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Sir C. Hardinge
Signatur: *[Signature]*
Datum: 19 November 1910

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Adresse : *London*
Date : *19 November 1910*
Signature :

**NEW VICEROY OF INDIA.
SIR C. HARDINGE SUCCEEDS
LORD MINTO.
CROWNING HONOURS IN
BRILLIANT CAREER.**

We are officially informed that the King on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, has been pleased to approve of the nomination of the Right Hon. Sir Charles Hardinge, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., C.B., I.S.O., to be Viceroy and Governor-General of India in succession to the Earl of Minto, who retires from his office in November next. It is understood that the bestowal of a peerage upon the new Viceroy is likely to follow at an early date. Sir Charles Hardinge was received in audience by the King on the day on which his appointment was announced. Sir Charles Hardinge, who since 1906 has been Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, has had a distinguished and varied career in diplomacy. The second son of the second Viscount Hardinge, he was born in 1858. Educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, he entered the Diplomatic Service in 1880. His first appointment was to Constantinople, where he was promoted to be Third Secretary after fifteen months' service, and acted as private secretary to Lord Dufferin, then Ambassador to the Porte. From Constantinople he went to Berlin in 1884, and thence to Washington in 1885 and to Sofia in 1887. After three years in Paris he was promoted to be Secretary of Legation in Teheran in 1896. From Persia he went in 1898 to St. Petersburg, whence, after five years, he was summoned to the important position of Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. In 1904 Sir Charles Hardinge returned to the Russian capital as Ambassador.

THE YOUNGEST AMBASSADOR
ever sent by this country to the Court of the Tsar. He remained at that post until 1906, when he came to England once more as the successor of Lord Sanderson at the Foreign Office. As Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Sir



Charles Hardinge's wide experience of men and affairs in many lands was of the utmost value. His duties at the Foreign Office demanded close acquaintance with a multitude of complex problems, to the solution of which he brought accurate knowledge and a keen and penetrating judgment. Sir Charles Hardinge accompanied King Edward in his first official visits to Portugal, Italy, and France soon after his coronation, and established with his late Majesty a firm reputation for skill and capacity. To this reputation he owed in some measure his appointment as Permanent Secretary to the Foreign Office and the fact that King Edward chose him to accompany him as the representative of the Foreign Office in his visits abroad to meet the German Emperor and the Tsar. Indeed, so highly did his late Majesty esteem Sir Charles that his present appointment is understood to have been inspired by King Edward. Sir Charles Hardinge is popular not only with his colleagues, but with all who have been associated with him. His linguistic ability is great, and among the languages in which he has qualified are Turkish, Persian, and Russian. Sir Charles's grandfather was Viceroy of India from 1844-47, after having served in the Peninsular War, and lost his hand at Ligny, a circumstance which prevented him appearing on the field of Waterloo. Sir Charles Hardinge married in 1890 the Hon. Winifred Sturt, daughter of Lord Alington, and has two sons and one daughter.

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Zentralstelle des
Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts.

Lord Hardinge.

Signatur:

Datum: 5. Dez. 1913.

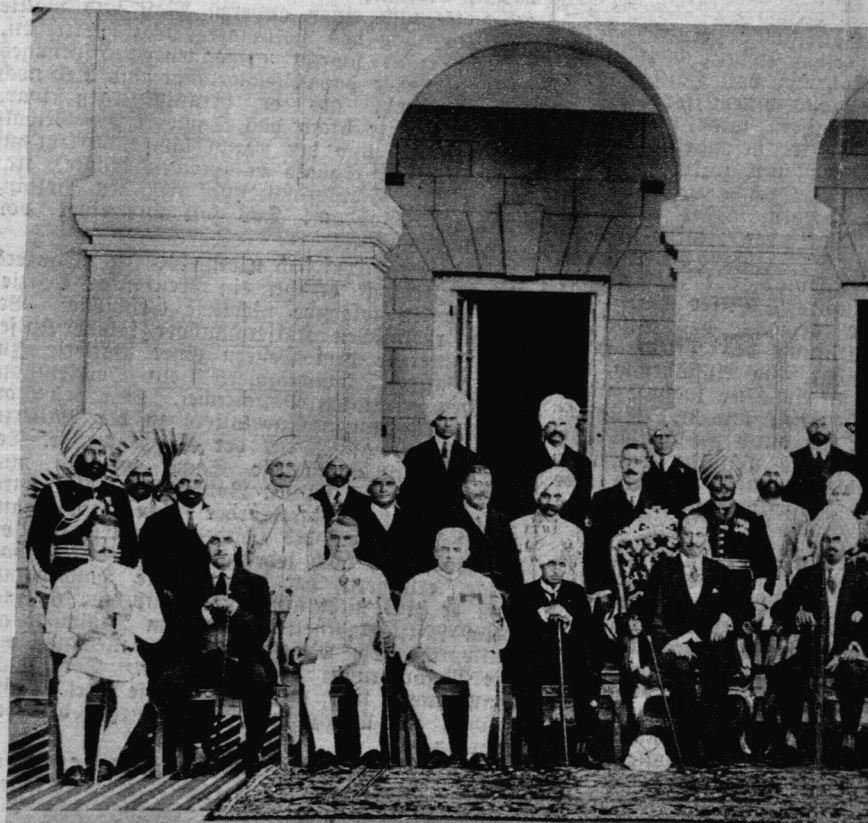
Hamburger Fremdenblatt

Nr. 285 vom 5. Dez. 1913.

Lord Hardinge, Vizekönig von Indien, im Kreise

Die Rücktrittsmeldung des Vizekönigs von Indien, des Lord Hardinge, bestätigt sich nicht, und die Nachrichten, die jetzt über seine sehr energische Stellungnahme in dem Kampfe der Indier in der Südafrikanischen Union gegen das britische Reich bekannt werden, widersprechen durchaus dem Gerücht, daß Lord Hardinge seit dem in Delhi im Dezember vorigen Jahres auf ihn verübten Mordanschlag einer tiefen Melancholie verfallen sei, die ihn selbst mit einer gewissen Gleichgültigkeit gegen die Erledigung seiner Geschäfte erfülle. Daß ein derartiger Ueberfall aus dem Hinterhalt einen nachhaltigen Eindruck macht, daß ihm sogar eine sehr schwere seelische Depression folgt, wird man ohne weiteres verstehen, aber die Art, in der der indische Vizekönig die Interessen der Indier vertreten hat, ohne Rücksichtnahme auf die Stimmung, die er damit in England auslösen würde, zeugt keineswegs von mangelnder Tatkraft.

Seine Verteidigung der von den in Südafrika lebenden Indiern erhobenen Ansprüche hat denn auch schon durch den General Botha eine scharfe Zurückweisung gefunden. Das hat Lord Hardinge nicht abgehalten, nochmals in einer Rede in Madras seine Uebereinstimmung mit den Forderungen der Indier zu betonen. Es handelt sich dabei bekanntlich um die Klagen der nach Südafrika ausgewanderten Indier, die als britische Untertanen eine Befreiung von der ihnen auferlegten Kopfsteuer von drei Pfund Sterling und eine politische und soziale Gleichstellung mit der weißen Bevölkerung verlangen. Da ihre bisherigen Klagen kein Gehör fanden, haben sie zu dem Mittel der offenen Agitation gegriffen und sind dabei in Esperanza bei einem Zusammenstoß mit der Polizei tödtlich angegriffen und



dessen Name in dem Konflikt der südafrikanischen Union

Kreise eingeborener Fürsten und englischer Beamten



kanischen Union mit dem britischen Reich viel genannt wird

einige von ihnen sind schwer verwundet, andere sogar getötet worden.

Selbstverständlich hat diese Kunde in Indien geradezu revolutionierend gewirkt. In erregt verlaufenden Protestversammlungen wird die Verteidigung und der ausreichende Schutz der Indier in Südafrika gefordert und große Geldsammlungen werden für ihre Unterstützung veranstaltet. Die Empörung richtet sich aber vor allem gegen England, das nach Ansicht der Indier seine Untertanen auf fremdem Boden im Stiche läßt. Voraussichtlich hat Lord Hardinge, den unser Bild im Kreise indischer Fürsten und englischer Beamten zeigt, sich so offenkundig und tatkräftig auf die Seite der Indier gestellt, um ihnen das Bewußtsein zu geben, daß ihre Beschwerden gründlich geprüft und nachweisbare Ungerechtigkeiten aufgehoben werden.

Zur Feststellung der Tatsachen und zur Prüfung der Klagen fordert der Vizekönig von Indien die Ernennung einer englischen Untersuchungskommission und wird darin von Lord Crewe, dem Staatssekretär von Indien, unterstützt, der ebenfalls für die Einsetzung einer solchen unparteiischen Kommission eintritt, nachdem ihm eine indische Deputation den Sachverhalt geschildert und den Schutz Englands angerufen hat.

In Indien zeigt man sich sehr erfreut über die Haltung Lord Hardinges, in England dagegen wird sie sehr verschieden, zum meist aber nicht sehr zustimmend beurteilt. Es ist sehr wohl möglich, daß sich aus diesen Widersprüchen ein ernstster Konflikt auspielt.

Der Großvater Lord Hardinges war ebenfalls Vizekönig dieses Landes der märchenhaften Schönheiten, und so mag sich ihm schon durch die erziehlchen Einflüsse Verständnis für die Wesensart des indischen Volkes erschlossen haben.

The Times (London)

Nr. *41149* vom *24. April* 1916**LD. HARDINGE'S
RETURN.****REVIEW OF HIS WORK****THE MESOPOTAMIAN
CAMPAIGN.**

Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, accompanied by his daughter, Miss Diamond Hardinge, returned to London on Saturday from India.

There were present to meet him at Victoria Lord Paruhar (representing the King), Sir James Dunlop Smith (representing the Secretary of State for India), Sir Arthur Hirtzel (Political Secretary), and Mr. Kershaw (Revenue Secretary, India Office), the following representatives of the Foreign Office:—The Hon. Theo Russell (representing Sir Edward Grey), Sir Walter Langley (Assistant Under-Secretary of State), Mr. Oliphant, and Mr. Harold Nicolson; Admiral of the Fleet the Hon. Sir Hedworth Meux, M.P., and the Hon. Lady Meux, Sir F. Young-husband, and Mr. R. H. Benson.

At Folkestone Lord Hardinge was met by his brother, Viscount Hardinge, the Hon. Mrs. Napier Sturt, and Colonel Aytoun. The Mayor (Sir S. Penfold), the Aldermen, and Town Councillors attended in their robes. The Mayor said he had been requested by Lord Harris to give him in the name of the county a hearty welcome on his return, and in that welcome Folkestone desired heartily to join. After his successful administration they trusted that he would enjoy a well-earned rest and that his valuable experience might again be available for the service of the nation.

Lord Hardinge, in reply, said he thanked the Mayor for his kindness in coming to meet him and extending to him that hearty welcome. Kent had not been out of his thoughts for a single day during the 5½ years he had been in India. He was very happy to be back again.

A POPULAR VICEROY.

The great merit of Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty has been that he won quite early the confidence and esteem of the people of India. The movement in his favour began when he readjusted the partition of Bengal. However opinions may differ about that embittered controversy, there can be no doubt that his decision gave satisfaction to an important section of the population. Another of his earliest acts was to inaugurate a great development of education, and in course of time he almost doubled the educational expenditure. For this he received the approval of the intellectuals, tempered always by disputes about method. The attempt to assassinate him at Delhi in December, 1912, his demeanour upon that occasion, and his firm declaration as soon as he recovered produced an outburst of sympathy throughout India which was never afterwards withdrawn from him. To the Imperial Legislative Council he said:—"I assure you and the whole of India that this incident will in no sense influence my attitude. I will pursue without faltering the same policy in the future as during the past two years, and I will not waver a hair's breadth from that course." His subsequent acts were in full accord with his

somewhat alarming upheaval of Mahomedan feeling throughout India. The Mahomedans, moreover, had never quite forgiven the extinction of the new province of Eastern Bengal, on which they had built so many hopes. Lord Hardinge went to Cawnpore, adjusted the local differences, and stayed the criminal proceedings against the rioters. The spectacle of a Viceroy hurrying by special train to a distant city, reversing the somewhat obstinate decisions of the authorities on the spot, and in effect releasing a large number of prisoners was no doubt unconventional. Perhaps it formed a precedent which should not often be copied. There can be no doubt, however, that it relieved a very dangerous tension, and it had the incidental effect of producing a new warmth of feeling towards the Viceroy among Mahomedans. But the episode must not in the least be regarded as having impaired subordinate authority, or as an effort to restore peace at any price. It was not a mere concession to clamour. There were many facts which never came before the general public.

EMIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

In November, 1913, Lord Hardinge made a speech at Madras which angered South Africa, left England a little bewildered, but gave him a permanent place in the affections of the people of India. Speaking of the resistance offered by Indians in South Africa to the Immigration law, the Viceroy said:—

Recently your compatriots in South Africa have taken matters into their own hands by organizing what is called passive resistance to laws which they consider invidious and unjust—an opinion which we who watch their struggles from afar cannot but share. They have violated, as they intended to violate, those laws, with full knowledge of the penalties involved, and ready with all courage and patience to endure those penalties. In all this they have the sympathy of India—deep and burning—and not only of India, but of all those who, like myself, without being Indians themselves, have feelings of sympathy for the people of this country.

In recent years no question had perturbed India more than the disabilities endured by Indians in the Dominions and the Crown Colonies. The issue was an old one, but the interest in it was modern. It probably arose in part from the warm desire of India to take her rightful place in the British Empire, not as a supplicating dependent, but as one endowed with rights and privileges of her own. The Madras speech met with an extraordinary response, and finally accounted for the great popularity Lord Hardinge ever afterwards enjoyed. He had touched the hearts of the people, and thenceforth they trusted him implicitly. Other Viceroys had fought for the financial and administrative rights of India, but here was a Viceroy who was willing to champion in all sincerity the rights of the people themselves.

A great new principle lay behind that simple little speech. Whatever form the relations between Great Britain and India may eventually assume, it is reasonably certain that future Viceroys and future Governments of India must more and more identify themselves with Indian interests, even when they seem to conflict at times with the policy of the Home Government. They must be truly Indian Governments, which implies some change of spirit and outward attitude. It also implies a gradual lessening of Whitehall control. The whole secret of the great influence of Lord Hardinge acquired in India is that it was instinctively felt that he was by conviction the forerunner of some such gradual change.

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR.

When war suddenly burst upon the world in

The Times (London)

Nr. 44,149 vom 24. April 1916

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In August, 1913, a petty dispute about the courtyard of a mosque at Cawnpore produced a riot in which the police fired upon a Mahomedan mob, and many people were killed and wounded. Wholesale arrests were made. The Balkan War was still smouldering, and there was a great and

somewhat alarming upheaval of Mahomedan feeling throughout India. The Mahomedans, moreover, had never quite forgiven the extinction of the new province of Eastern Bengal, on which they had built so many hopes. Lord Hardinge went to Cawnpore, adjusted the local differences, and stayed the criminal proceedings against the rioters. The spectacle of a Viceroy hurrying by special train to a distant city, reversing the somewhat obstinate decisions of the authorities, on the spot, and in effect releasing a large number of prisoners was no doubt unconventional. Perhaps it formed a precedent which should not often be copied. There can be no doubt, however, that it relieved a very dangerous tension, and it had the incidental effect of producing a new warmth of feeling towards the Viceroy among Mahomedans. But the episode must not in the least be regarded as having impaired subordinate authority, or as an effort to restore peace at any price. It was not a mere concession to clamour. There were many facts which never came before the general public.

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A great new principle lay behind that simple little speech. Whatever form the relations between Great Britain and India may eventually assume, it is reasonably certain that future Viceroys and future Governments of India must more and more identify themselves with Indian interests, even when they seem to conflict at times with the policy of the Home Government. They must be truly Indian Governments, which implies some change of spirit and outward attitude. It also implies a gradual lessening of Whitehall control. The whole secret of the great influence of Lord Hardinge acquired in India is that it was instinctively felt that he was by conviction the forerunner of some such gradual change.

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR.

When war suddenly burst upon the world in 1914 Lord Hardinge's influence in India, honestly gained without any resort to specious arts in which he was quite unskilled, was a priceless asset to the Empire. It is by this standard, and not by the accidents of a campaign amid the swamps of Chaldea, that he is

entitled to be judged by his countrymen. The swift and almost universal outpouring of Indian loyalty when war was declared was spontaneous enough, though it owed something to the deepened spirit of loyalty to the Crown resulting from the King-Emperor's visit three years earlier. Yet in the early days of the war, when the Allies reeled under the fierceness of the German onslaught, it was fortunate that we had in India a Viceroy who inspired general confidence and esteem.

There was another side to the picture during the first year of war. While the princes and chiefs and the bulk of the people expressed steadfast belief in the ultimate success of the British cause, many emissaries of disorder and

anarchy pervaded the country. More than one plot financed by German gold was discovered just in the nick of time. Gangs of conspirators arrived from the Pacific coast of North America, found their way up-country, and sought to foment rebellion. For some time the Punjab was rife with outrage and murder, and the anarchists in Lower Bengal resumed their old activity. In the Punjab there was even a conspiracy to bring about a general rising, which had for its central feature the seizure of the Ferozepore Arsenal. Attempts were made in almost every cantonment in India to subvert the loyalty of the Indian troops, always without success, except in a few minor instances.

Lord Hardinge dealt swiftly and vigilantly with all these manifestations of disorder, which at times were far more prevalent and sinister than England ever knew. He passed special legislation for the prompt trial of offenders, and so it came to pass that even the potential rebels, whose preparations had included the drafting of a declaration of war, found themselves before a prosaic tribunal in Lahore. The Viceroy's subsequent clemency to many of the accused persons in the Punjab was severely condemned by the bulk of the English community, of whom it may be said that they were not in possession of all the facts. These sporadic outbreaks were not in the least typical of the general attitude of India, but they caused much anxiety, and required and received stern treatment, tempered with mercy. Canning was criticized for his clemency, as Lord Hardinge has been criticized. Both were right.

THE MUDDLE OF MESOPOTAMIA.

In any sketch of Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty, however broadly drawn, disproportionate attention must be given just now to the Mesopotamian campaign, because it is foremost in the public mind. When in November, 1914, Lord Hardinge, with the concurrence of the Home Government, began operations in Mesopotamia, his intentions were clearly of the most modest kind. With a single division he seized the important Turkish seaport of Basra, saved the Admiralty oil refineries on Abadan Island from destruction, and cut off the Turks from access to the Persian Gulf. He went himself to Basra and to the advanced base at Kurna, 50 miles further up the river, in the following February. Had the operations stopped at that point, as was originally intended, British interests would have been sufficiently served, and the subsequent unfortunate complications would not have arisen.

Never was there a more mournful example of the way in which a little overseas expedition is liable to develop into a great and costly campaign. Fresh bodies of Turks and Arabs began to collect at widely separated points, of the Euphrates, the Tigris, and in the neighbourhood of the Karun River. The area was in no sense a decisive one, and the risks were obviously great. But though we should never have left the districts accessible to sea transport, the Mesopotamian force was increased to an Army Corps, which before very long was waging three minor campaigns at the three points of a triangle. The command in Mesopotamia had meanwhile passed to Lieutenant-General Sir John Eccles Nixon, and under his direction General Townshend advanced in September to Kut-el-Amara, where he fought a successful though somewhat risky battle, and occupied the town.

WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE ?

Sir John Nixon gave as his reason for desiring to take Kut that it was an almost impregnable advanced base. It will probably be held that

in the end. But, Kut having been reached, Sir John Nixon then proposed that General Townshend should advance across the desert to Baghdad. It is at this point that the unsettled question of Lord Hardinge's share of responsibility arises. The question at present in dispute is the apportionment of responsibility between Lord Hardinge and the Home Government, and their respective military advisers. Did the Home Government, anxious to obtain a set-off for their failure at Gallipoli, accept with eagerness Sir John Nixon's proposal to advance to Baghdad? Or did Lord Hardinge contribute his share of the sanction without marked pressure from home? The verdict must obviously turn upon the evidence of telegrams which are not yet public property.

MILITARY DEMANDS ON INDIA.

It must be carefully remembered that two separate issues are really involved in the Mesopotamian controversy. The first, which is that of general responsibility for the Baghdad advance, lies between Lord Hardinge and the Cabinet. The second, which relates to the breakdown of the medical arrangements, the commissariat, and the river transport after the battle of Ctesiphon, exclusively concerns the Government of India, whose responsibility is acknowledged. Both these issues must, however, be examined in relation to the enormous demands made upon the limited military resources of India. In Great Britain we have found ourselves gradually able to expand our military strength to an almost unlimited extent. No such corresponding expansion has been possible in India, although recruiting for the native regiments increased considerably after the war began. The real cause of the partial breakdown was that the military organization of India was subjected to a strain which it was never intended to stand.

Soon after war broke out a certain number of units of the Regular Army, stationed in India, were sent to England, and a certain number of Territorial units went out to replace them. Roughly speaking, the balance remained to that extent almost unaltered. Lord Hardinge at the same time offered an Army Corps and a Cavalry Division (subsequently a second Cavalry Division was sent) for service in France. The Army Corps arrived at a critical moment, and rendered useful service. Had there been no further demands on India there would have been no breakdown.

The sudden appearance of Turkey as a combatant upset all calculations at Army Headquarters in India. An Army Corps was sent from India to Mesopotamia. Very large forces were sent to Egypt for the defence of the Suez Canal, and part of these forces fought gallantly at Gallipoli. Lord Hardinge further hurried a substantial expedition across the Indian Ocean to East Africa, where it helped to save the protectorate. He garrisoned Mauritius and Singapore, and actually contributed one Indian battalion to the conquest of Cameroon. He landed a force on the shores of Southern Persia for the protection of British interests. He had to provide for the defence of Aden, where the Turks and Arabs pressed vigorously. An Indian detachment fought with the Japanese at Tsingtau. While sending troops over half the globe, and keeping them supplied, Lord Hardinge and the Army Department had to watch the North-West Frontier with the utmost vigilance, and to smite hard and repeatedly whenever the tribesmen became troublesome. There were seven minor outbreaks on the North-West Frontier alone during the first year of the war.

The real fault was that far too much was attempted. Lord Hardinge tried in all good faith to help in waging war from the Bight of Benin to North China, and from Ypres to the Khaibar Pass. The surprising thing is, not that there were such grave flaws, but that the Army of India was able to do so much. Yet this very dispersal of strength ought to have prevented the Baghdad advance.

EXCEPTIONAL DIFFICULTIES.

Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty will not be associated with any far-reaching legislative changes, partly by reason of the exceptional difficulties which beset him throughout his term of office. His first year was largely

from the King-Emperor's visit three years earlier. Yet in the early days of the war, when the Allies reeled under the fierceness of the German onslaught, it was fortunate that we had in India a Viceroy who inspired general confidence and esteem.

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It must be carefully remembered that two separate issues are really involved in the Mesopotamian controversy. The first, which is that of general responsibility for the Baghdad advance, lies between Lord Hardinge and the Cabinet. The second, which relates to the breakdown of the medical arrangements, the commissariat, and the river transport after the battle of Ctesiphon, exclusively concerns the Government of India, whose responsibility is acknowledged. Both these issues must, however, be examined in relation to the enormous demands made upon the limited military resources of India. In Great Britain we have found ourselves gradually able to expand our military strength to an almost unlimited extent. No such corresponding expansion has been possible in India, although recruiting for the native regiments increased considerably after the war began. The real cause of the partial breakdown was that the military organization of India was subjected to a strain which it was never intended to stand.

Soon after war broke out a certain number of units of the Regular Army, stationed in India, were sent to England, and a certain number of Territorial units went out to replace them. Roughly speaking, the balance remained to that extent almost unaltered. Lord Hardinge at the same time offered an Army Corps and a Cavalry Division (subsequently a second Cavalry Division was sent) for service in France. The Army Corps arrived at a critical moment, and rendered useful service. Had there been no further demands on India there would have been no breakdown.

The sudden appearance of Turkey as a combatant upset all calculations at Army Headquarters in India. An Army Corps was sent from India to Mesopotamia. Very large forces were sent to Egypt for the defence of the Suez Canal, and part of these forces fought gallantly at Gallipoli. Lord Hardinge further hurried a substantial expedition across the Indian Ocean to East Africa, where it helped to save the protectorate. He garrisoned Mauritius and Singapore, and actually contributed one Indian battalion to the conquest of Cameroon. He landed a force on the shores of Southern Persia for the protection of British interests. He had to provide for the defence of Aden, where the Turks and Arabs pressed vigorously. An Indian detachment fought with the Japanese at Tsingtau. While sending troops over half the globe, and keeping them supplied, Lord Hardinge and the Army Department had to watch the North-West Frontier with the utmost vigilance, and to smite hard and repeatedly whenever the tribesmen became troublesome. There were seven minor outbreaks on the North-West Frontier alone during the first year of the war.

The real fault was that far too much was attempted. Lord Hardinge tried in all good faith to help in waging war from the Bight of Benin to North China, and from Ypres to the Khaibar Pass. The surprising thing is, not that there were such grave flaws, but that the Army of India was able to do so much. Yet this very dispersal of strength ought to have prevented the Baghdad advance.

EXCEPTIONAL DIFFICULTIES.

Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty will not be associated with any far-reaching legislative changes, partly by reason of the exceptional difficulties which beset him throughout his term of office. His first year was largely occupied in preparations for the reception of their Majesties, and in the secret labour involved in planning the new capital and re-

arranging the Bengal provinces. His second year was equally taken up with the change of capital and the provincial rearrangements. At the end of the second year came the attempted assassination, which threw him out of his stride for a long period in the third year. Half-way through the fourth year Lady Hardinge died, and within a fortnight war broke out. The Viceroy's eldest son was killed in action early in the war. To a multitude of preoccupations such as no previous Viceroy had known there was thus added towards the end poignant domestic sorrow. Lord Hardinge faced all his perplexities and trials with the calm courage he showed in the streets of Delhi on the day the attempt was made upon his life.

THE NEW CAPITAL.

In the records of British rule in India Lord Hardinge will probably be chiefly remembered as the Viceroy who was privileged to receive the first King-Emperor to land on Indian soil, and as the founder of the new Imperial capital of Delhi. The King-Emperor struck India dumb with astonishment, mingled with respectful admiration at such a truly Oriental decision, when he announced at the great Coronation Durbar his resolve to shift his capital a distance of a thousand miles. If Lord Hardinge exercised any influence upon the Imperial will it was never disclosed, nor is the subject suitable for speculation. But if the Monarch gave the order, Lord Hardinge had to do the work, and he set about it with energetic enthusiasm. He had first to placate the wrath of Calcutta, which he did with considerable success, and then with characteristic directness of purpose he went straight to Dacca to soothe the ruffled feelings of the inhabitants of the extinguished province of Eastern Bengal. Calcutta's sop was the undoing of the partition and the reuniting of Old Bengal with the eastern districts. On the other hand, a new province was constructed out of Behar and Orissa, while Assam regained separate existence under a Chief Commissioner. The whole plan was extremely ingenious, and now that the excitement has subsided it may be said quite frankly that nobody was left with much to grumble at. The new arrangements are working reasonably well.

The new capital was a huge undertaking, but the work has been pushed forward vigorously. Lord Hardinge drew on the whole Empire for distinguished architects, town-planners, and other experts, and at intervals much of his time has been engrossed by the plans for the Imperial city. The ground has been cleared, roads have been laid out, the foundations are in, and some of the principal buildings are already rising. There is a growing tendency to recognize that the change of capital is bringing many advantages, not the least of which is that it has removed the Imperial Government from the contentious atmosphere of Bengal.

INDIA AND THE EMPIRE.

Much of Lord Hardinge's administrative work has been of too technical a character to interest English readers. It is hardly possible here to enlarge upon such topics as his cordial intercourse with the princes and chiefs, whose relations with the Government he very much improved; upon the great attention he bestowed upon educational progress, in conjunction

with Sir Harcourt Butler; upon his vigorous control of the external politics of India, his watchful interest in the obscure affairs of the Burmo-Chinese frontier, and his cultivation of more friendly relations with the Amir of Afghanistan; and upon his attempt, postponed by the House of Lords, to grant an Executive Council to the United Provinces. The duties of a Viceroy are so varied that any review must be merely selective.

One broad question may, however, be noted as an illustration of the character of Lord Hardinge's work in India. The great problem the British in India have to solve within the next ten years is the relations to be developed between India and the rest of the Empire. Upon the solution of that problem, far more than upon drain pipes and feeder railways, the future of Great Britain in Asia must depend. It was Lord Hardinge's greatest merit that he quickly perceived the crowning importance of this paramount issue, and constantly turned his thoughts towards possible remedies. To the convictions he formed upon this subject the Madras speech about Indians in South Africa was undoubtedly due. To the same end he sent a commission to various Crown Colonies to inquire into the working of the system of "indentured" emigration from India. Afterwards he urged the Home Government to agree to the eventual abolition of the system, and in one of his last speeches in India, on March 20, he was able to announce that his advice had been formally accepted.

More important still was his success in inducing the Home Government to promise last year that the pressing claim of India to official representation at the next Imperial Conference would receive "most careful consideration," though the ultimate decision "must necessarily depend largely on the attitude of other members of the Conference." India claims admission to the Conference, not as a suppliant on bended knee, but as an equal. Her appeal must be heard. The most useful service Lord Hardinge rendered to the people of India was that he strove earnestly to secure for them equality of place in the councils of the Empire. It was thus that he won their affections, and this should be his truest title to remembrance.

THE KING-EMPEROR'S REWARD.

Shortly before Lord Hardinge left India the King-Emperor bestowed upon him the highest honour in his gift, the Order of the Garter. Some surprise was expressed in quarters where Mesopotamia had been heard of, but where the true work of Lord Hardinge was unknown. The King-Emperor understands India a great deal better than the majority of his subjects. To have allowed a Viceroy who had wrought—and suffered—so much, who had steered the Dependency through a great crisis, who had won the warmest regard of all the Indian communities, to sail from India without any mark of the Imperial recognition would have caused a painful and puzzled impression. Moreover, the King-Emperor made it known while in India that his personal acknowledgment to Lord Hardinge for arranging the Imperial visit and for founding the new Delhi would be reserved until the close of his Viceroyalty. The distinguished proconsul thus honoured by the Crown is not less deserving of the warm gratitude of his own countrymen.

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Zentralstelle des
Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts.Signatur: *Lord Hardinge*
*H. p.*Datum: *25 Juli* 1916**Korrespondenzblatt der Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient (Berlin)**Nr. *39* vom *25 Juli* 1916**Lord Hardinge im indischen Urteil.**

(1018) N. O. Von der gesamten englischen und anglo-indischen Presse wird Lord Hardinge, der im Anfang dieses Jahres sein Amt als Viceroy Indiens niederlegte, als der bedeutendste Vizekönig gepriesen, der je die Geschicke Indiens gelenkt hat. In merkwürdigem Gegensatz dazu stehen einige Stimmen der indischen Presse, denen um so mehr Gewicht beizumessen ist, als die Knebelung der Presse Indiens kaum hinter der Rußlands zurückstehen dürfte. In richtiger Erkenntnis der Volkstimmung schreibt der „Calcutta Englishman“ in ironischem Tone: „Die Art und Weise, in der Lord Hardinge in seiner Abschiedsrede über die Selbstregierung sich aussprach, wird für viele, die auf Grund seiner früheren Reden hofften, daß ihnen unmögliche Dinge gewährt werden würden, eine grausame Enttäuschung sein. Wir können es nur als einen Gewinn betrachten, daß ihm, wenn auch erst am Ende seiner Amtstätigkeit, die Erkenntnis gekommen ist und er den Mut hatte, es öffentlich auszusprechen, daß Indien noch weit davon entfernt ist, für die Selbstregierung fähig zu sein.“

Was diese englische Zeitung als Gewinn ansieht, darüber urteilt in anderer Weise die bedeutende indische Zeitung „Amrita Bazaar Patrica“: Abgesehen von einigen freundlichen Wünschen hat Lord Hardinge nichts hinterlassen, auf Grund dessen sich das indische Volk mit Dankbarkeit seiner langen Regierungstätigkeit erinnern könnte. Die Politik der Unterdrückung, die unter Lord Landsdowne ihren Anfang nahm, erreichte unter Hardinge ihren Höhepunkt. Selbst seine Bewunderer können wohl kaum einen Akt seiner Amtstätigkeit anführen, der von wirklichem Nutzen für die große Masse oder auch nur für die oberen Zehntausend gewesen wäre. Seine Aufhebung der Teilung Bengalens oder, besser gesagt, die Wiederteilung hat größeren Schaden angerichtet als die Teilung unter Lord Curzon.“

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Zentralstelle des
hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts.

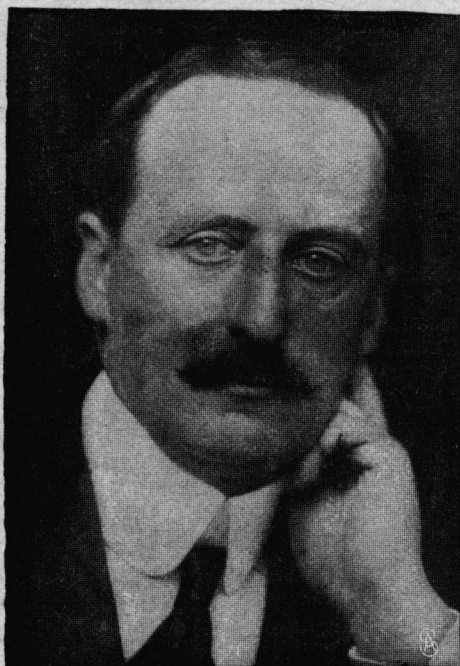
Lord Hardinge

Signatur: *Yb. p.*Datum: *1. Juli* 191*7*

Der Tag (Berlin), Illustrierter Teil, Ausgabe B

Nr. *151* vom *1. Juli* 191*7*

Lord Hardinge,
der ehemalige Vizekönig von Indien, erscheint
durch die jüngst erfolgte Veröffentlichung des Be-
richtes des Ausschusses zur Untersuchung des meso-
potamischen Feldzuges stark kompromittiert. Es
handelt sich hierbei um jenen verunglückten Vor-
stoß der Engländer (unter General Townshend),
der Ende April 1916 zur Kapitulation von Kut el
Amara führte. In dem Bericht heßt es u. a.,
daß, solange die Expedition der indischen Regierung
unterstellt war, die Bewaffnung, Ausrüstung und
Verpflegung der Truppen wie überhaupt die ganze
Vorbereitung höchst unzureichend gewesen sei.



Der Unterstaatssekretär im englischen Ministerium
des Auswärtigen früherer Vizekönig von Indien

Lord Hardinge,

dessen Stellung durch die mesopotamischen Berichte
erschüttert ist, soll zurücktreten.

Frankfurter Zeitung (Frankfurt a. M.)

Nr. 263.

Wahnung eines alten Diplomaten.

Aus der Stille seines Ruhestandes schreibt Sir Charles Hardinge einen Brief an die „Times“. Er richtet eine Mahnung an die Presse, nicht so hemmungslos internationale Polemiken zu entfesseln, wie sie jüngst erlebt wurden. Der alte englische Diplomat hat lange genug an leitender Stelle im Foreign Office geessen, hat große Botschafterposten innegehabt. Er ist also berufen, die Zusammenhänge zwischen der offiziellen Politik und der Haltung der Presse eines Landes zu erkennen und zu beurteilen. Aus persönlichster Erfahrung kennt er die Wechselfälle in den deutsch-englischen Beziehungen der Vorkriegszeit. Er will nun der englischen Presse keine unerfüllbaren Zumutungen stellen: „Ich befürworte keinerlei Verkürzung von anerkannten Freiheiten, aber ich erhebe die Bitte nach mehr Zurückhaltung und Mäßigung.“ Er wünscht durchaus die freie Berichterstattung über Tatsachen, vorausgesetzt, daß man deren gewiß sei. Und er wünscht, daß „faire“ Kritik daran geknüpft werde. Aber er fragt auch, was man gewinnen könne, wenn man darüber hinaus unter wiederholter Uebertreibung Kommentare schreibe, die in andern Ländern als bewußte Beleidigung empfunden werden können. Hardinge geht in diesem Zusammenhang ein auf das Verhältnis Englands zu den Staaten, die als „Diktaturen“ bezeichnet werden. Vielleicht hätte seine Auffassung über diese anders gearteten Regimes etwas mehr Abtönung vertragen können. Aber darauf kommt es bei seiner Schlußfolgerung nicht an. Sie lautet: „Was nötig erscheint, ist eine Besänftigung in unseren Beziehungen zu Italien und Deutschland. Die Vermeidung von „ideologischen Blöcken“ in Europa, ist, wie uns gesagt wird, eine der fundamentalen Unterlagen unserer Außenpolitik. Erinnern wir uns also daran, daß die Aufgabe, an die wir uns zu machen haben, nicht länger mehr darin besteht, die Welt sicher und reif für Demokratie zu machen, sondern darin, das Nebeneinander von Demokratien und Diktaturen sicher und reif für die Welt.“ Wie schon erwähnt, möchten wir hier nicht über den Begriff der Diktatur streiten. Aber was Hardinge sagt, trifft in den Kern der heutigen politischen Situation. Laßt jedes Volk nach seiner Fassung selig werden! Hardinge weiß übrigens zu gut aus seiner Amtszeit, daß England vor und im Weltkrieg sich nicht scheute, mit andern Staaten in Bündnis zu treten, ohne sich um deren innerpolitische Struktur zu kümmern.

Duplikat

Handwritten initials: C.B. 9

Hardinge of Penshurst, Lord
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Signatur.....

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Datum 4. Jan. 1937

The Times (London)

Nr. 47573

THE PEACE OF EUROPE

LORD HARDINGE AND THE PRINCIPAL DANGER

Addressing members of the Secretaries' Guild of the Tonbridge Divisional Conservative Association at Tunbridge Wells on Saturday, LORD HARDINGE of PENSURST said that it was just a year ago that we were in the throes of the Abyssinia controversy. The fate of that country was now sealed, but we were at that time in grave danger of war with Italy, which might have meant a general conflagration throughout Europe and the world. That danger had been averted, and it was some satisfaction to know that an effort was now being made to restore our friendly relations with Italy. From a recent speech by Mr. Eden he thought we were going to adopt in this country a policy of realism rather than idealism, and if that was the case he would like to know why we had not recognized the annexation of Abyssinia by Italy as several other Powers had recently done. Surely that annexation was real. The sooner we recognized that annexation the better.

The principal danger spot in Europe at the present time was undoubtedly in Germany. One would like to believe in the peaceful protestations of Hitler, but it was difficult to do so when one saw the whole of the population of Germany—men, women, and children—being militarized, while the conditions of people in that country were similar to what they would be in a state of siege, deprived as they were of all such things as butter, fat, eggs, meat, and even game. There was no country, so far as one knew, that was menacing Germany, but the situation in Germany was undoubtedly a great menace to the peace of Europe. It must ever be admitted that we had not been entirely blameless, since we had lost several opportunities of coming to terms with Germany during the last two years.

A further aggravation of the international situation was, of course, the Franco-Soviet pact, which was an effort to encircle Germany. The only hope of preserving peace was to establish really friendly relations between the great Western Powers, but he had no hope at present for a successful negotiation in that sense with Germany until it was made clear that any material, economic, or financial concession made to Germany would not be utilized by that country for further militarization.

Der Mann, der Istanbul verkaufte

Bern, 25. August

Die Pariser eröffneten dieses Jahrhundert stolz und selbstbewußt mit einer Weltausstellung. Noch gab es unter ihnen immer eine ganze Menge, die ihre Stadt gerne als das ungekrönte Zentrum der Welt ansehen wollten. Eine Art europäisches Bewußtsein, das sich damals gegenüber England zu regen schien, dessen Burenpolitik auf dem ganzen Kontinent höchst unpopulär war, ließ die Franzosen sogar hoffen, daß aus ihrer afrikanischen Niederlage, die sie von den Engländern hinnehmen hatten müssen, doch wenigstens ein kontinentaler Prestigegewinn resultieren werde. Als der Pariser Zeichner Villette, ein ausgezeichnete politischer Karikaturist, eine Anti-England-Mappe herausgab, in der alle Opfer der englischen Politik, von der Jungfrau von Orleans angefangen bis herunter zu dem Burenpräsidenten Krüger, dargestellt waren, spendete ihm die Presse weit über seine Vaterstadt hinaus Beifall. Die Stimmung war so, daß der Prinz von Wales, später Eduard VII., es nicht wagen durfte, die Ausstellung zu besuchen; er hätte mit unfreundlichen Kundgebungen rechnen müssen. Erst in den nächsten Jahren ergab sich die langsame Wandlung. Aber noch im Jahre 1903 machte sich das Foreign Office Sorgen, als der König, der inzwischen seiner Mutter Viktoria auf den Thron gefolgt war, sich auf einer Italienfahrt plötzlich entschloß, an Stelle eines geplanten Incognito-Besuches in Frankreich, doch einen ganz offiziellen Besuch abzustatten. Die großen Londoner Zeitungen entsandten Sonderkorrespondenten und die Aufregung war groß, als der Wagen des Königs nach dem feierlichen Empfang auf dem Bahnhof von einer Ehreskorte Kürassiere begleitet, durch die Stadt fuhr. Es gab viele Entrüstete unter den Parisern und die Zahl der politischen Kritiker des neuen Verhältnisses, das sich nun anbahnte und das, wie man weiß, bald zu großer Innigkeit gedieh, wuchs sogar noch weiter an, als sich immer deutlicher zeigte, wie sehr der Vorteil der neuen Entente, wie sie genannt wurde, auf der englischen Seite war.

Unter den Diplomaten, die mit dabei waren, als diese englische Ernte eingebracht wurde, war der junge Lord Hardings of Penshurst, der eben jetzt im hohen Alter von 86 Jahren gestorben ist. Wohl zählte er schon zu dem Kreis der Arrivierten, als der neue König ihn in seine nähere Umgebung zog, aber die Tatsache des persönlichen Verhältnisses zum Monarchen, dem er auch dadurch nahestand, daß seine wie er aus der Aristokratie stammende Gattin zum Hofstaat der Königin Alexandra gehörte, war doch für seine weitere Karriere wesentlich maßgebend; nicht nur eben in persönlicher, sondern vor allem auch in politischer Beziehung. Mehrmals hat Hardinge den König auf seinen Reisen begleitet und diese Gelegenheiten ermöglichten ihm, die politischen Gedankengänge dieses gekrönten Staatmannes aus nächster Nähe kennenzulernen. Der englische Herrscher hat nach der Verfassung kein Recht und eigentlich auch keine Möglichkeit, die Politik seines Landes in seinem Sinn zu beeinflussen. Ist er jedoch eine Persönlichkeit von Autorität und geistigem Gewicht und ein Politiker von Urteil, dann entstehen jene in der Verfassung nicht vorgesehenen Möglichkeiten aus sich selbst und sein Eingreifen in die nationalen und internationalen Verhältnisse wird zu einem un-

geschriebenen Recht, auch ohne die Verfassung. Man hat gesagt, der König könne in England im besten Fall als Ratgeber seiner Minister Einfluß üben, und dieser Ausspruch umschreibt tatsächlich die Situation sehr gut. Weiß er nämlich zu raten, dann wird er eben auf dem Umweg über diese seine Ratschläge und das Gewicht, das seine Persönlichkeit ihnen verleiht, aus dem bloßen Regenten zum wirklich Regierenden werden. Das war in höchstem Maß bei Eduard VII. der Fall. Die Grundlagen für sein, man kann wohl sagen, in hohem Grad persönliches Regime fanden sich dabei noch gestärkt durch den Umstand, daß er nach seiner ganzen politischen Einstellung durchaus als Repräsentant des politischen Denkens der führenden Schicht der englischen öffentlichen Meinung jener Tage gelten konnte. Denn er war ein Imperialist in jeder Beziehung, in der man diesen damals in Schwung gekommenen Ausdruck verwenden konnte. Im Bereich dieses Imperialismus seines Königs und seines Zeitalters war auch Hardinge aufgewachsen. Wie stark er ihm in Fleisch und Blut übergegangen war, hat der Lord nicht nur auf seinen diplomatischen Posten bewiesen, sondern vor allem in den sechs Jahren seiner Tätigkeit als Vizekönig in Indien, die mit ihrem letzten Drittel in den Weltkrieg von 1914/18 hineinragten. Die wichtigste Zeit in Hardinges Leben jedoch stellten die Jahre dar, in denen er die Aufgabe übertragen erhalten hatte, das neue Verhältnis zwischen England und dem Zaren vorzubereiten und vertraglich festzulegen.

Lord Hardinges Laufbahn als Diplomat ist übrigens an sich durchaus für die damalige Londoner Stellung zu den asiatischen Dingen charakteristisch. Sie begann nicht nur mit der Teilnahme an dem ersten Wirken Eduards VII. in der Richtung auf die später so genannte „Einkreisung“ Deutschlands, sie war vielmehr von Anfang an dadurch gekennzeichnet, daß Hardinge sich früh genauere Kenntnisse in den asiatischen und vor allem in den vorderasiatischen Angelegenheiten verschafft hatte, so daß er gerade von dieser Seite her für die Stelle qualifiziert war, die er dann bald nach der Jahrhundertwende in Petersburg auszufüllen hatte. Ebenso wie er später, zum Unterstaatssekretär im Foreign Office ernannt, der gegebene Mann für die Politik gewesen ist, die ihr Ziel in der Teilung Persiens zwischen England und Rußland erreichte. Die persischen Erfahrungen wieder gaben den Ausschlag bei seiner Berufung als Vizekönig von Indien. Daß er zuletzt nach dem Ende des Weltkrieges gerade unter Lord Curzon noch einmal eine Rolle spielte, ist nach alledem nicht verwunderlich. Er wurde in der Zeit, in der die orientalische Krise der Nachkriegsjahre durch die Siege Mustafa Kemals ihre Entscheidung fand, Botschafter in Paris. Aber der Mann, der mitgewirkt hatte, Länder zu teilen und zu verteilen, war nicht mehr geeignet für die neue Zeit und für ein Frankreich, das sich auf der Basis von Versailles eine von England nicht gebilligte Vorherrschaft über den Kontinent zulegen wollte. Seine aus dem indischen Vizekönigtum mitgebrachte Reserviertheit, sagt die „Times“, war nicht geeignet, ihm auf dem Pariser Boden Popularität zu verschaffen.

Die Jahre, in denen Hardinge in die Reihe der Einflußreichen der Weltgeschichte gehörte, liegen also weit zurück. Um so mehr hätte er als einer der letzten Zeugen über diese be-

wegte Zeit und über die Geschichte der großen politischen Wendung interessante Details berichten können, der Wendung, die den Grund zu der neuen die Weltkriege heraufbeschwörenden Mächtekonstellation legte und die sich also im vollsten Sinn des Wortes als verhängnisvoll für Europa erwies. Angefangen von eben jenem schon erwähnten Königsbesuch in Paris, der den ersten Auftakt zu den englisch-französischen Verhandlungen bildete, die den Sieg Englands über Frankreich in Afrika und in Vorderasien besiegelten. Dieser Sieg bedeutete die Rückverweisung der französischen politischen Aktivität nach Europa und implizierte die Aufforderung, die alte Sehnsucht nach Revanche wieder politisch wirksam werden zu lassen. In Paris hatte man das sogleich sehr richtig erfaßt, und als ein Beweis dafür mag die Promptheit dienen, mit der die Franzosen auf die rasche Einbeziehung des Zaren in die Entente und also auf die Eliminierung der englisch-russischen Gegensätze, vornehmlich in Asien, drangen. Indem der Krieg in Ostasien und sein für Rußland ungünstiger Ausgang den Zarismus zu Konzessionen bereiter und für englische Anreden empfänglicher machte, kam er diesen französischen Wünschen, aber auch jener gesamten Eduardschen Konzeption zu Hilfe. Und das Terrain, das der neue Botschafter Eduards in Petersburg zu bearbeiten hatte, war durch die politischen Ereignisse vorgeackert. Aber Lord Hardinges kannte seinen König gut genug, um zu wissen, daß er auch seinerseits freigebig Zugeständnisse machen durfte, die früher als ganz und gar indiskutabel gegolten hätten, wenn er dafür nur die Russen auf den Weg brachte, auf dem König Eduard sie haben wollte. Man lese nur in einem der kaiserlichen Briefe, die in dem Werk über die britische Vorkriegspolitik enthalten sind, wie der Zar an den Botschafter schreibt, er habe Rußland nicht geringere Dienste erwiesen als seinem englischen Vaterland.

Die Details der Erlebnisse Hardinges muten uns gerade heute wieder hoch aktuell an. Als die englisch-russischen Verhandlungen in ihrem ersten Stadium hielten, setzte man im Foreign Office eine besondere Kommission ein, die zu studieren hatte, ob eine Überlassung Istanbuls und seiner Meerengen an den Zaren die vitalen Interessen Englands noch ebenso berühren würde wie dies früher allgemein angenommen worden war. Das Ergebnis lautete: Nein. Mit diesem Nein war der Weg zur englisch-russischen Zusammenarbeit geöffnet, aber auch das türkische Volk von England preisgegeben und seine damalige Hauptstadt, eine der politischen Weltstädte von höchstem Rang, an den Zaren verkauft. Bald darauf wurde die Teilung Persiens perfekt. Zwar, die Hoffnungen der Petersburger Ambitionierten auf einen Stützpunkt im Persischen Golf blieben damals noch unerfüllt; sie erfüllten sich erst jetzt während des zweiten Weltkrieges. Hardinge aber sah als Vizekönig von Indien die These erst recht bekräftigt, die er als Botschafter beim Zaren und dann als Unterstaatssekretär vertreten hatte, daß es für die Sicherheit Englands in Asiens keine bessere Politik geben können als den Zarismus nach dem Westen abzudrängen, und sei es auch mit den Meerengen als Preis, als einen Preis, den die Türken zu zahlen hatten. Gilt diese These noch heute? Man könnte es glauben angesichts einer Politik, die mit scheinbar offenen Augen die nachgewiesenen Fehler der Vergangenheit wiederholt.