

Control of al-Hasa (Saudi Arabia) and direct contact with Britain, 1910 –1916

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Abstract: During the period of 1910-1916, in the times of annexing al-Hasa, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) witnessed various relationships that contributed to its current face. The relationship between the KSA and Britain was amongst the prominent relationships in that era. In this context, the current study aims to investigate the annexation of the al-Hasa under the rule of Ibn Saud and into direct contact with the British, Ibn Saud's relationship with the Ottomans, and the role of Captain William Henry Shakespeare in the evolution of Anglo–Saudi relations. Besides, it attempts to clarify the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Saudi Arabia, specifically, where this relationship came about to realize the strategic interests of both sides in the middle of the Arabian Peninsula.

Keywords: Saudi Arabia, al-Hasa, Britain, Ottoman Empire, William Henry Shakespeare.

Introduction

The beginning of the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Saudi Arabia was marked by caution on the part of Ibn Saud, and violence at other times 1909-1918. This violence was due to Ibn Saud's growing power, and Ottoman military pressure on Ibn Saud to follow them.

The authorities in Istanbul were disappointed that Ibn Saud seized control of Riyadh from Ibn Rashid. This initiated an increase in communication between Ibn Rashid and Fakhri Pasha, the Wali [Provincial Governor] of al-Basra, in March 1902, with Ibn Rashid seeking financial and military aid to support his war against the nascent Saudi government. However, Istanbul ignored Ibn Rashid's requests, and instead only granted him *Wisam Al Iftikhar*⁽¹⁾ [an honorary award]. However, Ibn Saud succeeded in defeating Ibn Rashid in the battles of Bakyreya and Shnana⁽²⁾ in 1904.

In 1905, Ibn Saud had taken total control of Al Washim⁽³⁾ in Sadir, the northern part of Najd, and had managed to defeat the Ottoman–Rashid ally, Abdulaziz bin Mut'ib.⁽⁴⁾ The Ottomans realized Ibn Rashid's

(1) It Military decoration Osmani, put it Sultan Abdul Hamid and give him to the men of discerning the Ottoman Empire.

(2) 4 Al-bukiryih wa Shnānah are in Qassim County (the center of Saudi Arabia), where a battle between Ibn Rashid and Ibn Saud commenced during June and July of 1904, with victory going to Ibn Rashid. In: Ibn Uthaimen, History of Saudi:202.

(3) Washim County, Shaqra the biggest city in it, declare their loyalty and subordination to Ibn Saud in 1904.

inability to maintain control of the region. Consequently, the Ottomans began deploying military aid to Ibn Rashid and his allies from Baghdad and al-Hasa. This was possible because the Ottomans thought that Ibn Saud would be invited to become a British client, defecting, as the Sheikh of Kuwait had previously.⁽⁵⁾

In 1905, the relationship between Ibn Saud and the Ottomans was characterized by the exchange of messages between them, where the former confirmed his devotion and loyalty to the Ottoman state⁽⁶⁾. The Ottoman Empire tried to give Ibn Saud rule Najd for the subordination of the Ottoman Empire, perhaps for maintaining and control the local rulers in the Arabian Peninsula, it had to be Ibn Saud accept this, since he had not yet settled in the area and could not confront the Ottomans.

In 1906, the Ottomans deployed their forces in Yemen to confront the revolution of Imam Yahya Hamidaldean.⁽⁷⁾ The Ottomans were distant from their bases, surrounded by rebellions, and cut off from food, water or medicine, leading to widespread demoralization and desertion. Ibn Saud was aware of the risks that engulfed the Ottomans in Yemen and Hejaz, along with the mass unrest in the rest of the Arab states and the Balkans. This unrest caused Ibn Saud to avoid direct confrontation with the Ottomans and he used this chaos as an opportunity to lead his attack on Ibn Rashid, and successfully defeated him in the Battle of Rowdha Muhana on June 13, 1906, in which Ibn Rashid was killed. In 1908, Ibn Saud was able to expel the Turkish garrison in Al Qassim and thus the Najd region came under his control. 1909 proceeded Union and Progress Association to overthrow, Sultan Abdul Hamid and the announcement of the constitution and sent into exile.

In 1550 The al-Hasa area had been under Ottoman rule since the reign of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (Kanuni)⁽⁸⁾, in 1670 then wrung them Bani Khalid rulers led by Barak Ben Greer⁽⁹⁾. In 1795, the

(4) 1870-1906 of the House of Rashid, the Emir of Jabal Shammar 1897-1906, faced Ibn Saud in several battles and killing him bin Saud in the battle Rawdat Muhanna in 1906. (al-Rasheed.Madawi, A History of Saudi Arabia, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002:37).

(5) V. Lutsky, *Tā'rikh al-aqtār al-‘al-qtār al-Ḥadīth*, Beirut: Dār al-Farābī, 2007:177.

(6) British library, Public record office, L/P&S/20/F031 (1), (10/02/1905).

(7) Imam Yahya Hamid al-Deen's revolution for independence against the Ottoman Empire caused the Da'an agreement on October 9, 1911, which was approved by Furman Osmani in 1913, stating that security and peace in Yemen would be achieved within ten years. See Eugene, L. Rogan *Frontiers of the State in the Late Ottoman Empire: Transjordan, 1850-1921*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002:16.

(8) (1494-1566), reign was the golden age of Ottoman civilization. He himself was a man of broad culture, with a deep knowledge of the Koran and religious thinking, and was the tenth and longest-reigning sultan of the Ottoman Empire from 1520 to his death in 1566. In: André Clot, *Suleiman the Magnificent*, London, Saqi Books, 2012:162.

(9) Barak Ben Greer bin Othman bin Masoud Hamid, the head of the Bani Khalid (1666-1682), seized Al-Hasa from the Ottomans. (Khzaal, Ḥusyn, *Tā'rikh al-jazīrah al-‘rbiyah*, [The history of the Arabian Peninsula] Mṭba‘t Dār al-kitāb, Bīyrūt, 1968:256).

expansion of the influence of the Saudi state the first to take control of Hasa. In 1818, Ibrahim Pasha⁽¹⁰⁾ occupied Najd and took control of all the areas that followed it, including the Al-Hasa.⁽¹¹⁾ In 1871, Midhat Pasha, the Wali of Baghdad,⁽¹²⁾ tried to seize on the opportunity of the dispute between the two brothers, on the authority of Abdullah bin Faisal and his brother Saud. After the occupation of the Ottoman al-Hasa, they refused delivered to Abdullah bin Faisal and remained under Ottoman sovereignty until 1913. When the Ottomans claimed al-Hasa, they closed all roads leading to the interior of Najd through the sea, which gave them control of Arab trade and movement in the area from 1871 to 1893. Ibn Saud's leaders realized the danger the Ottomans posed and started to resist the occupation by force, which ultimately failed⁽¹³⁾.

Ottoman's rule over Al Has'a was known for its militancy, but even after two years of occupation, the Ottomans still found it extremely difficult to control the tribes of the territory. Finally, Ibn Saud's ambition was to add Al Hijaz to his authority. One of the main reasons to occupy Al Has'a was to eradicate the Ottomans' embargo on Najd, as the Ottomans represented an important access point for trade in Najd. Furthermore, it was important to end the presence of the Ottomans in order to stop the tribal attacks in Ajman, Al Mura, and the trading lines to and from Kuwait. Ibn Saud laid claim to the conflicted territories for the House of Saud⁽¹⁴⁾.

Relationship between Ibn Saud and the Ottomans

Ottoman authorities had clearly been interested in intervening in any dispute within its affiliate states to demonstrate its power to both British authorities and these states. This was obvious through Hadia⁽¹⁵⁾ clear in the battle of Hadia, between Mubarak Al-Sabah and Ibn Saud, against Saadoun bin Mansour Al-Sadoun,

(10) In 1838, Mohammed Ali Pasha's son demolished the Wahhabi threat by razing the Al Sa'ud capital of al-Dir'iyah. He then some of the al-Saud and the Najdi people to Istanbul and killed them there. (Peterson, Dictionary of Saudi: 113).

(11) Ahsa is the eastern region of Saudi Arabia, a sensual collection of a land Coated sand stored rainwater so it can be obtained pure fresh and frequent Alohasih This Site area is known as Al-Hasa, (Lawrence G. Potter, The Persian Gulf in History, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009:10).

(12) Midhat Pasha (1822–1883), the great Ottoman reformer, was appointed a Wali of Bagdad and Basra in 1878. He made civic improvements, widening streets and improving sanitation. He died in Taif (modern Saudi Arabia) in 1883. (Samira Haj, The Making of Iraq, 1900-1963: Capital, Power, and Ideology, Albany: State University of New York, 1997:25).

(13) Onley, James, Britain and the Gulf Sheikhdome 1820-1971: The Politics of Protection, CIRS, Center for International and Regional studies, Doha, 2012:9.

(14) Al-Z̄ydy. Mufiyd, 'bdual' Aziz Al-Sa'ūd aw Br̄tytân̄yâ 1915-1927, [Abdulaziz Al-Saud and Britain 1915-1927], Beirut, Dâr Al-tally'h, 2002:59

(15) For more information about the Battle of Hadia, see The Relations between Najd and Kuwait by Al-s'dūn, Khalid, Al-'laqt b̄n Najd aww Al-Kū̄yt, al-Riyāḍ, dārt al-malik 'bdal'ziz, 1983: 121–128).

chief of the Al-Muntafiq⁽¹⁶⁾ tribe, who had fellow members of Bin Sabah attacked and robbed. According to Saadoun, Ibn Saud entered this battle because the chief of Al-Muntafiq had formed an alliance with Zamel Al-Sabhan,⁽¹⁷⁾ the guardian of the Emir of Hail, which was a threat to Ibn Saud.

The Ottoman documents demonstrate that Ibn Saud had sought assistance from Bin Sabhan, who refused his request.⁽¹⁸⁾ In addition, from the above, it seems that Ibn Saud was involved in the war at Bin Sabah's insistence.⁽¹⁹⁾ Therefore, it appears that the Ottoman Empire was not happy about the fighting between the two parties.

The state of Basra viewed what was happening as a riot, which required it not to stand as a spectator. Although it admitted that Saadoun was the one who assaulted some of Sheikh Mubarak's tribes,⁽²⁰⁾ the state of Basra worked to prevent the fighting between the two sides because of the harm that would come to the reputation of the Ottoman government.⁽²¹⁾ Furthermore, there are several Ottoman documents which cover the importance of taking adequate measures to prevent any likely clash. Regarding this, the Ottoman Empire did not long for any dispute between the two parties, so it could keep its reputation clean. Nevertheless, as evidenced by the British documents, Mubarak Al-Sabah considered it to be a matter of dignity. Therefore, Bin Sabah aimed at punishing Saadoun, which is why he claimed that the Ottoman Empire was happy about the war. To my mind, the Ottoman Empire was not supportive, since it mediated between the two sides, which confirms the authenticity of the Ottoman documents.⁽²²⁾

As for the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Ibn Saud, Suleiman Nazif,⁽²³⁾ the governor of Basra emphasised that Saadoun asked him to mediate in the dispute between Saadoun and Ibn Saud. For

(16) Saadoun bin Mansour al-Saadoun won the title of Pasha in 1904, when Abdulaziz Ibn Rashid between him and the Ottoman Caliph.

(17) Zamel Bin Salim al-Sabhan fought a number of battles with Ibn Saud. He also restored the dignity and political power of Hail. He was killed by Saud al-Sabhan in 1914. (Al-Sabaani. Saud, Britain's Lackeys: Pawns of Percy Cox and Henry McMahon, 11, Shams Lilnashir, Cairo, 2016:436–441).

(18) British Library, India office, Resident Records, IOR/R/15/1/479, 30/03/1910.

(19) Ottoman Archive, Interior, DH.UMI 75/71.

(20) Ottoman Archive, Interior, DH. MUI 75/71, P (3), 30/02/1328-11/03/1910.

(21) Ottoman Archive, Interior, DH.UMI 75/71, P (7), 08/03/1328-20/03/1910.

(22) Ottoman Archive, Interior, DH.UMI 75/71. P (13), 11-06-1328-20/06/1910.

(23) Suleiman Nazif Pasha (1868-1927) was a Turkish poet and historian. He was appointed ruler of al-Basra, followed by al-Mosul and Baghdad. Youssef. H . Aboul-Enein, Iraq in turmoil: Historical Perspectives of Dr. Ali Al-Wardi, from the Ottoman Empire to King Feisal, Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2012:134.

that reason, he sent Suad Bak⁽²⁴⁾ to reconcile between the two parties. The administrator of Basra emphasized that the goal of such a reconciliation was to show off the leverage and influence of the Ottoman Empire.⁽²⁵⁾

In 1908, the Committee of Union and Progress led a revolution in the Ottoman capital. The aim was to reinstate parliamentary and municipal elections. However, some Arab provinces did not participate actively in the elections because of the physical distance and lack of knowledge of the Turkish language. I will focus here on Najd since it was the heart and center of Ibn Saud.

Ibn Saud sent Mahmoud Maher Bak to al-Hasa to apologize for not sending delegates to the Chamber of Deputies because nobody did take any census for, besides lack of knowledge of the Turkish language.⁽²⁶⁾

As for the tribes of Najd and Al-Qassim, which belonged to King Abdulaziz, the governor of Median, Osman Basha,⁽²⁷⁾ suggested to involve them in the Chamber of Deputies; he wrote to the Ministry of Interior that selecting a representative for Ibn Rashid and another for Ibn Saud would bring their followers closer to urbanization.⁽²⁸⁾ It seems that this suggestion was sent at the end of that year. This is why the council apologized to him that they could not consider his suggestion. Still, the council promised him to take it into account.⁽²⁹⁾

Here, it is appropriate to consider the participation of tribes belonging to Ibn Saud in the Chamber of Deputies. There are two opinions. First, the Ottoman staff in the nearby provinces of Najd believed that allowing delegates from Ibn Saud would result in a public benefit for the State, even if the required conditions were not met by the candidate members. On the other hand, some people, such as influential and high-profile figures in the government, insisted on certain preconditions, such as knowing the Turkish language, which

(24) Ali Soad Bak was a graduate of Administrative Sciences from Istanbul. He was appointed as an administrative official from 1909 to 1911. He also wrote books about his journeys to al-Hasa, Bahrain, and Medina.

(25) Ottoman Archives, Interior, General Intelligence, DH.MUI.75 / 71. Paper (10). A secretive telegram sent from the state of Basra to the Ministry of Interior about the reconciliation between Ibn Saud and the Chief of al-Muntafiq, dated July 5, 1910.

(26) qūrshūn. Zakrīyā, Al-ṯhmānīyūn uww al-s'ūd fly al'rshyf al-ṯhmāniy1745-1914[the Ottomans and Saud in the Ottoman archives1745-1914], aldār al-'rbīh, Bīrūt, 2005:223.

(27) Osman Fareed Bak was the governor of Medina during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid. He was illiterate. (Naqbadishi, Abdulsalam. The Complete Works. Medina: Abdulkawsoud Khawaja for Printing, 2005).

(28) DH.UMI.75/35. Ottoman Archives. Interior. The General Intelligence. A letter from the governor of Medina to the Ministry of Interior about choosing a representative for Ibn Saud in the Chamber of Deputies, dated October 2, 1910.

(29) DH.UMI.75/35. Ottoman Archives. Interior. The General Intelligence. A letter from the Ministry of Interior to the Governor of Medina, dated March 17, 1910.

had to be met by the members of the Chamber of Deputies.⁽³⁰⁾ The government agreed with the latter opinion since the tribes of Ibn Saud did not fulfill such conditions.⁽³¹⁾

On the other hand, Ibn Saud was not sure about participating in parliamentary life. Perhaps this hesitation was caused by the presence of the Ottoman Empire, as Ibn Saud wanted to get rid of all restrictions imposed by the Ottoman authorities. In fact, he longed to expand his influence and control over al-Hasa.⁽³²⁾ So, too, the Ottoman empire was not enthusiastic about choosing envoys from Najd and some other territories because they were afraid of the opponents of a union-government.⁽³³⁾

In 1912, Mohammed Taher Effendi,⁽³⁴⁾ governor of Basra, sent a telegram to the General Department of War in Istanbul, telling them that Ibn Saud could be useful in eliminating Mohammed Bin Idrissi in Asir in exchange for supporting him with money and equipment.⁽³⁵⁾

Arabic sources⁽³⁶⁾ agree with the Ottoman documents regarding the proposal, but they provide another reason that led to the failure to get things done. Al Rihani and Mukhtar assume that Ibn Saud refuses the Ottoman proposal, saying, "Arab do not fight for the sake of the Turkish nations. Al Edrisi and he are allies." The Ottoman documents⁽³⁷⁾ indicate that it did not exceed the official circles of the Ottoman Empire. In fact, the governor of Makkah, Sharif Hussein⁽³⁸⁾, was consulted about the suggestion submitted by the state of Basra. Consequently, Sharif Hussein seized the opportunity to remind the Ottoman officials of what Ibn Saud had done to the soldiers of the Ottoman Empire in Al-Qassim about eight years previously. With respect to the suggestion of Basra, Sharif Hussein pointed out the distance between them, highlighting that Ibn Saud was trying to expand his power and influence as he did with the tribes of Hijaz.⁽³⁹⁾ On the other hand, the

(30) Mufreh Sa'īd, *Sīyāsāt Aldūh Al'ithmānīyih tġāh Almalk 'bdal'z'z* 1902-1918, [Ottoman Empire's policy toward King Abdulaziz 1902-1818], Riyadh, King Saud University, 2006:118.

(31) Ottoman Archives. The Chamber of Deputies. M.V.162/42, MV.236/32.

(32) qūrshūn, *Al-'thmānīyūn uww al-s'ūd*: 326.

(33) Ottoman Archives. B.E.O.302455. a report about Najd submitted to the Grand Vizier. (28/4/1912).

(34) Ottoman Archives. Interior. DH.SYS.40/7-1.

(35) Ottoman Archive. Interior. Political. DH.SYS.40/7-1. (19/6/1912).

(36) Al-Rīhānīy. 'miyn, *Tārīkh Najd aw Mulḥqāthā*, [Riyadh History and Accessories]:181; Al-Mukhtār. *Salāh Al-dīn, Tārīkh Al-Mamlkah Al-'Arabiya Al-Sa'ūdīh*, [History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia], Biyrūt, Dār Maktbt Al-Hīyah, 1998:133.

(37) Ottoman Archives. Interior. Political. DH.SYS.40/7-1. (19/06/1912).

(38) Hussein Bin Ali (1859 - 1931) was born in Istanbul and moved to Mecca where he received his education at. After the death of his father, he went to Emirates to his uncle who banished him to Istanbul again. He became an emir of Mecca in 1908. Longrigg.S.H. *Alhusayn B Ali, the Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol III, London, 1971, pp.605-606

(39) Ottoman Archives. Interior. Political. DH.SYS.40 / 7-2. (16/07/1912).

leadership of public forces sent a letter to the minister of war, expressing their opposition to Basra's suggestion.⁽⁴⁰⁾

In 1913, Ibn Saud managed to control Al-Hasa, as the Ottoman Empire was unable to send a military campaign to Najd to reclaim Al-Hasa from Ibn Saud since the authorities were busy fighting Italy and Al Balkans. As a result, the Ottoman Empire was forced to recognize the sovereignty of Ibn Saud over Al-Hasa and worked to gain his trust.⁽⁴¹⁾

World War I began in August 1914; the Ottoman Empire sought to lure the princes of the Arabian Peninsula to stand at its side in the war. To that end, the Ottoman authorities sent envoys loaded with gifts to them. This worked very well. Some of the princes were successfully lured, such as Imam Yahya Hamid Al-Din, the Imam of Yemen, and Ibn Rashid, the Amir of Hail,⁽⁴²⁾ Saud Ibn Rashid⁽⁴³⁾

Similarly, Britain did the same to Sharif Hussein bin Ali, the Sharif of Mecca, Abdulaziz Ibn Saud, the governor of Najd, Imam Yahya bin Hamid, the Imam of Yemen, and Mohammed Al-Idrissi, prince of Asir. Britain told them this alliance would help them to attain independence in the future.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Britain was keen to attract the princes of the Arabian Peninsula to this war⁽⁴⁵⁾ because they controlled its transport routes with India. Meanwhile, Ibn Saud had been watching the course of the war in order to choose his perfect ally.

Throughout this period, the Ottoman Empire sent several correspondences and envoys to gain the trust of Ibn Saud. In fact, the Ottoman authorities sent Anwar Pasha,⁽⁴⁶⁾ its minister of war, with his troops, to help Ibn Saud. Nevertheless, Ibn Saud refused to help them, explaining that he was busy with interior

(40) L/P&S/10/827(15), 01/1912; Ottoman Archives. Interior. Political. DH.SYS.40/7-1. (05/08/1912).

(41) Anscombe, *the Ottoman Gulf and the creation of Kuwait, Sa'udi Arabia and Qatar*:244.

(42) Geoffrey Hamm, *British Intelligence and Turkish Arabia: Strategy, Diplomacy, and Empire, 1898-1918*, Toronto: University of Toronto, 2012:223.

(43) Saud Bin Abdul Aziz Bin Miteb Bin Rashid, (1898-1920), was Emir of Hail (1914-1920), faced Bin Saud in the Jerab battle, which Killed in it Captain Shakespear 1915.(Al-Zrklīy. *Khīr Al-dīn, Al ' lam*, [the media], Beirut, Dār Al- Im lilmalā'īyyīn, 2002:67).

(44) D.G. Hogarth, *A History of Arabia*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922:184; Abedin Hassan, *Abdulaziz Al-Saud and the Great Game in Arabia, 1896-1946*, London: King's College London, 2002:132.

(45) Wahba, *the Arabian Peninsula*: 175.

(46) Ismail Anwar Pasha (1881–1922) was a military commander. He was also a member of the Committee of Union and Progress. Chaurasia, Radhey. *History of the Middle East*, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, 2005:355.

affairs.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The Ottoman Empire was keen to lure Ibn Saud and Ibn Rashid. It, therefore, declared war, to inflame Muslims' spirits and gain their sympathy.⁽⁴⁸⁾

The Ottomans tried to send a number of letters to Ibn Saud through Anwar Pasha, the Minister of War, and Tala'at Pasha,⁽⁴⁹⁾ the Minister of the Interior, asking for reconciliation with Ibn Rashid. They suggested that they could help one another, along with the Ottoman Empire, but Ibn Saud ignored these letters.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Consequently, Ottoman officials began sending delegations, to negotiate with Ibn Saud, and to remind him that he had previously agreed to support the Ottoman Empire with forces when needed. They chose Taleb Al-Naqib to meet Ibn Saud because of his good relationship with the latter since the Al Sabiha negotiations.

The sole aim of sending delegations was to persuade Ibn Saud to cooperate with the Ottoman Empire. Al Sadoun⁽⁵¹⁾ said that Talib Al-Naqib wanted to leave Al Basra before it fell under the control of the British, keeping this hidden from the Ottoman Empire. I agree with what was mentioned by Al Sadoun, and it seems that, from the documents exchanged between Talib and Percy Cox, he had a desire to escape from Al Basra, seeking a safer place for his family, away from the Ottomans. On 12 November 1914, Talib Al-Naqib arrived in Kuwait before heading to Buraidah⁽⁵²⁾ to meet Ibn Saud. It seems that the British officials were worried about Al-Naqib, because he refused their offers to collaborate with them after the fall of Basra.

It appears that the campaign of Taleb Al-Naqib failed because of Ibn Saud's active pursuit of creating his own state. That is, when the Ottomans were weakened, Ibn Saud grew stronger. Ibn Saud, therefore, stayed neutral in this war.

One can conclude that Ibn Saud was aware that there was no benefit to supporting the Ottomans. Moreover, Ibn Saud had wanted to move the Islamic caliphate from the Ottomans to the Arabs, especially after taking over Najd and Al-Hasa.

(47) British Library, India office, Resident Records, IOR/R/15/5/25(1), 27/10/1914.

(48) British Library, India office, Resident Records, IOR/R/15/5/25(2), 21/11/1914; Ottoman Archives, internal, DH.SFR.47/455, 12/12/1914.

(49) Mohammed Talaat Pasha (1874–1921) was a policy-maker in the Ottoman Empire and a co-founder of the Committee of Union and Progress. David McNabb. *Oil and the Creation of Iraq: Policy Failures and the 1914-1918 War in Mesopotamia*, New York: Routledge, 2016:62.

(50) Mufrah, Sīyāsāt Aldūh Alġhmanīyih:203. Ottoman Archives, DH.SFR.47 / 14, 15/11/1914.

(51) Al-s'dūn, Khalid, Sr rhlāt Tālib Al-Naqīyb ' la Najd 1914, [The Secret behind Talib al-Naqib's Journey to Najd in 1914], Majalat Al-Khalīyj Al- ' rabīy, Jām ' t Al-Başrah, Al- ' dd Al'ūal, 1987:97-111.

(52) Buraidah is the largest city in al-Qassim. It was ruled by the family of Mehna, who were loyal to Ibn Rashid. After that, it was taken over by Ibn Saud. (Al-Rġhāniy, Tāriykh Najd: 142).

According to Vassiliev and Rihani,⁽⁵³⁾ when the First World War began, Ibn Saud seized the chance to strengthen his position in the Arabian Peninsula. He sent several letters to Sharif Hussein, Saud bin Rashid, Sheikh of Kuwait, and Mubarak Al-Sabah, to unveil their attitudes towards this war. However, Ibn Saud was deflated when Ibn Rashid informed him that he was supporting the Ottoman Empire.⁽⁵⁴⁾

In 1915, Abdullah Bin Al-Hussein tried to learn of Ibn Saud's attitude towards the Ottoman government; therefore, he sent him a letter, stating that the Ottomans asked his father to participate in Jihad with the other tribes. Ibn Saud replied that he had received a similar letter and told him that his participation had no value. This highlights that Ibn Saud was not impartial, and was planning to make a protection agreement with the British.

Ibn Saud tended to the British side because of their presence in the Gulf. Also, Britain did not aspire to take over Najd, since it is located in the desert. The British authorities were concerned about securing the ways between the Gulf and India. However, despite his tendency, Ibn Saud supported the Ottomans in Qatar.⁽⁵⁵⁾

According to Daoud and Troeller,⁽⁵⁶⁾ Ibn Saud did not support the Ottoman Empire due to the British financial support that was distributed to Arab rulers, particularly Sharif Hussein and Sheikh Khazaal. I do not agree with this opinion because Ibn Saud was also supported financially by the Ottomans; moreover, they offered Mecca to him to rule. On the other hand, al-Khatrash⁽⁵⁷⁾ believes that Ibn Saud did not support the Ottoman Empire because it refused to recognize the spiritual power of the Wahhabi movement.

From my own point of view, I agree with Keshek⁽⁵⁸⁾ that Ibn Saud, despite his hatred, did not make any military moves against the Ottoman Empire, especially after restoring the Al-Hasa region.

In 1916, after the Arab Revolt of Sharif Hussein, Fakhri Pasha asked Ibn Saud to attack Sharif Hussein and control Mecca.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Ibn Saud did not respond to his request.

(53) Al-Riḥāniy, Tāriykh Najd: 223; Vassiliev, The History of Saudi Arabia: 214.

(54) Gary Troeller, The Birth of Saudi Arabia, Britain and the Rise of House Sa'ud, London, and New York: Routledge, 2013:82.

(55) Vassiliev, the History of Saudi Arabia: 403.

(56) Al-Dāūūd, Mohammed, Al-Khalīy Al- 'rbīy, [The Arabian Gulf], Baghdād, Maṭba't Al-'rshād, 1980:89; Troeller, The Birth of Saudi:100.

(57) Al-Khatrash. Fatūh, Al-Tāriykh Al-Sīyasīy al-Kūlyt fīy 'hd Mubārġ Al-Şbāh, [Political history of Kuwait in the era of Mubarak Al-Sabah], Kuwait, Dhat Al-Şalāsl, 1985:89.

(58) Kshk, Mohammed, Al-Sa'ūdīyon wa Al-ĥl Al-Islāmiy, [The Saudis and the Islamic Solution], Cairo, Al-Mṭb ĥ Al-Fnīyah, 1984:461.

(59) Kandemir, Feridun, Fahreddin Paşa'nın Medine Mudafaasi-Peygamberimizin Golgesinde son Türkler, Istanbul, Yagrmur Yayinevi, 2008:368.

Captain Shakespeare and Ibn Saud

William Ervin Shakespeare was born in Punjab in October 1878 and died in 1915. He was from an English family and settled in Bengal. He joined Sandhurst military school. Then, he joined the army at Pompeii. He was assistant to a political resident in Muscat. After that, Shakespeare became a political resident in Kuwait. He mastered several languages, including Arabic. In addition, he established good relations with tribal leaders.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Succeeding Knox,⁽⁶¹⁾ Captain Shakespeare was appointed as a political agent in Kuwait in 1909. He was directly responsible for British-Kuwaiti relations, as well as monitoring circumstances and changes in the Arabian Peninsula.⁽⁶²⁾ The British documents⁽⁶³⁾ state that Shakespeare and Ibn Saud first met on February 26, 1910.

According to Winston, after meeting with Ibn Saud, Shakespeare asked the British government to change its policies with Ibn Saud. Also, in 1909, Captain Shakespeare contacted the British authorities, speaking of stopping support to Ibn Rashid. He also requested preventing Ibn Rashid from controlling the Arabian Peninsula. However, no one responded to Shakespeare's requests. Furthermore, S. H. Butler, State Secretary in India, communicated with Cox, underlining that Shakespeare had to follow the policy of non-interference with the affairs of the Ottoman Empire in the Arabian Peninsula.⁽⁶⁴⁾

According to Al-Kabeer⁽⁶⁵⁾, Shakespeare first met Ibn Saud in 1911, whereas Al-Anani⁽⁶⁶⁾ says it was in 1910. As for Winston, the first meeting was in 1910, in Kuwait. The researcher goes hand in hand with Winston⁽⁶⁷⁾, explaining that there is a letter from Shakespeare to Bushehr, the British political agent in the Gulf, dated March 9, 1910, which shows that Shakespeare saw Ibn Saud in Kuwait.⁽⁶⁸⁾

(60) Winstone. H.V.F. Captain Shakespeare, London: Jonahan Cape Limited, 1976:9–11.

(61) Captain Stuart George Knox was the British political agent in Kuwait from August 1904 until April 1909. (David Howarth. The Desert King: The Life of Ibn Saud, London: Collins, 1964:86.

(62) Winston, Shakespeare: 68.

(63) British library, India office, Resident Records, OR/ R/15/1/479(3), IN 09/03/1910; Jacob Goldberg. 'Captain Shakespeare and Ibn Saud: A Balanced Reappraisal', Middle Eastern Studies, Vol.22, No.1, Jan 1986:74–88.

(64) Al-^ḥnānī. Ahmad, Rḥlāt al-kābṭn William Shakespeare, [The Trips of Captain William Ervin Shakespeare] Al-rīād, jāḥ t al-rīād, 1985:472.

(65) Al-kabeer, Turkey, 'laqāt Bryṭāniā fī Ibn Sa'ū, Bḥūth 1902-1925, [Britain's relationship with Ibn Saud 1902-1925] al-mū'tmr al'ālmīy 'an tāriykh almalek 'bdual'ziz, Al-rīyaḍ, jāḥ t Al-'mām Mohamed, 1985:9-32.

(66) Al-^ḥnānī, Rḥlāt al-kābṭn Shakespeare: 472.

(67) Winstone, Captain Shakespeare:22.

(68) British Library, India office, Resident Records, IOR/R/15/1/479(3), 19/03/1910.

The second meeting between Shakespeare and Ibn Saud was on January 7, 1911, in al-Hasa. According to Amin,⁽⁶⁹⁾ the British government was not informed about Shakespeare's trip. The researcher believes that this is unlikely because British officials do not deviate from their government instructions. According to Winston,⁽⁷⁰⁾ Shakespeare's visit to Ibn Saud was to gather information on the latest political developments in the region.⁽⁷¹⁾ During his meeting with Shakespeare, Ibn Saud expressed his desire to strengthen his relations with Britain. He also talked about his hatred of Ottomans and how they killed his ancestors during the Egyptian campaign.⁽⁷²⁾ In addition, Ibn Saud suggested that, if Britain helped him to eliminate the Ottomans, he would welcome a political agent in his country. This would be beneficial for British trade because Ibn Saud would secure and protect trade routes.⁽⁷³⁾

It is clear that Shakespeare was inspired by Ibn Saud's personality; he also hoped that his government would take the initiative to protect Ibn Saud. Besides, we can say that Shakespeare did not expect Ibn Saud to have such positive qualities, as mentioned in his report which was sent to Percy Cox.⁽⁷⁴⁾

In March 1913, Shakespeare met Ibn Saud again. Ibn Saud welcomed such a meeting. He said that he was delighted because the Ottoman Empire had had a battle with Al-Balkans. Ibn Saud thought that this opportunity should be seized, free al-Hasa from the Ottoman forces.⁽⁷⁵⁾ However, Shakespeare told him that he had no power pertaining to such decisions.

When Ibn Saud returned to Kuwait, he wrote a report to his government, through which he hoped to change the policy of Britain towards Ibn Saud.⁽⁷⁶⁾ The above speech shows that Shakespeare had strengthened confidence in Ibn Saud.

On May 26, 1913, Cox stated, in his response to Shakespeare, that the government of India recognized Ibn Saud as the independent governor of Najd.⁽⁷⁷⁾ The aforementioned indicates that Ibn Saud longed to take over al-Hasa during that period, to create a political significance for him in the region.

(69) Sa'ūd. 'myn, Tārīkh al-dwlah al-s'ūdīh, [The History of the Saudi State] Byrūt, dār al-kitāb al-'arbiy, 1948:65.

(70) Winstone, Shakespeare: 80.

(71) Al-Anani, Rhlāt al-kābīn Shakespeare: 473.

(72) Goldberg, Captain Shakespeare: 74–88; British library, Public record office, L/P&S/7/248(6), (08/04/1911).

(73) British Library, Public record office, L/P&S/7/248(6), in 08/04/1911.

(74) British Library, India office, Resident Records, IOR /R/15/1/479(3), in 19/03/1910.

(75) British Library, India office, Resident Records, IOR / R / 15/05/27 (5), in 15/05/1913.

(76) British Library, India office, Resident Records, IOR/R/15/27, in 27/03/1913.

(77) British archives, Foreign office, FO.371 / 1820 (110543), from Lieutenant Colonel Sir Percy Cox to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, Simla, No.1668, dated Bushire, May 29, 1913.

After a while, Ibn Saud was able to control al-Hasa.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Subsequently, he reformed his relations with Britain and the Ottoman Empire. The British government was compelled to send Captain Shakespeare to Ibn Saud in October 1914. Shakespeare was chosen because he had knowledge of the Arabian Peninsula, along with his friendship with Ibn Saud. Britain was concerned about the Sharif of Mecca and the Red Sea coast. Furthermore, after occupying al-Basra, the British forces were threatened by some Arab tribes. Shakespeare's mission was to consolidate British relations with Ibn Saud, who could tame them.⁽⁷⁹⁾

On the other hand, Mubarak al-Sabah had been in correspondence with Ibn Saud, encouraging him to eschew the Ottoman Empire and the German government.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Also, the Ottoman government had sent another delegation, headed by Talib al-Naqib, to persuade Ibn Saud to cooperate with the Ottoman government; however, Ibn Saud rejected the request, because he hated them and was not convinced in the first place. More importantly, Talib al-Naqib himself was not that supportive of the Ottomans. In fact, in his letter to Cox, he explained that he only accepted the mission because he feared for himself and his family.⁽⁸¹⁾

It is clear that Ibn Saud refused to enter the war in alliance with the British government. He preferred to stay impartial, as usual. Besides, Ibn Saud made a vow to Shakespeare that he would not engage in any hostile acts against Britain's allies, especially the Sharif of Mecca.⁽⁸²⁾

Ibn Saud asked Shakespeare to demand that his government officially recognize and provide protection to the House of Saud.⁽⁸³⁾ Ibn Saud's talks with Shakespeare were the first step to building Saudi–British relations.

The British documents⁽⁸⁴⁾ indicate that Ibn Saud wished to continue his friendship with Britain. However, involving the Ottomans in the war put Ibn Saud in a critical position; therefore, Ibn Saud began to feel in dire need of Britain's assistance.

On January 16, 1915, Shakespeare wrote to Percy Cox that the British government should adopt a positive attitude towards Ibn Saud. He also highlighted, in his report, that the proposed treaty would give Britain many benefits, including political control of the rest of the Arabian Peninsula's leaders, as well as the

(78) See next section of this Chapter.

(79) Daniel Silverfab, 'The Anglo-Najd Treaty of December 1915', *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.16, No.3, Oct 1980:167–177; British library, Public record office, L/P&S/10/387(2), (29/11/1914); FO371/2143(57141), (05/10/1914).

(80) British Library, India office, Resident Records, IOR/R/15/5/25, (14/10/1914).

(81) British Library, Public record office, L/P&S/10/387, Letter from Talib al-Naqib to Cox, (10/12/1914).

(82) Goldberg, Captain Shakespeare, pp.74–88.

(83) Winston, Shakespeare, p.74; L/P&S/10/387(2), Telegram from the secretary of the Government of India to Cox, (06/02/1915).

(84) British library, India office, Resident Records, IOR/R/15/5/25, Letter from Abdulaziz to Cox, (17/01/1915).

ability to monitor their military moves and prevent any foreign power from interfering in the affairs of Najd and the Arabian Peninsula.⁽⁸⁵⁾

Shakespeare promised Ibn Saud that if he, Ibn Saud, cooperated with Britain in the war, the British authorities would guarantee his protection, as well as Britain's recognition.⁽⁸⁶⁾

Shakespeare also suggested that his government should recognize Ibn Saud's independence and prevent any power, except Britain, from building any relationship with the House of Saud.⁽⁸⁷⁾

Shakespeare remained resident in Riyadh, awaiting his government's response. But the British authorities in Cairo felt the importance of giving Ibn Saud some diplomatic significance.⁽⁸⁸⁾

Ibn Saud decided to prepare to fight Ibn Rashid. It seems that Shakespeare's provocation of the Ottomans had paid off. Also, Shakespeare offered to fight with Ibn Saud against Ibn Rashid, but Ibn Saud replied, "it is good for our guests to rest themselves."⁽⁸⁹⁾ Nevertheless, Shakespeare insisted on fighting alongside the people of Najd.⁽⁹⁰⁾ On January 24, 1915, the Jarab⁽⁹¹⁾ the war was launched between Ibn Saud and Ibn Rashid, but no one triumphed. Nevertheless, Shakespeare was killed in this war, while wearing the British military uniform.⁽⁹²⁾

Sources differ regarding the death of Shakespeare. According to Philby,⁽⁹³⁾ Shakespeare had contributed effectively to the fight, while Bell and Winston⁽⁹⁴⁾ believe that he was filming and writing rather than fighting. Yet others⁽⁹⁵⁾ say that he was killed by Khalid bin Bilal, his cook, who accompanied him in the battle. However, there is no evidence for this. If the British government was aware of any disagreement between Khalid and Shakespeare, it would no doubt be mentioned in the sources and documents.

(85) British Library, India office, Resident Records, IOR/R/15/5/25(2), (17/01/1915); L/P/&S/10/387(2), Telegram from the secretary of the Government of India to Cox, (06/02/1915).

(86) Askar Al-Enazy, *The Creation of Saudi Arabia Ibn Saud and British Imperial Policy, 1914-1926*, Oxford: Routledge, 2010:53; British library, Public record office, L/P&S/10/387(6), Report from Shakespeare to Cox, (04/01/1915).

(87) Troeller, *The Birth of Saudi*, p.86; British library, India office, Resident Records IOR/R/15/5/25(2), from Percy Cox to British India Government, (Delhi), (17/01/1915).

(88) Gilbert F. Clayton, *An Arabian Diary*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1969:22.

(89) Abdulaziz al-Zaidi, *The House of Saud and Britain*: 73.

(90) Winstone, *Captain Shakespeare*: 203.

(91) A water spring located in the east of al-Zalfi and in the north of al-Artaliyah.

(92) Philby, H.St.J, *Saudi Arabia*, Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1968: 271–272.

(93) Philby, *Saudi Arabia*: 272.

(94) Gertrude Bel. *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia*, London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920, p.25; Winstone, *Captain Shakespeare*: 209.

(95) Goldberg, *Captain Shakespeare*: 74–88.

Perhaps Winston's point of view is more probable because Shakespeare was fond of photography and writing. Therefore, it is believed that Shakespeare was busy filming what was happening while wearing his military uniform, which made him an easy target. In truth, Britain lost a very significant person who participated in changing British policies.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Shakespeare's death was also a loss to Bin. Thus, Ibn Saud sent a letter to Percy Cox asking him to send a substitute for Shakespeare. But Cox did not show any willingness.⁽⁹⁷⁾

The Darren treaty and the annexation of al-Hasa

In November 1871, the Ottomans took over al-Hasa.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Medhat Pasha⁽⁹⁹⁾ formed a new administrative associated with the Ottoman Empire. The province was called then Najd brigade. Mohammed Nafez Pasha⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ became the administrative official of the province. The Ottoman government took such step after the internal conflict of the Saud family. It controlled over al-Hasa, explaining that the authorities were defending the legitimate ruler, Abdullah.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

The Ottoman campaign influenced Najd because the annexation of al-Hasa had closed all roads leading to Najd. Thus, the Ottoman Empire tightened its grip on Najd from 1871–1893. The rulers al-Saud started to resist the Ottoman occupation of al-Hasa, but their attempts were unsuccessful.⁽¹⁰²⁾ According to Zaidi, Britain was not supportive of al-Saud's claims. It seems that Britain feared the expansion of al-Saud. Therefore, Britain kept the situation under its control without tipping the scale in favor of either side. The British government was informed about the Ottoman campaign and demonstrated its concern regarding the remaining Gulf areas. As a result, the British government in London briefed the government of India on the

(96) Winstone, Captain Shakespear: 210.

(97) Howarth, the Desert King a Life of Ibn Saud: 86–88.

(98) Al-Hasa was part of an area that used to be called Bahrain or al-Hajar. It stretches from al-Basra to the coast of Oman. (James Onley, 'Britain's Informal Empire in the Gulf, 1820-1971', Journal of Social Affairs, Vol.22, No.87, 2005:41).

(99) He was one of the rulers of the Ottoman Empire. From 1869–1872, he was a governor of al-Basra. After that, he led a military campaign against al-Hasa, and annexed it to the Ottoman Empire. (Radhey Chaurasi, History of the Middle East, New Delhi: Atlantic, 2005:316).

(100) He was one of the leading commanders of the Ottoman Empire. He was also the commander of the Ottoman campaign against al-Hasa in 1871.

(101) Brought conflict between the brothers' Saud and Abdullah after the death of their father in 1865 Faisal bin Turki to the weakness and the fall of the Second Saudi government, because all of them claim to entitlement to the rule, making the Ottoman state control over the country Control.

(102) Lorimer.J.G. Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf: Geographical and Statistical, India: Superintendent Government Printing, 1986:1682; Hala Fattah, The Politics of Regional Trade in Iraq, Arabia, and the Gulf, 1745-1900, New York: University of New York, 1997, p.119.

capital importance of protecting the region from any local or regional power.⁽¹⁰³⁾ However, this campaign stopped when al-Hasa was taken over.

Ibn Saud was alluding to the British government about his intention to annex al-Hasa. He also asked for British protection. However, the British government ignored his requests and warned him of such actions. When Ibn Saud met Captain Shakespeare in 1911, he explained to him that he had desired to annex al-Hasa and al-Qatif. Furthermore, he wanted Britain to give him marine protection against any Ottoman attack. At the same time, Britain began talks with the Ottoman Empire to sign an agreement regarding their interests in the Persian Gulf.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

In 1912, Captain Gerard Leachman⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ took a trip towards the Arabian Peninsula. He stopped in Riyadh, where Bin Saud welcomed him. Nevertheless, Ibn Saud thought that Leachman was an Ottoman spy.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

In 1913, Ibn Saud moved his troops towards al-Hasa. He wrote to the administrative official of al-Hasa, Nadeem Bak,⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ that he was coming and that he aimed to chase the tribes that steal, such as the al-Ajman and al-Morah. To reassure the administrator, Ibn Saud sent some people⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ to buy some supplies from al-Hafuof.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ But the governor of al-Hasa expressed his concerns about Ibn Saud's campaign. It seems that the basic goal of sending people to buy supplies was in fact to investigate the region.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

(103) Hogarth, A History of Arabia:112.

(104) British Library, India office, Letter from Shakespear to Cox, British library, India office, Resident Records IOR/R/15/5/27(3), (18/03/1911).

(105) Gerald Leachman (1880–1920) graduated from St. Hurst Military College when he was 19 years old, also, he was a geographer botanist who made several impressive journeys in Arabia between 1910 and 1913 party funded by the society, he was a Britain government spy whose main mission was to negotiate with Abdulaziz ibn Saud in Riyadh. (James Canton, From Cairo to Baghdad: British Travellers in Arabia, London: IB Tauris & Co Ltd, 2011:58; Vincent. Peter, Saudi Arabia An Environmental Overview, London, Taylor and Francis group:9).

(106) Robin Bidwell. Travellers in Arabia, London: Hamlyn, 1976:158.

(107) Nadeem Bak Efendi was appointed as an administrator for Najd from 1911–1913. He is known for his administrative weakness.

(108) There were six people led by Mohammed bin Shalhoub. (Mufirh, Sīyasat Aldūlh Afthmânīyih:126).

(109) Ottoman Archives. Interior. Political. A secret telegram from the state of Basra to the Ministry of Interior on the arrival of Ibn Saud. Ottoman Archive, Istanbul, DH.SYS.25 / 75, (02/04/1913).

(110) British Library, Public record office, L/P&S/10/827(20), the Political report from Cox, (03/1913).

In February 1914, the Ministry of Interior began to resolve the Najd issues. Therefore, Hijaz declared that it wanted to settle everything peacefully and would assign Ibn Saud as an administrator for al-Hasa.⁽¹¹¹⁾ This decision provoked the opponents, who said that this agreement would encourage other princes to rebel against the State.⁽¹¹²⁾

Al-Sabiha Conference

The Najd–Ottoman relations went through a period of relative calm after Ibn Saud took over al-Hasa. The Ottoman Empire realized the importance of following a new policy with Ibn Saud. A series of negotiations began between Ibn Saud and the Ottoman government. The Ottoman Empire sent letters to Mubarak al-Sabah, Sheikh of Kuwait, by Lieutenant Colonel Omar Fawzi,⁽¹¹³⁾ asking him to try to persuade Ibn Saud to come to terms with the Ottoman Empire.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Moreover, the Ottoman Empire appointed Talib al-Naqib to head up a delegation and open talks with Ibn Saud in order to reach a settlement. Talib al-Naqib sought the help of Sheikh Mubarak to succeed in his mission.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ He arrived in Kuwait in April 1914.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Sheikh Mubarak suggested having the meetings in al-Sabiha under his supervision.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Perhaps he wanted to indirectly exercise his influence on the negotiations.

On July 15, 1914, the Council of Ministers approved the transfer of the administration of al-Hasa to Najd. They also appointed Ibn Saud as governor and leader of it. By tracking the Saudi documents, the researcher did not find any document concerning this treaty. The sources of Saudi Arabia do not deny what was agreed upon by Ibn Saud and Suleiman Shafiq. But they deny the fact that it was signed and stress that it was oral. Amin al-Rihani⁽¹¹⁸⁾ emphasizes that there was an agreement, but he did not mention its details. So,

(111) Ottoman Archive. Interior. DH.KMS.2-2 / 2. A letter from the Ministry of Interior to Ahmed Nadeem Bak Ibn Saud's appointment, (04/12/1913).

(112) Ottoman Archives. Interior. DH.KMS.2-2 / 2, (09/12/1913).

(113) Omar Fawzi Dagestani, born in the village Hsoaa (honey City) in the Caucasus, his birth was in 1878, his grandfather and his father died in Iraq, joined the army of the Ottoman in 1910 and then joined the army of the Arab revolution. (Jarīdyt al-rīy, Ṣafḥāt min tāriykh al'rđn, Sa'yđ 'buw điyh, al'dd 9233, kănün al'ül, 1995:49).

(114) Darlow and Barbary, Ibn Saud, p.181.

(115) British Library, Public record office, L/P&S/10/385(1), (09/02/1914).

(116) Hasan Kayali, Arab and Young Turks: Ottoman, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918, Los Angeles and London: Berkeley, 1996, p.130.

(117) Ottoman Archives. Interior. A Telegram from the Governor of Basra to the Minister of Interior. DH.KMS.2 /2-2.

(118) Al-Rīḥāniy, Tāriykh Najd: 326.

too, Khair al-Din Zarkali⁽¹¹⁹⁾ stresses that the Ottoman Empire had accepted what was listed in the al-Sabiha treaty. As for Saud Bin Hazlol, a historian, he mentioned the al-Sabiha meeting in passing.⁽¹²⁰⁾

All the previously cited opinions confirm the existence of the agreement, without giving details. As for Amin,⁽¹²¹⁾ he cited some details about the negotiations between the two parties, but he denied that Ibn Saud had signed the agreement. Western sources deny signing the agreement. Philby St. J., in *Saudi Arabia*,⁽¹²²⁾ points out that the agreement was oral. Yves Besson Fischer says that the document found in al-Basra was fabricated.⁽¹²³⁾

Ibn Saud succeeded in subjugating Britain into his dispute with the Ottoman Empire. The British officials were disappointed when they learned that Ibn Saud held a treaty with the Ottomans in 1914, during WWI. Therefore, it was very important for the British government to know Ibn Saud's attitude. Britain's concern was very conspicuous; George Knox, the political resident in the Gulf, sent letters to the political agent in Bahrain inquiring about Ibn Saud's attitude towards the British authorities.⁽¹²⁴⁾

Darren Treaty

On 29 January 1915, the British authorities in India sent a letter to the Indian Ministry in London that contained a suggested treaty between Britain and Ibn Saud, and which was the same as that between Shakespeare and Ibn Saud. It included the following points:⁽¹²⁵⁾

- 1- The recognition by the British government that Ibn Saud was the independent ruler of Najd, al-Hasa and Qatif, maintaining hereditary succession in his family. This would take place if the tribes agreed on the new governor and if the British government approved.
- 2- The British government would support Ibn Saud in case any offense would penetrate its territories without justification.

(119) Al-Zrkfīy, Shbh Al-jzīyah Al-‘rbīyah, 216.

(120) Hdhlūl. S‘ūd, tāriyk mlūk Al-S‘ūd, Al-riyāḍ, mṭāb‘ al-riyāḍ, 1980:103.

(121) Sa‘yd. ‘myn, Tāriyk al-dwlah al-s‘ūdīh, [The History of Saudi State], Volume II, Bīyrūt, Mjlt dār al-kitāb al-‘arbiy, 1948:58–61.

(122) Philby, Saudi Arabia: 292.

(123) Bisūn if, Ibn S‘ūd mlk al-Sahrā, tarjamah, [Ibn Saud the King of Desert], (translator) ‘bduallah al-dulimī and ‘bduallah al-rabi‘ī, al-riād, maktab al-malik ‘bdullaziz, 1999:97-113.

(124) British Library, India office, Resident Records, IOR/R/15/2/31(2), 15/08/1914.

(125) British archives, Foreign office, FO 371/2479, in 30/01/1915; British library, Public record office, L/P&S/10/387(2).in 06/02/1915.

- 3- Ibn Saud would undertake not to deal with any foreign party and not to grant any privileges to foreign nationals without first consulting the British government.
- 4- The two parties would agree to initiate a detailed treaty after completing the broad outlines to discuss other important issues. Maybe, he meant the issues related to protection, trade, and Britain's interests in the Gulf.

On January 30, 1915, the parliament secretary in the Indian government, Thomas Holderness, sent a letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs confirms what was included in the British–Saudi treaty.⁽¹²⁶⁾ Later, on February 6, 1915, the Indian government sent a letter to Percy Cox in order to start new talks with Ibn Saud for the sake of formulating a treaty, to include the broad outlines of the British interests based on the proposals of the employees in the Indian government. Accordingly, Cox made up a draft for the treaty that included seven points, and which became the basic point in the treaty between Najd and Britain. It includes the following:⁽¹²⁷⁾

- Britain's recognition of Ibn Saud as the independent ruler of Najd and al-Hasa, maintaining the hereditary succession in his family.
- Not welcoming any foreign party other than Britain in its territories.
- Not establishing diplomatic relations or political contacts with other foreign countries.
- Not stationing foreign forces in its territories, except the British ones.
- Ibn Saud to ensure the safe and smooth passage of pilgrims.
- Ibn Saud to vow not to interfere in the internal affairs of Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman and the Omani coast.

At the end of February 1915, the British government sent a copy of the treaty to Ibn Saud for review. Ibn Saud returned it to the British government, adding a number of modifications and suggestions. On August 26, 1915, the Viceroy of India sent a letter to Ibn Saud telling him that Cox has been given the right to sign the suggested treaty. Ibn Saud welcomed Cox, to agree upon an official treaty with Britain. Percy Cox headed to Najd to meet Ibn Saud at the end of 1915, which was the first meeting between them. Cox arrived in Aqeer,⁽¹²⁸⁾ then Al Qatif,⁽¹²⁹⁾ to meet in Darien.⁽¹³⁰⁾ A number of talks took place between Najd and Britain.

(126) Silverfin, the Anglo-Najd treaty of December 1915, p.172.

(127) British library, India office, Resident Records, IOR/R/15/5/25(1), in 27/02/1915.

(128) From a village of Al-Ahsa in eastern Saudi Arabia from the land of Najd, and is an important port in the south-west of Qatif. (Al- jäser. Hmad, Alm`jm aljghrāfiy fly al-jazyrh al-`rbāh, Al-ryād, Dār Al-yāamāmh, 1982:992).

(129) It is one of the largest provinces of the eastern region, more than the population of Shia.

(130) It island located opposite of Qatif on the east coast of the Arabian Peninsula, about 230 miles south of Kuwait, 36 miles north of Bahrain, 64 miles northwest of Qatar. (Lorimer, Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, p.1884.)

Throughout the talks, Cox asked about what aid Ibn Saud could provide to support the Allies in the war, in particular, Britain. Ibn Saud vowed not to do anything that would go against Britain's interests and not establish any relations with any side opposed to Britain and its allies.⁽¹³¹⁾

As a step forwards, the British government chose Cox as a commissioner in the Gulf and granted him the right to sign the treaty with Abdelaziz bin Abdelrahman bin Faisal al-Saud (Ibn Saud). The two parties agreed on the seven above-mentioned points. Then, Ibn Saud commented on some of what was written and asked for modification as the introduction of the draft. He suggested a modification (the governor of Najd, Al-Hasa, Qatif, Jubail and the cities and ports which belong to it). He also asked to change the word 'generations' to 'a long period of time'.⁽¹³²⁾ Some passages, which are related to the areas under the influence of Ibn Saud and which were not recognized by Britain, were modified. This included Britain's attitude towards the attacks on Najd. The British government granted Cox the right to act regarding the different amendments proposed by Ibn Saud. After a round of talks between Ibn Saud and Percy Cox, they agreed upon the final draft of the treaty on 26 December 1915, and it was known as the Treaty of Daren. It assures Britain's recognition of Ibn Saud as the governor of his country and its dependent territories.⁽¹³³⁾

Through studying the results of the treaty, I find that the study has some British gains and the other is Najdi. The British gains are summarised into the following points:⁽¹³⁴⁾

- Supervision of Ibn Saud's foreign relations
- Securing transport routes through al-Aqeer seaport, which was under Ibn Saud's supervision
- Britain guaranteed to secure the Gulf sheikhdoms against Ibn Saud
- Prevention of all material and military aid supplied by the North of Hail or the West of Hijaz
- Assurance that Ibn Saud would never assault the Hashemites
- Britain guaranteed that Ibn Saud would carry out military action on Hail while Britain executed its plans to occupy the rest of Iraq
- The treaty reinforced the British influence in the Arabian Peninsula

As for Ibn Saud, he was awarded the following:⁽¹³⁵⁾

(131) Philby. St, Arabian Jubilee, New York, day, 1953:185.

(132) British Library, Public record office, L/P&S/10/387(2), in 26/12/1915.

(133) Kshk, Mohammed, Al-Sa'ūdīyūn was Al-ḥīl Al-Islāmiy, [The Saudis and the Islamic Solution], Cairo, Al-Mṭb ḥ Al-Fnīyah, 1984:461.

(134), British library, Public record office, L/P&S/10/387(2), in 26/12/1915; Al-Zīyāḍīy, 'bdual' Aziz Al-Sa'ūd aw Brīytānīyā: 89.

(135) Al-Zīyāḍīy, 'bdual' Aziz Al-Sa'ūd aw Brīytānīyā :91

- He received 1, 000 rifles and 20, 000 Pounds. Also, Cox promised to give him 5, 000 Pounds per month, in addition to the necessary equipment and ammunition.
- Cox pledged to resolve the problems between Najd and Kuwait.
- Ibn Saud was guaranteed British protection.
- Ibn Saud was recognized as Governor of Najd, al-Hasa, al-Qatif, and al-Jebel.
- Ibn Saud was given the opportunity to expand his territories and influence in the Arabian Peninsula.⁽¹³⁶⁾

It is clear from the above that the treaty secured British interests and supported Ibn Saud both politically and militarily.

The Development of the Saudi-British Relations during the First World War.

Ibn Saud has been attempting to sign a protection agreement with Britain since taking over Riyadh. However, the British government was not in favor of intervening in the affairs of Najd. When Ibn Saud seized al-Hasa, British policy subsequently changed, and Ibn Saud began direct correspondence with the British. Shakespeare had a major role in bringing their relationship closer. For all that, British–Najd relations experienced a period of calm after the death of Shakespeare. However, the relations were rekindled in the summer of 1915, when Percy Cox attempted to lay the foundations of a new official relationship between Ibn Saud and Britain, which resulted in the signing of the treaty of Darin.⁽¹³⁷⁾

During this period, the question of leadership was raised. The disagreement was about electing an Arab political figure to lead the Arab revolt against the Ottomans. British political specialists on Middle Eastern affairs was split into two groups: the first school was called the Anglo-Egyptian, Cairo, or Western school; the second is called the Anglo-Indian, Indian, or Eastern school.⁽¹³⁸⁾ In January 1916, the pioneers of the British school in Cairo founded the Arab Bureau,⁽¹³⁹⁾ which included a plethora of British politicians, officers, and specialists, the most prominent of which were Gilbert Clayton,⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ D.G. Hogarth,⁽¹⁴¹⁾ and T.E. Lawrence.⁽¹⁴²⁾

(136) British Library, Public record office, L/P&S/10/387(2), in 26/12/1915; Philby, Saudi, p.272; Silverfin, the Anglo-Najd treaty of December 1915, p.176; British library, India office, Resident Records, IOR/R/15/5/25(2) in 07/10/1915.

(137) British Library, Public record office, L/P&S/10/387(1), in 07/07/1915.

(138) Clayton. An Arabian Diary: 13.

(139) It was founded by some British politicians and intellectuals in Cairo. Its activities were included with the British Foreign Offices's. Also, it is considered the main network for British spy in the Middle East. (Hajar, Jamāl, alqaw alkibriyya al-Sharq al'ustā, [The Major Powers and the Middle East], Al'xendariyyh, dār alm'irfh, 1989:162).

(140) Gilprat Flanknham Clayton (1875-1929) was one of the British specialists in politics. He held several posts in the Arab countries; he worked in Sudan; then, he moved to Egypt and worked at Civilian Intelligence. (Clayton, An Arabian Diary: 45).

British–Najdi correspondence witnessed a remarkable development after signing the Darin Treaty in 1915:⁽¹⁴³⁾

- Al-Aqeer meeting between Ibn Saud and Percy Cox (November 11-12, 1916):
 - Ibn Saud was asked to meet Sir Percy Cox to discuss their bilateral relations. The outbreak of the Arab Revolt made the governor of Najd concerned about the political future of Hussein bin Ali.
- The Three Leaders Conference in Kuwait (November 23, 1916):
 - During the al-Aqeer meeting, Percy Cox invited Ibn Saud to attend a conference held in Kuwait on November 23, 1916. Along with 200 heads of Arab tribes, the Sheikh of Kuwait, Jaber bin Mubarak al-Sabah,⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ and the Sheik of al-Mahmara, Khazaa bin Jaber, attended the conference headed by Percy Cox. In this conference, Britain aimed to discover their intentions regarding the region. It also urged those leaders to endorse al-Sharif Hussein bin Ali and his revolution. At the beginning of the conference, Percy Cox gave the Sheikh of Kuwait and the administrator of Najd the Order of Merit.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ As for Ibn Saud, he was awarded the Star of India and the Order of the British Empire. The three leaders promised to support Britain and reiterated their attitudes regarding the Arab Revolt. When the conference was over, Cox congratulated the Sheikhs and leaders who attended the conference.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾
- Ibn Saud's Visit to al-Basra (November 27, 1916):
 - Ibn Saud visited al-Basra after Cox's invitation and traveled from Kuwait to al-Basra on November 27, 1916. Cox's aim for the visit was to influence Ibn Saud psychologically by showing him the ongoing acts in al-Basra. Ibn Saud toured military units. This forced Ibn Saud to influence the people of al-Basra, so they could accept living under British dominance because they were receptive to Ibn Saud. According to Howarth,⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ Cox briefed Ibn Saud about military equipment. Gertrude Bell⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ was among those who

(141) David George Hogarth (1862 - 1927) was a British archeologist. He worked as a researcher at Oxford University and became an official at the British Intelligence in Egypt and the Middle East. Kedourie. Elie, England and the Middle East, London, Harvester press, 1978:8.

(142) Thomas Edward Lawrence (1884 - 1935) was a British politician and soldier who served in WWI in the Middle East. He entered Damascus with the Arab forces in 1918. Brown. Malcolm, T.E.Lawrence in War and Peace: An Anthology of the military writings of Lawrence of Arabia, London, Greenhill books, 2005:16-17.

(143) Jalāl. yaḥiyy, al-‘alm al-‘rbi al-hadīth, [The modern Arab world] al-qāhirh, muwwsasat al-m‘arif, 1959:131.

(144) Jaber Bin Mubark al-Sabah (1917-1873) was called Jaber the second. He is a prince of al-Sabah family. He succeeded his father in 1915. He died in al-Kuwait. (Al-Zrklīy, Al’lam: 92).

(145) Al-Zīydīy, ‘bdual’ Aziz Al-Sāūd: 99.

(146) British archives, Foreign Office FO371/2769(236884), in 21/11/1916.

(147) Howarth, The desert: 98.

welcome Ibn Saud in al-Basra. It was the first time Ibn Saud had met a European woman. She said that he was gentle and calm, unlike other Bedouin leaders.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ Philby described this visit as the first one for Ibn Saud outside the Arabian Peninsula.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

Conclusion

The relations between Ibn Saud and Britain during the period of 1910–1916 saw a change in the type of relationship. Contact between Ibn Saud and Britain began from 1906, as previously mentioned, but did not result in a formal relationship, despite Cox's efforts to persuade his government of the importance of establishing a friendly relationship with Ibn Saud. He believed that ignoring him may make him an enemy. At times, Mubarak al-Sabah was a mediator in the relations between Najd and Britain. Then, the appearance of the Najd government encouraged to do expeditions to the Arabian Peninsula, like Shakespeare. This period witnessed victories for Ibn Saud in Najd, which made the Sheikh of Kuwait, Mubarak al-Sabah, adopt a clear shift in his attitude towards Ibn Saud due to his fear of Ibn Saud's expansion at the expense of Kuwait. The Sheikh of Kuwait took advantage of the conflict between Ibn Saud and Ibn Rashid.⁽¹⁵¹⁾

Abdulaziz found himself surround the Ottoman Empire that suspects his intentions towards. As a result, Ibn Saud adapted a policy of non-confrontation because of the losses any conflict could bring about. Furthermore, he recognized the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire over its areas. Ibn Saud did this because he failed to convince Britain to provide him protection, as it did Kuwait. When Ibn Saud seized al-Hasa, Britain changed its policies accordingly. For instance, when WWI was launched in 1914, Britain sought to embrace Ibn Saud. Consequently, Ibn Saud signed the Darin Treaty, in which he was recognized as an entity. After that, he received supplies from the Ottomans. Although he was impartial in WWI, he was useful to Britain as he prevented Ibn Rashid and disciplined some troublesome tribes. The First World War contributed to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and Britain managed to exert its control over local forces in the Persian Gulf.

(148) 1868-1926, was an English writer, Traveller, Political officer, she well as contributed to the construction of the Iraqi stat in 1921. She played a crucial role in obtaining the loyalty of Arab leaders. (Wallach. Janet, *Desert Queen: The Extraordinary Life of Gertrude Bell: Adventurer, Adviser to Kings, Ally of Lawrence of Arabia*, Orion Published, London, 2005:13)

(149) Foreign Office, FO371/3046, letter from Percy Cox to the Political secretary in India (Arthur Hirtzel) copy of the writing's of Miss Gertrude Bell).

(150) Philby, Saudi: 274.

(151) Al-^ʿlīūāt.Mohammed, ^ʿlāqāt ^ʿbduāl ^ʿzīz Ibn S^ʿūd fly alqūiy almtūājdh fiy Najd uww alkhalij 1902-1922

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سيطرة ابن سعود على الإحساء والعلاقة المباشرة مع الحكومة البريطانية 1910-1916

الملخص: خلال الفترة ما بين عامي 1910 – 1916م، وتحديداً في الفترة التي تم فيها ضم منطقة الإحساء، شهدت المملكة العربية السعودية العديد من العلاقات التي ساهمت في رسم وجهها الحالي، حيث كانت العلاقة بين السعودية وبريطانيا من بين العلاقات البارزة في تلك الحقبة. وفي هذا السياق، تهدف الدراسة الحالية إلى دراسة ضم منطقة الإحساء للسعودية تحت حكم ابن سعود واتصاله المباشر مع البريطانيين. كما تتناول الدراسة علاقة ابن سعود مع العثمانيين، ودور الكابتن وليام هنري شكسبير في تطور العلاقات الأنجلو- سعودية. إلى جانب ذلك، توضح الدراسة العلاقات بين الإمبراطورية العثمانية والمملكة السعودية والتي كانت من أجل تحقيق المصالح الاستراتيجية للطرفين في وسط شبه الجزيرة العربية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: السعودية، الإحساء، بريطانيا، الإمبراطورية العثمانية، وليام هنري شكسبير.