises, shawls, and furs. It imports muslins, calicoes, chintzes, some silk stuffs, broad-cloth, brocades, hides, iron, and other metals. The trade with Khiva employs only from 1000 to 1500 camels, and consists chiefly in exporting to Bokhara Russian goods, of which there is always an available surplus in the markets of Khiva. Three, and occasionally four, caravans arrive annually from Meshid in Persia, bringing cotton and silk stuffs, calicoes, chintzes, muslins, carpets, shawls, turquoises and opium, and receiving in return lamb-skins, cotton, rice, &c. From Herat and Kashmir is imported a considerable quantity of shawls and Indian produce and English manufactures from Kabul. A brisk traffic is also carried on with Khokand, Tashkand, Kashgar, and Yarkand. The central points of commerce are Bokhara and Karshee; and trade is principally conducted at the marts and fairs that are held in various parts of the country. Almost the only manufactures carried on in Bokhara are those of cotton goods, silks, carpets, leather, hardware, and jewellery. There is one manufactory of cast-iron articles. Swords and knives are fabricated at Hissar and Karshee, and excellent paper of raw silk at Bokhara.

Education.

Bokhara has for ages been reckoned the centre of Mussulman erudition; and if we look at the number of its schools and the state of education among its people, we cannot but admit that, in that respect, it ranks first among the states of Central Asia. About one-fourth of the population is said to be able to read and write. The primary schools are numerous in the capital, as well as in the other cities, and even in villages. The course in these schools extends over about seven years. Those wishing to continue their studies then enter the *medresses*, or seminaries, in which they pursue a higher course of studies, chiefly theological, under one or two professors who have acquired the right to give lectures. Each establishment has a fixed number of students, according to the extent of the building. Fifteen or even twenty years are reckoned insufficient to go through a complete course in these institutions. The people are, however, very superstitious, believing in witchcraft, omens, spirits, and the evil eye.

Government.

The Government is a hereditary despotism, the khan having the power of life and death over his subjects. The civil administration is in the hands of the clergy, and is founded on the Koran and the commentaries upon it. The military and civil dignitaries are divided into three grades. The troops of the khan are estimated at about 40,000 men, but of these not more than one-third are completely armed. The languages in use are the Persian and Turkoman; the latter is spoken by the Uzbeks, and the wandering tribes south of the Oxus.

Bokhara was known to the ancients under the name of Sogdiana. It was too far removed to the east ever to be brought under the dominion of Rome, but it has shared deeply in all the various and bloody revolutions of Asia. It is mentioned by the earliest historical writers of Persia; and the foundation of the capital is ascribed to Efrasiab, the great Persian hero. About the year 856, Yacub-bin-Leis is said to have been invested with the government of that province by the caliph. About twenty years later it was conquered by Ismael, the first sovereign of the Sassanean dynasty, whose successors held it until the renowned Malek Shah, third of the Seljuk dynasty

of Persia, passed the Oxus about the end of the 11th century, and subdued the whole country watered by that river and the Jaxartes. In 1216 Bokhara was again subdued by the celebrated Mahomet Shah Kharezm, who enjoyed his conquest but a short time ere it was wrested from him by Genghis Khan in 1220. The country was wasted by the fury of this savage conqueror, but recovered something of its former prosperity under Octai Khan, his son, whose disposition was humane and benevolent. His posterity kept possession till about 1400, when Timur bore down everything before him. His descendants ruled in the country until about 1500, when it was overrun by the Usbek Tatars, under Ebulkhier Khan, the founder of the Sheïbani dynasty, with which the history of Bokhara properly commences. The most remarkable representative of this family was Abdullah Khan, who greatly extended the limits of his kingdom by the conquest of Badakhshan, Herat, and Meshed, and greatly increased its prosperity by the public works which he authorized. Before the close of the century, however, the dynasty was extinct, and Bokhara was at once desolated by a Kirghiz invasion and distracted by a disputed succession. At length, in 1598, Baki Mehemet Khan, of the Astrakhan branch of the Timur family, mounted the throne, and thus introduced the dynasty of the Ashtarkhanides. The principal event of his reign was the defeat he inflicted on Shah Abbas of Persia in the neighbourhood of Balkh. His brother Veli Mehemet, who succeeded Baki in 1605, soon alienated his subjects, and was supplanted by his nephew Imamkuli. After a highly prosperous reign this prince resigned in favour of his brother, Nezr Mehemet, under whom the country was greatly troubled by the rebellion of his sons, who continued to quarrel with each other after their father's death. Meanwhile the district of Khiva, previously subject to Bokhara, was made an independent khanate by Abdulgazi Bahadur Khan; and in the reign of Subhankuli, who ascended the throne in 1680, the political power of Bokhara was still further lessened, though it continued to enjoy the unbounded respect of the Sunnite Mahometans. Subhankuli died in 1702 at the age of 80, and a war of succession broke out between his two sons, who were supported by the rivalry of two Usbek tribes. After five years the contest terminated in favour of Obeidullah, who was little better than a puppet in the hands of Rehim Bi Atalik, his vizier. The invasion of Nadir Shah came to complete the degradation of the land; and in 1740 the feeble king Ebulfeiz paid homage to the conqueror, and was soon after murdered and supplanted by his vizier. The time of the Ashtarkhanides had been for the most part a time of dissolution and decay; fanaticism and imbecility went hand in hand. On its fall the throne was seized by the Manghit family in the person of Mir Maasum, who pretended to the most extravagant sanctity, and proved by his military career that he had no small amount of ability. He turned his attention to the encroachments of the Afghans, and in 1781 reconquered the greater part of what had been lost to the south of the Oxus. Dying in 1802 he was succeeded by Saïd, who in bigotry and fanaticism was a true son of his father. In 1826 Nasrullah Bahuder mounted the throne, and began with the murder of his brother a reign of continued oppression and cruelty. Meanwhile Bokhara became an object of rivalry to Russia and England, and envoys were sent by both nations to cultivate the favour of the emir, who treated the Russians with arrogance and the English with contempt. The Russian armies were gradually advancing, and at last they appeared in Khokand; but the new emir, Mozaffer-eddin, instead of attempting to expiate the insults of his predecessor, sent a letter to General Chernayeff summoning him to evacuate the country, and threatening to raise all the faithful against him. In 1866 the Russians invaded the territory of Bokhara proper, and a decisive battle was fought on 20th May at Irdjar on the left bank of the Jaxartes. The Bokharians were defeated; but after a period of reluctant peace they forced the emir to renew the war. In 1868 the Russians entered Samarkand (May 14) and the emir was constrained to submit to the terms of the conqueror. Bokhara, though still nominally independent, is in reality subject to Russia, which must ere long absorb it completely.

Hitherto European intercourse with Bokhara has been very slight, and few travellers have personally visited it. The Brothers Polo were there in the time of Borak Khan (1264–1274) and Anthony Jenkinson in 1558–9, Cladisheff in 1740, Meyendorff and Nagri in 1820, Burnes in 1832, Wood in 1838, Khanikoff and Lehmann in 1841–2, Stoddart and Conolly in 1842, Danilevsky in 1842–3, and Vambery in 1863

See Khanikoff's *Bokhara*, translated by De Bode (1845); Vambery, *Travels in Central Asia* (1864), *Sketches of Central Asia* (1868), and *History of Bokhara* (1873); Fedchenko's "Sketch of the Zarafshan Valley" in *Journ. R. Geogr. Soc.* for 1870; Hellwald, *Die Russen in Central Asien* (1873).

BOKHARA, or BUKHARA, the capital of the above khanate, is situated six or seven miles from the left bank of the Zer-Affshan, in 39° 48′ N. lat. and 64° 26′ E. long. It is about eight miles in circumference, has a triangular shape, and is surrounded by an earthen wall about 20 feet high, which is pierced by eleven gates. It is divided into two main portions known as the Deruni Shehr and Beruni Shehr, or the inner and outer city, and these are subdivided into several districts. Of the former splendours of "Bokhara the Noble" the remains are comparatively few, and the general appearance of the city is very disappointing. Vambery describes it as one of the dirtiest and most unhealthy places in all Asia. The streets are extremely narrow, and the houses, flat-roofed and built of sun-dried bricks on frameworks of wood, are small and only one story in height. The bazaars are very numerous, and each trade has its own. There are about thirty small caravanserais throughout the city, which serve partly as store-rooms and partly as inns. The largest building in Bokhara is the Mosque of Kelan, which was originally built by Timur, and was restored by Abdullah Khan. It occupies a square of 300 feet, and is surmounted by a dome 100 feet high. There the khan comes to pay his devotions on Fridays in the midst of his subjects. Among the other mosques, which are fabulously said by the inhabitants to number 365, the most important are the Mesdjidi Mogak, a subterranean building of uncertain origin, and the Divanbeghi, which dates from 1629. In the neighbourhood of the latter is an open square, with a reservoir in the middle, which forms one of the favourite lounges of the people of Bokhara. On the opposite side rises the ark or palace of the khan, a gloomy building on an elevated site. Bokhara has long been regarded as the intellectual centre of Central Asia, and possesses a large number of educational establishments. There is hardly a street without its school, and the number of colleges or *medresses*, set down too at 365 by the inhabitants, is really about 80. Of these the handsomest is Abdullah's, which was built in 1372, and contains about 100 cells. Others date from 1426, 1529, and 1582; and one was founded by the Empress Catherine of Russia. The water supply of Bokhara is very defective, and the canals that convey it from the river are left in such an extreme state of filthiness, as readily to account for the prevalence of many forms of disease. The population was estimated by Meyendorff at about 70,000, and in this he was supported by Moorcroft and Khanikoff. Burnes raised the number to 150,000, and Wolff to 180,000; but it is now stated by Vambery at no more than 30,000.

BOLBEC, a town of France, capital of a canton in the department of Lower Seine, 18 miles E.N.E. from Havre on the railway to Paris, which here passes over high embankments and a viaduct. It was burned almost to the ground in 1765, but is now a flourishing brick-built manufacturing town, well supplied with water-power by the Bolbec stream. The principal manufactures are cotton goods, woollen cloth, and leather; there are also linen factories and dye-works. Population in 1872, 9019.

BOLEYN, ANNE, or, as the name is variously spelled, Bullen, Bouleyn, Boullan, or Boulain, queen of England, and second wife of Henry VIII., was the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, a distinguished politician, and Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the earl of Surrey, afterwards duke of Norfolk. Considerable obscurity rests over the date of her birth, which has been variously stated as 1501 and 1507; perhaps the earlier date is the more probable. She received a very careful education, and in 1514 became maid-in-waiting to Mary Tudor, then the affianced bride of Louis XII. of France. She crossed to France in Mary's train, but did not return with her, having entered the service of Queen Claude, where she was celebrated for her beauty, talents, and accomplishments. The period of her return to England has been matter of dispute; some, following Herbert and others, would make the date about 1522, others 1527. It may be assumed with some confidence that she returned about the earlier date. About this time occurred her love affair with Percy, afterwards earl of Northumberland, which was broken off by Wolsey, acting apparently under the directions of the jealous king. Henry seems already to have begun to direct his affections towards the fair Boleyn, who was then one of the maids of honour attached to his consort, Katherine of Aragon. He advanced her family, but is said to have been repulsed by her when he made an offer of his love. In 1527, after some absence from the court, she seems to have returned, and Henry's attentions to her became more marked than before. His passion soon opened his eyes more clearly to the sin of his marriage with his deceased brother's wife, and the subject of the divorce began to be seriously discussed. Towards 1530 Anne Boleyn was accustomed to keep state almost as queen; in 1532 she was raised to the peerage with the title of marchioness of Pembroke, and accompanied Henry in his visit to France. On January 25, 1533, according to a contemporary report, her ambition was crowned by a private marriage with Henry. On the 12th of April she was openly proclaimed queen, and the marriage was again solemnized; and on the 8th of May the king's previous marriage was declared to have been null and void. The coronation took place on the 19th of May, and on the 7th September, a princess, the famous Elizabeth, was born.

Little is known of the new queen's married life. She to some extent favoured the Reformers, and countenanced the translation of the Bible. In January 1536 she gave birth to a prince, still-born. It is said that this mishap was occasioned by her suddenly becoming aware of Henry's attentions to Lady Jane Seymour. However this may be, Henry's superstitious fears seem to have been roused by the want of a male heir, and his fancy for Anne Boleyn had been replaced by a new passion. In April 1536 a committee sat privately to inquire into certain accusations of adultery against the queen. A special commission was called on the 24th April, and orders were issued for the arrest of the Viscount Rochford, the queen's brother, Sir Henry Norris, Sir Wm. Brereton, Sir Francis Weston, and Mark Smeton, all her alleged paramours. At the same time writs were issued for a new parliament. On the 2d May the queen was arrested and summoned before the privy council. Smeton, Norris, and Weston were afterwards examined, and of these Smeton confessed, though it was said under torture. Norris is thought to have made some admission, which, however, he afterwards withdrew. All three were committed to the Tower, to an apartment in which the queen was also consigned. Henry wrote to her, holding out hopes of pardon if she would be open and honest. Her reply, however, strongly affirms her innocence, and its general tone goes far in her favour. (The authenticity of the queen's letter has been doubted, though on slight grounds, by Mr Froude.) The juries of Middlesex and Kent, before whom proceedings opened, found true writs charging the queen with adultery, committed with the above-named Rochford, Brereton, Weston, Norris, and Smeton, and all with conspiring against the king's life. On the 12th May, Brereton, Norris, Weston, and Smeton were tried at Westminster, found guilty, and condemned. On the 15th Anne Boleyn and her brother were tried before twenty-seven peers, found guilty, and sentenced. On the 17th Smeton was hanged, the others beheaded. Their remarks on the scaffold were general, and can be interpreted fairly in neither way. Before the queen's execution she is said to have confessed to Cranmer some previous impediment which rendered her marriage with the king null and void, but what the confession was is absolutely unknown. On the 19th May she suffered death on Tower Green. On the next day Henry was married to Jane Seymour. Over the whole episode of Anne Boleyn's trial and execution the deepest obscurity rests. All traces of the evidence have vanished, and the conflicting judgments of historians, it must be confessed, seem generally to be determined by the bias of the individual writer.

See *State Trials*, where Burnet and the older writers are quoted; Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*; Miss Binger, *Life of A. Boleyn*; and the histories of Lingard and Froude.

BOLI, a town of Asiatic Turkey, in Anatolia, situated about 85 miles N.W. of Angora, on the Philios Chai, to the south of the Boli Dagh, in 31° 40′ E. long. and 40° 45′ N. lat. It is the capital of a sandjak and the seat of a governor, and contains a ruined castle and numerous mosques and baths, nowise remarkable in their structure. Cotton and leather are manufactured; the country around is fertile, and in the neighbourhood is a forest, from which Constantinople is largely supplied with wood. There are warm springs in the vicinity. Boli is built not far from what is regarded by Leake as the ruins of Hadrianopolis, where many marble fragments with Greek inscriptions are still found. The population is conjecturally stated at 10,000.

BOLINGBROKE, HENRY ST JOHN, VISCOUNT, was born in October 1678. His father, Sir Henry St John, the descendant of an old and noble family, was a noted rake of the Restoration period, who continued to live his life of pleasure and indolence for upwards of ninety years. Of his mother little is known, save that she was a daughter of the earl of Warwick. The education of her son was entrusted to the care of his grandmother, Lady St John, who was a professed Puritan and of a pious disposition. His tutor was a Dr Burgess, then renowned for his wit not less than for his piety, whose instructions in divinity seem to have been somewhat distasteful, if we are to accept the pupil's account of the dreary studies he was compelled to engage in. At an early age he was sent to Eton, where he appears to have been a school-fellow, though hardly a rival, of Walpole, and then proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford. The life he led at the university was typical of his later career. His brilliant talents and unusually retentive memory enabled him to amass an immense amount of information—more, indeed, than he was given credit for; while at the same time he began to

acquire an equally high reputation for dissipation and licentiousness. He was the Rochester of the period, with more than Rochester's abilities. He sought and gained the fame of a modern Alcibiades or Petronius. Amidst all his excesses, however, he maintained a real interest in literature. He was intimate with Dryden, and prefixed a laudatory poem to the first edition of the translation of Virgil. The verses did not hold out high promise of poetic power; and his later efforts in the same direction did little for his literary reputation. His most considerable production, *Almahide, an Ode*, is a miserable tawdry affair; the light ode to the equally light *Clara* is very much better, and has some vivacity and sparkle. He seems to have been conscious of his want of poetic genius, for his verse remains are not numerous.

For two years, from 1698 to 1700, he resided on the Continent, and during that time acquired the thorough mastery of the French language which was afterwards of so much service to him. On his return his friends, in the hope of withdrawing him to some extent from his loose mode of life, negotiated a marriage with the wealthy daughter of Sir Henry Winchescomb, a baronet of Berkshire. Marriage, however, effected little or no change in St John; and, though his wife never formally separated from him, and always retained a true affection for her husband, their married life was unhappy and divided. In February of the year following he entered Parliament as member for Wootton-Basset.

The Tory party, from a combination of circumstances, were then all-powerful in the House of Commons. The Partition Treaty, a measure for which, indeed, little can be said, had not met with popular favour, while William's large grants to foreigners, together with the general coldness and repulsiveness of his manners, had rendered him most unpopular. A perfect storm of discontent had arisen, and the Tories were nearly bewildered with the power which had been suddenly placed in their hands. Harley, perhaps, at that time, from his moderation, the most influential man of the party, led the House as speaker. St John enrolled himself among the Tories with the utmost enthusiasm, and from the first displayed such brilliant powers as placed him at once in the front rank, and gave him an almost unique position. His youth and high birth, his handsome and commanding presence, and his agreeable address, no doubt contributed largely to his rapid elevation; but what above all secured for him an unequalled success was his wonderful eloquence. The powers he unexpectedly evinced as an orator and debater were unrivalled then, and, if we are to take contemporary reports as our authority, had never been equalled, and have seldom, if ever, been surpassed. Not a fragment of his many speeches has come down to us; but from the criticisms of those who heard him speak, and from his published writings, some idea of their general quality may be gathered. The most prominent characteristics seem to have been copiousness and readiness, extreme fluency, and spontaneity, combined with a brilliant felicity of phrase, the right expression seeming to spring up naturally along with the thought to be expressed. His sentences are mostly massive and balanced, yet never heavy; flowing, but rarely redundant. He is, perhaps, the first British statesman whose parliamentary oratory has been really a power; and with such splendid qualifications it was little wonder that he readily became the protagonist of the Tory party. He was their mouthpiece; he gave expression to their half-articulate wishes, hounded them on in their insane attacks on the great Whig leaders, and barbed their invectives with his own trenchant wit. But, as he has himself admitted, it would be difficult to discover what object the Tories really had in view. Their only desire seems to have been to revenge themselves upon their political opponents and indirectly to assail the king. A definite policy they had not either at that time or throughout the succeeding reign. The Whigs had so far a basis of operations; they held by the Protestant succession, and were in favour of a war with France. The Tories, who, if thoroughgoing, were really Jacobites, were averse to the French war, because it indirectly weakened their party, and they did not favour the succession. But consistent adherence to principle is a thing one looks for in vain among the majority of statesmen in the reign of Anne. There never was a time in British history when the movements of politicians were regulated by such petty causes, and when great talents had to be turned to such paltry purposes. Politics became but a grand game, in which success meant office, power, wealth, and dignity; and to secure such success few hesitated at the most dishonourable means. Treason was a thing of common occurrence, and many names among the highest in English history are tarnished by acts of grossest treachery. Bolingbroke participates to the full in the spirit of his time. Never throughout his whole career can one observe the operation of a consistent policy, or trace the action of any motive higher than personal ambition. Mentally and morally he was well qualified to take a prominent place in the political struggle of the time.

The rush of popular favour to the Tory party was checked by Louis's acknowledgment of the Pretender as legitimate king of England. There was no opposition made to the proposed war, which was not interrupted by the death of William and the accession of Anne. Godolphin and Marlborough, both moderate Tories, were strongly in favour of the war, and consequently found themselves gradually drawn into harmony with the Whigs rather than with the extreme members of their own party. Several of the latter were removed from the cabinet, and among the new officials were Harley, and, curiously enough, St John, the former being made Secretary of State, the latter Secretary at War. It has been doubted to what influence St John owed this singular promotion. Harley's power was hardly great enough to effect it, and it is more than probable that it was in great part, if not entirely, the work of Marlborough, who had a very considerable affection and respect for St John, and who doubtless desired a friend of his to fill the office with which he had so many transactions. As secretary St John discharged his duties with great efficiency, and manifested the most enthusiastic admiration for Marlborough's military genius and success. Meantime Harley had been tampering with the secret springs which moved so much of the political machinery. His relative Mrs Masham was supplanting the imperious duchess of Marlborough, and through her influence the queen was becoming convinced that the interests of the nation should be confided to Harley and the Tories. She was ready to dismiss Godolphin at the first opportunity, but the Whigs were as yet too strong, and Harley's schemes having been discovered, he was in 1708 compelled to resign. St John, who can hardly be thought to have had no cognizance of what was afoot, resigned along with him, and spent two years in philosophical retirement, studying diligently and living loosely as before. During these years a gradual undercurrent of feeling swelled up against the Whig party. The war was distasteful, and its prolongation was looked upon as altogether the work of Marlborough. Above all, the queen was thoroughly alienated from her old friend and under the influence of Mrs Masham. Yet the strength of the Whig party might have enabled them to carry through their policy successfully had not an act of suicidal imprudence completely ruined them. The prosecution of Sacheverell was the signal for a perfect storm of insanely loyal feeling throughout the country. A Tory ministry