

an amicable settlement, and the Shaikh had been authorised by the British Government to respond ; but the Āl Bahaiḥ eventually hung back, and the intended negotiations did not take place.

In 1903, no steps having as yet been taken by the Turkish authorities to compensate the Shaikh of Bahrain for the massacre, discussion of the case was resumed between the British Government and the Porte. An assertion by the Porte that the murderers had all been killed in subsequent encounters with the Turkish troops having been disproved, and the unwillingness or inability of the Turks to take further action having become clear, His Majesty's Government decided that the Shaikh of Bahrain might be authorised to proceed in his own way against the Āl Bahaiḥ, provided that nothing was done in territory recognised as Turkish. This decision was communicated to the Porte in October 1904, but it was withheld from the Shaikh in consequence of his misconduct in certain matters which form part of the history of Bahrain.

In February 1905 a fresh outrage on Bahrain subjects was committed by the Āl Bahaiḥ tribe at Dōhat Huwaiqil in Barr-al-Qarah. The victims on this occasion were the crews of two Māshuwāhs from Hadd on Mubarraḡ Island, who had landed to collect firewood ; they were attacked by a gang of 35 Bedouins, two of their number were dangerously wounded by the bullets of the Āl Bahaiḥ, and a slave belonging to the party was carried off. In 1907 it appeared that the Āl Bahaiḥ, whom the Shaikh had prohibited from visiting Bahrain, considered themselves, on this account, as at feud with the whole Arab population of the islands.

The Turkish Mutasarrifs of Hasa were, after the occupation of the province, the principal instruments of the Turkish policy of expansion on the side of Qatar and Trucial 'Omān ; but their proceedings in this respect, belonging rather to the history of Qatar, are described in another place.

Relations
with Qatar
and Trucial
'Omān.

Relations
with Kuwait.

The use of Kuwait to some extent as a base of operations and the assistance given by the Shaikh of Kuwait in the Turkish conquest of Hasa in 1871 have been noticed above, as has also the co-operation of a Kuwait contingent under Shaikh Mubārak to restore order in Hasa in 1893. Towards the end of 1899 an Irādē, authorising the construction of a line of telegraph from Basrah to Qatif which would necessarily have passed through Kuwait, was issued by the Sultān of Turkey ; but no steps were taken to give the scheme effect.

Relations
with Najd.

The negotiations and other dealings of the Turks in Hasa with the Wahhābi rulers of Central Arabia have been described above in so far as

they related to the occupation of Hasa by the Turks and to the further designs of the Porte upon Najd. In 1892 asylum and a pension were provided by the Turks for 'Abdur Rahmān, the fugitive head of the Āl Sa'ūd of Najd, who had been expelled from Central Arabia by Ibn-Rashid.

Occasional communication was held also with Ibn-Rashid, the Amir of Jabal Shammar. Thus in March 1894 the 'Ajmān tribe, having been attacked by Ibn-Rashid, apparently in the coastal tract of Salū towards Kuwait, appealed to the Turks for redress on the ground of their being tributary to the Porte, and the Mutasarrif of Hasa wrote on their behalf to the Amir ; but to his letter Ibn-Rashid merely replied that the 'Ajmān were robbers, and that action had been taken against them in the interests of law and order. In 1895 Ibn-Rashid complained that intercourse between Kuwait and Najd was being interrupted by the raids of the 'Ajmān, Āl Morrah and other tribes nominally subject to Turkey, and requested the Mutasarrif of Hasa either to reduce them to order or to permit him to do so ; but the only response to this request seems to have been an attack by the Turks assisted by the 'Ajmān upon the Mutāir, a tribe generally regarded as under the protection of the Amir, of which an account has already been given above.

In July and August 1905 'Abdul 'Aziz, son of the Wahhābi Amir, whose power had again superseded that of Ibn-Rashid in Central Arabia, paid a visit to the part of the Jafūrah desert adjoining Dōhat-as-Salwa. His presence, though he was nominally at this time a Turkish official, appeared to be embarrassing to the authorities in Hasa ; but he hospitably received a Turkish Tābūr Āghāsi who was deputed to call on him in his camp at Da'a'ilij in Jafūrah.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF KUWAIT.*

Early History.

Foundation of Kuwait by the 'Utüb, 1716.

The foundation of the town of Kuwait, though a modern event, is the subject of various and conflicting traditions. The first settlers, however, almost certainly belonged to the 'Utüb, a tribe consisting of three principal divisions, the Jalāhimah, Āl Khalifah and Āl Subāh, and said to be derived from the 'Anizah of northern Central Arabia. † Kuwait seems to have come into existence about the commencement of the 18th century, according to one account in 1716; and from the name it may reasonably be conjectured that the place was in the beginning an ordinary Arab settlement protected by a small fort. According to a tradition preserved by the Āl Subāh family who now govern Kuwait, the reason why the ancestors of their section came to Kuwait was that they had been expelled by the Turks from Umm Qasr upon Khor Zubair, an earlier seat from which they had been accustomed to prey as brigands upon the caravans of Basrah and as pirates upon the shipping of the Shatt-al-'Arab. When the settlement at Kuwait was formed, the Jalāhimah section were headed by one Jābir, the Āl Khalifah by Khalifah-bin-Muhammad, and the Āl Subāh—according to one tradition—by a Shaikh named

* For facts in regard to the history of Kuwait, we are not so entirely dependent as in the case of Qatar, Bahrain and Hasa on official records and compilations, and the following published works may be cited: Ives' *Voyage*, 1773; Seetzen in Zach's *Monatliche Correspondenz*, July to December 1805; Brydges' *Brief History of the Wahabys*, 1834; Stocqueler's *Fifteen Months' Pilgrimage*, 1832; Pelly and Colvill's *Recent Tour round the Northern Portion of the Persian Gulf*, in the *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, Volume XVII, 1865; Pelly's *Report on a Journey to the Wahabee Capital of Riyadh*, 1868; and Pelly's *Report on the Tribes, etc., around the shores of the Persian Gulf*, 1874. The official publications containing most information are: *Bombay Selections*, XXIV, 1856; a *Précis of Correspondence regarding the Affairs of the Persian Gulf*, 1801-53, by Mr. J. A. Saldanha, 1806; a *Précis of Kuwait Affairs*, by the same, 1804; a *Précis of Najd Affairs, 1804-1804*, by the same, 1804; and the annual Administration Reports of the Persian Gulf Political Residency.

† There is also a division known as the Āl Fādihil, but they have played no part in history.

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Sulaimān-bin-Ahmad; and the Āl Subāh enjoyed some sort of political predominance over the other divisions of the tribe. According to another authority the chief Shaikh of the Āl Subāh at the time of the foundation of Kuwait was one Rahīm.

In the first fifty years after its foundation, the town of Kuwait grew rapidly in wealth and importance; and the 'Utüb, partly by means of matrimonial alliances with other tribes in the neighbourhood, succeeded in making their position good against the Bani Khālid, who till shortly before had dominated the whole north-eastern coast of Arabia. The chief of Kuwait from about 1756 to about 1762 was Shaikh Subāh, who was succeeded by his son, Shaikh 'Abdullah.

Rapid growth of the settlement, 1716-66.

In 1758, when Dr. Ives and his party passed through Khārag on their way from India to Europe, friendly relations prevailed between Baron Knipphausen, the head of the Dutch settlement on Khārag, and the Shaikh of Kuwait, "a man greatly obliged to him, and in some measure under his influence"; and it occurred to the Baron that arrangements might be made through the Shaikh for the British travellers to accompany a caravan proceeding from Kuwait by the desert to Aleppo—a route which, though more arduous, was shorter in time than that by Basrah and Baghdad. A boat was accordingly sent, on the 31st of March, to fetch the Shaikh from Kuwait to Khārag; but he did not make his appearance until the 14th of April; and his demands, when he came, were so extortionate and so firmly maintained as to make the Baron secretly doubtful of the expediency of the plan which he had himself proposed. The British party, on becoming aware of this, relieved him from his embarrassment by suggesting that, for various reasons, they should continue their journey by the Basrah-Baghdad route.

Relations of the Dutch at Khārag with the Shaikh of Kuwait, 1758.

In 1766, in circumstances of which no explanation except one probably fanciful is extant, the Āl Khalifah division of the 'Utüb separated themselves from the rest of the tribe and removed to Zubārah in Qatar, where they became an independent colony. They were followed, after a short interval, by the Jalāhimah; and the Āl Subāh remained in exclusive possession of Kuwait.

Emigration of the Āl Khalifah and Jalāhimah from Kuwait to Zubārah in Qatar, 1766.

Friendly relations between the 'Utüb of Kuwait and those of Zubārah must, if ever interrupted, have shortly been resumed, for in 1776 one of the Shaikhs and a number of the chief inhabitants of Kuwait took refuge at Zubārah in consequence of the capture of Basrah by the Persians. The fall of Basrah did not, however, injure Kuwait; on the contrary, a considerable part of the trade of Basrah was diverted, during the Persian occupation of that place, to Kuwait.

Effect on Kuwait of the capture of Basrah by the Persians, 1776-79.

Opening of British relations with Kuwait, 1775-78.

Kuwait a dependency of Basrah, 1775.

Arrest of a French officer at Kuwait by a member of the H. E. I. Company's Basrah Factory, 1778.

The recorded history of British relations with Kuwait opens in 1775, when, on the investment of Basrah by the Persians, the British desert mail from the Gulf to Aleppo began to be despatched from Kuwait instead of Zubair. This arrangement was continued during the Persian occupation of Basrah until 1779, but it did not work very satisfactorily as the messengers were not under any proper control, and one packet was lost *en route* about the end of 1778.

In 1775 Kuwait was regarded as a dependency of Basrah; and, at the breaking up of the Anglo-Turkish squadron at the mouth of the Shatt-al-Arab on the departure of the British Agency to Bûshehr, it was considered a safe place at which to drop the Turkish and Arab personnel.

An unusual incident occurred at Kuwait at the end of 1778, or possibly in January 1779. On the 3rd of August 1778 M. Borel du Bourg, a young French officer, left Marseilles with despatches in cypher for the French authorities in Pondichery and Mauritius. He was travelling from Aleppo to the Persian Gulf, when, in the desert at about 15 days' journey from Basrah, a party of Bedouin Arabs threatened him, and he had the misfortune to shoot one of their number. Severely wounded by a sword cut on the head, he saved his life by throwing himself on the protection of the oldest of the robbers and promising to pay a sum equal to £100 English on condition of being conveyed in safety to Kuwait. On arrival at Kuwait he succeeded in borrowing the promised amount from an Armenian of the place, after which he wrote to M. Rousseau, the French Consul at Basrah, desiring to be supplied with the means of continuing his journey to Pondichery. The French Resident having refused or hesitated to honour the draft of his fellow-countryman, it was carried by the Arab messenger to the British Factory at Basrah, of which the staff in this manner became aware of M. du Bourg's presence in Kuwait.

A difficult question was thus raised, for a report had reached Basrah of war having been* declared between Britain and France, in which case it would be incumbent on British officials abroad to seize wandering French emissaries; but, on the other hand, the consequences to the British Resident were likely to be serious if he took action against M. du Bourg on information which subsequently proved to be incorrect. Mr. W. Digges Latouche in charge of the British Factory,

* The report was not incorrect. From 1778 to 1783 there was war between France and Britain, in consequence of the former power having openly sided with the United States of America in their War of Independence.

"perhaps as benevolent, humane and generous a being as ever existed," decided in the end that the Frenchman must be arrested, and sent his Second in Council, Mr. Abraham, in a cruiser, to put the resolution in effect. The vessel anchored out of sight of the town; and after dark Mr. Abraham, accompanied by the captain Mr. Sheriff, a man of remarkably powerful physique, proceeded on shore in a boat. The chief obstacle to the execution of their orders was the opposition of the Shaikh of Kuwait, who, though a well-wisher of the British Government, was strongly averse to the seizure of a person at the time enjoying his hospitality; after a protracted argument, however, his objections were withdrawn, principally, it would seem, in consequence of an assertion that M. du Bourg was a fraudulently absconding debtor. The British representatives then proceeded to M. du Bourg's house, and, on the door being opened by the French officer, who was in momentary expectation of a reply from the French Resident at Basrah and appeared dressed in nothing but his shirt, Captain Sheriff seized him in his arms and held him fast, while Mr. Abraham searched his apartments. The despatches were found; but M. du Bourg succeeded in destroying the key of the cypher, which was concealed in the lining of his coat, and their meaning was never ascertained.

It is pleasant to know that on arrival at Basrah M. du Bourg, whose misfortunes seem to have excited the greatest commiseration in his captors, and who was so incensed against M. Rousseau that he refused to hold any communication with the French Consulate, became the object of "every respect and attention" in the British Factory; that his wound, which for want of treatment had grown dangerous, was cured; and that he was eventually despatched on his homeward journey *via* Aleppo "with every assistance he could receive from the gentlemen of our Factory."

As related in the history of Bahrain, the 'Utûb of Kuwait took a leading part in the expulsion of the Persians from those islands and in the reduction of Bahrain to an Arab principality under their 'Athi kinsmen of Zubârah. Three years previously, in 1780, they and their fellow-tribesmen of Zubârah had been at war with the Ka'ab tribe of 'Arabistan; but the circumstances are not known.

Kuwait, of which the prosperity was at this time considered to stand necessarily in an inverse ratio to that of Basrah, benefited greatly through the occupation of the latter town by the Persians, in consequence of which the whole Indian trade with Baghdad, Aleppo, Smyrna and Constantinople was between 1775 and 1779 diverted to it. Even

Participation of the 'Utûb of Kuwait in the 'Athi conquest of Bahrain, 1783.

Trade of Kuwait, 1775-80.

after this, until 1781, merchandise for Aleppo was sometimes forwarded by direct caravan from Kuwait, thus escaping the duties levied by the Pasha of Baghdād on goods forwarded through Basrah. By 1790 Kuwait had begun to share in the commercial prosperity which the seizure of Bahrain had brought to the whole 'Utūb tribe by drawing them into the carrying trade; and goods were imported from Masqat, Zubārah, Bahrain and Qatif. Merchants were efficiently protected at Kuwait, and the duty on imported goods was levied at the low rate of 1 per cent. *ad valorem*.

Temporary location of the Basrah (British) Factory at Kuwait, 1793.95.

Staff and establishment of the Factory.

On account of difficulties with Turkish officials, described elsewhere in the history of Turkish 'Iraq, the staff of the British Factory at Basrah withdrew from that place on the 30th of April 1793* and established themselves temporarily at Kuwait, where they remained until the 26th of August 1795. From the selection of Kuwait as a place of retreat from the Turks, it is clear that, whatever may have been the case in 1775, it was not in any real sense a Turkish dependency in 1793. The head of the factory was Mr. S. Manesty, a gentleman who played a conspicuous and somewhat eccentric part in the relations of Britain with Turkish 'Iraq about this period; and among those who accompanied him in his migration were the Joint Factor, Mr. Harford Jones, afterwards Sir Harford Jones Brydges, British Envoy to Persia; also a Mr. Reinaud, who at a later time attained celebrity as the first European visitor to Dara'iyah in Najd. For the protection of the British Factory at Kuwait a small cruiser was kept anchored in the bay, and a guard of sepoy under a native officer was stationed on shore. The staff of the Factory suffered much discomfort at Kuwait from the intense heat, which caused them sleepless nights, and from "the supply of water,.....infamously bad in quality, being at once salt, sweet and bitter"; and failure of health after a time obliged Mr. Harford Jones to proceed on leave to Europe.

* In Sir Harford Jones Brydges' *Wahauhy* the date is given as 1792, but this is probably a misprint.

During the sojourn of the factory at Kuwait the Wāhhābis were at war with the place, which they were anxious to reduce to submission; and they frequently showed themselves in the neighbourhood, causing incessant alarms. The town was at this time poorly defended by a mud wall, which, in the rainy season, frequently crumbled down in large breaches to the great alarm of the inhabitants; but the courage of the people was sustained by their confidence in Shaikh 'Abdullah-bin-Subah, described as a venerable old man of commanding appearance, whom they regarded more as a father than as a governor. In general a Wāhhābi attack did not amount to more than a temporary seizure of the wells by a party of ten or twenty Bedouins, whom the matchlockmen of the town ordinarily succeeded in dislodging after a bloodless skirmish at very long ranges; but belated wanderers near the town were treated by the Wāhhābis with great inhumanity, the women being carried off and the men instantly put to death. It is recorded, on the authority of Dr. Seetzen, that Mr. Reinaud on one occasion actually saw two Wāhhābis murder an unfortunate Kuwaiti upon the seashore and wash their hands in his blood. During the stay of the East India Company's servants at Kuwait only one serious attack in force, which was easily repulsed, was made by the Wāhhābis. The real attitude of the British Factory towards these conflicts is uncertain: in theory it was one of neutrality.*

Wāhhābi aggressions on Kuwait, 1793-95.

* The statements made by Sir H. J. Brydges in his *Wahauhy* (pages 12 to 16) and by Mr. Reinaud in his conversations with Dr. Seetzen (see Von Zach's *Monatliche Correspondenz*, July to December 1805, pages 234 to 235) are irreconcilable. Sir Harford represents the grand attack as having been made by about 500 Wāhhābis, who were driven off by a single shot from an old gun that had been brought ashore by the Shaikh from one of his vessels; and he is careful to explain that the Factory had no share in the proceedings, and that good relations were, on the contrary, studiously maintained with Ibn Sa'ūd. Mr. Reinaud, on the other hand, places the strength of the enemy at 2,000 camels, each carrying two men, the front rider armed with a gun and the other with a lance to protect his companion while reloading; he alleges that, under Mr. Manesty's orders, two guns were landed from the British cruiser, that the sepoy guard of the Factory took part in repelling the attack, and that the Wāhhābis lost heavily in their flight along the beach by the fire of the cruiser herself; and he adds that the resentment of the Wāhhābis at this interference expressed in depredations upon the Company's desert mail, was the cause of his own mission to Dara'iyah. Sir Harford may be the more reliable authority; but, on the other hand, it seems unlikely that Mr. Reinaud's circumstantial story should be altogether a fiction.

History of Kuwait from the removal of the British Factory till the arrival of the Egyptians in Hasa, 1795-1838.

Internal history.

During more than 40 years after the return of the British Factory to Basrah, the name of Kuwait was seldom mentioned in the political correspondence of the Persian Gulf.

In 1820 Kuwait was represented as containing an armed population of 5,000 to 7,000 men, of whom only a few hundred were 'Utüb by race, and as dependent for its water supply upon the island of Failakah. In 1829 the authority of the Shaikh of Kuwait was partially acknowledged by the Bedouin tribes upon the coast as far to the southward as Räs Khafji; the annual imports of Kuwait were estimated at \$5,000,000, the exports at nearly \$1,000,000; and the place, which was flourishing in consequence of the peaceful policy of its ruler, was credited with the possession of a mercantile marine of 15 Baghlahs from 450 to 100 tons, 20 Batils and Baghlahs from 120 to 50 tons, and 150 other boats from 150 to 15 tons. In 1831 the town extended one mile along the shore with a depth of quarter of a mile, and the streets were wider than those of Masqat or Bäsbehr; but the only defence was a wall less than a foot thick on the side towards the desert, outside of which was a trench; and two honey-combed pieces of ordnance protected each of the three gates. The Shaikh in 1831 levied a duty of 2 per cent. upon all imports, but maintained no armed force.

The solidarity of the 'Utüb of Kuwait with those of Bahrain and Qatar appears to have been maintained during this period; and the Shaikhdom continued to resist, on the whole with success and latterly under the protection of the Turks, the efforts of the Wahhābi Amirs to incorporate it with their dominions. Shaikh 'Abdullah-bin-Subāh governed Kuwait until 1812, when he died, much regretted by all on account of the mildness of his rule, which favoured commercial development, and under which the population of the town had increased very greatly. Shaikh 'Abdullah was succeeded by his son Jābir-bin-'Abdullah.

In 1831 the fleet of Kuwait assisted that of the Ka'ab Arabs to blockade Basrah in the interest of Dāwud Pāsha, who was about to be displaced from the governorship of Turkish 'Irāq; and about the same time Kuwait began to flourish with increased vigour in consequence of misfortunes by which Basrah had been overtaken.

In 1800 or 1801, in consequence of asylum having been afforded to some of the 'Atbi leaders whom he had recently expelled from Bahrain, al yid Sa'id of Masqat appears to have visited Kuwait with a fleet by way of naval demonstration, if not of attack; and it is possible that on this occasion he succeeded in obtaining from the Shaikh the homage which he now apparently claimed as his due from all the 'Utüb. In 1809, on the eve of the first British expedition against Räs-al-Khaimah, the pirate-politician Rahmah-bin-Jābir of Khor Hassan in Qatar, who extended to the 'Utüb of Kuwait his desperate hatred for those of Bahrain, captured 20 Kuwait Batils which were making a voyage to Masqat. 'Abdullah-bin-Subāh, Shaikh of Kuwait, one of whose sons was in charge of the convoy and lost his life in the affair, then vowed to punish Rahmah by means of a naval expedition against Khor Hassan; but it does not appear that he ever carried his threat into execution. In 1817 vessels from Kuwait frequented the ports of Bahrain and were the chief means by which plunder brought to Bahrain by Qāsimi pirates was conveyed across the Gulf for disposal in Persia.

Relations of Kuwait with Bahrain.

In consequence of the descents by the Saiyid of 'Omān upon the Bahrain Islands in 1800 and 1802, a temporary *rapprochement* seems to have taken place between the 'Utüb of Kuwait, as well as those of Bahrain, and the Wahhābis; and in 1803, at the bidding of the Wahhābi Amir and not without reluctance on their own part, the people of Kuwait abandoned the pearl fishery for the year and proceeded to cruise, along with their kinsmen of Bahrain and the Qawāsim of Trucial 'Omān, against the flag of Masqat; but in this enforced and distasteful employment they seem to have met only with reverses.

Relations of Kuwait with the Wahhābis.

In 1805, alarmed by the evident intention of the British authorities in India to take action against the piratical Qawāsim, the 'Atbi Shaikhs of Kuwait and Zubārah, after describing themselves as subject to the Wahhābi Amir, represented the probability of their being compelled by him to engage in depredations on British trade, and suggested that the British Government should guarantee to them, in case of their severing their connection with the Wahhābis, a safe retreat in Bahrain; but their proposals were not entertained.

At some time before this, apparently about 1801, some impetus was given to the development of Kuwait by troubles between the Wahhābis and their subjects in the region of Hasa; by these disturbances the ordinary route of Indian merchandise to Central Arabia was closed for a time, and the place of Qatif and 'Oqair as ports of entry for the interior was taken by Kuwait and Basrah. In 1809 the Wahhābi ruler, on

account of the refusal of tribute by the Shaikh and the repulse of a Wahhābi expedition from Kuwait in 1808, was found to be urging the Qasimi Shaikh and the Saiyid of 'Omān to undertake a naval expedition against Kuwait and Basrah,—a summons which neither saw fit to obey. In 1813-14 the port of Kuwait was reported to be independent of Wahhābi influence.

Relations of
Kuwait with
Turkey.

In 1829 it was stated that the Shaikh of Kuwait acknowledged the authority of the Turks, to whom he paid an annual tribute of 40 bags of rice and 400 Frāsīlahs of dates, and from whom he received every year a dress of honour. About 1836 Shaikh Jābir, being called upon to do so by the Turkish authorities, assisted them to reduce the rebellious town of Zubair to submission; but his part in the operations was confined to a blockade of the approaches to Zubair by water. On the fall of the town one of the Zubair family of Zubair, named Ya'qūb, took refuge at Kuwait, where he was subsequently alleged to have sold to the Shaikh the estate of Sūfiyeh in the Ma'amir district on the Shatt-al-'Arab,—a circumstance which was to give rise to many troubles in the future.

In 1809 the Shaikh of Kuwait offered to join the British expedition against Ras-al-Khaimah with his own fleet, which was larger than that of the Qawāsīm, but his proposal was not entertained by the British commanders.

Relations of
Kuwait with
'Arabistān.

In 1837 Shaikh Thāmir, Chief of the Ka'ab tribe, in 'Arabistān, seems to have temporarily taken refuge at Kuwait, in consequence of the occupation of his town of Muhammareh by the Turks.

British
relations
with Kuwait.

In 1821-22, on account of difficulties with the Turkish authorities in 'Irāq, the British Residency at Basrah was for a short time removed from that place to an "island," possibly Fālakah, in the jurisdiction of the Shaikh of Kuwait.* Captain Taylor, then in temporary charge of the Residency, struck his flag at Basrah on the 15th of December 1821 and remained in Kuwait territory until the 19th of April 1822, when he returned to Basrah with his whole establishment.

After this Kuwait appears to have escaped notice by the British authorities for a considerable period; and in 1831, when the traveller Stocqueler visited the port, he was assured that no European had been seen there for many years,—an assertion which the curiosity manifested by hundreds of people in his appearance and dress seemed to corroborate.

* An inference that Kuwait was not as yet fully subject to the influence of Turkey (see preceding paragraph) might perhaps be drawn from this circumstance. The reference to an "island" may have been made in error.

Kuwait affairs during the Egyptian occupation of Hasa, 1838-40.

In 1838, on reaching the coast of the Persian Gulf in Hasa, the Egyptians sent an agent to reside at Kuwait, nominally to purchase supplies; and some boat-loads of barley, obtained from the Shatt-al-'Arab, were in fact forwarded by this individual to Qatif. It was believed, however, that his real functions were those of a political emissary and news writer, in connection with the design of Khurshid Pasha to wrest 'Irāq from the Turks; and he was treated with much distinction by the Shaikh of Kuwait, who gave him the seat of honour in all assemblies. The only consignment of military stores that reached the Egyptians by sea during their occupation of Hasa was one brought to Qatif, in November 1839, by a Kuwait Ghunchah from Hodaidah in the Red Sea. The fleet of Kuwait, at this epoch, was said to be large and well-appointed.

Posting of
an Egyptian
agent to
Kuwait,
1838-39.

Shaikh Jābir of Kuwait had always been regarded as a good friend of the British Government, and in his written correspondence he had never failed in courtesy; but in 1839, estranged possibly by the neglect of the official representatives of the British Government to conclude treaties or cultivate personal relations with him, and overawed, like the Shaikh of Bahrain, by the successes of Muhammad 'Alī's troops in Arabia, he was guilty of marked discourtesy to a British officer. On the 30th of October 1839, Lieutenant Edmunds, the Assistant Resident at Būshehr, deputed by the Resident to interview Shaikh Jābir with reference to the establishment of a British line of post across the desert from Kuwait to the Mediterranean, arrived at Kuwait in a British war vessel, which on anchoring fired the usual salute in honour of the Shaikh. The salute was not acknowledged, and, when a letter from the Resident was sent to the Shaikh on shore, only a verbal message was returned promising an answer the next day. The deputation of relatives and followers, moreover, ordinarily sent on board by Arab Shaikhs to welcome a British official visitor, did not make their appearance; and Lieutenant Edmunds remained on board his ship, without any further communication taking place between himself and the Shaikh, until the third day. He then requested a meeting with Shaikh Jābir, which was granted; but on his arrival the old man, whom he found surrounded by a concourse of people, only half rose from his seat, did not lay aside the pipe which he was smoking, and denied that it was a custom at Kuwait to return the

Discourtesy
of the Shaikh
of Kuwait to
the British
political
authorities,
October-
November
1839.

salutes of British vessels ; he produced however a reply, ready written, to the Resident's letter. Lieutenant Edmunds and Captain Hennell, the Political Resident, both considered the unusual conduct of the Shaikh on this occasion to be due not to ill-will but principally to a desire to mislead the Egyptian agent at Kuwait as to the nature of his relations with the British power ; and, this view having been adopted by the Government of India, it was decided that no formal remonstrance need be addressed to the Shaikh.

In returning to Būshehr Lieutenant Edmunds visited Failakalī Island, on the suitability of which for the site of a British naval and military station to replace Khārag he reported unfavourably ; but he was much impressed with the potentialities of Kuwait itself, and thought that the place might be found well adapted for certain purposes by the British Government. Perhaps in the same connection Lieutenant Felix Jones of the Indian Navy also reported on the harbour of Kuwait in this year.

History of Kuwait from the evacuation of Hasa by the Egyptians to the annexation of that province by the Turks, 1840-71.

During the 80 years that followed the withdrawal of the Egyptian forces from Eastern Arabia, the political relations of Kuwait were mainly with the Turkish province of 'Irāq ; but friendly intercourse was maintained with the representative of Britain in the Gulf, and there were signs of increasing intimacy between the rulers of Kuwait and Central Arabia. On the other hand the close connection, founded on kinship, between the 'Utūb of Kuwait and Bahrain, which had been suspended since about 1820, appeared, after a short revival in 1843-46, to die a natural death.

During the greater part of this period Kuwait was ruled by Shaikh Jābir, who died in or about 1859 and was succeeded by his son Shaikh Subāh. The Government of Shaikh Subāh,—who in 1863 was described as a fine, stout, hale old man, more than 80 years of age, rough in appearance and manner but kind of heart,—was patriarchal ; and he sat daily at the gate to superintend the affairs of his subjects. In the town of Kuwait there was little interference by officials with the life of the people, and punishments were seldom inflicted ; political authority was exercised by the Shaikh, but judicial power belonged to the Qādhi alone ; there

Question of establishing a British settlement in the vicinity of Kuwait, 1839.

Internal history.

were no customs or other taxes, the revenue for public purposes consisting of about \$20,000 a year which was voluntarily contributed by merchants and others ; and religious toleration, extending even to Jews, was the rule. Beyond the limits of the town the influence of the Shaikh reached some 8 or 10 miles. Bedouins were not allowed to enter Kuwait armed. Shaikh Subāh, at his death in or about 1866, was succeeded by his eldest son 'Abdullah.

The intervention of Shaikh Jābir of Kuwait in Bahrain affairs, occasioned by the struggle there between Shaikhs 'Abdullah and Muhammad of the ruling Āl Khalifah family, is described at length in the history of the Bahrain principality. Here it will be enough to recall the facts that in August 1843 the Shaikh of Kuwait of his own motion, but not without the approval of the British authorities, visited Bahrain and tried, in vain, to reconcile the rivals ; that in 1843 or 1844, at the imminent risk of a collision with Shaikh Muhammad of Bahrain, which in fact was only averted by the intervention of the British authorities, he attempted, unsuccessfully, to provision the ex-Shaikh 'Abdullah's fortress of Dammām, then invested by the Wāhhābi forces on land and blockaded by the fleet of Shaikh Muhammad at sea ; that in 1844, after the fall of Dammām, he harboured for a short time the fugitive Shaikh 'Abdullah at his town of Kuwait ; and, finally, that he allowed the ex-Shaikh to remain at Kuwait from 1845 to 1846, during which period, as particularly requested by the British Resident at Būshehr, he was careful to restrain his guest from the commission of maritime irregularities. In 1869 Muhammad, an ex-Shaikh of Bahrain, was deported to Kuwait, but he did not remain there long.

At the epoch now under consideration, the attitude of the Kuwait Shaikh towards the Wāhhābi power, hitherto that of a declared opponent or at best of a nominal and unwilling feudatory, became decidedly less antagonistic. In 1841 'Abdullah-bin-Thanaīyān, a relative and competitor of Khālid, the *de facto* Wāhhābi Amir, took refuge at Kuwait, where he stayed for a short time only ; but before the end of the same year, on 'Abdullah, who had meanwhile returned to Central Arabia, obtaining the upper hand, Khālid in his turn sought and found an asylum at Kuwait. In 1863 friendly relations existed between the Shaikh of Kuwait and Faisal-bin-Turki, who then ruled Najd, but no tribute was paid by the former to the latter. In 1866, as we shall see further on, the Wāhhābi Amir 'Abdullah, who maintained an agent at Kuwait for political purposes as his father too had done even so early as 1851, was prepared to assist the Shaikh in a quarrel which occurred between the

Relations of Kuwait with Bahrain.

Relations of Kuwait with Najd.

latter and the Turks; and it may have been at this time that, as described in the history of Najd, he passed near to Kuwait in returning from a raid upon the tribes of Turkish 'Irāq.

In 1841 the Ka'ab Shaikh Thāmir appears to have sought an asylum at Kuwait for the second time, having been expelled from his hereditary possessions in 'Arabistān by the Persian Governor of that province; but he soon migrated to Basrah.

Official intercourse between the British Resident in the Gulf and the Shaikh of Kuwait appears to have been infrequent; but personal relations continued on an excellent footing. On his visit to Kuwait in 1863 Colonel Pelly, the Resident, accompanied by Dr. Colvill, arrived at Jahrah by land from Basrah on the 3rd of March; the next day he was conducted by Mubārak—a son of the ruler—to Kuwait, where he spent a couple of days with Shaikh Subāh; on the 7th of March, under arrangements made by the Shaikh, Colonel Pelly left Kuwait by sea for Turkish territory; and he passed two days, on the way there, in the Khors adjoining Bubiyan Island. Colonel Pelly's remarkable journey to Riyādh in the spring of 1865 was begun at Kuwait, where he spent several weeks, including one at Jahrah, in making his arrangements and awaiting the permission of the Wahhābi Amīr. The possible future of Kuwait as a commercial port and as a meeting-place of sea-borne and other trade, together with its suitability in certain circumstances for the site of a British telegraph station or coal dēpôt, were clearly realised by Colonel Pelly, who even remarked, with extraordinary presence, that Khor 'Abdullah might hereafter become the chief line of approach by steamer to the commercial capital of Turkish 'Irāq, and that its head might one day be connected by a railway with the Mediterranean. By April 1866 the steamers of the British India Steam Navigation Company had begun to call frequently at Kuwait; but their visits were suspended soon after for political reasons which will presently be explained.

The relations of other powers with Kuwait were less close however than those, arising from contiguity, which were maintained by Turkey. In 1847 the example of the Shaikh of Kuwait was quoted by the Shaikh of Bahrain in justification of the latter's own avowed intention of placing himself, in certain conditions, "under the guardianship of the Porte." In 1863 Shaikh Subāh assured the Resident that the rulers of Kuwait had always been tributary to the Turkish Government; but it was ascertained by Colonel Pelly, from another source, that the use of a distinctive flag had at one time been practised by the Shaikh of Kuwait for some

Relations of
Kuwait with
'Arabistān.

British
relations
with Kuwait.

Relations of
Kuwait with
Turkey,
1840-63.

years together, and that it had only been discontinued because trade carried on under it did not meet at Bombay with treatment so favourable as that under a recognised flag; the reason of discontinuance was thus the same as that which in 1847 inclined the Bahrain Shaikh also to seek the protection of Turkey. In 1863 there was no mention of tribute paid by Kuwait to Turkey, but complimentary presents of dates were sent to Kuwait by the Turks in token of their own suzerainty, and as payment for the supposed protection by the Shaikh of the mouth of Shatt-al-'Arab.

In 1866 trouble arose out of the possession by Shaikh Sulāh of Süfiyeh, the estate on the Shatt-al-'Arab alleged to have been purchased by Shaikh Jabir from a member of the Zubair family of Zubair some 30 years earlier.* This property was now sequestrated by a Turkish Qaim-Maqām in consequence of a claim, raised by the Zubair, that the vendor had been owner of a share only and not of the whole of Süfiyeh. At the same time Shaikh Subāh was required to expel from other lands, owned by him at Pāo, some cultivators who had immigrated from Persian territory. The Turkish officials from the first showed a strong prejudice in favour of the Zubair claimants; and 'Abdullah-bin-Subāh, who went to Basrah as his father's agent in the case, narrowly escaped being thrown into jail there because he refused to make payment, on his own responsibility, of the value of seven years' produce which the plaintiffs were held by the Turkish authorities to be entitled to receive. Eventually, however, the dispute was settled by the Wālī of Baghdād in favour of the Shaikh of Kuwait. The proceedings of the Turks in this case were regarded by the inhabitants of Kuwait as intended to bring them into collision with those of Zubair; but they were prepared for a conflict; and the British Agent at Basrah, in reporting the matter, remarked that "rather than submit to a Turkish Government at Kuwait the people to a man would abandon the place." The final order of the Wālī, upholding the Kuwait Shaikh's title to Süfiyeh, was perhaps due to a report that Shaikh Subāh, with the object of attacking Zubair if the decision should go against him, had obtained a promise of countenance and armed support from the Wahhābi Amīr.

In 1866 Namiq Pāsha, the Turkish Governor of 'Irāq, evinced intentions of converting the nominal suzerainty of the Porte over Kuwait into a real control; the arrival of two Turkish corvettes from Constantinople was looked for; and it was apprehended by Colonel Kemball, the British Resident at Baghdād, that "the prescriptive freedom of Kuwait"

Dispute
regarding
the Süfiyeh
estate in
Turkish
territory.

Designs of
the Turks on
Kuwait and
suspension of
the British
steamer
service, 1866.

* Vide page 1008 ante.

might shortly become a thing of the past. The visits of British merchant steamers to Kuwait were regarded with extreme jealousy by the Turkish authorities in 'Irāq, and the latter appeared to be collecting statistics to prove that the prosperity of Kuwait was injurious to Basrah. The Shaikh of Kuwait, alarmed at the prospects raised, begged that his town might not be made a port of call by British steamers; and a suspension of the service was accordingly recommended by Colonel Kembal.

SHAIKH 'ABDULLAH-BIN-SUBĀH.
1866-92.

From the death of his father, probably in 1866, until his own demise in 1892, Kuwait was ruled by 'Abdullah-bin-Subāh.

Relations of Kuwait with the Porte, 1866-92.

Participation
of Kuwait in
the Turkish
expedition to
Hasa, 1871.

During the whole period of his rule Shaikh 'Abdullah appears to have maintained very close relations with the Turks, and to have been an obedient and even enthusiastic instrument of Turkish policy. In 1870 or 1871 he became the medium of overtures from 'Abdullah-bin-Faisal, the displaced Wahhābi Amir, for the assistance of the Turks. In 1870 he supplied sea transport, to the amount of about 300 native vessels, for the Turkish forces sent to conquer Hasa; he accompanied the expedition in person; and it was chiefly through his agency that the Shaikh of Dohah in Qatar was persuaded to accept the Turkish flag.

Visit of
Mid-hat
Pasha to
Kuwait, 1871.

When Mid-hat Pasha, Wali of Baghdad, went on a tour of inspection to the new Hasa province at the end of the year, he halted on the way for one day at Kuwait, where he was said to have "installed" the Shaikh. The investiture of the latter was probably with the rank of Qaim-Maqām on the part of the Turkish Government, which he subsequently held; for, from language held by the Porte in 1901, it appeared that the Turkish Government considered Kuwait to have been annexed at the same time as Hasa.

Relations of Kuwait with the Wahhābis, 1866-92.

At some time between 1872 and 1874 'Abdullah-bin-Faisal, a claimant of the Wahhābi Amirate whose attitude towards the Turks was

somewhat uncertain, was apparently permitted by the Shaikh to reside in the neighbourhood of Kuwait. In 1872, as related in the history of Najd, the town of Kuwait was threatened by the Wahhābi Amir Sa'ūd; but the Shaikh, after drawing away his leading supporters, attacked him and put him to flight. About 1884 the Shaikh of Kuwait appeared to favour the cause of the Shammar Amir, who had then begun to commit aggression on the Wahhābis.

Relations of Kuwait with Great Britain, 1866-92.

In the time of Shaikh 'Abdullah direct relations with Kuwait do not appear to have been cultivated by the British political authorities in the Persian Gulf; and the place was evidently regarded as under the exclusive influence, if not the sovereignty, of the Porte. In 1876 the Acting Political Resident, Colonel Prideaux, mentioned Kuwait along with Qatif and 'Oqair, as a Turkish port on the Arabian side of the Gulf. In 1888, in consequence of fears of an advance by the Turks against 'Omān, the British Ambassador at Constantinople was informed by Her Majesty's Government that they admitted the existence of Turkish jurisdiction on the Arabian coast as far south as Qatif and were anxious that it should be effectively exercised within those limits, but that beyond Qatif they considered the local chiefs to be independent; no communication, however, in this sense was made to the Porte at the time. The orders under which, as described in the history of Hasa, British naval officers were authorised, in 1881, to take measures even in Turkish territorial waters for the suppression of piracy were doubtless intended to apply to the littoral of Kuwait as well as to that of Hasa and Qatar.

British
indifference
to Kuwait
affairs.

Relations of Kuwait with Arab states and tribes, 1866-92.

In 1869 the ex-Shaikh Muhammad of Bahrain was deported to Kuwait; but he did not remain there long. In 1883 Mubārak, a younger half-brother of the Shaikh of Kuwait, paid a friendly visit to Bahrain, where he was warmly welcomed and hospitably treated and received many presents at his departure. Before this Mubārak had been occasionally employed by the Turks upon diplomatic errands, and the fact

Visit of
Mubarak to
Bahrain,
1883.

caused his proceedings in Bahrain to be watched with attention; but it did not appear that his journey in this instance had any political motive.

In March 1892 an attack was made on the marauding Bani Hājir, probably in Hasa, by a relative of the Shaikh of Kuwait, who killed four of them and carried off a number of their camels and sheep; and somewhat later the Bani Hājir retaliated by surprising a Kuwait boat at night and killing two of the crew.

Friction with the Bani Hājir, 1892.

SHAIKH MUHAMMAD-BIN-SUBĀH. 1892-96.

Internal history of Kuwait, and relations with the Turks, 1892-96.

Shaikh 'Abdullah was succeeded by his full brother Muhammad, whose Shaikhship was short and, except for the manner of its ending, uneventful.

Shaikh Muhammad was before long invited by the Turks to co-operate in restoring order in Hasa, where in 1892 serious troubles had broken out; and in March 1893 Mubārak-bin-Subāh arrived in Hasa for this purpose with a large force of Bedouins, having marched all the way by land from Kuwait.

Despatch of a force to the aid of the Turks in Hasa, 1893.

In May 1896 Shaikh Muhammad, along with his full brother Jarrāh, was assassinated in the interests of his half-brother Mubārak; Muhammad, it was said, fell by the hand of Mubārak himself, while Jarrāh was killed by another of the family, assisted by a man of the 'Ajmān tribe. It is not clear whether this event was due to public or domestic differences, or whether it was prompted solely by greed and ambition on the part of Mubārak. According to one account Shaikh Muhammad was generally unpopular as a ruler; and this much at least is certain, that the Kuwait public showed no signs of disapproval.

Assassination of Shaikh Muhammad, 1896.

British relations with Kuwait, 1892-96.

During the short period of Muhammad's rule British relations with Kuwait were still in abeyance, and there was no sign as yet of any

Political status of Kuwait.

change in the views of the British Government regarding the political position of Kuwait. In April 1893 Sir C. Ford, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, stated officially to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs that Her Majesty's Government admitted the existence of Turkish sovereignty along the coast from Basrah to Qatif. In 1895, however, a piracy was committed in the Shatt-al-'Arab on the "Haripasa," a British-protected vessel; and, partly from the proceedings to which this case gave rise, but not before the death of Shaikh Muhammad, there arose a doubt in the mind of the British authorities as to the nature of the connection between the Shaikh of Kuwait and the Turkish Government.

SHAIKH MUBĀRAK-BIN-SUBĀH, from 1896.

General history of Kuwait from the accession of Shaikh Mubārak to the Exclusive Agreement with Britain, 1896-99.

During the first three years of his reign the position of Shaikh Mubārak, in danger as he was of revenge from members of his own family and without external support, seemed very precarious.

The sons of the murdered Shaikh Muhammad and his brother Jarrāh removed, after remaining a short time at Kuwait, to Turkish 'Irāq, where their cause was warmly taken up by their maternal relation * Yūsuf-bin-'Abdullah (generally known as Yūsuf Bin-Ibrāhīm) of Doruk on the lower Shatt-al-'Arab, a wealthy merchant and landholder of the Basrah Wilāyat. Efforts were made by Yūsuf to interest the Wāli of Basrah and even Ibn-Rashid, the Amir of Jabal Shammar, in the case of the young men, and no means of harassing Shaikh Mubārak was neglected. On the 30th of June 1897 a boat expedition, organised by Yūsuf on the coast of the Hindiyān district in Persia, appeared off

Proceedings of the sons of Muhammad and Jarrāh, 1896-98.

* The relationship was rather complicated. 'Alī-bin-Jābir, who was the youngest brother of Shaikh Subāh of Kuwait, married the youngest daughter of 'Alī-bin-Muhammad-bin-Ibrāhīm, and had by her three daughters, of whom the eldest married Shaikh Muhammad and became the mother of his sons Subāh, Sa'ūd, Khālid and 'Adhbi, while the second married Jarrāh and bore a son Hamūd and a daughter who married her own first cousin Subāh-bin-Muhammad. An elder daughter of 'Alī-bin-Muhammad-bin-Ibrāhīm married 'Abdullah, a first cousin of her own father, and became the mother of Yūsuf.

Kuwait; but it retired, as the place was found in a state of defence, without firing a shot. Possibly at the instigation of Yūsuf, the inhabitants of the Turkish frontier town of Zubair petitioned the Porte for the removal of Mubārak from Kuwait; and one of the sons of the late Shaikh Muhammad made overtures to the British political authorities, offering to accept British protection if his birthright was restored to him through their influence. In August 1897 Yūsuf was in Bahrain, having perhaps been obliged by the Turks to leave 'Irāq in consequence of his escapade at Kuwait, and solicited the good offices of the British Government; but he was told that no support could be given him against the Shaikh of Kuwait. Meanwhile Shaikh Mubārak had proposed that the question between his nephews and himself should be referred to the arbitration of the Shaikh of Bahrain; but, partly through the unwillingness of the Shaikh of Bahrain to act as arbitrator, this suggestion, to which the Government of India were ready to agree, came to nothing. During 1897 and 1898 it was frequently reported that an attack on Kuwait by the Shaikh's nephews was impending; but Mubārak, with great steadiness, professed his ability to repulse any attempt that might be made.

Attitude of the Turkish authorities towards Shaikh Mubārak.

The attitude of the Turks towards Shaikh Mubārak was for a considerable time one of neutrality. His usurpation of the Shaikhship had been represented to the Porte by Hamdi Pasha, then Wali of Basrah for the first time, as a favourable opportunity for establishing close Turkish control over Kuwait; and, though Mubārak on his accession had professed loyalty to the Sultān and even hoisted the Turkish flag, as was observed by the officer commanding H.M.S. "Sphinx" at a visit to Kuwait in July 1896, his fate, as regarded Turkish recognition, remained for long in suspense. On one side were ranged the influence of the Shaikh's nephews and of their relations and the political considerations urged by the Wali of Basrah; on the other were the bribes lavished by Shaikh Mubārak on Rajab Pasha, Mushir of the Baghdad Army Corps, on the Shaikh-ul-Islām and Shaikh 'Abul Huda at Constantinople, and on others; and these last in the end prevailed. Meanwhile, however, the Wali's policy of administrative absorption was not altogether rejected; and in February 1897, in anticipation of a resolution passed in that year by the Board of Health at Constantinople, a Turkish quarantine official arrived at Kuwait and took up his residence there, *à titre provisoire*, without any protest, so far as is known, on the part of the Shaikh. At length, in December 1897, Muhsin Pasha, who had replaced Hamdi Pasha as Wali of Basrah, was informed by telegram of

the appointment of Shaikh Mubārak by Imperial Iradé to the Qaim-Maqāmship of Kuwait; the Shaikh's name began to appear in the official almanac of the Wilāyat, and his correspondence with Basrah to be carried on, under that style; and an annual allowance of 150 Kārāhs of dates was assigned to him, which was subsequently, it would seem, commuted into a cash salary of about £300 a year.

Besides the constant danger from his own relations, Shaikh Mubārak had before long to face a wide but ineffectual combination contrived by Yūsuf Bin-Ibrāhīm of Dorah during his visit to Bahrain in the summer of 1897. In September of that year it was reported that Jāsīm-bin-Muhammad, the Āl Thānī Shaikh of Dōhah in Qatar, was making preparations for an attack on Kuwait by land and sea in conjunction with the Shaikh's nephews, and was endeavouring to draw Ibn-Rashid into the scheme and to detach the 'Ajmān tribe from Shaikh Mubārak. In the beginning of November this attack, though discountenanced by the Turks, seemed to be on the point of execution; but eventually it did not take place. On the other hand the Shaikh of Kuwait inflicted some loss on the Bani Hājir tribe, who were among the adherents of the Shaikh of Dōhah; and early in 1898 a small rising against the Turks took place at Dōhah, which was attributed to a belief that the attack by the Kuwait Shaikh on the Bani Hājir had been instigated by the Turkish authorities.

In November 1898 the Naqib of Basrah was sent by the Turks to arrange a settlement between the two Shaikhs; but his mission was a failure.

By these and other events the attention of the British Government was gradually attracted to Kuwait; and an opinion began to gain ground among British officials that the connection of the Turkish Government with Kuwait was less close than, in recent times, had generally been supposed. An absurd rumour which obtained currency in Palace circles at Constantinople in 1896, that the murder of his brothers by Mubārak had been instigated by the British Resident in the Persian Gulf, led to enquiries being made by the British Embassy in the Turkish capital; and these showed that there were persons, even there, who asserted Kuwait to be entirely independent of the Porte. At the end of 1896, the case of the "Haripasa" piracy being then under consideration, it was suggested that the Shaikh of Kuwait, for reasons described in the history of Turkish 'Irāq, should be held accountable; but this proposal did not commend itself to the British Ambassador at Constantinople. Sir P. Currie thought that the Shaikh of Kuwait,

Hostility of the Shaikh of Dōhah in Qatar, 1897-98.

British doubts as to the nature of the connection between the Shaikh of Kuwait and the Turkish Government, 1896-97.

while he acknowledged the suzerainty of the Porte, was in reality an independent potentate and only nominally subject to the Sultan; but the Government of India, considering that for practical reasons such a view was to be avoided, were inclined, early in 1897, to advise that the responsibility for the actions of the Shaikh should be fixed upon the Turkish Government. At length, in consequence of information supplied at Constantinople in March 1897 by Captain Whyte, who had shortly before been Assistant Political Agent at Basrah, Sir P. Currie enquired the view of Her Majesty's Government regarding Turkish authority at Kuwait. He was informed in reply that Her Majesty's Government had never admitted Kuwait to be under the protection of the Turkish Government, but that the existence of Turkish influence would probably be difficult or impossible to deny.

Overtures of the Shaikh for British protection, February-August 1897.

No remonstrances on the crime by which he had attained the chiefship were ever addressed to Shaikh Mubarak by the British Political Resident in the Persian Gulf; but the Shaikh in July 1896, when his port was visited by H.M.S. "Sphinx," showed evident signs of alarm, declined to visit the ship, and made evasive replies to questions about his use of the Turkish flag. The impression formed by Commander Baker on this visit was that Kuwait, in theory an independent principality, had fallen greatly under Turkish influence, especially since the accession of Mubarak. Matters remained unchanged until February 1897, the month in which the Turks sent a sanitary official to Kuwait, when Shaikh Mubarak suddenly requested an interview with Colonel Wilson, the Political Resident, or with an agent deputed by him. In view of the rumours that had prevailed at Constantinople a few months previously concerning British interference at Kuwait the matter was referred to Her Majesty's Government, who replied that the interview might be granted, subject to the discretion of the Political Resident; and shortly afterwards it became known that the object of Shaikh Mubarak was to ask for British protection. Meanwhile the "Haripasa" piracy case had been proceeding; and at the beginning of May, under instructions from Her Majesty's Government, the Resident in the Gulf was directed to warn the Shaikh of Kuwait, when he should meet him, that his responsibility would be enforced if his subjects were not restrained in the future from committing attacks upon British Baghlals: this order was the first sign of a changed view of the political position of the Shaikh of Kuwait on the part of Her Majesty's Government. Towards the middle of July, or about three weeks after the attack attempted

by Yusuf of Dorah on Kuwait, no interview having as yet taken place between the Resident and Shaikh Mubarak, it became known that a delegate from the Shaikh had arrived in Bahrain and was on his way to visit the Resident, Colonel Meade, at Bushehr; but, on hearing that Yusuf of Dorah was also expected in Bahrain, this individual returned to Kuwait without accomplishing his mission. Meanwhile another case of piracy occurred in the vicinity of Kuwait.

In August Mubarak represented that he had no one sufficiently intelligent to send as a representative to Bushehr and asked that a delegate from the Residency to whom he could explain his views might be sent to visit him. In accordance with his wish Mr. J. C. Gaskin, Extra Assistant to the Resident, was deputed to Kuwait in the R.I.M.S. "Lawrence," and arrived there on the 5th of September 1897. Shaikh Mubarak, whose negotiations for recognition by the Porte were still pending, declined to go on board the "Lawrence" lest by doing so he should give offence to the Turkish authorities; and two interviews, at both of which Captain Hewett of the "Lawrence" was present, took place on shore. As regards piracy at the mouth of the Shatt-al-'Arab, the Shaikh denied that subjects of Kuwait had ever engaged in piracy, but he admitted that some of the inhabitants of his estates on the banks of the river, over whom he had no control, might be guilty; he had, he said, offered to police the river mouth, but the Turks had declined to allow him to do so, and Kuwait boats were now unable to visit the Shatt-al-'Arab unless in twos and threes for mutual protection; to the best of his ability, however, he would co-operate with the British Government for the suppression of piracy. With reference to his own overtures, which it was the principal object of Mr. Gaskin's visit to investigate, Shaikh Mubarak stated that he and his people, in order to prevent the annexation of Kuwait by the Turks, who had shown themselves grasping and unreliable, desired to be taken under British protection in the same manner as the Shaikh of Bahrain and the Shaikhs of Trucial 'Oman; and he promised that, if this were done, he would assist the British Government with all the force at his command in maintaining law and order in his part of the Gulf.

The request of the Shaikh was at once reported to Her Majesty's Government, who replied that they were not disposed to bring Kuwait under protection or to interfere more than was necessary for the maintenance of the general peace in the Persian Gulf. A few days later, on the 20th of October, in consequence of a report that a Turkish gunboat was about to leave Basrah for Kuwait, the question was again raised

Mr. Gaskin's visit to Kuwait, September 1897.

Overtures of the Shaikh declined by the British Government, October 1897.

by the Government of India, who mentioned that Kuwait appeared to be a centre of piracy * and an emporium of the slave trade, and enquired whether, in these circumstances, a modification of policy might not be desirable; but the Secretary of State for India adhered to his original instructions, adding that there was nothing in the political situation of Kuwait to hamper naval officers in bringing home to the Shaikh his responsibility for piratical acts.

Overtures of the Shaikh renewed, November 1897.

In November 1897, when an attack on Kuwait by Shaikh Jāsim of Qatar and Yūsuf of Dorah was believed to be imminent, H.M.S. "Pigeon" was sent to Kuwait to watch events, the commander being instructed not to interfere unless British interests were directly menaced; and Shaikh Mubārak seized the opportunity to repeat his request for British protection.

Danger to Kuwait from Russia and Turkey, 1898.

At length, in 1898, circumstances arose which compelled the British Government to consider measures for the exclusion of foreign influence from Kuwait. There was reason to think that the Russian Government wished to establish a coaling station at that place; and attempts were being made to obtain from the Porte a concession in favour of Count Kapnist, a Russian subject, for the construction of a railway from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, a scheme which, in the absence of any arrangement between the British Government and the Shaikh, might end in the creation of Russian territorial rights at Kuwait. At the same time, notwithstanding the recent recognition of Shaikh Mubārak as Qaim-Maqām, tension of which the causes were not evident appeared to exist between the Shaikh and the Turkish authorities; the appointment of a Turkish Commission to investigate complaints against the Shaikh was reported; and rumours began to circulate of the possible despatch of a Turkish force from Basrah by sea to Kuwait.

The Exclusive Agreement with Britain, 23rd January 1899.

Orders of Her Majesty's Government.

In January 1899, with a view to forestalling Russian action, it was decided by Her Majesty's Government that an engagement on the model of the Agreement of 20th March 1891 by the Sultān of 'Omān should be obtained from the Shaikh of Kuwait, binding him and his successors

* The correctness of this allegation seems to be doubtful; there may have been some confusion between Kuwait and the Shaikh's estates in Turkish Iraq. At no time before or since have there been complaints of piracy by inhabitants of Kuwait.

not to alienate any portion of his territory to foreigners without the consent of the British Government; and it was hoped that, in this manner, the necessity of taking overt steps towards the establishment of a British protectorate would be avoided. The consideration to be offered the Shaikh was a single payment of £5,000 or less, or an annual subsidy not exceeding £200.

Under these orders Colonel Meade, the Resident in the Persian Gulf, proceeded in the R.I.M.S. "Lawrence" to Kuwait, where he arrived on the 21st of January 1899; the Turkish corvette "Zuhāf" was then in the harbour, but she left on the following day. On the 23rd of January the desired Agreement was signed by Shaikh Mubārak, who in it pledged himself, his heirs and his successors not to receive the agent or representative of any foreign power or government at Kuwait, or at any other place within the limits of his territory, without the previous sanction of the British Government; and not to cede, sell, lease, mortgage or give for occupation, or for any other purpose, any portion of his territory to the government or subjects of any other power without the previous consent of the British Government. This last obligation was to extend to any portion of the Shaikh's territory which might at the time be in the possession of the subjects of any other government. Hamūd and Jābir, the brothers of Mubārak, were present at the signature of the Agreement, but they refused to attest it as they disapproved of its terms; the Shaikh, however, assured Colonel Meade that the concurrence of his brothers was not necessary to make the Agreement binding on his successors.

Signature and terms of the Agreement, 23rd January 1899.

A letter was then given to the Shaikh by Colonel Meade, in which, on behalf of the British Government, he assured the Shaikh, his heirs and his successors of the good offices of the British Government, so long as they on their part should continue to observe the obligations of the Agreement. In this document the secret character of the Agreement was emphasized, and payment was promised of a sum of Rs. 15,000 which had been fixed as the consideration for its execution.*

Letter supplementary to the Agreement, 23rd January 1899.

It was subsequently explained by Colonel Meade that the condition against the reception of foreign representatives was inserted by him because Shaikh Mubārak stated that advances had been made to him by the French, and that the reference to territory already in the possession of foreign subjects was intended, primarily, to guard against the transfer of house property owned by Turkish subjects at Kuwait to Russians or others.

Explanation of unauthorised conditions.

* The text of both Agreement and letter will be found in Annexure No. 1 to this chapter.

Ratification of the Agreement, 16th February 1899.

Her Majesty's Government, on the proceedings being reported to them, approved the action of the Resident and authorised ratification of the Agreement, notwithstanding that it went beyond what they had intended; and it was accordingly ratified on the 16th of February. A hope was also held out to Shaikh Mubarak, under the orders of the Secretary of State, that the British authorities would do what they could to protect his interests and those of his brothers in the matter of their estates at Fao, a share in which was claimed by the nephews in Turkish territory. Of the sum of £1,000 paid to Shaikh Mubarak half was contributed by the Home Government and half was charged to Indian revenues.

General history of Kuwait from the Exclusive Agreement to the appointment of a British Political Agent at Kuwait, 1899-1904.

Attempts by Turkey to assert authority at Kuwait and resistance of the Shaikh, January-September 1899.

The next few months witnessed strenuous efforts by the Turkish authorities at Basrah, possibly due to their having become aware of the Shaikh's Agreement with Britain, to assert themselves at Kuwait; Shaikh Mubarak on his part showed a new intractability in his dealings with the Turks; and a rather strained situation arose. On the occasion of Colonel Meade's visit to Kuwait objections were made by the Turkish sanitary *préposé* there, an ordinary Arab, to the landing of the Resident's party from the "Lawrence," as being a breach of the Turkish sanitary regulations. They were disregarded, and a protest by the Turkish Government followed, but had no result. In February 1899 a movement against Kuwait by sea was apprehended on the part of the Turks, and the question of protective measure was considered by Her Majesty's Government, who decided that in case of need a serious warning should be addressed to the Porte, and that until this had been done no forcible action should be taken by British ships. In March the state of affairs seemed so critical that the Government of India caused H.M.S. "Lapwing" to be stationed for a time in the neighbourhood of Kuwait, and the employment of a secret news-writer at Kuwait was sanctioned. In the same month, the Russian gun-vessel "Gilyak" called at Kuwait, and the Russian Consul from Baghdad, who was on board, had an ordinary interview with the Shaikh. In May Shaikh Mubarak, who now appeared anxious to precipitate matters with the Turks, established regular customs at Kuwait and began to realise an enhanced duty of 5 per cent. on all imports, including those from

Basrah and other Turkish ports which had hitherto passed altogether free. On the 2nd of September a Turkish harbour-master, with five soldiers, arrived to take charge of the port of Kuwait; but the Shaikh declined to receive him, and he was obliged to return to Basrah the next day; instructions, however, reached Basrah from Constantinople that the matter should not be dropped. Next it was reported that the Turks intended to establish a customs house at Kuwait and to connect Fao with Qatif by a telegraph through Kuwait, and that the Turkish military authorities were demanding forcible action against Kuwait.

In consequence of these indications of a forward Turkish policy, a warning was in September 1899 conveyed to the Porte by the British Ambassador at Constantinople under the instructions of Her Majesty's Government: it was to the effect that the British Government, while they entertained no designs on Kuwait, had friendly relations with the Shaikh; and that, if any attempt were made to establish Turkish authority or customs control at Kuwait without previous agreement with Her Majesty's Government, a very inconvenient and disagreeable question would be raised. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs in reply gave assurances that the reception of a harbour-master by the Shaikh would not be pressed any further; that there was no intention of establishing an Ottoman custom house at Kuwait; and that no military expedition against Kuwait was contemplated, for, though operations had been proposed by the Wali, the Sultan had withheld his sanction. Later it was represented to the British Ambassador that his language had greatly disturbed the Sultan, who regarded it as indicative of a desire on the part of the British Government to interfere with Turkish liberty of action in Turkish territory; but Sir N. O'Connor, while avoiding the direct issue—that of the dependence of Kuwait on Turkey—reiterated the warning already given; and the matter was dropped for a time. The Wali of Basrah also was cautioned, through the local British Consul, not to take hostile action against Kuwait.

In the following month, October 1899, it was ascertained that Shaikh Mubarak had undoubtedly applied through the Shaikh of Muhammarrak to be taken under the protection of Persia; but this move, which the Shaikh took no pains to conceal, was perhaps contrived by him merely to test the degree of interest taken by the British Government in Kuwait. His advances were rejected by the Shah.

Meanwhile Mubarak had taken precautions, by means of intrigues at Basrah, to counteract the more dangerous results of his uncompromis-

Warning by the British Government to the Porte, September 1899.

Dalliance of the Shaikh with Persia, October 1899.

Change of Wali at Basrah, 1899.

ing policy towards Turkey; and, acting in concert with the Naqib of Basrah, he succeeded in procuring the removal of Hamdi Pasha, the Wāli of the day, an honest but unpopular official, and the appointment in his place in autumn 1899 of Muhsin Pasha, a military officer, who was prepared to represent Kuwait affairs to the Porte in a new light. One of the chief dangers which Shaikh Mubarak had at this time to avoid was arrest while making an official visit to Basrah in person,—a mark of submission on which the Turkish Government strongly insisted. Muhsin Pasha played his part well; and not only were no further encroachments on the Shaikh's independence attempted by the Turks for more than a year and a half, but, as we shall presently see, Mubarak safely paid the required visit to Turkish territory, received a Turkish official decoration from the Sultan, and was enabled to harass with impunity the Turkish vassal Ibn-Rashid of Najd, and even to invade and temporarily occupy a part of his principality.

Before these occurrences, however, a German Commission visited Kuwait in search of a suitable terminus for the projected Baghdad Railway; it was headed by Herr Stemrich, the German Consul-General at Constantinople; and, but for the Agreement of 1899, concluded chiefly in view of a similar Russian project, and a warning conveyed to the Shaikh by the Commander of H.M.S. "Melpomene" that he should make no arrangement with the Commission without the approval of the Government of India, the incident might have had results prejudicial to the position of Great Britain in the Persian Gulf. From Mubarak's account of his interview with the Commission, which took place at Kuwait on the 19th of January 1900, corroborated as it was by a subsequent report of the Commission itself, it seems that the Shaikh expressed himself unfavourably as regards the establishment of a railway terminus within his jurisdiction, and that he made it clear to the members of the Commission that the real control of the country rested with himself and not with the Sultan of Turkey. The Commission apparently tried to open negotiations with him for the sale of Kadhamah at the head of Kuwait bay and for the lease of the lands surrounding Kawaikib and Ghadhah,—a scheme involving the acquisition in all of a plot of about 20 square miles; but their intentions were frustrated by Mubarak's strict observance of his obligations to the British Government, in which he was probably fortified by a doubt of the good faith of the Commission, and by a suspicion that their proposals might be a skilfully disguised movement on the part of the Turks. At

Visit of a German Railway Commission to Kuwait, January 1900.

Basrah the head of the Commission had given out that it was the intention of the promoters of the railway to deal with Turkey direct and to ignore the Shaikh of Kuwait.

These proceedings of the Baghdad Railway Commission made it necessary that the views of Britain in regard to Kuwait should be stated clearly to the Porte and the German Government. Accordingly, on the 15th April 1900, His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, in the course of an interview with the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, insisted on the fact that, although the British Government did not wish to interfere with the Sultan's authority in the Persian Gulf, still they were desirous of maintaining the *status quo*, and could not view with indifference any action which would alter it or give to another power rights or privileges over territory belonging to the Shaikh of Kuwait. On the same day Sir N. O'Connor saw the German Ambassador, and, in order that no doubt should remain in his mind, placed before him in explicit terms the British position with reference to Kuwait, making it clear that the Shaikh was not at liberty to cede or in any way to alienate to the Baghdad Railway Company either Kadhamah or any part of his territory, without the consent of Her Majesty's Government.

British declaration to Turkey and Germany in regard to Kuwait, April 1900.

We may now resume the main thread of our narrative. In the summer of 1900 there began a series of movements which led, first, to a remarkable incursion by Mubarak into the very heart of Central Arabia, and eventually to the restoration of the Wahhabi dynasty in Southern Najd. Since 1897, 'Abdur Rahman Ibn-Sa'ud, the rival in Najd of 'Abdur 'Aziz Ibn-Rashid, had been residing at Kuwait as a pensioner of the Shaikh,—a circumstance in itself sufficient to predispose Ibn-Rashid to enmity against Mubarak. The natural resentment of the Shammar Amir against the harbourer of his enemy had doubtless been inflamed by Mubarak's fugitive nephews and Yusuf of Dorah, who early sought Ibn-Rashid's assistance and by 1900 appeared to have become his permanent clients. How exactly hostilities in the interior commenced is uncertain; this much is known, that Ibn-Sa'ud departed from Kuwait in August 1900 and in the following month, having achieved some substantial successes, appealed to his protector Mubarak for reinforcements. About the same time or a little later, from his haunt on the Euphrates, Sa'dun Pasha, a Muntafik outlaw of Turkish Iraq, raided some of the nearer tribes dependent on Ibn-Rashid; and indications were not wanting of his having acted, in this matter, in collusion with the Shaikh of Kuwait. Shaikh Mubarak himself was absent from his capital while the French Government vessel "Drome" was at Kuwait

Outbreak of hostilities in Central Arabia, 1900.

from the 14th to the 16th of October; and at the end of the month, when Colonel Kemball, the British Resident in the Persian Gulf, called at Kuwait with orders to impress on the Shaikh the advisability of abstaining from action that might afford a pretext for Turkish interference, Mubarak was still invisible. In the light of what followed it is not unreasonable to conclude that at the time he was actively employed in the desert in forwarding the interests of his protégé Ibn-Sa'ud.

At the end of October 1900 Ibn-Rashid appeared at Samawah on the Euphrates with a large following; he demanded of the Turkish Government redress for the injuries inflicted on his subjects by Sa'dun, satisfaction from the Shaikh of Kuwait, and justice for the nephews of the latter; and he threatened to attack Kuwait if his requests were not conceded. Meanwhile Shaikh Mubarak had effected a junction with Sa'dun, and an armed collision between the allies and Ibn-Rashid appeared to be imminent, when the Turks suddenly intervened with marked success. Through the influence of Saiyid Ahmad and Saiyid Talib, sons of the Naqib of Basrah, Ibn Rashid was persuaded to return home and Shaikh Mubarak to meet the Wali of Basrah at Rafidhiyah, a country house of the Naqib near Zubair; while Sa'dun, by other means, was induced to vanish temporarily from the scene. On the 17th of November Mubarak came in with the Wali, his friend Muhsin Pasha, to Basrah, where he passed the following day, received the order of the Mejidieh of the second class, and promised to abstain from relations with "foreign powers;" and by the 24th of the month he had returned in safety to Kuwait. The Turkish demand for an official visit by the Shaikh had thus been satisfied and a decided triumph achieved by Muhsin Pasha, who, besides averting a serious crisis, had successfully asserted the authority of the Porte over two of the principal chiefs in Arabia.

But the arrangement thus concluded was a hollow one, for the Shaikh's submission was feigned, and he was in reality on the point of adopting an audacious and independent policy. Ibn-Rashid was now harrying the Bedouin adherents of Kuwait in the Dahānah and Summān deserts; and, on the 18th of December 1900, Mubarak, after announcing that he could not abstain from hostilities while Yūsuf of Dorah was harboured by Ibn-Rashid, placed himself at the head of his forces and marched on Hafar, where the enemy was supposed to be encamped. The Kuwait force was composed mainly of 'Awāzim, Rashāidah, Mutair, 'Ajmān, Bani Hājir and Bani Khālid Bedouins; but it included also a number, estimated at 1,000, of

Intervention
of the Wali
of Basrah,
November
1900.

Invasion
of Central
Arabia by
the Shaikh
of Kuwait,
December
1900—March
1901.

Kuwait townsmen and refugees from Najd. At the beginning of February 1901 the Shaikh was compelled, by the defection of some of his Mutair allies, to fall back into the neighbourhood of Kuwait; but the check was of short duration. He had before this been informed by letter of the desire of the British Government that he should abstain from compromising displays of activity; and, as he had disregarded the advice, it was thought inexpedient to repeat it. The account of his subsequent Central Arabian expedition will be found in the history of Najd. At the outset it was a brilliant success: Qasim was occupied; the son of Ibn-Sa'ud was appointed titular governor of Riyadh; some members of the family of Ibn-Rashid entered into negotiations with the triumphant invader; and Mubarak strengthened his position among his Bedouin adherents by espousing a daughter of Sultān-ad-Dawish, a leading chief of the Mutair. A severe engagement, however, which took place on the 17th of March at Sarif, about 20 miles north-east of Buraidah in Qasim, though it was attended by heavy loss on both sides, so altered the aspect of affairs that Shaikh Mubarak was obliged to beat a hasty retreat from Najd. Much anxiety prevailed in Kuwait and rumours that the Shaikh himself was among the slain had obtained currency there, when, on the 31st of March, he regained his capital safe and un wounded, followed at an interval of four days by Ibn-Sa'ud and Sa'dun. The dispersed Kuwaitan army straggled home in small detachments during the following month; but there were at least 50* who never returned, among them the Shaikh's brother Hamūd with his son Subāh and the Shaikh's nephew Khalifah, all of whom fell in the battle of the 17th March.

The seriousness of the situation created by this adventure was quickly brought home to the Shaikh. It seemed to be the intention of the Turkish Government to make the Mushir of Baghdad their agent in investigating the affair from their side,—a measure which would have deprived Shaikh Mubarak of the benefit of his understanding with Muhsin Pasha and might even have brought that official himself into trouble; but, for the time being, the negotiations remained in the hands of the Wali. Muhsin Pasha was the guest of the Shaikh at Kuwait from the 19th to the 23rd of May 1901, and he took advantage of Mubarak's dejection and alarm to press on him the acceptance of a Turkish military garrison at Kuwait. The Shaikh, however, while he treated his visitor with respect and courtesy and even accompanied him

* Possibly the loss was greater than 50. Local tradition already had it in 1907 that no less than 700 townsmen of Kuwait fell, of whom 150 were put to death as prisoners, in cold blood, after the battle!

Visit of the
Wali of
Basrah to
Kuwait and
request of
the Shaikh
for British
protection,
May 1901.

as far as Fāo on his return voyage to Basrah, retained firmness enough to concede nothing; but he felt a greater need of support after the insidious attempt just made to beguile him into surrendering his independence; and on the 25th of May, through the commander of H. M. S. "Sphinx," he approached the British Political Resident in the Persian Gulf with a request that the British Government would assume a permanent protectorate over Kuwait as soon as possible. Meanwhile, it is certain, he had also held communication with the Russian Consul-General at Baghdād. The declaration of a British protectorate over Kuwait, involving as it must large international questions and responsibility in future for controlling the actions of the Shaikh, did not recommend itself to His Majesty's Government; and at the end of June the proposal was rejected. Overtures for British protection received from Ibn-Rashid about the same time were similarly repelled.

Incident at Kuwait and arrangement between Britain and Turkey to maintain the *status quo* there, August—September 1901.

While the Shaikh of Kuwait's request was still under discussion the attitude of the Turks grew menacing. A considerable military force, of which the destination was at the time believed to be Kuwait, was assembling on the Euphrates; and the Sultān of Turkey, under the influence of the German and Russian Embassies at Constantinople, was urging the Wālī of Basrah by telegram to arrange for the establishment at Kuwait, by pacific means, of a custom house and telegraph office, as tangible proofs of Ottoman authority. To meet these dangers the commander of the British gunboat "Perseus," then at Kuwait, was authorised under instructions from His Majesty's Government to prevent, by force if necessary, the landing of Turkish troops; and Colonel Kemball, the Political Resident, who visited Kuwait for the purpose, gave Shaikh Mubārak a qualified assurance of support, conditional on his continuing to observe the Agreement of 1899. On the 24th of August 1901 the Turkish sloop-of-war "Zuhāf," heavily laden with stores, entered Kuwait harbour, where the "Perseus" was already lying; and the Turkish commander was immediately warned by the commander of the "Perseus" of the order against the landing of Turkish troops. On the 25th of August the Turkish officer had an interview with the Shaikh, at which he tried in vain to obtain from him an admission of Ottoman sovereignty; he then left for Fāo, threatening the Shaikh with future punishment. Protests against the action of the "Perseus" were soon received in London from the German and Turkish Ambassadors; in that presented by Turkey the British Agreement of 1899 was declared to be invalid, as having been made with a Turkish official. The British reply

was, in both cases, that His Majesty's Government had no desire to disturb the *status quo* at Kuwait; and, on the 9th of September, the controversy between the British Government and the Porte regarding Kuwait was closed, to all appearance, by a mutual engagement to respect the *status quo*.

While the discussions just described were proceeding in Europe Ibn-Rashid was not inactive. At the end of September 1901 his partisans raided a camp of the Rashāidah not far from Jahrab; and, though eventually driven off, they succeeded in carrying away a considerable booty and killed several men of a Kuwait force which was sent against them. The Bedouin inhabitants of the whole country-side then flocked into the neighbourhood of Kuwait town for protection, and a huge camp was formed, containing thousands of Bedouins with their flocks and herds, which extended along the coast as far as Rās-al-Ardh; but, a second raid by Ibn-Rashid's men in the neighbourhood of Jabal 'Amūdāh and Rās Misha'ab having proved less successful than the first, the invaders retired towards Central Arabia, and the enormous gathering of refugees at Kuwait melted away as suddenly as it had formed. Ibn-Rashid lingered for some time longer at Hafar, and his protracted stay there, taken in conjunction with the proceedings of the Turks, caused Shaikh Mubārak much uneasiness. During this disturbed period several British gunboats were held in readiness at or near Kuwait; the naval authorities were empowered by the Government of India to use force to repel an attack by Ibn-Rashid; and a scheme for the defence of the town was arranged by the Senior Naval Officer. The experience gained and the observations made on this occasion showed that Kuwait was not defensible against a land attack by naval means alone. Shaikh Mubārak, in return for the good offices exercised on his behalf, was required to promise compliance with such British advice as might be given him, and he did so.

Panic at Kuwait on the approach of Ibn-Rashid, September—October 1901.

At the middle of November 1901, Ibn-Rashid having in the meantime moved down from Hafar to Safwān, a place on the frontier between Turkish 'Irāq and Kuwait, the Naqīb of Basrah visited Kuwait with a telegram from the Sultān of Turkey. In this telegram the Wālī of Basrah was directed to send the Naqīb to interview Shaikh Mubārak and warn him that his course of action was rash and impious, and that he should seek safety by returning to his religious duty and propitiating the Sultān. According to one account, Shaikh Mubārak in reply made commonplace professions of loyalty to the Porte and complained of the doings of Ibn-Rashid and Yūsuf of Dorah; but the Naqīb seems to have reported to his own Government that the Shaikh repudiated the suzerainty of the Sultān and that he had referred the

Crisis at Kuwait due to attempts by Turkey to upset the *status quo*, November—December 1901.

Turkish authorities to the British Government. In consequence of a representation by the British Ambassador at Constantinople these proceedings of the Naqib were disavowed by the Porte. A more determined effort to upset the *status quo*, the maintenance of which had so lately received the assent of the Ottoman Government, was made a fortnight later, when on the 1st of December the "Zuháf," carrying the Naqib and a brother of the Wali of Basrah, once more steamed into Kuwait harbour, the British cruiser "Pomone" and gunboat "Redbreast" being then anchored in the bay. A Turkish ultimatum was presented to the Shaikh, requiring him either to receive at Kuwait a Turkish military detachment—which, it was promised, should be under his own orders—or to leave Kuwait and retire to Constantinople or its neighbourhood; and great stress appears to have been laid on the alternative demand. On the 3rd of December three days' grace was obtained by the Shaikh in order that he might consider his reply; but on the 4th of December, the "Redbreast" having left with correspondence for Búshehr, this concession was withdrawn, and Mubárah was informed that he must give his answer immediately. The "Sphinx" having arrived from Búshehr without a written guarantee of protection from the Resident, such as he had hoped might be given, Mubárah evidently wavered; but, under pressure from the senior naval officer present at Kuwait, he at length informed the Sultán's messengers that he was prevented from giving a reply by threats of force on the part of the British naval authorities—a statement which Captain Simons personally confirmed in the presence of the Turkish emissaries. The Naqib and the Wali's brother, finding their purpose frustrated, then withdrew on board the "Zuháf," which took her departure early the next morning; while Captain Simons, as a precaution, spent the night at the Shaikh's house. Not until the 6th of December, when the crisis was already past, did the orders of His Majesty's Government reach Kuwait: they were to the effect that, as the Naqib's action amounted to a breach of the understanding between Turkey and Britain, His Majesty's Government would support the Shaikh and would not tolerate an attack by Turkish troops or ships on Kuwait, that the Shaikh should not leave Kuwait, and that he should continue to observe his engagements with the British Government. This message was received with much satisfaction by the Shaikh, who communicated it to all his principal men. About the time of the Naqib's mission, or possibly after its return, Muhsin Pasha was superseded in the Waliship of Basrah.

The proceedings of the Turkish agents at Kuwait were immediately repudiated at Constantinople by both Porte and Palace. Nevertheless, towards the end of December 1901, the continued presence of Ibn-Rashid with a part of his forces in the vicinity of Basrah, his constant communications with the Wali and the Mushir, his orders for great quantities of supplies, and instructions which were sent from Constantinople to provide him with a large sum of money from the Basrah treasury, then empty, caused lively apprehensions to be entertained of a land attack on Kuwait by the combined forces of the Turks and the Amir; and simultaneously a prohibition of the export of goods from Basrah to Kuwait came into force, confirming these fears. Dispositions were instantly made by the British naval force at Kuwait to co-operate in the defence of the town; two Nordenfeldts and two Maxims were temporarily placed in the Shaikh's fort at Jahrah near the foot of Kuwait bay; and on the 1st of January 1902 the "Fox" and "Perseus" were ordered from Bombay to join the "Pomone," "Sphinx" and "Redbreast," which were already at Kuwait, with extra guns. Ibn-Rashid, deterred by these significant measures or perhaps held back by the Turks, did not approach any nearer, and he was soon reported to have withdrawn as far as the wells of Lainah in his own country, whereupon the general alarm subsided and the naval guns which had been landed were re-embarked. The crisis at Kuwait was witnessed by the Russian protected cruiser "Varyag," which arrived on the 21st December 1901 and left again on the 24th, after offers made to the Shaikh "to assist him in maintaining his independence."

The Turks, however, had not abandoned their determination to coerce, by one means or another, the ruler of Kuwait; and the cessation of their activity in one direction was followed by an advance in another, which indicated a change in their tactics and initiated a new phase of the Kuwait question. A report having been received that Turkish military posts had lately been established at Umm Qasrah and Safwán, the despatch of a British gunboat to Khor 'Abdullah and Khor-as-Sabiyah to verify the facts was authorised. This duty was carried out by H.M.S. "Sphinx," which left Kuwait on the 14th February 1902 and returned within a week after ascertaining that a Turkish post of 40 men existed at Umm Qasrah and a larger garrison at Safwán; in the course of his cruise Commander Kemp collected important data regarding Khor 'Abdullah, the extreme value of which in relation to railway projects had not previously been realised; and on his return journey he discovered a Turkish outpost of 20 men upon the eastern side of Búbiyán

Attack on Kuwait threatened by the Turks and Ibn-Rashid and preparations made by a British naval force to defend Jahrah and Kuwait, December 1901—January 1902.

Occupation of Safwán, Umm Qasrah and Búbiyán Island by the Turks, 1902.

Island, where it had been established only a fortnight before. In March the Turkish garrison of Basrah was largely increased, and it was feared that the occupation of Haqaijah and possibly of Sabiyah, two places on the mainland opposite to the west side of Bübiyān, was contemplated; by way of forestalling such a movement Shaikh Mubarak was advised to occupy Haqaijah effectively, which he did by placing 40 men there. About the same time it transpired at Constantinople that the Turks no longer regarded Kādbamah in Kuwait bay as the probable terminus of the Baghdad railway; and it was reported that their attention had now been directed, in this connection, to Khor 'Abdullah and its branches. His Majesty's Government considered that, on the information available as to previous ownership, it would neither be safe to contend that the establishment of Turkish posts at Umm Qasr and on Bübiyān was a breach of the *status quo* nor justifiable to demand their abolition; but the Porte were informed that their occupation of those places could not be regarded as prejudicing the rights of the Shaikh of Kuwait. Incidentally, in the course of these discussions, His Majesty's Government informed the Government of India that they acknowledged Kuwait to be a part of the Ottoman dominions, subject however to the qualifications on which they had always insisted, *viz.*, that the Sultan's authority was of an unsubstantial character, and that the Shaikh enjoyed a large measure of practical independence; but this view was not, it should be observed, communicated to the Porte, as had at one time been intended. Shaikh Mubarak was so alarmed by the new Turkish policy of gradual encroachment that in March he offered the Wāli of Basrah a large bribe, which was not accepted, in order that it might be stopped.

In April 1902 the Shaikh complained of the attempted occupation of Musallamiyah Island, at the southern end of his territories or sphere of influence, by a Turkish detachment from Qatif; but, as it appeared that the island might legitimately be regarded as falling within the Turkish Sanjāq of Hasa, he received no encouragement from the British Government to contest the rightfulness of the Turkish claim.

The Turkish Government meanwhile resorted to other means besides territorial encroachment of harassing the Shaikh of Kuwait and making him repent his estrangement from them. A serious claim in respect of the family estates situated on the Shatt-al-'Arab was brought against him by his fugitive nephews in the Turkish courts; and the sequestration of some of the lands, *pendente lite*, caused him pecuniary inconvenience. Frequent raids upon the flocks and herds of Kuwait subjects

Other means employed by the Turks to harass the Shaikh of Kuwait, 1902.

on the border near Safwān took place; they were generally organised by Yūsuf of Dorah at Zubair, and the Turkish garrison at Safwān made no effort to prevent them; but in some instances they were answered by reprisals from the Kuwait side. An attack was made also on Sabiyah, upon Khor-as-Sabiyah, by Yūsuf of Dorah's men, and some camels were carried off. On the 28th of May 1902 the Shaikh's agent at Basrah was arrested, and his house searched, on the charge of his being a subscriber to an Arabic newspaper called "Khilāfat," at that time published in London and treated throughout the Ottoman dominions as a seditious print; and having been found guilty of the charge, he was sentenced to ten years' incarceration in a fortress. The result of this case was a severe blow to the prestige of the Shaikh of Kuwait; nor was the event without political significance, for among the papers seized at the agent's house were some that cast light upon the Shaikh's relations with the British Government. The title-deeds of the Shaikh's properties in Turkish 'Irāq, which fell into the hands of the Ottoman officials by the same chance, were subsequently recovered through the good offices of British diplomacy,—a matter of no little importance to the Shaikh inasmuch as the land dispute between him and his nephews was still unsettled.

Raids on Kuwait territory by Bedouin supporters of Ibn-Rashid still continued to occur; and in August 1902 a fight between some of them and the subjects of the Shaikh of Kuwait took place at a spot, apparently the wells of Subaihiyah, only 30 miles from Kuwait itself. At this time events in Najd had turned, temporarily, in favour of Ibn-Rashid; and, as there was a fear that Shaikh Mubarak might proceed to the assistance of his ally Ibn-Sa'ūd, he was expressly warned by the British Resident, Colonel Kemball, under orders from His Majesty's Government, not to encourage any action by which he was likely to become involved in difficulties with Najd or with the Turkish Government. Meanwhile the Shaikh, in view of the aggressiveness of enemy, had formally applied to the Resident for two or three guns, to be mounted on his fort at Jahrah for defence against Ibn-Rashid in case he should approach from that side; but the request was refused as it was feared that he might use the guns, if supplied, for offensive operations; and instead he was informed, after the middle of October 1902, that, if he remained at Kuwait and observed his engagements to Britain, the British Government would charge themselves with the defence of such of his districts as adjoined the bay of Kuwait. The Shaikh expressed himself much disappointed, but he promised to abide by the advice given him.

Relations of Kuwait with Najd and restricted guarantees of support by the British Government, August to October 1902.

Attempted surprise of Kuwait by the Shaikh's enemies, September 1902.

The most dangerous and direct assault to which Mubarak had yet been exposed,—one of which the Turkish Government may or may not have been cognisant,—was arranged in the early autumn of 1902 by Yusuf-bin-'Abdullah of Dorah and came within a measurable distance of success: its object was to seize the town of Kuwait by a *coup de main* and, probably, to assassinate Shaikh Mubarak. A large body of Sharifat Arabs from the Persian side, under the command of 'Adhbi-bin-Muhammad and Hamud-bin-Jarrah, Shaikh Mubarak's nephews, and well armed with rifles, embarked in boats at Dorah on the Shatt-al-'Arab; after leaving the river they loitered on the open sea, probably waiting for night. News of the expedition was received at Fao on the 3rd of September by Commander Armstrong of H.M.S. "Lapwing," and he immediately hastened to Kuwait to give the alarm, but he found the town already under arms in consequence of information which had reached the Shaikh through his own people. The next day search was made without success for the enemy and their boats; but on the morning of the 5th they were discovered by the British gunboat in Khor 'Abdullah; and two of their Bums, which contained altogether 100 to 150 Arab riflemen and hoisted no flag, were pursued by the armed boats of the "Lapwing." Headed off from the mouth of the Shatt-al-'Arab, the fugitives eventually ran their boats ashore in deep mud to the east of the river, and, concealing themselves in the long grass, opened a hot fire at close range on their pursuers. One British bluejacket was killed and two were wounded; but the Bums with their contents, including scaling-ladders, were captured and taken away. One of the Bums was subsequently proved to be the personal property of Yusuf-bin-'Abdullah, and both were ultimately destroyed at sea outside of the three-mile limit. The later history of this case will be found elsewhere; but the chief result, in so far as Kuwait was concerned, was the flight or expulsion of Yusuf from Turkish 'Iraq to Najd, where he attached himself to Ibn-Rashid. Before leaving the country, however, he took part in a final attack from Zubair upon tribesmen residing near Jahrah under Shaikh Mubarak's protection.

Demonstration by Ibn-Rashid against Kuwait, 1902-03.

With the episode just described serious attempts from without to overthrow the power of Shaikh Mubarak came to an end; and the attention of the Turks was diverted from Kuwait to Central Arabia, where a contest between Ibn-Sa'ud and Ibn-Rashid was now being waged. One other set of small movements in the neighbourhood of Kuwait remains, however, to be mentioned. In December 1902 Ibn-Rashid again entered Kuwait territory and advanced within 12 hours

of the town, but was driven back by Shaikh Mubarak's men upon Hafar; and the Shaikh himself then moved to Jahrah, where he began to collect a force for purposes of defence, or possibly for offensive action. Fears having been expressed by the Turkish authorities that the concentration at Jahrah portended an attack upon Zubair, the Secretary of State requested that the Shaikh might be warned, as before, to avoid measures likely to involve him in difficulties in Central Arabia or with the Turkish Government; but these instructions had been anticipated by Colonel Kemball, the British Resident, who on the 18th of January 1903 had a long and friendly interview with the Shaikh at Kuwait and impressed on him the advisability of abstaining from action against Ibn-Rashid, especially as the power of that chief was now, according to Mubarak's own admission, on the wane. After this, at the beginning of March 1903, the Wahhabi Amir, accompanied by his brother Muhammad, visited Kuwait to confer with Mubarak, whose son Jabir was still at Jahrah, holding that place with an armed force. This was the end of the alarms caused at Kuwait by Ibn-Rashid.

In these improved circumstances the visit of the Russian cruiser "Askold" to Kuwait on the 14th of December 1902 and the joint visit of the French cruiser "Infernet" and the Russian cruiser "Boyarin," which lasted from the 4th to the 8th of March 1903, caused no anxiety in regard to the local situation. On the latter occasion, however, an interview at which Central Arabian affairs were discussed took place between the Russian Consul-General from Bushehr and 'Abdul 'Aziz, son of Ibn-Sa'ud, who happened to be present in Kuwait.

Visits of Russian and French war vessels to Kuwait, 1902-03.

A visit paid to Kuwait by His Excellency Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, on the 28th and 29th of November 1903, which is described fully in another place, marked the consolidation of British influence in the principality and placed in a clear light the Shaikh's cordial relations with the British Government and his dependence upon the British power; indeed the Shaikh, on receiving a presentation sword from the hands of the Viceroy, spontaneously described himself as a "military officer of the British Empire." The ovation which Lord Curzon received on landing seemed to bear witness to the popularity of British connection; and the impression produced on the minds of the people and their chief by the sight of the East India Squadron must be reckoned among the important political results of His Excellency's tour in the Persian Gulf. Shaikh Mubarak was shown over the flagship "Hyacinth" and was much interested by what he saw, this being the first time that he had set foot on the deck of a man-of-war. At a

Visit of Lord Curzon to Kuwait, November 1903.

private interview on the R.I.M.S. "Hardinge" His Excellency impressed on Shaikh Mubarak the inadvisability of his embroiling himself in the strife of Central Arabia, as, though the British Government had promised to protect him against an attack on Kuwait, they would be unable to interfere if he involved himself in difficulties in the interior; and to this the Shaikh replied that he fully understood His Excellency's advice and that he would be guided by it. On the 30th of November the R.I.M.S. "Lawrence," carrying Lord Curzon, entered Khor 'Abdullah and proceeded up the creek as far as the junction of Khor Umm Qasr and Khor Zubair, where a short halt was made.

Appointment of a British Political Agent at Kuwait, 1904.

Proposal to establish a British post office and dispensary at Kuwait, 1901-04.

Soon after His Excellency the Viceroy's visit, the British Government decided to take advantage of what seemed a convenient opportunity of securing, by a single measure, the improvement of postal communication with Kuwait, the extension to the town of the benefits of medical skill, and an increase in the efficiency of British political representation with the Shaikh. In July 1901 the British India Steam Navigation Company had established an agency at Kuwait and made the place a port of call for their steamers, and in November of the same year Shaikh Mubarak himself had suggested the establishment of a British post office; but, as a post office could not be established except as an adjunct to a British Political establishment and the time was not propitious for a change in the status of the British representative, who was as yet merely a native news-writer, the project remained for a time in abeyance. In accordance with a renewed request for a post office made by the Shaikh at the time of Lord Curzon's visit, however, it was resolved in 1904 to establish one in charge of a native medical subordinate, who could also carry on medical work among the people. The only condition insisted on by the British Government was one to which the Shaikh readily assented, that he should undertake not to allow the establishment of a post office by any other country; and an Agreement to this effect was obtained from him, of which the text is given in another place.* In July 1904, however, after the necessary preliminaries had been arranged, it was found advisable to suspend action lest certain negotiations should be prejudiced, which, as related further on, were then proceeding at Constantinople for the evacuation of Būbiyān Island by the Turks.

* See Annexure 4 to Appendix K.

The post office scheme was in fact destined to remain inoperative; and it was in the end superseded by a measure of greater importance that had been under consideration by the British Government in the summer of 1903,—the appointment to Kuwait, namely, of a British officer whose principal duty, it was originally intended, should be to curb the aggressive tendencies of Shaikh Mubarak. In the spring of 1904, in consequence of interference which the Turks had begun to exercise in Central Arabia to the disadvantage of Shaikh Mubarak's ally Ibn-Sa'ūd, the project of stationing a British political officer at Kuwait was revived, but with a different purpose and a considerably enlarged scope. On the 24th of June 1904 the despatch of a European Political Agent to Kuwait was authorised by His Majesty's Government; and on the 6th of August Captain S. G. Knox arrived at Kuwait from Būshehr duly accredited to the Shaikh, by whom he was well received, and the existing news-agency was abolished. An Assistant-Surgeon soon afterwards joined the Agency in his professional capacity; but, though he was accompanied by a postal subordinate, the establishment of a regular post office was still deferred.

The instructions given to Captain S. G. Knox on his appointment reflect the policy of the Government of India and were as follows. The Agent's first object should be to cultivate and maintain close and friendly relations with Shaikh Mubarak and the other principal personages in Kuwait. The interests of British trade and traders at Kuwait and in the adjacent tracts of Arabia should be safeguarded. A vigilant watch should be kept over the proceedings of the Turks on the boundaries of Kuwait territories, and the Political Agent should endeavour to ascertain the true limits of Mubarak's effective occupation upon Khor-as-Sabiyah. Matters showing an intention on the part of the Turks, or of any other power, to interfere with or disturb the existing *status quo*, or anything which would lead to a belief that other powers had designs on or in connection with possible harbours within or without Kuwait territory, should be at once reported; and special but unobtrusive attention should be paid in this respect to Khor 'Abdullah and the waters adjacent to Būbiyān Island and Umm Qasr. The Political Agent should also endeavour to secure early and accurate information regarding the struggle between the Ibn-Rashid and Ibn-Sa'ūd families for the supremacy in Najd. Finally, he should investigate the alleged importation of arms at Kuwait, especially of rifles for Ibn-Sa'ūd; but, pending further instructions, he should neither authorise nor forbid the Shaikh to continue the existing trade in arms.

Establishment of a British Political Agency at Kuwait, August 1904.

Instructions of the Political Agent on appointment.

In November 1904 the Turkish Government complained of the appointment of the British Political Agent at Kuwait as an infringement of the *status quo*. Important questions relating to the Aden frontier were then pending between the British and Turkish Governments, which made the occasion an unfavourable one for raising the whole question of Kuwait; and it was accordingly decided by His Majesty's Government that the newly appointed Agent should be withdrawn as soon as it was possible to do so without inconvenience, the withdrawal however to be temporary only, and to be so carried out as not to bear the appearance of a concession to Turkey. During his sojourn at Kuwait Captain Knox had successfully carried out, in complete harmony with Shaikh Mubarak, such of his instructions as depended for their fulfilment on himself; and his tenure of office had not been marked by a single untoward incident.

Captain Knox remained at Kuwait until the 16th of May 1905, when he was obliged by illness to take leave to England, his temporary withdrawal being thus brought about in such a manner that its cause was disguised from the Shaikh and that the unfortunate results which might otherwise have followed were averted. The current duties of the Agency were carried on, until Captain Knox's return on the 25th of October 1905, by the Assistant Surgeon, Dawud-ar-Rahman.

General history of Kuwait since the establishment of the Political Agency, 1904-1907.

We may now trace the history of one or two questions which continued to occupy attention after the arrival of Captain Knox at Kuwait; but some of the facts which it will be necessary to mention belong to a period earlier than 1904.

Reference has already been made to a dispute between Shaikh Mubarak and his fugitive nephews regarding certain family estates situated in Turkish territory on the Shatt-al-'Arab; and we have seen that a hope was held out to the Shaikh, soon after the conclusion of the Exclusive Agreement in 1899, that British influence would be used to prevent injury to his interests in that direction. The estates in question, of which the proprietary shares were in dispute, were situated at Gardilan and on 'Ajairawiyah Island near Basrah, at Zain opposite the mouth of the Karun River, at Sufiyah in the Dawasir tract, and at Fao. The Shaikh

Case of the Shaikh of Kuwait's estates in Turkish Iraq, 1901-1904.

was able to protract matters for a couple of years by declining to submit to the jurisdiction of the Turkish courts; but in December 1901, the Turks having resolved to break down his opposition to their authority at Kuwait, he was called upon to defend his case in a Basrah tribunal; and, on his failing to do so, judgment was given against him in default, and he was ordered to make over the estate at Zain to his nephews.

Shaikh Mubarak at once appealed to the Sultan of Turkey with the result that, early in 1902, an Imperial Irade was issued for the appointment of a Commission to settle the whole dispute between him and his nephews. After much difficulty and delay a settlement was arranged by Hajji Mansur, representing Shaikh Mubarak, and 'Abdul Wahhab-al-Qirtas, representing the opposite side, in communication with Mr. Crow, H. B. M.'s Consul at Basrah, who, under instructions from Constantinople, had been admitted to a share in the proceedings; and this settlement, after being approved by the Commission and accepted by the parties, was embodied in a deed executed at Basrah on the 11th of July 1904 and attested, not only by the Wali of Basrah and his Council, but also—at the request of Shaikh Mubarak—by the British Consul. The general effect of the settlement was to confer on Shaikh Mubarak undivided ownership and possession of the whole property at Fao, while an absolute and exclusive title to the Gardilan, 'Ajairawiyah, Zain and Sufiyah estates and a money payment of £T7,296½ was obtained by the opposite party. The share of the nephews in ancestral moveable property at Kuwait was mentioned in the deed but was not affected by it, the rights and shares of both parties therein being maintained unaltered; but the title of Shaikh Mubarak to certain moveable property at Kuwait was expressly validated.

Early in 1904 the Shaikh applied for a loan of Rs. 1,00,000 from the Government of India to enable him to carry out the terms arranged; and this was readily granted, without interest, on condition that he should not borrow from any other lender without the consent of His Majesty's Government until the debt had been repaid in full, and that repayment should be completed by the end of 1905. The Shaikh, who has always shown himself a good man of business, discharged the obligation nearly a year before expiry of the period fixed.

A peculiar incident, which gave some trouble at the time but had no political consequences, occurred at the Shaikh's Fao estate on the 10th of October 1904, when the Shaikh's land agent brought off to H.M.S. "Merlin" the dead bodies of an Arab man and woman together with three Turkish gendarmes in custody, by whom, he alleged,

they had been murdered. The commander of the "Merlin" refused to receive the agent's prisoners on board, and the matter thus lost its importance.

In 1904, after Lord Curzon's inspection of Khor 'Abdullah, representations were made by the Government of India to His Majesty's Government as to the extreme undesirability of allowing both sides of that inlet—perhaps the most convenient terminus for a railway from Baghdad to the Persian Gulf—to fall permanently into the hands of a power not very amenable to British influence. The question of Būbiyān Island, which the Shaikh of Kuwait asserted to belong to his principality, and the occupation of which by the Turks was regarded by His Majesty's Government as a breach of the engagement to respect the *status quo* at Kuwait, was raised diplomatically at Constantinople; but no favourable opportunity of pressing for evacuation of the island could be found, and the Turkish post on Būbiyān was not withdrawn.

Relations of Kuwait with Turkey and Central Arabia during the same period, 1904-1907.

In the history of Najd it is related how a Turkish force was despatched in May 1904 from 'Irāq to the aid of Ibn-Rashid, only to be overwhelmed in Qasim in the course of the following summer, by Ibn-Sa'ūd and his allies; also how in the winter of 1904-1905 the Turks prepared a second expedition, and thereby so alarmed Ibn-Sa'ūd that he agreed to a settlement which included the pacific occupation of Qasim by an Ottoman force. Here it is enough to observe that the arrangement in question was brought about largely through the instrumentality of Shaikh Mubārak of Kuwait, who assumed, somewhat unexpectedly, the role of intermediary. Two meetings for discussion were held on the frontier between Kuwait and 'Irāq—the first at Safwān on the 8th, and the second at the Qash'āniyah wells on the 13th of February—between Ibn-Sa'ūd and Mukhlis Pasha, the newly appointed Wali of Basrah, and at both of these Shaikh Mubārak was present with a large escort; but he declined, content with having brought the principals together, to become *in propria persona* a party to their arrangements.

The use by Shaikh Mubārak in his correspondence in this business of the title "Ruler of Kuwait and Chief of its Tribes," instead of that of

Discussions regarding the Turkish occupation of Būbiyān Island, 1904.

Mediation of the Shaikh of Kuwait between the Turkish authorities and Ibn-Sa'ūd, February 1905.

"Qāim-Maqām," gave some offence to the Turks; but it did not affect the course of the negotiations. A suggestion made by the Wali at these meetings, that Turkish civil officials and troops should be sent to Kuwait, was met by Shaikh Mubārak, according to his own subsequent statement, with a *non possumus* reply and with a declaration of his loyal adherence to the connection which he had formed with the British Government.

Probably in consequence of the services which he rendered upon this occasion, the relations of Shaikh Mubārak with the Turkish authorities at Basrah were, from 1905 onwards, much more friendly. In August 1905 the Shaikh subscribed £T450 towards the erection of new Turkish barracks at Basrah; and, on the donation being cordially acknowledged, he professed devotion to the Sultān of Turkey and promised a further subscription of £T200. In 1905 a continuous stream of Turkish military deserters and officials escaping from Najd began to pour into Kuwait, where they arrived in a miserable plight: they were invariably fed and sent on to Basrah by Shaikh Mubārak. The number of these refugees up to March 1906 was about 500; in August Fariq Sadiq Pasha himself came in with an escort of about 150 men; and at the end of December some 800 more men, almost the last remnants of the Turkish army of occupation in Qasim, reached the neighbourhood of Kuwait. This last body were not allowed by the Shaikh to enter the town, probably from fear that an occupation might be attempted. For the purpose of collecting and forwarding this rabble, the Shaikh of Kuwait's imprisoned agent, 'Abdul 'Aziz, the conditions of whose imprisonment had already been mitigated at the instance of His Majesty's Government, was allowed by the Turks to proceed to Kuwait; and there he was afterwards allowed to reside in a sort of open arrest, as the property which he owned in Turkish 'Irāq afforded a sufficient security against his attempting to escape. From the autumn of 1905 until the spring of 1907 the Turkish official mail between 'Irāq and Hasa was sent by land through Kuwait territory, instead of by British steamer *via* Bahrain, as had hitherto been the rule; but Shaikh Mubārak declined to have anything to do with the arrangements or to accept responsibility for the safety of the mails, which in the end returned to the original route by sea. In August 1906 it was announced that Shaikh Mubārak had contributed £T500 to the Hijāz Railway fund, but this was not his first subscription, for he had already, in January 1904, received the medal conferred by the Sultān on distinguished subscribers.

After 1905 amicable relations continued to prevail between the Shaikh of Kuwait and the Wahhābi Amir; the former, as related in the history

Subsequent relations of Shaikh Mubārak with the Porte, 1906-1907.

Subsequent relations of Shaikh

Mubarak
with Central
Arabia,
1905-1907.

of Najd, began in 1906 to exert himself, at the request of Ibn-Rashid, to arrange a reconciliation in Najd; and after the death of Yūsuf-bin-'Abdullah near Hail in January 1906 the Shaikh of Kuwait even showed some sympathy for the Shammar Amir. In March 1906 Shaikh Mubarak appeared (or pretended) to entertain a utopian scheme for a friendly partition of Central Arabia under which Jabal Shammar would fall to Ibn-Rashid and most of Southern Najd to Ibn-Sa'ūd, while he himself would take possession of Qasim and of the Wahhābi districts of Sadair and Washm. In July 1906 his efforts in the cause of peace were finally successful. The Kuwait Hajj to Makkah, for some time interrupted by the wars in Najd, was resumed; and in 1906 the number of persons who travelled in it was about 2,000 souls.

Relations of Kuwait with Great Britain, 1904-1907.

Notwithstanding the cessation of hostility between the Shaikh of Kuwait and the Turks, the relations of the former with the British Government and with the officers representing them at Kuwait continued to be excellent. The only exception was a temporary and partial estrangement at the beginning of 1906 due to remonstrances, made by Captain Knox under the orders of Government in regard to the arms trade at Kuwait, which are noticed in the Appendix dealing with that subject.

A question which in 1907 had been pending for a considerable time, but remained unsettled, was that of the adoption by the Shaikh of Kuwait of a flag distinguishable from the Turkish. A change was first proposed in 1901, when a differentiation of the Kuwait flag from that of Turkey appeared desirable for more than one reason, but principally on account of the inconsistency of preventing the disembarkation of Turkish troops at a place where the Turkish flag was flown. The Government of India considered that the Shaikh ought to fly the red Arab flag; and the Shaikh, though he urged that the crescent had been used by his grandfather, his father and himself as a Muhammadan, not as a Turkish emblem, was willing to abandon it. In consequence, however, of the arrangement made by the British Government with the Porte in September 1901, for the maintenance of the *status quo* at Kuwait, the matter was dropped for a time.

In 1904, in connection with a discussion—which will be mentioned further on—as to the protection of Kuwaitis in Persia, the question of the flag was revived; and the Shaikh, having been approached under the

Question of a
distinctive
flag for
Kuwait.

instructions of His Majesty's Government, in July 1905 expressed his willingness to adopt a flag of crescent design distinguished from the Turkish flag by the addition of the word "Kuwait," as also certificates of nationality for vessels belonging to his port. In March 1906, however, Shaikh Mubarak demurred, in the absence of an explicit guarantee that Kuwait vessels would not be harassed at Turkish ports, to the use of Roman letters on the flag; but he agreed that the name "Kuwait" might appear on it in Arabic characters. The adoption of the proposed flag, as thus finally modified, was then approved by His Majesty's Government; but again, in September 1906, the Shaikh represented that even the slight innovation to which he had consented might lead to unfavourable treatment of Kuwait vessels in Turkey, and requested an assurance on the subject by the British Government. The matter was then once more referred by the Government of India to His Majesty's Government.

Advantage was taken of the favourable disposition of Shaikh Mubarak, after the appointment of a British Political Agent at Kuwait, to obtain fuller information about the surroundings of Kuwait both on land and at sea. In December 1904 a party of officers employed on this Gazetteer marched by land, in company with Captain Knox, from Kuwait to the Turkish border; and the opportunity was utilised to carry a plane-table survey, on a large scale, from Jahrah and the northern shores of Kuwait Bay up to the Turkish frontier posts of Safwān and Umm Qasr. In April 1905, Captain Knox made a tour into the country to the south of Kuwait, and in January 1906 he attained the distant but important point of Hafar, never before visited by a European, on the border between Kuwait territory and Central Arabia, Bedouin reports being provided on both occasions by Shaikh Mubarak. In the winter of 1906-1907 the Political Agent made two more interesting journeys to the south of Kuwait, on the first of which it was found possible for Mrs. Knox to accompany him.

A marine survey of Kuwait Bay by the R.I.M.S. "Investigator" was begun in November 1904, and continued season by season until November 1907, when the work was completed.

Land explo-
rations and
marine
surveys,
1904-07.

Relations with Persia, 1904-1907.

In September 1904 considerable feeling was aroused at Kuwait by the unjustifiable seizure of two Būms belonging to the port by the

Harassment
of Kuwait

subjects by the Persian Imperial Customs, 1904-05.

Persian Customs steamer "Mozaffari," and a general disposition was remarked about this time, on the part of the recently re-organised Persian Customs, to interfere in a vexatious manner with Kuwait subjects and their boats upon the Persian side of the Gulf. The suspicion that Kuwait boats were engaged in running arms to Persia may have been, in some cases, not devoid of foundation; but gratuitous interference with Kuwait vessels generally was now pushed to such a point that the Government of India were constrained to draw the attention of the Secretary of State and the British Minister at Tehran to the matter.

Status and protection of Kuwait subjects in Persia, 1904-06.

In March 1905 the general question of the status and protection of Kuwaitis in Persia was discussed by the British Minister at Tehran with the Persian Government in connection with the difficulties just described. Sir A. Hardinge explained that Kuwait was *de facto* independent of Turkey, which had not established or maintained an effective control over the country; and he endeavoured, under instructions from His Majesty's Government, to secure for Kuwaitis in Persia the same position in respect of the good offices of Great Britain as was conceded in the case of Afghans, *viz.*, "that the friendly recommendations and wishes of the British Government on their behalf should be accepted." It appeared, however, that the Persian Government, while not averse in principle to the intervention of British diplomatic and consular representatives on behalf of Kuwaitis in Persia, were unwilling to concede the point in practice lest by doing so they should give umbrage to Turkey, whose representatives had already protested against the intervention of the British Resident at Bushehr in Kuwaiti cases. Instructions were in the end given by the Persian Government to the Director-General of Customs at Bushehr not to treat Kuwaitis with such harshness as to bring Kuwait cases into prominence, but at the same time he was enjoined not to admit the intervention of the British Political Resident on their behalf. Up to 1907 no real settlement had been reached.

Friendship of Shaikh Mubarak and the Shaikh of Muhammareh.

A strong personal friendship of some length of standing existed between Shaikh Mubarak of Kuwait and Shaikh Khaz'al, the Muhaisin Shaikh of Muhammareh; but its basis, unless it consisted in a certain similarity in their political position, was not apparent. Frequent visits were paid by Shaikh Mubarak to Muhammareh and Faliyeh.

Relations with European powers other than Britain, 1904-07.

After 1904 an overt interest in Kuwait affairs was not displayed by any European power other than Great Britain. In September 1904,

soon after Captain Knox's arrival at Kuwait, the Shaikh received a communication from Basrah suggesting that he should profit by the visit of certain Russian officials, then at Basrah, to obtain a reconciliation with the Turks; and it was added that the Russian and French Governments, if the Shaikh consented to receive a Russian and a French Consul at Kuwait, would guarantee the arrangements made. The exact source of this message, to which Shaikh Mubarak sent a formal and meaningless reply, was not discovered. In September 1905 Mr. Bahnson, representing the German firm of Wöneckhaus and Company in Bahrain, arrived in Kuwait to enquire into prospects of trade, but the Shaikh did not allow him to remain long.

Internal affairs of the Kuwait principality, 1904-07.

Previously to the appointment of a British Political Agent at Kuwait, no cognisance at all was taken by the British political authorities of the internal affairs of the Kuwait Shaikhdom; and after that event only so much attention was given them as the interest of the British Government in the general prosperity and stability of the Shaikh's Government warranted. It appeared that no one could be more competent than Shaikh Mubarak of Kuwait to manage his own affairs.

Two of the sons of Shaikh Mubarak died in 1906, one of them being Fahad, his youngest, who two years before had been sent for medical treatment to India. The establishment of a British dispensary in Kuwait was partially due to the solicitude of the Shaikh for the life of this child.

Dynastic matters.

Notwithstanding a great increase in the trade of the port the Shaikh enhanced all taxation at Kuwait, and some discontent was occasioned thereby. Custom duties, in particular, were augmented; but care continued to be shown for the convenience of merchants, for the reception of whose goods a stone warehouse, spacious and secure, was provided, and the Customs Department in general, under the management of one of the Shaikh's slaves, appeared to be well administered. Export and import duties by land were likewise increased; and in 1907 there were complaints of new and burdensome dues levied on the pilgrims of the Kuwait Hajj at their return. The most serious grievance of the tax-payer was, however, a sudden demand, made in January 1907, on the owners of houses in Kuwait town built on land which had been provided free by the Shaikh. A large part of the

Finances.

town was included in this category, and here it was required of the occupants that they should either pay three-fourths of the value of the buildings, when the property would remain their own, or accept one-fourth the value from the Shaikh and surrender their houses. Heavy taxation was a new feature in the administration of Kuwait, and the reasons for resorting to it in a time of exceptional peace and prosperity were not altogether clear. In 1906-07 Shaikh Mubarak purchased a new steam-yacht at a cost of over a lakh of rupees; and this, with expenses of maintenance, may have accounted in part for the pecuniary difficulties which he now began to allege.

The tribal affairs of the Kuwait principality were ordinarily so well managed that nothing was heard of them, and opposition to the wishes of Shaikh Mubarak was rare on the part of the tribes subject to his influence. Towards the end of February 1907, however, a raid was committed by some of the 'Ajman on Arabs living in the desert immediately around Kuwait town and depending on the Shaikh's protection; but Mubarak at once took steps to revenge the outrage, and the 'Ajman would have been attacked in force had they not submitted, promised restitution, and surrendered Muhammad-bin-Hithlain, one of their principal Shaikhs, who was then imprisoned at Kuwait. A levy of the inhabitants for military service against the 'Ajman and also, on another occasion, for the collection of Zakat from various Bedouin tribes, caused considerable dissatisfaction against the Shaikh in the town of Kuwait.

ANNEUXRE NO. 1.—AGREEMENT BY THE SHAIKH OF KUWAIT REGARDING THE NON-RECEPTION OF FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES AND THE NON-CESION OF TERRITORY TO FOREIGN POWERS OR SUBJECTS, 23RD JANUARY 1899.

The object of writing this lawful and honourable bond is that it is hereby covenanted and agreed between Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm John Meade, I.S.C., Her Britannic Majesty's Political Resident, on behalf of the British Government on the one part, and Sheikh Mubarak-bin-Sheikh Subah, Sheikh of Koweit, on the other part, that the said Sheikh Mubarak-bin-Sheikh Subah of his own free will and desire does hereby pledge and bind himself, his heirs and successors not to receive the Agent or Representative of any Power or Government at Koweit, or

Tribal
affairs.

at any other place within the limits of his territory, without the previous sanction of the British Government; and he further binds himself, his heirs and successors not to cede, sell, lease, mortgage, or give for occupation or for any other purpose any portion of his territory to the Government or subjects of any other Power without the previous consent of Her Majesty's Government for these purposes. This engagement also to extend to any portion of the territory of the said Sheikh Mubarak, which may now be in the possession of the subjects of any other Government.

In token of the conclusion of this lawful and honourable bond, Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm John Meade, I.S.C., Her Britannic Majesty's Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, and Sheikh Mubarak-bin-Sheikh Subah, the former on behalf of the British Government and the latter on behalf of himself, his heirs and successors do each, in the presence of witnesses, affix their signatures on this, the tenth day of Ramazan 1316, corresponding with the twenty-third day of January 1899.

(Sd.) M. J. MEADE,
*Political Resident in the
Persian Gulf.*

MUBARAK-AL-SUBAH,

(L.S.)

Witnesses.

(Sd.) E. WICKHAM HORE,
Captain, I.M.S.

MUHAMMAD RAHIM BIN
ABDUL NEBI SAFFER.

(Sd.) J. CALCOTT GASKIN.

(L.S.)

Letter accompanying the execution of the above Agreement.

Dated the 23rd January 1899.

From—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL M. J. MEADE, Political Resident in the Persian Gulf,

To—SHEIKH MUBARAK-BIN-SUBAH, Sheikh of Koweit.

After compliments.—In view of the signing to-day of the agreement, so happily concluded between you, Sheikh Mubarak-bin-Subah, on behalf of yourself, your heirs and successors, on the one part, and myself, on behalf of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, I now assure you, as Sheikh of Koweit, of the good offices of the British Government towards you, your heirs and successors as long as you, your heirs and successors scrupulously and faithfully observe the conditions of the said bond.

The three copies of the bond will be sent to India to be ratified by His Excellency Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Her Imperial Majesty's Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, and, on their return, one copy, duly ratified, will be conveyed to you, when I will take measures to send you, as agreed, a sum of Rs. 15,000 from the Bushire Treasury. A most important condition of the execution of this agreement is that it is to be kept absolutely secret, and not divulged or made public in any way without the previous consent of the British Government.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF NAJD OR CENTRAL ARABIA.*

The Wahhâbi movement.

The present era of Central Arabian history began with the rise of Wahhabism, by which the course of events in Najd has since been largely determined. Consequently, in dealing with the era, it is necessary first of all to enquire into the origin of Wahhabism.

Concerning the founder of the Wahhâbi sect, though he lived only a century and a half ago, and though general attention was early drawn to his proceedings by their political results, few authentic details have been preserved and the extant information is conflicting. It is agreed that he came of the Bani Tamim, a solid agricultural tribe of Najd, and 1691 is given as the year of his birth; but the honour of having been his birthplace is contested by the southern town of Hautah and the village of 'Ayainah in Wâdi Hamifah. Even his name is doubtful; by some it is said that he was called 'Abdul Wahhâb, by others that this was his patronymic, and that he himself was Muhammad-bin-'Abdul Wahhâb-bin-Sulaimân. He studied abroad at Basrah, at Damascus, and perhaps elsewhere; but finally he returned to his native country, where, about the year 1742, he began to expound and inculcate the doctrines which he had evolved during his years of study. According to the account which represents 'Ayainah as his native place, it was there that he began his public mission and there that he met, after a time, with opposition

The founder
of Wahha-
bism.

* The following are the principal authorities for the history of Najd: Cornceez *Histoire des Wahabis*, 1810; Sadleir's *Diary of a Journey across Arabia in 1819*, published 1866; Mengin's *Histoire de l'Égypte sous le gouvernement de Mohammed Aly*, 1823 (not obtained by the present writer); Burekharit's *Materials for a History of the Wahabys*, 1831; Brydges' *Brief History of the Wahabty*, 1834; *Bombay Selections XXIV, The Persian Gulf*, 1856; Palgrave's *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia, 1862-63*, published in 1865; Colonel L. Pelly's *Report on a Journey to the Wahabee Capital of Riyadh*, 1866; Colonel E. Ross's *Memoir on Nejd*, in the Persian Gulf Administration Report for 1879-80; Mr. C. M. Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, 1888; Baron E. Nolde's *Reise nach Innerarabien*, 1895; and Mr. J. A. Saldanha's *Précis of Nejd Affairs, 1804-1904*, printed in 1904. The writings of Mr. C. Huber also contain some historical information regarding Najd.

which obliged him to transfer the scene of his activities to the neighbouring town of Dara'iyah; but all authorities concur in stating that his later and more influential years were passed at Dara'iyah. He is said to have been married twenty times and to have had eighteen children. The 14th of June 1787 is mentioned as the day of his death.

Wahhabism
in its religious
or original
aspect.

Wahhabism was at first a purely religious movement; afterwards, through force of circumstances, it acquired a secular and political character. In the beginning it was a reformation of Muhammadan doctrine and practice, inspired by the ideal of a return to the pristine purity of Islam, and took the form chiefly of a protest against superstition and luxury in the Muhammadan world. That the Wahhābi belief, if tried by the standard of the Qurān and the best accredited traditions of Islām, will be found strictly orthodox seems to be generally admitted; and the difference between the true Wahhābi and the ordinary Muhammadan appears to be due to the declension of the latter from the spirit of his own religion rather than to any eccentricity on the part of the former.

Wahhabism
in its political
or secondary
aspect.

The adhesion of numbers of converts to the reformed faith in Central Arabia, together with the failure of that faith to find acceptance elsewhere, soon invested the movement in Najd with a political, a national, and even a military importance. Community of belief first paved the way for submission to a common administrative authority; by this authority individuals were compelled to obey the law and warring townships and districts were welded together into a solid and well-ordered principality; and, once internal unity had been established, a militant enthusiasm for the propagation of their religious principles abroad, not unmingled perhaps with a patriotic desire to cast off the hegemony of the Red Sea districts of Hijāz and Yaman, awoke in the hearts of the people. For the sharp conflicts between the Wahhābis and their neighbours which soon began, and which continued so long as the Wahhābis retained their religious fervour, neither party can be held solely responsible. The Wahhābis on their part displayed great intolerance, especially towards the Turks, whose morals they regarded as lax and non-Muhammadan; while their opponents, conscious of the logical soundness of Wahhābi doctrine and exasperated by the pharisaism of Wahhābi virtue, had recourse to calumnies and misrepresentations. The result was that each side virtually placed the other outside the pale of Islām, and that the Wahhābis, who were the more warlike, declared the lives and property of their antagonists to have been forfeited by religious infidelity and applied themselves to execute the sentence. On the one hand it must be admitted that the opposition to

the Wahhābis proceeded largely from persons, such as the Sharifs of Makkah, whose pecuniary interests the discouragement of honours paid to the memories and tombs of the illustrious dead threatened to affect; and, on the other, that the common herd of Wahhābis, while they did not understand the higher principles at issue but rather dwelt with narrow-minded complacency on such details as the prohibition of gold and silk attire, of rosaries, and of tobacco, revelled in the pillage and plunder which the punishment of the unbelievers rendered lawful and even obligatory. With Christians and Jews the early Wahhābis did not come much in contact; but their feelings towards such appear to have been much less bitter than towards those whom they regarded as false Muhammadans.

These preliminary observations will be illustrated by the history which follows of the Wahhābi power in Najd.

MUHAMMAD-BIN-SA'ŪD, before 1765.

The first secular chief to adopt Wahhābi principles, and to bring his policy and administration into harmony with them, was Muhammad-bin-Sa'ūd, Shaikh of Dara'iyah, in whose town and under whose protection the reformer Muhammad or 'Abdul Wahhāb lived during the later and most active part of his career. Muhammad-bin-Sa'ūd belonged to a family, known as the Āl Maqran, of the Misālikh section of the Wald 'Alī division of the 'Anizah tribe; and from the name of his father was derived the alternative family name of Āl Sa'ūd, which has been transmitted to his descendants, and in virtue of which the Wahhābi Amir is to the present day called "Ibn-Sa'ūd," in contradistinction to "Ibn-Rashid," the Amir for the time being of Jabal Shammar. At the time of his adopting Wahhābi beliefs Muhammad-bin-Sa'ūd was at feud with Daham-bin-Daus, Shaikh of the neighbouring town of Riyādh; and the strength which Wahhabism gave to his cause enabled him to break the power of this rival, whom he at first reduced to the position of a tributary. He also carried his arms into the eastern province of Hasa; but against the Bani Khālid Shaikhs, who for about a century had been predominant in that region, he failed to obtain any success.*

* According to another account however, Muhammad, though he achieved the unification of a great part of Central Arabia, including possibly Jabal Shammar, made it his maxim "not to undermine the cliff," or, in other words, not to provoke neighbouring powers of dangerous strength. If so, his policy of caution and restraint must very soon have been abandoned by his successor for one of aggression.