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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

A comparison of Al Qassim viewed through British eyes and local sources: 1862-1918

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**A comparison of Al Qassim viewed through
British eyes and local sources: 1862-1918**

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Bangor University

School of History, Welsh History and Archaeology

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Supervisors

Dr. Mari Wiliam

Dedication

To the soul of my brother Mish'l

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As much as I was self-motivated in undertaking this postgraduate degree program, I was also encouraged and supported by many people such as my friends and family. Before writing anything, I would first like to express my sincerest gratitude to Al-Imam Mohammad Ibn Saud Islamic University for granting me a scholarship. As a consequence of this I was able to complete my postgraduate studies. I would also like to mention the name of my teacher in my bachelor's degree, Prof. Mohammad Aba Al-Khel upon whose suggestion I selected the topic for this PhD thesis. It is he who encouraged and motivated me to undertake doctoral-level study on the same topic. In addition, I would also like to mention Professor Omer Al-Omari who was the Head of the School of History at Al-Imam university. He motivated me to undertake the doctorate program in the United Kingdom. Although he has retired, I will always have respect for him. I would also like to thank my master's thesis supervisor, Dr. Mohammad Al-Khudhari, who provided me with unparalleled support throughout my master's thesis project and corrected me when I was going astray. The master's thesis achievement encouraged me to continue my research at doctoral level.

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Abbreviations

FO	Foreign Office
IO	India Office
IOR	India Office Records
WO	War Office
L/P&S/	India Office: Letters, Political and Secret
MEC	Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford
R/15	Residency Records

Translation Notes

The tables 1 and 2 shows the modified Arabic transliteration system of the Library of Congress. **Table 1: Transliteration note: consonants**

Arabic letters	Romanization	Arabic letters	Romanization
ا	ā	ض	ḍ
ب	B	ط	ṭ
ت	T	ظ	ẓ
ث	Th	ع	‘
ج	J	غ	gh
ح	ḥ	ف	f
خ	Kh	ق	q
د	D	ك	k
ذ	Dh	ل	l
ر	R	م	m
ز	Z	ن	n
س	S	هـ	h
ش	Sh	و	w
ص	ṣ	ي	y

Table 2: Vowels

Long		Short	
ا	ā	أ	a
ي	ī	ي	i
و	ū	و	U

Abstract

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, serious travels were made to the Arabia Peninsula by British travellers. Travellers included informal travellers and political envoys sent by the British Empire. The different Western travellers to East looked at the Orientals through their own point of views. Their travelogues were the only source of information available to the West about life in the East and the endeavours of the people therein. The travel writings of the western travellers and their motivations (in both travelling and writing) led to their works being appraised and critiqued by different theorists. Some criticized the Western travellers for their dubious motivations and theorised that all the travellers who visited the East and the Arabia Peninsula in particular, were motivated by political incentives and operated on their political agendas rather than personal objectives. My argument here is this we cannot ignore all of the historical contributions of the British travellers and their writings on the basis of a generalization. Therefore, this history study is focused on the British travellers and their underlying objectives in travelling and writing. The tactical and methodological choices made by the individual writers led to intelligence collection in the Arabian Peninsula and this, in turn, led them towards identifying different historical realities and truths according to their perspectives of observation.

This thesis is focused on the informal travellers and political envoys who travelled to Al Qassim and the heart of Najd. It primarily aims to show how the Orient was viewed by these travellers; whether they provided truths and reality about the Orient to their readers or whether their writings were directed and overshadowed by their ideology of racial superiority and imperialist dogma. The thesis argues that while a majority of the western travellers presented more of their personal ideologies with regard to non-Europeans (as West vs. East), not all of them were engaged in expressing their own racial superiority. Rather, some presented the 'true reality' of the people of Arabia. This is because their writings were closer to what the local sources reported. Additionally, this thesis reveals what the contribution of the British travellers to Al Qassim history is.

This historical study traces the political, social and economic development of the people of Al Qassim and argues that the nature of their travel writings depended on their personal incentives, duration of their stay in individual locations and the time of their travel. It further provides a comprehensive, in-depth insight to the political envoys and their intelligence projects which determined the imperial state of the British Empire. By methodical

examination of travel writings with the local sources of Al Qassim, this thesis adds significant value to the existent limited understanding of the Orient and provides evidence that contradicts the unwavering proclamations of generalizations that have hitherto prevailed with regard to the entirety of the Western travellers. The study traces the political, social and economic development of the people of Al Qassim that contribute in Al Qassim socioeconomic and political historiography during the specific period of time.

This study exhibits how the British informal travellers and political envoys viewed Al Qassim and the underlying motivations behind their writings. It also determines whether their personal ideologies reflected the racial superiority of their having a European background. The research also addresses the gap in identifying the historical truths and “realities” of Al Qassim by critical, descriptive and comparative analyses of the information from a new perspective, i.e. comparing the writings of British travellers with those of the local sources of Al Qassim. The selection of the sources that are subjected to my in-depth analysis within this thesis was based on the relativism ontological position that I took within this research, as well as the interpretivism epistemological position that I took with regard to interpreting the realities contained within the different sources. The coherentist theory of justification is also used in this research to justify the truths and realities from the different sources with my own beliefs. Cumulatively this enables the thesis to make a unique contribution towards knowledge enhancement. As three types of the sources are used in this research to contribute rich knowledge on the socioeconomic and political history of Al Qassim, (British envoys, British travellers and local sources), descriptive, critical and comparative qualitative analysis is also used to analyse the data from the diverse sources. The study comprehensively utilised the theory of justification with regard to realities, truth, and beliefs that contribute rich historiography on socioeconomic and political historiography of the region.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into different sections; first, the chapter provides a brief overview of the importance of Al Qassim within Arabian history because this research is on the socio-economic and culture history of that region. Thereafter, the chapter provides a contextual analysis which outlines the importance of this study. The chapter also notes the research aims and questions. Finally, the research methodology and structure of research is discussed.

Al Qassim is of high strategic importance as it is located in the centre of Najd. The Najd region forms part of the centre of the Arabian Peninsula, where is divided into several regions. Between 1745 and 1818 Arabian Peninsula provinces were united. The north of Qassim is bordered with sandy dunes; to the east and south are rocky areas which stretch to its eastern border. These can be regarded as the natural shields of the place which afford it protection from military offences. This led to the settlement of various Arab tribes there.¹ The prominent tribes to settle included: the Buraydah, Unayzah, Rass, Al Midhnab, Al Badai, Ash Shamasīyah, Uyn, Al Khabra, and Al Bukayriyyah. Since the place is stony it had sufficient underground resources which also made it an ideal place for irrigation purposes and this enabled the undertaking of wheat and date farming in the area.²

Before the Saudi government came to rule, Al Qassim³ was ruled by two families; Al abu Ulayan in Buraydah⁴ and Al-Rashid in Unayzah.⁵ There was a massive dispute in 1768 in the Al abu Ulayan family which led Rashid Al-Duryabi to request help from the al-Darīyah government. In the same year, the Saudi army reached Al Qassim and annexed the region, including Unayzah and Buraydah.⁶ Saudi rule remained in power in Buraydah until the ruler, Al-Duryabi, was replaced by his cousin Abdullah bin Hasan Al abu Ulayan. Abdullah was succeeded by Hujylan bin Hamad abu Ulayan in 1777. As a result of the Saudis managing to annex the two holy cities, Madinah and Mecca (Al Haramin Al Sharifin⁷) in 1803, the

¹ M. Al-Obodi, *Mu'jam bilad Al Qassim (Al Qassim Lexicon)* [in Arabic], Vol. 1, pp. 120-150.

² M. Alrebdi, *Buraidah* [in Arabic] (Riyadh, 1993), Vol. 2, p. 109.

³ The main two sites in Al Qassim province are Buraydah and Unayzah

⁴ Al-Obodi, *Mu'jam bilad Al Qassim*, Vol. 2, pp. 481-485.

⁵ M. Alzkir, *al-'uqūd al-durriyah fi Tārīkh albilād al-Najdiyyah* [in Arabic], manuscript, pp. 33-34.

⁶ O. Ibn Bisher, *'Unwān al- Majd fi Tārīkh Najd* [The symbol of glory in the history of Najd]. Riyadh: King Abdul Aziz Foundation, (Riyadh, 1982). [in Arabic], Vol. 1, p. 106.

⁷ Al Haramin Al Sharafin is the conventional Islamic appellation given to the holy cities of Medina and Mecca. See Encyclopædia Britannica, *Saudi Arabia*. Retrieved 5 March 2015,

Ottoman Empire was alarmed that it was beginning to lose the control that it had hitherto exercised over the Islamic world. As a result, Iraq and Sham leaders were called to help the Ottoman Empire relieve the state from Saudi rule and the Egyptian campaign was initiated in 1811. Muhammad Ali Pasha, the ruler of Egypt, sent his son Tūsuūn and the latter succeeded in restoring Hejaz and Al Haramin Al Sharifin to power.⁸ A truce was signed and Tūsuūn returned to Egypt. Muhammad Ali Pasha, however, did not approve of the decision as his objective was to eliminate the Saudi State and, therefore, he sent his other son to the region in 1816. The latter laid siege to al-Darīyah and managed to eliminate the Saudis in 1818.

The fall of the Saudi State affected many areas, Al Qassim being one of them. By the end of the year 1817, the entire Al Qassim state had fallen under the control of Ibrahim Pasha⁹. Indigenous forces supplemented his invasion; some of them opposed Wahhabi rule, while others happily joined the presumptive victor. Ibrahim Pasha succeeded in pacifying the resistance encountered in Najd. Emirs were allocated to certain regions, including Al Qassim, by Ibrahim Pasha as he withdrew from Najd.¹⁰ However, these Emirs were killed or expelled by the people of these region.¹¹ Eventually, Turki bin Abdullah¹² was compelled to restore the

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/525348/Saudi-Arabia/45225/Struggle-with-the-Ottomans>;

Alsalman, M, *al-ahwāl al-siyāsīyah fī Al Qassim fī 'ahd al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah 1823-1891* [The Political Conditions in Al-Qassim during the second Saudi State 1823-1891] [In Arabic], pp. 28-33.

⁸ The army of Egypt was composed of Maghrebi (North African), Albanian and Turkish mercenaries who were led to battle by commandants who had been involved in the fight against French and British. The battle forces set out in August 1811. The cavalry was led by Tūsuūn through the land, whereby no Wahhabi resistance was met, and they succeeded in seizing and sacking the town. After arriving in Yanbu in November, Tūsuūn and his combined forces attacked Madinah. Upon learning of the plans of the Egyptians, Ibn Saud prepared his best fighters to combat in Madinah. The Egyptians were ambushed near Wadi al-Safra and defeated. However, instead of pursuing the fleeing army, their abandoned camp was plundered by the Wahhabi fighters, thus providing a free path to the Egyptians to retreat to Yanbu. Even when Egypt was sending reinforcements to Yanbu, Tūsuūn did not rely only on military solutions; instead, he paid bribes to influence the local tribes.

⁹ Muhammad Ali Pasha's son.

¹⁰ M. Alsalman, *al-ahwāl al-siyāsīyah fī Al Qassim fī 'ahd al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah 1823-1891* [The Political Conditions in Al-Qassim during the second Saudi State 1823-1891] [In Arabic], pp. 51-54.

¹¹ For instance, Abdullah, the son of Hujylan bin Hamad Al abu Ulayan, was assigned by his father in Buraydah to replace him in ruling the city. However, he was killed by his cousins. Abdullah was succeeded by Rashid ibn Sulyman Al Hujylani whose rule was also short-lived as Abdullah's mother took her revenge. With the help of some maids and slaves, Abdullah's mother killed him. As a result, the city went into decline and eventually the city was taken under control by a member of the Al abu Ulayan family – Abdullah bin Moh'ammad bin Hasan, who also met the same fate as his predecessor. He was killed by the conspiracies of Ibrahim Pasha's remaining forces and was replaced by Al-Jam'y on his orders; later, the people expelled him from the city, to be replaced by Mohammad bin Hasan Al-Jamal. For more detail, refer to Al-Obodi, *Mu'jam bilad Al Qassim*, Vol. 2, pp. 521-22; M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fī akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-'Irāq* (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq) [in Arabic] (Kuwait, 2000), p. 288; M. Alsalman, *al-ahwāl al-siyāsīyah fī Al Qassim fī 'ahd al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah 1823-1891* [The Political Conditions in Al-Qassim during the second Saudi State 1823-1891] [In Arabic], p. 52.

rule in the state in addition to liberating Najd from foreign rule.¹³ He did this by revolting against Pasha's forces. As a result of his success in doing this, Pasha was forced to send a campaign, led by Hussein Bey, to fight against Turki bin Abdullah. Although Turki bin Abdullah escaped capture, he succeeded in preventing the revolution from committing harsh terrorist crimes, and also stopped any other political party dominating Najd. As the revolution caused disturbances in the region, some leaders begged Hussein Bey to regain their positions.¹⁴ Although the battles led to the fall of Saudi state, a second state started to emerge almost immediately.

1.1.1 Al Qassim during the Second Saudi State

Since Egyptian rule was heavily resented by the people, they helped with the revolution of Turki bin Abdullah who succeeded in compelling the Egyptians to surrender Riyadh and also expelled them from Najd. The people of Najd, including Al Qassim¹⁵ proved their loyalty to the new leader by sending delegations to him and for the first time they experienced strong and stable order.¹⁶ The success of Mishari bin Abdul Rahman¹⁷ marked the end of Turki's rule because Turki was murdered by Mishari.¹⁸ However, Al Qassim remained stable as it was not directly affected by the situation because the governors of Al Qassim was not directly involved in the events that had unfurled.

The political and economic situation of Al Qassim faced different conflicts due to changes in rulers¹⁹ and internal conflicts, such as the conflict between Faisal²⁰ and Al Qassim chiefs.²¹

¹² He is from Saudi family, In early 1829, Turki bin Abdullah's state included Najd, Al-Ahsa, and parts of the Arab Gulf coasts. Then he focused on general reform of his state making it an extension of the First Saudi State. He is considered the founder of the Second Saudi State.

¹³ O. Ibn Bisher. *'Unwān al- Majd fī Tārīkh Najd* [The symbol of glory in the history of Najd]. [in Arabic], Vol. 2, p. 10; H.St J.B. Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia* (London, 1955), pp. 154-155; M. Alsalman, *al-ahwāl al-siyāsīyah fī Al Qassim fī 'ahd al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah 1823-1891* [The Political Conditions in Al-Qassim during the second Saudi State 1823-1891] [In Arabic], p. 65.

¹⁴ O. Ibn Bisher. *'Unwān al- Majd fī Tārīkh Najd* [The symbol of glory in the history of Najd]. [in Arabic], Vol. 1, pp. 446-454; A. Abu Alyah, *Tārīkh al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah (The History of the Second Saudi State)* [in Arabic](Riyadh,2000), pp. 38-41.

¹⁵ In early 1829, Turki bin Abdullah's state included Najd, Al-Ahsa, and parts of the Arab Gulf coast. He then focused on the general reform of his state, making it an extension of the First Saudi State. He is considered to be the founder of the Second Saudi State.

¹⁶ O. Ibn Bisher. *'Unwān al- Majd fī Tārīkh Najd* [The symbol of glory in the history of Najd]. [in Arabic], Vol. 2, pp. 36, 42, 64; M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fī akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-'Irāq (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq)* [in Arabic], p. 288; M. Alsalman, *al-ahwāl al-siyāsīyah fī Al Qassim fī 'ahd al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah 1823-1891* [The Political Conditions in Al-Qassim during the second Saudi State 1823-1891] [In Arabic]. 75-77.

¹⁷ He is from Saudi family.

¹⁸ O. Ibn Bisher. *'Unwān al- Majd fī Tārīkh Najd* [The symbol of glory in the history of Najd]. [in Arabic], Vol. 2, pp. 113-115.

¹⁹ Faisal's second rule period of rule lasted for about 23 years and his state stretched from south Kuwait to Ras al-Khaimah, and from the Gulf coast to the western borders of Al-Qassim-Hejaz. It was a period of relative calm and stable external relations. However, some internal rebellions did occur during this otherwise calm period.

Turki's objective was to expel the Egyptian forces in Unayzah, when Abdullah Al-Jam'y was killed by Yahiya bin Sulaiman bin Zamil due to the latter's ties with Egyptian forces in Unayzah. However, Turki's imposed changes in government led to a stabilisation of the conditions in Al Qassim, which included the dismissal of Yahya from ruling Unayzah, and instead, Khayr Allah was chosen as ruler.²² After the tragic end of Turki's rule, his son – Faisal – became ruler in 1834.²³ Faisal imposed the same strategy as his father and approved of the Emirs and judges who had been assigned to a majority of the cities by Turki.²⁴ As these incidents had no direct impact on relations with the Riyadh government, Al Qassim remained stable during Faisal's first rule. This stability was, however, destabilised by Muhammad Ali Pasha's campaign to dethrone Faisal. Different reasons are given as to why Pasha wished to destabilise Faisal. The author emphasises that Pasha's ambitions appear to have been focused on establishing an Egyptian empire that would annex the Arabian Peninsula. This view is given credence by the fact that Pasha had strengthened his control over some parts of Sham and turned against the Ottoman Empire.²⁵ Pasha's campaign entered Najd in 1836, while Faisal took Al Qassim and prepared for battle by mobilising a huge army from amongst the people of Al Qassim and surrounding states. Although Faisal decided to move to the capital, Riyadh, and fortify it because of the advanced weaponry of Pasha's campaign, the people declared their loyalty towards Ismail Bey and Khalid bin Saud.²⁶ This demonstrated that support for Faisal had diminished and this was partly due to his failure in Al Qassim.

The reign of Khalid bin Saud was not influenced by any disorders or conflicts between the emirs of Najd, for instance, the Emir of Ha'il Abdullah bin Rashid, the Emir of Unayzah Yahiya Alsulaim, and the Emir of Buraydah Abdul Aziz Al abu Ulayan. Nevertheless, the Egyptian campaigns continued and, as result, Khurshid Pasha was sent to Hejaz and Najd. This resulted in numerous battles with Faisal and led to Faisal being weakened and he

²⁰ Turki bin Abdullah's son

²¹ There is a disagreement among historians about the reasons behind this move as some attribute it to an invitation from some leaders of Al-Qassim who provoked Sherriff bin Awn to invade Najd, claiming that Imam Faisal was not capable of resisting him; other historians believe that this move was a command from the Ottoman Empire to control Imam Faisal's influence.

²² M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fi akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-'Irāq (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq)* [in Arabic], p. 288; M. Alsalman, *al-ahwāl al-siyāsīyah fi Al Qassim fī 'ahd al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah 1823-1891 [The Political Conditions in Al-Qassim during the second Saudi State 1823-1891]* [In Arabic], pp. 75-77.

²³ O. Ibn Bisher, *'Unwān al-Majd fī Tārīkh Najd* [The symbol of glory in the history of Najd]. [in Arabic], Vol. 2, pp. 97-99; G. Kheirallah, *Arabia Reborn* (Albuquerque, 1952), pp. 85-86.

²⁴ I. Ibn Eisāl, *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)* [in Arabic] (Riyadh, n.d.), pp. 113-115.

²⁵ A. Abu Alyah, *Tārīkh al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah (The History of the Second Saudi State)* [in Arabic],

pp.5356;EncyclopediaBritannica,*Muhammad'Ali*. Retrieved5March,2015,http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/396343/Muhammad-Ali.

²⁶ Khalid bin Saud bin Abdul Aziz bin Muhammad bin Saud was a member of the Saudi family who was moved to Egypt after the fall of the First Saudi State. He lived in Egypt for around 18 years, but he was different from the people of Najd after his stay there.

eventually became an exiled prisoner.²⁷ This prompted them to sign the Convention of London in 1840 with the Ottoman Empire,²⁸ the main provision of which was to remove the forces of Pasha from the region. It was during the time of Khalid bin Saud, that Al Qassim started to achieve independence from Riyadh.²⁹

The return of Faisal 1843 caused a division in Al Qassim as the Emir of Unayzah supported Faisal and asked him to come to the city; the Emir of Buraydah had refused to join him and had instead contacted Abdullah Ibn Thunnayan³⁰ to support him against Faisal. While Faisal joined the Emir of Unayzah, Ibn Thunnayan stayed in Buraydah. However, upon learning of the strength of Faisal's position, Ibn Thunnayan abandoned the Emir of Buraydah and fled to Riyadh. During his stay in Unayzah, Faisal gained support from different emirs of Al Qassim, but he eventually left the city to lay siege on Ibn Thunnayan and captured him. This marked the beginning of the second period of Faisal's rule.³¹

Al Qassim remained calm and ordered under the second rule of Faisal.³² Abdul Aziz Al abu Ulayan was summoned by Faisal in 1859 to Riyadh.³³ The local sources, lack information about this journey. Accompanied by his three sons, Abdul Aziz travelled to Riyadh and was placed under house arrest. Consequently, Abdullah Ibn Adwan was appointed as the governor of Buraydah and was ultimately killed by a members of Al abu Ulayan tribe. As a result of this further death, Faisal appointed one of the members of this tribe as Buraydah's governor. Using advanced diplomatic strategies, Abdul Aziz approached Faisal and requested to be reinstated as the governor of Buraydah. He further promised Faisal that he would take care of the ones who were causing disturbances and through such impropriety and devilishness jeopardising security in the city. Convinced, Faisal appointed him as the Emir of

²⁷ O. Ibn Bisher, *Unwān al- Majd fī Tārīkh Najd* [The symbol of glory in the history of Najd]. [in Arabic], Vol. 2, pp. 141-151; M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fī akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-‘Irāq* (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq) [in Arabic], pp. 311-315; M. Alsalman, *al-ahwāl al-siyāsīyah fī Al Qassim fī ‘ahd al-Dawlah al-Sa‘ūdīyah al-thānīyah 1823-1891* [The Political Conditions in Al-Qassim during the second Saudi State 1823-1891] [In Arabic], pp. 96-115.

²⁸ *Convention between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia and Turkey for the pacification of the Levant, 1840.*

²⁹ M. Alsalman, *al-ahwāl al-siyāsīyah fī Al Qassim fī ‘ahd al-Dawlah al-Sa‘ūdīyah al-thānīyah 1823-1891* [The Political Conditions in Al-Qassim during the second Saudi State 1823-1891] [In Arabic], pp. 122-124.

³⁰ He is from Saudi family who succeed Khalid bin Saud.

³¹ A. Abu Alyah, *Tārīkh al-Dawlah al-Sa‘ūdīyah al-thānīyah* (The History of the Second Saudi State) [in Arabic], pp. 115-125; M. Alsalman, *al-ahwāl al-siyāsīyah fī Al Qassim fī ‘ahd al-Dawlah al-Sa‘ūdīyah al-thānīyah 1823-1891* [The Political Conditions in Al-Qassim during the second Saudi State 1823-1891] [In Arabic], pp. 151-156.

³² I. Ibn EisāI, *Iqd Al-Durar* (Necklace of Pearls) [in Arabic], pp. 23-24; M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fī akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-‘Irāq* (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq) [in Arabic] pp. 356, 340.

³³ Philby, *Sa‘udi Arabia*, p. 209.

Buraydah; however, Faisal continued to be disturbed by the endeavours of Abdul Aziz Al abu Ulayan (the Governor of Buraydah) and his sons³⁴.

1.1.2 Al Qassim during the Third Saudi State

In 1902, after Ibn Saud³⁵ succeeded in escaping his exile in Kuwait he killed the Emir of Riyadh and assumed power. His rule marked the start of the modern-day Saudi State³⁶ and was welcomed by the people who had suffered under the previous regime. Subsequently, Ibn Saud achieved a great victory in the south of Najd and extended his power and territories so that they eventually reached the outskirts of Al Qassim.³⁷ Since most people in Al Qassim had not been amused by the rule of Ibn Rashid either, Ibn Saud was welcomed by them. This resulted in him securing rule and power over that region as well. However, from 1903 to 1906, the region became a theatre for war between two powers and this ended with the execution of his enemy in the battle of Rawdat Muhanna.³⁸ Thereafter Ibn Saud assumed power over some villages in Al Qassim. Since Al Qassim was one of the regions which had previously been under the power of Ibn Saudi, it became a starting base for the annexation of Ha'il; this continued until 1921.³⁹

Ibn Saud managed to unite most parts of Najd, including Riyadh, Al-Muhammal, Al-Washm, Sudair, and Al Qassim in less than six years, and thereafter started to annex other parts of the Arabian Peninsula; he annexed Al Ahssa and parts of the Arab Gulf coast in 1913-1914. The north of the Arabian Peninsula and Ha'il were the next to be annexed in 1921-1922, followed by the annexation of south western parts in 1920-31. By the year 1926, Ibn Saud had annexed the dominant parts of the Arabian Peninsula, including Mecca and Madinah. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia became the official name of the state in 1932⁴⁰.

Al Qassim was on the crossroads of a plethora of commercial convoys, particularly the ones that passed between Mecca and Persia, and Mecca and Iraq. Many other trade routes also crossed through this area. Convoys from Yemen travelled through this area to reach Kuwait, Iraq and Ha'il. Thus, it was an area through which many commercial places were connected with one another. The geographical identification of the area is a gruelling task because of

³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 209.

³⁵ Who knew King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud

³⁶ Kheirallah, *Arabia Reborn*, p. 74; M. Darlow and B. Bray, *Ibn Saud, the Desert Warrior Who Created the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia* (New York, 2012), p. 78.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-97, 103.

³⁸ Rawdat Muhanna is a vast garden located to the east from Qassim, far from Buraydah about 30 km to the east; *ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

³⁹ M. Alzkir, *al-'uqūd al-durrīyah fī Tārīkh albilād al-Najdīyah* [in Arabic], manuscript, pp. 185-186.

⁴⁰ Kheirallah, *Arabia Reborn*, p. 109; M. Darlow and B. Bray, *Ibn Saud, the Desert Warrior Who Created the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia* (New York, 2012), p. 151.

differences between geographers about the exact location of the area. However, the area is bordered to the north by Ha'il, to the west and south by Medina and to the east by Riyadh.⁴¹ The geographical location of Al Qassim is one of the major reasons for selecting this area to study the modern history of Al Qassim. Since 809, Al Qassim has attracted the attention of Abbasids due to the Basri Route. During that time the area had a political importance in the Arabian Peninsula and the first British political envoys visited in 1862. A number of battles and events took place in the area. Due to its strategic importance the Saudi rulers ensured that the area was captured by the Saudis during the early phase of the establishment of the Saudi State.⁴²

Last but not least, I belong to that area and am aware of its topography and I believe that there has been little previous study focused on the history of travellers to and from Al Qassim. This research provides historical knowledge about Al Qassim. Additionally, this research is not based on one single source. Indeed, this research includes sources from British travellers and envoys and compares them with local sources. This is the major significance of the research herein presented. The research gap is defined in the contextual background section of this chapter. Lastly, I intend to continue the work that I started when undertaking a master's level degree.⁴³ This covered the period of Ibn Saud from 1904 to 1954 but the previous thesis was only about the cultural history and importance of Al Qassim. Therefore, I want to continue my research topic to provide the richest possible historical knowledge about the socio-economic and political history of Al Qassim during the period from 1862 to 1918.

1.2 HISTORIOGRAPHY

As it stands, the history on the region of Al Qassim has been neglected even though several Western travellers have visited the region. The travelogues and works presented by the Western travellers and particularly, given the focus of this thesis, those from Britain, were based on their underlying motivations and focused on their interests – both personal and professional. As a result, there is a gap in existing literature with local sources leaning more

⁴¹ Al-Obodi, *Mu'jam bilād Al Qassim*, Vol. 1, pp. 89-91.

⁴² M. Alsalman, *al-ahwāl al-siyāsīyah fī Al Qassim fī 'ahd al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah 1823-1891* [*The Political Conditions in Al-Qassim during the second Saudi State 1823-1891*] [In Arabic], pp. 134-159.

⁴³ A. Alreshoodi, *Alqassim fī ahed Almalek Abdul-Aziz- Dirasah Hadhariah* (*Alqassim during the Reign of King Abdul-Aziz: A Cultural Study, 1904-1954*) [in Arabic] (master's dissertation, Imam Mohammed Ibn Saud University, 2009).

towards covering political aspects, whereas the western sources provide an imperial-centric motivation-based account of the region. The historiography within this thesis mentions the gaps within Al Qassim historiography. There are some British envoys who visited the Arabian Peninsula and they wrote about the region. David⁴⁴ who is widely known for categorizing the travellers who visited the Arabic Peninsula. He divided them into three categories; soldiers, adventurers, and agents. His writings give also accounts of the motives of the travellers to visit Arab region.

In 1976, Robin Bidwell⁴⁵ published his book *Travellers in Arabia* about the experience of various travellers. In this book, Robin included the views of those travellers who were from different nationalities. Though he provided rich information about many travellers and discussed their background, he mentioned nothing about Al Qassim, but Robin Bidwell provide sufficient historical information of travellers who visited Al Qassim. In 1978, Zahra Freeth and victor Winstone⁴⁶ published a book that included all of the journeys of British traveller, but they have provided detail of all journeys of selected travellers., Similarly, in 1892, Bayard Taylor⁴⁷ wrote a book about travellers in Arabia. Taylor discussed those travellers who had visited Mecca, Yaman, Oman and some other Arabian cities. In his book, Taylor focused much on Palgrave but mentioned nothing about Palgrave in Al Qassim. Likewise, *Far Arabia: Explorers of the Myth is a book that Brent*⁴⁸ wrote in 1978. In Far Arabia, some of the most exciting journeys are described in form of a story of creation but have not cover the whole journey detail of any traveller. Subsequently, the French writer, J Pirenne⁴⁹ wrote a book that was later translated into Arabic. Similar to Brent and Bidwell, Pirenne wrote about the experiences of various Arabic travellers. However, his writings offered nothing about the travelling experience. Therefore, this type of the book or historian are providing sufficient data the British traveller journeys, but these historians are providing historical information which is recorded by traveller.

In 1986, Richard Trench⁵⁰ published *Arabian Travellers*. In this book, he comprehensively looked at various travellers and their motivations for travelling to the Arabian Peninsula. His

44 C.L.David. Travellers' accounts as a source for the study of nineteenth-century Wahhabism, (1984), p. 20.

45 B.Robin. Travellers in Arabia. Hamlyn, (London, 1976).

46 F.Zahra and V.Winstone. Explorers of Arabia from Renaissance to the Victorian Era (London, 1978), pp. 9-21.

47 B.Taylor. Travels in Arabia (New York, 1982).

48 B.Peter. Far Arabia: Explorers of the myth (Exter 1977).

49 J. Pirenne. *À la découverte de l'Arabie* [Discovery of the Arabian Peninsula][in Arabic] Trans. Qadri Qal'aji Beirut and al-Fakheriya, Riyadh: Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi (n.d.).

50 R. Trench, Arabian Travellers. Macmillan, (London, 1986), pp.141-211

writing did not offer any insight on Al Qassim even though he wrote much about a number of the travellers who had previously travelled to the Arabian Peninsula.

With reference to the stereotypes associated with Arabs, *Arabian Oasis City: The transformation of Unayzah*, was written by Soraya Altorki and Donald P. Col⁵¹ in 1989. As this study was based on empirical research, it explored numerous stereotypical views and misconceptions held about Arabian society and particularly about Najd. Primarily, this was a descriptive study that let the people to tell most of the stories in their own word. Altorki and Col believed that many of the travellers to Arabia were not social scientists. They further added that political military representatives and English travellers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries romanticized the Bedouin as well as their living styles and also misrepresented the social realities of the Arabian Peninsula. Rooted in an ontological position, this study criticized the travellers' views about the Arabian Peninsula. This study was conducted between 1950 and 1970 and thus it collected real social information about the development of Najd. This is one of the predominant reasons the researcher made comparisons of travellers; writing with the local sources so that historical and rich information about Al Qassim could be provided.

Many historians have generalized their views with regard to the motivation of the European envoys and their historical contribution. Lisle⁵² was the first critic and he drew attention to the explicit contrasts on the world politics of 'government press releases, media stories and parliamentary debates that led towards the published contents objectives relation with reliability as source of data. Knowles indicated that these are generally privileged in [a global] context' and 'the travel writing's quasi-fictional genre'⁵³. Lisle underlines the perpetuation of such political impacts, basis for Holand and Huggan's perspective⁵⁴. Travel writing can be observed as – though not entirely – an imperialist discourse from which predominant cultures (middle-class, Euro-American, white, male) pursue the aggrandisement of their own culture at the expense of others. Lisle findings can be seen as following the same line of thinking as that of Edward Said that British travellers serve their political purpose so there historical writing is biased. It is generally acknowledged that for post-colonial theory the seminal study of Edward Said – *Orientalism in 1978* – is a foundational text.⁵⁵ The term

51 S. Altorki and Donald P. Col, *Arabian Oasis City: The transformational of Unayzah*. First Edition. University of Texas Press, (USA, 1989), pp.98-115

52 D. Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing*. (Cambridge University Press, 2006) p.p. 151-178

53 S. Knowles, *Travel Writing and the Transnational Author*. (Springer, 2014), p.p. 20-37

54 Holland and Huggan, 1998, xiii

55 D. Kennedy, *Imperial History and Post-Colonial Theory in The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* VI. 24, No. 3 (1996). pp. 345-363

‘orientalism’ used in the book has been transfigured to a synonym for the racism and imperialism of the West. Edward Said mentioned the motives behind the intentions of the travellers to visit the east. The colonised lands in these writings are presented as ‘mysterious lands’ which uncivilized barbarians inhabited.⁵⁶ The researcher suggests that this as a misrepresentation.

The books by Edward Said, i.e. *Orientalism and Culture and Imperialism*, include a number of issues related to the subject of author’s study, such as, the stance of the travellers and orientalists in terms of scientific studies in East, the attitudes adopted by travellers towards culture and the institutions which sponsored certain travellers. These sources also provide evidence of the extent to which they succeeded in presenting the culture of East to their people. Western travellers are criticized as being ‘racists’ and ‘imperialists’ by Said.⁵⁷ I am employing three approaches; descriptive, critical and analytical to identify the major and reliable contribution of the British travellers to Al Qassim history. Due to this, it has been necessary for this thesis to devote space to the background of the travellers. I believe that the whole contribution of the British envoys cannot be ignored on the base of orientalism theory. Therefore, one of the major focuses of this research is to correlate the motivations and objectives behind the British envoys and the other travellers who visited the Arabian Peninsula. A major contribution of this research is that it restores the validity of British travellers’ and envoys’ historical contribution to the Arab Peninsula and specifically Al Qassim.

Writers who agree with Said such as Mohamad Al-Taha⁵⁸, and Rana Kabbani⁵⁹ focus on displaying the negative sides of the travellers’ writings about the East. They also believe in making sweeping generalizations. This springs from their belief in the existing relationship between knowledge and power. In contrast, writers such as Syrine Hout⁶⁰ and Kathryn Sampson⁶¹ oppose Said’s theory and fight against his Orientalist writings. In so doing they assert that all the Western writings about the East are positive and useful because they lead to an intercultural dialogue between the West and the East. Furthermore, a number of conceptual, methodological and factual errors are associated with Said’s account. His critics

56 E. Said, *Orientalism*, (London, 2003), pp.11-83

57 H.Hajari, *British Travel Writing on Oman: Orientalism Reappraised*. (2006) p. 17

58 M.Al-Taha, *The Orient and Three Victorian Travellers: Kinglake, Burton and Palgrave*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Leicester University, 1989)

59 Kabbani, R. *Imperial Fiction: Europe’s Myths of Orient* (London,1994), pp.53-11

60 Hout, S. C. *Reviewing Europe from the Outside: Cultural Encounters and European Culture Critiques in the Eighteenth Century Pseudo-Oriental Travelogue and the Nineteenth Century*, (1994). ‘Voyage en Orient’. Ph.D. dissertation. Colombia University. [Published in 1997 by Peter Lang.]

61 K. A.Sampson, *The Romantic Literary Pilgrimage to the Orient: Byron, Scott, and Burton*. Ph.D. dissertation. Unpublished (University of Texas at Austin ,1999).

also argue that a number of genuine contributions from the West on Eastern cultures have been ignored by Said⁶². Said's theory, the critics claim, fails to elaborate on the reason why a majority of Orientalist research was not successful in advancing the imperialism cause.⁶³

Al-Hajri identifies another group as being 'middle-of-the-road' i.e. their studies incorporate the theory of Said and his followers with those of his opponents. These studies draw upon the 'heterogeneity' idea.⁶⁴ Some of the middle-of-the-road authors disagreed with Said's decision to select certain texts in his writings, such as that of John Spencer Dixon.⁶⁵ Van de Bilt⁶⁶ believes that studies of this kind should take into account the different views in the Western writings about the East in order to simplify the complexity of the writings of the travellers. The author should, therefore, seek clarify the ambiguity and the contradictions in some travellers' views about the East.

Al-Hajri indicate his belief that the Western discourses have described East in a way that did not provide the true picture of Arabian Peninsula and its people.⁶⁷ He recommends that the Western discourses be approached from different angles to avoid sweeping generalizations, and extremists view towards the Western writings about the East. Although there is a burgeoning literature available regarding imperial intelligence, there is very little said by historians about the British travellers who visited Al Qassim during the aforementioned time period because this type of historian focuses on the overall political contribution of the writings of the British envoys. Excellent studies have been written by C.A. Bayly and Martin Thomas on imperial intelligence, however these predominantly deal with earlier and later periods in India and Palestine respectively.⁶⁸ The study by James Onley⁶⁹ is concerned about the British political establishment focused on Persian Gulf and is helpful in providing an understanding of the political channels that allowed the flow of intelligence, and the methods used to collect information. However, his focus is not on intelligence around Al Qassim and

62 C.T. Mart., T. Alpashlan and M.G. Esen, Criticism on Edward Said's Orientalism. 2nd International Symposium on Sustainable Development,(2010), p.p. 367-372

63 Ibid.,365-370.

64 Al-Hajri, H. British Travel Writing on Oman: Orientalism Reappraised, p. 33-35.

65 Dixon, J. S. Representation of the East in English and French Travel Writing 1798-1882 with a Particular Reference to Egypt. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of Warwick,1991).

66 E. F. Van de Bilt, Proximity and Distance: American Travellers to The Middle East, 1819-1918. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation.(Cornell University, 1985).

67 Al-Hajri, H. British Travel Writing on Oman: Orientalism Reappraised, p. 33-60.

68 Martin Thomas, Empires of Intelligence: Security Services and Colonial Disorder after 1914 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); C.A. Bayly, Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Richard Popplewell has dealt with intelligence and Indian revolutionaries in Intelligence and Imperial Defence: British Intelligence and the Defence of the Indian Empire, 1904-1924 (London: Frank Cass, 1995).

69 J. Onley, The Arabian Frontier of the British Raj: Merchants, Rulers and the British in the Nineteenth-Century Gulf (New York,2007), pp.13-65

his works focus on a different period. Priya Satia's⁷⁰ study, on the other hand, is primarily focused on the cultural assumptions driving the collection of intelligence, instead of the driving political and strategic conditions, while paying particular attention to the period following 1918. Although a great deal of work has been conducted on the intelligence history of the East and about the imperial intelligence during WWI, the pre-war period is dealt with in a meaningful way only by Satia's book. Therefore, the researcher aims to fill a gap in literature by providing a focused analysis of British informal travellers and political envoys and their historical contribution to Al Qassim.

The aforementioned writers, in particular, wrote nothing about Al Qassim, its people or the economic, social and political aspects of the region, despite the fact that Al Qassim was one of the more autonomous regions in Saudi Arabia and hence, enjoyed a significant position in the region due to its trade and economy. This lack of information and social history of the region creates a gap in the historiography of Saudi state and the traveller writings. This research, thus, has attempted to address this gap and provide a succinct as well as detailed analysis of the social, economic and political conditions of Al Qassim.

From the above discussion some writers made contributions to historical understand by considering the views of various travellers to the Arabian Peninsula. Others focused only on the life of one traveller in order to explore the travels of that particular traveller. In 1982, H.V.F Winston⁷¹ discussed Leachman's whole life including his all journeys however he did not provide any information about Al-Qassim. Bray⁷² also wrote about the whole life of Leachman and he explored Leachman's travels to Arabia, Kashmir, north of Iraq, and Kurdistan. However, Bray just explored Leachman's overall life and his approach was, therefore, slightly similar to Winston. The value of Bray's writing is, however, very high because he was a close friend of Leachman which increases the credibility of his writing. Bray mentioned Leachman travels to Al Qassim, but he did not provide any information of Leachman writing about Al Qassim because Bray focused more on the geographical details of his travels. Similarly, Winston⁷³ wrote a book on Shakespeare's life, in which he discussed all of Shakespeare's travels including his visit to Al Qassim. However, he did not analyse Shakespeare's views of these trips. Nonetheless, it is a highly valuable book as Shakespeare wrote nothing about the social, economic and cultural dimensions of the areas that he visited

70 P.Satia, *Spies in Arabia: The Great War and the Cultural Foundations of Britain's Covert Empire in the Middle East* (Oxford: University Press, 2008).

71 H.V.F. Winstone, *Leachman: OC Desert* (London, 1982), pp.81-96.

72 N.N.E. Bray, *A Palandin of Arabia*, (London, 1936), pp.33-56

73 H.V.F. Winstone .*Captain Shakespear A Portrait*, pp.

during his journeys. In contrast, Mea Allan⁷⁴ provided a detailed study of Palgrave's life and wrote that he was a man who confused many people. His knowledge was never used properly by others. To them, Palgrave sent many reports that were marvels of prophecy and observation but were completely shelved unheeded. He was recognized as the Arabian traveller. He crossed the dessert from Muscat to Ma'an and the perfection of his disguise brought him deserved fame. He also visited Al Qassim and wrote many valuable political and social documents which are strongly considered in this thesis.⁷⁵ The political and socioeconomic realities of Al Qassim can be found in his writing, but these aspects are completely ignored by Mea Allan and others.

Doughty was another traveller who visited Al Qassim and recorded a number of observations about its people, and their social, economic and political situation. In 1999, Taylor comprehensively described the early life of Doughty. However, he also discussed all the journeys made by Doughty both inside and beyond the Arabian Peninsula but did not analyse the travelling experience of Doughty by comparing it with the experiences of the other travellers. This was because Taylor only wrote a descriptive study of Doughty's entire life. In his entire discussion Taylor included not a single piece of information about Al Qassim. Elizabeth Monroe⁷⁶ discussed the whole life of Philby in her book. Elizabeth Monroe also described Philby's conversations about Islam as well as his living place in Arabia however she also mentioned nothing about Al Qassim. In *Exploration in Doughty's Arabia Deserta*, Stephen E. Tabachinck⁷⁷ described all Doughty's travels from various perspectives include archaeological, and geographical. He also discussed Doughty's relations with the Arabs and Doughty's work as a geologist. However, he also provided no information about Al Qassim. Tabachinck focused on Doughty's overall contribution from a variety of perspectives but he did not cover Doughty's social, economic and cultural writing about the Arabian Peninsula in general, and Al Qassim in particular.

For a long time, the literature of the Western Travellers remained an important source of valuable information about the Arabian Peninsula for scholars. This literature is still systematically and comprehensively studied by modern scholars nowadays. In 2016, Benjamin Reilly⁷⁸ collected the data on nationality, travelled routes and inter-textual citations

74 M.A. Palgrave of Arabia: The life of William Gifford Palgrave. Macmillan (London, 1972)

75 Ibid., p. 59-60.

76 E.Monroe. Philby of Arabia (London, 1956),PP.56-71.

77 S.E. Tabachinck. Exploration in Doughty's Arabia Deserta (New York, 2012),pp.26-51.

78 B.Reilly, Arabian Travellers, 1800–1950: An Analytical Bibliography, British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, 43:1, (2016):

of the 91 authors who were active in the Arabian Peninsula between 1800 and 1950. This study provided quantitative verification of various existing theories about Western Travellers writing about the Arabian Peninsula. He also included Edward Said's statement that "orientalism" was primarily an Anglo-French project. In contrast, Reilly challenged some of the existing arguments related to the Western travellers and particularly Aline Huston's claim about the inherent non-reliability of such sources. Aline Huston believes that Benjamin is ignoring the value of British envoys historical contribution and the ignorance is based on the orientalism which is completely wrong.⁷⁹ My argument here is that we cannot blindly trust any historical data or information. Accordingly, through this study the researcher aims to analyse and compare the views of British travellers about Al Qassim with local sources. In so doing this research provides historical and rich information about the political, economic and social aspects of Al Qassim.

G. P. Badger⁸⁰, in his article, critically evaluated all the journeys that Palgrave made (both inside and outside of the Arabian Peninsula) from a geographical perspective. This article was published in proceedings of the "*Royal Geographical Society of London*" and was written a year after Palgrave's journeys. This article was a critical evaluation of the geographical information provided by Palgrave. However, this article did not provide any information about the political, economic and social aspects of any region. Likewise, Dr. Al-Askar⁸¹ wrote an article in which he gave a comprehensive introduction to Palgrave, his career and his family. Dr. Al-Askar also described his views about Palgrave's journeys and the secrets behind his mistakes and why few researchers had criticized and questioned his entrance into the Arabian Peninsula. In his article, Al-Askar divided the overall journey of Palgrave into two parts. The first part covered the journey of Palgrave from Jordan to Hail. In this part, the writer focused on including clear and minute information. In the second part, the journey of Palgrave from Hail to Al Qassim, Riyadh, and Persian Gulf was covered. The writer clearly explained that information which was wrong and there was much overlap about that part of journey. I believe that the historical information and data need to critically justified through adopting an appropriate approach or theory to contribute knowledge through justified historical realities and truths on the topic. However, he discussed nothing about what Palgrave had written about Al Qassim but there is much value to what Palgrave had

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 88-89

⁸⁰ G. P. Badger, Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London, Vol. 8, No. 3 (1863 - 1864), pp.97-103. Published by: Wiley on behalf of The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers) Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1798833>.

⁸¹ A. Al-Askar. Rihlat Palgrave Mu'arrabah (Arabization of Palgrave's journey) [In Arabic] Riyadh Newspaper, 5 June 2002.

written on different parts of Al Qassim's history and I believe, therefore that there is need to study the primary sources and that there is additionally much justification to using multiple sources. The Al-Askar article just covered the information of the traveller and journey in general terms. However, akin to the aforementioned writers, these writers did not offer any comprehensive details of life in Al Qassim. Most of the writers were either focused on writing the overall experiences of the travellers and their social information or providing a critique of the travellers' approaches. A number of these writers wrote about the travellers who visited Al Qassim and stayed there for a while, for instance Palgrave and Doughty, however, the writers did not elaborate on how these travellers described the region and its people or their personal experiences.

One such local source of great value is Dr. Alsunaydi's⁸² article about Palgrave. Alsunaydi in his article discussed the goals of the journey that Palgrave wrote in the introductory part of his published Artical. Alsunaydi also highlighted the part of Palgrave's writing about Al Qassim. This is discussed latter on in this study. The purpose of this article was neither to make any comparison nor to undertake any analysis. Alsunaydi corrected certain false information and added a few comments without analysing the various factors influencing Palgrave and how these also made him to write in a particular way. Moreover, Alsunaydi also briefly described those who had commended Palgrave and who had identified his mistakes. Additionally, he used only Arabized and Arabic sources in his article. Finally, Alsunaydi concluded that Palgrave included much new information in his writings from different perspectives. Some of this information was a clear contradiction of the local sources. Moreover, Alsunaydi did not include all the topics in his article that were discussed by Palgrave. In contrast, this study undertakes a deep analysis of the motives and goals behind Palgrave's journey and also analyses the writings of Palgrave about Al Qassim through making comparisons between them and the local sources. As a result, it makes a unique contribution in explaining the various factors that influenced his writings (both negatively and positively).

Ahlam Abuqayed,⁸³ another local source, supported the arguments of Alsayegh,⁸⁴ Almutawa and Alfares.⁸⁵ Namely, that the researchers usually go to foreign writings due to the rarity of

82 S. Alsunaydi. Al Qassim fi rihlat Palgrave (Al Qassim through Palgrave journey 1862) [In Arabic] (Saudi history society: The Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Saudi Historical Society, Held in Al Qassim Region (Al Qassim University, 2009), pp. 468-470.

83 A. Abuqayed. The First Saudi State as Seen in the Writings of British Travellers and Orientalists from 1744-1818. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Mecca: (Umm al-Qura University, 2010).

local sources. Javadi⁸⁶ also believed that foreign sources included what local sources are lacking in. Ahlam Abuqayed affirmed what most of others referred as arrogance, conspiracy and racism against the East in the European writings, particularly the attempts made to distort Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab's efforts. Moreover, Abuqayed confirmed that the objectives and motivations of these travellers were merely political- particularly those who successfully reached the centre of the Arabian Peninsula between 1744 and 1818; the period of the 1st Saudi State. Alshaibani⁸⁷ strongly believed the non-absolute truthfulness of local sources because many among them lacked scientific honesty and accuracy. Ahlam Abuqayed also believed that the major objectives of travellers were religious, colonial and political but my argument is that we cannot blindly ignore any source of historical data. Moreover, Alfares⁸⁸ highlighted that major of the objectives of the travellers who visited the Arabian Peninsula during eighteenth century were to distort Wahhab's efforts and fight against the 1st Saudi state. Overall, Alfares, Alshaibani and Afonso are agreed on the superiority element of the European travellers' views towards the Arabian people. This is a real gap in Arabian history which is why this study uses local source data to justify the realities and knowledge on selected elements of Al Qassim through comparisons with the local sources. Similarly, Heila Albleehi⁸⁹ conducted a thesis and focused much on the motives and objectives of the Western travellers' who visited the Arabian Peninsula during the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. Albleehi also supported the argument of Abuqayed and believed that major objectives of these travellers were military and colonial. She also believed that the present Western colonization of Arab and East world is the result of the visits of these travellers to these countries. Therefore, some of the writings could not be blindly used as a source of social, cultural and economic information of any region which is why the present researcher has used local sources; to provide real and rich historical knowledge about Al Qassim with regard to selected historical elements.

This, however, does not in any way imply that the travel accounts of the Europeans directly brought upon colonization or imperialism in the early modern period. Nevertheless, such an

84 F. A. Alsayegh. *The Trucial Coast in the Missionaries' Writings*. O. A. Bhati. Editor. *The Writings of Travellers and Envoys to the Arabian Gulf through History*; Juma Al Majid Center for culture & heritage, (Dubai, 1996), pp.295-323.

85 A. E. Alfares, *Western Travellers to the Arabian Peninsula: Their Aims and Objectives*. *Journeys to the Arabian Peninsula* (1997), pp.21-42.

86 M. Javadi. *Iran Under Western Eyes a Literary Appreciation of Travel books on Iran from 1940-1960*.

Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, (1984), pp.18-75

87 M.A. Alshaibani *The Objective of Western Travellers in the Arabian peninsula*, *Journey to the Arabian peninsula* (2002). 515-549.

88 A. E. Alfares, *Western Travellers to the Arabian Peninsula: Their Aims and Objectives*. *Journeys to the Arabian Peninsula* (1997), pp.21-42.

encounter between West and East did induce certain oriental clichés and stereotypes which later, during the colonial period, became significant. This is consistent with the travel accounts and the views dominant in the works of Palgrave, Doughty, Burton, Kinglake and others who argued that the superior races (i.e. Europeans and Western civilizations) had a right to civilise inferior races such as the Arabs. The study undertakes an analysis of British travellers specifically because of the distinctive incentives and motivations that shaped their travels. These are different from those of Russian imperialism in the 19th century, as the purpose of Russia was to champion a policy of annexing lands only and mother Russia did not have any colonies overseas.⁹⁰ This has been identified as the reason why similar images were resonated by the eighteenth and nineteenth century writers. These were images that were presented by pre-colonial travellers from Europe in the beginning.⁹¹ Undoubtedly, it has been conceded that such accounts are very complicated. However, it is undeniable that such ‘competing discourses’ induced a ‘discursive framework’ which is specifically acquiescent to the later use of colonialism. This is evident from the extraordinary number of European travellers who undertook travels to Arab from the mid to late nineteenth century into the early twentieth century.

There is one valid question which I would like to answer and that is why I am including all European travellers and envoys in this study. The first reason is that this study scope is limited to the British travellers’ and envoys; historical data. As Shaz⁹² argued that with expansion of Empire and with growth of the British naval power, Arabian knowledge became a crucial necessity to bring the justified historical truths and realities. It was a remarkably important development on the world scene because it added new dimensions to British-Arab relationships. Now, British travellers who visit Arabia view it as the land of an antique civilization with no mark left on it by time. It is also viewed as an area that is inhabited by less civilized persons and a less developed race; one that should be civilized and enlightened. One more belief grew that is in keeping with this grand concept of an individual Englishman’s burden; that is that western people knew much about the East compared to what Eastern inhabitants themselves and Western authors think about themselves as the sole torch bearers of civilization and knowledge. Indeed, British travellers used to quote the accounts of each other in order to support their own arguments. This also made them appear authentic and objective while the truth is that there were significant contradictions and

⁹⁰ Janet Akehurst, *Imperialism and Colonialism, 1870-1914* [Online]

⁹¹ P. Chatterjee. *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. (Princeton, 1993), pp.31-61.

⁹² R.Shaz. *In pursuit of Arabia*” Milli Publications (New Delhi, 2003), pp.33-61.

confusions in the writing that was presented by the European writers.⁹³ As discussed above, many of the British travellers who visited Arabia during the 19th and early 20th century visited Al Qassim as well and their intentions and motives for travel is the major focus of this study.

1.3 CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

This section looks at summary of above historiography section how historians have approached the topic. Cooper categorised the travellers into categories of adventurers, soldiers, and agents.⁹⁴ In lieu of Alfares' views, Cooper's categorisation of travellers becomes relevant, i.e. the travellers who were reported to enter Arabia as the military personnel of a country known as soldiers, in addition to the travellers who covertly travelled as government spies with political motives and are known as political agents or envoys. Cooper's research postulates the suggestion that even romantic travellers belonged to dubious backgrounds before they moved to the Middle East. In fact, there is proof that supports the supposition that some of these travellers were in the field to promote political ideals. For instance, Cooper points towards Ali Bey who was a Spaniard who studied Arabic,⁹⁵ and the evidence suggests that this Spaniard was employed by Napoleon. Many other travellers with dubious backgrounds are referred to in Cooper's research, suggesting that Edward Said's view in *Imperialism and Culture* with respect to the motives of travellers as political envoys, holds truth.⁹⁶ In his speculation of the motives of these dubious travellers, Cooper's views follow the same line of thinking as Jabr, who also believes that these travellers were not just there for travelling and writing.⁹⁷ He also believes that their motives were shaped by the fact that they were political envoys sponsored by institutions in the West.

With time, Fouad Shaaban stressed in *The Works of Travellers and Missionaries in the Arab World 1800-1915* that all the travellers to the Arab world had the objective of being missionaries and to save the people from God's wrath.⁹⁸ According to Shaaban their underlying aim was to free Jerusalem from the Muslims and convert them to Christianity. To

⁹³ Ibid., pp.9-11.

⁹⁴ L.D. Cooper, *Travellers' Accounts as a Source for the Study of Nineteenth Century Wahhabism* (Master's dissertation, University of Arizona, 1984), p. 20.

⁹⁵ Z. Freeth and H.V.F. Winstone, *Explorers of Arabia: From the Renaissance to the End of the Victorian Era* (London, 1978), p. 101.

⁹⁶ Cooper, *Travellers' Accounts*, p. 22.

⁹⁷ Y. A. Jabr. *The North of the Arabian Peninsula in the Travellers' Books*. Riyadh: Researches of the conference about Journeys to the Arabian Peninsula, King Abdul-Aziz (2000), pp. 287-320

⁹⁸ F. Shaaban, 'A *māl al-raḥqālah wa al-mubaṣrīn fī al-ʿālam al-ʿArabī* 1800-1915' (The Works of Travellers and Missionaries in the Arab World 1800-1915. Editor 'O. A. Baty. The Writings of Travellers and Envoys to the Arabian Gulf through History: Juma Al Majid Center for culture & heritage. (Dubai, 1996), pp. 217-249.

this end, Shaaban's view is in agreement with the ideology of Said and his followers that the travellers to Arabia were motivated by a desire to colonise the Arabian world or that they had travelled to the area for missionary purposes. Shaaban's assertion also agrees with that of Yapp,⁹⁹ Alfares¹⁰⁰ and Alshaibani¹⁰¹ in emphasising the fact that most of the writing was instilled with notions of racism and superiority, thereby holding and advancing the belief of 'white supremacy'. Husam Mahdi emphasises that Western travellers chose Arabia for their travels as they were motivated by military, economic, academic, and adventure-related purposes. Later, these motives were supported by Western interests in Arabian oil.¹⁰²

Although there is a burgeoning literature regarding imperial intelligence, there is very little said by historians about the British travellers who visited Al Qassim during the aforementioned time period. Excellent studies have been written by C.A. Bayly and Martin Thomas on imperial intelligence, however these predominantly deal with earlier and later periods in India and Palestine respectively.¹⁰³ The study by James Onley is concerned with the British political establishment focused on the Persian Gulf and is helpful to readers and academics alike in providing an understanding of the political channels that allowed the flow of intelligence, and the methods used to collect information. However, his focus is not on intelligence around Al Qassim and his works focuses on a different period.¹⁰⁴ Priya Satia's study, on the other hand, is primarily focused on the cultural assumptions that drove the collection of intelligence.¹⁰⁵ Although a great deal of work has been conducted on the intelligence history of the East and imperial intelligence during WWI, the pre-war period is dealt with in a meaningful way only by Satia. Therefore, the researcher aims to fill a gap in literature by providing a focused analysis of informal British travellers and political envoys

⁹⁹ M. E. Yapp, *Some European Travellers in the Middle East*, *Middle East Studies*. Vol.39, No.2 (2003), pp.211-227

¹⁰⁰ A. E. Alfares, *Western Travellers to the Arabian Peninsula: Their Aims and Objectives*. Journeys to the Arabian Peninsula (Kuwait, 1997), pp.21-42.

¹⁰¹ M. A. Alshaibani. *The Objective of Western Travellers in the Arabian peninsula*, Journey to the Arabian peninsula (2002), pp. 515-549.

¹⁰² H. Mahdi, *'tahlīl llmuṣālahah al-naftīyah wa A'māl al-rahḥālīn al-gharbīen* (An Analysis for the Oil Interests and the Works of Western Travellers) Editor .O. A. Baty. The Writings of Travellers and Envoys to the Arabian Gulf through History: Juma Al Majid Center for culture & heritage. (Dubai, 1996). pp. 325-349.

¹⁰³ M. Thomas, *Empires of Intelligence: Security Services and Colonial Disorder after 1914* (Berkeley, 2008); C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge, 1996). See, regarding intelligence and Indian revolutionaries, R. Popplewell, *Intelligence and Imperial Defence: British Intelligence and the Defence of the Indian Empire, 1904-1924* (London, 1995).

¹⁰⁴ J. Onley, *The Arabian Frontier of the British Raj: Merchants, Rulers and the British in the Nineteenth-Century Gulf* (Oxford, 2007).

¹⁰⁵ P. Satia, *Spies in Arabia: The Great War and the Cultural Foundations of Britain's Covert Empire in the Middle East* (Oxford, 2008).

and their intelligence activities in the parts of Najd, and more specifically Al Qassim during the period from 1862 – 1918.

By exploring the underpinnings of the British imperial intelligence conducted in the Arabian Peninsula, this study aims to achieve a synthesis between different aspects such as foreign policy, political, economic, social, and culture trends as well as issues of strategy which, hitherto, have most often not been dealt with except in isolation from one another. The primary contribution of this research to the furtherance of advanced academic knowledge is therefore to situate the intelligence activities and motivations of British travellers in the context of Al Qassim and its social, economic, and political conditions. The researcher establishes an association between the intelligence collected by informal travellers and political envoys and aims to establish the existence of a link between the local Arabic sources and Western works to provide an all-encompassing account of Al Qassim's social, political and economic conditions. In light of the aforementioned studies, a good deal is understood about the British agents' cultural interactions with the Arab world. However, what were the motivations of the informal and political travellers, and what elements were missed by the local sources and Western travellers? Addressing the aforementioned questions highlights the gaps in existent research created by the lack of comprehensiveness in the travel accounts of the Western and local sources alike, as each source addressed the subject of the writer's concern. In the context of Al Qassim in Arabia, a comprehensive understanding of the cultural underpinnings of British envoys and their motivations will aid subsequent researchers in understanding the knowledge sought by the British and their reasons for seeking such knowledge as well as the significance of Al Qassim in Arabia during the aforementioned time frame.

Despite uncertainty about the authenticity of the travel writings, they are still considered a significant source of history, particularly in the Arabian Peninsula. This is because few local sources from Arabia or the East in general have been found that address the social and economic aspects of the area. This has made Western views more powerful and it is these that have predominantly shaped the perspective of the rest of the world. Had local sources been available the Western view of the East might not have been accepted as the only true source. Post-colonial theories, and Said's orientalism and imperialism have resulted in bringing conflicting and powerful views to the foreground, in addition to the role of post-structuralism in promoting concepts such as nation, gender, and class. Nevertheless, such broad themes can

be confusing when applied to the Arabian Peninsula. Therefore, viewing the Arabian Peninsula separately through the travel writings of writers from the West will provide a more comprehensive study and enable a more nuanced understanding of all issues to be arrived at.

As it stands, the historiography of the region of Al Qassim has been neglected even though a number of Western travellers visited the region during the time period with which this study is based. The travelogues and works presented by the Western travellers, and in particular those from Britain – given the focus of this thesis, were based on their underlying motivations and focused on their interests, (personal and professional). Travellers such as Palgrave focused on presenting the social aspects of the Arabian people, whereas Doughty's motivations were more scientific in nature and hence provided a travel account which included substantial references to the geographic, archaeological and political aspects of the Arabian Peninsula. On the other hand, travellers such as R.A.E. Hamilton, a political envoy sent by the British military on a mission, recorded his daily ventures in Al Qassim but in so doing did not mention the social, economic, or agricultural aspects of the region as his motivations for writing were purely political. However, other political envoys such as Leachman and Shakespear were motivated by personal interests on top of their official motivations. In contrast, Philby's works were predominantly written after his resignation from office and were based on his personal interests which led to him making extensive contributions to the literature of the Arabian Peninsula. It can be said that there is a gap in existent research as the local resources of the area lean more towards covering political aspects, whereas the Western sources provide imperial-centric and motivation-based accounts of the region. At the same time, however, we cannot completely ignore their historical contribution just because of the base motivations behind their travel. This study aims to provide a comprehensive and all-encompassing account of Al Qassim by providing an analysis of the credible accounts contained within both the local and the Western sources.

Since Al Qassim is one of the crucial regions in the Arabian Peninsula due to its agricultural, political, and social position/richness/history, this region should be viewed from the perspective of Western travellers as well. It is imperative to determine whether the Western view holds any similarity to the views proffered in the local sources that emanated from the region, or whether there is any similarity between the Western views and those from other regions within the Arabian Peninsula. Al Qassim is also viewed as something it is not. The

author will compare the traveller writings and the local sources in order to accomplish the aforementioned objective and to find discrepancies, if any such discrepancies exist. The research also focuses on providing a critical analysis of the historical sources on Al Qassim with respect to its social, economic and administrative importance in the Arabian Peninsula. The objective of this is twofold; not only to find discrepancies in the Western view, but also to compensate for the negligence or missing information in the local sources. Furthermore, a refined historical study fulfils the needs of local and foreign readers and fills the gap that has been produced as a consequence of generations of persons (be they lay or professional historians or merely interested parties) relying solely on Western writings and the errors inherent therein.

As far as resources are concerned, the researcher utilised primary sources which were categorised into two categories: English and Arabic. The writings of a political envoy, Captain Leachman, were also highly useful. However, he had written reports rather than a diary during his stay in the area. Therefore, such reports were also examined by the researcher. These reports had been published in *Geographic Journal*.¹⁰⁶

One of the primary texts on the area is that of Bray.¹⁰⁷ It provides a comprehensive account of the life of Captain Leachman and the objectives of his stay in Al Qassim. The current research relies on this book as it provides a detailed account of the area from Bray's perspective when he was with Captain Leachman in Iraq. Captain William Shakespear also wrote about the area but in a terse manner. These writings are also included in the current research. The writings of Shakespear about his travels from the east to the west of the Arabian Peninsula are kept in the British Library on a microfilm that is difficult to read.

The book by Winstone also formed part of the literature that was reviewed for the current research.¹⁰⁸ In his book, Winstone gave an account of the travelling that had been done by Shakespear. It is argued that this book covered all the journeys undertaken by Shakespear. Colonel Hamilton also made journeys in the area and was the British Political Agent in Kuwait. The researcher observed that his work has long been forgotten. However, some of the information contained within it is available from online sources. The Colonel had written

¹⁰⁶ G.E. Leachman, 'A Journey in North-Eastern Arabia', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (1911), pp. 265-274; G.E. Leachman, 'A Journey through Central Arabia', *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 5 (1914), pp. 500-520.

¹⁰⁷ N.N.E. Bray, *A Paladin of Arabia: The Biography of Brevet Lieut. Colonel G.E. Leachman, C.I.E., D.S.O., of the Royal Sussex Regiment* (London, 1936).

¹⁰⁸ H.V.F. Winstone, *Captain Shakespear: A Portrait* (London, 1976).

short notes about his journeys in the Arabian Peninsula and these notes are together treated as a report.¹⁰⁹ The researcher relied upon these notes for studying the writings of Colonel Hamilton. His writings highlighted the state and nature of Al Qassim in the period with which this thesis is concerned. The correspondence made by Colonel Hamilton during his time as the political agent in Baghdad were also studied thoroughly by the researcher.

The researcher came across several resources with respect to Philby's account of the area. The main writing of Philby was his report to the British government during his first journey in 1917.¹¹⁰ The objectives of his journey and his mission were taken into account by the researcher by studying this report. Arguably the book which provides the most detailed information from local sources on the topic is *Heart of Arabia* written by Philby.¹¹¹ This book was written by him soon after he undertook his journey. He also wrote another book, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*,¹¹² which he wrote after he retired. His second book is of utmost importance as more than half of it gives accounts of Al Qassim; these accounts involved him studying the area from both social and economic aspects. Philby also wrote extensively which helps researchers when they are studying the local resources. His most famous book in this regard is *Saudi Arabia*.¹¹³ The author took into account the local sources when giving his accounts of the area. The researcher has been able to differentiate between the references to the local sources and the opinions of the writer. The book was of great assistance for analysing the political situation of the time. The autobiography of Philby, *Arabian Days, An Autobiography*,¹¹⁴ was also studied by the researcher for taking into account the objectives of his journey and his travels throughout the area.

In addition to the sources referred to above, other Western sources were also studied by the researcher. These included the works of: Charles Huber,¹¹⁵ Carlo Guarmani,¹¹⁶ and Barclay Raunkiær.¹¹⁷ These writings were read by the researcher so that he might find evidence

¹⁰⁹ Memorandum No. 91, Kuwait, dated 1 February 1918. *Miscellaneous reports and correspondence relating to Kuwait*. This memorandum is also included in a letter from the Political Agent in Kuwait to Sir Percy Cox, Civil Commissioner, dated on 1 February 1918, R/15/5/100.

¹¹⁰ Report on Najd Mission 1917-1918, IOR/R/15/1/747.

¹¹¹ H.St J.B. Philby, *The Heart of Arabia: A Record of Travel and Exploration* (London, 1922).

¹¹² H.St J.B. Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis* (London, 1928).

¹¹³ Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia*.

¹¹⁴ H.St J.B. Philby, *Arabian Days, An Autobiography* (London, 1948).

¹¹⁵ C. Huber, *Journey d'un voyage en Arabie (1883-1884) (A Journey to Arabia, 1883-1884)* [in French] (Paris, 1891; the edition used was translated into Arabic by Alisar Sad, Beirut, 2003).

¹¹⁶ C.C. Guarmani, *Northern Nejd: Journey from Jerusalem to Anaiza in Kasim* [in Italian] (Jerusalem, 1866; this edition translated by Lady Capel Cure, London, 1938).

¹¹⁷ A.C.B. Raunkiær, *Gennem Wahhabiternes land paa Kamelryg (Through Wahhabiland on Camelback)* [in Danish] (Copenhagen, 1913, this edition translated by G. De Gaury, London, 1969).

and/or opinion that would support certain ideas in the comparisons and analysis that are forwarded within this thesis. However, these sources were not relied upon by the researcher because the purpose of the current research is to study the area as it was at that time from the perspective of British travellers and to compare those perspectives and the information within the writings with those that are found within local sources. The book by J.G. Lorimer¹¹⁸ is also regarded as a comprehensive guide to the journeys of travellers taken in the Arabian Peninsula during the time studied in the current research. This book was consulted by the researcher for identifying and addressing the issues that are the focus of this research.

The second part of the literature studied for this research comprised Arabic texts. These were obtained from various libraries in Saudi Arabia. The most prominent amongst these include the King Abdul Aziz National Library and the King Fahd National Library in Riyadh. The two main sources were *Iqd Al-Durar*¹¹⁹ and *unwān al-majd fī tārīkh Najd*.¹²⁰ There are also books written by Arabian scholars such as Alzkir,¹²¹ Al-Bassam,¹²² Ibrahim bin Obaid,¹²³ Al-Ubayd,¹²⁴ and Al Qadhi.¹²⁵ These sources were the primary sources from which information was drawn and they are comparable with the descriptions given by the British travellers. These texts were written by the locals of Najd where they had spent most of their lives.

Histography has seen various historians produce work in a number of contrasting contexts. In 1976, Robin Bidwell¹²⁶ published *Travellers in Arabia*; a book about the experiences of various travellers. In 1978, Zahra Freeth and Victor Winstone¹²⁷ published a book that documented the journeys of various British travellers. Similarly, in 1892, Bayard Taylor¹²⁸ wrote a book about travellers in Arabia. Taylor discussed travellers who had visited Mecca, Yaman, Oman and some Arabian cities. *Myth* was written by Brent¹²⁹ in 1978. In Far Arabia, some of the most exciting journeys are described in the form of stories of creation but these

¹¹⁸ J.G. Lorimer, C.I.E., *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman and Central Arabia* (Calcutta, 1915).

¹¹⁹ I. Ibn EisāI, *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)* [in Arabic].

¹²⁰ O. Ibn Bisher. '*Unwān al- Majd fī Tārīkh Najd* [The symbol of glory in the history of Najd]. [in Arabic].

¹²¹ M. Alzkir, *al- 'uqūd al-durrīyah fī Tārīkh albilād al-Najdīyah* [in Arabic], manuscript.

¹²² M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fī akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al- 'Irāq (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq)* [in Arabic].

¹²³ I.bin Obaid, *Tadhkirat ūlī al-nuhā wa-al- 'irfān bi-ayyām Allāh al-Wāḥid al-Dayyān wa-dhikr ḥawādith al-zamān (Remind People of Intellect and Knowledge)* [in Arabic] (Riyadh, 2007)..

¹²⁴ M. Al-Ubayd, *Al-Najm Al-lam'a (The Illustrious Star)* [in Arabic] manuscript.

¹²⁵ I. Al Qadhi, *Tārīkh Al Qadhi (Al Qadhi's Memoirs)*, [in Arabic] manuscript.

¹²⁶ B.Robin. *Travellers in Arabia*. Hamlyn, (London, 1976),

¹²⁷ F.Zahra and V.Winstone. *Explorers of Arabia from Renaissance to the Victorian Era* (London, 1978)

¹²⁸ B.Taylor. *Travels in Arabia* (New York, 1982)

¹²⁹ B.Peter. *Far Arabia: Explorers of the myth* (Exter 1977).

are not covered in detail. J Pirenne¹³⁰ wrote a book that was later translated into Arabic. As with Brent and Bidwell, Pirenne wrote about the experiences of various Arabic travellers. In 1986, Richard Trench¹³¹ published *Arabian Travellers*. He comprehensively detailed the motivations of various travellers to the Arabian Peninsula. The transformation of Unayzah. was written by Soraya Altorki and Donald P. Col¹³² in 1989. As this study was based on empirical research, it explored numerous stereotypical views and misconceptions held about Arabian society and particularly about Najd. However, these all historian provided rich historical information about British traveller journeys in Arabia, and these sources also provide information about the major objective behind these journeys. However, none of them provide details about journeys to the Al Qassim area of Saudi Arabi. The primary sources and documents of British travellers must therefore be considered based on primary documents. To achieve this, the current research considers social economic and political information about Al Qassim written by British Travellers.

Historians who have documented the lives of British travellers include Elizabeth Monroe,¹³³ who described the life of Philby. Stephen E. Tabachinck¹³⁴ described all of Doughty's travels from various perspectives such as archaeology. G. P. Badger¹³⁵, in his article, critically evaluated all the journeys of Palgrave both inside and outside of the Arabian Peninsula from a geographical perspective. Dr. Al-Askar¹³⁶ gave a comprehensive introduction to Palgrave, discussing his career and his family. Additionally, the information cannot be accepted blindly because of the major British motivations and objectives behind the travellers. Therefore, this study incorporates local sources including contributions from Dr. Al-Askar who offered views about Palgrave's journeys and identified some of his mistakes. This study critically evaluates local sources of historical information in relation to British travellers' and envoys' historical information. The outcome of this study is significant because it identifies the motivations of these travellers and critically analyses historical data based on local sources. Furthermore, these local sources are useful to consider in critically evaluating the writings of British travellers and envoys.

¹³⁰ J. Pirenne. *À la découverte de l'Arabie* [Discovery of the Arabian Peninsula] [in Arabic] Trans. Qadri Qal'aji Beirut and al-Fakheriya, Riyadh: Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi (n.d.).

¹³¹ R. Trench, *Arabian Travellers*. Macmillan, (London, 1986), pp.141-211

¹³² S. Altorki and Donald P. Col, *Arabian Oasis City: The transformational of Unayzah*. First Edition. University of Texas Press, (USA, 1989), pp.98-115

¹³³ E. Monroe. *Philby of Arabia* (London, 1956), pp.5-21.

¹³⁴ S.E. Tabachinck. *Exploration in Doughty's Arabia Deserta* (USA, 2012), pp.5-23.

¹³⁵ G. P. Badger, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (1863 - 1864), pp.97-103. Published by: Wiley on behalf of The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers) Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1798833>.

¹³⁶ A. Al-Askar, *Rihlat Palgrave Mu'arrabah* (Arabization of Palgrave's journey) [In Arabic] Riyadh Newspaper.

Some local historians have written about British travellers. For example, Dr. Alsunaydi's¹³⁷ wrote an article about Palgrave and discussed the goals of Palgrave's journey. Alsunaydi also highlighted Palgrave's writing about Al Qassim. Ahlam Abuqayed,¹³⁸ another local source, supported the arguments of Alsayegh,¹³⁹ Almutawa and Alfares.¹⁴⁰ He suggested that researchers tend to focus on foreign writings due to the rarity of local sources. Javadi¹⁴¹ also believed that foreign sources reveal much about what local sources cannot. Ahlam Abuqayed affirmed what others refer to as arrogance, conspiracy and racism against the East in the European writings, particularly the attempts made to distort Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab's efforts. However, this type of local source follows the orientalist theory described by Said Edward. My argument here is that we cannot completely ignore the history of British travellers just as we cannot explore the selected topic from the point of view of British historical contributions based only on local sources. It is important to also take into account local Arab historical sources when considering British traveller writings.

A key source was also taken into account by the researcher, *Mu'jam bilād Al Qassim*.¹⁴² This text includes references to various Saudi scholars and includes information related to historical, geographical, and social aspects. These sources were all relied upon by the researcher for comparison and analysis purposes along with the works of the British travellers. This work will be discussed in further detail in the research methodology section of this thesis. As far as the libraries in Britain are concerned, the researcher mainly relied upon the British Library. Here, the researcher took into account the archives of the Indian Office and examined the following related files: I.O.R.15\5\2, I.O.R/R/15/1/480, R/15/5/25, R/15/1/504, R/15/1/479, L/P&S/10/259, L/P&S/7/248. These files gave accounts of the communications that took place between the British government and its political agent in Kuwait. The researcher discovered a wealth of information within these sources about the purpose of journeys undertaken by envoys to the Arabian Peninsula.

137 S. Alsunaydi. Al Qassim fi rihlat Palgrave (Al Qassim through Palgrave journey 1862) [In Arabic] (Saudi history society: The Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Saudi Historical Society, Held in Al Qassim Region (Al Qassim University, 2009), pp. 468-470.

138 A. Abuqayed. The First Saudi State as Seen in the Writings of British Travellers and Orientalists from 1744-1818. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Mecca: (Umm al-Qura University, 2010).

139 F. A. Alsayegh. The Trucial Coast in the Missionaries' Writings. O. A. Bhati. Editor. The Writings of Travellers and Envoys to the Arabian Gulf through History; Juma Al Majid Center for culture & heritage, (Dubai, 1996). pp. 295-323.

140 A. E. Alfares, Western Travellers to the Arabian Peninsula: Their Aims and Objectives. Journeys to the Arabian Peninsula (1997), pp. 21-42.

141 M. Javadi. Iran Under Western Eyes a Literary Appreciation of Travel books on Iran from 1940-1960.

Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, (1984), pp. 18-75

¹⁴² Al-Obodi, *Mu'jam bilād Al Qassim*.

The researcher was also able to study the most significant publication that exists with regard to this research, that is held by the British Library; the Arab Bulletins.¹⁴³ He found this in the International Archives. This report was published by the Arab Bureau of Cairo and provides significant information about the British missions in Arabian Peninsula particularly during the period of World War I. There were also other useful documents found in the same archive and these included, for instance, the letters exchanged between the Arab Bureau and Sharif Hussein and also the communications between the Arab Bureau of Cairo and the Bureaus of Bagdad and Aden. With the help of these texts it became possible for the researcher to come to a conclusion regarding the primary reasons that underlay the envoys' journeys to the Arabian Peninsula in general and Al Qassim in particular.

The researcher also took into account the following publication: *King Abd Al-Aziz Al Saud: His Life and Reign in Foreign Documents*.¹⁴⁴ This publication includes various foreign documents which relate to Saudi Arabia in the period between 1866 and 1953. The researcher was able to understand many other documents which he had obtained from British Library and from the International Archives in Britain. The researcher also visited the Middle East Centre Archive (MECA) at St Antony's College, Oxford. Here the researcher found letters and documents which are related to the envoys and travellers. The researcher also found various magazines and newspapers as well as notes written by many of the travellers. It became easier for the researcher to extract information for the purpose of the current research from all these sources and divide them into various chapters. The researcher also visited the archives of the Geographic Society where he found the original papers of Shakespear's travel. The photographs and maps drawn by British travellers were also found and recorded by the researcher.

This study achieves a synthesis between different aspects such as foreign policy, political, economic, social, and culture aspects as well as issues of strategy that are more often than not dealt with in isolation from one another. The primary contribution of this research is to situate the social, economic, and political of the British travellers and the motivations of the British travellers in the context of Al Qassim. The researcher establishes an association between

¹⁴³ It is one of the agencies which executed the policy of Great Britain in the Middle East during World War I. It was an independent office from the British High Commissioner which was based in Cairo. When a significant turn took place in the war, it was headed by the Head of Civil & Military Intelligence, General Gilbert. The office housed various experts on Middle Eastern affairs, including many travellers, political employees, and archaeologists. Since the job of the office was of high significance, it was in direct communication with Ministry of War, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

¹⁴⁴ King Abd Al-Aziz Al Saud: *His Life and Reign in Foreign Documents* [in Arabic] (Riyadh, 1999).

political objectives, and the motivations of the envoys and the travellers through revealing a critical justification of their political, economic and social history of Al Qassim. In light of the aforementioned studies, a good deal is understood within this study about the British agents' cultural interactions with the Arab world. However, what were the motivations of the informal and political travellers, and what elements were missed by the local sources and western travellers? Addressing the above-mentioned questions highlights the gaps in the research created by the lack of comprehensiveness in the travel accounts of the western and local sources alike, as each source addressed the concerns of the individual writer. In the context of Al Qassim in Arabia, a comprehensive understanding of the cultural underpinnings of British agents and their motivations will aid future generations of researchers to understand the knowledge sought by the British and their reasons behind visiting Al Qassim. The clarity achieved within this present study is critical to enhancing such future knowledge.

To conclude, travel writing has been transformed from its origins in the early modern period through the post-colonial era to the present day, with conflicting views; from Said's orientalism and imperialism, to its critique. These conclusions have been reached with little appreciation of the authenticity of the sources. The above discussion highlights that the authenticity of the travel writings is questionable, as the motivations of the writers varied. Said and his followers were particularly adamant about the doubtful motivations of the Western travellers. Their reflections and evidence suggest that at first the travellers appeared to be on their journeys to East as an adventure or as a means of escaping from the hardships of their own countries. Nevertheless, evidence was provided later by a number of sources which revealed that some of the notable travellers were motivated by not merely their possession of an adventurous spirit or by a desire to embrace solitude, but by the support of international sponsors as political envoys or by a thirst to explore the economics of the countries.

The time period selected for the description of the area is since 1862 when the first European traveller, Palgrave, arrived in the area. That time was politically sensitive. Chapter Three highlights the significant political incidents that took place at that time. The last official envoy to Al Qassim, Philby, arrived in 1918. At that time the establishment of the Saudi state had started to take place. The lack of historical documents on the topic is one of the most fundamental problems that researchers face. However, the current study is only covering the period between 1862 and 1918, and for this period there are official archives available. They

are not, however, abundant in scope or number. Further, the current study involves the travellers' writings. Another limitation faced when conducting this research was the availability of books in Arabic. It also took some time to receive the books ordered in the Saudi libraries. The library of the University of Manchester helped the researcher to finding authentic texts on the topic such as those by Doughty¹⁴⁵ and Palgrave.¹⁴⁶ The researcher also came across notes by Hamilton and Shakespear; but these were not sufficient. The situation became even more challenging when the researcher's supervisor, Dr Christian Koller, resigned after the researcher had completed over a year and a half of his study. Nevertheless, the researcher's new supervisor Dr. Mari Wiliam was of great assistance and equally kind to the researcher and following research aim and question are going to answer through this research.

1.4 THESIS AIMS

This thesis investigates the annals of Al Qassim with regard to the visits undertaken by British travellers and their intentions and compares these with an array of local sources found in Al Qassim pertaining to the period 1862-1918. This thesis contributes value-based knowledge to the existing history of Al Qassim by conducting a critical review of the British writings to unveil their real objectives. The following key research question underpins the thesis:

What role did the British travellers play in the history of Al Qassim in the period from 1862 to 1918 as described in their writings, and taking into account their real objectives?

To find an answer to this question, the following sub-questions are answered:

1. What was the core reason that British travellers and envoys travelled to Al Qassim?
2. In what ways are the writings and motivations of the British envoys different to those of informal travellers?
3. What were the social, economic and political information of Al Qassim recorded by the British travellers?

¹⁴⁵ C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (Cambridge, 1888).

¹⁴⁶ W.G. Palgrave, *Personal Narrative of a Year's Journey Through Central and Eastern Arabia* (London, 1865).

4. What value do the British writings carry compared to the writings undertaken by locals in Al Qassim?
5. What is the significance of the contribution made by the British travellers writing about Al Qassim?

1.5 METHODOLOGY

In ontology the nature of social reality is discussed with respect to any study that is being conducted from an ontological position.¹⁴⁷ It involves studying the type of things which exist, the situations underlying their existence and the relationship between such things.¹⁴⁸ There are two mutually exclusive and opposing categories in which ontological theories fall. These include realists and relativists.¹⁴⁹ It is believed by relativists that reality can be multiple in nature.¹⁵⁰ Further, they believe that it is dependent on the point of view of the observer to identify the realities of a chosen topic.¹⁵¹ In the current research I take an ontological relativist position as I believe that reality does not have singular existence having regard to history, economics, politics and social history. Each observer has a point of view of his own about a particular event. It is the belief of relativists that truth is multiple in nature and that the construction of facts is dependent on the point of view of the observer.¹⁵²

The reason behind not selecting ontological realism is that I believe that being a historian I should be open to the different points of views of different historians. Not everyone would find a reality to be of a similar nature. The historical knowledge and construction of facts by historians is based on their point of view. For example, different travellers travelling to the same city could have different views about the city depending on their personal experiences of the city. Their views are also likely to be shaped by the time they took their journey to a city. The same is true of those who visited Al Qassim. Therefore, different point of views is being observed by different observers depending on the time and situation in which they were travelling. Further, the personal point of view of the observer is highly influential in the construction of reality by him. For example, since I am from Al Qassim, my perception about

¹⁴⁷ J. Dillon and A. Wals, 'On the Danger of Blurring Methods, Methodologies and Ideologies in Environmental Education Research'. *Environmental Education Research*, Vol. 2, No. 3, (2006), pp. 549-558.

¹⁴⁸ N.W.H. Blaikie, *Designing Social Research: The Logic of Anticipation* (Cambridge, MA, 2000).

¹⁴⁹ V. Burr, *Social Constructionism* (London, 2003), p. 178.

¹⁵⁰ L. Dolling, 'Dialogue as Praxis: Philosophical Hermeneutics, Historical Epistemology, and Truth', in C.C. Gould (ed.), *Constructivism and Practice* (Lanham, MD, 2003), pp. 33-46).

¹⁵¹ L. Miller, J. Whalley and I. Stronach, 'From Structuralism to Poststructuralism', in B. Somekh and C. Lewin (eds), *Research Methods in the Social Sciences* (London, 2005), pp. 310-317.

¹⁵² Burr, *Social Constructionism*, p. 178.

situations and events taking place there would be different to those of a person who comes from outside. This is due to historical background, knowledge, culture and language related factors. Therefore, I believe there is a reason that individual motivations need be considered when it comes to assessing the writings of the British travellers because individual motivations for travel and pre-conceptions as well as the precise time that each journey was undertaken shaped the individual traveller's view of Al Qassim. Therefore, on the basis of the relativist ontological position that I have opted for, I will be able to bring up the realities from various sources, therefore, I am utilising different types of sources which include local sources i.e. those collected from Al Qassim, accounts of British travellers and that of the British envoys. This enables me to collect multiple realities on the given topic. From this a question arises as to how I will be able to produce knowledge from such realities. Therefore, there is a need for me to discuss the knowledge that can be conveyed in the context of epistemology.

The need to discuss epistemological relevance in the current study arises not only from the basis of the history of the sciences but also as a consequence of the basis of philosophical implications and assumptions about the sociology of knowledge. Further, it is not possible to disregard the epistemological social constructionist point of view and epistemological relativism. Here I would also like to bring in the view of Hacking who believed in defending each epistemological position.¹⁵³ Such work needs be considered to counterbalance the ever-increasing chorus of contemporary anti-relativistic philosophers such as Boghossian,¹⁵⁴ Blackburn,¹⁵⁵ Brown,¹⁵⁶ Nagel,¹⁵⁷ Siegel,¹⁵⁸ and Haack.¹⁵⁹ Moreover, Kukla¹⁶⁰ indicates that epistemology represents the theory of knowledge and that interpretivism and positivism are major sources of knowledge. Historians have largely conducted debates in the context of either positivism or interpretivism from an epistemological point of view.

In the current research I am adopting an epistemological interpretivism position for the purpose of the research because the interpretivist approach allows the researcher to act as the interpreter of the different factors of study. This means that interpretivism involves the

¹⁵³ I. Hacking, *Historical Ontology* (Cambridge, MA, 2004), pp. 178-199.

¹⁵⁴ P. Boghossian, *Fear of Knowledge: Against Relativism and Constructivism* (Oxford, 2006).

¹⁵⁵ S. Blackburn, *Truth: A Guide to the Perplexed* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 93-143.

¹⁵⁶ J.R. Brown, *The Rational and the Social* (London, 1989, this edition 2006), pp. 63-75.

¹⁵⁷ T. Nagel, *The last word* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 45-67.

¹⁵⁸ H. Siegel, *Relativism Refuted: A Critique of Contemporary Epistemological Relativism* (Dordrecht, 1987), pp. 125-173.

¹⁵⁹ S. Haack, *Manifesto of a Passionate Moderate: Unfashionable Essays* (Chicago, 1998).

¹⁶⁰ A. Kukla, *Social Constructivism and the Philosophy of Science* (London, 2000), pp. 92-145.

human factor in the study. Accordingly, it is assumed by interpretive researchers that reality can be accessed only through aspects of the social constructionist approach such as consciousness, language, instruments, and shared beliefs. I believe that history is also socially constructed because we get to know about history from different accounts of travellers and historians who interpreted the same events differently. Historians are always interpreting historical information and data and this providing rich knowledge. This is the reason that I am using the epistemological interpretivist approach because I am also adopting the position of interpreting historical data from a number of sources which includes local sources as well. These sources comprise British travellers, envoys as well as local sources from Al Qassim. The second reason behind utilising an interpretivist approach is that reality is perceived by this approach as based on the human understanding of events and the meaning that humans attach to events. This brings it in line with the relativist ontological position.

I have already justified my relativist ontological position above. It is also the case, however, that interpretivism will enable me to come up with various truths and realities from various sources. However, there is not a need to produce knowledge from such truths and realities. Rather, there is a need for justification of truths, realities and my beliefs. I stated earlier that the researcher does have an impact on research under the interpretivist approach as this approach enables the researcher to interpret the reality.

Therefore, I am adopting the coherentist theory of justification with respect to justifying truths, realities and beliefs. This is important as I am justifying the realities and truths of the British travellers and envoys with each other and when compared to local sources as well. I am also giving my personal point of view with regard to this as my interpretivist epistemological position enables me to interpret realities through the research process. This is also so because interpretivism is based on a subjective approach according to which people and knowledge cannot be separated from one another. The link between researcher (myself) and subject (research topic) is evident in the current research.

Qualitative research has the strength of providing complex textual descriptions about how a particular research issue is experienced by people. It generates information about the “human” aspect of the problem which often yields conflicting beliefs, behaviours, emotions, opinions, and relationships between individuals.¹⁶¹ There are also intangible behaviours which can be identified under qualitative methods such as socio-economic status, social

¹⁶¹ S. Gunn and L. Faire, *Research Methods for History* (Edinburgh, 2011), pp. 11-133.

norms, ethnicity, gender roles, and religion. The role they play may not be expressly evident in a research.¹⁶² Therefore, for the purpose of the current research qualitative methods were utilised as the investigation is about the motivation, reasons, and religious background of the British envoys and travellers who visited Al Qassim. Therefore, qualitative research is helpful because it enables the researcher to evaluate the points of view of different historical writers with respect to their ethnicity, motivation and religion. As has been discussed earlier, interpretivism research philosophy is being employed for the current research and these sit well with qualitative methods, as Blackburn pointed out.¹⁶³

Additionally, by undertaking the research questions there are reasons for adopting critical, descriptive and comparative qualitative methods of research. With the help of this I explored the background of the various British travellers and in so doing identified their intentions and motives for visiting the area.

Finally, vertical analysis enabled me to conduct a critical evaluation of the points of views of the British travellers as opposed to each other. This analysis was helpful in determining the significance of the British travellers to Al Qassim compared to the local sources. Since the first two research questions are answered through comparative and descriptive methods of qualitative research, these questions are aimed at identifying the reasons and motives of the British travellers and envoys in visiting the area. The third question attempts to unveil the true purpose behind their journeys to Al Qassim. This question is answered by relying on critical and descriptive methods of analysis. Furthermore, the fourth and fifth questions are answered by employing comparative qualitative analysis as different historical realities need be discussed in these questions. Therefore, comparative and critical analysis was helpful for answering these questions.

1.6 STRUCTURE OF THESIS

This thesis comprises of six chapters. This first chapter is an introductory chapter. It identifies the research problem, the aims of the research, and considers the background to the subject researched. It also provides the thesis statement and the methodological approaches adopted by the researcher.

¹⁶² B. Lee and C. Cassell, 'Research Methods and Research Practice: History, Themes and Topics', *International Journal of Management Reviews*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (2013), pp. 123-131.

¹⁶³ Blackburn, *Truth*.

Chapter Two addresses the motivations and writings of the British informal travellers to Al Qassim in the period from 1862 to 1878. The chapter focuses on those travellers who visited the Arabian Peninsula in their personal capacity and are referred to as informal travellers; as, for instance, represented by the works of William Palgrave and Charles Doughty. The main aim of this chapter is to show how these travellers viewed the Arabian Peninsula. This chapter argues that their personal ideologies limited their actual observations. It also demonstrates the psychological reactions and inner conflicts of Palgrave and Doughty to certain events and how a blurred image of the region was created in the British mind of the nineteenth century.

Chapter Three provides a critical analysis of the motivations behind the British envoys and how this underpinned their writing from 1912 to 1918. This chapter identifies the impacts of their major political objective to serve the British empire and their contribution to Al Qassim because the overall discussion in this chapter critically evaluates the local sources and the writings of the British informal travellers.

Chapter Four provides a critical comparison and analysis of the three British travellers, Doughty, Palgrave and Philby, with the local sources. Through so doing the researcher aims to bridge the gap in the existing historiography of Al Qassim during the period 1862-1918. Chapter Five provides an analysis of the significant administrative and security aspects that existed in Al Qassim by reviewing the British traveller sources and comparing them with the local sources. This chapter provides an in-depth review of the information provided by Doughty, his motivations, attitudes and his selection of words to describe the rulers and people of Al Qassim, including the tribesmen. Philby is another significant source regarding some of the issues and, as a result, his writings will be highlighted and compared with those of Doughty.

Chapter 5 highlights the administrative and security aspects of Al Qassim by making comparison between the local sources and British travellers' writings. This chapter focuses primarily on Doughty as the period under discussion was covered by him most comprehensively. Moreover, since Philby was another traveller who wrote about that period this chapter makes comparisons between the writings of Philby, Doughty and that of local sources. Therefore, interpretivism approach and descriptive qualitative data analysis was conducted to determine the attitude of individual writers and whether their writings showed bias against Arabs.

Chapter 6 offers a comprehensive view of the information provided by British travellers by conducting a descriptive, critical and comparative analysis in detail. This chapter contributes to the existing historiography with reference to the orientalist view of western people about Arabs. It also provides supporting deduction that even though certain travellers were operating under their oriental or political motivations, others offered a more comprehensive description of the region and its people. This chapter offers evidence supporting the inference that some British travellers depicted Arabs according to their own orientalist and imperialist ideologies.

Chapter Seven is the conclusion. It answers the research question, provides a summary of the findings of the study, and notes a series of research limitations.



Map 1: Saudi Arabi geographical map



Map 2: Saudi Arabia major regions and Al Qassim is shown as number 5 region.

CHAPTER 2: THE MOTIVATIONS AND WRITINGS OF THE BRITISH INFORMAL TRAVELLERS

This chapter focuses on the motivations and writings of the British informal travellers i.e. those British voyagers who travelled to Al Qassim in the period from 1862 to 1878. The focus of this chapter is on these travellers who visited the Arabian Peninsula in their personal capacity and they are referred to as informal travellers, as represented in the works of William Palgrave and Charles Doughty. Although they wrote a number of books, the primary focus in this chapter is on Palgrave's *Personal Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia* and *Travels in Arabia Deserta* by Charles Doughty. These books have been chosen because they are those in which the writers have specifically covered travel accounts to Al Qassim. My aim within this chapter is to provide a critical analysis of these writings related to both their scientific value, and the underlying motivations which influenced their accounts. I am doing this because I have, as noted in Chapter One, applied a relativist ontological position to this research and, therefore, it is important for me to identify the motivations behind the actions of observers. The truths and realities are justified through utilising the theory of coherentism.

The main aim of this chapter is to show how these travellers viewed the Arabian Peninsula by means of their own ideological standpoints and to determine whether it was the 'reality' of the Orient or whether their ideologies were tainted by the influences of European empires and racial superiority. I believe that there are different realities and that realities are based on observers' own points of view. This chapter argues that the individual ideologies of the writers limited their actual observations and, in turn, assess the extent to which this marries with the interpretivist philosophy which is implicit within this research. The chapter also demonstrates the psychological reactions and inner conflicts of Palgrave and Doughty to certain events and how a blurred image of the region was created in the British mind of the nineteenth century, as well as how their travel accounts added significant knowledge about Arabia to European audiences.

2.1 WILLIAM PALGRAVE AND HIS JOURNEY TO THE ARABIAN PENINSULA (1862-1863) AS RELATED THROUGH HIS BOOK *PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF A YEAR'S JOURNEY THROUGH CENTRAL AND EASTERN ARABIA*

A descendant of a well-established British family, William Palgrave (1826-1888) showed interest in literature and writing from an early age because of his family background.¹⁶⁴ After graduating from the Oxford University as a Literature Humanities graduate in 1846, Palgrave

¹⁶⁴ His father, Francis Palgrave, was one of the founders of the Public Record Office; his brother, Frank Palgrave, was a poetry professor at Oxford University and the author of the popular book *The Golden Treasury of English Songs and Lyrics*; he had two other brothers, Reggie Palgrave, an editor at the House of Commons, and Inglis Palgrave, head editor at the *Economist*. R. Bidwell, *Travellers in Arabia* (Reading, 1976).

joined the British army in India.¹⁶⁵ In 1848 Palgrave had his first encounter with the Arab world passing through Egypt on his way to India where he resided for a year and then joined the Jesuit society after abandoning the army.¹⁶⁶ Until 1853, he remained in a monastery, after which he was sent to Beirut (Lebanon) as part of a missionary group and, during this period, he became fluent in Arabic. At that time, a civil war had broken out between Druze, Christians, and Muslims in Lebanon, and in 1860, Palgrave survived a massacre committed against the Christians by the Druze.¹⁶⁷ Concurrently, Palgrave was requested by Rome's Jesuit society to report on the events and help them collect funds for Eastern Christians.¹⁶⁸ The author highlights that this was the first milestone for Palgrave that paved the way to his establishing contacts with Napoleon III and the Pope, as both were eager to help the Eastern Christians.

Due to their underlying mutual interests in Arabia and Middle East, Palgrave and Napoleon III found common ground between them; Palgrave was hoping for Napoleon III's support for the Christians whereas Napoleon considered himself to be a defender of Eastern Christians. Napoleon III had the vision of establishing two Arab empires; one to the east and the other to the west of Suez with both under the French control.¹⁶⁹ Palgrave suggested to Napoleon that he should include the northern region of the Arabian Peninsula in his plans because of their receptiveness of the French.¹⁷⁰ This suggests that the motivation of Palgrave's travels to Arabia was to collect information for Napoleon III as Palgrave was his secret emissary and was determined to spy on the hitherto uncharted territories of eastern and central Arabia.¹⁷¹ He was granted approval for the mission, given his fluency in Arabic and his knowledge of region.¹⁷² *Personal Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia* was written by Palgrave in which he documented the details of his travels to the destination.

The motivations of William Palgrave in travelling to the Arabian Peninsula are considered contradictory and have been criticised by writers and historians; these views are discussed in this chapter. The idea of there being a contradiction stemmed from the idealistic description of Palgrave's motivations which he himself stated in his book:

¹⁶⁵ M. Allan, *Palgrave of Arabia: The Life of William Gifford Palgrave: 1826-1888* (London, 1972).

¹²¹ P. Shore, 'Contact, Confrontation, Accommodation: Jesuits and Islam, 1540-1770', *Al-Qantara*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (2015), pp. 429-441.

¹⁶⁷ G. Nash, *Travellers to the Middle East from Burckhardt to Thesiger: An Anthology* (London, 2009), p. 65.

¹⁶⁸ Bidwell, *Travellers in Arabia*, p. 74; Allan, *Palgrave of Arabia*, pp. 139-149; Middle East Centre Archive (MECA), St Antony's College, Oxford, William Palgrave, GB 165- 0225,1/2; 'Another Return from Rome', *Dublin Evening Mail*, 17 June 1865; 'Remarkable Secession from the Romish Church', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 16 June 1865.

¹⁶⁹ L.D. Cooper, *Travellers' Accounts as a Source for the Study of Nineteenth Century Wahhabism* (Master's dissertation, University of Arizona, 1984), p. 25.

¹⁷⁰ B. Peter, *Far Arabia: Explorers of the Myth* (London, 1977), p. 123.

¹⁷¹ G. Nash, *From Empire to Orient: Travellers to the Middle East, 1830-1926* (London, 2005), p. 66.

¹⁷² Allan, *Palgrave of Arabia*, p. 149.

The hope of doing something towards the permanent social good of these wide regions; the desire of bringing the stagnant waters of Eastern life into contact with the quickening stream of European progress...; these were the principal motives. The author may add that at the time of the undertaking he was in connection with the Order of the Jesuits, an Order well known in the annals of philanthropic daring; he has also gratefully to acknowledge that the necessary funds were furnished by the liberality of the present Emperor of the French.¹⁷³

The principal factors behind the travel of Palgrave included politics and religion and he went under disguise as an agent or a missionary of imperial France. Palgrave's text highlights two key objectives for his journey; to focus on the men of land, and the intellectual, religious, political and moral conditions of Arabia.¹⁷⁴ Examining the quote above, it can be suggested that it points to cross-cultural encounters. Nevertheless, the author reveals that there was a hint of imperial superiority in Palgrave's use of the term 'stagnant' for describing the Eastern life in comparison to the progress of Europe. As missionary zeal had sent the Victorians across the world, religion was a necessary component in the proceedings of explorations.¹⁷⁵ A significant part was played by the perennial tradition of missionary work and this was an efficient component in the history of exploration and travelling. The interest of Victorians in the Arab World was in no small measure inspired and influenced by religious interests as well as the missionary societies in the Holy Land. With the motivation of reaching the Muslims of the region, the contemporary movement of protestant missionaries started earlier than the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁶ Sent to Jesuit residence in 1857, Palgrave started his missionary activities and commenced his journey to eastern and central Arabia in the year 1862-1863. One of his main motivations, the author maintains, was to ascertain the extent to which missionary enterprises was likely to success among the pure Arabs. Palgrave, along with other travellers such as Doughty, Oliphant, Palmer and Warburton, are recognised as the writers who provided the necessary information to Britain about Islam and Arabs.¹⁷⁷ In addition, and in keeping Napoleon III's and Palgrave's mutual interests in view, it can also be suggested – given the analysis of the quote above, that there was potential evidence of imperialist and religious motivations behind Palgrave's journey.

Ideas which, I regret to say, appear to me often distorted and exaggerated, prevail in the West regarding our Eastern fellow-men; ideas due in part to the defective observation, perhaps the prejudices, of travellers, too preoccupied by their own thought and fancies to appreciate or even understand the phrases of mind and manners among the nations other than their own; while at times an enthusiastic imagination has thrown a prismatic colouring over the faded East. My

¹⁷³ W.G. Palgrave, *Personal Narrative of a Year's Journey Through Central and Eastern Arabia* (London, 1865), pp. vi-vii.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. vi.

¹⁷⁵ Sometimes the missionaries contributed practically to discoveries in geography: Rebman – the German missionary – discovered, in 1848, the Kilimanjaro snow-covered mountain in East Africa, and Mount Kenya was seen by Krapf in the following year. It is noteworthy that, as a motivation for exploration and travelling, religion can be tracked from Marco Polo's time, who set out to travel and was supported by the Pope to elaborate upon the doctrine of Christians to Cathay's emperor.

¹⁷⁶ M. Al-Taha, *The Orient and Three Victorian Travellers: Kinglake, Burton and Palgrave* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester, 1989), p. 31.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

principal object and endeavour in this work has been, accordingly, to give a totally correct notion of the Arab race, of their condition, intellectual and political, social and religious; such at least as it appeared to me.¹⁷⁸

The above quote, however, as the author analyses, suggests a different interpretation as to Palgrave's motivations for he claimed to be providing a 'real' account of the Arab race and their living conditions. The author believes that within the context of William Palgrave's mission, the European imperial interest emerged, as he was a part of a missionary team from the Jesuits and he had been sent on an explicitly political mission as mentioned above. From his works, it is evident that Palgrave was not interested to retired from the ideology of Europe, but instead surrendered to it in his account of the Muslim Arab world's social realities. Therefore, Palgrave's "correct notion of the Arab race"¹⁷⁹ was accurate only in as much as could be allowed by the missionary enterprise services and the political interests of European imperialists in Arabia.

Hogarth¹⁸⁰ determines that the European explorers' role in Arab-world was recent and consisted of a few representatives of particular classifications of pioneers that brought the darkest places of earth into light. Hogarth pointed towards the existence of three categories: the trader, the Christian missionary, and the soldier adventurer. In the second category, Hogarth found that after Palgrave no other traveller appeared to travel either covertly or ostensibly for an unpretentious religious reason. In the third category, Italian and French officers were places, attached to the armies of Egypt from 1812-40. Hogarth also referred to Palgrave, (and in contrast to Guarmani and Wallin), in a context of political spies and holders of huge commissions.¹⁸¹ A similar conclusion was noted in the works of Trench in which it was confirmed that Palgrave's journey was motivated by political objectives.¹⁸²

Palgrave, a Victorian and oriental traveller, is often associated with other Victorian travellers such as Kinglake and Burton, disclosed more of nineteenth century dealing of oriental instead of the economic 'reality' of the region Literary works were generated by these travellers who focused on the orient by them expressing less of their actual observations and more of their world-view or ideology. This finding is sustained by Goldmann's view, who expresses the opinion that an author's work reflects the ideology of his social group instead of pure reality.¹⁸³ The author analyses that the perspective of Lucien Goldmann holds significant value when considering the motivations of Palgrave, as he too belonged to the era of European travellers who possessed an ideology of superiority, which he refers to as a 'world-view'.

¹⁷⁸ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, p. vii.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

¹⁸⁰ The acting director of the Arab Bureau in Cairo.

¹⁸¹ D.G. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia: A Record of the Development of Western Knowledge Concerning the Arabian Peninsula* (New York, 1904), pp. 5-6.

¹⁸² R. Trench, *Arabian Travellers: The European Discovery of Arabia* (Salem, MA, 1986), pp. 25-89.

¹⁸³ Al-Taha, *The Orient and Three Victorian Travellers*, p. 2.

Therefore, following the reasoning of Goldmann, the author believes that Palgrave did not create the mental categories of a world vision of Arab, rather, it was the optimum coherence of his social group's collective thought that he brought forward, i.e. European ideology, and this was, as a result, reflected in his work.

Unlike the Orientalist travellers and scholars of the eighteenth century, whose main motivations for travelling to the Orient were nationalism and academia, (and through which they provided an attractive portrayal of the Arabs), the influence under which Victorians gave their accounts was that of Christianity and the missionary ventures they undertook, as well as the influence of Empire, and aspects of advanced science with novel theories. It was here, and due to the concept of Empire, that Said's arguments emerged about writings on the Orient and orientalism in the nineteenth century; he argued that the writings were influenced by imperialism. It is, hence, interesting to analyse the objectives and motivations of Palgrave through the lens of Edward Said's work on imperialism and orientalism.

Assuming the late eighteenth century as being roughly the period of the initiation of modern orientalism, (and specifically around the time that Napoleon prepared an expedition to the Egyptian lands), it was argued by Said that in the Western world, orientalism became more than just an area of study, instead it became a corporate institution to treat the Orient, consisting of certain texts, relationships, structures, generalisations, the whole making up a discourse, through which the West perceived the orient and the Orientals.¹⁸⁴ It is noteworthy that in recognising the potential benefits of sending Palgrave, an orientalist on travels to Arabia, the mission was a classic example of writings being subjected to imperialism from the very start, and later to "utopianism, racism, Marxism, positivism, Darwinism, Spenglerism, Freudianism, [and] historicism".¹⁸⁵ Thus, orientalism was used by Napoleon III as a tool to plan and implement policies in the East by means of Palgrave's secret mission to collect information on the men of the land, instead of the land itself. The author observes that Palgrave's motivations and his relationship with Napoleon III were an exact reflection of what Said defined as imperialism ideology. This is because the relationship observed between imperialism and orientalism was the key factor that made a majority of European orientalist travellers perceive the Orient as a colony of Europe. Consequently, the travellers found their observations to be limited to those elements of Eastern life that could be placed under the service of imperialism.¹⁸⁶

In lieu of the anti-Western critique of imperialism developed by Said, Palgrave's imperialism is found to be more practical in that the ideas of Arabian nationalism were exported to separate the Turks from the Arabs as an initial step of securing the imperial motivations of

¹⁸⁴ E.W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978; this edition: London, 1985), p. 3.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Europe. No analysis of the motivations of the British travellers, whether informal or in the form of political envoys, can be deemed significant without referring to West-East relationships, and, in turn, imperialism. Much of the travel writings of Palgrave and other Victorian as well as oriental writers reflect an imbalance of power which can only be understood by understanding imperialism not only in a social, political, and economic context, but also in terms of power imbalances.¹⁸⁷ From Palgrave's work and travels, it is evident that one of the most significant factors in the predominant European ideology was how European travellers' narratives were given legitimacy over those from the East. The author reflects that since the West possessed more power, the knowledge imparted by the European travellers was viewed as having greater authority compared to that of the powerless, and this is how the universalised images were created about the powerless and powerful. This type of exercise of power was identified by Edward Said in his book '*orientalism*' in the context of imperialism, the approach that led the West to accept the East, and simultaneously construct the identity of the West as being in opposition or in contrast to that of the East.¹⁸⁸ This is what is viewed in the motivations behind the writings of Palgrave. Alsunaydi also revealed a consistent set of conclusions which provide further support for Hogarth and Trench's conclusions that Palgrave's writings were based on political motivations and coloured by his orientalist ideology.¹⁸⁹

Palgrave's journeys echo the description of Said about Richard Burton as an imperialist travel writer "his individuality perforce encounters and indeed merges with, the voice of Empire, which is itself a system of rules, codes, and concrete epistemological habits".¹⁹⁰ An alternative perspective is suggested by Al Taha, who provides a justified description of Palgrave's character, given his Jesuits affiliations. Since the Christian missionaries at that time had adopted the imbalance of power, this led to imperialism acting as a bridge to approach non-Christian nations and to assist them in achieving their goals and protect their interests. The author agrees with the views of Al-Taha that colonialism also used missionaries to create a blurred image of the Orient and alienate the indigent populations from their cultural and religious backgrounds, thereby preparing them to accept the British presence as a necessity in the area, rather than its being perceived as an aggressive occupier. The author agrees with this view as a majority of the Victorian travellers in their writings concerning the Arab world

¹⁸⁷ J. Liddle and S. Rai, 'Feminism, Imperialism and Orientalism: The Challenge of the 'Indian Woman'', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (1998), pp. 495-520.

¹⁸⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 332.

¹⁸⁹ S. Alsunaydi, *Al Qassim fi rihlat Palgrave: 1862 (Al Qassim through Palgrave's Journey 1862)* [in Arabic] (Saudi History Society: Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Saudi Historical Society, Held in Al Qassim Region (20-22/5/2008). (Al Qassim University, 2009), pp. 468-470.

¹⁹⁰ Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 196-197.

implied the significance of one common theme, (including the anti-imperialist travellers such as Blunt),¹⁹¹ the necessity of the British being present in Arabia.

Despite the criticism faced by Said's with regards to his views upon orientalism and imperialism, it holds true in the case of Palgrave of definite mission. Palgrave forfeited truth for the word and, akin to Kinglake, provided a literary work that perceived the Orient from the lens of imperial ideologies and interests. Unlike Lane, Palgrave's motivation was not to find scientific reality but a subjective and exotic one.¹⁹² Nevertheless, Said's orientalism theory was reflected completely in how Palgrave described Oriental beliefs and the customs of the Arab-world as perceived from his own European ideologies, i.e. through imperialist and missionary ideologies, instead of how members of the society that he was observing practiced these customs and beliefs. The Arabs in Palgrave's writings were referred to as a race, which was deemed to be inferior to the European race. Here, on the base of Goldmann's theory,¹⁹³ my analysis here is that it supports the finding that his writing show more of his own imperial ideology through which he views the non-Europeans and Orient, the mental structure, and the personalities of Palgrave, who besides Burton and Kinglake were first and foremost European and British member in Orient-specific knowledge. This is how their writings differed from that of Lane, as well as the writings of Burckhardt and Niebhur who produced simpler writings with the goal to imparting new knowledge with clarity.¹⁹⁴

The journey of Palgrave began from Ma'an – Jordanian city – on June 16th 1862, with Palgrave disguised as a Syrian doctor, hiding his European-Christian personality, and travelling under the name Saleem Abu Mahmood. His companion, Geraigeri, was a Christian of Greek origin who belonged to Zahle, Lebanon. The latter was disguised as a Muslim named Barakat. Between them, they carried medicines, treatments and Arabic medical books, in addition to fabrics, tobacco, and coffee.¹⁹⁵ Directed by paid Bedouin guides, Palgrave arrived in Al-Jouf with his companion and remained there for two weeks. There he documented his travels while he treated numerous patients and sold many of the goods that he and Geraigeri had brought with them. Subsequently, they headed towards Hail, where they stayed for the longest period of time and this is deemed to be the most exciting part of their journey as Palgrave experienced interaction with locals and practiced medicine. He was then issued a permit by Talal Al-Rashid, governor of Ha'il, to help him reach the capital of the second Saudi State, i.e. Riyadh. On his way to Riyadh, Palgrave stopped at Alqassim and remained there for three weeks and documented different observations relating to the economic, social and political situations of the state – these are discussed in later chapters in

¹⁹¹ Al-Taha, *The Orient and Three Victorian Travellers*, p. 19.

¹⁹² J.A. Arberry, *Oriental Essays: Portraits of Seven Scholars* (London, 1960), p. 92.

¹⁹³ L. Goldmann, *The Human Sciences and Philosophy* (London, 1969), p. 120.

¹⁹⁴ Al-Taha, *The Orient and Three Victorian Travellers*, p. 23.

¹⁹⁵ For more information about his journey, see Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*. The information was based on the book.

detail. From Alqassim, Palgrave travelled to Riyadh where his observations were focused on the Saudi family, and from there to the Arabian Gulf through Al-Ahasa region. However, on his way to Oman, the boat that he had boarded sank in the Gulf and while Palgrave survived the incident, he lost all his documentation and notes. Staying briefly in Oman, he thence travelled to Iraq and later to Syria, where he reached Aleppo through the Mediterranean Sea and then returned to England safely, thereby bringing to an end a journey that had taken one a year and ten months.¹⁹⁶

Considering the criticism and debate that has surrounded the journey and writings of Palgrave, it is essential that the motivations of the travellers be revealed to judge whether the source is credible and whether or not it can be trusted. The author emphasises the character and circumstances of the time under which the writer travelled and how these factors also hold significant importance in determining whether the source provides valuable information or not. Following the abovementioned analysis, it is evident that Palgrave cannot be regarded as an adventurer, such as Burton, or a pioneer explorer because of the hint of fiction and imagination in his work.¹⁹⁷ Palgrave denounced all of the traits of the tribal life of the Bedouin and considered their inclination to promote a life of warriors as damaging to civilisation. Although his account is supported by that of Doughty, Palgrave adopted in his writing, that Arab was an inferior and uncivilised race who was in dire need of British presence as rulers in their state.¹⁹⁸ The author, therefore, signifies that as a consequence of his being a political agent supported by European power, a great concern of Palgrave was his need to promote the imperial interests of Europeans in the Arab world.

Although Palgrave viewed the Arabs as an inferior race to the Europeans, he held Negroes and the black race to be the lowest in the human scale and, therefore, much inferior to the Arabs in terms of will, steadiness, and intellectual power. In espousing this view he was influenced by racial theorisations of the nineteenth century.¹⁹⁹ Keeping the missionaries-inspired theorisation and worldview in mind, I want to make it clear as the Christian religion moved far beyond in its development in comparison to any other non-individualistic and tribal religions,²⁰⁰ the consistent and repeated attacks on Islam by Palgrave highlight the presence of a common ideology that he follows. He failed to provide an objective account of historical perspectives of the region due to his inability to conceive Islam in any other way beyond one that reflected his Christian perspective. Despite the explicit or implicit nature of his reasoning, all his judgments inclined towards the notion that Christianity was a far superior

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-7.

¹⁹⁷ Z. Freeth and H.V.F. Winstone, *Explorers of Arabia: From the Renaissance to the End of the Victorian Era* (London, 1978), pp. 153-155.

¹⁹⁸ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, pp. 3, 157, 164.

¹⁹⁹ Al-Taha, *The Orient and Three Victorian Travellers*, p. 89.

²⁰⁰ Bedouins were approached by Palgrave not as Muslims but as people practising individual tribal beliefs.

religion.²⁰¹ His conscious and purposeful misinterpretation of Islam and the Arab world, created a blurred image of Islam in the minds of readers, and is a definitive example of what Said and his followers believe to be Orientalist and imperial ideology.²⁰² Rather than adopting an approach of wholesome criticism towards Islam, the author finds that Palgrave appeared to employ a largely fault-finding and egoistic approach in that he was always seeking and inventing the dark side of the social lives of the Arabian Muslims and attributing such facets to Islam. The author states that the above evidence clearly points to the idea that Palgrave was operating on political motivations and not for the sake of scientific or geographic discoveries. This raises issues pertaining to the credibility of his writing and its material contribution to expanding the then existent knowledge of Arab in general and Al Qassim in particular.

Contrary to what Palgrave aimed to achieve with his *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, the book raised questions relating to the untruthfulness and scientific inaccuracies to the degree that it created doubt among the other travellers who became reluctant in accepting Palgrave's claim that he has in fact taken the journey in real. travelled to central Arabia;²⁰³ and many others were sceptic of his veneer as a Syrian Christian. To this end, Palgrave was accused by McNeill of deceitfully professing to be the pioneer explorer of Central Arabia. The author emphasises that McNeill's accusation was a significant criticism on Palgrave's work, and was supported by Philby²⁰⁴ who found the story of Palgrave's journey to Arabia to be pure fiction. Philby suggested that Palgrave was commissioned to evaluate Jabal Shumar's political situation and that there was no need for his travelling to the areas that he spoke of in his book. He further justified his claim by the following quote, in which he discounted Palgrave's proclamation of visiting Aflaj and Kharj:

Having travelled all over the country myself, I can only state here my conviction that Palgrave not only never saw Kharj and Aflaj, but never even reached Riyadh or the Qassim. If he ever reached Hail; that was the farthest limit in Arabia, and I do not think that he even did that. His clever and romantic story has taken the fancy of the world, but it is little more, in my opinion; than a "traveller's tale".²⁰⁵

The author emphasises that it is noteworthy that the detailed evidence provided by Philby created much doubt about the credibility of Palgrave's account²⁰⁶. This is covered in detail in later sections. Despite the extensive, and supported, claims made by Philby, the author believes that Palgrave appears to have actually travelled to Arabia and Al Qassim as noted in

²⁰¹ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*.

²⁰² Said, *Orientalism*, p. 11.

²⁰³ G.P. Badger, 'Communication on Mr Palgrave's Paper', *The Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (1863-1864), pp. 97-103.

²⁰⁴ Considered to be modern authority on Arabia; H.St J.B. Philby, 'Palgrave in Arabia', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 109, pp. 109-283.

²⁰⁵ H.St J.B. Philby, *The Heart of Arabia: A Record of Travel and Exploration*, Vol. II (London, 1922), pp. 117-156.

²⁰⁶ Philby, *Heart of Arabia*, Vol. II, pp. 117-156; Philby, 'Palgrave in Arabia', pp. 282-285.

his travel writings. Cheesman nearly ended the argument between Palgrave's contradictions and Philby's criticisms as he went to Hofuf, a city upon which Philby had made comments about the information and observations provided by Palgrave on it. Cheesman observed that Al-Ahsa had been visited by them both. However, he contradicted Philby's view that Palgrave had not reached it and claimed that a great deal of information was added by Palgrave which would have not been possible had he not visited the place.²⁰⁷

Regarding the monuments or the "Stonehenge", Philby delivered a distinctive article to the Geographical Society on the subject of Palgrave's description of the monument. In his book, *Heart of Arabia*,²⁰⁸ Philby talked about Palgrave and refused to acknowledge the latter's claims about the monuments. He confirmed that the description of the monument differed entirely from that provided by Palgrave. Philby made his own journey later to seek the truth himself. Philby made this investigation to put an end to this issue and to prove to the Geographical Society and to an assortment of researchers that Palgrave had neither reached nor seen Uyun at all. Palgrave's issue provoked many researchers to look it up and to eventually confirm or deny it,²⁰⁹ Different writers and Arabian historians came to Palgrave's defence; Mea Allan, his biographer, proved that the monument did exist,²¹⁰ just as others agreed with the claims of Philby. Allan also addressed the issue, and Dr Wohaibi, an archaeologist in Saudi Arabia, raised many questions regarding those monuments. Dr Wohaibi confirmed that those monuments existed in Uyun and that they were related to Antarah ibn Shaddad. He wrote that a lot of the monuments had vanished due to negligence or urban expansion.²¹¹ This provides another outlook on how Philby's claims might have been false regarding Palgrave.

Al Zahiri,²¹² a Saudi scholar²¹³ supported Philby's claims that Palgrave most likely fabricated his account and did not actually travel to the places he described in his writings. Abdulghani²¹⁴ was another historian who, in his book about Western accounts of the travels to Arab, demonstrated a consistent view with Philby.²¹⁵ Al-Askar,²¹⁶ on the other hand,²¹⁷ argued that

²⁰⁷ R.E. Cheesman, *In Unknown Arabia*, (London, 1926), pp. 115-134.

²⁰⁸ Philby, *Heart of Arabia*, pp. 140-141.

²⁰⁹ Philby, *Palgrave in Arabia*, pp. 282-285.

²¹⁰ In his correspondence with the Secretary General of University of Riad, Abdullah Wohaibi, Mea Allan received the following answer:

The paragraph concerning the stone circle near Eyoon (al-'Uyun) is correct. The people of al-Uy'un call it Mawain 'Antar. Literally the cooking and eating utensils of 'Antar, hero of the 'Abs, the tribe that lived in the area fifteen centuries ago. The circles at Rass and near Henakeeyah are also still there. Although their appearance [is] marred year after year because of the ignorant amateurs who do not know how to respect such valuable[s].

²¹¹ Allan, *Palgrave of Arabia*, pp. 208-209.

²¹² Abu Abdurrahman Al-Zahri, *Masâ'il Min Târîkh Al-joufzîrah al-Arabîyah (Questions from the History of the Arabian Peninsula)* [in Arabic] (Riyadh, 1994), pp. 196-212.

²¹³ Abu Abdurrahman Al-Zahri was a Saudi scholar born in 1937.

²¹⁴ Abdulaziz Abdulghani was a Sudanese historian and academic born in 1939.

²¹⁵ A. Abdulghani, *riwāyāt gharbîyah an rihlāt fî Shîbh al-Jazîrah al-'Arabîyah (Western Accounts about Journeys in the Arabian Peninsula)* [in Arabic] (London, 2013) Vol. 2, p. 114.

despite the gaps and blurred details provided by Palgrave in the second half of his book, the first half of the book could not be dismissed due to the valuable information and credible materials included in it. This, in turn, he suggested, made it difficult to question or doubt its credibility. The author has concluded that although a number of inconsistencies are visible in Palgrave's work,²¹⁸ particularly about the geographical aspects of Arab in general and Al Qassim in particular, it cannot be dismissed that he travelled to Arabia and Al Qassim.

The presence of such stupendous stones before the entrance of Uyun can be confirmed at three locations. First, Hassat An-Nassla²¹⁹ which contains old inscriptions and resembles the fungal plant; second, Erijin-Mansour, 400 metres to the north from the first, and looks more like the fungal plant than the first; and third, Hassat Talha is a rectangular stone, 2 metres long, 80 cm wide, and 70 cm high, and from the place that Palgrave stated. It contains thamudic inscriptions and graphics.²²⁰

The aforementioned viewpoints reveal that these stones had certainly in contrast to what Philby wrote in some of his writings. Although Palgrave's description was significantly inaccurate, his description of the monument itself can be verified. The researcher believes that Palgrave may have confused them with other monuments; Athar Al Rjail,²²¹ in Sakaka in Jouf for instance, resembles his description of the Uyun monuments to a great extent. Potential reasons for this confusion can be explained by the fact that Palgrave relied on his memory in writing. Despite a great degree of inaccuracy in Palgrave's accounts, the significance of his writings cannot be rejected.

On the basis of the above analysis, three possibilities can be advanced. First, Palgrave wrote his account based on literature and did not actually travel to the Arabian Peninsula. Secondly, Palgrave did travel as commissioned by Napoleon III, but did not go beyond Hail. Thirdly, Palgrave completed his journey, as claimed in his book, from Ma'an to the Arabian Gulf. The author argues that even though certain facts and accounts in Palgrave's books can be attributed to hearsay, some of the accounts could not have been written down unless they had been personally witnessed. From the perspective of the second possibility, it cannot be denied that Palgrave travelled through Najd and it is also accepted that he arrived at Ha'il and Al Jouf. This view is confirmed by Cheesman's accounts which suggest that he travelled through

²¹⁶ Abdullah I. Al-Askar is a Saudi historian and academic currently at King Saud University in Riyadh.

²¹⁷ Abdullah Al-Askar, *Rihlat Palgrave Mu'arrabah (Arabization of Palgrave's Journey)* [in Arabic] *Riyadh Newspaper*, 5 June 2002.

²¹⁸ It has already been established that Palgrave was not accurate in his description of the geographical and physical aspects of the places he travelled to, and that his journey was not one focused upon scientific discovery. This does not mean, however, that Palgrave never visited the places he described, just that he was not adept in describing geographical information accurately.

²¹⁹ See photograph nos 1 and 2.

²²⁰ *Encyclopedia of Saudi Arabia*, Vol. 13 (Riyadh, 2008), pp. 298-302. For more detail about these stones see also: <http://saudiency.net/Loader.aspx?pageid=28&TOCID=27&BookID=92&PID=29>

²²¹ See photograph no. 3.

the desert.²²² Since the desert was lifeless, travellers at the time had no other option but to travel through the middle of the central Arabian Peninsula, i.e. Najd. Therefore, the analysis foretells the importance of the third possibility. However, accepting this possibility does not deny the fact that Palgrave's account was full of inconsistencies, exaggeration and hints of imagination and fiction. The author supports his conclusions by providing the following reasons which suggest the likelihood that Palgrave had indeed travelled to Najd and Al Qassim during his journey in Arabian Peninsula.

As mentioned earlier, Palgrave lost his journal during a shipwreck thus his writing was based more on memory than the observations he noted down in his journals. Hogarth agrees that the question of accuracy associated with Palgrave's account can be addressed by this fact.²²³ Since Palgrave was on a political mission and a part of missionary team, his motivations were bent towards imperialism and ascribing Islam and Bedouins with uncivilised racial traits. His writing style, demonstrated contradictions and exaggerations that were enough to satisfy his readers. Instead of applying constructive criticism, he showed only the dark and unjust side of the Arab-world. This is consistent with Sykes²²⁴ and Al-Taha's remarks about Palgrave's works were written to satisfy the readers and not provide a scientifically correct account. Palgrave's key objectives were to determine the scientific, political and religious situation of the Arab-world and his motivations were derived from imperial ideologies and orientalist world-view. Therefore, his writings reflected the dark side of the Arab people to sustain the imperial interests of missionaries and Europe. Consequently, the writing of Palgrave was under pressure of French benefits in the East, and Christian missionaries from the other side, which can be deemed a reason behind certain inaccuracies and exaggerations made in Palgrave's account.

Considering Doughty's writing, who visited Buraydah at the time of Hasan's reign, different descriptions of the architectural skills and buildings of the city can be found. Although Palgrave referred to the interior of the houses as not up to his liking and took notice of the huge fireplaces in the coffee gatherings, he failed to point out any architectural aesthetics in the gatherings that Najdi people were believed to adorn and design. In contrast, Doughty's writings provide a brief account of the places, giving due credit to the embellishments and adornments in those gatherings.²²⁵ Following the path described by Palgrave, Philby determined that while some observations supported the former's claims, others provided contradictions. For instance, Palgrave's account of how he could view the southwest side, i.e. at Unayzah while climbing the hills on the west of Buraydah, and how he was able to see the

²²² A sand desert stretching between the *Nafud Kabeer* (Great Nafud), northern Saudi Arabia, and the Empty Quarter, in the south-east of Saudi Arabia. It is more than 1,000km in length and 40-80km wide.

²²³ Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, pp. 248-249.

²²⁴ P.M. Sykes, *A History of Exploration from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London, 1934), p. 286.

²²⁵ C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (Cambridge, 1888), Vol. 2, pp. 320-321.

borders of Unayzah. However, Philby rejected this claim as he personally visited the same place and was unable to observe anything apart from the hills of sand.²²⁶ Furthermore, even the distance between Unayzah and Buraydah, i.e. at least 25km, was misjudged by Palgrave and he would not have been able to have observe all that which he claimed in his writing. Apart from that, Wadi al-Rummah (Al-Rummah Valley) located between the borders of Buraydah and Unayzah is nearly 1-4 km wide and this makes it hard for anyone to see what lies behind the sandy hills. Hence, Palgrave's claim to have seen Unayzah's borders from his location cannot be taken at face value.



Figure 1: Philby photo on camel

From the above analysis, the researcher deduces that despite the discrepancies found in Palgrave's account and the criticisms it has endured, his writings cannot entirely be labelled as wrong. For instance, the information provided by Palgrave about Buraydah's farms, the main mosque and the market were found to be accurate and credible. This is consistent with the findings of Al Askar, Mea Allan and Cheesman, who agreed that despite certain fallacies, Palgrave's travel writings provided information and descriptions which required his having visited the places. Furthermore, despite the limited time that Doughty was able to stay in Buraydah, his description of the markets in the city is nearly identical to that of Palgrave.²²⁷ Even Philby's description of the huge mosque exhibited similarities to Palgrave's description

²²⁶ Philby, *Heart of Arabia*, Vol. II, pp. 142-143.

²²⁷ Doughty. *Travels in Arabia*, Vol. 2, p. 325.

of the same. Other similarities were also noted in the accounts of Philby and Palgrave about the wet market, the types of meat sold, the crowded streets leading to market, and the people who were bothered by the animals, and particularly the camels that passed through the markets.²²⁸ Regardless of Philby's criticism of Palgrave and the other discrepancies that he unearthed during his own journey to the Arabian Peninsula, the aforementioned similarities cannot be ignored. Some of the claims presented as proof by Philby can be explained in lieu of there being a different perspective, i.e. the timing of Palgrave's and Philby's journey was different. For instance, the salt that Palgrave saw may have been produced and brought from Aushaziya, while that observed by Philby may very well have been dark-brown *shiqqa* salt brought from north Buraidah.²²⁹ Furthermore, the salt in Al Qassim at the time of Palgrave's journey was very likely affected by the amount of rainfall. Thus, it can be said that Palgrave's visit coincided with heavy rains in that year, whereas Philby's visit was in a year with different weather conditions.²³⁰ Therefore, the researcher infers that certain descriptions and accounts cannot be compared due to the different times at which the travellers undertook their journeys. Similar reasons can also be advanced with regards to the account of Palgrave's visit to Emir Muhana and his description of the palace and Doughty's visit to the same during the reign of Hasan bin Muhana. There were, undoubtedly, noticeable differences between the accounts²³¹. This difference in their observations are, however, less likely to be due to the inability of the writers to provide accurate accounts and more to do with when they undertook their journeys. When Doughty made his journey during the reign of Hasan bin Muhana, the palace had been modernised. This explains the difference in the descriptions provided by Palgrave and Doughty.

The researcher does not disagree that there were contradictions and fallacies in the travel writings of Palgrave. However, this does not mean that he never visited the region. Palgrave, unlike Doughty, did not hold any knowledge about archaeology, geography or architecture and hence some of the descriptions that he wrote misjudged distances, geographical positioning and the architectural skills of the place. The researcher also finds that Palgrave's writings provide valuable information about Al Qassim, including Buraydah. Indeed, he provided details about the duration of the rents and the norm of signing the rent contract with the promise by the house owner to provide the renting party with drinking water and maintenance of the house, which is lacking in the local sources. This is a significant point to consider in this research, as the researcher aims to provide a collective account of Al Qassim's economic, political and social conditions. Since the focus of the local sources was primarily on the politics of the region, it is essential to consider the foreign sources, British travellers in this case, to collect information from them.

²²⁸ H.St J.B. Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis* (London, 1928), pp. 197-199.

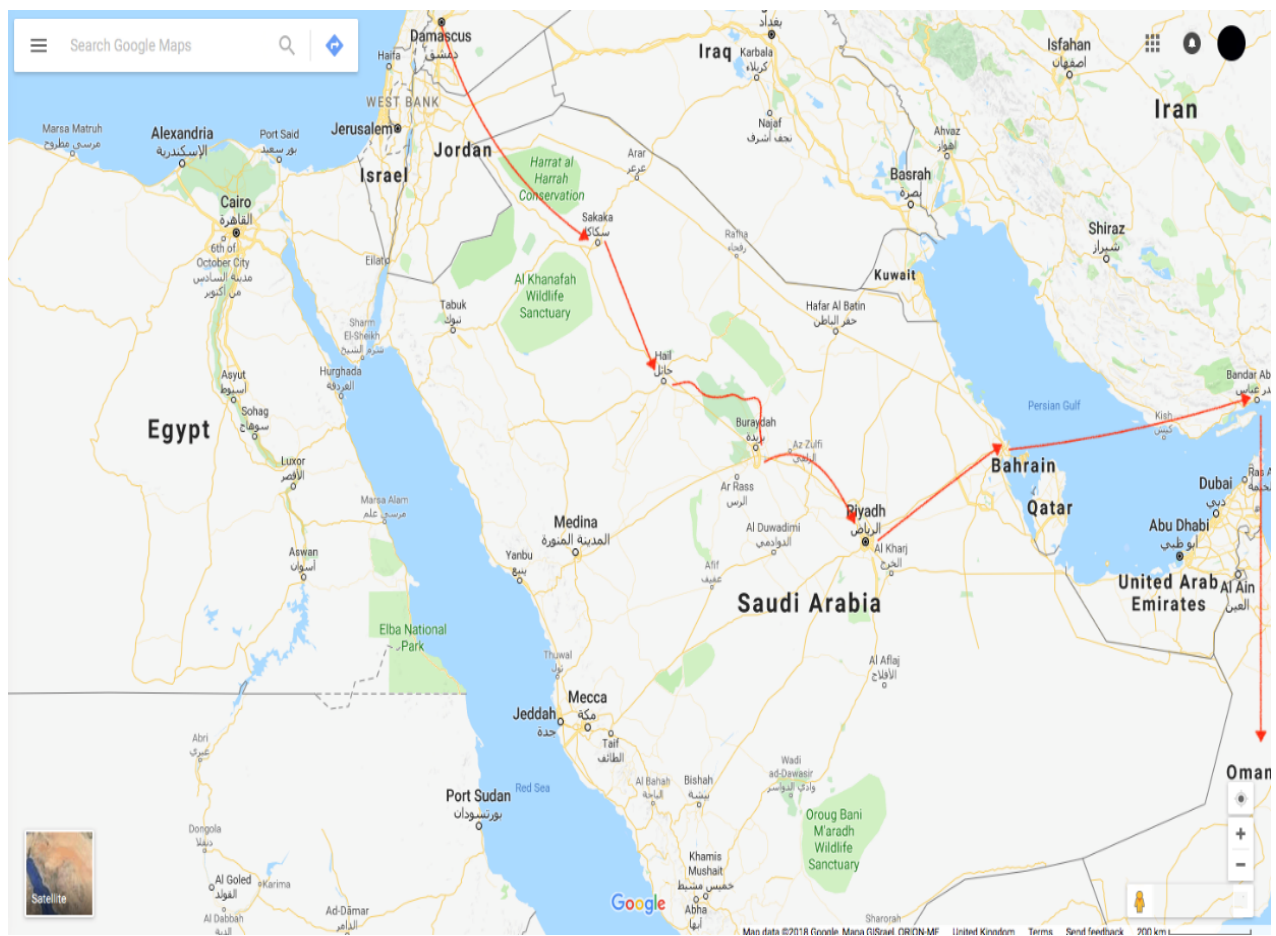
²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

²³⁰ Alsunaydi, *Al Qassim fi rihlat Palgrave*, p. 494.

²³¹ M. Alrebdi, *Buraidah* [in Arabic] (Riyadh, 1993), Vol. 2, p. 75.



Figure 2: Palgrave photo in Arabia



Map 3: Pagrave journey route

2.2 CHARLES MONTAGU DOUGHTY AND HIS JOURNEY TO THE ARABIAN PENINSULA (1877-1878) AS PRESENTED IN HIS BOOK *TRAVELS IN ARABIA DESERTA*

Charles Doughty is another informal British traveller who holds a significant place in terms of the contributions that he made with regard to contributing to the widening of Western knowledge about the Arabian Peninsula. The English poet and researcher-geologist Charles Montagu Doughty (1843-1926),²³² was also a traveller who was born into a wealthy family in Suffolk, Britain. Several family members of Doughty have been associated with the judiciary, the navy, and religious posts in Britain.²³³ Having lost both parents at the young age of 6 and under the guardianship of his uncle Doughty had a miserable childhood. His aim was to follow his predecessors in the family tradition of serving his homeland. Once he completed his studies, Doughty applied to the British navy to serve his country. However, he had to face disappointment as he was rejected as a consequence of his stammering. In addition to studying English language and literature in Cambridge University,²³⁴ he also studied Danish and Dutch to improve his understanding of the English language.²³⁵ It was his fascination with languages that inspired Doughty to travel to the Arabian Peninsula, and he reflected this interest in his writings. Indeed, he showed increased attention to the spoken language of the people he came across during his travels, and dedicated his time to writing about the different dialects and accents he detected.²³⁶ In his '*Travels in Arabia Deserta*', Doughty provided a large glossary of Arabic vocabulary with pronunciation and meaning.²³⁷ His travels developed his interest in the East, the desert, and Islam when he met Arabs for the first time whilst travelling through the Mediterranean.

Unlike Palgrave, whose writings were severely criticised for lacking scientific, geographical, and physical aspects, Doughty's travels to the Middle East are ascribed as "Geology, archaeology, Christianity, philology – everything for the moment had come together in a unified fascination".²³⁸ Doughty, as a nineteenth century traveller, is known as an upper-class Englishman to the general reader, who quitted civilisation in the pursuit of inspiration,

²³² M. Suwaed, 'The Image of the Bedouin in Travel Literature and Western Researchers who Visited Palestine in the 19th Century', *Digest of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2016), pp. 88-90.

²³³ For example, his father and his grandfather (from his mother's side) were well known priests in Suffolk.

²³⁴ Initially he started to study geology and was sent to Norway in an expedition to explore its glaciers. His time as a geologist was cut short following a less than satisfactory academic performance, which led him to leave geology in 1864 and switch to English language and literature.

²³⁵ Doughty spent the years 1865-1870 studying English literature and dedicated an entire year during this period to study medieval and Elizabethan poets, including Spencer and Chaucer; D.G. Hogarth, *The Life of Charles M. Doughty* (Oxford, 1928); Bidwell, *Travellers in Arabia*, pp. 84-86; Freeth and Winstone, *Explorers of Arabia*, pp. 224-229.

²³⁶ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 1, p. 155; Vol. 2, p. 298.

²³⁷ This information about his biography was obtained from a number of books including; Bidwell, *Travellers in Arabia*, pp. 84-85; Peter, *Far Arabia*, pp. 135-137; K. Tidrick, *Heart Beguiling Araby: The English Romance with Arabia* (London, 1981), pp. 136-139; Trench, *Arabian Travellers*, pp. 131-132, 162; Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, pp. 270-272; Freeth and Winstone, *Explorers of Arabia*, pp. 223-228; A. Taylor, *God's Fugitive* (London, 1999), pp. 1-26.

²³⁸ Peter, *Far Arabia*, p. 136.

adventure, and escape from the industrialised world.²³⁹ The author emphasises that in terms of early Arabists, Doughty was regarded as one of the most powerful English writers, and described by Stanley as:

Lawrence, throughout his sojourn in the Middle East, was under the spell of *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, a twelve-hundred page account of a two-year odyssey, between 1876 and 1878... This tome, which took Doughty a decade to write, is so powerful and all-engrossing in its effect and so completely defines the Arabs and the Middle East desert that the book's influence on Arabists thought cannot be exaggerated. *Travels in Arabia Deserta* makes Doughty, truly, Britain's first and greatest Arabist... Doughty's book started a literary and psychological movement among Westerners drawn to the Arabs.²⁴⁰

Just as in the case of Palgrave, it is important to analyse and uncover the motivations and objectives which led Doughty to travel to the Arabian Peninsula. However, unlike Palgrave, Doughty made no claim about his motivations behind the journey in his book. Instead, he merely used an indirect quote that can be used to extract the inspiration behind his journey to Arabia. Doughty quotes:

Of surpassing interest to those many minds, which seek after philosophic knowledge and instruction, is the Story of the Earth, Her manifold living creatures, the human generations and her ancient rocks. Briefly, and with such views as these, not worldly aims, a disciple of the divine Muse of Spencer and Venerable Chaucer; having spent the best part of ten years of early manhood, sojourning in succession in most of the Continental countries, and lastly in Syria, and having wandered through the length and breadth of Palestine, I reached Egypt and Sinai; where with Bedouin guides, I wandered on, through the most of that vast mountainous labyrinthine solitude of rainless valleys.²⁴¹

The author highlights that the main conscious factor behind Doughty's journey to the Arabian Peninsula and particularly to Al Qassim, was linked to his motivations of searching for greater knowledge in the fields he had chosen in life. For instance, his motivation e was associated with his efforts improving understanding of the religious 'Holy Book' of his race and country. Furthermore, the remains, monuments of ancient eras, in sepulchres, inscriptions, and temples that he visited and analysed offered the promise of his making new discoveries and imparting new knowledge to people in Europe, Doughty, in this regard, quotes: "Interested as I was in all that pertains to Biblical research, I resolved to accept the hazard of visiting them."²⁴² This is consistent with what Tidrick²⁴³ has concluded about Doughty's motivations; that he was most inspired and motivated by his interests in Christianity, and the human race. I would like to emphasise, that Doughty had in mind was

²³⁹ Nash, *From Empire to Orient*, p. 66.

²⁴⁰ S. Sizer, *Christian Zionism: Its History, Theology and Politics* (Ph.D. thesis, Oak Hill Theological College/ Middlesex University, 2003), p. 32.

²⁴¹ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 1, p. vii.

²⁴² T.J. Assad, *Three Victorian Travellers: Burton, Blunt, Doughty* (London, 1964, this edition London, 2017), p. 117.

²⁴³ Tidrick, *Heart Beguiling Araby*, p. 139.

the equally significant research of the early ages eternal wisdom of human kind – to read, which is evident through Doughty's saying, "the names, the saws, the salutations of ancient wayfarers".²⁴⁴ This analysis is consistent with the view presented by Freeth and Winstone,²⁴⁵ who suggest that Doughty's travel motivations were driven by his desire to discover himself, find the limits of his capabilities, and archaeology, as well as a desire to uncover more knowledge about the Bible, and human beings. Brent²⁴⁶ provides a similar viewpoint.²⁴⁷ The author, therefore, emphasises that Doughty's motivations are quite different from that of Palgrave's motivations, which, as established in the previous section of this chapter, were predominantly political and under the influence of imperial ideologies. Despite different views being attached to Doughty's motivations for travelling to the Middle East, none of the historians and writers who have commented on his motivations have ascribed political or missionary motivations to Doughty's travels as was the case in Palgrave.

In light of the above analysis of motivations of Doughty's journey to the Arabia Peninsula, the researcher has divided his travels into three categories; as the journeys of Doughty cannot be completely comprehended if considered as one. The first part of Doughty's journey included his travels to Palestine, Syria, Egypt and finally Petra; the second part of journey was his stay at *Mada'in Saleh*²⁴⁸ in the Arabian Peninsula; while the third and final part of his journey was deep into the heart of the Peninsula. In the first part of his journey, Doughty travelled in Europe with the objective of finding the origins and roots of English language. Thereafter he passed through the Mediterranean and stopped in North Africa where he met Arabs for the first time and began learning about Islam.²⁴⁹ From his travels, Doughty traced the origin of the language back to the Holy Book, and therefore decided to travel to the Holy Lands, as he perceived that the holders of the Holy Book were Arabs.²⁵⁰ The second journey of Doughty's journey entailed his voyage to Mada'in Saleh. I deduces that during this journey, while visiting Petra, he first heard Mada'in Saleh which had not been visited by any other European apart from Farthema.²⁵¹ Consequently, his visit to the region was motivated by his interest in copying the manuscripts²⁵² and studying the topography of the land.²⁵³ Furthermore, the researcher ascribes the reason behind Doughty's travel to Mada'in Saleh to have been motivated by his aim to find monuments and sculptures, which aligned with the scientific

²⁴⁴ B. Fairley, "The London Mercury" June 1935, "Selected Passages from The Dawn in Britain' - Duckworth" "Charles M. Doughty" - 1927.

²⁴⁵ Freeth and Winstone, *Explorers of Arabia*, p. 228.

²⁴⁶ Peter, *Far Arabia*, p. 136.

²⁴⁷ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, p. xi.

²⁴⁸ Mada'in Saleh is a historical site located in the Arabian Peninsula on the main road that connects Jordan with Madinah.

²⁴⁹ Peter, *Far Arabia*, p. 136.

²⁵⁰ Tidrick, *Heart Beguiling Araby*, p. 138.

²⁵¹ To read about this journey, see Chapter 1.

²⁵² Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 415.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 54, ix.

nature of his travel objectives. Therefore, it can be said that the second part of his journey was dominated by Doughty's scientific purposes, i.e. geological and archaeological.

The third part of Doughty's journey, perhaps the most dangerous and most significant, was to the heart of the Arabian Peninsula. However, this does not imply that Doughty had not considered them. From the introductory remarks offered by Doughty, the author infers that the third part of his journey was motivated by the land of the human as well as the man of the land²⁵⁴ The author highlights another difference between Doughty's and Palgrave's motivations in travelling, as Palgrave's travel account was more focused on the "men of the land", and motivated by political reasons. In contrast, Doughty, having stayed with Bedouins in Mada'in Saleh,²⁵⁵ decided to travel deeper to the heart of Arabian Peninsula to study anthropology; which became apparent during his stay in Najd where he documented all the social relationships, traditions and habits of the Arabs. Therefore, it is consistent with the inference made by the author in determining the motivations of Doughty in the third part of his journey, that he was predominantly travelling for scientific purposes, and to gather knowledge on the ethnicity and cultural aspects of Arabia, and Al Qassim. Indeed, this aspect of his travels is particularly supported by Doughty's statement: "I might find moreover, in so doing, to add something to the common fund of Western Knowledge".²⁵⁶ I would like to suggest that it was impossible for Doughty to be static throughout the passing decades. Therefore, my emphasis is that that in 1888 the emphasis of Doughty appears to have been on the style and language of books; in 1920, the focus of Doughty was on geology whilst language was not an issue any longer. The researcher deduces that Doughty's motivations showed similarities to those of Palgrave in one way; Doughty could not help being who he was, as the descendant of a distinguished aristocratic line he had pride in his race and class, and thereby demonstrated an imperial and oriental nature which was reflected in his writing.²⁵⁷ Burton mentions that Doughty injected the idea that "essential steps must be taken by Christian countries"²⁵⁸ in order to meet their goal, which in Doughty's opinion was to stamp out Arabian slave trading in addition to safeguarding the Christians in Arabia.

The author has identified the motivations and objectives of Doughty in travelling to the Arabian Peninsula as being predominantly scientific in nature. It is also necessary to determine the circumstances that surrounded him when he embarked upon his journey. During his stay in Syria, Doughty requested that the British Council support his travels to the Arabian Peninsula, but he was turned down. The author infers that this suggests that the

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. vii.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. , pp. 101-108.

²⁵⁶ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 1, p. ix.

²⁵⁷ A.T. Sullivan, 'The Obstinate Mr Doughty', *Arab and Islamic Cultures and Cooperation*, July/August (1969).

²⁵⁸ R.F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah* (London, 1855), Vol. 1, p. 114 and Vol. 2, p. 268.

travel embarked upon by Doughty had no underlying imperialistic motivations and was not either a political or official mission.²⁵⁹ Consequently, he became part of a group of Muslim pilgrims who were heading to Mecca through Mada'in Saleh. He was disguised as a doctor named Khalil with medical supplies, including a thermometer, barometer and a sextant. However, unlike other Victorian travellers such as Burton and Palgrave, Doughty chose to declare his identity as a Christian.²⁶⁰ The author cannot deny that Doughty could not have commenced as an archaeologist, progressed as an orientalist, travelled as a geographer, and written as a poet, as his aims demonstrated a unity in all the journeys he made. The researcher believes that Doughty's original intention was to remain in Mada'in Saleh, however, during his stay he became more interested in Arabia and decided to stay longer in the region. Consequently, wander through the Arabian Peninsula and passed through Al Qassim.

Since Doughty was an earnest Christian who didn't believe in passing himself as a Muslim, he proclaimed to be an Englishman and a Christian during his travel to Mada'in Saleh. Doughty, unlike Burton, did not visit Mecca. He was the first European to document the monuments of this majestic site, and established connections with members of the Bedouin community. According to Doughty,²⁶¹ the main problem that he faced at that time was his religious identity, which led Prince Mohammed Ibn Rasheed to issue a letter of protection. Doughty's insistence to travel as a Christian caused him further troubles when he arrived in Khyber²⁶² and he had his possessions along with all his documents confiscated by the governor who sent them to Madinah for verification. After a month-long wait, he was sent to Ha'il with his possessions.²⁶³

After this hostile experience, he arrived in the main city of Buraydah in Al Qassim region where his stay was short-lived. Then he moved to Unaizah and remained there until July 1878. Doughty spent most of his time in Unayzah and this is reflected in his writings regarding the region of Al Qassim. It is noteworthy that while he was aggressively treated in Buraydah,²⁶⁴ he was given good hospitality in Unayzah,. This became one of the key influences which sparked Doughty's interest about Al Qassim and a reason why he chose to write about it. The author suggests that the following reasons could be attributed to Doughty's interest in Al Qassim:

In Buraydah, had Doughty arrived at the time of Prince Hasan Ibn Muhanna who known for his open mindedness and amiable character, then he might not have received such hostile

²⁵⁹ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 1, pp .1-5; 'Charles Montagu Doughty', *The Birmingham Post*, 18 August 1943, p. 2.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid*,p.2-11.

²⁶¹ Doughty. *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 1, pp. 84-87, 210-220, 594-600.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 22, 54.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128, 196-203, 210-214, 249-251.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 228-229, 315-321, 331-334.

treatment. This is based on the observation that Huber was received with friendly and open manners by Prince Hasan.²⁶⁵ The reception that Doughty received may not have been assisted by his declaring his religion because this resulted in local people being annoyed as they were not used to communicating and interacting with non-Muslims. The author justifies these claims by the supportive evidence of two other cases; first, when Raunkiær²⁶⁶ was also compelled to leave the city in a similar way as Doughty;²⁶⁷ and secondly, when a hostile reception awaited L. Deem in Buraydah²⁶⁸ whereas a friendly welcome was received by him in Unayzah. The author believes that the extended stay of Doughty in Unayzah was due to the flexible and open mindedness of Zamil Al Sulim, the governor of Unayzah, and the extended hospitality given to him by Abdullah El-Khenneyne²⁶⁹ and the Bessam (Al-Bassam) family.²⁷⁰

Doughty's writing has received positive reviews and criticism from different writers; Lawrence declared Doughty's account as one of the most significant and indispensable sources from which to learn about Arabia²⁷¹, whereas Burton²⁷² believed that Doughty also hinted at imperial and European world-views towards Islam and Muslims, implying that he possessed racism and an ideological superiority towards Islam by using the term "*barbaric*" at several junctures in his book. The author concurs that Doughty's accounts emphasise an imperial attitude, just like Palgrave, Burton and Warburton's, by suggesting that the British were destined to annex the Egyptian state as well as Arabia. These writings also coloured the image of the annexation of the East by Europeans.²⁷³ This implies that there was imperial attitude dominant in both Palgrave and Doughty, despite the differences in their motivations for travelling to the Arabian Peninsula, which led them to believe, as Warburton claims: "There is an evident expectation in the public mind of Cairo that England must, sooner or later, take a leading part in Egyptian politics; and not only here, but all over the East."²⁷⁴

²⁶⁵ C. Huber, *Journey d'un voyage en Arabie (1883-1884)* [in French] (Paris, 1891 the edition used was translated into Arabic by Alisar Sad, Beirut, 2003), p. 75.

²⁶⁶ Barclay Raunkiær made his journey to the Arabian Peninsula in 1912 as encouraged by the Danish Geographical Society. He began in Kuwait and headed to Al Qassim but was unable to stay there for more than a few days because of the people's objections to his presence. He then left for Riyadh and was received by Imam Abdurrahman Ibn Faisal, father of King Abdel Aziz, as the king was not present in Riyadh at the time. Raunkiær then returned to Kuwait and headed to Basra. He wrote about his journey in Danish and his writings were later translated by the British Arab Office in Cairo in 1916. However, the translation now known and available for his book is that written by Gerald De Gaury, entitled *Through Wahhabi Land on Camelback* (London, 1969).

²⁶⁷ A.C.B. Raunkiær, *Gennem Wahhabiternes land paa Kamelryg (Through Wahhabiland on Camelback)* [in Danish] (Copenhagen, 1913, this edition translated by G. De Gaury, London, 1969), pp. 96-107.

²⁶⁸ K. Al-Bassam, *Alqawafil (The Convoys)* [in Arabic] (Kuwait, 2000), pp. 201-203.

²⁶⁹ A notable merchant from Unayzah who travelled to Iraq and the Levant.

²⁷⁰ Doughty, *Travel in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, pp. 33-364. See the second part of his journey.

²⁷¹ T.E. Lawrence, 'Introduction', in C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (Cambridge, 1888), pp. xxviii-xxxvii.

²⁷² R.F. Burton, 'Mr. Doughty's Travels in Arabia', *The Academy*, No. 847, 28 July 1888, pp. 47-48.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

²⁷⁴ *The Dublin University Magazine: A Literary and Political Journal* (Dublin, 1845), p. 121.

Despite the criticism levelled at Doughty's work, the significance of *Travels in Arabia Deserta* cannot be undermined as it has been the subject of increased interest from numerous researchers studying all aspects of Doughty's life.²⁷⁵ From the above evidence, and reviewing the criticism and support for the book noted by other writers and travellers, it is evident that, Doughty's interest was more focused on the life of Bedouins compared to the ways of urban life. Since the literary descriptions in his work provided a detailed account of Arabian society's traditions and customs, the style of the book was closer to anthropology and social history instead of being of a political nature as per the Annales School.²⁷⁶ The author emphasises that although the book provides a detailed account of Arabs and their life history, it is written purely from British imperial and European ideology perspectives, instead of a neutral perspective.²⁷⁷ This explains and highlights the reason why Doughty's work reflects an intensity against Islam and Muslims in Arabia. This is consistent with the themes identified in Palgrave's writing, who also failed to offer an unbiased account of the Arabs and only ascribed to them uncivilised and dark meanings. As previously noted, Doughty's motivations for writing such an account was not because of any political or missionary support, rather it was because of his own reasons; including his upbringing in a devoutly Christian family, his patriotism, and his understanding of medieval history which had been garnered from a purely European perspective.

2.3 CONCLUSION

Palgrave's *Personal Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central Arabia* revealed more of the worldview and ideologies of the author's than the focus of his writings; the social life in Orient. In contrast, and despite showing his possession of an imperial attitude, Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta* became a significant source and point of reference for other travellers and the British military. Indeed, the book soon found a place in the curriculum of some of the most prestigious public schools of Britain. His book has become an inspiration for a remarkably diverse selection of writers, encompassing Banham, desert travellers, Ezra Pound, modernist poets, and Henry Green, the novelist.²⁷⁸ In comparison to Palgrave, Doughty's writings held a more scientific approach and were filled with credible descriptions of his journey which created a more believable account of his time in the Arabian Peninsula. Palgrave and Doughty, along with other travellers such as Palmer, Oliphant, Blunt, and Warburton provided information to Britain about Islam and the Arabs through their informal travels to the Arabian Peninsula. I would like to suggest that subsequent colonial expansion was fostered by the journeys of merchants and missionaries; whilst with the growth in scope of British Empire, the travels of soldiers, and administrators also increased.

²⁷⁵ S.E. Tabachnick, *Explorations in Doughty's Arabia Deserta* (London, 2012), p. 8.

²⁷⁶ Founded in 1929 by Lucien Febvre and Mark Bloch.

²⁷⁷ R. Shaz, *In Pursuit of Arabia* (New Delhi, 2003), p. 108.

²⁷⁸ C. Thompson (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing* (Abingdon, 2016), pp. 443-445.

The accounts of both Palgrave and Doughty found their resonance in the contemporary political sphere when Britain witnessed a rapid change in its society and all areas of social life. Palgrave's range of interests, intellectual capacity, knowledge, and his exceptional adaptability to particular conditions in the desert differentiates him from all other Victorian travellers; in addition, the qualities attributed to the composition of Palgrave's narrative were considered more pronounced than those within any other travel books. However, apart from the high qualities of Palgrave's as a narrator, his dramatic interest and generalisations, he demonstrated equal defects, haste and ambiguity, imagination, artificiality, and a fatuous imagination which is purely Levantine. Palgrave's "Odyssey" can be referred to as the antithesis of Doughty's text. While I identify that Palgrave's narratives exhibit the record of an individual, presenting himself and his European and imperial ideologies, the travel account of Doughty and his exploration of Najd, offers a more scientific outlook, including geographical, archaeological and traveller aspects which are considerable for gaining a greater appreciation of Arab history at that time.



Map 4: Doughty journey route

CHAPTER 3: MOTIVATION AND WRITINGS OF BRITISH ENVOYS

The previous chapter addressed the motivations and writings of the informal travellers from Britain who travelled to Al-Qassim in the period from 1862 to 1878. It particularly focused on the accounts of William Palgrave and Charles Doughty, and through so doing revealed that there was a predominance of imperial influence and European ideology incorporated into their writings. This chapter provides a critical analysis of how all Western voyagers were driven by the same motivations and how, as a result, all of their writings were very similar.

The British Government's interest in Arabia and the Ottoman Empire was not limited to its diplomatic and military developments, but also focused on the territories, languages and the history of different political forces. Which led to the creation of the impression of Arabian Peninsula that would lead to answer the second research question which is what intentions and motivation brought British travellers and envoys to pay visit to Al-Qassim history? This chapter discusses the motivation and intension of the British envoys to visit Arabia that would lead toward their political and other historical data of the Arab region, specifically Al Qassim.

Four British envoys are reviewed and analysed in this chapter; Gerard Leachman and his report *A Journey through Central Arabia, 1914*; William Henry Shakespear and his report *Across Arabia 1914*; R.E.A. Hamilton and his report *Hamilton's Diaries 1918*; and Harry St John Philby and his books. Through so doing this chapter provides a critical review of the motivations of these British envoys, their underlying motivations and their political activities and missions. Furthermore, it will also emphasise the major differences and similarities in the motivations and goals of the political agents and informal travellers of British, in terms of writing format, reporting style, and the nature of the information recorded by them. This in turn will assist in answering the third research question which is in what ways, writings and motivations in relation to British envoys were different as compared to that of informal travellers?

3.1 GERARD LEACHMAN AND HIS REPORT 'A JOURNEY THROUGH CENTRAL ARABIA'

Born in Petersfield in 1880,²⁷⁹ Gerard Leachman went to Charterhouse and later attended the Royal Military College. However, unlike Palgrave and Doughty, Leachman did not have a

²⁷⁹ Middle East Centre Archive (MECA), St Antony's College, Oxford, Leachman Collection, GB165-0179, Box: 1.

military background and his interest in the military was not based on any incentive or pressure by his family.²⁸⁰ His military service began on February 10th 1900 in the South African War,²⁸¹ and he was commanded by Captain Robinson as a Second Lieutenant.²⁸² After witnessing the end of the war in 1902, Leachman moved to India with his regiment where they set base on the Tibetan border.²⁸³ His experiences in Tibet were a strong factor that contributed to his motivations to travel. His adventures began with the Tibet desert in 1905 and then involved him travelling to Kashmir in 1906. As a result of these trips he caught the attention of British political leaders.²⁸⁴ It is evident that his voyages encouraged him to resume his travels and he returned to England in 1907 for a vacation. As he crossed the whole of Arabia, his journey back to England was a very long one; starting from the south of Arabian Gulf, crossing Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Istanbul, before reaching Europe.²⁸⁵

In 1907, he took military leave and travelled to England from India, passing through different places, from Persia to Dubai, to Baghdad and then too Aleppo before he reached England. Upon his return to India, Leachman started to work for Military Intelligence, whereby he studied intelligence reports about Arabia and learnt German and Arabic.²⁸⁶ The researcher highlights that his involvement with military intelligence and his expeditions to the Arabian Peninsula hint towards his possessing imperialistic motivations, and these are discussed in detail in this section.

He was particularly noticed for his extensive documentation of his travels and three diaries document have been found which entail Leachman's first military post during the War in South Africa and provides a comprehensive account of the places he travelled to, landscapes, the people he met and every event. The rest of the two diaries document the journey of Leachman to England from India, through Syria (Aleppo) and Iraq (Baghdad). These journals were maintained in the form of unofficial reports²⁸⁷ as a form personal record keeping, which he began during his time in the South African regiment whereby he wrote about the landscapes and events in South Africa.²⁸⁸ The earlier diaries by Leachman were brief accounts of his experiences, unlike the diaries that he later wrote when in Arabia, or the reports he sent

²⁸⁰ H.V.F. Winstone, *Leachman: 'OC Desert': The Life of Lieutenant-Colonel Gerard Leachman DSO* (London, 1982), p. 6.

²⁸¹ Leachman began his first military experience in the war in South Africa. However, he was injured a few months later and sent back to England for treatment. He remained in England for three months and then returned to the battlefield in late 1900. He stayed in service there and witnessed the end of the war in 1902; MECA, St Antony's College, Oxford, Leachman Collection, GB16-517, Box: 1.

²⁸² MECA, St Antony's College, Oxford, Leachman Collection, GB16-517, Box: 1.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ Winstone, *Leachman*, pp. 42-43, 50-58.

²⁸⁵ N.N.E. Bray, *A Paladin of Arabia: The Biography of Brevet Lieut. Colonel G.E. Leachman, C.I.E., D.S.O., of the Royal Sussex Regiment* (London, 1936), pp. 110-126.

²⁸⁶ Winstone, *Leachman*, pp. 42-45.

²⁸⁷ Leachman started writing his daily diaries when he moved from England to South Africa.

²⁸⁸ MECA, St Antony's College, Oxford, Philby Collection, 'Leachman Diary in South Africa', GB165-0229, 2/3/4/4.

to the Geographical Society. The researcher highlights that these differences in writing style were because the earlier accounts were not intended to be sent to official agencies. Furthermore, the detailed accounts of his travelling to the Arabian Peninsula can be justified by the fact that Leachman had joined military intelligence and already showed interest in Arabia. The researcher suggests that, it is evident that his interest in travelling began after he was posted to India.²⁸⁹ His interest in adventure and recreation led him to travel to Tibet, where one of the most significant events of his life took place as he met members of British intelligence, disguised as a group of British merchants. Consequently, Leachman gained the trust of one of them and was trusted with the task of delivering certain documents to officials in Simla²⁹⁰ upon his return.²⁹¹ This marked the first time that Leachman had interacted with British Intelligence in India, which later became a long career of service for him.²⁹² This happened at the time the officials in Simla were looking to appoint officers suitable for intelligence work, and evidently, they found Leachman's travel experience impressive.²⁹³

The period between the end of nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century was when the most prolific period for travel writing on Arabia by British travellers. Even Leachman's motivations appear to have been influenced by British imperial enterprise strategies; the intelligence agencies of Germany and Britain intended to capture the Ottoman Empire, particularly the Arabian Peninsula, the Persian Gulf, and Iraq. The British tried to achieve this goal by sending voyagers to these regions under disguise.²⁹⁴ Motivated by the ambitions of the European allies of the Ottoman Empire, and although treaties were signed by Britain with tribe leaders of Arab. The British Empire devised strategies to secure their imperial interests in India and Arabian Peninsula against the incursions of their rivals, and their desire to explore the uncharted region. The researcher emphasises that the British envoys were particularly motivated by their imperial ideologies to gain power over the Ottoman Empire and exert their influence. One of the main attractions for Britain was the Ottoman railway which connected Syria to Hejaz.²⁹⁵

The British authorities found it imperative to choose capable people to become British envoys who would work in a disguised manner as the communication with the centre of the Arabian Peninsula became essential for Britain. While the British government was still involved in negotiations with London and India with reference to communications with the

²⁸⁹ Winstone, *Leachman*, pp. 42-43.

²⁹⁰ Simla was known as the summer capital of successive Viceroys and Governors-General, from 1830s until the end of the reign of Britain. See R. Bhasin, *Simla: The Summer Capital of British India* (New Delhi, 1992), p. 184. Also see E.J. Buck, *Simla Past and Present*, 2nd edn (Simla, 1925; reprint, Simla, 1989).

²⁹¹ Winstone, *Leachman*, pp. 51-55.

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

²⁹⁴ P. Sluglett, Leachman, Gerard Evelyn (1880-1920), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

²⁹⁵ M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fi akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-'Irāq* (*A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq*) [in Arabic], p. 407.

emerging Arab leader, Ibn Saud, Leachman was appointed to just such a role.²⁹⁶ This particular region was in conflict as three distinct and major local forces were trying to gain control.²⁹⁷ The major turning point for Leachman in his career was in 1909 when he travelled with the primary goal of reaching the Arabian Peninsula. The journey of Gerard Leachman that is of particular note was made between 1910 and 1912. In March 1910, he began his journey and reached the north eastern corner of the Arabian Peninsula where he met Ibn Rashid, the Prince of Hail. He was accompanied by his troops who were camping there and Leachman was not allowed to enter Hail and therefore, he had to return to Iraq²⁹⁸ without fully accomplishing his goal. Nevertheless, he documented his trip, and this account was published in the *Geographical Journal*.²⁹⁹ Consequently, Leachman stayed in Iraq and set out on another journey – a prolonged sojourn to northern Iraq and the Kurdish areas in Syria, passing through Jerusalem and thereafter returning to Syria and Iraq via the Syrian Desert. For these voyages in 1909 and 1910 Leachman received the Gill Medal from the Geographical Society.³⁰⁰ Leachman returned to his regiment's headquarters in India in late 1910, however, he felt disappointed in having failed to accomplish the true objectives that had underpinned his voyages. Therefore, he decided that he wanted to embark on another adventure and return to the heart of the Arabian Peninsula again. So, in 1912 he headed from India to Iraq where he stayed for another three months, preparing himself for the journey that lay ahead.³⁰¹

It was during this third and final journey that Leachman travelled directly to Al Qassim, by travelling from Syria, accompanied by a trader from Al Qassim. He headed to the middle of Najd before he arrived in Riyadh and met Ibn Saud. Then, Leachman travelled to the Arabian Gulf through Al Ahsaa, moving to Bahrain and then to Iraq. The entire journey was documented by Leachman and this trip was later published in the *Geographical Journal*.³⁰² Over 1,300 square miles were added by Leachman in 1912 to the existing maps of Arabia.³⁰³ Beginning the journey from Syria, Leachman travelled to the middle of Najd and met Ibn Saud by reaching Al Qassim. He had to face numerous hurdles in gaining approval for such an extensive journey.

²⁹⁶ Winstone, *Leachman*, pp. 70-71.

²⁹⁷ The Ashraf's Emirate in Hejaz, the Ibn Rashid Emirate in Hail in the northern part of the Peninsula (both of these emirates were loyal to the Ottoman Empire); and finally, an emerging force in the middle of the Arabian Peninsula based in Riyadh and headed by Ibn Saud.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-175.

²⁹⁹ G.E. Leachman, 'A Journey in North-Eastern Arabia', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (1911), pp. 265-274.

³⁰⁰ Bray, *A Paladin of Arabia*, pp. 184-187, 214.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 208, 223-226.

³⁰² G.E. Leachman, 'A Journey through Central Arabia', *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 5 (1914), pp. 500-520.

³⁰³ G. Hamm, *British Intelligence and Turkish Arabia: Strategy, Diplomacy, and Empire, 1898-1918* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 2012), pp. 15-35.

Leachman's reports regarding Baghdad mainly consisted of news about the quarrels between Ibn Rashid and Ibn Saud over who should control Central Arabia.³⁰⁴ The researcher highlights that Britain's interest in monitoring Central Arabia's political situation was primarily for two reasons. First, British interests along Oman, Bahrain and the Persian Gulf could potentially be threatened by a Central Arabian chief who succeeded in consolidating his power in the region. Secondly, in terms of Turk-Arab tension, an influential chief in Central Arabia might succeed in rallying adequate support to invoke a rebellion against the rule of the Turks. Although Leachman's adventure was known to the authorities of Britain in the Persian Gulf during the course of his travel, he succeeded in evading other Europeans.³⁰⁵ This system of British authorities sending informal agents in addition to formal ones – officers such as Leachman who acted of their own accord, in addition to officers holding official posts like Shakespear – enabled them to monitor the events of Central Arabia with accuracy. Despite the reservations of the British government in embracing adventurers like Gerard Leachman, they undeniably benefited from their travelogues.

The researcher highlights that several indications of imperialism behind Leachman's travel are found which signify that his journeys to Arabia were motivated primarily by his connections to British intelligence service, including the British as well as non-British officials in region.³⁰⁶ His main interest was in collecting information about the Germans, Ottomans and Arabs,³⁰⁷ and he formulated brief reports, which resembled military protocol, about different aspects of the Arab countries, such as the weapons used and social factors.

When Leachman was ordered to go to Simla³⁰⁸ in 1907, and although no direct mention is made in the literature about the exact reason behind the order, the sequence of events imply that it was to train him for undertaking British intelligence service in Arabia. Several months were spent by Leachman in Simla where he studied the affairs of Arabia by reading books and nearly 2,000 documents about the region.³⁰⁹ The researcher emphasises that Leachman's travels to Simla are noteworthy because they laid the groundwork for him to pursue a more impressive career path in British intelligence services, and prepared him for journeying to the Arabian Peninsula in 1909.³¹⁰ Leachman's travel was kept secret because of rising Turkish suspicions and the risk that the Foreign Office was not willing to take any risk of exposing their fraudulent support for the Ottomans. Lorimer reported numerous "tours by British

³⁰⁴ 'Extract from Diary No. 11 of the Kuwait Political Agency for the week ending 16th March 1910', IOR/R/15/5/25.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

³⁰⁶ British ones such as the British Political Agent in Muscat, W.G. Grey; or non-British officials such as the Americans, Russians, Germans and French, especially when he was in Basra and Baghdad.

³⁰⁷ Bray, *A Paladin of Arabia*, pp. 130-132.

³⁰⁸ Winstone, *Leachman*, pp.70-71; Bray, *A Paladin of Arabia*, p. 127.

³⁰⁹ Winstone, *Leachman*, pp. 70-75.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

military officers. The more so that Mr. Leachman and Capt. Teesdale³¹¹ avoided observation as much as they could and wore Arab clothes”.³¹² Different ploys were, henceforth, used by the British official and unofficial officers to circumvent the orders of the Foreign Office. Leachman, for instance, was selected as the agent of London to be sent to Riyadh, instead of going through proper channels.³¹³ Leachman departed with authority from the War Office and the Indian General Staff, without consulting the Foreign Office. Such subversion made unofficial bonds stronger among the Middle East intelligencers community, who thought of it as a pragmatic exercise of patriotism.³¹⁴ The researcher emphasises that the character of Leachman post-war exhibited greater aggressiveness towards non-European people compared to previously. This was noticed in how Leachman preferred war over reconciliation and peace. He developed a military personality after his participation in the South African war and he was criticised by John Philby because of his mistreatment of Arabs when he was in Iraq.³¹⁵ Despite maintaining relationships with some Arabs based on respect, his general dry attitude towards Arab ultimately led him to his death when he was shot dead, at the age of 40, by Dhari Ibn Mahmud in 1920.³¹⁶

As a consequence of events that happened to Leachman during his journey, the British officials debated the issue of allowing him to execute the journey. In the meantime, Barclay Raunkiær, the Danish traveller, had succeeded in gaining permission from the political agent of Britain in Kuwait to support his voyage to Ibn Saud via Al Qassim and later to Riyadh in 1912.³¹⁷ However, Edward Grey, the Foreign Minister of Britain, blamed the British political agent in Kuwait, William Shakespear, for supporting the task of Raunkiær.³¹⁸ The researcher highlights that this was when the British officials realised that they had been mistaken in not letting Leachman travel to the heart of the Arabian Peninsula; hence, finding it essential to look into the matter. Furthermore, the researcher stresses that the British Political Agency in Kuwait was the key hurdle that prevented the voyage of Leachman. His voyage was not supported by Shakespear because of two reasons identified by the researcher. First, in March 1911, Shakespear had already started negotiations with Ibn Saud and he was wary of Leachman’s recklessness and inanity which may have resulted in negative consequences for

³¹¹ An officer in the 25th Cavalry (Frontier Force) Indian Army, Captain F.R. Teesdale travelled as an Arab in disguise via lower Mesopotamia in order to explore Basra-Nasiriyah territory, to determine a route that would bypass the bend in the River Euphrates.

³¹² Hamm, *British Intelligence*, pp. 15-35.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-189.

³¹⁴ B.A.H. Parritt, *The Intelligencers: The Story of British Military Intelligence up to 1914* (Ashford, 1971, this edition, 1983), pp. 72-79.

³¹⁵ B. Ryder, ‘Commentary for Special Collections: *T.E. Lawrence, Reader’s Report, 1929*’ (University of Reading, 2007).

³¹⁶ Due to the importance of this news, it was published in most British newspapers. MECA, St Antony’s College, Oxford, Philby Collection, 2/3/4/4 Minor correspondence D GB165-0229.

³¹⁷ A.C.B. Raunkiær, *Gennem Wahhabiternes land paa Kamelryg (Through Wahhabiland on Camelback)* [in Danish] (Copenhagen, 1913, this edition translated by G. De Gaury, London, 1969).

³¹⁸ Winstone, *Leachman*, pp. 125-126.

the British agent himself.³¹⁹ The second reason was jealousy, and this led Shakespear to frustrate the voyage of Leachman so that he would fail to precede him in approaching the centre of the Arabian Peninsula.³²⁰ Since Leachman had no official permission, Shakespear had a good excuse for not supporting his journey in an official capacity.

Upon his journey to the heart of the Arabian Peninsula, Leachman was fortunate to find an Arab man in a hotel while he was staying in Damascus who offered to take him wherever he desired. Beginning from Damascus, the journey took Leachman to the Arabian Peninsula, travelling with the company of a group of *Ageyl*.³²¹ The researcher highlights this point as the one that initiated Leachman's travels to the Arabian Peninsula, whereby he was accompanied by three men from Al Qassim who knew how to travel in the deserts and avoid danger.³²² During the journey, Leachman used the disguise of being a Mosul man to avoid detection as an Englishman for to have been recognised as an Englishman would have caused problems. They crossed the tribal areas from one to the next until they reached the Linah wells, on the Zubaidah route³²³ that connected Mecca and Baghdad and which Leachman had previously visited in 1910. Crossing the Dahna desert, Al Zaberah³²⁴ stream was reached, and they were, therefore, close to entering Al Qassim's current borders; continuing to travel until they reached Kusaiba, the first village of Al Qassim. At the time, this village was on the border between Ibn Rashid and Ibn Saud. Although Leachman did not provide a comprehensive description of Kusaiba, his description of Uyun³²⁵ was very thorough, and included photographs that he took of the village. The researcher emphasises that it was probably due to his companion who belonged to the village (who was the prince's brother and was a huge factor behind Leachman's stay in Uyun. As the prince of Uyun was appointed by Ibn Saud, Leachman travelled easily to Buraydah, particularly once the prince became aware of the real identity of Leachman as an Englishman and his purpose – to meet Ibn Saud.³²⁶

The photographs and notes taken by Leachman have become significant sources of Uyun's history. Although travellers such as Huber, Doughty, and Palgrave passed through Uyun

³¹⁹ 'A letter from the Political Agent in Kuwait to the Political Resident in the Gulf (Bushehr) describing the first negotiations between Ibn Saud and Shakespear', 23/12/1912, R/15/5/25.

³²⁰ 'A letter from the Political Agent in Kuwait to the Political Resident in the Gulf (Bushehr) which encloses the news report issued by the British Political Agency in Kuwait', 02/01/1913, R/15/5/25.

³²¹ Leachman, '*A Journey through Central Arabia*', pp. 500-520.

³²² The method referred to by Leachman includes the following: when they enter an area ruled by a certain tribe, they accompany one of the men belonging to that tribe to protect them from any assault by his tribe members until they reach the borders of another tribe, where they repeat the same thing with the new tribe until they reach their destination or a place under secure rule. This was a well-known method at the time.

³²³ This is the route connecting Mecca to Baghdad. Most of it lies in Saudi Arabia. It was instituted by order of the wife of the Abbasid Caliph Haroon al Rashid, who ruled between 706 and 786. This route remained in use for travel, especially by Iranian pilgrims, until it became redundant when modern transportation means were invented.

³²⁴ Leachman, '*A Journey through Central Arabia*', pp. 500-520.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

during their journeys, the writings of Leachman were distinctive because of the photographs he took. Indeed, they are considered to be the oldest photographs of Uyun. Upon travelling to Buraydah, he realised that Palgrave's description did not match the reality that he saw.³²⁷ This is consistent with the criticisms of Palgrave's journey that have already been described in the previous chapter. This signifies that Leachman had read the writings of previous travellers about the regions. In his writings, however, Leachman's descriptions included details of population, geography, and the impression of people about strangers. His writings failed, however, to give a complete account of his stay in Al Qassim, though it is nevertheless abundantly clear that he stayed there for a few days and visited no other city other than Buraydah.

Upon reviewing the 1912 voyage of Leachman, the researcher deduces that certain political aspects dominated the Arabian Peninsula as identified by Leachman. From the members of the tribes he came into contact with to his companions, he recorded everything he saw including the relationship between the tribes which had happened earlier. His focus was predominantly on the tribes which were associated with Ibn Saud and Ibn Rashid and his comments included recording the clashes that occurred between the Anza and Shammar tribes. The researcher surmises that since Leachman's interests were primarily controlled by his imperial interests, he saw an opportunity in the political situation of Arabian Peninsula. Added to that, the geographical details of Leachman's voyage indicate that he was as much interested in the "land of the man" as he was in the "man of the land". The precise nature of his writings, without any sentimental references, signify that he was preparing the notes to send them to official bodies, like British intelligence and the Geographical Society. The researcher deduces that despite Leachman's stated objectives – as noted in his article published in *Geographical Society Journal*,³²⁸ it is evident that he had many purposes in mind; including scientific and political as well as imperial ones. This is consistent with the researcher's findings of Leachman who was later appointed by British officials into a high-rank position for managing the colonial rule of the British in the Middle East, particularly in Iraq.³²⁹ His position was such that the British officials in Iraq began depending on Leachman to control the tribes in order to protect the imperial interests of Britain.³³⁰ He had become a British colonial expert. Proof of this is his supervision of the British Plan for the Arabian countries organised by the British Bureau in Cairo in 1917.³³¹

³²⁷ *Ibid.*

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

³²⁹ A telegraph from the Viceroy in India to the Indian Ministry showing that the British Government of India had decided to appoint Leachman as an aid to Percy Z. Cox for political intelligence affairs. 04/03/1915, L/P&S/10/387.

³³⁰ Report on Najd Mission 1917-1918, printed at the Government Press, Baghdad, 1918.

³³¹ MECA, St Antony's College, Oxford, Leachman Collection, GB165-0179, Box: 1.

The researcher highlights that, similar to Lawrence, Leachman also became popular for his desert exploits, and for living among the people of Arabia. Indeed, he was also a contemporary of Lawrence. Lawrence was comparatively more celebrated than Leachman, primarily due to the presentation of Lawrence's story and because he lived to write his memoirs.³³² However, Leachman was seen as a heroic figure, whose murder inspired revolution amongst the Arabian tribes on the one hand and horrified the British public on the other as they were already doubtful about occupying the Middle East. The power exerted over Mesopotamian tribes by Leachman is a testament to his undisputed ability to travel solo across Arabia, and for communicating with and influencing their leaders to protect the military interests of the British.³³³ The researcher stresses that the 1910 and 1920 journeys to the desert by Leachman were certainly revolutionary, and the *Geographic Journal* published only two articles written by him. However, these two accounts were the only ones about Leachman's travels. He never made the rest of his exploits during WWI public, nor did anyone else. In comparison to Lawrence, the British public was generally ignorant of Leachman's contributions, despite the fact that the British military was aware of it. The researcher suggests that the main reason behind this was Lowell Thomas who gave publicity to the adventures of Lawrence. Leachman avoided getting praised for his travels and was not eager to record details of his journeys, even if it was for the purpose of serving the military intelligence services of the British. In this regard, the quote by Sir John Glubb – distinguished traveller and military historian – is most useful:

Unfortunately, he [Leachman] was completely a man of action and scarcely ever put pen to paper. Even the government he was serving could never extract any reports or office returns from him. This has undoubtedly militated against his fame.³³⁴

The researcher highlights that there is a similarity between Doughty and Leachman in terms of their attitude towards the Arabian population, based on their European ideologies and imperialistic natures. This is consistent with Lawrence's Reader's Report and Leachman's biography written by St John Philby, whereby Lawrence exhibited unmistakable criticism:³³⁵

He was a ruffian, actually: a long, lean, ugly jerking man, with deliberately bad manners, a yellow jaundiced eye, harsh-tempered, screaming and violent. He was always lifting his hand to hit. He came to our side of the desert, as Philby says: but not for a holiday with Mark Sykes. He was to have joined our show, he is being fed up with Mesopotamia. In five days he had twice beaten his servant, a poor woman he had brought with him from Baghdad. We couldn't afford those sorts of morals in our camp. So off he went. A very savage was Leachman. I suppose all

³³² J.L. Anderson, 'Letter from Baghdad: "Invasions: Nervous Iraqis Remember Earlier Conflicts"', *New Yorker*, 24 March 2003, cited by J. Canton, *From Cairo to Baghdad: British Travellers in Arabia* (London, 2011).

³³³ Canton, *From Cairo to Baghdad*. pp. 50-65.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

conquerors have to be of that rather hard grain. He had no conception that beauty existed. His passion was for mastery, and for activity, sane or insane, directed, misdirected, or aimless.³³⁶

Furthermore, despite the existence of other military voices who downplayed Leachman's stern and often violent approach to the Arab population, it is evident from Lawrence's report that he clearly abhorred the idea that he shared any common ground with Leachman. Leachman, on the other hand, was devoted to the British Empire's interests and lacked the partisan support shown by Shakespear regarding the Wahhabi emir. The researcher surmises that Leachman's imperial interests and motivations became more vocal during the rebellion,³³⁷ whereby he expressed his desire "to see... a regular slaughter of the Arabs in the disaffected areas". Leachman's unpopularity finally led him to be assassinated by Sheikh Dhari, who remained the single exception to Britain's general amnesty imparted once the rebellion was over.³³⁸ The researcher deduces that in the supreme crisis, the British recognised that all the qualities possessed by Leachman, including his shortcomings, served the causes of the British Empire.

³³⁶ Ryder, 'Commentary for Special Collections'.

³³⁷ P. Satia, *Spies in Arabia: The Great War and the Cultural Foundations of Britain's Covert Empire in the Middle East* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 110-250.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 252.



Map 5: Leachman journey route



Figure 3: Leachman photo in Arabia

3.2 CAPTAIN WILLIAM SHAKESPEAR AND HIS REPORT *ACROSS ARABIA 1914*

Captain William Shakespear was born in 1878 in India and grew up fluent in both Punjabi and English. Shakespear studied at the Royal Military College in 1896, graduated from Sandhurst in 1897, and started his military career in 1898 as a second lieutenant.³³⁹ In 1899, he became a member of the Indian Army's Bengal Lancers and the Devonshire Regiment where he learned sufficient Arabic, Farsi, Pashtu and Urdu to be accredited as an interpreter for these languages.³⁴⁰ Undoubtedly, Shakespear is an essential figure in terms of Saudi-British relationships because the distance between the two was closed by his diplomatic efforts. These efforts were the primary reason behind his appointment in Kuwait as a Political Agent in 1909. The researcher highlights that his mastery of Arabic on top of his military record and interest in matters Arabian were the reasons that led to his appointment as a political agent. Apart from the political role of Shakespear between 1909-15, he is also recognised as one of the most famous voyagers who travelled to the Arabian Peninsula. During his time as a voyager in Arabia, he travelled nearly 2200 miles and was involved in multiple roles: as a scientist, surveyor, voyager, and cartographer, in addition to the political role he was playing there.

During Shakespear's education he was accompanied by his two brothers and proved himself to be worthy of responsibility at the early age of 12. The researcher emphasises that this can be seen as the beginning of him possessing a sense of leadership and that his self-confidence at a young age ultimately led him to become a leader even among his colleagues in other areas like sport. His leadership skills were further pronounced when he was studying in King William's College on the Isle of Man, particularly on military aspects.³⁴¹ During his studies, he particularly focused on developing his personality by undertaking a number of physical sports. Furthermore, Shakespear's mother belonged to a family of colonial landowners and she was committed to the British Empire.³⁴² The researcher surmises that these qualities combined with his family's track record of services to the country were the main motivations behind Shakespear's decision to join the military. After the Devonshire Regiment, Shakespear joined the British Army in Bombay where he demonstrated a penchant for civil work. Thus, began his excellent military record; from Epidemics Combat Division to Bengal Lancers Regiment, to his appointment as Assistant District Officer in Bombay. His stellar record was the reason that the Deputy of King in India took an interest in Shakespear, and

³³⁹ H.V.F. Winstone, *Captain Shakespear: A Portrait* (London, 1976), pp. 28-30.

³⁴⁰ A. Al Anani, *The Journeys of Captain Shakespear in the Arabian Peninsula*, Studies on the History of the Arabian Peninsula, the 1st International Seminar for Studies on the History of the Arabian Peninsula, History Section [in Arabic], Riyadh University, Saudi Arabia, Book 1, 23-28/4/1977, pp. 466-470.

³⁴¹ King William's College, 'Captain William Shakespear', <http://www.kwc.im/captain-william-shakespear/>.

³⁴² Winstone, *Captain Shakespear*, p. 29.

recommended him to be transferred to the Political Department.³⁴³ The Minister of British Government of India Affairs, Sir Henry McMahon immediately recommended him to Major Percy Cox, the then Political Resident of the Gulf.³⁴⁴

The researcher surmises that the period 1902-04 in Shakespear's life shows that he was starting to develop a strong political career. Thereafter, he was sent to Calcutta for higher studies and to test his political inclinations and abilities. His maturity and diplomatic abilities led him to be appointed as Consul of Bandar Abbas in Iran in 1904.³⁴⁵ He kept a glass-plate camera with him at all times to take panoramic photographs and this camera served him well in his voyage to Arabia. Shakespear was deeply interested in the desert ways and started planning journeys to Arab almost immediately. Winstone states, "Shakespear came like a whirlwind" and his writing remains the sole biography of Captain Shakespear. Winstone mentioned that Shakespear's interest in Arabian Peninsula began after he was appointed in Bandar Abbas as he had no interest in Persian affairs.³⁴⁶ The researcher emphasises that the interest of Shakespear in Arabic and files related to Arabia was not motivated by self-interest, but due to the British Government of India, which had chosen him for a particular duty.

Nevertheless, the innate character of Shakespear as someone who was fond of adventure and discovery of unknown cannot be ignored.³⁴⁷ The researcher highlights that 1904 was the year in which Shakespear began his first major expedition, driving to UK from Persian Gulf in 1907 in his Rover – an incredible feat at that time when automobiles were not yet common. Although Shakespear officially undertook the journey to Arabian Gulf much later, he made trips to Muscat and the Arabian Gulf when he was working at the Consul of Bandar Abbas.³⁴⁸ The researcher signifies that these trips were early explorations which further trained him for his future job as the Political Agent in Arabia. During one of the later travels he undertook in his car to Switzerland, he met an English family that lived in India but on vacation in Switzerland at that time. Shakespear became a close friend of their daughter, Dorothea Baird and learnt a lot of the Arabian affairs as she had vast knowledge of the area.³⁴⁹ As noted, the British Government was interested in capturing the Ottoman Empire, and France, Germany, Russia and Turkey were fighting for control of crucial areas including that piece of land which stretches from Egypt through Arabian Peninsula to Iraq, Persia and finally northern India. The British government could not afford any other superpower to enter the heart of the Arabian Peninsula, thus, it became imperative that an agent be appointed in this region. Subsequently, Britain established an office in Kuwait in 1904 where Captain Knox was

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-34.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-37.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-37.

³⁴⁷ Portsmouth Grammar School, 'Shakespear of Arabia', *Opus*, Issue 2, Spring 2010, pp. 26-27.

³⁴⁸ Winstone, *Captain Shakespear*, p. 38.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-55.

appointed as the Political Agent.³⁵⁰ However, while Knox was posted, no direct relations were established between Ibn Saud and the British.³⁵¹ Despite the prior proclamations of the British as to their not taking an interest in Najd, the term of Sir Percy Cox and Shakespear indicated that the interest of the British Government about the Arabian Peninsula had increased, and in particular with regard to events associated with Ibn Saud³⁵².

The researcher deduces that Shakespear played a central role in tightening the community of intelligence officers in the Middle East across governmental and departmental lines. The incredible expertise with which his tour reports were written, in addition to his diplomatic relationships with local sheikhs caught the attention of intelligence officers in the Indian army in Simla who approached him with the request: “If you have an opportunity of doing anything when you happen to be on tour we shall be very much indebted for your efforts.”³⁵³ The Gulf resident was informed by the government of India, “Political Officers may correspond with Intelligence Branch on matters relating to a) details of routes, b) enquiries of a specially secret character respecting persons employed... for reconnaissance purposes.”³⁵⁴ The imperial intelligence activities undertaken by the political agents became more regularised with Shakespear and Simla’s connection.³⁵⁵ Shakespear was chosen to represent Britain in Riyadh in 1914 by Sir Percy Cox due to his military background as well as his political flair³⁵⁶ and his fluency in Arabic. Shakespear’s journeys to the Arabian Peninsula can be divided into three groups:

- Journeys around Kuwait and the territories under the reign of Mubarak Al-Sabah from 1909-1910
- Journeys inside the Arabian Peninsula in the territories under the reign of Ibn Saud from 1911-1913
- Journeys after his retirement from Kuwait to Riyadh, to Al Qassim and from the north of the Arabian Peninsula to Egypt –1914

³⁵⁰ ‘A telegraph from the British government of India to St John Brodrick, Minister of India, to the Foreign Ministry in London indicating that Knox had been appointed as the British Political Agent in Kuwait’, 28/7/1904, L/P&S/20/FO12.

³⁵¹ ‘A letter from the British Resident in Bushehr to the Political Agent in Kuwait asking the latter not to engage in any relationship with Ibn Saud until the British government made a decision on the matter’, 16/8/1904, R/15/524.

³⁵² This can be read by reviewing some of the messages sent within the British government, e.g., documents kept in the Indian Records Office in the British Library under the following numbers: 2/5/1904, R/15/5/24; 19/2/1904, R/15/1/476; 15/2/1904, L/P&S/20 FO12; 11/5/1904, R/15/1/476; 2/6/1904, L/P&S/20/FO12.

³⁵³ Satia, *Spies in Arabia*, p. 27.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁶ T.S.M. Al-Azma', *The Role of the Ikhwan under 'Abdul-'Aziz Al Sa'ud, 1916-1934*.(Ph.D. thesis, University of Durham, 1999), p. 66.

In 1909, Shakespear's job in Kuwait was limited to his dealings with the Prince of Kuwait with Mubarak Al Sabah, and during that time he took two journeys within the borders of Kuwait. During these journeys, his main focus was to record important geographical information, resulting in the discovery of Shaq valley.³⁵⁷ Unlike Palgrave, and closer to Doughty's works, Shakespear prepared his notes in an official format, including all the types of plants he came across. The Secretary of the Geographical Society, D. Carruthers, accredited this journey of Shakespear as an exploratory one. However, later evidence surfaced which proved that this journey was not merely an exploratory one. As Shakespear was successful in this journey and was able to establish a friendship with the Sheikh of the Muteir tribe, Al Daweish,³⁵⁸ he undertook another journey in 1910. However, the second journey was different in nature with regards to the geographical coverage and distance covered. Shakespear crossed 450 miles and headed towards the Dibdibba desert,³⁵⁹ heading towards Hafr el Baten valley and ultimately reached the city of Al Zubeir in Iraq.

During the voyage, he came across one of the dangers of the desert; he was attacked by Bedouins who killed one of his companions. Mubarak Al Sabah's son met him on his way back and informed him about the arrival of Ibn Saud and that he wished to meet Shakespear. Shakespear, however, had no interest in meeting Ibn Saud at the time and focused instead on recording notes and drawing maps of everything he observed whilst travelling. The first meeting between Ibn Saud and Shakespear took place in March year at a feast prepared by Mubarak Al Sabah whereby the Ibn Saud invited the voyager to Riyadh³⁶⁰ and recorded every detail of the meeting.³⁶¹ In this journey, his motivations were more pronounced than in the first one, as he carried scientific tools with him to help draw maps, and predominantly focused on covering the geographical territories under the rule of Mubarak's government. Shakespear's contributions to discovering locations and archaeological sites in the Arabian Peninsula are vast, not to mention the discovery of Shaq valley and the final part of the el Baten valley. He created an official and closer-to-reality portrayal of the Arabian region to be shared with British officials who would then be able to analyse and protect their interests in the Gulf. Without a clear and precise picture, the British Government could not have hoped to succeed to the extent that it actually did. Unlike Leachman, Shakespear's notes and recordings were more official and significant as he had access to Ibn Saud's friendship and in addition he gave a more precise account of the geographical and political situation of Arabia which helped the

³⁵⁷ Winstone, *Captain Shakespear*, pp. 72-79.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³⁵⁹ A stony triangular plain in the north-east of Saudi Arabia. The top is next to the city of Al Qaysouma. It is penetrated by the Al Baten valley in the south which flows north-eastwards and pours into the Gulf. His journey in this area is considered to have been an adventure as this desert is known to be poor in water sources. It was a large risk, but we can be sure that he had a great deal of faith in his companions.

³⁶⁰ Winstone, *Captain Shakespear*, pp. 80-85.

³⁶¹ 'A report from the British Political Agent in Kuwait to the British Resident in the Gulf including the details of that meeting', 9/3/1910, R/15/1/479.

British Government a great deal with regard to their interests pertaining to the Ottoman Empire.

Although Winstone supports the view that the objective of Shakespear's third journey to Arabian Peninsula was to explore the region, the researcher deduces that this is not accurate. This view is based on the fact that Shakespear's motivations in this third journey went deeper than those that were apparent in the previous two voyages, particularly once friendship had been established with Ibn Saud. The phases of the third journey indicate that meeting Ibn Saud was not merely a coincidence, rather Shakespear aimed to discover the military power and conditions of Arabia as Shakespear himself mentions in his report. This removes any suggestion that the meeting was merely a coincidence. The reports Shakespear made to British officials, such as Cox and Lorimer, included significant information about the intellectual and political positions of Ibn Saud.³⁶² During the journey, Shakespear became closer to Ibn Saud as he spent three days in the latter's company, discussing sensitive political issues³⁶³ such as Islamic Doctrine and the views of Ibn Saud towards non-Muslims. The report also included Shakespear's observation and analysis of Ibn Saud's brothers and details about the weaponry owned by them.³⁶⁴ From such comments it can be concluded that the British Empire had taken an avid interest in the political, geographical and military conditions of the Arabian Peninsula, and despite his resignation from his job, Shakespear was keen on recording everything that could the political interests of Britain, for instance providing reports on the social, military and political conditions in Riyadh.³⁶⁵ Lorimer and Shakespear had frequent contact with each other "through a newsletter which circulated only to the most trusted of their colleagues".³⁶⁶ In addition, the *Gazetteer*³⁶⁷ was also a cover for illicit British missions, for instance the otherwise unsanctioned voyage by Fraser Hunter to the Arabian

³⁶² There was a number of reports and letters exchanged between the British Political Agent in Kuwait and the British Political Resident in the Gulf, who raised those reports to the secretary of the British government's ministry in Simla. These include, for example: a report on 18/3/1911, R/15/5/27; another report on 8/4/1911, L/P&S/7/248; and sections of a news report issued by the British agency in Kuwait for the period 6-12/4/1911, R/15/5/25 and also 20/4/1911, L/P&S/7/248.

³⁶³ Winstone, *Captain Shakespear*, p. 102.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103.

³⁶⁵ 'A letter from Shakespear to the Political Resident in the Gulf showing the military situation in Riyadh as well as information on the Turkish reaction to Ibn Saud's capture of Al Ahsaa', 10/3/1913, R/15/1/504.

³⁶⁶ Satia, *Spies in Arabia*, p. 27.

³⁶⁷ The *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman and Central Arabia* by Lorimer was an encyclopaedic project that the Indian Government undertook to keep their information about the Middle East updated. This gazetteer encompassing thousands of pages, in addition to a geographical dictionary and historical section, was the impetus that led to an increased surge of consular touring by British agents in the period. As Gulf resident, Percy Cox aided Lorimer in coordinating the project, ordering the local officials to provide the tour reports' copies to him. Consequently, the bonds between the political officers of India and the nascent community of consuls was tightened by the iterative process. A framework was established by the imperial bureaucracy in which proper significance and place was accredited to local information, while frequent posts rotation, personal contacts and tours of adjoining vicinities generated an increasingly complete map and nurtured autonomous communication networks, connecting the regional officers. For more details, see Satia, *Spies in Arabia*, p. 29..

Peninsula. Likewise, Lorimer and Cox became involved in pan-Islamic activities, and in so doing brought in other consuls into their mission, including Shakespear.³⁶⁸

The official instructions to the political officers demanded them to be silent and not reveal the true nature of their assignments. This is consistent with the researcher's inference that the Foreign Office was in fact not supporting the Ottomans and could not risk exposing the fraud of their support. However, some officers, such as Leachman were selected as agents of London to Riyadh, and rather than applying to the Gulf Resident Cox for unlikely approval to India and London, which was the proper channel, he met with Cox who was in London on leave and the latter arranged for private assistance for Shakespear near Kuwait. The Foreign Office's restrictions were, however, subverted by the intelligence officers and resultantly strengthened the unofficial bonds among them. Nevertheless, it cannot be discounted that the officers were operating under patriotic impulses even to the extent of defying their government to accomplish their goals. The researcher surmises that this further enforces the notion that the British voyagers, in this case Shakespear, was operating under imperial interests to provide information about the Arabian Peninsula to British officials. For instance, the unofficial and private capacity of Shakespear in 1914 led Ibn Saud to show his confidential correspondence to Shakespear regarding Arab potentates, and this information was promptly passed by Shakespear to Whitehall, explaining, "I did my best to discourage his confidence, seeing that I had no official status, but as he insisted they may now be useful".³⁶⁹ The researcher infers that such instances indicate that despite diplomatic and friendly relations with Ibn Saud, Shakespear was committed to the British Empire and that his main motivation was to report the events and information which he gained during his voyages.

Establishing a good relationship with Ibn Saud was crucial as Shakespear recognised the importance of the former in the emerging emirate of Arabia despite the initial opposition he faced from British politicians.³⁷⁰ The researcher emphasises that this is consistent with the inference made in an earlier section that the officers had started to operate without the authority of the Foreign Office. Consequently, the Bushahr resident of Britain was asked to inform Shakespear that such interventions lied outside his authority and mission. This is consistent with the findings that although no conversations were recorded by Shakespear, his official reports emphasised the need of recognising Ibn Saud as the emerging, predominant figure in the region, the only leader who had sufficient capacity and support to drive out the Turks.³⁷¹

³⁶⁸ Satia, *Spies in Arabia*, pp. 27-28.

³⁶⁹ Shakespear, Report to Hirtzel, 26 June 1914, 44/F1990/14, PRO, FO 371/2124.

³⁷⁰ A letter from the Foreign Office to the Resident in the Gulf including instructions to the Political Agent in Kuwait, 18/6/1913. A letter from the Foreign Office to the Deputy Minister of India on 2/7/1913, L/P & 10/38; a monthly report, L/P & S10/384.

³⁷¹ P. Harrigan, 'The Captain and the King', *Arab & Islamic Cultures and Connections*, Vol. 53, No. 5 (2002).

The researcher deduces that one of the key reasons why Shakespear and Leachman did not get along was that the former did not want Leachman to meet Ibn Saud and ruin the diplomatic relations that Shakespear had created between them. Nevertheless, in order to regulate Turkish-British relations in the Gulf, a charter was signed between them which informed Turkey that to ensure that there was no interference in Gulf affairs, including Oman and Qatar, a hand of friendship must be extended to Ibn Saud.³⁷² This signifies that despite initial opposition, Shakespear's official recommendation has been materialised to some extent as he was authorised to sign the draft treaty in 1913 between Britain and Ibn Saud in Uqir.³⁷³

Consequently, Captain Shakespear was assigned to remain with Ibn Saud so as to collect information on the developing polity of Najd and establish better Anglo-Saudi relationships. This implicitly signifies that the motivations of Captain Shakespear were largely based on protecting the imperial interests of the British Empire. The literature regarding Ibn Saud is focused on the period that follows the outbreak of WWI. Even Philby, who is known to have written extensively on Arabia, did not delve deeper into the pre-war tensions that existed between Britain and Ibn Saud.³⁷⁴ The researcher infers that the reason behind Shakespear's anonymity in general was because his contributions in establishing diplomatic relations with Ibn Saud in 1913 were eclipsed by the attention given to the period after war was declared by Britain in 1914.³⁷⁵ The motivations of Shakespear are further clarified by his reassignment to the Middle East in order to keep Ibn Saud loyal to the Allied side and prevent him from giving any aid to Turkey.³⁷⁶ Even Philby highlights the fact that after Shakespear's death open engagements were largely withdrawn by the Najdi forces.³⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the analysis of Captain Shakespear's travels to Arabia indicate clearly that Ibn Saud was aware of the motivations of the former and even welcomed his link to the British Empire for political

³⁷² Referring to the text of the agreement signed by both sides on 29/7/1913: L/P&S/10/B381.

³⁷³ This would not have happened if Ibn Saud had not made veiled threats, making it clear to the agents of Britain that action would be taken against all the enemies who embarked upon refuge in Qatar and Oman. Reference to details of this meeting is included in a note included in 'A letter from Major Arthur P. Trevor, the British Political Agent in Bahrain to the British Political Resident in the Gulf', 18/12/1913: R/15/5/27. The discussion was detailed in a confidential memorandum sent separately from the previous reports but is found along with the 'Memorandum of Interview with Bin Saud', December 15 and 16, 1913, Political Agent, Bahrain to Political Resident, Gulf, December 20, 1913; part of India Office to Foreign Office dispatch of papers relating to Ibn Saud, February 9, 1914, FO 371/2123, F#6117/E4/R1, pp. 260-262.

³⁷⁴ *Report on Najd Mission 1917-1918*. Ref: IOR/R/15/1/747.

³⁷⁵ The Declaration of War, signed by King George on November 5, 1914, can be found in PRO 371/2145. The political background leading up to Britain's declaration of war on the Porte has been discussed elsewhere. See R. Adelson, *The Formation of British Policy towards the Middle East, 1914-1918* (Ph.D. thesis, Washington University in St Louis, 1972).

³⁷⁶ 'Relations with Ibn Saud', Arab Bureau Report, January 12, 1917, IOR L/ P&S/ 18/ B251. See also Winstone, *Captain Shakespear*, pp. 193-194. According to George Antonius, Shakespear was sent "to try and secure his [Ibn Saud's] cooperation in the cause of the Allies". G. Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement* (London, 1938), p. 161.

³⁷⁷ H.St J.B. Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis* (London, 1928), p. 272. Philby himself later noted that Ibn Saud "lost no time in asking for the appointment of another officer to take Shakespear's place", H.St J.B. Philby, *Arabian Jubilee* (London, 1952), pp. 41-42.

purposes. Shakespear's understanding of Arabia appears to have been influenced by his own perspective of the nobility related to desert life which was in distinct contrast to the corrupt intrigue and opulence of the Ottoman court.

A 'Jihad', especially if proclaimed at Mecca by one of the Sherif's standing in Islam, is a contingency of which the consequences are unforeseeable and incalculable. Such a proclamation would, at least, raise the whole Arab world, and Bin Saud himself would be compelled by the circumstances of his faith, his prestige, and position as an Arab chief to follow with all his tribes.³⁷⁸

The above excerpt is consistent with the inference made in this chapter that Captain Shakespear observed the situation in Najd and offered his assessment to the Government of India. The journey undertaken by Shakespear in 1914 was the most significant journey of his time as the British government had rejected Ibn Saud's offers of friendship prior to 1914, and suddenly found, thereafter, a need to extend cordiality to Saud. After Shakespear was granted permission by British officials to embark on his journey, he left in February 1914, and upon reaching Riyadh, Shakespear was able to meet Ibn Saud and stayed there for several days and recorded his observations about Riyadh society in addition to taking some photographs.³⁷⁹ Subsequently, he left Ibn Saud and gained letters from him to the princes of the lands to support his free movement. He continued his voyage, until he entered Al Qassim from the south, whereby the first stage of his travel began with Mudhnib and these provided him with details of farm life and life in general. In March, Shakespear reached Unayzah where he was welcomed pleasantly, and he met the prince of the town and assembly men. Shakespear also recorded the social and economic conditions along with a general description of the city, as well as the topography of the land and its farms. Some of his notes also encompassed information that was recorded in the writings of Doughty. Subsequently, on way to Buraydah, Shakespear described the areas lying between Unayzah and Buraydah, particularly the Alrummah valley – describing the topography, width and depth of the valley. His travels resulted in his discovering the secret behind the rich water supply of the area. Upon reaching Buraydah, he recorded his observations and impressions about the city and its general view from outside its walls and he stayed there for two days. He was carrying a letter from the prince of Kuwait, Mubarak, to the prince of city that asked the latter to welcome Shakespear and treat him well. Another message by Ibn Saud was also sent to the prince with a similar suggestion. His personal observations and impressions of the city and its economic conditions were recorded carefully during his journey, particularly the matters related to camel purchases and associated trade deals.

³⁷⁸ 'Copy of part of a letter from Captain W.H.I. Shakespear, I.A., Political Officer on Special Duty to the Persian Gulf Political Resident, January 19, 1915' printed in Arab Bulletin No. 25, 7 October 1916, FO 882/25.

³⁷⁹ 'A letter from Shakespear to the Political Resident in the Gulf including a full report of his journey since leaving Kuwait and until returning to it, as well as the conditions in Riyadh', 10/3/1914, R/15/1/504.

During his stay, Shakespear also provided description of the ways in which he negotiated his transportation with the trade convoys. Reviewing the life of Shakespear and his voyages, which extended from west to east of the Arabian Peninsula, it is noteworthy that although he was concerned with the situation of Najd, Al Qassim was not a priority for him. Al Qassim held no special importance in his journeys because it was merely a station on one of his voyages as it lay between the Red Sea and the Arabian Gulf. As the launching point for Ageyl, as mentioned earlier, was Al Qassim, Shakespear had to search for a caravan to take him to Egypt. Having done so he left the city via an uncommon route because of the political conditions at the time. This proved advantageous as he discovered a previously unknown route and recorded everything that was related to the tribes and the political conditions of the lands he crossed during his journey. Shakespear met Sir Reginald and Lord Wingate Kitchener in the British Residency in Egypt and provided them with the information he had collected, and the photographs taken during his journey, in addition to the reports and notes that he had made regarding the political conditions of the centre of the Arabian Peninsula. Although information of an economic, social and geographical nature were provided by Shakespear on Al Qassim, no special information or discovery was made in his writings about the region. With the outbreak of World War I in 1914 and Turkey siding with Germany, it became imperative for Britain to reassess its relations with Ibn Saud. Captain Shakespear was sent on a special assignment by the Indian Office to Ibn Saud.³⁸⁰ Shakespear was the ideal choice to be sent as a messenger as “having seen more of Ibn Saud than any other Englishman and being on terms of cordial friendship with him”.³⁸¹ Shakespear travelled to Kuwait and then directly to the heart of Najd where he found Ibn Saud encamped at Majama’s preparing for battle against Ibn Rashid – (the latter was supported by Turkey).³⁸² When the battle broke out and despite Ibn Saud’s reservations, Shakespear accompanied him and Shakespear was ultimately killed during the battle.³⁸³ This marked the end of Shakespear’s life which, at the age of 36 had mostly been spent serving the interests of Britain in the East, Arab Gulf, India and the Arabian Peninsula.

The researcher deduces that although Shakespear recorded the geographic and archaeological details of his voyages, the primary purpose behind his journey was motivated by British political interests and his desire to be recognised as a distinguished voyager. The imperial interests of his country were ingrained in his personality to such an extent that Shakespear,

³⁸⁰ Armitage, *King Abdul Aziz and the English Connection: Captain William Shakespear and his successors*, conference on the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, p. 11.

³⁸¹ ‘An account of the late Capt. W.H.I. Shakespear’s mission to Ibn Saud, December 1914-January 1915’, undated, FO 882/8. The paper is initialled “PZC”, suggesting that Sir Percy Cox either authorized it or that at the very least he had read the document.

³⁸² ‘A report by William Shakespear, the officer appointed with special tasks in the middle of the Arabian Peninsula, to the Political Resident in the Gulf’, 4/1/1915: L/P& S/10/387; ‘A report issued by the political residency in the Gulf including a report from the British Political Agent in Kuwait’, 1914: R/15/1/7/11.

³⁸³ Winstone, *Captain Shakespear*, pp. 205-208; ‘Fighting in Persia’, *Manchester Evening News*, 19 February 1915; ‘Killed in the Persian Gulf’, *Western Daily Press*, Saturday 20 February 1915.

even when travelling after leaving his job, kept records of everything that might be useful to serve British political interests. This is consistent with a number of official and unofficial reports written by Shakespear in different phases of his voyages.³⁸⁴ The mission of Shakespear to gather intelligence was ultimately fulfilled as in just a few months later, the notes prepared by him became a source of information for the War Office,³⁸⁵ as they contained detailed information and maps pertaining to Arabian paths and roads.³⁸⁶



Map 6: Shakespear journey route through Arabic Peninsula

Figure 4: Shakespear official photo

³⁸⁴ 'A letter from Shakespear to the Political Resident in the Gulf showing the military situation in Riyadh as well as information on the Turkish reaction to Ibn Saud's capture of Al Ahsaa', 10/3/1913, R/15/1/504.

³⁸⁵ Winstone, *Captain Shakespear*, p. 184.

³⁸⁶ *A Handbook of Arabia, Routes*, Admiralty War Staff and War Office, May 1917, Vol. 2, pp. 70-72, 110; Indian Office, IOR/L/PS/20/E84/2.

3.3 R. E. A. HAMILTON AND HIS REPORT *HAMILTON'S DIARIES 1918*

Born in 1871³⁸⁷, R.E.A. Hamilton's was educated at Westminster School. In 1890, he joined the Royal Military College at Sandhurst after which he began his military career.³⁸⁸ Beginning as a trainee soldier with his regiment in India, he later joined the Third Gurkhas Brigade. During his services³⁸⁹ in India, he came to be known as a distinguished officer, and this ultimately led to his appointment in the Foreign Department of the Indian Government.³⁹⁰ Although Hamilton was a political agent, there are no authentic sources which relate to his personal life. This indicates that he was secretive in nature.

During his voyage, Hamilton observed two key issues associated with Ibn Saud; his tense relations with Ibn Sabah;³⁹¹ and British support for the Arab Revolt³⁹² as Ibn Saud's ambitions clashed with the goals of the revolution. It was no longer a viable option for the British to ignore Ibn Saud and Hamilton was dispatched to Riyadh in November 1917 to have discussions with Ibn Saud. Hamilton recorded everything; from the impressions of people, his assessment of Ibn Saud, and the political situation dominant in the region. It is evident from the notes he made in his diary that Hamilton did not share the same opinions as either Shakespear or Philby about Ibn Saud. Indeed, Hamilton disagreed with Philby to such an extent that it resulted in the former leaving Riyadh.

He likes to think that the Shereef's power is very temporary, built on our largesse only. As soon as the money fails, the tribes will return to their old allegiance and look to Nejd as the fountain of liberty, secular and religious. Hence his interest in the Wahabi revivalist movement called the Ikhwan. His religious leadership will, he hopes, in the long run carry him on some such way to the Empire of Arabia – the dream of all the Bin Sauds.³⁹³

There are two viewpoints regarding the mission and motivations of Hamilton's journey to Najd and Al Qassim; Isam Ali's³⁹⁴ historical study suggests that Hamilton was not officially

³⁸⁷ His father had Scottish origins while his mother was from Australia. www.grangermusgrave.co.uk: person ID: 127215.

³⁸⁸ P.J. Rich, *Creating the Arabian Gulf: The British Raj and the Invasions of the Gulf* (Plymouth, 2009), pp.218-219; 'Lord Belhaven and Stenton Dies', *Motherwell Times*, 3 November 1950.

³⁸⁹ Rich, *Creating the Arabian Gulf*, p. 219.

³⁹⁰ 'English Bride for Lord Belhaven', *Motherwell Times*, 1 April 1938.

³⁹¹ The reason for this tension was that the Al Ajman tribe had revolted against Ibn Saud. A battle then broke out between them in which Ibn Saud's brother, Sa'ad, was killed. The tribe then fled to Kuwait and were received by Salem Al Sabah. This made Ibn Saud angry at Al Sabah. Ibn Saud also asked the Awazem tribe to pay *zakat* to him while they were originally attached to Kuwait. On the Al Ajman problem with Ibn Saud and the solution reached to resolve it, refer to the T'elegraph sent by the Political Agent in Kuwait to the civil commissioner in Baghdad', March 1918, R/15/1/480.

³⁹² An armed revolution that took place in Hejaz in 1916 and was led by the Sharif of Mecca, Hussein Ibn Ali. Britain encouraged the Sharif to start this revolution to gain independence from the Ottoman state, L.E. Peterson, *Historical Dictionary of Saudi Arabia*, 2nd edn (Lanham, MD, 2003), pp. 54, 63, 66-67. It was one of the British Ottoman challenges in the Arab region.

³⁹³ R.E.A. Hamilton, *Hamilton Diaries 1918*, p. 22.

³⁹⁴ I.D. Al Sayed Ali, *Memorandum of Hamilton on his Journey to Najd, 1335-1917* (Yaomiyat Hmilton 1335-1917) [in Arabic] General Secretariat of Scientific Centers and Agencies Concerned with Studies of the Arab

appointed by Cox to travel to Najd and Al Sheikh Khaz'al's³⁹⁵ and that Cox appointed Hamilton directly after they met in Baghdad.³⁹⁶ However, I have reviewed the I³⁹⁷, memoirs³⁹⁸ and the national archive³⁹⁹ documents pertaining to Hamilton which reveal that neither of the viewpoints mentioned are true, rather, he was appointed for two distinct missions; to check the routes of Caravans travelling between Kuwait and Najd; and to resolve the tension between Kuwait and Ibn Saud – so as to protect British interests in the region. These missions would not have been possible to execute without Hamilton travelling to Al Qassim and Riyadh, and were crucial to British Empire's strategy because of the significance of trade movement in Al Qassim.⁴⁰⁰ He was also charged with exploring the military situation to assess the future steps to undertake against Ibn Rashid. This is consistent with his papers, where Hamilton discussed the situation: "the first was the smuggling of goods to enemy territories through Al Qassim, and the second was the extent to which he could achieve victory over Ibn Rashid".⁴⁰¹ This further emphasises that akin to the previous envoys, , the motivations behind Hamilton's travels were also based on protecting the interests of the British. His notes also exhibit imperial ideologies, as had those of Leachman, Doughty, and Palgrave. However, Hamilton's assessment of the situation, including the people of Arabia, are more surgical and precise, without hints of any sentiments, though his writing about Al Qassim is sparse and lacks detail. His imperial tendencies were particularly evident in his report referring to the account of Wahhabism and its future in Arabia. Hamilton reported that the Ikhwan⁴⁰² regiment was the strongest regiment of Ibn Saud and was a huge threat to the British presence in the region and recommended that it was essential for the British to penetrate the region to prevent danger. This is consistent with the views presented by the other unofficial travellers of

Gulf and Arabian Peninsula (1st Annual Book), printed under the supervision of King Abdul Aziz Darah in Riyadh, 1981, pp. 75-152.

³⁹⁵ Khaz'al, *Tarikh al Kuwait Al-Siyasy (Kuwait's Political History)* [in Arabic], pp. 196-199.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

³⁹⁷ Especially regarding portfolios related to Hamilton himself such as: R/15/271 or R/L/PS/18/B286, or the portfolios related to correspondence between Cox and Ibn Saud such as: R/15/2/33.

³⁹⁸ Memorandum of Hamilton.

³⁹⁹ Regarding the National Archive, there are only three portfolios related to Hamilton, none of which have any connection to his presence in the Arabian Peninsula.

⁴⁰⁰ Al Qassim was famous for its commercial connections with neighbouring Arab countries such as Kuwait, Iraq, the Levant and Egypt. This trade was headed by a group of Al Qassim men known as Ageyl, which were defined earlier. Due to the high prices and profit in Hail, some of this group of men smuggled some supplies into Hail. The issue of tracking them became a concern for British politicians at the time as they had imposed a siege on Hail and Medina. In a letter from Cox to the Residency Agent in Bushehr, orders were mentioned to track them, monitor them and investigate into the matter. This letter also included a memoir from Miss Gertrude Bell containing details and information on this group of merchants. She mentioned that they belonged to a number of different families from Najd and mostly from Al Qassim. Their trade depended primarily on camels. She also mentioned the classes and most famous families working in this trade. All the families she mentioned were from Buraydah and Unayzah. She added that they are not reluctant to trade in enemy territories such as Hail and Medina. Therefore, Miss Bell stressed the necessity of monitoring them closely and reporting on them, 20/2/1917, R/15/1/480.

⁴⁰¹ Memorandum of Hamilton.

⁴⁰² For more information, refer to: J.S. Habib, *The Ikhwan Movement of Najd, Its Rise, Development, and Decline* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1970); M.S. Al-Ageili, *The Settlement of the Nomadic Tribes in the Northern Province: Saudi Arabia*, (Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 1986), pp. 51-65.

Britain, Palgrave, Doughty, Burton and Warburton; and the official envoys, Leachman, and Shakespear. Hamilton stated:

We English are good easy going heathen, just, kind respectable, and plenteously provided with the needful. I do not under-rate the furore of religious movement, but I do believe that wahabism is spent force and unacceptable to all but the political fanatics of Riyadh and the hungry light-headed nomads of the central Arabia. The Ikhwan Movement would only become dangerous were we to attempt the mad task of penetrating Arabia; then, perhaps the dormant national sentiment would be aroused, give substance to the movement, and the necessary driving force to make it a real live thing.⁴⁰³

From the above analysis, it is evident that the motivations of Hamilton's journey were largely political in nature and not scientific, as in case of Doughty. As his main focus was on monitoring Al Qassim trade movement and military operations and resolving the tense relations between Ibn Saud and Ibn Sabah, Hamilton's notes lack sufficient or distinct references to historical, archaeological, topographical and geographical aspects of the regions. This is consistent with the nature of the voyages of Shakespear and Leachman, who were also motivated by the political nature of their missions, instead of desires to explore the region. For instance, his diaries merely refer to places in short notes while travelling from Kuwait to Al Qassim. His memoirs give no references to any historical landmarks or archaeological sites, and in certain cases, the places are described without revealing any information about them, even their names. The only description he took interest in was describing the inside of Unayzah and Riyadh, however, these descriptions fell short of the mark set by the previous two envoys, Shakespear and Leachman. The researcher deduces that this difference in the nature of the travel accounts can be attributed to Hamilton's lack of interest in voyaging or making discoveries which was in marked contrast, to the stance of the previous travellers. Furthermore, it can be inferred that the diaries and reports of Hamilton were not given due attention by the historians because of the lack of valuable information provided in them. Another reason why Hamilton's writings did not receive much attention was because they were not published in the *Geographic Journal* or equivalent. Nevertheless, it is still imperative to consider, within the context of this thesis, the journeys of Hamilton to compare the information that they contained compared to that provided by the two previous envoys.

⁴⁰³ This report occurred in a file named 'Koweit [Kuwait] Blockade', /R/15/1/514; 'Miscellaneous reports and correspondence relating to Kuwait', R/15/271.



Map 7: Hamilton journey route



Figure 5 Hamilton and Phibly photo

3.4 PHILBY AND HIS TWO BOOKS, *ARABIA OF THE WAHHABIS* AND *SA'UDI ARABIA*

Harry St John Bridger Philby was one of the most inexhaustible British explorers and prolific writers on Arabia.⁴⁰⁴ Born on April 3rd, 1885, Philby was the Arabist and British explorer who was the first European to cross the Empty Quarter, or Rub' al-Khali⁴⁰⁵ from east to west Arabia.⁴⁰⁶ Philby studied at Trinity College Cambridge in 1904 and after graduation became part of the Indian Civil Service in 1907. During his studies, Philby displayed interest in languages, such as German and French, and by the time he graduated he was fluent in both and was also making solid progress in his endeavours to learn Urdu. Cambridge provided Philby with the opportunity to fraternise with Edward G. Browne⁴⁰⁷ and other orientalists. It can be inferred that Philby's interest in working in India was sparked during his time at university. His interest in the East is deduced to have been the result of several factors; the most significant one being his family's relations with India.⁴⁰⁸ Another important reason was his association with orientalists, particularly Browne, who were greatly interested in studying the ways of East, hence, leading Philby towards serving the British Government of India.⁴⁰⁹ His grasp of languages was remarkable as he became fluent in German, Persian, French, Urdu, and later Arabic and Punjabi.⁴¹⁰ This fluency in languages meant that Philby resembled Shakespeare who was also good at languages and became an interpreter. Philby's interest in voyaging and discovering new things became apparent during his stay in India, whereby he undertook different expeditions to satisfy his curiosity. From the outset Philby wrote reports about the places he visited and sent them to his superiors. The latter greatly admired his accounts.⁴¹¹ The outbreak of WWI led Philby to demonstrate his writing abilities, as he issued accounts on the War and its events routinely. Due to his distinctions and war correspondence, Philby was chosen to move to Iraq which proved to be a turning point in his life.⁴¹²

At the time Philby was approached, the clashes between the Turks and Britain had escalated and the British Government was trying to preserve its interests in Iran and India by preventing the Germans from entering. In addition, Britain was establishing diplomatic relations with Arab leaders in the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf; for instance, Ibn

⁴⁰⁴ R. Bidwell, *Travellers in Arabia* (Reading, 1976), p. 96.

⁴⁰⁵ The Empty Quarter or Rub 'al-Khali is a broad desert region in the southern part of Arab, encompassing the vast portion of the desert of Arabia, which is spread over 250,000 square miles.

⁴⁰⁶ Encyclopaedia Britannica, *H. Saint John Philby* [online].

⁴⁰⁷ E.G. Brown (1862-1929) was an English Orientalist who graduated from Cambridge in 1882. He took multiple trips to Turkey and Persia; he returned to Cambridge in 1902 where he worked as a lecturer. He was interested in Eastern Studies and their languages. He founded a school for Asian languages in that university. He was very famous in the field of Eastern Studies; he spoke Persian and Arabic fluently.

⁴⁰⁸ H.St J.B. Philby, *Arabian Days, An Autobiography* (London, 1948), p. 4.

⁴⁰⁹ He was assigned to estimate the losses in crops to compensate farmers during the manoeuvres of the British Army; he became a manager assistant of Ambala's revenues. He also worked in managing some areas; he was responsible for crime cases before they were referred to court.

⁴¹⁰ Philby, *Arabian Days*, pp. 32, 42, 45, 48-51, 62.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 91.

Saud and Sharif Hussein. As a result of such factors there was a need for the British to find people who were adept at Eastern languages and with a service record with the British Government of India.⁴¹³ Philby was an ideal choice to become an envoy as he had exceptional linguistic skills and seven years of distinguished service in India. In 1915 Philby was recruited by Percy Cox in Baghdad into the finance branch of British administration;⁴¹⁴ his job was to fix compensation for business and property owners. Within short space of time, Philby became one of the special assistants of Sir Percy Cox and formulated analytical reports on the political situation in Arabia, and the disputes of the allies.⁴¹⁵ His reports reveal an exceptional insight of the situation that threatened the British Government. The opportunity for Philby to travel to the unknown lands of the Arabian Peninsula emerged with the failure of Mr Ronald Storrs, who was the first choice for the journey but failed to reach the destination due to heatstroke.⁴¹⁶ Philby was keen to embark upon the journey⁴¹⁷ as evident from the expeditions he undertook in India.⁴¹⁸ Cox sent Philby to the Arabian Peninsula as the leader of a delegation. Philby met Hamilton⁴¹⁹ who was on another mission⁴²⁰ (as discussed in the earlier section) as the Political Agent in Kuwait. This was the first voyage of Philby to the Arabian Peninsula, and it was followed, later, by his journey to Al Qassim. The British promise to create an Arab federation or a unified Arab state, from Aleppo to Aden.⁴²¹ The distinguished female British explorer, Gertrude Bell, trained Philby in the art of espionage, which was a crucial part of the jobs of the political agents of Britain.⁴²² During the First World War, the Arab revolt also involved British officers, Philby and Lawrence, against the Ottoman Turks. Philby was sent to Ibn Saud with the mission of convincing him to assume an active part against Ibn Rashid.⁴²³ Philby was criticised by Howarth for having a “heightened sense of his own opinion”.⁴²⁴ This is consistent with the researcher’s inference that Philby was deeply interested in Ibn Saud and furiously quarrelled with subordinates and superiors, without distinction, including his

⁴¹³ Philby, *Arabian Days*, p. 92; E. Monroe, *Philby of Arabia* (London, 1973), p. 49.

⁴¹⁴ Monroe, *Philby of Arabia*, p. 58.

⁴¹⁵ During that time, Ibn Saud and Al Sharif Hussein were allies of Britain. They were the two most important leaders in the Arabian Peninsula. However, they both had different goals that they wanted to achieve regarding the sovereignty of the area. Therefore, Britain was trying to find a solution to balance the two powers and ensure their loyalty.

⁴¹⁶ Philby, *Arabian Days*, pp. 127-140.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-51.

⁴¹⁹ Hamilton was supposed to join and lead that delegation. However, Cox's orders to Hamilton were to propose either joining Philby or going back to Kuwait. Hamilton preferred to go back after finishing his talks with Ibn Saud; Philby, *Arabian Day*, p. 144.

⁴²⁰ ‘Report on Najd Mission 1917-1918’, IOR/R/15/1/747. See also Philby, *Arabian Days*, pp. 141-142, 212.

⁴²¹ J. Loftus and M. Aarons. *The Secret War against the Jews: How Western Espionage Betrayed the Jewish People* (New York, 1994), pp. 75-97.

⁴²² G. Bell and F. Mason, *Amurath to Amurath: Includes Biography of Gertrude Bell* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 492-493.

⁴²³ H.S. Abedin, *Abdul Aziz Al-Saud and the Great Game in Arabia, 1896-1946* (Ph.D. thesis, King’s College London, 2002), pp. 108-149. The experiences were later published by Philby as *The Heart of Arabia: A Record of Travel and Exploration*, Vols I and II (London, 1922), and also Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis* (London, 1928).

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-149.

deputy, Colonel Hamilton. Akin to Shakespear, Philby was in favour of presenting a favourable impression of Ibn Saud to whom he was assigned after the death of Shakespear, to the Royal Central Asian Society, as he was an intelligent explorer and aware of what would capture their interest. Nevertheless, piling praise upon the regime's attempt to make fields out of desert, the researcher finds the account of Philby's travels less remarkable in terms of their factual accuracy in comparison to the heartfelt responses that they received from a potentially inimical audience. Even the British explorer suspected of Wahhabism and Ibn Saud, D.G. Hogarth conceded that the Bedouin settlement upon the land marked an incredible social revolution, if true.⁴²⁵ Philby was chastised by Arnold Wilson in 1929 for toning down his real perception of Ibn Saud: "in such matters, we want not less, not more, controversy".⁴²⁶ Philby's stubborn ideas and unrelenting critique of British policies and decisions, particularly about administration of Iraq, led to his dismissal from his job.⁴²⁷ The researcher emphasises that it is important to notice that unlike the previous envoys, Philby was critical of the policies of the British Government and was not afraid to express his opinions as noted in his written correspondence and reports

Unlike the previous British explorers and envoys, Philby was predominantly and fanatically pro-Arab. Like the power elite of Britain, he was also anti-Jewish, however, they, unlike Philby, did not support the political independence and self-determination of Arabia. The review of the life of Philby and his travel accounts indicate that his mission was of a minor political nature, however, it resulted in creating an alliance between Ibn Saud and Philby and the latter adopting Wahhabism.⁴²⁸ Although Philby was outcast by his Government, his relationship with Ibn Saud remained strong and tolerant, which is evidenced by Philby's return to the Arabian Peninsula upon the request of Ibn Saud. This indicates that this voyage - which was undertaken by Philby after his resignation in 1924 - was not prompted by his earlier political missions, rather, it was a voyage of personal choice as he had been dismissed by the government due to his vocal criticisms of British policies.⁴²⁹

Although the motivations of Shakespear and Philby differed vastly, they were similar in their assessment of Ibn Saud as they both recognised him to be the emerging leader within the Arabian Peninsula. Shakespear was motivated by the need to protect the imperial interests of Britain by making them realise the power and significance of Ibn Saud, and he did not go against the Empire to achieve his goals. Philby's influence with Ibn Saud showed a similar pattern to that of Shakespear, as he persuaded Ibn Saud in Arab, to discover oil. Thus, the

⁴²⁵ R.S.G. Fletcher, *British Imperialism and 'the Tribal Question': Desert Administration and Nomadic Societies in the Middle East, 1919-1936* (Oxford, 2015), p. 44.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁷ Philby, *Arabian Days*, pp. 198-199.

⁴²⁸ He founded a company titled the Eastern Company; it was in Jeddah, and was responsible for the importation of cars to Saudi Arabia.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 295-300.

researcher deduces that his motivations behind his political missions were based entirely on European ideologies or imperial interests in the first part of his journey, however his ideologies changed after he converted to Islam and adopted Wahhabism.

After being dismissed from British services, Philby devoted his time to writing articles and books about his journeys.⁴³⁰ Accordingly, he began to hold lectures in America regarding British policies and this resulted in him being arrested by British authorities and being detained for several months.⁴³¹ From the countless literary sources created by Philby, the most significant books were: *Sa'udi Arabia*, accounting for the three stages of Saudi history; *Arabia of the Wahhabis* and *The Heart of Arabia*, which provide a series of narration of the incidents witnessed by him during his voyage. Philby's writings and accounts were regarded highly by myself in this thesis and became one of the essential references for me about the Arabian Peninsula.⁴³² The second journey of Philby holds significant importance as it was the voyage during which he visited Al Qassim.

During the journey, once the delegation between Ibn Saud, Al Sharif Hussein and Philby's commandant was over, Philby prepared a report⁴³³ that presented five key objectives extracted from the delegation. The most significant objective determined by the political agent was to discuss the situation with Ibn Saud to find possible tactics against their enemies.⁴³⁴ Another significant objective was to find a British political agent to be assigned to Najd to provide a handle on the situation. 1918 marked the end of the first part of the journey and Philby had to return to Iraq as Al Sharif would not allow him to return to Riyadh.⁴³⁵ However, upon his return to Iraq, Philby was sent by Cox to Ibn Saud in Riyadh in order to determine about the outcome of his meeting with Al Sharif. One of the significant outcomes of the discussion between Ibn Saud and Philby was the attack against Hail, during which the latter accompanied the former to Al Qassim. However, to prevent Philby from suffering the same fate as Shakespear, Ibn Saud did not allow Philby to accompany him. In the October of the same year, he returned to Iraq after his mission was complete; he had been travelling for a total of nine months during which he travelled nearly 2,600 miles.⁴³⁶

The second part of Philby's journey indicates that despite Philby's explicit objective of informing Ibn Saud about discussions with Al Sharif, the core aim of the entire delegation

⁴³⁰ R.G. Hughes, P. Murphy and P.H.J. Davies, 'The British Secret Intelligence Service, 1909-1949', *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 26, No. 5 (2011), pp. 701-729.

⁴³¹ Philby, *Arabian Days*, pp. 316-317.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, pp. 301-305. Some of the works written by Philby and considered significant by the researchers include, *Arabian Days*, *An Autobiography* (London, 1948); *Sa'udi Arabia* (London, 1955); *Arabia of the Wahhabis* (London, 1928); *Arabian Jubilee* (London, 1952); *The Empty Quarter: Being a Description of the Great South Desert of Arabia Known as Rub' al Khali* (London, 1933).

⁴³³ 'Report on Najd Mission 1917-1918', IOR/R/15/1/747.

⁴³⁴ Here, the common cause was Hail, as it was for the Turks in the Arabian Peninsula.

⁴³⁵ 'Report on Najd Mission 1917-1918' IOR/R/15/1/747.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*

was to encourage Ibn Saud to attack Hail, as it would provide an internal front against the Turks. This is consistent with Philby's statements regarding the outcome of his discussions with Ibn Saud; which ended as soon as Ibn Saud pledged to take down Hail.⁴³⁷ Further evidence of this is that once the attack on Hail was made, Philby was ordered to return to Iraq, implying that his mission had been accomplished. This adds weight to the claim that Philby's journey, from the very beginning, was motivated by political ambitions to serve the British Empire; from this it can be deduced that Philby's presence in Al Qassim was not coincidental but deliberate and was motivated by a desire to discover and collect intelligence.

Philby's account of these events have been published in four different ways; official documents sent to the officials of British Government immediately after the success of the mission; *Heart of Arabia* which provides a description of his observations during the first part of his journey; *Arabia of the Wahhabis* written and published after he was removed from the British Government services; and *Arabian Days*. The main focus of these sources is on Al Qassim and Philby's findings in the region, in terms of its economic, social and political situation. This research, however, focuses predominantly on Philby's *Arabia of the Wahhabis* published in 1928 and the official report,⁴³⁸ as they cover the journey in addition to providing a comprehensive summary of Saudi-British relations. The report includes the most significant motivations of the British envoys behind the journey; which was found to be the military operations of Ibn Saud against Hail that made Al Qassim a central area for the attacks. It can be noticed, however, that Al Qassim was not covered in his report; except some parts about the military reasons he was assigned to. Though the information in that report served the British Government's policy in the area, it did not cover other social or geographical aspects of Al Qassim, or any other area. This reflects how Philby's objective was not Alqassim in particular; rather, his objective was to supervise the forces which were to attack Hail. It is possible, then, to say that the information in the report were really meant to serve the British Government's military interests; making Philby's interest focused on that side only.

In comparison to the reports and travel accounts presented by the other British envoys, Philby's writings and reports are more comprehensive.⁴³⁹ This is attributed to the fact that Ibn Saud provided Philby with companions who were assigned to him to answer his questions and that he was allowed to take photographs openly and use pen and paper without hesitation.⁴⁴⁰ This was in stark contrast to the previous envoys and British travellers, who used disguise to collect information and only had access to limited information; indeed, even Shakespeare, despite his favourable relations with Ibn Saud, only had a letter of

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁹ To view these envoys' reports, see earlier parts of this chapter.

⁴⁴⁰ Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*. p. 263.

recommendation.⁴⁴¹ Furthermore, in *Heart of Arabia*, Philby referred to the inaccuracies made by Palgrave and provided a correct account, in addition to making references to the information that had been presented by Doughty, Hamilton, Leachman and Shakespear. This suggests that Philby was well-read on the region and had prepared himself to collect intelligence. Philby's report differed from Hamilton's because the latter was not interested in recording notes about the economic, social and geographical aspects of the region, rather, he was dedicated to serving his government and only noted the information deemed crucial for the British Government. Only similarity associated with Philby's accounts is that of Doughty which covered various areas. In his book, Philby covered the details of his experiences in Najd during the second part of his first journey, including Riyadh, Al Qassim and the adjoining areas. His main areas of focus were: archaeological, geographical, political and economic. One of the reasons for his extensive collection of information was his interaction with certain trade families of Al Qassim, and collected information about areas, which weren't necessary for his political mission. It can be inferred that Philby's *Arabia of the Wahhabis* was not intended for political or imperial motivations. Therefore, this book in particular is significant for this study, as it provides comprehensive information regarding different topics; a comparison between the information and observation of Philby and those who proceeded him (correcting any fallacies), and a collection of pictures that are considered the first to be taken of Al Qassim. The researcher emphasises that these photographs are matchless as they provide a first-hand account of the geography and social aspects of Al Qassim.⁴⁴²

Most often than not, cultural encounters between the West and the East challenges Christians and Muslims because both believe in the existence of a fundamental truth, yet each follows a distinctive and different doctrine. Consequently, followers of these religions exhibit prejudice against one another, in terms of culture and belief, as was the case of Doughty, the informal traveller. Doughty was a devout Christian and ascribed dark principles and uncivilised precepts to the Bedouins of Arabia. In addition, the behaviour he experienced at the hands of people of Buraydah could imply that the Arabs and Bedouins were, in fact, how Doughty described them. However, as I have identified more than one account provides evidence that Doughty was more often than not rude to the Arabs, expressed his opinions vocally without giving thought to the cultural norms of the region, and held himself in contempt of the Muslims, as his belief that Christianity is a superior religion than Islam dominated his personality. Doughty's motivations were largely influenced by imperialism and European ideology, which made him think of the Arabs as an inferior race. Furthermore, the repetitive

⁴⁴¹ Winstone, *Captain Shakespear*, pp. 30-55.

⁴⁴² After displaying all the pictures taken by Leachman and Shakespear, which are held in the Royal Geographical Society archive, the researcher found Philby's pictures to be the most accurate and most numerous. The reason behind such distinction is the fact that he was supported by Ibn Saud, so nobody could stand against him.

use of terms and phrases such as ‘uncivilised’ and ‘deserved to be ruled’ clearly imply that Doughty, like other Victorian travellers, such as Burton, Warburton and Palgrave, viewed the practices of the Arab Peninsula and its people through their own ideologies, that set the Orient apart as ‘other’ or ‘different’. Likewise, the other informal traveller, Palgrave, exhibited imperialistic tendencies from the very beginning of his journey. The authenticity of his travel accounts has been criticised to a far greater extent than any of the other travellers’ and ultimately revealed some misinformation. The entire travel account of Palgrave indicates a superior imperialistic approach which ascribes all the dark aspects to Islam and its followers, while no positive quality is associated with them. Palgrave clearly wanted to provide a dark image of the people of Arabian Peninsula. Nevertheless, the account of Palgrave exhibits his own ideologies about the Orient and not the reality, without offering any valuable information of scientific significance, however, Doughty’s exploration of Najd provided a more scientific view of the region, encompassing traveller, archaeological and geographical aspects.



Map 8: Philby Journey route

3.5 CONCLUSION

There were noticeable differences between the informal travellers of Britain and the political envoys who were officially sent to the region. For instance, by the time Palgrave reached the Arabian Peninsula, the Wahhabi movement had turned into a political force. Where Palgrave was severely disturbed by the Wahhabi movement and refers to it as the “Wahhabi stiffness”

and “deadening influence”, Philby was an avid supporter of the Wahhabi tribesmen and recognised it as the next emerging force in the area. He also regarded Ibn Saud highly which is consistent with Shakespear’s views about Ibn Saud. However, unlike Philby, Shakespear was not openly critical about British policies Shakespear’s motivations were heavily influenced by his commitment to the British Empire and its imperialistic ideologies, this was not the case with Philby, whose imperial interests were not very strong to begin with, as evident from the above review. Despite the fact that the first part of his journey to Arabian Peninsula was entirely based on his political mission, the later voyages and his books showed no evidence of imperialistic tendencies. In comparison to both the informal travellers (Palgrave and Doughty) and the British envoys (Leachman, Shakespear and Hamilton), the works of Philby hold the most significance for researchers because of the valuable information that they provided on Saudi Arabia and Al Qassim. It is concluded that there is a clear distinction in the discourse and writings of the British travellers regarding the Arab region in general. Likewise, the writings of the informal travellers in the nineteenth century can be easily set apart from those of the political agents sent on official missions in the early twentieth century. For instance, whilst Palgrave’s writings exhibited interest in customs, social and economic aspects of the region, whereas Doughty’s writings incorporated a scientific approach as well, including archaeological, geographical and historical aspects of the region. Doughty also focused on the economic, political and social aspects of Al Qassim. Furthermore, the time spent in the regions also impacted the writings of the travellers and political agents. Palgrave spent more time in Buraydah in comparison to Doughty, and the former’s writings and accounts were, accordingly, of a higher quality. Similarly, since Philby spent more time in Arabia than the other travellers and agents, his writings were more comprehensive, offering more valuable details of Al Qassim, Najd, and Saudi Arabia.

With respect to the format and style of the writings and travel accounts, it is concluded that there was a striking contrast. The political agents sent by Britain used short, summarised and to-the-point arguments and notes to describe the events that they saw in addition to concentrating predominantly on political, geographical, social and economic factors. These characteristics can be seen in the writings of Leachman and Shakespear. Hamilton’s writings, however, were very precise and focused entirely on his mission, and thus did not make any references to social, economic or scientific issues. In contrast, Doughty’s and Palgrave’s accounts exhibited hints of fiction and fantasy, and their focus was more on providing an embellished account of their travels rather than the ‘reality’.

Another difference between the writings of the informal travellers and those of the political agents is to be found in their motivations. From the account of Palgrave’s journey, it is evident that he was motivated by his religious and political interests, whereas, Doughty’s journey was not initiated by the support of any institution. In turn, it is; evident from the

research that his goals were scientific in nature and focused on languages, archaeology, and the geography of the region. The motivations of the British envoys were political in nature. This is undeniably true, as each of the agents was appointed by the British Government and sent to the Arabian Peninsula with specific orders and commands. Notwithstanding this, some of the agents availed themselves of the opportunities that were afforded to them and used their delegations and assigned regions to explore and discover. Thus, they fulfilled other objectives in addition to those demanded by their political masters. This can be seen in the work of Shakespear. In addition, Philby became close to Ibn Saud and was given the opportunity to photograph the region, ask questions about it, and interact with people as much as he wanted. Therefore, his information collection was both political and scientific in nature, in addition to him fulfilling his personal goal of writing in such a way as to ensure that he would, thereafter, be referred to as one of the best voyagers.

The beginning of the twentieth century marked the start of an era in which a number of Arab countries came under British political influence. As various parts of the Arabian Peninsula came under the control of British, accounts of these regions by travellers began to appear in substantial numbers. The nature of British travellers' travels to the Arabian Peninsula was tempered by the imperial presence of Britain, in one way or another. Even the travellers journeying independently, evidently, often framed their journeys through the then structures of imperialism embedded in the culture and society of Britain. However, from the analysis undertaken in this chapter, it is clear that the Edwardian claim that each and every Western traveller was driven by the same motivations to travel to the Orient, is not accurate. Although a majority of the informal travellers and the British envoys or political agents approached the Arabian Peninsula through their imperialistic ideologies and were motivated by the aim of preserving British interest, this research has revealed that orientalism and the imperialism concept of Edward Said cannot be applied to each and every traveller from the West.

CHAPTER 4: AL QASSIM UNDER THE SECOND SAUDI STATE THROUGH THE WRITINGS OF BRITISH TRAVELLERS AND ENVOYS

Chapter Four addresses the political relationship between Al Qassim and the second Saudi state (1823-1891)⁴⁴³ and is divided into six different sections. The first section focuses on the return of Faisal Ibn Turki to power for a second term and the position of the people of Al Qassim towards that in 1843. The second section looks at the Sharif of Mecca's movement towards Al Qassim in 1846 and Faisal Ibn Turki's reaction to that. The third section is about the revolution of the people of Unayzah against Jiluwi Ibn Turki and his ousting in 1853. The fourth section subsequently discusses the First Unayzah War of 1854. The fifth section thereafter notes and analyses the importance of Faisal Ibn Turki's summoning of the governor of Buraydah, Abdul Aziz Al Abu Ulayan, to Riyadh in 1859 and the killing of the governor. Finally, the sixth section pertains to the Unayzah revolution in 1862 and the Second Unayzah War.

Through this multi-sectional approach, the researcher critiques the accounts of Palgrave, Doughty and Philby; by providing arguments and supportive evidence relating to the different local sources using qualitative analysis. My aim to provide a comprehensive account on whether the information provided by these travellers added significant contribution to the existing historiography by addressing the missing aspects, not considered by the local historians and other Western travellers that would lead toward knowledge contribution on the selected topic. Simultaneously, the chapter will also provide analysis of whether their writings were based on pre-determined agendas and under the influence of the imperial and the European ideologies to bring different realities through considering observers on point of views about Al-Qassim.

4.1 THE RETURN OF FAISAL IBN TURKI TO POWER FOR A SECOND TERM AND THE POSITION OF THE PEOPLE OF AL QASSIM TOWARDS THAT IN 1843

The second period of Faisal's rule began in 1843 when he exited the prison of Muhammad Ali Pasha in Egypt. Since Faisal's second reign to power is regarded as significant by the historians,⁴⁴⁴ the researcher highlights the writings of three British travellers, namely Palgrave, Doughty and Philby, who wrote about this time. The importance of Faisal's second term is

⁴⁴³ The second Saudi state continued until 1891. However, the year 1863 has been used because the travellers' writings regarding these aspects ended in 1863. The focus of the thesis is on these writings.

⁴⁴⁴ A. Abu Alyah, *Tārīkh al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah* (*The History of the Second Saudi State*) [in Arabic], p. 17.

particularly relevant as he is deemed to be the real founder of the second Saudi state,⁴⁴⁵ which is the key to answering the primary research question of this study. With his exit from prison, he started corresponding with the chiefs of Najd, summoning them to support him by informing them of his intentions and aspirations to restore his rule.⁴⁴⁶ The researcher highlights the writings of Palgrave, pertaining to his observations about Al Qassim and Faisal Ibn Turki:

When Feysul, the reigning monarch of the Wahhabee or Ebn-Sa'ood dynasty, returned for the third time in 1843 or 1844 (for I am not sure of the precise date) to his native Nejed and hereditary throne, he found in the rich and populous province of Kaseem his foremost auxiliaries for re-establishing his sway and expelling the last remnants of Egyptian occupation. The indwellers of this district took the opportunity of incorporating themselves into the great Wahhabee empire; more, however, from hatred to the stranger Bashas of Egypt than from any particular sympathy with the natives of Nejed, against whom, indeed, they had often waged war in former times. They now consented to furnish Feysul with an annual contingent of tribute, and of troops also, should such be required, but on condition of non-interference with their own indigenous chiefs, municipal administration, and local customs.⁴⁴⁷

Palgrave's account was not a first-hand observation as the situation explained in the above quote happened in 1843-44 and his own journey through Arabia did not occur until 1862-63 as detailed in his book. By interacting with the local sources, the researcher highlights that although Palgrave claimed that Al Qassim inhabitants were ready to support Faisal, this was not entirely true as Al Qassim was divided into two sides at that time: the first part was the Unayzah emirate ruled by the Alsulaim family (who supported Faisal), whereas, the second part, the Buraydah emirate ruled by Abdul-Aziz Al Abu Ulayan opposed Faisal's reign and joined Ibn Thunnayan⁴⁴⁸ instead. After the two parties reached Al Qassim and the armies began preparing for confrontation, Ibn Thunnayan found that his position was weak and as a result he decided to return to Riyadh. Faisal did not punish the people of Buraydah for taking a position against him and left them alone. He continued marching to Riyadh and was able to besiege Ibn Thunnayan and arrested him. The latter being subsequently imprisoned where he died shortly after.⁴⁴⁹ This marked the beginning of the second term of Faisal Ibn Turki's reign, which lasted until his death in 1865. This is consistent with Philby's writings⁴⁵⁰ in which he described the division in the people of Al Qassim. The imprecision in the narration of Palgrave is further supported by Winder's⁴⁵¹ book, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century*, in which he described the issue of Faisal ibn Turki and emphasised that this division played a crucial part in stopping him regaining his throne. This is supported by the writings of a

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁶ O. Ibn Bisher. *'Unwān al- Majd fī Tārīkh Najd* [The symbol of glory in the history of Najd]. [in Arabic] Vol. 2, pp. 208-211.

⁴⁴⁷ W.G. Palgrave, *Personal Narrative of a Year's Journey Through Central and Eastern Arabia* (London, 1865), Vol. 1, pp. 167-168.

⁴⁴⁸ He is Abdullah Ibn Thunnayan Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Thunnayan Ibn Saud, a member of the Saudi family.

⁴⁴⁹ O. Ibn Bisher. *'Unwān al- Majd fī Tārīkh Najd* [The symbol of glory in the history of Najd]. [in Arabic], Vol. 2, pp. 208-211.

⁴⁵⁰ H.St J.B. Philby, *Saudi Arabia* (London, 1955), p. 191.

⁴⁵¹ R.B. Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1965), pp. 249-251.

number of local historians, such as Alzkir and Ibn Bisher who emphasised that Palgrave's view, as quoted above, was misplaced as Al Qassim was divided into two groups; this, therefore, also supports the writings of Philby and Winder. The researcher has found that further evidence in support of this interpretation can be found in Ibn Bisher's *Title of Glory in the History of Njed*, in which Ibn Bisher explains that during Faisal's stay in Unayzah, an alliance was made between a majority of the tribes and chiefs of Al Qassim⁴⁵² with the exception of the governor of Buraydah.⁴⁵³ Added to this, Palgrave's conclusion that the inhabitants of Al Qassim despised the occupation of Egypt and, as a result, heartily availed themselves of the opportunity to join Faisal's state. However, neither foreign nor local sources⁴⁵⁴ provide any relevant information in support of his conclusion, thus, cementing the researcher's scepticism about Palgrave's writings in this regard.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Palgrave believed that in the settled Arabs of Najd, he found the "pure Arabs", and his descriptions of Bedouins expressed his personal loathing and challenged the conventional representation of the noble savage.⁴⁵⁵ Therefore, even though Palgrave's writings were considered sceptical by many travellers, his writings provide a valuable source for this study on the inhabitants of Najd.

The researcher notes that the people in Al Qassim wanted to support Faisal because of his first term of rule in which he provided a stable political environment of the latter period is considered. Palgrave's writings suggest that people joined Faisal more due to their fear of Egyptian Pashas attacks, rather than due to their having sympathy with the Najd people. The researcher emphasises that Palgrave's judgment was based on nothing other than his own prejudice against the Wahhabis. This conclusion is consistent with that which he has faced by some writers, for instance Pirenne⁴⁵⁶ who claimed that Palgrave's book appeared to be written only to condemn the Wahhabis of Arabia. This argument is supported by Philby who states that some of the issues of Najd are stressed by Palgrave without the latter giving any proof.

Palgrave also claimed that Faisal's support increased with his acceptance of the condition that he would not interfere with internal affairs, such as civil administration. The researcher highlights the fact that it would have been hard for Faisal to not accept any conditions,

⁴⁵² O. Ibn Bisher. *'Unwān al- Majd fī Tārīkh Najd* [The symbol of glory in the history of Najd]. [in Arabic], Vol. 2, pp. 208-211.

⁴⁵³ M. Alzkir, *al- 'uqūd al-durrīyah fī Tārīkh albilād al-Najdiyyah* [in Arabic], manuscript, p. 72.

⁴⁵⁴ O. Ibn Bisher. *'Unwān al- Majd fī Tārīkh Najd* [The symbol of glory in the history of Najd]. [in Arabic], Vol. 2, p. 163; M. Alzkir, *al- 'uqūd al-durrīyah fī Tārīkh albilād al-Najdiyyah* [in Arabic], manuscript, p. 73; M. Alsalman, *al-ahwāl al-siyāsīyah fī Al Qassim fī 'ahd al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah 1823-1891* [The Political Conditions in Al-Qassim during the second Saudi State 1823-1891] [In Arabic] pp. 142-146; M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fī akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-'Irāq* (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq) [in Arabic] p. 322; Philby, *Sa'udi*, pp. 190-192; Winder, *Saudi Arabia*, pp. 249-251.

⁴⁵⁵ L.D. Cooper, *Travellers' Accounts as a Source for the Study of Nineteenth Century Wahhabism* (Master's dissertation, University of Arizona, 1984), p. 26.

⁴⁵⁶ J. Pirenne, *Iktishaf Jazirat Al-Arab* (Discovery of the Arabian Peninsula) [in Arabic], p. 320.

particularly as he was still in the process of gaining supporters. Therefore, the researcher believes that Palgrave's account in this regard was true, however it was only true in the case of people of Unayzah. This is consistent with Dr Alsalman's⁴⁵⁷ views as mentioned in his book *The Political Conditions in Al Qassim during the Second Saudi State 1823-1891* and further supports the belief that these conditions were agreed upon by the chiefs of Unayzah and Faisal.⁴⁵⁸ Nevertheless, as established previously through Philby's and Winder's arguments along with the local sources, this condition did not include the people of Buraydah as they did not support Faisal.

The second term of Faisal's reign is considered a crucial period in the history of the second Saudi state as a number of significant political events took place. This period is paramount to this study as a number of Western travellers made voyages to Najd such as Doughty and Palgrave. It is worth mentioning that the territory of Faisal's state stretched along the coast of the Arabian Gulf, extending from Kuwait to Ras Al Khaimah. The western part of his country stretched from the western boundaries of Al Qassim towards Al-Hejaz. In the north, it ran from Al-Jouf⁴⁵⁹ to the Empty Quarter desert, in the south of the Arabian Peninsula.⁴⁶⁰

4.2 THE SHARIF OF MECCA'S MOVEMENT TOWARDS AL QASSIM IN 1846 AND FAISAL IBN TURKI'S REACTION THERETO

The movement of the Sharif of Mecca to Al Qassim in 1846 and Faisal's reaction to it is considered one of the most significant events as it marked the start of rising tensions between Faisal and the people of Unayzah. The radical change in the administration of Unayzah was the most resounding result of this and led to an outburst of revolution against the rule of Faisal. This event was recorded by Palgrave in his narrative, but the information provided by him is not necessarily supported by later historians of Hejaz or Najd. According to Palgrave's account, Prince Abdullah Ibn Faisal was trying to invade Unayzah and Faisal himself approached the city with a special army. However, the Sharif of Mecca was approached by the governor of Unayzah, Zamil Al Sulaim, through a letter which informed him about the threat of the Wahhabis at Unayzah. This led to the arrival of Sharif in Al Qassim where he met Faisal and his sons and offered to serve as a mediator between the two parties. Consequently, and having agreed to Sharif's conditions, Faisal departed from Unayzah and returned to Riyadh whereas the former returned to Hejaz. As a consequence, he preferred to

⁴⁵⁷ M. Alsalman, *al-ahwāl al-siyāsīyah fī Al Qassim fī 'ahd al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah 1823-1891* [*The Political Conditions in Al-Qassim during the second Saudi State 1823-1891*] [In Arabic], pp. 149-151.

⁴⁵⁸ As quoting from popular poetry has become one of the sources of local history in Saudi Arabia in our times, it is possible to infer from some of Zamil's poems, in particular, that he witnessed the events described.

⁴⁵⁹ Located in the far north of the Arabian Peninsula, today it is one of the provinces of Saudi Arabia on the northern border with Jordan.

⁴⁶⁰ A. Abu Alyah, *Tārīkh al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah* (*The History of the Second Saudi State*) [in Arabic], p. 132.

return to his territory and not give fuel to the revolution. Palgrave recorded the event as follows:

Abd-Allah tried a sudden and violent assault but was repulsed. He sent word to his father Feysul, who in all speed collected the whole force of Upper Nejed, and marched with them in person to 'Oneyzah, hoping by this juncture of his own and of his son's armies, to carry the place by storm before the sympathy of Kaseem, already enlisted in the cause of the capital, should bring about a general levy to its defence. But Zamil had already sent word of these events to 'Abd-el-Mottalib the Shereef of Mecca, and laid before him the danger impending over the sacred city itself from Wahhabee encroachments.⁴⁶¹

Despite the claims of Palgrave, later historians of Najd and Hejaz such as Ibn Bisher provide a different account of events. According to Ibn Bisher, both parties were reluctant to engage in war and hence carried out negotiations instead, until a truce was reached.⁴⁶² After the truce the Sharif returned to Mecca, and the governor of Unayzah was replaced by Faisal; Nasser Al Suhaimi was appointed as the new governor.⁴⁶³ The researcher highlights that the above analysis shows a difference in what Palgrave narrated and that which was written by other historians. Ibn Bisher⁴⁶⁴ stressed that the reason behind Sharif's invasion of Al Qassim was because it was instigated by the chiefs of Al Qassim. Al-Bassam and Alzkir,⁴⁶⁵ on the other hand, emphasised the reason behind this act as the Ottoman Empire's efforts to prevent the rule of Imam Faisal from expanding to Hejaz, as his predecessors had earlier achieved. A Historian of Hejaz, Dahlan,⁴⁶⁶ provides confirmation that Sharif came with the intention of invading Al Qassim in 1846/47 and caused Faisal to gather his forces. None of the historians provide evidence that Unayzah was invaded by Faisal before Sharif arrived. This is further supported by Winder,⁴⁶⁷ as he mentions: "For the first several years of Faisal's reign there are no reports of serious trouble in Qasim, but in 1846-1847, when the Sharif of Mecca had made an abortive invasion of Nejd." This is also consistent with Philby's⁴⁶⁸ views in his book, *Sa'udi Arabia*: "In the first place Faisal was little troubled by impacts on his realm from

⁴⁶¹ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, Vol. 1, p. 171.

⁴⁶² O. Ibn Bisher. *'Unwān al- Majd fī Tārīkh Najd* [The symbol of glory in the history of Najd]. [in Arabic], Vol. 2, pp. 240-243; M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fī akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-'Irāq (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq)* [in Arabic], pp. 326-328; M. Alzkir, *al-'uqūd al-durrīyah fī Tārīkh albilād al-Najdiyyah* [in Arabic], manuscript., pp. 73-74.

⁴⁶³ O. Ibn Bisher. *'Unwān al- Majd fī Tārīkh Najd* [The symbol of glory in the history of Najd]. [in Arabic], Vol. 2, pp. 244, 250-255; Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat Al-Mushtaq*; M. Alzkir, *al-'uqūd al-durrīyah fī Tārīkh albilād al-Najdiyyah* [in Arabic], manuscript, p. 74; M. Al-Ubayd, *Al-Najm Al-lam'a (The Illustrious Star)* [in Arabic] manuscript, pp. 51-52; Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia*, p. 201.

⁴⁶⁴ O. Ibn Bisher. *'Unwān al- Majd fī Tārīkh Najd* [The symbol of glory in the history of Najd]. [in Arabic], Vol. 2, p. 240.

⁴⁶⁵ M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fī akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-'Irāq (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq)* [in Arabic], p. 326; M. Alzkir, *al-'uqūd al-durrīyah fī Tārīkh albilād al-Najdiyyah* [in Arabic], manuscript, pp. 73-74.

⁴⁶⁶ A.Z. Dahlan, *Tārīkh ashraf al-Hijāz 1840-1883 : khulāsat al-kalām fī bayān umarā' al-balad al-harām* [In Arabic], p. 314.

⁴⁶⁷ Winder, *Saudi Arabia*, pp. 249-251.

⁴⁶⁸ Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia*, pp. 202-203.

outside; and the only case of attempted aggression by a foreign power occurred in April 1847, when the Sharif of Mecca, Muhammad ibn ‘Aun, marched on the Qasim.”⁴⁶⁹

The researcher states that Palgrave’s lack of knowledge as to the events in Najd was the reason behind the generalisations that he proffered in his writing. The inaccuracy of the information provided by Palgrave is further proved by the false account of the names and events of Najd. Palgrave’s account implicated Zamil with Sharif, in addition to using his name for describing the issues during that period. The local historians, after the time of Palgrave, provide evidence to the opposite effect such as the fact that Zamil was not even the Governor at that time and that he was appointed during 1868-90⁴⁷⁰ whereas the issue described by Palgrave occurred in 1846-47. Added to that, Palgrave’s narration that the reconciliation was through the meeting of Faisal and his sons with Sharif was also proved wrong by local historians and Philby.⁴⁷¹

Although the authenticity of Palgrave’s narrative was questioned by many later travellers, the researcher highlights that the entire book by Palgrave was based on his travel reflections. Moreover, he also claimed to lose his record notes because of the ship wreck, which addresses the misconceptions and contradictions in his writings to some extent. Added to that, it is evident that the information was either manipulated by Palgrave with underlying motivations of portraying a bad reputation of Arabs, as is clear from his writings: "They are nothing but dogs and their generosity stems from their savageness and carelessness and not from real nobility.”⁴⁷²

This is consistent with the account of battle of Alitimah during which the cities of Buraydah and Unayzah lost a number of men.⁴⁷³ The revolution against Faisal⁴⁷⁴ failed and in his attempts to revive the rebellion Abdul-Aziz Al Abu Ulayan faced strong opposition.⁴⁷⁵ Faisal forgave the inhabitants of Al Qassim who asked for forgiveness, It is worth mentioning this behaviour as evidence against Palgrave’s⁴⁷⁶ view that Faisal was intolerant. The researcher ascribes Palgrave’s erroneous view to the fact that he wished to portray the Arabs as savages and thus he wrote nothing positive about Faisal’s forgiveness.

⁴⁶⁹ Philby, *Sa’udi Arabia*, pp. 202-203.

⁴⁷⁰ M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fi akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-‘Irāq (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq)* [in Arabic], p. 410.

⁴⁷¹ Ibn O. Ibn Bisher, *Unwān al- Majd fī Tārīkh Najd* [The symbol of glory in the history of Najd]. [in Arabic], Vol. 2, pp. 241; Philby, *Sa’udi Arabia*, pp. 195-196.

⁴⁷² Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year’s Journey*, Vol. 1, p. 171.

⁴⁷³ M.U. Al-Fakhri, *Tarikh al-Fakhri (History of the Fakhri)* [in Arabic] (Riyadh, 1999), p. 216.

⁴⁷⁴ After the appointment of Nasser Al Sehami, clashes later broke out between the two families.

⁴⁷⁵ O. Ibn Bisher, *Unwān al- Majd fī Tārīkh Najd* [The symbol of glory in the history of Najd]. [in Arabic], Vol. 2, p. 267.

⁴⁷⁶ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year’s Journey*, Vol. 1, p. 168.

Although Palgrave's motivations appear to be preordained in terms of portraying the image of the Arab world as an inferior race as viewed through his own ideological stance, Philby's views of the similar event indicates that the supposition of Edward Said's view that all the travellers had preordained motivations appears to fall short, as analysed by the researcher. Doughty, failed to mention this event in his writings, His allure to mention this is however more understandable as he did not get the opportunity to stay in Buraydah and most of his information was based on the events that were actually happening in Unayzah.

The misconceptions and incorrect accounts of dates and events were due to the fact that the events had happened in the past and Palgrave relied heavily on the oral tradition. In addition, at the time of his travels it was not possible for him to use pen and paper to record all the information that he received immediately and this accounts for some of his inaccuracies. Thus, the researcher concludes that, for the most part, the differences in Palgrave's accounts were a consequence of his ideological position although it should be noted that his failure to record details immediately and his reliance on oral traditions also played a part.

4.3 THE REVOLUTION OF THE PEOPLE OF UNAYZAH AGAINST JILUWI IBN TURKI AND HIS OUSTING IN 1853

Jiluwi⁴⁷⁷ was appointed the governor of entire province of Al Qassim, after the decisive victory of Faisal in the battle of Alitimah caused by the revolution. Jiluwi remained as governor of Al Qassim for five years. During this period the state remained riot-free, strong, and stable. Local sources note that disruptions within his rule began unexpectedly in 1854 with rebels attempting to expel him from his position; the rebellion was aimed at both Jiluwi and the reign of Faisal.⁴⁷⁸ This event has clear historical importance as it was a moment of civil disobedience by the people of Unayzah against Faisal and the second Saudi state. This led to another war between Faisal and the people of Unayzah. Contributing further to such difficulties – and, accordingly, also of great importance, was the return of the Alsulaim family to power in Unayzah after the rebellion ended. Although the previous prince belonged to the ruling Al Saud family, the family of Alsulaim succeeded in gaining their objectives. Moreover, the revolution resulted in a change in the centre of power within the Saudi government in Al Qassim, from Unayzah to Buraydah. Unayzah had been the capital of the province for half a decade, whereas Buraydah became the capital at this juncture and has remained so ever since. Doughty mentioned in his writing that the main reason behind the revolution was due to the imposition of extra taxes on the inhabitants of Unayzah. He

⁴⁷⁷ Jiluwi Ibn Turki was considered the right arm of his brother, Faisal Ibn Turki. Jiluwi played a number of diplomatic and military roles alongside his brother to strengthen the second period of Saudi rule.

⁴⁷⁸ I. Ibn EisāI, *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)* [in Arabic], p. 16; Al-Ubayd, *Al-Najm Al-lam'a*, p. 47; I. bin Obaid, *Tadhkirat ūlī al-nuhā wa-al-ʿirfān bi-ayyām Allāh al-Wāḥid al-Dayyān wa-dhikr ḥawādith al-zamān (Remind People of Intellect and Knowledge)* [in Arabic]. Vol.1, pp. 108-110.

additional notes that the family of Al-Bassam⁴⁷⁹ did not take any part in the rebellious revolution. Doughty mentions:

Of the late wars of Aneyza, I may relate that which I heard from my friends' mouths. Jellowwy [they told me he yet lived!] brother of the Prince Feysal ibn Saud, was governor for the Wahaby at Aneyza; where he daily vexed the people with his tyrannically invented exactions: for of one he would require dates, of another forage for his horses- without payment, of the rich money; and these under the name of contributions, besides yearly dues.⁴⁸⁰

An account of the battle is also provided by Philby and it is similar to that provided by the historian Ibn Eisāl. However, Philby did not mention the reasons behind the outbreak of the rebellion and his account appears to have been largely influenced by Ibn Eisāl's book.⁴⁸¹ This is consistent with Winder's⁴⁸² views, who refers the readers to Doughty's book and stresses that the reason behind the outbreak of the revolution was resentment at the Alsulaim's family in losing their power over the emirate:

The causes of the new revolt may be summarised, firstly, as the resentment of the Al Zamil, now led by 'Abd Allah ibn Yahya ibn Sulaiman, against an amir not of their own ruling family or even of their own district, and, secondly, as the fact that Jalwi, like his latter day descendants in the Eastern Province, governed with a heavy hand.⁴⁸³

The main reason mentioned by the local historians as to what caused the revolution were the policies imposed by Jiluwi, and in particular issues of taxation. This therefore support the views of Doughty. This is also consistent with Al-Bassam's⁴⁸⁴ views. However, he also claimed that letters were written by the people on different occasions to Faisal to inform him of the problems. Unfortunately, the letters were intercepted before they reached Faisal. Al-Ubayd, the local historian,⁴⁸⁵ provided similar reasons for the revolt.⁴⁸⁶

The researcher surmises the accounts by local authors, Philby and Doughty were, generally, similar. However,. However, some differences can be noted in the depth of the accounts

⁴⁷⁹ The Al-Bassam family held social and economic weight in Najd. A number of this family's men were notables of Unayzah. In the late nineteenth century and the twentieth century, this family established large trade and fame. It had offices run by its sons in Bombay, Bahrain, Iraq and Jeddah. It can be confirmed that this family did not participate in the revolution, as mentioned by Doughty, as Jiluwi called for Suleiman Hamad Al-Bassam – chief of the family at the time – to act as mediator between him and the revolutionaries during their negotiations. See M. Alsalman, *al-ahwāl al-siyāsīyah fī Al-Qassim fī 'ahd al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah 1823-1891* [The Political Conditions in Al-Qassim during the second Saudi State 1823-1891] [In Arabic], p. 191.

⁴⁸⁰ C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (Cambridge, 1888), Vol. 1, p. 429.

⁴⁸¹ Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia*, p. 207.

⁴⁸² Winder, *Saudi Arabia*, pp. 165-166.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁴ M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fī akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-'Irāq* (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq) [in Arabic], p. 332.

⁴⁸⁵ Al-Ubayd, *Al-Najm Al-lam'a*, p. 47.

⁴⁸⁶ I. bin Obaid, *Tadhkirat ūlī al-nuhā wa-al-'irfān bi-ayyām Allāh al-Wāḥid al-Dayyān wa-dhikr ḥawādith al-zamān* (Remind People of Intellect and Knowledge) [in Arabic], Vol. 1, p. 108.

provided.. For instance, the local historian, Al-Ubayd highlighted both positive and negative aspects of Jiluwi, whilst Philby's account did not provide such a rich stream of data for readers. The researcher ascribes Philby's shortcoming as being due to the fact that he followed Ibn Eisāl's⁴⁸⁷ account which, despite the latter being a famous contemporary historian to the events, also did not mention such facts.⁴⁸⁸ There is no evidence that Palgrave provided details of this event, or mentioned any of the positive aspects brought forth by the revolution. This would again suggest that his writing was overly coloured by his own ideological agenda. Doughty, the researcher suggests, was the only traveller who provided a valid reason behind the outburst of the revolution along with the description of the start of the rebellion. Thus, Doughty's writing, in this instance, prove to be more valuable than other travellers. This is particularly relevant as Doughty was one of the only travellers who provided the details of how the secret council was formed to instigate the rebellion, in addition to the documentation of Alkhrezah or Khereysy youth effect on the power of inhabitants of Unayzah during the incident, including the description of the collection of weapons, as true in cases of secret revolutions. Nevertheless, I imply that despite the valid and detailed documentation of the event, Doughty's account was in certain cases exaggerated. His exaggeration is evident in his account that Jiluwi requested the leader of the rebellion, Abdullah Ibn Yahya Alsulaim for forty camels. The researcher emphasises that since the people of Unayzah were adamant on expelling Jiluwi in any case, it is not probable that Jiluwi could have owned that number of camels, as he was prevented by the rebels initially to take his camels. Furthermore, Doughty mentioned that Faisal failed to reach Unayzah, instead, sent his sons to recover the rebellious town. This was a politically significant event of Al Qassim and none of the Western travellers, except Doughty, provided details on it. The researcher highlights that this is probably because Doughty had stayed at Unayzah for a long period of time and was more educated on the issues occurring there in comparison to other travellers, such as Palgrave, who had not entered the city at all.

The reason for this which is commonly believed to be true was that Jiluwi was a tyrant and mistreated his people. However, as the underlying reason for the revolution was that Alsulaim wanted to regain his rule over Unayzah. Doughty's writings were based on the oral tradition of the city, and as a result he did not give a precisely informed history of the city to his readers. As he himself mentioned "I hear from my friends' mouths". Furthermore, though his account certainly provides a missing aspect of the history of Al Qassim, it is largely one-sided, from the perspective of the people of Unayzah. This may be because Doughty was staying in Unayzah and, as a result, his sympathies and compassion were inclined towards the

⁴⁸⁷ Ibrahim Saleh Ibn Eisāl (1853-1924) was born in Shaqraa', a town in Al Washm. He wrote a number of books in genealogy and literature as well as his history books, the most famous of which was *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)*. This book is considered one of the most important sources of the history of Najd and is also one of the most important sources of this thesis.

⁴⁸⁸ I. Ibn Eisāl, *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)* [in Arabic], p. 16.

people of the city. Doughty's narration is not supported by Al-Ubayd's, the local historian of Unayzah, who claimed that the rule of Jiluwi had significantly positive aspects to it such as protecting the inner and outer security of the city.⁴⁸⁹ I would like to surmise that the interpretation closest to reality is that the 'tyranny' of Jiluwi was used as an excuse by Alsulaim to provoke the rebellion in the city, in his attempt to regain power over Unayzah.

4.4 THE FIRST UNAYZAH WAR OF 1854

The war caused by the outburst of the revolution between the army of Faisal Ibn Turki and the people of Unayzah in 1854 is referred to as the 'First Unayzah War'. The narration of this issue is ambiguous in Palgrave's writings as he mentioned the campaign of Sharif in 1846 and stated that "six or seven years passed before the Wahhabee ventured on an open violation of the treaty ratified by so high an authority". His writing is particularly lacking in detail about the political environment of the city as he failed to mention all the events including the significant ones. Palgrave narrated the details of the Second Unayzah War, which was underway when he reached Al Qassim in 1862. The researcher infers that it is probable that Palgrave mixed up information of the first war with the Second Unayzah War, as the latter was witnessed by him. This is evident in Palgrave's account as the local sources prove that the first war occurred six or seven years after the 1846 campaign of Sharif. However, Palgrave continues in his narration that "events which occurred without the Arabian limits in 1861, left him at liberty to raise the mask and commence direct hostilities". The researcher infers that it is evident from the account that Palgrave confused. His narrative "after six or seven years" described the period that followed the campaign of Sharif on Al Qassim in 1843, and is thus clearly a misunderstanding. Thus, the researcher asserts that the account by Palgrave was not accurate, and it was not supported by either Western sources, such as Philby⁴⁹⁰ and Winder,⁴⁹¹ or local sources.⁴⁹²

Doughty's writings on this event are very brief and summarised that Faisal reached the city of Unayzah after the rebellion against Jiluwi happened. Faisal besieged the city for a long period of time to regain the rebellious city and upon failure, returned to Riyadh. Although Doughty did not confuse the details of the event, clear differences can be found between the accounts given by Doughty, Philby⁴⁹³ and local sources.⁴⁹⁴ The points of difference noted by the

⁴⁸⁹ Al-Ubayd, *Al-Najm Al-lam'a*, p. 47.

⁴⁹⁰ Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia*.

⁴⁹¹ Winder, *Saudi Arabia*.

⁴⁹² I. Ibn EisāI, *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)* [in Arabic], pp. 16-17; Al-Ubayd, *Al-Najm Al-lam'a*, p. 47; I.bin Obaid, *Tadhkirat ūlī al-nuhā wa-al-'irfān bi-ayyām Allāh al-Wāhid al-Dayyān wa-dhikr ḥawādith al-zamān (Remind People of Intellect and Knowledge)* [in Arabic], Vol. 1, pp. 108-110.

⁴⁹³ Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia*.

researcher include. The local sources, and the writings of Philby differ from that of Doughty in that the former two agreed that the army was led by Abdullah Ibn Faisal throughout the war. None of the sources supported Doughty's claim that Faisal led the army himself. This is consistent with Ibn Eisāl's⁴⁹⁵ inference that Faisal asked his son to be gentle and prevent bloodshed and war. With reference to the second point of difference, the local sources and Philby agree upon the fact that the city was besieged by Abdullah Ibn Faisal and that the war broke out on both sides, leading to numerous casualties. These sources state that the war was not decided in favour of any side, which caused Abdullah Ibn Faisal to retreat to his camp, set east of Unayzah and left to east of Buraydah for his second camp. Furthermore, when the Hail army under the leadership of Ibn Rashid arrived to support the army of Abdullah, the people of Unayzah realised that the situation was not in their favour and, therefore, in order to avoid further bloodshed, they requested a truce. The truce was based on the condition that the leader of the revolution against Jiluwi headed to Riyadh and swore his allegiance to Faisal; this marked the end of the war.

Contrary to the local sources and writings of Philby, Doughty mentioned:

Feysal ibn Saud marched from er-Riath to recover the rebellious town; and his vassal Ibn Rashid came from Hail to help him. The besieging host lay encamped on the borders of the Wady,* till the second year [such is the indigent Arabian warfare!]; when not able to make any impression on the good borough of Aneyza, the Wahaby made peace with her citizens, and withdrew from them. This warfare, which they call *harb el-awwel*.⁴⁹⁶

The researcher infers that the local sources and Philby's account indicate Abdullah Ibn Faisal possess a strong military position. This contradicts the view of Doughty that Ibn Faisal failed to bring forth any positive results and retreated to Riyadh. The researcher surmises that Doughty's claim of retreat can be dismissed as the local sources suggest that instead of moving back Ibn Faisal camped to the east of Unayzah and then moved to another location. This step proved to be more of a military tactic than a retreat, and was done in order to weaken his opponent. This is consistent with Ibn Eisāl's evaluation that the position of Ibn Faisal was strong. The local sources, such as Ibn Eisāl and Alzkir confirm that Ibn Faisal stayed at the campaign without encountering any issues until Faisal signed a truce with Abdullah Alsulaim (Unayzah's leader) and asked his son to return to Riyadh. The researcher concludes that Doughty's description of the First Unayzah war was, like Palgrave, not supported by the local sources or, albeit with regard to different aspects of their writing. There were only two points in Doughty's writing of the event

⁴⁹⁴ I. Ibn Eisāl, *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)* [in Arabic], pp. 16-17; Al-Ubayd, *Al-Najm Al-lam'a*, p. 47; I. bin Obaid, *Tadhkirat ūlī al-nuhā wa-al-'irfān bi-ayyām Allāh al-Wāḥid al-Dayyān wa-dhikr ḥawādith al-zamān (Remind People of Intellect and Knowledge)* [in Arabic], Vol. 1, pp. 108-110.

⁴⁹⁵ I. Ibn Eisāl, *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)* [in Arabic], p. 17.

⁴⁹⁶ He meant the First Unayzah War.

which agreed with the aforementioned sources; that the war was called the first war and that the primary reason for the outbreak of the war was the rebellion of the people of Unayzah against Jiluwi Ibn Turki.

It is hard to claim with certainty that Doughty's writings were derived from a political aim. Although travellers such as Palgrave and Doughty had different personalities, both of them possessed a national identity that, in their opinion, certified their possession of a racial superiority. Throughout their writings, Palgrave and Doughty conceived imperialism in terms of their ideological agenda. However, unlike Palgrave, Doughty's intentions appear to have been shaped more by his inability to gather sufficient information about the war. . The researcher highlights that if all of Doughty's writings had been influenced by his ideological agenda, then Said's view might have been proven to be correct. As it stands, while Palgrave fulfils the criteria set by Said that all Western travellers had preordained motivations, Philby and Doughty did not. Despite this, Doughty's narration of the First Unayzah War falls short of being an authentic recounting of history, as it not only reduced the details of the event but also included incorrect information.

4.5 FAISAL IBN TURKI'S SUMMONING OF THE GOVERNOR OF BURAYDAH, ABDUL AZIZ AL ABU ULAYAN, TO RIYADH IN 1859 AND THE KILLING OF THE GOVERNOR

After the end of the aforementioned war, the relations between Riyadh and Al Qassim remained partially stable. A comprehensive description of this issue was provided in the writings of Palgrave and Doughty. In addition, Philby's account provides some of his opinions regarding the issue. Philby's⁴⁹⁷ account provided a similar account of the war as that provided by the local sources, explaining that partial stability was established between Riyadh and Al Qassim after the First Unayzah War. Doughty, on the other hand, provided a less detailed account of the issue and did not provide any information regarding how Abdul Aziz Abu Ulayan was summoned by Faisal.⁴⁹⁸ Thus although Doughty's writings did not include an in-depth comprehension of the situation, he provided a summarized account that matched the description of the local sources as well as that written by Philby. As usual, the account of Palgrave of this situation was in total disagreement with that of the local sources and British travellers or others.⁴⁹⁹ Contradictory to all the aforementioned sources, Palgrave mentioned that the original aim of Faisal was to crush the ruling families in Al Qassim, which led the latter to engage in numerous battles with Abu Ulayan family. The failure to include that piece of information was not merely coincidence as any positive characteristic was

⁴⁹⁷ Philby, *Saudi Arabia*, pp. 209-2013.

⁴⁹⁸ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, pp. 429-430.

⁴⁹⁹ For example, Winder, *Saudi Arabia*, p. 173.

excluded from Palgrave's narrative, and some exaggerated and incorrect information was mentioned to create a negative image of the Arabs. Keen to create an ongoing image of savagery, Palgrave accredited Faisal with a gruesome massacre of the Abu Ulayan family when Faisal summoned them to Riyadh. According to Palgrave, except one man everyone else was killed:

The first and principal step in this direction was to annihilate the great families that had from time immemorial ruled in Kaseem, or at least to deprive them of all authority and power. He picked a quarrel with the 'Aleyy'an chieftains and harassed them for a while by continual forays under the command of his eldest son, the talented but ferocious and unprincipled 'Abd-Allah. A considerable period thus passed in desultory attack and delusive truce, till the nobles of Bereydah, finding their commerce almost cut off, and their strength unequal to the contest, began to desire peace at whatever price.⁵⁰⁰

Palgrave provided a graphic detail of how Faisal planned the attack on the Abu Ulayan family: "[they]were cut to pieces on the spot, and their blood overflowed the threshold of their perfidious host. The younger son of the ill-starred chieftain was alone reserved alive, as hostage for those of the family who yet remained in Qassim".⁵⁰¹ From the above analysis, it is probable that Palgrave based his writings on oral traditions, as he had done in a number of cases previously and that his writing was dominated by his personal ideology. This is consistent with Cooper⁵⁰² who stresses in his study *Travellers' Accounts as a Source for the Study of Nineteenth Century Wahhabism* that out of Palgrave's notion of superiority emerged a sense of feeling and a mission that Western people were right to assume power over the Arabs. The researcher agrees with view.

By comparing the local resources, including the contemporary and later studies,⁵⁰³ with the above analysis, the researcher concludes that the most comprehensive and realistic writings were narrated by Philby as he described each situation from the outset, described the details of the situations, and provided a clearer image of the political conditions of Al Qassim during the second Saudi state. In contrast, Doughty was unsuccessful in providing detailed accounts of the political scenario or the underlying reasons which gave rise to the rebellion and revolutions against Faisal and Jiluwi. His writings appeared to be an edited description despite. The researcher concludes that Doughty's writings appeared to be introducing the Second Unayzah War and perceived it to be the reason behind that war, which will be discussed later. Doughty's writings were also not motivated by any political or colonialist purposes. He entered Arab with images that were dominated by his Christian view of Bible, and with the objective of being the first European to view and describe Mada'in Saleh. That

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 170.

⁵⁰² Cooper, *Travellers' Accounts*, pp. 54-55.

⁵⁰³ M. Alsalman, *al-ahwāl al-siyāsīyah fī Al Qassim fī 'ahd al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah 1823-1891* [*The Political Conditions in Al-Qassim during the second Saudi State 1823-1891*] [In Arabic], p. 200; A. Abu Alyah, *Tārīkh al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah* (*The History of the Second Saudi State*) [in Arabic], p. 129.

he did not have a political agenda is further evidenced by the fact that he was neither employed nor subsidised by any political or colonialist authorities.⁵⁰⁴ The researcher highlights that the most probable reason for Doughty failing to include a more detailed account was his expulsion from Buraydah. Although the killing of Abu Ulayan family and the reasons behind it were reported in a similar manner by the local sources and Philby, Palgrave's account of this matter appeared to include misinformation. After comparing Palgrave's narrative of the matter with that of local sources and Philby's writings, the researcher concludes that the former's description cannot be taken at face value. The description provided by Palgrave was incorrect. This was for a number of reasons. First, the name that he used to describe Abdul Aziz Al Abu Ulayan "Oley" cannot be traced back to any documents of the family or the local sources. Furthermore, the name could not be found registered with the family,⁵⁰⁵ and this implies that Palgrave created some names according to his own imagination. Secondly, Palgrave mentioned that Abu Ulayan was summoned by Faisal in 1858, whereas the massacre took place in 1860. However, the local sources reported that Abu Ulayan was killed before he could leave the Al Qassim province. Thirdly, Palgrave's statement that Faisal sent letters or invitations cannot be viewed as accurate because no other source supports this view. Furthermore, since the position of Faisal was strong,⁵⁰⁶ it is not clear why such a letter would be sent to Abu Ulayan. Finally, the accusation of Palgrave that Faisal wished to have the Abu Ulayan family "cut to pieces" was nothing more than an allegation, as no proof of it being true has been found.

The researcher surmises that there was also a key difference found between the writings of Palgrave and local sources that was not based on the political agenda of the British Empire. Rather, it appears that his focus was more on providing a narrative based on his ideological agenda – an approach that also trumped any concerns as to the need to give a truly accurate account of the "real Arab". Thus, Palgrave was not a methodical writer and did not appear to be concerned about the preciseness of the information he included in his accounts. As mentioned above, most of his writings were based on either oral tradition or memory, as not only did he lose his notes on a ship wreck, but he could not openly use pen and paper to record the information he gathered from hearsay. Furthermore, being a devout Christian and follower of the Bible, he was of the view that both Wahhabism and Judaism were inferior to Christianity and this incited him to develop a strong bias against Wahhabis or Faisal in general and may have been the reason why he wrote against them. Additionally, the researcher highlights that since Palgrave was friends with one of the members of the family

⁵⁰⁴ Cooper, *Travellers' Accounts*, pp. 31-32.

⁵⁰⁵ A. Alhumaidah, *Min A'alam Al abu Ulayan*, p. 12.

⁵⁰⁶ An indication of the power of Faisal's government at the time is that it consisted of northern, central and a large part of the eastern Arabian Peninsula, in addition controlling a large part of the Gulf coast. His state was the focus of attention of the major powers such as Britain, which sent its political delegate in the Gulf to him in 1865.

of Abu Ulayan, his sympathies were more inclined towards this family than Faisal and this would be a further probable reason for his negativity towards the latter. Nevertheless, the above analysis emphasises that neither Doughty nor Palgrave were able to provide a true account of the issues that led to Abdul Aziz Al Abu Ulayan being summoned to Riyadh and killed. This is, of course, in contrast to the local sources as well as Philby's – for the writing of the latter was also more comprehensive and clearer for the Western readers to follow and understand.

4.6 THE UNAYZAH REVOLUTION IN 1862 AND THE SECOND UNAYZAH WAR.

After Abdul Aziz Al Abu Ulayan was killed, Ibn Ibrahim was appointed as governor of Buraydah by Faisal Ibn Turki. Though this resulted in a brief period of stability, signs of rebellion began to surface in 1861 in Unayzah against the reign of Faisal. This led Faisal to send numerous armies to put down the revolution. The most significant local sources⁵⁰⁷ of the time record the killing of Abu Ulayan as being the catalyst for the rising tensions in the relations between Faisal and the city and the subsequent revolution. Faisal mobilised his army and the cities of Al Qassim stood against him. This led, to the besieging of Unayzah. At the time, Ibn Rashid⁵⁰⁸ was also a part of the Saudi state and moved his army from Hail to join Faisal. The local sources emphasise that until Faisal decided to appoint Muhanna Saleh Aba Alkhail⁵⁰⁹ as the governor of Buraydah in 1863⁵¹⁰ there were numerous dismissals and appointments of princes in Buraydah. The Second Unayzah War in 1862 is considered a significant political event in the history of Al Qassim, The significance of this event can be noted by the fact that a number of travellers who visited Al Qassim wrote about the war due to its importance for the Najd community. It was particularly significant due to the economic repercussions which last a year and a half causing a great number of casualties on both side. Moreover, even the administrative organisation of Al Qassim was affected by it and the

⁵⁰⁷ I. Ibn Eisāl, *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)* [in Arabic], pp. 38-40; M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fi akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-'Irāq (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq)* [in Arabic], pp. 342-343; M. Alzkir, *al-'uqūd al-durrīyah fi Tārīkh albilād al-Najdīyah* [in Arabic], manuscript, pp. 81, 234.

⁵⁰⁸ Talal Al Rashid was the prince of the Hail region and the Shammar tribe at the time. He succeeded his father as prince of Hail. After Faisal's return to power again in 1843, Hail was not totally part of the state as it was partially independent. It could be said that it was a federal government. Therefore, it had an obligation to participate with Faisal's army in any war needed or requested by Faisal. Therefore, Talal came to Al Qassim heading the Hail army to stand by Faisal's army in that war and Talal's army constituted part of Faisal's army at the time.

⁵⁰⁹ Muhanna Aba Alkhail was a well-known merchant in Buraydah. He owned a large fleet of camels which he used to carry pilgrims from Iraq. M. Aba Alkhel, *Fi Tarikh Aba Alkhel (Aba Alkhel Family in History)* [in Arabic] (ND), pp. 28-40.

⁵¹⁰ I. Ibn Eisāl, *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)* [in Arabic], pp.37-40; 43; M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fi akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-'Irāq (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq)* [in Arabic], pp. 341-343.

repeated appointment and dismissal of princes from Buraydah over the couple of years led to the establishment of Al Muhanna⁵¹¹ emirate in the province.

The researcher argues that even though Palgrave was present at the time of war at Al Qassim, the reason that he did not provide a clear picture of events was because he believed that Faisal was looking for opportunities to capture Unayzah as it was not under his kingdom's rule. Palgrave's writings, while inconsistent and contradictory in numerous places, are consistent in describing Faisal as a tyrant. Palgrave also ascribed Faisal's attack on the city to the administrative changes that were taking place in Constantinople. The death of Sultan Abdul Majeed and succession of Sultan Abdul Aziz wasn't in favour of Sharif Abdul Muttalib (governor of Mecca).⁵¹² Once again, Palgrave's description of Faisal's character further cements the notion that Palgrave held bias against the Arab ruler. Doughty, in contrast, noted that Abu Ulayan was killed within the boundaries of the city of Unayzah and argued that this led to the start of the war.⁵¹³ In contrast, Philby's⁵¹⁴ account gave no clear reason for breakout of the rebellion. However, he expressed his opinion that the revolution was most probably because of the appointment of new governor of Buraydah.⁵¹⁵ Nevertheless, Philby's account of this event was limited and did not include much details.⁵¹⁶ Philby's account had similarities to the local sources, such as Ibn Eisāl⁵¹⁷ and Alzkir⁵¹⁸ in that they also did not mention any clear reasons for the war. Furthermore, Al Ubayd and Al-Bassam⁵¹⁹ not provide any clear reason for the war either. Comparing the three travellers who wrote about Al Qassim; Palgrave, Doughty and Philby, the researcher concludes that although Palgrave mentioned the reasons for the war, his account cannot be considered credible due to the lack of accurate information contained within his writings. One of the misconceptions observed in Palgrave's text is when he mentioned the Sharif of Mecca, meaning Abdul Muttalib, who had abandoned his principedom a long time before the war occurred. Since he was appointed for two periods; first from 1850–1856, and thereafter from 1880–1882,⁵²⁰ it is evident that linking the Sharif with the war in 1862 was incorrect. In addition, Palgrave also wrote that Said Pasha's non-interference in the affairs of Unayzah was due to illnesses. However, there is no

⁵¹¹ This family and its ruling period in Al Qassim will be discussed in the next study.

⁵¹² Palgrave claims that there was a treaty between the Sharif and Faisal signed during Faisal's campaign on Al Qassim in 1847. This has been discussed earlier..

⁵¹³ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 1, pp. 429-430.

⁵¹⁴ Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia*, p. 214.

⁵¹⁵ He means Ibn Ibrahim, who was appointed as governor of Buraydah directly after the killing of Abdul Aziz Al Abu Ulayan. This appointment was confirmed by the historians Ibn Eisāl and Al-Bassam.

⁵¹⁶ Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia*, p. 214.

⁵¹⁷ I. Ibn Eisāl, *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)* [in Arabic], p. 39.

⁵¹⁸ M. Alzkir, *al-'uqūd al-durriyah fi Tārīkh albilād al-Najdiyyah* [in Arabic], manuscript, pp. 81, 234.

⁵¹⁹ M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fi akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-'Irāq (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq)* [in Arabic], pp. 342-343; Al-Ubayd, *Al-Najm Al-lam'a*, p. 61.

⁵²⁰ A.Z.Dahlan, *Tārīkh ashrāf al-Hijāz 1840-1883 : khulāsat al-kalām fi bayān umarā' al-balad al-harām* [In Arabic], pp. 315-319; 327-329; M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fi akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-'Irāq (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq)* [in Arabic], pp. 331-333, 361-363.

local source that supports this claim. Since there was not even a direct relationship between Said Pasha and the governor of Unayzah during that period, the researcher concludes that either Palgrave was severely mistaken, or that he manipulated information to further strengthen his tactic of separating Arabs from the Ottoman Empire. Palgrave's exaggerated claims about Faisal's tyranny and thirst for bloodshed are also without corresponding foundation in any other foreign source or any of the local sources. Regarding the war with Unayzah, Palgrave described Faisal as keen on finding any problem with the city in order to incite fighting: "Feysul pretended that the money raised fell short of the sum stipulated on in the treaty." Palgrave also contradicted his own statements suggesting, for instance that that Faisal made allegations against Zamil that he had taken the missing amount, causing him to summon Zamil to Riyadh.⁵²¹ Once again, no support for his claims can be found in the local sources.⁵²² The researcher infers that to this point, the writings of Palgrave about the history of Al Qassim show no promise as most of the information, dates and events are described with exaggerated story telling tone instead of an accurate account of the actual events. The reason behind the popularity of his narrative can be accredited mostly to his successful turning of events into a story that addresses the imperial interests of Europe and their ideology of their superiority over the Eastern races. Hence, I would like emphasise that the opinion of Palgrave about the reasons behind war cannot be accepted as the confusion and disinterest of Palgrave in his writings is clearly demonstrated and more than one events indicate that he included information about significant situations of Al Qassim without verification. Furthermore, Palgrave clearly had bias against Faisal and Wahhabis in general, as mentioned in the first chapter. Moreover, the possibility of errors in his writings is further proved by Palgrave's own claim in his narrations.⁵²³

Philby's account also lacked depth as he wrote that the revolution broke out because of unknown reasons. However, it is suggested that the lack of depth in Philby's description was because of his dependency on the local sources⁵²⁴ which also failed to include the underlying reasons of the war. Philby stated that since the new prince was appointed immediately after the killing of Abu Ulayan and represented the government of Faisal, his bad treatment by the people of Al Qassim caused the outburst of the war. This suggests that an underlying reason for the war was the massacre of Abu Ulayan. This view is supported by Doughty's opinion which the researcher finds, consequently, realistic and probable. This is because Doughty further emphasised why the killings created the revolution. The researcher suggests that a reason for Doughty's writings being more accurate may be the fact that since Doughty stayed in Unayzah longer than the other travellers, he had a greater understanding of the city and access to greater information by which to verify the details of the event. This view is

⁵²¹ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, Vol. 1, p. 173.

⁵²² I. Ibn EisāI, *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)* [in Arabic], p. 39; Al-Ubayd, *Al-Najm Al-lam'a*, p. 67.

⁵²³ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, Vol. 1.

⁵²⁴ Philby stated that he had depended on sources such as Ibn Bashir and Ibn EisāI.

indirectly supported by a number of local historians⁵²⁵ as although they did not clearly pinpoint the reasons behind the war, they did mention that the revolution and the war took place directly after Abu Ulayan was killed. Doughty's quote, "The capital feat of arms in their second warfare was thus related to me by our well-driver: one midnight Zamil sent out 200 matchlock-men,"⁵²⁶ reveals that he heard about the events from contemporaries, including some of the participants of the war.

The researcher deduces that a connection is found between the Second Unayzah War and the killing of Abu Ulayan. This further reaffirms the opinion that Doughty provides a more realistic and accurate account of the war and the underlying reasons behind its outbreak compared to that of the other writers of the period including the local sources. It is important to note that Doughty had denounced all aspect of the tribal life of Arabs – as discussed in greater detail in Chapter One – because he considered their inclination to engage in warrior life to be one that destroyed key attributes of civilisation. As may, for instance, be evidenced in the case of the killing of Abu Ulayan and the revolt that arose immediately thereafter.

I would like highlight here that upon this particular subject, Doughty's account proves to be more valuable than other sources. This is because the existing historiography provides only the views and writings of the Western travellers and their records. However, they are limited in their scope as comparisons with the local sources have, hitherto, not been carried out. Making a unique contribution to the furtherance of existing academic knowledge, therefore, this study reviews the events in light of the writings of British travellers and the local sources in order to bridge this gap in the history of Al-Qassim. This is particularly pertinent due to the lack of depth and description of underlying reasons of certain events in existing local sources. Although Doughty is not above exaggerated claims and his writing leaning towards a story-telling approach rather than a history writer's, as mentioned in earlier sections, the accuracy and invaluable addition of a missing aspect on the history of Al Qassim effectively dismisses the Said and his followers claim that all Western travellers were set to portray a biased image of Arab, without reporting true events. Although Palgrave's account appears to match the claims of Said, Doughty's and Philby's inclusion of positive characteristics of Arab effectively create an opposing argument against the approach of Edward Said and his followers. This, therefore, is another point of thematic clash between the authors that is important to note within the confines of this thesis. Indeed, not only does Palgrave's account provide a more complete and realistic description of one of the most significant wars of Al-Qassim's history missed by foreign travellers and local sources, it also adds value wider

⁵²⁵ I. Ibn EisāI, *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)* [in Arabic], p. 39; Al-Ubayd, *Al-Najm Al-lam'a*, p. 67; M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fi akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-'Irāq (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq)* [in Arabic], pp. 342-343.

⁵²⁶ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 1, p. 430.

aspects of research upon the history of the region because it provides argumentative evidence to prove the claims of Said wrong.

In contrast, Palgrave was living in Buraydah during these events and visited the camps of Faisal's army, which he described as:

I paid frequent visits to the Nejdean war camp, then pitched to the south of the walls on the road of 'Oneyzah. Here stood an irregular collection of little black tents, often mere rags and tags, stretched out for shade on two or three poles, gipsy fashion; but the space within and around bristled with spears and swarmed with swarthy Nejdeans; their firelocks stood arranged in pyramids, much like our own manner of piling arms, before and between the lines. Each clan, each province, was encamped apart.⁵²⁷

This quote includes a revealing play of words on part of Palgrave; he describes the Arab army and war camp as “little”, an “irregular collection” and resembling “rags and tags”, implying that the people were deprived of more luxurious camps. This makes an implicit comparison between these camps and the glories of the British Empire army. The researcher infers that Palgrave's comparison of Arab army with that of a gypsy encampment provides further evidence of the extent to which Palgrave was determined to paint the Arabs in a bad light. In addition, he states emphatically that each clan and province was encamped separately, indicating that the Arabs were not united. This is consistent with how Palgrave viewed the people of Arabia and presented their image to the West; uncivil, inferior and only interested in fighting. That said, he did suggest that the Najdians firelocks standing arranged in pyramids were similar to the way in which the British piled arms. The researcher highlights that although Palgrave's narratives were more inclined towards discrediting the Arabs, certain statements were contrary to this viewpoint – such as this one where he notices the similarity between the East and the West, however remote.

Despite the misleading information and incorrect allegations noted throughout the writing of Palgrave, the researcher emphasises that there are certain events which he commented upon in isolation to the other travellers or the local sources. This magnifies the importance of the account by Palgrave. During one of the battles between the troops of Unayzah and Faisal's army, Palgrave was one of the witnesses as he walked freely amongst the camps as a consequence of his being suitably, and convincingly, disguised as a Muslim. He described not only how the battle was initiated but also how it developed – the actual fighting.⁵²⁸ However, since he left before the war came to a conclusion, Palgrave was unable to write about the conflict in its totality. Nevertheless, although suspicion rises regarding the credibility of Palgrave's account of this war, there are no other local or foreign sources which contradict the information provided by him. To further establish the relevance of Palgrave's narrative, the researcher stresses that local sources and other foreign travellers did not provide any

⁵²⁷ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, Vol. 1, p. 306.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

description of the divisions within the second Saudi state's army, but Palgrave mentioned such splits in his writing. Indeed, he even mentioned the types of weapons that were used – and this categorisation enables readers to determine the region of the individual people who were fighting. This is, therefore, another aspect where Palgrave is the only source because such issues were not addressed either in the local sources or by the foreign travellers. He also provided a graphic description of the manner of the fighting from his actual witnessing of the combat as well as commentary on the strategies employed in the fighting within Najd. Although the oral tradition may have prevailed in the region about the war under discussion, it is unlikely that verbatim accounts – and the details provided therein – would have survived for long after the immediate term. This explains the significance of Palgrave's descriptions as they not only preserved information about a significant historic event, they also bridged the gap left by the local sources, such as Al Bassam, Ibn EisāI and Al Ubayd.

However, discrepancies are evident in the account where he mentions that people of the Buraydah were reluctant to get into fight against Unayzah, and where he suggests that upon their being called to fight the people responded by running off and hiding themselves in their homes. This is how he describes the scene:

When lo! in a moment streets and market-place were deserted, and every townsman scampered off, not to the field of fame, but to hide himself in his house and lock the outer door, all preferring an " alibi " to the disagreeable dilemma of open disobedience if they refused to arm, or of complying with the appeal, and so having to fight precisely those on whose success their own dearest hopes were staked.⁵²⁹

The researcher emphasises that this quote further shows the bias that Palgrave had against Wahhabis and Saudis, as these were the characteristics⁵³⁰ that dominated through his writing. This quote appears to be an attempt by Palgrave to paint a picture of the Arabs in which they are seen as an inferior. This is especially true when such a portrayal is compared to Philby's⁵³¹ writings – with the latter providing an opposing argument to Palgrave's description. Philby emphasised that the people of Buraydah eagerly participated in holding off the Saudi attack. However, it is difficult to support either Philby's or Palgrave's account, there are neither local sources nor any other reliable information pertaining to same that have survived. The most likely truth is that some of the people in Buraydah were against the war but that they were in a small number. This is based on Palgrave's narration that since it is assumed that one of the cousins⁵³² of Abu Ulayan encouraged the revolution. Moreover, analysis of the local sources and the writings of the other travellers, especially Philby, indicate that if Palgrave's account was true and there was opposition in Buraydah against Saudi rule then the results of this

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁰ These features were discussed in Chapter One.

⁵³¹ Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia*, pp. 202-203.

⁵³² Ibrahim Ibn Ghanim was one of the cousins of Abdul Aziz Al Abu, the previous prince of Buraydah.

attack would have been different.⁵³³ The local sources do not support such a view and provide no evidence that the war was opposed by the people of Buraydah. Palgrave's description of the group of people in Buraydah who locked their doors to avoid war bear a close resemblance to the group that Doughty described about the other side of the war, namely the people of Unayzah. Indeed, the latter notes that a certain group of people did not show interest in the events that were unfurling upon their doorsteps due to the nature of attack.

Analysing the writings of Palgrave on that war, the researcher is minded that some of the information he provided was undoubtedly true because he was an eye-witness. This, it is suggested, is particularly the case with regard to his descriptions of the battles. The significance of this information is multiplied by the fact that no other source provides such details and even though the soldiers who partook in the armed struggle could have provided a more accurate account, at that time in Najd there was no culture that encouraged soldiers to write their memoirs. This, therefore, further accounting for the prevalence of the oral tradition in the area and how information was passed to people in their social circles who got first-hand accounts from the soldiers about the war. Despite the gravity of the information provided by Palgrave's account, the researcher emphasises that it was not without discrepancies and blunders as Palgrave once more demonstrated his unwavering bias against the Saudis and the Wahhabis. It is advanced by the researcher, therefore, that Palgrave's motivations were driven more by his innate prejudice against the Arabs than any colonialist or political agenda. Palgrave's accounts, undoubtedly, demonstrated an attachment to demonising the image of Muslims. The researcher refers to this view as both the essential precondition of imperialism as well as being an example of its repercussions, as Palgrave's representation of Arab simply replicated contemporary hostile stereotypes regarding Islam.

With reference to Doughty's writings, the researcher highlights that he focused significantly on the "Almattar battle" – the last and most critical confrontation in the war. An accurate description is provided by Doughty; how the orders of attack were given to the army, the consequences and outcome of the battle, and the reasons behind the defeat of the people of Unayzah. A unique aspect is offered by Doughty in his description of the battle and the role of Al Khuresis,⁵³⁴ including the role of women in the war treating the injured, carrying them to city, and providing water to the battleground; an aspect that was not addressed by the local sources. Doughty explained their role as: "The Aneyza housewives were come forth to the battle driving asses and girbies.⁵³⁵ They poured out water for the thirsty fighters; and took up the wounded men."⁵³⁶ During the time of that battle, the local sources did not provide

⁵³³ Local sources all agreed that this attack achieved no military success against the Saudi forces.

⁵³⁴ This force was previously defined.

⁵³⁵ Girbies are containers made fully of goat skin. They are treated through dying and sterilization and are then ready to carry drinking water.

⁵³⁶ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 1, p. 431.

sufficient information on the women of Arabia; instead they focused solely on writing about the events and primarily the leaders and warriors.

There was a patriarchal bias with their methodological approach. Furthermore, Doughty described the end of the war as: “But suddenly there was a woeful reverse! ... there fell a shower – it covered not so much as the breadth of the Wady! – which quenched the matches of the lately victorious townsmen; who with now dead firearms in their hands, and two miles from home, remained without defence.”⁵³⁷ The quote gives a prelude to the writing style of Doughty, which has previously been categorised by the researcher as being akin to story-telling prose or a novel, providing a literary aspect to his description of a war and making it fascinating and more readable for the readers. However, as also mentioned in earlier sections, his writings are compared with local sources in order to determine the credibility of what was written and also to enable the researcher to determine which of the various accounts provides the most realistic account of Al Qassim’s history.

The conflict between the local sources and Doughty’s is seen in how local sources, such as Ibn Eisāl⁵³⁸ and Al Ubaid⁵³⁹ mentioned that there was a heavy bombardment in Unayzah, whereas Doughty⁵⁴⁰ claimed that the wall of the city was neither bombarded nor harmed, which would, surely, have been impossible if the bombardment had taken place in the manner described by the local sources. The researcher highlights that neither Ibn Eisāl nor Al Ubayd were present during the time of the war and that, accordingly, their writing would most probably have been influenced by gaining information from oral tradition. Doughty’s account is believed to be more realistic as he was present at the time of war as an eye-witness and witnessed just one shell fall on Unayzah, stating:

I asked, “Did not the enemy break your clay sur⁵⁴¹ with cannon shot?”

Answer: “They were afraid of their own guns more than we -- they could not handle them; only one shot fell in an empty space of Aneyza and did no hurt.”

This implies that there was no bombardment despite what was described by Ibn Eisāl and Al Ubayd. It is more probable that canons were used for limited strikes with the aim of putting pressure on the revolutionaries to surrender. This is consistent with Alzkir⁵⁴² who mentioned that the cannons did not provide benefits to the army of Faisal. However, and notwithstanding the fact that this insight is useful, no other details were mentioned and this, therefore, limits

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁸ I. Ibn Eisāl, *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)* [in Arabic], p. 39.

⁵³⁹ Al-Ubayd, *Al-Najm Al-lam’a*, p. 68.

⁵⁴⁰ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 1, p. 430.

⁵⁴¹ He means the wall surrounding Unayzah like a circle. Walls around cities were considered one of the most important military or security arrangements to protect cities from invasions.

⁵⁴² M. Alzkir, *al-‘uqūd al-durrīyah fī Tārīkh albilād al-Najdiyyah* [in Arabic], manuscript.

the overall usefulness of the source. Furthermore, Doughty stressed that Talal Al Rashid was the reason behind the end of the war, because he marched from Hail with his army to support Faisal's army.⁵⁴³ The researcher finds the account of Doughty to be closer to the truth and it is evident that the traveller's writings did not always have a preordained political or post-colonialist motive or prejudice against the Saudis, rather, his description of certain events, particularly this war, is very precise and based on investigation and his own eye-witness testimony. This, then, provides a unique aspect to the missing information of what was a politically and socially significant event in the history of Al Qassim. It also further rationalises the debate against Said's model of imperialism and orientalism, in that the Western travellers were not always adamant on creating a homogenous portrayal of the people of Arab by manipulating information against them. This is further supported by the comparisons made between Doughty's writings and local sources, revealing a realistic and credible account of the war. Indeed, his contributions are undoubtedly significant since that information is not addressed by the local sources. His own quote, "Two lesser skirmishes are recorded of those months'-long warfaring of 'all Arabia', before the two-span-thick clay wall of Aneyza"⁵⁴⁴ shows that he was aware of other events taking place but focused his writings on the war perhaps because he understood its underlying significance.

4.7 CONCLUSION

Philby, Doughty and Palgrave described the political conditions of Al Qassim during the time of the second Saudi state and it is important to note that even amongst themselves, their writing styles, content, context, and depth of information included differed from one another. Palgrave's writing, even though he was a witness to a certain part of the Second Unayzah War, include certain misconceptions and prejudices against the subject under discussion. Palgrave's account was noted to have several discrepancies in it, such as the names of the characters and hence further investigation is needed in this area. Despite the significance attached to his writings as a consequence of his having been an eyewitness, it is evident that some of the remarks and observations that he made were incorrect. However, no particular motivations or incentives can be associated to Palgrave's discrepancies. In contrast, Doughty's writings provided a surprising depth of analysis and description with reference to the aforementioned war. However, his writing lacked detail when it came to address other events that took place concurrently. This is more understandable, when compared to the reasons for the omissions and/or mistakes made by Palgrave, because Doughty was expelled from Buraydah and was thus unable to gather information about the events taking place in the city. Doughty, nevertheless, established personal relationships with the people of Unayzah

⁵⁴³ This subordination and the relationship between the Al Rashid emirate and the Saudi government at the time have been previously defined.

⁵⁴⁴ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 1, p. 430.

and this was one of the reasons for the depth of his knowledge pertaining to events occurring in Unayzah. Regrettably, and despite these positives, it remains the case that, a few misconceptions are also present within his writing. These mistakes can be ascribed more to Doughty's personal bias than any other political or religious cause.

In contrast, Philby's writings were closer to the local sources, in terms of the style, context and content of information. This is because, the researcher concludes, much of the information quoted by Philby was taken from the local sources, as he himself mentioned in the introduction of his book.⁵⁴⁵ Despite this, Philby offered a compilation of these events in his own style and included more information about the events during his stay in Saudi Arabia, after he had resigned from the government of the British Empire.

In summary, as majority of the travellers were unable to penetrate southern and central Najd, the home base of Wahhabism, the practices of the people of Al Qassim and the politics therein were lacking in their accounts. This is particularly true with regard to the repeated scrutiny extended towards the authenticity of the narrative of Palgrave. In addition, apart from Palgrave, Doughty and Philby, the local cultures of the spheres through which the travellers passed were thought little of, and more significant for this research, a majority of the travellers were seemingly unaware of the academic terms, or the social and political conditions that existed within Al Qassim at that time. Consequently, very little was contributed to the understanding of the reader about the difference between the social, political and economic conditions between different parts of Al Qassim. As a result, while it is true that the nineteenth century travellers provide much information by which the existent understanding of their readers regarding the psychology of colonial forces which manifested itself on the Arabs could be enhanced, very little was contributed to their readers' understanding of Al Qassim and practices of its people, including the social, economic and political aspects of the province. The writings of Palgrave and Doughty, did not, in this regard, present the "reality" of Eastern life. Rather, their portrayals were, stylistically, more in keeping with literary approaches, taking on a more classical and romantic notion of the area in addition to combining and projecting Western ideological preconceptions upon the people, events, and area that they were describing. While the works of the two travellers, Doughty and Palgrave, established a consensus congruent to the ideology and interests of the British readers – it is more dominant in Palgrave's narrative, as Philby's narrations provide a more realistic and credible description of the events that took place in Al Qassim. The researcher concludes, therefore, that despite the value of these writings, they are still in need of investigation and comparison with other local and foreign sources, as such further – perhaps post-doctoral research – would generate clear and verified historical information about the region.

⁵⁴⁵ Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia*, p. 6.

CHAPTER 5: POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE AND SECURITY ASPECTS OF AL QASSIM THROUGH THE WRITINGS OF BRITISH TRAVELLERS AND ENVOYS

This chapter comments upon the significant administrative and security aspects in Al Qassim by comparing the sources written by British travellers with the local sources. Since, the period under discussion was covered most by Doughty, this chapter focuses predominantly on this author. However, Philby was another significant source regarding some of the issues that happened during this period and, consequently, his writings are compared to those of Doughty. No other British travel writer who is noted within the wider confines of this thesis commented on this period of the history of Al Qassim. This chapter is divided into two sections. The first addresses Buraydah, the second Unayzah. Cumulatively the two sections provide a description of the significant events that took place during the period under discussion. This is achieved through a lens of interpretivism and descriptive qualitative data analysis that also reveals the bias and attitude of the individual writers. Any such bias is compared and contrasted with the nature of the bias revealed in previous chapters.

The conflict between Faisal Ibn Turki's sons caused the breakout of civil war that led the Second Saudi State to a stage of falling-out⁵⁴⁶. At the beginning of the war Al Qassim showed no signs of taking sides, rather the region represented by the cities of Unayzah and Buraydah assumed a neutral position. This is evident from the fact that the entire region didn't contribute in the conflict between Faisal's sons. Furthermore, until the actual weakness of the rule in the region had become apparent, Al Qassim leaders didn't display any kind of military mobility. During the civil war, Al Qassim leaders were focused on turning the events in the favour of their own independence⁵⁴⁷. Since Al Qassim originally wanted to achieve the state of independence and not be governed by any central authority, it is understandable that Al Qassim leaders were seeking independence. As explained in the previous chapter that details the return of Faisal to power and the resulting revolutions until the 2nd Unayzah War broke out, it is evident that the region of Al Qassim was indeed preparing to become independent. The cities of Unayzah and Buraydah were seen to struggle to gain independence not only

⁵⁴⁶ Four of Faisal's sons succeeded him after his death. They were Abdullah, Saud, Mohammed and Abdurrahman. The legal successor in rule was his eldest son, Abdullah. However, his brother, Saud, revolted against him, calling for himself as ruler. The people of Nejd were divided into two groups: supporters of Abdullah and supporters of Saud. This caused Nejd to enter into a whirlpool of civil war. Several battles broke out between the two sides, the most important of which was the Jada battle between Al Ahsaa and Riyadh. As a result of this war, Abdullah lost his political authority in Riyadh and Al Ahsaa and Saud and his supporters took over control of these areas and their surroundings. Saud remained in this position until his death a few years later. This caused Abdullah to return to his previous rule but not after the Saudi rule had lost its prestige and strength in most of the areas it had controlled such as Al Qassim and Al Ahsaa.

⁵⁴⁷ Als Salman M, *al-ahwal al-siyasiah fi Alqassim fi ahd al-dawlah al-saudiyah Althaniyah 1823-1891*[in Arabic] [*The Political Conditions in Alqassim during the second Saudi State 1823-1891*], pp. 226-231

from Saudi rule but also from one another⁵⁴⁸. Therefore, it is essential that a clear picture is painted that elaborates how and when these cities gained independence and to address the issues resulting from the travellers at that time. This is the reason it is crucial to take account of the events happening in both cities during the time the Saudi rule weakened.

5.1 BURAYDAH CITY

At the time Doughty visited Al Qassim in 1878, the city of Buraydah was completely independent from any central rule and was ruled by Prince Hassan Ibn Muhanna. During his time in Al Qassim, Doughty noted significant events of an administrative and political nature. The start of this period marks Al Qassim's regarding political, administrative and security aspects. This period began with the attempt of Al Abu Ulayan to restore power of Buraydah from Muhanna and Ibn Rashid's arrival as an ally to Hassan Ibn Muhanna to provide support against Abdullah Ibn Faisal. The attempt of Al Abu Ulayan to dethrone Muhanna initiated a set of events that led to the disruption of the sovereignty of Buraydah, and this caused Abu Ulayan's family to call for Abdullah Ibn Faisal's help. Consequently, Hassan declared his opposition to the Saudis and he entered into military cooperation agreement with Ibn Rashid. As a result, a partnership was formed, for the first time, between Hail and Al Qassim whereby they stood together against the deteriorating rule of Saudi.⁵⁴⁹ Doughty narrates the account of Al Abu Ulayan's family and their attempt to seize power by shedding light on the palace "Hajellan Palace" where the incident occurred:

The Kasr Hajellan⁵⁵⁰ was built by Abdullah, son of Abd-el-Aziz, prince of Boreyda. Abdullah was murdered by Mahanna, when he usurped the government with the countenance of the Wahaby... The young sons of the prince that was slain fled to the neighbour town of Aneyza. And after certain years, in a spring season, when the armed band was encamped with Hasan in the Nefud, they stole over by night to Boreyda.⁵⁵¹

The narrative style of Doughty was significant because it used terms such as such as "usurped", "Wahaby" and "stole over", in addition to phrases such as "fanatical strangeness" and "mad Sherif"⁵⁵² to describe the people of the Arabian Peninsula and the political situation in which they found themselves. The use of such phrases emphasises the arrogant attitude of Doughty's Western culture towards that of the East. His West-occident, East-orient values are distinct as he refers to the Sharif of Mecca as mad and the political setting of Al Qassim as usurped, implying that the Arabs were ruled only through force and not civility. This was not a lone occurrence in the writings of Doughty. There are numerous references in Doughty's narrations in which one may note distinctive orientalist values. Despite the imperialistic

⁵⁴⁸ Alzkir, M., *Aloquod Alduryah fi Tarikh Albilad Alnajdyah* [in Arabic] (Manuscript) p. 90.

⁵⁴⁹ C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (Cambridge, 1888), Vol. 2, p. 245.

⁵⁵⁰ Previously defined.

⁵⁵¹ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 321.

⁵⁵² A. Ralli, *Christians at Mecca* (London, 1909), pp. 265-266.

implications that can be seen in Doughty's description, the significance of the information provided by him cannot be denied. This is because, as noted in the quotation above, Doughty explained that the clashes between the supporters of Muhanna and Abu Ulayan family occurred at the palace and as a result of the assassinations executed by Muhanna, the family fled to Unayzah and later infiltrated Buraydah in order to wreak their revenge and kill Muhanna. During that time, Muhanna's eldest son, Hassan, was not at home and the killers were instead besieged by Abdullah Ibn Muhanna.⁵⁵³ However, the people were not enthusiastic to his cause. Indeed, quite the opposite. From Doughty's account, it is evident that Hassan reached the city after the clashes had ended, and that he then took over power in place of Muhanna.

The account of Doughty is consistent with Philby's account of the event. However, while Philby's⁵⁵⁴ account starts from how the clashes were initiated between Muhanna and Abu Ulayan, his account – viewed as a whole – lacks the clarity that is present in Doughty's writing. It is for such reasons that the researcher intrepidly expands on Doughty's writings about this particular event, in terms of three significant aspects : the building of Hujylan palace; the killing of Abdullah Ibn Abdel Aziz (as Doughty referred to him); and the outbreak of the fight between the families of Al Abu Ulayan and Muhanna (and thereafter the supporters of each after Muhanna had been assassinated). Before analysing the history of Al Qassim through the writings of Doughty, it is imperative to draw attention to the fact that the name of the prince mentioned by him, i.e. Hassan Ibn Muhanna, cannot be found in any other source, either foreign or local.⁵⁵⁵ From this, the researcher suggest that Doughty must have been referring to Abdul Aziz Al Abu Ulayan since his writings indicate the general context of the Abdul Aziz's assassination – as discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

I would like to stress that Doughty's assumption about the palace being constructed by Abdul Aziz Al Abu Ulayan was not correct as there are no known specifics about who built the palace. Nevertheless, it is connected to the prince of Buraydah, Rashid Al Derebi (1741-1779).⁵⁵⁶ Doughty's writings imply that he attributed the palace, mentioned in his writings as Hujylan palace, to Hujylan for two primary reasons. First, Rashid Al Derebi was killed by Hujylan in the palace in 1779 and consequently took over the throne of Buraydah.⁵⁵⁷ Secondly, Hujylan was recognised for his love of construction and architecture and it can be assumed

⁵⁵³ The second of Muhanna's sons.

⁵⁵⁴ H.St J.B. Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia* (New York, 1955), pp. 226-227.

⁵⁵⁵ See Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia*; I. Ibn EisāI, *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)* [in Arabic], p. 75; I.bin Obaid, *Tadhkirat ūlī al-nuhā wa-al-'irfān bi-ayyām Allāh al-Wāhid al-Dayyān wa-dhikr ḥawādith al-zamān (Remind People of Intellect and Knowledge)* [in Arabic], Vol. 1, pp. 137-138; M. Alzkir, *al-'uqūd al-durrīyah fī Tārīkh albilād al-Najdīyah* [in Arabic], manuscript, pp. 90-91.

⁵⁵⁶ M. Al-Obodi, *Mu'jam bilad Al Qassim (Al Qassim Lexicon)* [in Arabic], Vol. 5, p. 205.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

that Doughty confused the name of the wall⁵⁵⁸ with that of the palace. Such inaccuracies enabled the researcher to suggest that Doughty's account provided information which was not true. This is consistent with the comments noted in previous chapters and suggests that Doughty failed to be fully accurate on more than one occasion. This 'failing' is also evident in his account of Buraydah's independence and the causes of the instigation of the aforementioned clashes. The local sources confirm that the palace was not built by Abdul Aziz Al Abu Ulayan as his interest was limited to military aspects and he was determined to gain independence for the city, which is the reason why Buraydah did not show any constructional growth during his reign.⁵⁵⁹ Furthermore, I would like to emphasise that the Doughty's description of the killing of Abdullah contradicts itself. This is apparent in how he indicates that Muhanna killed Abdul Aziz Al Abu Ulayan, but then writes Abdul Aziz fled to Unayzah and was heading to Mecca when he was killed.⁵⁶⁰ From this I conclude that the direct killing of Abdul Aziz, as described by Doughty as well as his assumptions pertaining to the Muhanna's rule in Buraydah are incorrect. Previous chapters have highlighted Doughty's prejudice against the people of Buraydah as a result of his expulsion from the city. I would like to suggest in addition to this that although Doughty's writings were not motivated by any imperialistic intentions, (as established in previous chapters), they did hint at orientalist attitudes, typical of his race. From this event, it is evident that Doughty's national identity made him see himself as superior and this feeling – further strengthened by his expulsion from the city of Buraydah – dominated his style of writing about the history of Al Qassim, particularly when he was focusing his writing on the city of Buraydah. Although the local⁵⁶¹ and foreign⁵⁶² sources provide a consistent account of the assassination as having been carried out by Muhanna, Alzkir⁵⁶³ emphasises that Abdul Aziz was, in fact, killed by the men of Abdullah Ibn Faisal as they hunted him on the orders of Muhanna. I would like to suggest that this indicates that the true image is reversed by Doughty in his account. From this, therefore, I would emphasise that when Doughty makes comments such as "stealing" he further underlines the domination of his orientalist thinking. The reversed image cannot be attributed to confusion alone, as it is clear that had Muhanna stolen the power to rule the city,

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 490; M. Alrebdi, Buraidah, (Riyadh, 1993) [in Arabic], Vol. 2, p. 64.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 71.

⁵⁶⁰ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 429.

⁵⁶¹ I. Ibn EisāI, *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)* [in Arabic], p. 75 I.bin Obaid, *Tadhkirat ūlī al-nuhā wa-al-'irfān bi-ayyām Allāh al-Wāhid al-Dayyān wa-dhikr ḥawādith al-zamān (Remind People of Intellect and Knowledge)* [in Arabic], Vol. 1, pp. 237-138; M. Alzkir, *al-'uqūd al-durrīyah fī Tārīkh albilād al-Najdīyah* [in Arabic], manuscript, pp. 90-91.

⁵⁶² R.B. Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1965), pp. 174, 178; Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia*, p. 213.

⁵⁶³ M. Alzkir, *al-'uqūd al-durrīyah fī Tārīkh albilād al-Najdīyah* [in Arabic], manuscript, p. 81.

he would have failed to gain the recognition of independence that was given to him by the Ottoman State when the latter gave him the Mejidi medal⁵⁶⁴ in 1872.⁵⁶⁵

Throughout his writings, he builds the image of the Arabs as impossible to trust and understand. There is no shortage of evidence in passages written by Doughty in Arabia Deserta that reflects the national and racial superiority he held over Arabs. Quite often his writings implied that he was proud and believing of Britain being the greatest civilization in world. This inference is supported by Doughty's consistent pronouncements on slavery in his writings. In his work Arabia Deserta, Doughty claims to have travelled to Arab mainly for artistic purposes. However, there are certain instances in the book where he neglects to follow the design he'd set for himself and make remarks that point towards a stylistic concern instead of thematic one. It appears that Doughty's preconceptions and orientalist views for Arabs were so dominant that he expressed it even though it went against his main concerns of writing the book. One such instance is when Doughty gave an account of how a slave was questioned at Kheybar: "*Of what nation were the slave drivers — this he could not answer: they were white men, and in his opinion Moslemin; but not Arabians since they were not at home at Jidda, which was then, and is now the staple town of African slavery", for the Turkish Empire;—Jidda where are Frankish consuls! But you shall find these worthies, in the pallid solitude of their palaces, affecting (great Heaven!) the simplicity of new-born babes, — they will tell you, they are not aware of it! But I say again in your ingenuous ears, Jidda is the staple town of the Turkish slavery, OH ALL MOSLEMIN ARE LIARS.*"

Although orientalist views were dominant in the style of Doughty's writings, imperialistic dominance cannot be attributed to his approach as other events were narrated by him which contained a remarkable level of detail. Added to this, the significance of his account is greater than the other sources because they fail to provide a detailed description as noted, for instance, with regard to the, account of how Muhanna was killed and the resultant clashes between his family and that of Al Ulayan. The accuracy of this event is determined by comparing the description of this event by Doughty with that of Ibrahim Ibn Obaid.⁵⁶⁶ The latter bares a close resemblance to the former. Since Ibrahim Ibn Obaid was the resident of Buraydah and his grandfather was an employee close to Hassan Ibn Muhanna,⁵⁶⁷ his historic

⁵⁶⁴ A medal introduced by the Ottoman Sultan, Abdel Majid I (1839-1861) in 1851. This medal is divided into four levels and is granted to people who serve the state or to tribal leaders to gain their loyalty: S. Saban, "*Alaousemah al-tārīkhīyah wa al-hāṣṣīlun 'Alayhā min al-jazīrah al-'arabīyah fī wathā'iq al-Arshīf al-'Uthmānī* (Ottoman medals and those who granted from the Arabian Peninsula in the Ottoman archive documents) [in Arabic] (Riyadh, 2009), pp. 8-10, 23.

⁵⁶⁵ M. Aba Alkhel, *Fi Tarikh Aba Alkhel* (Aba Alkhel Family in History) [in Arabic] (ND), p. 37.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibrahim Ibn Obaid (1915-2004) was born in Buraydah and received an Islamic education there at the hands of Al Qassim scholars. He wrote books in Islamic Shariah but was also interested in writing about history. He wrote *Tzkert aoli alnoha woa ala 'rfan* in eight volumes and it covered the events of the Arab world, especially the Arabian Peninsula, from the mid-eighteenth century to the end of the twentieth century.

⁵⁶⁷ I. bin Obaid, *Tadhkirat ūlī al-nuhā wa-al- 'irfān bi-ayyām Allāh al-Wāḥid al-Dayyān wa-dhikr ḥawādith al-zamān* (Remind People of Intellect and Knowledge) [in Arabic], Vol. 3, pp. 236-238.

records are considered to be a significant source for reference. This enhances the importance of Doughty's narration of this event because of the coinciding information provided by both sources. Nevertheless, my own point of view focuses more strongly on the discrepancies noted in the traveller's description for which I find no support from the local sources. This is particularly the case when Doughty mentioned that Muhanna was killed by the sons of Abdul Aziz and that the people of Buraydah were not willing to support the family of Muhanna. However, local sources such as Al-Bassam⁵⁶⁸ and Ibn EisāI⁵⁶⁹ reject the assumption of Doughty, by stating that the killing of Muhanna was carried out by 11 to 12 individuals, of whom only one was a son of Abdul Aziz. Furthermore, Doughty's insistent tone become predominant when mentioning the people of Buraydah and their unwillingness to support Muhanna in the outbreak of the clashes. In contrast, Al Obodi⁵⁷⁰ provided an eye-witness account of the incident whereby he states that the people of Buraydah stood against the assault.⁵⁷¹ This is consistent with the account provided by Winder⁵⁷² who supported Al Obodi's view that the people of Buraydah were not accepting of a prince belonging to the family of Al Ulayan and supported Muhanna.⁵⁷³

Here I would like to surmise that Doughty's writing on this issue presented a valuable account, particularly with regard to the description of the clash. However, the inaccuracies noted with regard to the names and characters provided by Doughty throughout his narration cannot be ignored. This is consistent with how he describes Muhanna as a tyrant: *And on the morrow, when the tyrant passed by, going to his mid-day prayers in the great mesjid, Abdullah's sons ran suddenly upon him with the knife! Knife! And they slew him there in the midst of the street.*⁵⁷⁴ Furthermore, Doughty refers to Muhanna as the tyrant of Buraydah in different instances in his writing – "Travels in Arabia". Throughout his work, he used words like "tyrant, usurper, cameleer" and other derogatory terms⁵⁷⁵. This supports the inference that Doughty, in fact, displayed signs of strict bias against Muhanna and the people of Buraydah by drawing conclusions from his early treatment in the city. He failed to keep an unbiased approach to

⁵⁶⁸ M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fi akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-'Irāq (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq)* [in Arabic], p. 356.

⁵⁶⁹ I. Ibn EisāI, *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)* [in Arabic], p. 37.

⁵⁷⁰ Mohammed Al-Obodi (1930) was born and educated in Buraydah. He worked in public education and then moved to the Islamic University in Medina; he became a deputy president. He was then appointed secretary of the Muslim World League. Although his education was religious, most of his books were in literature. He was also interested in travelling around the world and spreading the influence of Islam. He had interests in history and popular folklore. A number of books were published for him in this latter area, as well as books that document his travels and experiences around the world. He was named the "dean of Arab travellers" and the most famous of his books is *Mu'jam bilad Al Qassim (Al Qassim Lexicon)*, which consists of six volumes and includes geographical and historic information about most of Al Qassim's cities and towns. This research has relied on this book.

⁵⁷¹ Al-Obodi, *Mu'jam bilad Al Qassim*, Vol. 2, p. 554.

⁵⁷² Winder, *Saudi Arabia*, p. 264.

⁵⁷³ I. Ibn EisāI, *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)* [in Arabic], p. 43.

⁵⁷⁴ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 321.

⁵⁷⁵ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 321.

understanding the lifestyle and culture of Buraydah. Instead, his oriental ideology and personal experience led him to form prejudice against the people of Buraydah and their leader.

As noted in the above section, the writings of Doughty suggest that he possessed a bias against Muhanna and the events that occurred in the city of Buraydah. The researcher attributes this to the limitations faced by Doughty in his stay within Buraydah because, as a result of him being removed from the city after only a few days he had difficulty in garnering accurate information. Moreover, in his account Doughty refers to Abdullah Ibn Muhanna's behaviour towards him as unwelcoming and harsh.⁵⁷⁶ This creates a negative image of the people of Buraydah. However, when Doughty arrived in Buraydah, Prince Hassan Ibn Muhanna was not even present. Rather, Doughty was received by Abdullah Ibn Muhanna whose behaviour was most convivial and amiable. Prince Hassan was known to be an amiable and hearty fellow who possessed an enviable and open mindedness. This is an opinion based on the fact that he received Charles Huber⁵⁷⁷ with open and friendly manners.⁵⁷⁸ Furthermore, Doughty's treatment as an unwelcome guest by Abdullah Ibn Muhanna can be attributed to the fact that he was the first traveller to Najd who had made the voyage openly as a Christian, whereas his predecessors had dressed up as Muslims.⁵⁷⁹ Thus, I conclude that the short span of time that he actually spent in Buraydah is the reason for the inaccuracies in his otherwise valuable account. In addition, the bias against Muhanna can be attributed to Abdullah Ibn Muhanna's harsh treatment and unpleasant welcome. This in turn led, as noted, to Doughty reporting him as a tyrant. Hitherto, it is evident that although Doughty had adopted a biased approach towards Muhanna, no imperialistic motivations could be found to have moulded the inaccuracies contained within his writing. With reference to the issues under discussion and Philby's⁵⁸⁰ account, it is evident that his writings were brief and bore a close resemblance to the local sources. Philby's account differed from that of Doughty in that the former mentioned details pertaining to the members of Al Ulayan family and provided the underlying reason behind the instigation of the clashes. In contrast, Philby's narrative provide a more precise account supported by the local sources. However, it is evident that the main objective of Philby's book *Sa'udi Arabia* was not to describe the aforementioned issue. Hence, although a brief and more precise account was provided by Philby, it does not add any significantly valuable details to the already available description. This again contributes to the fact that the significance of Doughty's account, including the inaccurate details, cannot be denied. This is consistent with Hogarth's view of Doughty's work whereby the former

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 228-229, 315-321, 331-334.

⁵⁷⁷ A French traveller who visited Al Qassim in 1878.

⁵⁷⁸ C. Huber, *Journey d'un voyage en Arabie (1883-1884)* [in French] (Paris, 1891; the edition used was translated into Arabic by Alisar Sad, Beirut, 2003), p. 75.

⁵⁷⁹ A.C.B. Raunkjær, *Gennem Wahhabiternes land paa Kamelryg (Through Wahhabiland on Camelback)* [in Danish] (Copenhagen, 1913, this edition translated by G. De Gaury, London, 1969), pp. 96-107.

⁵⁸⁰ Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia*, pp. 226-227.

suggested that *Arabia Deserta* contained “pretty well everything that needs to be known about Bedouin life can be found there by a patient reader”.⁵⁸¹ This indicates that the perspective presented by Doughty, self-created through his personal encounter with Arabs, Islam or the Orient; exhibited contempt for official knowledge regarding the East, as surfaced numerous times in his writings.

Based on the works of Doughty and his writings, I have been able to infer that before Doughty came to Arabia, he harboured a deep prejudice against the Arabs. This is evident from the obsessive pride Doughty took in being an artisan of medieval British history, specifically that of the Crusades. This inference is supported by how he refused to travel as a hidden traveller in the Saudi State, even though it could have been dangerous for him at that time. His travels, as described in *Arabia Deserta*, implied that he viewed the Arabian Peninsula through the typical British viewpoint and lacked the manner of an impartial and objective observer⁵⁸². A closer inspection of “*Arabia Deserta*” reveals that Doughty relied on his preconceived notions about the Arabs and saw “the worse rather than the better nature of the people”⁵⁸³. Despite the evidence of his prejudice against Arabs, the fact that Jeddah British consulate denied him any kind of cooperation proves that he wasn’t traveling to Arabia on imperial mission nor was he supported by any British society⁵⁸⁴. This inference holds to be true since Doughty recounted the people of Unayzah and its leaders in positive terms as he was treated hospitably in that city. If he had been on an imperial mission, he would have been consistent in his description of all the leaders as tyrants and uncivilized, as in the eyes of British.

Subsequently, I recount the period when Ibn Rashid arrived to support Hassan Ibn Muhanna against Abdullah Ibn Faisal. This event holds significant importance in Al Qassim’s political history. Indeed, it is particularly relevant because this was the first time that Riyadh and Hail exhibited their strength. Added to this the account of the negotiations between both sides were described in a similar manner by Doughty and Philby, though certain differences can also be noted. In Doughty’s account the predominant aspect was the dialogue between Ibn Rashid and Abdullah Al-Bassam⁵⁸⁵ that took place until they reached a truce and withdrew without causing any bloodshed. Doughty’s writing describes the intention of Ibn Rashid leaving Hail to attack Unayzah because Abdullah Ibn Faisal encamped south of Unayzah to support the people of Buraydah. My own analysis is that this account by Doughty, supports

⁵⁸¹ Hogarth Papers, File 1, 6 December 1915. Doughty was told by Hogarth that his *Arabia Deserta* was used by Lawrence, him and others “for intelligence purposes”. See also Lawrence’s quote in J.E. Mack, *A Prince of our Disorder: The Life of T.E. Lawrence* (Cambridge, MA, 1976), p. 295, in the foreword to the *Arabia Deserta* reissue.

⁵⁸² T.E. Lawrence, 'Introduction* to Charles M. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, (New York, n.d.)

⁵⁸³ Quoted by Anne Treneer, Charles M. Doughty, (London, 1955) p.392

⁵⁸⁴ Charles H. Doughty. *Arabia Deserta* new and definitive edition, 2 vols. (London, "1^56"). vol.1 p. 95. Hence onward referred to only as *Arabia Deserta*.

⁵⁸⁵ He was a key person or leader in Al Qassim, especially in Unayzah.

the inferences drawn above in this study. While Edward Said stresses that the intuitive mode to understand Arab which underwent evolution into a penchant for markedly conspiracy theories, the researcher infers that this cannot be found true in this case. Had Doughty been driven by imperialistic motivations to write about the Arab Peninsula, the description of the peaceful truce would have been different. As it stands, the issue as narrated by Doughty closely resembled the narrations of Philby and the local sources. However, the significance of Doughty's account lies in the fact that the details of the dialogue were not accounted for by anyone else. In contrast, the significance of Philby's⁵⁸⁶ narration is that his account offered a more precise and unambiguous perspective of the matter. Indeed, Philby's account emphasises the importance of Arabian politics and how the Arabs settled their affairs through delegates and negotiations. His narration is devoid of imperialistic insinuations, in contrast to what Doughty and Palgrave wrote in their books. Philby's account is supported by both Ibn EisāI⁵⁸⁷ and Ibn Obaid⁵⁸⁸ with regard to this period and issue and accordingly I conclude that Philby's consistency in maintaining an objective perspective is a further reason to reject the of Edward Said. Doughty's description was not focused on the political scenario that existed within Al Qassim. Rather, it addressed details pertaining to the Al-Bassam family, to whom he demonstrated fondness. Since Al-Bassam was the key figure in bringing the negotiations to a state of truce, Doughty included the details of the dialogue in his writing. Added to that, even though the clash between Buraydah consequent to the assassination of Muhanna was mentioned, Doughty failed to connect one event with the other as clearly as they were linked in in the local sources and Philby's writings. Thus, I surmise that Doughty was not well informed about all the aspects of Al Qassim that he included in his narration. This can be expected because of the short duration of his stay in Buraydah and the aforementioned problems that this caused him as well as his own personal attitude toward the issue under consideration. This view is consistent with the contradictory style of writing which becomes evident when Doughty's writings are compared with some foreign sources, such as Philby, and the local sources which recorded the same issues. From my analysis I conclude that Doughty's narrative is particularly biased against Buraydah and its people when covering their events, and this was primarily because of his expulsion from the city. In contrast, because of his fondness of Al-Bassam, the events that pertain to the latter are shrouded in positivity no scurrilous titles, such as "tyrant", "fanatical" are ascribed to Al-Bassam or his family. I would also infer that consistent to the literary style of narration adopted by Doughty, the traveller included certain details about the events which hold no significance in retrospect but may have been useful as a literary device. An example of this is: such as and Ibn Rashid

⁵⁸⁶ Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia*, pp. 226-227.

⁵⁸⁷ I. Ibn EisāI, *Iqd Al-Durar (Necklace of Pearls)* [in Arabic], pp.35

I.bin Obaid, *Tadhkirat ūlī al-nuhā wa-al- 'irfān bi-ayyām Allāh al-Wāhid al-Dayyān wa-dhikr hawādith al-zamān (Remind People of Intellect and Knowledge)* [in Arabic], Vol. 1, pp. 242-243.

clothed the two honourable men ambassadors from Aneyza with scarlet mantles and silken kerchiefs.⁵⁸⁹

Accordingly, it is suggested that although Doughty covered a lot of issues that occurred in Al Qassim, his information was largely based on what he heard, as described in the previous chapter. As is to be expected from the oral tradition, information tends to get confused, mixed or changed when passed from person to person. Nevertheless, with the recording of the historic events, verification of the information needs to be done before details are included, in order to create a significantly valuable and authentic source for the readers. It is evident that Doughty's writings provide significant details which can be understood in detail by combining the works of Philby and local sources. In contrast, Philby⁵⁹⁰ offers a more profound and detailed record of the issues, including the underlying reasons which are absent in the local sources and in those of the foreign travellers. This, then, relates to the central question pertaining to the wider significance of the narratives of Doughty and Philby with reference to Al Qassim's history. No other source provides a detailed, close to truth depiction of its political aspects. From their analysis, I have come to the conclusion that the Western assumptions of Arabs as "fanatic", "tyrants", and "uncivilised" can be challenged through events such as the aforementioned negotiations. Furthermore, the writings of Doughty and Philby, in addition to the local sources, do not offer a complete picture of the political, administrative and security aspects of the province of Al Qassim. In its totality at that time. However, if one combines all the sources in an erudite manner, analyses the authentic versions and determines the motivations behind the writings, one may come to a point of enlightenment; a comprehensive account of the history of Al Qassim. This is consistent with my findings. Namely, that although Philby mentioned the events and the underlying reasons behind the clashes, his narrative provided no details of the dialogue that took place. In contrast, Philby highlights an important observation about the event, referring to it as the first show of force between Hail and Riyadh.

The third division, as mentioned earlier, is about the administrative and security aspects that existed in Buraydah during the time of its independence as described by the local and foreign sources. With reference to this specific dimension, Doughty contributed unique information about how the Buraydah emirate was governed, in addition to the security conditions that were present in the city. The administrative conditions of the city determined the rules and laws that were in place to govern the people. Since the local sources were more focused on political aspects, they failed to consider the significance of the administrative and security aspects. As it stands, the Western readers along with Eastern ones were offered no local sources in order to determine how the Arabs administered their routine affairs. Thus, the

⁵⁸⁹ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 351.

⁵⁹⁰ Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia*, pp. 226-227.

missing historic records from the local people and historians led to the emergence of general misconceptions which, in turn, cast the Arabs as an uncivilised, fanatic and brutal race that chose to settle their affairs and points of difference with blood rather than law. Nevertheless, I have striven to bridge this gap in the historiography of Western travellers and their writings on the Arabian Peninsula, particularly Najd. My success in this area has been ensured by my analysing the information provided by Doughty in the light of the local sources in order to provide an inclusive account of the aforementioned aspects. One of the reasons why Doughty's account cannot be ignored is because he was present at the time that the events that he writes about in his books were taking place i.e. when Buraydah was stable and independent from any other power.

Through the above analysis I have also been able to realise and identify that until Doughty's description, the administrative boundaries of the Buraydah emirate and its control of Al Qassim region were unknown. Doughty relates that despite the authority of the Prince of Buraydah over most of his region, he had no control over the nomad tribes of the desert of Al Qassim.⁵⁹¹ However, he pursued abusers and thieves in order to bring greater security to his rule and to his lands and made successful alliances with some of the tribes. The hierarchy of the authority of Buraydah was also recounted by Doughty, and he mentioned that Al Ras, Al Khabraa, Al Hilaleyah and Al Bakereyah⁵⁹² came under direct control of Buraydah rule, excepting only the city of Unayzah. Another dominant aspect noted by Doughty pertaining to the administration of Al Qassim was his observation of the general council held by the prince of Buraydah with his governors. This piece of information is not found in local sources and is deemed significant because it gives an insight as how the general affairs of the cities were handled by the princes. It implies that the Arabs preferred councils to solve their matters instead of dictators and force. This contradicts the attributions that are often accredited to their race by the West as a consequence of the latter's orientalist visions. Thus, I would like to advance that Doughty's own eye witness account of Abdullah's government during the absence of Hassan Ibn Muhanna provided evidence of the civilised methods adopted by the Arabs in their administration and government affairs and how they also made efforts to establish a system of solid security for the common people.

Doughty's contributions are also valuable as a consequence of his describing the political dimensions of the Buraydah emirate towards the Ottoman state. His personal narration provides evidence of the unpleasant treatment that he valiantly endured during his stay in Buraydah. His bias against the people of Buraydah was initiated by that time, and it was a

⁵⁹¹ It cannot be denied that the local sources mentioned the administrative borders of both Buraydah and Unayzah. However, their writings were general and undetailed, usually including such phrases as: "the prince of Buraydah rules the Al Qassim region except for Unayzah". In contrast, precision and detail can be found in Doughty's writing.

⁵⁹² These cities were the most important cities and governorates of the region.

time in which Abdullah Ibn Muhanna was in control as Prince Hassan was absent.⁵⁹³ According to Doughty, the people protested against his stay and asked for his immediate ousting from the city. Some people went so far as to suggest that he should be exterminated; killed. There are no local sources that support or reject the allegations of Doughty, however, considering the above analysis it can be considered true. This is because Doughty was a devout Christian and considered that his assuming the guise of a Muslim would be an insult to his Christian upbringing. Thus, he openly declared his religion to the ire of the inhabitants of the city. Added to that, Doughty's own attitude was a provocation that may well have contributed to the hostile treatment that he received from the Arabs within the city. This is consistent with the account of Burton who refers to Doughty as being disrespectful towards the customs and religion of the Arabs.

Another event which is related to this is when Doughty came across a group of sheikhs who quarrelled amongst themselves and without provocation Doughty publicly shunned them by describing them akin to "swine".⁵⁹⁴ Doughty accused Abdullah Ibn Muhanna of being the supporter of such ideas. However, the latter's behaviour changed once Doughty informed him about the letter from Ottoman Sultan, which demanded that Doughty should be protected.⁵⁹⁵ The researcher highlights that this change in behaviour points towards the respect given to the Ottomans by the people of Buraydah and the privileges that were granted to the Ottoman kingdoms. There is no doubt that the Al Qassim's Aba Alkhel emirate's recognition of these privileges reflected the allegiance of Buraydah emirate to the Ottoman state that existed at that time.⁵⁹⁶ From this multitude of observations I surmise that the importance of Doughty's account hinges on how it explains the allegiance and respect of the Buraydah emirate towards the Ottoman Sultan. Hitherto, this had not been noted by any other traveller. Accordingly, Said's theory of the orientalist becoming the representative of his imperial culture of the West is rejected.

Doughty also provided information about the security conditions that were present in the city. This was a matter of great concern for the prince and caused him to spread his men around the market to observe what was going on and impose order. This event was witnessed by Doughty during his visit to the market of Buraydah city.⁵⁹⁷ Doughty explained that security was maintained through the use of surveillance towers at the outskirts of every town and city and that the wage paid to the guard of every watchtower was divided equally among the people of the cities. Added to that, detailed descriptions of the towers surrounding the town

⁵⁹³ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, pp. 315, 320, 331-332, 409-410, 414.

⁵⁹⁴ A.T. Sullivan, 'The Obstinate Mr Doughty', *Arab and Islamic Cultures and Cooperation*, July/August (1969).

⁵⁹⁵ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, pp. 315, 320, 331-332, 409-410, 414.

⁵⁹⁶ Aba Alkhel, *Fi Tarikh Aba Alkhel*, p. 37.

⁵⁹⁷ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2.

of Uyun⁵⁹⁸ were also narrated by Doughty.⁵⁹⁹ Though Palgrave⁶⁰⁰ also mentioned these towers in his narrative, his description did not include the details of their function. With reference to this specific aspect, therefore, Palgrave's writings were inferior to those of Doughty. Doughty also observed the security conditions in the area between Buraydah and Unayzah⁶⁰¹ and how it affected the economic situation between the two cities. This was important because that area was a common route for trade.⁶⁰² Instead of the route being a potential danger to people and their trade, Hassan Ibn Muhanna sent his armed men to restore order among the towns.⁶⁰³ Doughty's recording of this is immeasurably valuable because it demonstrates that the prince was concerned about the people of the city and their safety, as well as the economy of his kingdom. Such traits and concerns are not characteristic amongst tyrants. The measures to safeguard security which were taken by the rulers of Al Qassim imply that their administrative affairs were organised and handled with the counsel of the governors, and that significant attempts were made to control the illegal activities of, amongst others, thieves, reprobates, and those other people who sought to take the law into their own hands. From this it is evident that, despite some of the Western travellers seeking to ascribe fanaticism and tyranny to the people of the Arab Peninsula, peace and harmony dominated in Al Qassim region. I emphasise that this conclusion could not have been arrived at without viewing different sources, including local and foreign. All of which, as noted, have been discussed in this chapter.

5.2 UNAYZAH CITY

Unayzah's political position was affected differently to Buraydah due to the weakened Saudi state and it remained neutral between the two rival sides. The prince of Unayzah in 1868, Zamil Alsulaim, exhibited no hostility against Faisal Ibn Turki's sons.⁶⁰⁴ Rather, he maintained good relations with Abdullah Ibn Faisal.⁶⁰⁵ This is consistent with Doughty's narrative which recorded his first hand accounts of observing good relations between Abdullah Ibn Faisal and Zamil and that the latter enjoyed independent rule in the city. It is evident that akin to Buraydah, Unayzah enjoyed complete political and administrative independence. Doughty's stay was prolonged in this city and, as a result, he gathered more

⁵⁹⁸ Huber talked about the towers surrounding the town of al-Uyun and gave details as to their function.

⁵⁹⁹ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2.

⁶⁰⁰ W.G. Palgrave, *Personal Narrative of a Year's Journey Through Central and Eastern Arabia* (London, 1865), Vol. 1, pp. 268-271.

⁶⁰¹ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2.

⁶⁰² Winder stresses that Buraydah and Unayzah were living in a cold war after the issue of the pre-mentioned confrontation between the armies of Abdullah Ibn Faisal and Ibn Rashid. There is no doubt that Doughty's visit was during that period; Winder, *Saudi Arabia*, pp. 174, 178.

⁶⁰³ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 121.

⁶⁰⁴ Abdullah Ibn Faisal sought Zamil's help against his brother Saud in 1870. However, Zamil gave him a diplomatic apology. This proves that Zamil was keen on distancing himself from opposing any of them.

⁶⁰⁵ M. Alsalman, *al-ahwāl al-siyāsīyah fī Al Qassim fī 'ahd al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah 1823-1891* [*The Political Conditions in Al-Qassim during the second Saudi State 1823-1891*] [In Arabic], p. 237.

information in this city than he did in Buraydah. While much of the information was collected through the oral tradition, Doughty also personally witnessed events of significant political and administrative importance. The most significant of these was the fight between Qahtan tribe and the people of Unayzah.

The attack is noteworthy because it marked the defeat of the Qahtan tribe and resulted in the assassination of its leader which caused the tribe to move outside the borders of Al Qassim. Doughty's narrative is valuable in covering the details of this attack, as no other source provides a complete description of the event. Doughty described the skirmishes between the Qahtan tribe and Unayzah, beginning with the tribe's stealing of camels from the merchants of the city and how they continued to steal the belongings of the people who resided outside the city. An ally tribe of the city, the Muteir tribe was also attacked by Qahtan.⁶⁰⁶ According to Doughty, Zamil handled the affair by sending a messenger to the Qahtan tribe, asking them to return the stolen properties. The tribe did not comply, and this led to war. Doughty's narration points out that in response to the attacks of the tribe on the people of Unayzah, Zamil did not wage war as a first reaction. Instead, his initial response was to try to handle the affair peacefully as evidenced through his sending a messenger. It was not until after the tribe denied his requests that war broke out. The war was described by both local sources and Doughty. However, while the former provided a brief overview of the event, the latter included the details of the war along with the reasons which initiated its outbreak. The war was fought on Dokhany or Dekhnah, against Qahtan by Zamil with 1000 men and by his ally Muteir with 300 men. The Qahtan tribe was defeated by the mutual efforts of Muteir and Zamil. Doughty mentioned how the people of Unayzah celebrated their victory, with military songs and displays of joy. This shows the detail with which Doughty described events which is in stark contrast to the local sources of Al Bassam,⁶⁰⁷ Alzkir⁶⁰⁸ and Al Ubayd⁶⁰⁹ who, while they mentioned the war in their accounts, did not comment on the military role of the Muteir tribe. In contrast, Doughty provided a detailed description of the Muteir tribe and its military

⁶⁰⁶ Most of the clashes that took place between the tribes of Najd happened in times where there was an absence of central authority and rule. In addition, most of these disputes took place as a result of the competition for survival that existed in free lands with regard to the need to obtain good vegetation in springtime. Competition for survival and the occupation of land also happened in places where water supplies were abundant such as wells. This happened especially in the summer season.

⁶⁰⁷ Al-Bassam mentions that a squad from the Qahtan tribe was travelling in the Al Qassim desert in 1878. Although Qahtan had trade relations with Unayzah, this group carried out an assault on the people of Unayzah outside the city walls. As a result, Zamil contacted the tribe's chiefs, asking them to return the property that had been taken during the assault. However, they showed opposition to him. Unimpressed, he attacked them and a battle between the two sides broke out in a place south of Al Qassim known as Dekhnah. Zamil was able to defeat his opposition and killed their chief and a number of their horsemen. See M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fi akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-'Irāq* (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq) [in Arabic], pp. 359-360.

⁶⁰⁸ Alzkir mentioned some information similar to that of Al-Bassam. See M. Alzkir, *al-'uqūd al-durrīyah fi Tārīkh albilād al-Najdīyah* [in Arabic], manuscript., p. 91.

⁶⁰⁹ Al Ubayd stresses that Zamil and his companions won that battle and that it finished with the killing of the Qahtan chief. However, he does not mention the military role carried out by the Muteir tribe. See M. Al-Ubayd, *Al-Najm Al-lam'a* (The Illustrious Star) [in Arabic], p. 118.

role in fighting Qahtan.⁶¹⁰ Thus with reference to the event of the Qahtan tribe's attack on Unayzah, Doughty's account offers a far more comprehensive and detailed narrative and is thus considered more significant compared to the local sources.

This event indicated that the Al Qassim cities faced a high level of insecurity from the outskirts because they had no political unity. Had there been political unity among the people of the region, it would've been harder for the tribes to attack the region. Doughty is found to be a valuable source because he was the only author who provided a complete account of these events in detail. Moreover, he was also the witness of this event and is thus considered to be an authentic resource as his stay in Unayzah coincided with the events under discussion. On the other hand, there are a few local sources that mention these events briefly. However, the account of the battle mentioned by the local sources is different than that of Doughty's. For instance, in 1878 a Qhatan tribe squad was travelling in the region as mentioned by historian Al Bassam⁶¹¹. Despite the trade relations between Unayzah and the tribe, this group assaulted the people of the city that led to further skirmish between the people and tribe members as the tribe chief refused to return the properties that were taken during the assault. Consequently, a battle broke out between the two parties at Dekhnah, a place south of the region. Zamil killed their chief and defeated the tribe members. Another historian, Alzkir⁶¹² detailed the account of the battle that was similar to that of Al Bassam.

In light of the above analysis, I deduce that the significance of Doughty's account lies in the details of the events covered by him, as such events were not addressed completely by other Western travellers or the local sources. Despite the accuracy of the information and depth of the events presented by Doughty, he did not view all matters impartially. Since Doughty received friendly treatment in the city of Unayzah (in contrast to how people of Buraydah treated him), his writings were affected by his treatment. For arguments sake, had Doughty been treated in the same way Unayzah as he was in Buraydah, it is quite possible that the details provided by him would have suggested that the ruler had been more aggressive. Hence, I deduce that the prolonged stay of Doughty in Unayzah as a guest caused him to relate information as he heard it or witnessed it without him introducing negative bias against the ruler. Therefore, I infer that Said's orientalism does not recognise the textual gaps in the travel accounts, nor does it identify the alternate and contesting voices, such as Philby's,⁶¹³ or some of the information provided by Doughty. Although Doughty exhibited signs of his "superiority in religion and race", there were no imperialistic motivations detected, as he was not associated with any formal agency or war office. The quality of the travellers' writings

⁶¹⁰ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, pp. 443-450.

⁶¹¹ Al-Bassam, M., *Tuhfat Al-Mushtaq fi Akhbar Najd wa Al-Hijaz wa Al-Iraq* [in Arabic] (*The Masterpiece of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq News*), pp. 359-360.

⁶¹² Alzkir, M., *Aloquod Alduryah fi Tarikh Albilad Alnajdyah* [in Arabic] (Manuscript), p. 91.

⁶¹³ See Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia*.

was dependent on numerous variables, including the duration of their stays in certain cities, and more importantly whether or not the individual writer relied on hearsay evidence or whether they had actually witnessed the events that they described.

With respect to the administrative and security aspects of Unayzah during its independent state, Doughty's writings again prove to be significant as no other local or foreign sources provided the information or detail described by him. Doughty stresses that the Muteir and Uteibah tribes had friendly relations with Unayzah and that Muteir entered into a military alliance with Unayzah against the Qahtan tribe. In contrast, the Harb tribe was an ally to Hassan Ibn Muhanna and Ibn Rashid and was opposed to the city of Unayzah.⁶¹⁴ The importance of the impact of alliances between the Buraydah emirate and that of Hail to Al Qassim tribes has previously been discussed. Their importance was also observed by Doughty, as these alliances had a great impact on the region, and particularly on its security. Therefore, I surmise that the impact of tribal alliances, such as Uteibah and Muteir, as described by Doughty, was indeed significant for Unayzah. Uteibah's participation alongside the forces of Abdullah Ibn Faisal against Buraydah in 1876 was evident when he camped in Unayzah.⁶¹⁵ Moreover, the Muteir tribe was an ally to Unayzah as it fought alongside the city against Qahtan, as discussed earlier. On the other hand, the Harb tribe was engaged in an alliance with Ibn Rashid and Hassan Ibn Muhanna. The effect of this alliance can be derived from its participation in the military build-up that occurred when Ibn Rashid moved forward in support of his ally, Hassan, against Abdullah Ibn Faisal. The impact of the opposition of Harb tribe to Unayzah became evident, as experienced personally by Doughty when he was in their desert and could not travel to Unayzah directly due to the halted communication between the Harb tribe and Unayzah.⁶¹⁶

However, despite the many noted positives that have been commented upon in the last couple of pages, the entire account of this specific period by Doughty cannot be considered wholly accurate as I detect certain contradictions in the traveller's account. One such instance is Doughty's inference of Qahtan as an ally of Buraydah, with friendly relationships: "The intruded Kahtan in el-Kasim were of the Boreyda alliance".⁶¹⁷ There are three significant reasons for my interpretation. First, in his writings, Doughty himself stated that a letter was sent by Zamil to the prince of Buraydah complaining about the attack of Qahtan tribe. Abdullah Ibn Muhanna replied with a complete denial of his having played any part in initiating the attack⁶¹⁸ and no comment was made by Doughty on his reply. I attribute this lack of response as a continuation of the bias that Doughty felt against Abdullah Ibn Muhanna,

⁶¹⁴ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 331.

⁶¹⁵ Refer to the details of this at the beginning of this chapter.

⁶¹⁶ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 346.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*

which had been prompted by the harsh treatment that he suffered at his hands in the city of Buraydah. Secondly, Doughty proclaimed that the defeat of Qahtan's tribe was a glad tidings for Buraydah: "Even Boreyda would be glad, that the malignant strange tribesmen were cast out of the country."⁶¹⁹ My argument here is that if Buraydah and Qahtan tribes were, in fact, allies, then this news would not have been deemed "glad". I also observed a hint of Doughty's bias against the Arabs in his use of the term "malignant" to describe the tribesmen. It supports the aforementioned argument that Doughty still harboured bias against the people of the Arabian Peninsula and his style of writing "even Buraydah" implies that, as established in this chapter, Doughty considered the people of Buraydah as uncivil, and its ruler a tyrant. Thus, Doughty's implying that even Buraydah would be glad to oust the malignant tribesmen implies that the tribesmen, in Doughty's estimation, were beneath contempt. My argument is, therefore, that this tone of writing indicates Doughty's possession of clear oriental ideology that emerged consistently throughout his writings. Finally, I would like to add that the local sources addressing the issue made no mention of an alliance between Qahtan and the Buraydah emirate. Furthermore, had this been the case, there would have been evidence of Qahtan's support for Hassan Ibn Muhanna against Abdullah Ibn Faisal in 1876. Likewise, Buraydah would have supported its ally Qahtan in its battle with Unayzah and Muteir tribe, but, as mentioned above, this was not the case.

Doughty's contributions are not limited to describing the political conditions of Al Qassim alone. His writings have proved to be vital in providing details pertaining to the predominant administrative features of the style of rule established in Unayzah. Through Doughty's writings and the above analysis, Zamil's emirate can be labelled as a democratic state, and this was reflected in the strength of citizenship in the city.⁶²⁰ The general affairs of the city were handled by the mutual counsel of Zamil and the state council. In light of the image portrayed by Doughty of the administrative rule established in Unayzah, his expulsion from the city, and the differences that followed between two movements among its people, it can be suggested that one of these two movements represented the religious and traditional movement led by the clergymen and the deputy prince, Ali (Zamil's uncle). This movement was opposed to Doughty's stay in the city, probably because of his public proclamation of being a Christian. Another step by the movement was to make speeches against Doughty, urging people to not accept a non-Muslim stranger in the city of Unayzah. The rapidity and intensity of their opposition intensified with time and it may have resulted in the same result as Doughty's expulsion from Buraydah, if not more brutal. In contrast, there was another group represented by Zamil, Abdullah Al Bassam and El Kenneyny, who were more flexible

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

⁶²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

and open to the outside world⁶²¹ and accepted Doughty's request to stay in the city. However, with time the religious speeches at the mosque became more intense and started gaining increasing support, including from members of the council of Zamil.

In order to keep Doughty out of danger or to avoid heated reactions by the opposing movement, Zamil's group provided shelter to the traveller and supported him in his objective to collect information. My argument here is that the entire event of these two opposing movements further clarified that the style of rule in Unayzah during the reign of Zamil was one of democracy. This is consistent with the fact that even though Zamil was against expelling Doughty from the city, he was outvoted by his council in the matter, and rather than monopolising his authority to make the decision, Zamil accepted the decision without qualms. Doughty describes Zamil's answer as: "Zamil answered, 'That such had been the will of the mejlis.'"⁶²² Doughty's own account of the event implies that the prince handled the affairs of the city with the approval of the council as the council had great influence over the general administrative decisions which were to be considered. This information is not only valuable in terms of explaining the history of Al Qassim, it also explains the attitude of Doughty towards Zamil and his government in Unayzah.

Doughty mentioned another important issue of citizenship which was predominantly reflected in the security aspects of the city. A marked difference in the security conditions of Unayzah, Buraydah and Hail was observed by Doughty. The responsibility for security in Unayzah rested with all the citizens of Unayzah, whereas in Hail and Buraydah the security was controlled by the prince's men only.⁶²³ I deduce that the reason behind this difference was the different races of people who were living in Hail and Buraydah. In Unayzah, the small variation in the origin of the people led to a strengthening of citizenship among residents; as Doughty mentioned, more than half of Unayzah's residents belonged to the Tamim tribe.⁶²⁴

The nature of the relationship between Buraydah and Unayzah was also addressed by Doughty in his writings, and revealed a significant improvement in relations between the two cities⁶²⁵ which corresponded with the increasing closeness between Zamil and Hassan Ibn Muhanna during Doughty's stay in 1878: "In these days the people's talk was of the debate and breach between the town and Boreyda: although lately Weled⁶²⁶ Mahanna wrote to Zamil

⁶²¹ It was clear from Doughty's writings that El Kenneyne and Al-Bassam combined being well informed and practising trade between Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula. In addition, Al-Bassam Jr (as dubbed by Doughty) was very well informed as was evident from the meetings Doughty held with him and the discussions that they had on some of the scientific and political issues that were of importance at that time.

⁶²² He meant the consultancy or municipal council.

⁶²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 367-368.

⁶²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

⁶²⁵ The worsening of relations between the two cities and the reasons behind it were mentioned earlier, as well as the following agreement between Hassan Ibn Muhanna and Ibn Rashid..

⁶²⁶ Ibn Muhanna is meant.

ana weled-ak 'I am thy child (to serve and obey thee)'; and Zamil had written, 'I am thy friend.'"⁶²⁷

I deduce that the initiation of friendship between Zamil and Hassan Ibn Muhanna did not coincide with the period of Doughty's stay in the city, as my analysis of the local sources revealed that the relations between the two cities during the stay of Doughty were very tense. In his own writings, Doughty mentioned that even the roads were closed off between the cities because of the tension between them, and there were talks of war in those days.⁶²⁸ This is consistent with the local sources, such as Al Ubayd,⁶²⁹ Ibrahim Al Qadhi,⁶³⁰ and Al Bassam,⁶³¹ who mention that the initiation of improved relations began in 1888. This is also consistent with Philby's account, who supported the local sources. I would like to surmise that Doughty could have written the details of the event after he left the Arabian Peninsula and returned to England, as this event occurred in the same year that Doughty's book on his travels was printed; 1888.⁶³² I infer that it is possible that Doughty received information from his friends in the Arabian Peninsula with whom he remained in contact.⁶³³

5.3 CONCLUSION

From the evidence and analysis presented in this chapter it can be concluded that within the context of 'orientalism', the term Orient expresses an idea or a contract that was built by the colonialists over a period of time and that it is evident in the writings of the Western travellers. I come to the conclusion that throughout his writings there was bias, whether it be positive or negative. In the case of Muhanna, Doughty explicitly provided a description that portrayed him as a tyrant and as being barbaric, whereas in his description of Zamil, Doughty paid attention to him being a just and democratic ruler. In this instance, Said's argument that orientalism is an invention and that it restricts further invention through limiting the imagination holds true. The act of theoretically having the knowledge of the orient through appropriation of it created and generated ideas, consequently results in basis that leads to further constructs and stereotypes. In Doughty's writings, I note, it was not so much an imperialistic theory of supposedly knowing who the Arabs were, but rather the stereotypes were intensified by his own personal experiences with the people that led him to assume further constructs about them. Hence, my arguments are here that some components of positivism like Said's ideology undoubtedly hold true, as in case of orientalist vision through which the West views the East which is consistent with Doughty's writings of the people of

⁶²⁷ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 339.

⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

⁶²⁹ Al-Ubayd, *Al-Najm Al-lam'a*, p. 101

⁶³⁰ I. Al Qadhi, *Tarikh Al Qadhi (Al Qadhi's Memoirs)* [in Arabic], p. 3.

⁶³¹ M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fi akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-'Irāq (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq)* [in Arabic], pp. 373-374.

⁶³² Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*.

⁶³³ *Ibid.*, p. 456.

Buraydah and their ruler: for whom he used terms such as “fanatic”, “barbaric” and “tyrants”. In contrast, I disagree with Said’s generalisation of all the Western travellers. While the homogeneity of imperial discourse is criticised by Said on one hand, by generalising the Western travellers he created a different homogeneity in his own theory.

From his description of its history, Doughty’s account of Al Qassim is considered more valuable than the local sources and some of the foreign ones, such as Philby’s. The reason why Doughty’s accounts are more accurate is partly because of his direct involvement with some of the events. However, on the subject of Buraydah, Doughty’s writings are not only brief and without depth, but also indicate a strong bias against the ruler and the people of the city. I ascribe these deficiencies to his expulsion from Buraydah. Although Philby addressed some of the issues discussed by Doughty, they lack the level of quality and depth offered by Doughty. Nevertheless, even though several positives have been noted in Doughty’s writings as mentioned in this chapter, his writings cannot be taken as completely accurate as I have found his accounts to be contradictory at certain points. He continued to show bias towards Abdullah Ibn Muhanna as he made no comment on Muhanna refusing any kind of part in initiating the attack. His lack of comment makes it clear that Doughty was biased against Muhanna as a result of the harsh treatment he had to suffer when he stayed in Buraydah. Another sign of Doughty’s bias against Arabs was visible from the term he used to describe the Arabs, i.e. malignant. This supports my inference that Doughty was bias against the Arab and the references to people of Buraydah in his writing revealed that he thought of them to be uncivil and tyrants. The consistent use of a contemptuous tone when referring to Arabs indicated that he clearly possessed oriental ideology.

It is important to consider the motivation of the travellers behind their travels as it offers an in-depth understanding of their writings and enables the researchers to view their works in proper perspective. By closely inspecting the writings of Doughty, I have come to the inference that his main motive behind traveling to Arab was both religious and intellectual. Added to that, he also aimed to learn about the culture, customs and geography of that region. Nevertheless, even though there is no evidence of Doughty being on an imperialist mission supported by British consulates, his writings reveal that he identified completely with the interests of Britain without reserve.

The significance of Doughty’s writings thus lie in the unique perspective and the extra depth that he offered readers especially when he mentioned facts that were not provided by either local sources or the foreign ones. Furthermore, this research serves as an alternate or contesting voice to Edward Said’s theory with prominent textual gaps, implying through analysis and my review of different Western travellers and local sources that orient represented itself in different ways. Some of the foreign travellers, including Philby and even Doughty (in the case of his writings on Unayzah) indicated that the orient was not seen as an

experience, rather as an active assertion of its oppositions, ethics, signs, ideas and culture. Therefore, Saidian implications of orientalism and imperialism as a collective motivation behind the traveller writers of the West do not hold true.

CHAPTER 6: THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION IN AL QASSIM AS DESCRIBED THROUGH THE WRITINGS OF BRITISH TRAVELLERS AND ENVOYS

This chapter is divided into three sections, and provides in-depth critical, descriptive and comparative analysis of the information provided by different British travellers about the tribal affiliations of the people and the population census; the customs and traditions practised in Al Qassim; and the trade and economy of the region. This chapter adds to current historiography regarding the orientalist views of the West about the Arabs. It does so by providing evidence to contradict the claims of the British travellers that the Arabs were noble savages and that primitivism dictated their lives leading them to a life of war and battles, instead of civilisation. Through taking a relativist ontological position, the social and economic realities and truths in the study of Al Qassim and its people offer a more nuanced explanation of life in the Arabian Peninsula and will show that it was not merely comprised of an uncivilised and barbaric tribal population.

This chapter is divided into three sections; population censuses and their tribal and occupational classification, the customs and traditions of Al Qassim, and the trade and commercial traffic that existed in Al Qassim. These three aspects will be critically, and comparatively compared through qualitative analysis from two different perspectives, including the views of the British travellers and those that are present within the local sources. The discussion of both British traveller sources and local sources is based on interpretivism which this chapter is why is divided into two major sections based on my own way of carrying out that interpretation. The coherentism theory of justification is being adopted to justify the British travellers' views – both by themselves and in relation to the local sources and vice versa. I reveal the differences in the writings of the travellers and the local sources and determine the reasons behind the bias that is found within some of them. This analysis of two different perspectives upon the society of Al Qassim reveals the actual conditions in the society and the extent to which the travellers' writings were misleading or accurate. This in turn enables comment to be made on the existence of multiple realities. Furthermore, this chapter also adds weight to my own argument that the generalisations that can arise as a consequence of adopting an approach wherein only a single source of information is considered, does not cover the entirety of the view and opinions advanced by the British travellers.

This chapter also provides an in-depth overview of the traditions and customs practiced in Al Qassim during the period when the British travellers visited, and the differences in their perspectives that led to multi realities and truths.. The overall justification of different realities, truths and my own beliefs writings are based on the theory of coherentism. This work adds to existing e historiography by providing evidence of the prosperity and progress of the trade and economics within the region, in addition to the role of women in the society, and particularly their role in the region's trade. The chapter also provides supporting inferences that while some travellers were directed by their own political or orientalism vision of the Arabs to create their image, others provided a more concise depiction of the progressive prosperity of the economy as well as the social conditions of the region, and its people. Furthermore, it provides a supportive argument against some of the generalisations that have previously been put forward about the Western travellers and thus casts doubt on the idea that all Western travellers were motivated by their political agendas and imperialist ideologies, in addition to being sent to the region under disguise to collect information on the Orient. Instead, the chapter provides evidence that contradicts the theories of orientalism and imperialism and enforces the idea that some of the travellers described the people of Arabia as they were, and not through their orientalist vision or through a lean of imperial ideology that suggested that the Westerners possessed an inbuilt superiority over Arabs as a race.

6.1 THE POPULATION CENSUS AND THEIR TRIBAL AND OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

As mentioned in Chapter Five, the focus of local sources was more towards recording the political aspects of the historic events, instead of the social aspects of the city or region. The latter where was typically addressed by the Western travellers' writings. The local resources considered the social aspects secondary to the political events. However, the social aspects like tribal affiliations and population census are important to note for both the inhabitants of the region and the region itself. Since Arab was a world unknown to the West, it is important to first understand this world profoundly and then write about it by getting the first hand and comprehensive knowledge of its people as well as society. When any of these approaches is isolated from the other then it implies that the totality of the world under study is not being taken into account. The western travellers' writings show evidence that they have isolated these approaches and have only focused on one of them. Hence, a gap has been observed in the historiography of Arabian Peninusla with reference to the social aspects of Al Qassim. This thesis provides the social factors of Al Qassim region not only to reflect the public

interests of the time, but also to assist in creating it. It is based on a pedagogic enthusiasm and is focused on the ‘real life’ instead of abstractions, and more towards everyday things instead of sensational political events. Current historiography provides an ambiguous dimension and does not shed light on the tribal affiliations or population census of Al Qassim region. While the local sources⁶³⁴ were found to be significantly lacking in their addressing of the social aspects of the region, the British travellers, included the classification of the people, population censuses and tribal affiliations of the Arabian Peninsula in their writings, along with a range of other social factors. As established in Chapter One and Chapter Two, the travellers – more often than not – exhibited imperial ideologies in their views of Arabs and their ‘tribal and warrior life’. Added to that, since the Arabian Peninsula was a region largely unknown to them, the British travellers found the social aspects of the region to be of interest, and hence focused on gaining information about the people as well. However, since they didn’t share cultural, linguistic or community values, the British travellers were found to have taken certain meanings out of context. This is further considered plausible by the way Palgrave described the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula. In his writings, he referred to the pure Arabs through his construed image of savages, whereby his personal loathing towards the Bedouins was evident.⁶³⁵ The discourse of this thesis thus adds to current historiography by providing evidence contrary to what most of the West, directed by their orientalist views, ascribed to be “Arab” i.e. uncivilised and barbaric Bedouin. The discursive inclusion of these aspects offers a more succinct explanation of the life in the Arabian Peninsula and suggests that they were not merely an uncivilised and barbaric tribal population, rather they possessed cultural significance and were more than just the oriental division of “West vs East”.

Three of the British travellers, as already discussed in this thesis’ discourse, made great contributions to the history of Al Qassim by covering the social aspects of the Arabian Peninsula; Palgrave, Doughty and Philby. The reasons and motivations for the differences in their writings have also been noted. Following the chronological order of the travellers it is noted that Palgrave was the first European who visited Al Qassim and estimated the population of Al Qassim to be 3,000 people. He further suggested that they inhabited 60

⁶³⁴ A.A. Ibn Laboun, *al-Mu’arrikhūn annajdiyūn wa āthāruhum*, (*The Njden Historians and their works*) [in Arabic], (Riyadh, 2015).

⁶³⁵ L.D. Cooper, *Travellers’ Accounts as a Source for the Study of Nineteenth Century Wahhabism* (Master’s dissertation, University of Arizona, 1984), p. 26.

villages.⁶³⁶ The population⁶³⁷ of Buraydah was estimated to be between 20,000 and 25,000, whereas Unayzah was estimated to possess 30,000 people. Although Palgrave provided an estimation of the population of Al Qassim region, he did not provide any details which addressed the number of villagers living in other villages, apart from Uyun village. This is because Palgrave passed through Uyun village on his way to Buraydah,⁶³⁸ and stated in his writings that his interest was more focused on the population rather than the land.⁶³⁹ Nevertheless, his writings exhibited certain instances which indicated that there was a decreasing density amongst the Bedouin nearer the borders of Buraydah and that city dwellers were more in number in Buraydah market. Palgrave narrated the life of a villager as a model to represent the lives of villagers across Al Qassim.⁶⁴⁰ This villager was his companion on his way Buraydah, and was Palgrave's host at his country house. Palgrave observed his surroundings and the life of the villager and then related the visualisation of everyday life that he had witnessed as being representative of the social norms of all the country people. I would like to surmise that this indicates that Palgrave observed one villager and generalised his observations to the entire Al Qassim region. This approach provides evidence as to Palgrave's idea of cultural hegemony which formed the basis of his understanding of the orient. This is consistent with the approach of narration chosen by Palgrave in his writings, whereby he portrayed the East as discursively produced concept that was inferior to that of the West. This approach further relates to Palgrave's consistent dismissal of Bedouins and Arabs as a race characterised as backward, despotic, and barbaric. His writings implicitly referred to Arabs as being primitive and unable to govern a society that was largely tribal and brutal in nature. He argued that because of their primitive and savage ways of living, they would not be capable of dealing with economic, political, social or other forces of the contemporary world. As a result, Palgrave's narration of the life of villagers did not deal with the real orient, instead it possessed a reality of its own due to its discursiveness.

⁶³⁶ W.G. Palgrave, *Personal Narrative of a Year's Journey Through Central and Eastern Arabia* (London, 1865), Vol. 2, p. 84.

⁶³⁷ In his estimations, Palgrave depended on different sources such as the approximate survey of the number of houses, military records and what he heard from the inhabitants. However, he implied that his estimation might not have been accurate since people there did not know anything about statistics, or the registers of birth and death. See his book for further information.

⁶³⁸ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, Vol. 1, pp. 168, 267.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. vi.

⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

Doughty's⁶⁴¹ estimations of the population in Al Qassim were different to those that had been provided by Palgrave; 15,000 people in Unayzah, and 5,000-6,000 in Buraydah. Similar to Palgrave, Doughty only provided the censuses for Uyun and Al-Qaraa⁶⁴² villages because they fell on his route to Buraydah. However, his writings offered a broader view of the different types of inhabitants and can be divided into three sections: city dwellers from Bani Tamim with different occupations,⁶⁴³ people belonging mostly to Bani Tamim and their social classes,⁶⁴⁴ and the people of Unayzah and their tribes, Bani Tamim, Subay and Bani Khaled.⁶⁴⁵

Doughty also included the tribes of Badia⁶⁴⁶ of Al Qassim who were Bedouin tribes: Harb, Mutayr and Otaibah.⁶⁴⁷ The significance of Doughty's writings surfaces as a consequence of the invaluable addition of details about the society of Al Qassim, in terms of their tribal affiliations and occupational inclinations that he included. It is evident that the society operated under the influence of classes, disregarding the influence of tribal affiliations. The local sources contemporary with Doughty's journey⁶⁴⁸ and later historians⁶⁴⁹ show no indication of the societal aspects of Al Qassim and this magnifies the significance of Doughty's contribution as it provides a systematic view of how social classes were in effect at the time. These classes included for instance, the Emir families in Buraydah and Unayzah; the working class citizens who carried out different occupations and belonged to different races and worked for the Emirs; and prominent figures, typically merchants. In contrast, his writings about Unayzah offered a higher degree of analysis of the classes in operation there, for instance, farmers and workers, and the different activities with which they were occupied. Doughty's writings, similar to Palgrave's, hinted at oriental ideologies. However, unlike the British political envoys, Doughty's writing indicated towards the translation of cultural hegemony into occupation. West. The racial nationalism in Doughty's writings was particularly evident in his texts about Buraydah, which was influenced not only by the European ideology of racial superiority and the idea of the British Empire, but also because of the treatment he suffered at the hands of the people of Buraydah upon his adamant

⁶⁴¹ C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (Cambridge, 1888), Vol. 2, pp. 311, 329, 313, 359.

⁶⁴² These two villages are located near each other. Uyun is considered the northern gate of Al Qassim for those coming from Hail. Both villages are considered as stops for travellers coming to Al Qassim.

⁶⁴³ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 312.

⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 318-319.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

⁶⁴⁶ Outside the Al Qassim cities.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

⁶⁴⁸ Such as Ibn Bishr, Ibn EisāI, and al-Bassam.

⁶⁴⁹ Such as Al Ubaidy, Al Ubayd and Althkir.

proclamation of his Christianity, as noted in Chapter Four. Doughty's writings showed hints of inconsistencies and partiality at many instances. When compared with the writings of Palgrave and Philby about the war of Buraydah and when the relations remained stable between Al Qassim and Riyadh, to some extent, after the war, it was seen that Doughty didn't write the events in detail, and failed to offer any information about how Faisal summoned Abdul Aziz Abu Ulayan.⁶⁵⁰ On the other hand, Philby and Palgrave's account of the war was found to be consistent with that of the local sources. As noticed throughout the writings of Doughty, Buraydah and its inhabitants were referred by the traveller as barbaric people, having no regard for modern life. He deemed them brutes and hooligans who solved their problems with wars, instead of carrying out negotiatory dialogues. Thus, the exaggerated and misleading information mentioned in his writings can be seen deliberate in order to create a negative image of the people of Arabia. Palgrave's account was also found to be similar to Doughty's, in that it included incorrect information and exaggerated tales that intended to cast Arabians in a negative light. Particularly in Palgrave's writings, gruesome details of certain events were found meaning to invoke feelings of shock in the reader and to show them the savagery that Arabs liked to dwell in. From the aforementioned analysis and evidence provided in earlier chapters, it can be said that Palgrave relied on oral traditions to provide account of the events of Arab, and that his own personal ideology dominated how he viewed the events of its people. This oral tradition was noticed to have distorted the image of Arabs in the most persuasive way. For instance, Palgrave was not the only British traveller who reported incidents that he didn't witness directly. Yet, they assure their readers that a very reliable source has collected and shared those pieces of information. These reliable sources were more often than no other Englishmen and this was typically how Britishers in the Arabian Peninsula testified to their proclaimed versions of Arabs and their religion. The researcher agrees with the views of Cooper⁶⁵¹ who stressed that the nationalism and superiority notion of Palgrave was evident in his writing, thus, implying his ideology that the West had the right to rule over the Arabs because they were incapable of adjusting to the modern world due to their primitiveness.

Philby provided a comprehensive description of the number of people in Al Qassim and their tribal affiliations.⁶⁵² Through his record, the divisions that existed amongst the people of Al

⁶⁵⁰ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, pp. 429-430.

⁶⁵¹ Cooper, *Travellers' Accounts*, pp. 54-55.

⁶⁵² H.St J.B. Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis* (London, 1928). In this book, Philby discussed multiple political, economic and social aspects of Al Qassim.

Qassim can be understood clearly; one part was comprised of tradespeople who belonged to Unayzah and Buraydah,⁶⁵³ whereas the other part included the villagers or country dwellers whose key source of income was agriculture.⁶⁵⁴ Through Philby's writings it is evident that the population in Buraydah neared 20,000 people and that the people belonged to a smorgasbord of different tribes, including Shammar, Otaibah, Subay' and Bani Khalid; most of them, however, belonged to Bani Tamim. Furthermore, his writings provide evidence that not all of the Arabs were involved in tribal affiliations, rather, there were numerous families who were not part of any tribe. In contrast, Unayzah was estimated to have 15,000 people with most of them belonging to Bani Tamim,⁶⁵⁵ in addition to Subay' and Bani Khalid. Philby visited more than 20 residential settlements⁶⁵⁶ and other villages to record the number of people who lived within each as well as their classification. He noted that although the people of Unayzah and Buraydah relied primarily on agriculture, some disparities were evident which can be ascribed to differences in the opportunities available to them and their suitability to partake of the opportunities that were present. Philby is considered a significant source as he provided details about the social status and classes of the region; differentiating between working classes,⁶⁵⁷ farmers,⁶⁵⁸ slaves and the black race, in addition to the Armenian⁶⁵⁹ women living there. Philby's writings categorically covers the social divisions which were dominant in Arab society. In contrast to the other accounts, Philby's account depicts a more civilised picture of the Arabs, and shows that they lived more as a community

⁶⁵³ See parts 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6 of Chapter Three in which he discusses Buraydah and Unayzah in particular.

⁶⁵⁴ In his book, he dedicated a whole section about the countryside of Buraydah. He also spoke about the countryside of Unayzah in the first part of Chapter Three; see p. 112.

⁶⁵⁵ Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*.

⁶⁵⁶ Despite his extra care to cover all of the villages of Al Qassim, he missed some small towns such as Ar-Rass, Al Khabraa, and Al Bakereyah and others. Philby could not visit those areas due to their unstable political conditions. However, he is considered to have visited most of the villages. See the section in which he wrote about his tour around Buraydah's countryside: 'A Tour of the Khubub'.

⁶⁵⁷ In his writings, we can see a description of the way of life for the families that worked at farms; he mentions how each farm has a house for those workers where they live with their wives. They work for the owner of the farm. They are considered a part of the working class, not the landowner class.

⁶⁵⁸ Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, pp. 174, 293, 179.

⁶⁵⁹ The merchants of Al Qassim and the Arabian Peninsula were used to bringing in some men and women from different nationalities; they were usually sold as slaves in the Levant, Egypt and Hejaz, and used for concubinage. The Armenian or Circassian women, who were originally from the remains of the Mamluk Sultanate – until very recently – were still sold in those areas and were brought to the Arabian Peninsula. Philby pointed to the fact that there was a special place in the palace of Buraydah for those women who were owned by Ibn Saud. They used to be presented to him as gifts from some merchants. Philby used such pieces of information to indicate that the Wahhabis did not mind concubinage. In 1936, Ibn Saud issued a decree that organised the affairs of the slaves and offered them the opportunity of becoming free under specific conditions to diminish that type of trade. The Minister of the Interior was assigned the supervision of that decree and the issuing of licences for those who worked in that profession. This lasted until the issuing of the liberation of the slaves law, which was issued in the KSA in 1962. To know more about the decree of liberating slaves and Britain's attempts to cancel it in the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula, see Dr M. Hobbs, *Gulf History Specialist*, British Library, <http://www.qdl.qa/en/manumission-not-abolition-british-mediations-over-slavery-gulf>.

with different classes and social divisions, akin to that of the West. I would like to highlight that Philby's detailed narrative points towards the regularity of the Al Qassim society, despite the presence of tribal affiliations and the differences of lifestyle. Although political envoys such as Leachman⁶⁶⁰ and Hamilton provided their estimates of the total number people to be living in Buraydah to be 10,000 and 15,000 people⁶⁶¹ respectively, they were more inclined towards observing the trade that took place between the different Arab regions.

The above analysis provides clear evidence that the descriptions of different travellers varied in terms of the population estimates that they provided for Al Qassim. The difference in the estimation can be detected by considering the motivations of the travellers. Palgrave's estimation, consistent with his exaggerations in his narrative, shows an exaggerated sum of people in the population census of Al Qassim. This is consistent with Dr Alsalman's⁶⁶² emphasis that Palgrave's estimate was clearly exaggerated as a number of Arabic sources suggested the population to be much lower than that put forward by Palgrave. As mentioned in Chapter One and in Chapter Three in detail, Palgrave's account of Al Qassim exhibited numerous discrepancies with reference to the events that he described and the exaggeration in his population estimation is evidently consistent with his previous inaccuracies. Thus, it can be deduced that Palgrave's estimation of census was inaccurate because he had confused the borders of Al Qassim.

The journeys undertaken by Palgrave and Doughty were set apart by 16 years and the differences in their estimation of the population are evident. These differences suggest that the conditions of the region were different at the time of their journeys. Palgrave travelled to Al Qassim when Unayzah was at war with the Saudi Government, whereas Buraydah was under the rule of Saudi Government, which was the direct reason behind the change in number of inhabitants of Buraydah, as they were prevented⁶⁶³ from continuing with their usual trade roles. Conversely, when Doughty made his visit to Al Qassim, the region was independent, stable and on good terms with Hail and this meant that the trade gates to the

⁶⁶⁰ G.E. Leachman, 'A Journey through Central Arabia', *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 5 (1914), pp. 500-520.

⁶⁶¹ Memorandum No. 91, Kuwait, dated 1 February 1918. *Miscellaneous reports and correspondence relating to Kuwait*. This memorandum is also included in a letter from the Political Agent in Kuwait to Sir Percy Cox, Civil Commissioner, dated 1 February 1918, R/15/5/100. This will be referred to later in the Memorandum of Hamilton.

⁶⁶² M. Alsalman, *al-ahwāl al-siyāsīyah fī Al Qassim fī 'ahd al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah 1823-1891* [*The Political Conditions in Al-Qassim during the second Saudi State 1823-1891*] [In Arabic], p. 316.

⁶⁶³ The people of Al Qassim were used to travelling to Iraq, the Levant, and Egypt in order to trade. Such journeys used to last for many years; in fact, some of them would reside in those countries and never come back to visit Al Qassim. They were called 'Ageyl', and were previously introduced in Chapter Three.

Levant had been opened to them. Doughty's census of Buraydah was, it is deduced, affected because of the recession or recovery in trade that affected the number of travels taking place.⁶⁶⁴ Other political envoys who visited the region in the twentieth century provided varying numbers as to the population. Examples include Philby and Hamilton. Since Hamilton's stay in the city was not more than three or four days and he was confined to a tent outside the walls of the city, his estimation cannot be considered accurate. Philby's account, on the other hand, holds more significance, owing to the fact that his writings were closer to those of the local sources. Although the local sources did not provide a fixed number of people as being resident, one of the translated manuscripts attached to the British report was written by one of the Unayzah leaders who stated the number of people in Al Qassim was 40,000.⁶⁶⁵ I would like to infer that, following the above analysis, Philby's census provides a more accurate number. What adds emphasis to such a belief is that Lorimer⁶⁶⁶ estimated the population census of Al Qassim, (including its rural and urban areas), to have been 47,000 people; it seems that he depended on the estimations of more than one of those travellers. It also appears through some of the British documents that he was in contact with one of the travellers through correspondence, as he was one of the officials in the British residency in Iraq at that juncture.

The classification of the people of Al Qassim was described by the travellers in much the same way. This was because each author divided them into three categories: villagers, city dwellers, and Bedouin. Nevertheless, not all the travellers provided details about the tribal affiliations of the people of the region. This is because some of the travellers were envoys who had the sole objective of carrying out their political duties. One example of a person with this agenda was Hamilton. In contrast informal travellers such as Palgrave did not provide the detailed information on the tribal affiliations of the region. Chapter One and Chapter Three provided an in-depth analysis of Palgrave's motivations, and the aforementioned claim is consistent with the prior inference that Palgrave considered the Arabs to be beneath his attention. Furthermore, his narration of facts were later proved to be inaccurate and he failed to include details about the people. This implies that his imperial nationalist ideologies were dominant to the extent that he did not consider it viable to verify the facts before including them in his narration. His narration about Al Qassim particularly

⁶⁶⁴ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, pp. 319, 411.

⁶⁶⁵ This report was written by one of the merchants of Unayzah who was in Jeddah. The British Consul attached it to a report he sent to one of the officials in the British Government. In 15\5\1909 (I.O.R .15\5\25).

⁶⁶⁶ J.G. Lorimer, C.I.E., *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman and Central Arabia* (Calcutta, 1915).

highlights his orientalist behaviour and personal bias against the rulers of Buraydah. His lack of interest is further evident in his presentation of an exaggerated population census and his complete failure to describe tribal affiliations. In his book he mentioned that his objective was to get to know the land as well as the men of Arabia.⁶⁶⁷ In addition, Palgrave's own rush to leave for Riyadh played an important part in him not staying in the region to collect more information.⁶⁶⁸ His desire to leave Al Qassim at the earliest possible time⁶⁶⁹ was the reason he did not have enough time to verify his facts. However, his dismissal of the very fact that verification was needed, indicates that he was not conspicuous about checking whether the information he included was true or not.⁶⁷⁰

Because of the depth of the subject relayed by Doughty and Philby narrations, proved to be valuable sources in terms of providing a clear description of the social classes and divisions of Al Qassim and. Doughty included the conditions of his stay in Unayzah and the resulting relationships that he formed with different groups in society, particularly the cultured class. Since he spent time in the city, on a farm outside Unayzah,⁶⁷¹ he was able to avail himself of an opportunity to meet people who belonged to different classes and tribes. Therefore, I infer that Doughty's writing provided a deeper insight to the society of Al Qassim and the divisions that existed between classes. Despite the deeper analysis of his surroundings, Doughty's writings hinted at his personal bias against the ruler of Buraydah and his own experience of being expelled from the city had a negative impact on him, which was evident in his narration about the people of Buraydah. Philby, on the other hand, is considered the most comprehensive source for the history of Al Qassim because of the depth of his writing with regard to the issues that he covered in his writings. He included the descriptions of cities and villages of the region, highlighted that a number of tribal affiliations and races were living in Al Qassim, and drew a clearer picture of the social norms of the people in the region.

⁶⁶⁷ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, Vol. 1, p. II.

⁶⁶⁸ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, Vol. 1, p. 272.

⁶⁶⁹ Through his writings, it appears that he failed at meeting the Emir of Buraydah for his search for someone to transport him to Riyadh. This can be concluded because the Emir did not pay any attention to him and as a result he sought someone himself. Therefore, he was for most of the time busy looking for a guide to escort him to Riyadh.

⁶⁷⁰ M. Al-Taha, *The Orient and Three Victorian Travellers: Kinglake, Burton and Palgrave* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester, 1989).

⁶⁷¹ Doughty went through so many contradicting circumstances in Unayzah. While some of the inhabitants approved his stay, others rejected him entirely, as was mentioned in Chapter Four. He then had to stay at a farm outside the country until it was time for the commercial convoy to leave for Hejaz so to reach Jeddah, where the British Consulate was.

The above analysis supports the inference that although different travellers contributed significantly to the wider dissemination of information about Al Qassim, Philby offered a more succinct and deeper understanding of the Arabs. Added to this, his writings did not indicate his imperial ideologies, nor was any European nationalism detected in how he described the Arabs or their traditions. His deeper understanding of the society can be ascribed to the duration of his stay and the support he gained from Ibn Saud.⁶⁷² As a result he had more influence and opportunities to collect and verify information about the people of Al Qassim. His support from Ibn Saud played a huge factor in Philby getting friendly treatment and greater opportunities to meet people.⁶⁷³ Although Philby's objective was to report his findings to the British administration,⁶⁷⁴ unlike the other political envoys Philby refrained from describing Arabs as being an uncivilised group of people interested in war alone. The belief of Edward Said stemmed from the information provided by Western travellers who construed their nationality as being superior to that of the East, and the Arabs in particular. However, Philby have use the same means of painting all Arabs as irrational, liars, despotic or backward. Rather, his narration was more practical, and closer to the information provided by the local sources. This indicates that unlike some travellers, the local sources of Al Qassim were deemed valuable and significant by Philby. His writings dealt more with the real orient. Instead of creating a reality of his own ideas, he provided a more impactful version which he achieved through extensive research and combining this with his own observations and the accounts within the local sources.

I would like to highlight that even the writing styles of Doughty, Palgrave, and Philby showed a striking contrast; the former two inclined towards a more literary and story-telling approach whereas Philby's offered a more practical tone. These differences, in addition to the disparities noted between the travellers' writings, can be explained by considering a number of factors which influenced them. The first factor is the treatment that the travellers got when they entered the region. For Doughty, Buraydah was not a good experience as he was expelled from the city due to his open admission of Christianity and his superior European attitude. His personal bias can be noticed in his writings about the people of Buraydah and its

⁶⁷² When Ibn Saud wanted to leave Unayzah, he asked Philby to stay and visit new places and to listen more to the people. Philby said that he made use of such permission and spent some joyful time in a social atmosphere with the people there. Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, p. 175.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁶⁷⁴ The time during which Philby went to Al Qassim was very sensitive as he was there at the beginning of the end of the First World War. It appears that he was ordered to be completely aware of the control and power Ibn Saud had in Najd.

ruler at the time he was expelled. Even before he travelled to Arabia, Doughty harboured prejudice against the people of Arabia and deemed them barbarous. This is consistent with how Doughty openly admitted to his religion as opposed to his fellow travellers who referred to themselves as Muslims in order to not draw attention towards them. His open admission of Christianity showed that Doughty took pride over his religion and belonging to the Crusades. His impartiality is visible at various instances in his book *Arabia Deserta*, whereby he shows the mindset of a partial observer who doesn't perceive his subjects objectively.⁶⁷⁵ Rather, it is evident from his writings that he held preconceived ideas about the people of Arabian Peninsula and believed that they were inherently savage and primitive in nature, instead of believing in the better nature of people. However, since he wasn't supported by any of British consulates working at the time, it cannot be said that Doughty was travelling under imperial motivations.⁶⁷⁶ Furthermore, he didn't show the same partiality towards Unayzah and its people in his descriptions, whereby he refers to them as hospitable people and casts them in a positive light. Thus, it can be inferred that his negative views about Arabs, Buraydah in particular, are largely because of the treatment he suffered at the hands of people of Buraydah and its leader. This explains why his estimation of the census was not carefully conducted when the figures that he provided are compared to those that were advanced by Palgrave and Philby. The second factor is the time of the visit of the travellers. As the political and economic conditions were different when the different travellers arrived, some differences in their writings can be justified. Doughty visited Uyun⁶⁷⁷ village for one day only which prevented him from meeting any of its people; the estimation⁶⁷⁸ he made was completely different from Palgrave's⁶⁷⁹ and Leachman's⁶⁸⁰ whose estimations were somewhat approximated. Thus, their estimation is found to be correct as local village people accompanied those travellers⁶⁸¹ and they were more knowledgeable about their own society. Doughty's⁶⁸² census of Unayzah was similar to that provided by Philby and other European

⁶⁷⁵ T.E. Lavrence, 'Introduction*' to Charles M. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, (New York, n.d.)

⁶⁷⁶ Charles H. Doughty. *Arabia Deserta* new and definitive edition, 2 vols. (London, "1^56"). vol.1 p. 95. Hence onward referred to only as *Arabia Deserta*.

⁶⁷⁷ It is known that Uyun is called Uyun Al Jiwa and that it consists of multiple residential areas, including Rawdh Al Jiwa and Ghaf Al Jiwa. It is noticed that Palgrave's estimation included all those villages; while Leachman's meant the centre only, Uyun. Despite such facts, Doughty's estimation was different from both of them.

⁶⁷⁸ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 311.

⁶⁷⁹ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, Vol. 1, p. 267.

⁶⁸⁰ Leachman, 'A Journey through Central Arabia', pp. 500-520.

⁶⁸¹ Palgrave's escort was Fulih, from Al Uyun, who was one of the richest landlords. He was very hospitable to Palgrave and the convoy members. Leachman accompanied Saleh, the brother of Uun's Emir. He accompanied Leachman from the second he left Damascus until he reached Al Qassim.

⁶⁸² Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 359.

travellers.⁶⁸³ He had a longer stay in the city and established good terms with the people. Palgrave, on the other hand, did not provide a correct estimation, as he had neither visited Unayzah nor verified the information that he used. Thus, my emphasis is that staying in the region for a sufficient amount of time to collect information was a significant component in providing accurate information. Finally, the most important factor was the objective of the traveller. Since the objective of Leachman and Palgrave was to reach Riyadh, while Shakespear and Hamilton were not interested in staying, their interest was not to gather information about the census of Al Qassim or how society supported the affiliations of the people.

The above analysis indicates that different travellers were motivated by either personal or political incentives to report the information. This conclusion supports my own deduction that not all the travellers discursively portrayed the Arabs as an inferior race to the West. While some travellers may have projected their personal ideologies onto people of Al Qassim, other Western travellers did not. It follows that the different writing approaches chosen by the travellers, such as Palgrave and Doughty was because of their personal preference to compile their narration in style favoured by their readers. This was an important consideration given that they intended to publish their books more as narratives than as sources of history on the area. In contrast, Philby, in his official capacity, only wrote official reports⁶⁸⁴ which did not address the social aspects, however, since his understanding and information about the Saudis was extensive and his diaries were written in style of unofficial books, Philby's writings are considered to be valuable sources of history of Al Qassim.

6.2 CUSTOMS AND TRADITIONS

Customs and traditions are important for any society, particularly because they form the foundation of a society, as they are passed from generation to generation. With Muhammed Ibn Abd el Wahhab's Reformation movement, Najd was found to incorporate the application of Islamic principles into society. These principles had a direct impact on Al Qassim and influenced different traditions that existed in the society and were not supported by Islamic

⁶⁸³ Charles Huber, the French traveller, visited Al Qassim in 1992 and estimated the population census of Unayzah to have been 18,000-20,000 people; Carlo Guarmani, the Italian traveller, visited Al Qassim in 1864 estimated the population census of Unayzah to have been 15,000 people.

⁶⁸⁴ 'Report on the Najd Mission 1917-1918', I.O.R/R/15/1/747.

teachings, such as parties with both genders present, smoking, and others.⁶⁸⁵ Doughty⁶⁸⁶ provided a comprehensive overview of the society of Al Qassim. His writings highlighted that the differences observed were due to factors such as social status. Traders were seen to be more involved in congregations and had more time to spend at leisure, such as at markets. Due to their labour, most of the time spent by farmers⁶⁸⁷ was spent earning their income. A predominant custom observed by Doughty was people scheduling their activities and timetables around the time of prayers.⁶⁸⁸ His stay in the city enabled him to collect information about the practices of the traders, because he spent a great deal of time with them and was on good terms with them. His regular visits to the market provided him with a personal perspective on how trade occurred in the city. He was also a witness to the lifestyle of the farmers and observed their daily routine. This enabled him to provide a description of Al Qassim society as a regular society, following routines and customs. The in-depth description of the traditions and customs established in the society contradicts the image of Arabs as chaotic and living without civilised rules and laws, as described by Doughty and Philby.

Arabs are generally known for their hospitable nature towards strangers, however, different travellers provided varying accounts of the hospitality that they received from the people of Al Qassim. The researcher highlights that the varying accounts can be justified by the conditions under which the travellers encountered the people. This is consistent with the experiences of Doughty and Palgrave. Palgrave⁶⁸⁹ was invited by the people of Al Qassim to accompany him it proves the hospitality of people.⁶⁹⁰ In contrast, Doughty's writings described the treatment that he received from the people of Buraydah as hostile and unwelcoming. However, the people of Buraydah cannot be completely held accountable for the hostility because Doughty's own attitude provoked the people as he antagonised them by publicly denouncing their religion. Akin to Palgrave, Leachman travelled to the area nearly half a century later and was received with courtesy and the Arabs played host to him and his

⁶⁸⁵ For more information about the effects of this movement on some traditions in Najd, see M. Alsalman, *al-ahwāl al-siyāsīyah fī Al Qassim fī 'ahd al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-thānīyah 1823-1891* [*The Political Conditions in Al-Qassim during the second Saudi State 1823-1891*] [In Arabic], p. 319.

⁶⁸⁶ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, pp. 348, 353, 434-436.

⁶⁸⁷ The workers who are employed to work for farm owners.

⁶⁸⁸ Salat is the obligatory Muslim prayers, performed five times each day by Muslims. It is the second Pillar of Islam.

⁶⁸⁹ The convoy that Palgrave joined left from Hail, and included a number of men and women; one of the men, called Fulih, was very hospitable to the convoy when they reached his village (Uyun). Another man called Mubarak, from Buraydah, did the same thing and hosted the convoy at his garden when they reached Buraydah

⁶⁹⁰ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, Vol. 1, p. 256; Leachman, 'A Journey through Central Arabia'.

companions.⁶⁹¹ Thus, my emphasis is that Arabs were found to be hospitable by nature. Palgrave's writings highlight that in Al Qassim, both rich and poor displayed hospitality in accordance with their financial status. The wealthy people offered the travellers luxurious stays and exquisite food, whereas the poor people provided the level of comfort to the visitors which they could afford. Fulih did not disregard that custom and hosted the convoy at his garden even though he did not offer them what those in Uyun did. Palgrave commended such hospitality and noted the thrill the family members experienced when hosting him; this reflects their happiness in serving their guests, no matter what their social class or their financial status was. From Palgrave's writings, it is clear that since Palgrave made arrangements to rent a house at Buraydah, his experience was limited, and he only mentions two instances. Moreover, since his stay was short lived,⁶⁹² he did not attempt to establish relations with the people. I infer that since Palgrave's imperial ideologies were dominant and he considered Western intervention and interference was essential to rule the Arabs, he had no interest in striking long-term relations with the people of Al Qassim. This is consistent with the fact that he had stayed for longer in other places in the Arabian Peninsula. However, he still had no lasting relationships with the people.

In contrast, Doughty was welcomed with hospitality despite his open proclamation of being a Christian.⁶⁹³ This contradicts Doughty's allegations that people of Al Qassim were unfriendly because of his religion and dress code. Similar to what the West commonly believed about Arab, Doughty's writings reflected his belief that Arab was opposite to the Christian world, and acted as an asylum for the heretics. This is consistent with the entire literature provided by Doughty, which is filled with similar prejudice and hostile pronouncements against Arabs. Despite knowing about his religion, one of the men of Amir of Buraydah hosted him until he left for Unayzah. He was invited over for coffee by one of the people but was not comfortable there because some of the country people were bigots. That invitation was possibly not to honour him; rather, it may have been to enable them to look at his personality, which was clear from the questions he was asked during some of the congregations⁶⁹⁴ he attended. Nevertheless, due to Doughty's own imperialist nationalism and conservative perspective towards some of the people of Buraydah, Doughty had to unwillingly leave the city which caused him to hold a grudge against the people. In contrast, the people of Unayzah welcomed

⁶⁹¹ Leachman, 'A Journey through Central Arabia'.

⁶⁹² Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, Vol. 1, pp. 272, 282.

⁶⁹³ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 312.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 320-321, 326.

him more pleasantly, particularly once his profession as a doctor was known and he was invited to meet people on a daily basis.⁶⁹⁵ In his writings, Doughty talked about the people of Al Qassim, in two categories; the liberals, who were traders and did not follow the custom of not welcoming non-Muslims to their homes,⁶⁹⁶ and the common people of Unayzah. The liberals displayed more generosity towards Doughty and carried out open discussions about his interests, exhibiting humane feelings towards him despite his religious beliefs.⁶⁹⁷ The common people, in contrast, did not formally invite him to dinners, however, they never let him leave without offering him something to drink or eat first. This is consistent with Doughty's description of his arrival to Unayzah, whereby the farmers offered him food and a place to sleep, despite knowing that he was not a Muslim.⁶⁹⁸ The people of Unayzah were generous in their hospitality towards him, despite their social status and vocations. I want to highlight that the above analysis indicates that the people of Al Qassim were not only hospitable but also operated their routinely functions civilly. Thus, the Western travellers who ascribed uncivil and barbarous characteristics as second nature to the Arabs showed their nationalist ideologies by reaffirming the power and centrality of the West as their orientalist perspective enforced their belief that only they could represent the Arabs, since they were aware of the categories. However, the above description points to a contrary image of the people of Al Qassim; one that exhibited a socially strong community with civilised customs and traditions.

The official convoys who travelled to Al Qassim in the early twentieth century received welcoming hospitality, however, it was primarily because of the conditions of their stay than they benefitted from the generosity of the general public. According to Leachman, Uyun was a very welcoming place for him compared to Buraydah where no one hosted him. I want to highlight that the key reason behind it was the fact that the Amir of Buraydah was the one who welcomed him, as it was his duty and he was aware of Leachman's official status. No one other than the Amir welcomed Leachman in Buraydah or received him with hospitality, which led him to leave the city only a few days after he had commenced his stay. Thus, Leachman's travel to Riyadh was supported by the Amir, as the former was interested in meeting Ibn Saud and left Buraydah after a short stay.⁶⁹⁹ Shakespear's writings only provide

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 348.

⁶⁹⁶ Most Muslim communities in Najd rejected 'others', especially non-Muslims. Through some of the travellers' writings, it can be noticed that those who accepted the 'others' and established relationships with them had been in contact with other communities outside the Arabian Peninsula.

⁶⁹⁷ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, pp. 360-361, 350.

⁶⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 334-337.

⁶⁹⁹ Leachman, 'A Journey Through Central Arabia', pp. 500-520.

description of the Alsulaim family in Unayzah as his host and despite his official capacity, he mentioned no other invitations, which can be explained by his short stay in the city. His stay in Buraydah was much like Doughty as he was not welcomed by anyone there because the people preferred not to establish relationships with non-Muslims.⁷⁰⁰ This is consistent with Winstone's description of Buraydah: "Buraydah fell far short of its promise in terms of hospitality".⁷⁰¹ Alternatively, Hamilton stayed in Al Qassim for official business only⁷⁰² and was invited by Prince Turki⁷⁰³ during his stay in Buraydah, in addition to receiving official hospitality by the Amir of Unayzah similar to Shakespear's stay.⁷⁰⁴ Hamilton's writings imply that his interest was solely for official purposes and provided no details on the customs and traditions of Al Qassim. Philby's observations about the people of Buraydah are similar to those of Doughty, thus indicating that the people were reserved and conservative, turning away from non-Muslims on principle⁷⁰⁵ and did not extended relationships to the Western travellers. Similarly, his observations about the people of Unayzah also bear resemblance to those of Doughty and Palgrave, as he too describes the people of the city as hospitable towards non-Muslims and as being friendlier,⁷⁰⁶ which explains his preference to stay there for a longer time. The traders of the city showed great interest in him due to his official status and because he stayed a while in the city and this allowed them to show their interest, which resulted in him being sent an array of invitations sent by aristocratic families and traders of the region. It emphasises that the extent of hospitality extended to Philby was primarily because of his position in the British Administration in the Gulf, which is evident from the discussions people had with him about their issues with the British government in Iraq and Bahrain.⁷⁰⁷ The Amir's family, however, received Philby with openness because of his close relations with Ibn Saud and the family was loyal to the latter.⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰⁰ This is clear through the treatment Doughty and Philby received when they visited Al Qassim.

⁷⁰¹ H.V.F. Winstone, *Captain Shakespear: A Portrait* (London, 1976), pp. 165-166.

⁷⁰² For more detail, see Chapter Two.

⁷⁰³ Turki is the oldest son of Ibn Saud; at this time he was living in Buraydah and led the army during the attack against Hail on behalf of his father.

⁷⁰⁴ Memorandum No. 91, Kuwait, dated 1 February 1918. *Miscellaneous reports and correspondence relating to Kuwait*. This memorandum is also included in a letter from the Political Agent in Kuwait to Sir Percy Cox, Civil Commissioner, dated on 1 February 1918, R/15/5/100. This will be referred to later in the Memorandum of Hamilton.

⁷⁰⁵ Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, pp. 190-191, 223.

⁷⁰⁶ While Philby was visiting Al Qassim, he was accompanying Ibn Saud and moved with him from Riyadh to Al Qassim. When Ibn Saud wanted to go to the war against Ibn Rashid in Hail, he asked Philby to stay in Al Qassim. For more, see Chapter Three.

⁷⁰⁷ Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, pp. 186, 243, 262, 273, 283.

⁷⁰⁸ Philby mentioned a conversation he held with Abdullah Al Saleem, and spoke about Doughty. Abdullah said, "Khalil was wrong to come as a poor man without any recommendations; if you had come to this place the same

The above analysis provides evidence that the people of Al Qassim were generally hospitable by nature, as reflected by the writings of the Western travellers, particularly Philby and Doughty when writing about Unayzah. However, this does not imply that the other regions lacked friendly hospitality, particularly Buraydah. Instead, I would like to infer that the people of the city were not accustomed to non-Muslims being present in their city and, therefore, the Western travellers encountered unfriendly and unwelcoming behaviour from the people. According to Philby, most of the invitations in Buraydah were to support the exchange of favours between people.⁷⁰⁹ Added to that, the interests of people in Buraydah were not similar to those of the travellers, and hence they did not wish relations to be developed with the travellers.⁷¹⁰ Although the writings of Philby and Doughty were influenced by their treatment at the hands of the people of Buraydah, they provide a significant source of information relating to Al Qassim's social history. The importance of these writings stems from the lack of local sources which addressed the social customs and traditions practiced in Al Qassim. Doughty's writings provide more insight about these customs; he spoke about the hospitality of the Amir, the rich, the poor, and the farmers. Due to the fact that he was a doctor, he was allowed into most of the region's houses, mainly in Unayzah. As for Philby's writings, they only displayed the hospitality of the rich class. This was because of his official status which made him a prominent figure in the city.

As Doughty⁷¹¹ and Philby⁷¹² received multiple invitations during their stay in Unayzah, they observed different traditions amongst the people of Al Qassim. These were consistent across the region. One of the dominant traditions of the region was to welcome any stranger going into the country; this was especially true of houses that were located near the entrances of the city.⁷¹³ Despite the financial status of the people, it was noticed that they offered the guests whatever was available to them and placed it in front of them.⁷¹⁴ These congregations offered a great opportunity to discuss local news, as well as political, military and commercial

way he did, we would have rejected you." Al Saleem commented on why Philby was welcomed in Unayzah, "We of Unayzah are indeed proud to honour anyone who is honoured by Ibn Saud."

⁷⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁷¹⁰ Philby said that only two of the officials of Buraydah were interested in going to Iraq; they tried to ask Philby to facilitate the procedures of going there. In addition, Philby mentioned that the traders of Buraydah did not reside in Iraq like the people of Unayzah did. Buraydah's traders were like guests, not residing there. See pp. 268, 231, 202, 191, 187-203.

⁷¹¹ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, pp. 377, 380, 383, 348.

⁷¹² Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, pp. 186, 250, 278, 280, 282.

⁷¹³ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, pp. 337, 314.

⁷¹⁴ A tool used to grind coffee.

problems and people exchanged their ideas and carried out debates during such gatherings.⁷¹⁵ Given the extensive lengths to which the people of Al Qassim went to entertain the guests in their homes, as noted by Philby and Doughty, it is evident that the society was far from uncivilised. Regarding outfits and costumes, some of the travellers observed the people's dressing traditions and the clothes that they wore. However, they did not provide any details. It is noticed that some of the clothes worn by the people of Al Qassim were similar to those worn by the people of Mesopotamia.⁷¹⁶ Palgrave described the common outfits there. Leachman⁷¹⁷ pointed to the fact that the Mesopotamian outfits were commonly worn in Najd, which was why he chose to disguise himself wearing the clothes of the people of Mosul. It is noticed that a majority of the travellers agreed that the common outfit of Al Qassim's people was the outfit of the people of Mesopotamia. Doughty and Philby clearly stated that both places shared the same outfits. The people of Unayzah had good relations with Mesopotamia through trade and owning some properties there. This further supports the inference that the Arabs were not merely a race which dwelled on wars for living, rather they functioned as any civilised society, by following different customs and traditions to uphold their society.

From Doughty's⁷¹⁸ comprehensive writing about people of Unayzah, it is evident that they enjoyed a good life and were divided into different classes and recognised through the clothes they wore. The rich and poor had their own ways of dressing, which characteristically included belts and head covers for the former, while the latter's clothes bore a closer resemblance to that of the Bedouins. In addition to importing clothes, Al Qassim also had local people who made clothes. In this regard, Philby⁷¹⁹ provides evidence in the form of photographs,⁷²⁰ describing the preferences of people in wearing colours, such as women favouring dark colours like crimson, blue and black. In terms of the merriments and festivities that the people of Al Qassim celebrated, such as Eid, Philby identified religious celebrations, how the people celebrated, and the clothes they wore as well as the gifts that they gave to children. This implies that unlike other travellers who did not consider these occasions as noteworthy, Philby became familiar with the local traditions and customs, and this gave him a deeper insight into the people of Al Qassim. It can be deduced from Philby's

⁷¹⁵ Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, pp. 158, 328, 220-221, 247, 269; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, pp. 371, 374-375, 381.

⁷¹⁶ Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, pp. 251, 259; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, pp. 320, 326.

⁷¹⁷ Leachman, 'A Journey through Central Arabia', pp. 500-520.

⁷¹⁸ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, pp. 348-349, 439.

⁷¹⁹ Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, pp. 181, 219, 248.

⁷²⁰ MECA, St Antony's College, Oxford, Philby Collection, D GB165-0229.

writings that he considered the Arabs to be a civilised society and attempted to discover their social customs and traditions. This indicates that his European nationalism did not stand in the way of his travelling and getting to know the Orient. The other travellers, however, did not attend any of these celebrations, which further supports the deduction that they considered such customs to be beneath their notice and did not hope to find anything worthwhile within them. The local sources, on the other hand, did not provide any details about the customs and traditions of the region, indicating that they considered the political and economic situations to be more important. The importance of Philby's writings stem from the depth of analysis that he employed in his writing. From Philby's description of the special occasions, it can be deduced that the Eid customs were affected by political factors. After Ibn Saud took over Al Qassim, some changes were made according to the Wahhabi concepts. Some rich families in contact with that place, were affected by the customs of Mesopotamia. This implies that some customs emerged while others disappeared according to the political changes that occurred, and the communications that the country had with other civilisations.

Furthermore, while Doughty⁷²¹ provided general ideas of the marriage customs practiced in Al Qassim, he did not include details in his writings. I would like to deduce that the measure of beauty for women was the length of her hair and that they were generally married at the age of 14, while the custom of arranged marriage was followed strictly. Doughty narrated that the women were confined to extreme privacy and the people expressed strongly against open discussions about women.⁷²² While describing the tradition of not being allowed to talk about women and their matters, Doughty's European superiority is dominant, and he considers this practice to be a sign of backwardness and the conservative disposition of Arabs, unlike the West where women enjoyed the liberty of carrying out discussions with the opposite gender. Unlike the Western forwardness and liberalism that let women attend to their needs or leave their houses as they pleased, Doughty mentioned how the women in Al Qassim were not allowed to go to public places or visit anyone after sundown.⁷²³ He made these comments in a disparaging manner. Like his predecessors, Doughty's preconception about Muslims and Islam was openly hostile that is evident from the way he describes both, such as impostors, savages, heretics. His imperial ideologies and belief that Arabs were not capable of surviving in the modern world as a civilized nation led him to describe Arabia as a nation that ran on

⁷²¹ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 349.

⁷²² Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, pp. 219, 248.

⁷²³ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 349.

heretical practices and faulty ideas. According to him, the only way such a nation could be led to enlightenment was to be subjugated by the West. Most of the observations recorded by Doughty show the society of Al Qassim as barbarous towards women; controlling their lives through tyranny. Doughty's writings provided proof that the society's custom shunned open discussions about women with strangers. This is consistent with Dickson's writings, which emphasised the inappropriateness of asking a man about his wife directly.⁷²⁴ Women were not allowed to leave their houses until they followed certain customs.⁷²⁵ Furthermore, Doughty⁷²⁶ also mentions that women were only allowed to go to markets, or pay their visits before sundown, after which they were not to leave their houses. In contrast, Philby⁷²⁷ emphasised that women left their houses normally after they followed societal requirements pertaining to their veils, which is consistent with the photographs taken by Philby in Buraydah market.⁷²⁸ While Doughty's descriptions of women was exaggerated to an extent, the general custom in Al Qassim for women was not to allow them to leave their homes without reason or to allow them to indulge in excessive company with others.

Conversely, most of the Western travellers and political envoys were not interested in exploring the social aspects of Al Qassim, as they had different motivations and objectives when travelling to the Arabian Peninsula. Envoys such as Leachman, Shakespear and Hamilton did not provide clear visualisations about the customs and traditions of that area through their writings. This was mainly because they stayed there for only a few days and were more concerned about the political conditions in the area than the social ones. Doughty and Philby in addition to Palgrave to some extent, on the other hand, explored the social customs and traditions of the region more than the other travellers. While outright comparisons with British society were not made by Doughty, his writings offered a more conservative view of the Arabs with regard to how they controlled their women and dictated their daily routines. His descriptions hinted at his own created and generated ideas, albeit based on the original practices, became the basis of the stereotypes that he constructed. In contrast, Philby provided photographs as evidence, which proved that women enjoyed visiting markets and other people, although both were only allowed to a limited extent. Nevertheless, time was indeed a driving factor as both Philby and Doughty stayed in the

⁷²⁴ H.R.P. Dickson, *The Arab of the Desert: A Glimpse into Badawin Life in Kuwait and Sau'di Arabia*, (London, 1967).

⁷²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 202, 123-125.

⁷²⁶ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 349.

⁷²⁷ Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, p. 219.

⁷²⁸ MECA, St Antony's College, Oxford, Philby Collection, D GB165-0229.

region for a long period of time. Since Philby was supported by Ibn Saud and had more access to people his writings offered a deeper analysis of the customs and traditions of Al Qassim. Thus, I infer that in his efforts to paint a picture of Arab as a society that had no moral qualms and filled with heretical practices, the travellers operating under imperialistic ideologies produced an image from their own imagination. Doughty's perception about the women in Arabia does not show a deeper understanding of the Islamic values and Arabian culture. His writings indicate that, similar to his predecessors, he thought of an Arab woman as nothing but a slave to her male guardians (husbands, brothers, fathers) and were treated as sexual objects and a chattel who wouldn't obtain the status of an individual woman as enjoyed by the women in the West. Thus, it can be inferred that Doughty's understanding of Arabian culture, women in particular, showed no advance upon that of the travellers who came before him. Similar to other Orientalists who came before them, Doughty and Palgrave showed their oriental ideologies that all the Eastern people were not capable of living a modern life of refinement that has been achieved by the West.

6.3 MARKETS AND TRADE

The markets and trade of Al Qassim, as described by different travellers at different times, provide an overview on the economic status of the society. As Al Qassim was located at the heart of the Arabian Peninsula, different roads led to numerous traders and pilgrims travelling through the area. For instance, Iraqi pilgrims⁷²⁹ and Eastern Islamic inhabitants used to take that path to go to Hajj until the mid-twentieth century. The overlapping roads and paths had a direct impact on other cities and villages of the region, including Uyun and Buraydah. With the frequent travels of convoys through the heart of Arabian Peninsula, the trade of Al Qassim became more prosperous, particularly during the Hajj season. According to Palgrave,⁷³⁰ the convoys crossed that path annually, and he described the group of travellers who stayed at the periphery of Buraydah after they returned from Hajj in 1862. Since it was a yearly occurrence, the people established a market at that place to address the needs of the pilgrims where they were offered opportunities to exchange goods with the people of Al Qassim, including city dwellers and villagers. The market provided food supplies, wares and cattle from the bazaar outside of the city around the camp of travellers. In return, the pilgrims sold their clothes and carpets to the people of Al Qassim. Undoubtedly, this reflected the dynamic state of the economy of that area; especially that it remained as a stop for pilgrims

⁷²⁹ This path has been taken by the pilgrims since the rule of the Abbasid Caliphate.

⁷³⁰ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, Vol. 1, pp. 274-265, 297-298.

until the twentieth century.⁷³¹ Philby mentioned that the Kuwaiti grouping of pilgrims heading to Hajj stayed in Buraydah in 1917. Since the travels of Palgrave and Philby happened at the time of Hajj, their writings reflect its definite impact on trade in Al Qassim. Palgrave's writing about the groups were found to be accurate since he stayed in Buraydah for three weeks and befriended one of the Arab merchants who was with the convoy as a guide leader. Since Palgrave experienced the camping site and the trade first hand, his narration of the market and its dynamic trade is found to be full of details and insight. It can also be deduced that pilgrims, whether from Iran, Iraq or Arab Gulf chose Al Qassim as their path because it offered security, water and supplies. The connecting paths between Al Qassim and other areas had a direct impact on the personalities of the people of Al Qassim.⁷³² The travellers' accounts are enlightening in this regard, as the local sources contemporary to those travels⁷³³ did not refer to the trade directly. The travellers' accounts provided descriptions of how social customs changed with the increased interest of the local people in trade, resulting in trade becoming a predominant factor in the life of Al Qassim. Palgrave describes them saying, "But they surpass either in commercial and industrial talents."⁷³⁴ Moreover, Doughty narrated, "Almost a third of the people are caravans, to foreign provinces, to Medina and Mecca, to Kuweyt, Bosra, Bagdad, to the Wahhabi country, to J. Shammar. And many of them leave home in their youth to seek fortune abroad."⁷³⁵ Furthermore, Leachman⁷³⁶ stated, "The inhabitants of Boreida as well as those of Anaize are remarkable for their business proclivities, and much trade is carried on with the coast towns of the Persian Gulf and with the surrounding Bedouin tribes, while there is a large bazaar in the place itself."⁷³⁷

The aforementioned travellers' writings about trade clearly indicate that they were impressed with the trade of Al Qassim and the people who managed to conduct imports and exports, in

⁷³¹ M. Al-Obodi, *Mu'jam bilad Al Qassim (Al Qassim Lexicon)* [in Arabic], Vol. 1, p. 155. S. Alraba'a, *Rehail Alhaj ila al bait Alharam (Pilgrim's Journey to Mecca)* [in Arabic] (Riyadh), pp. 48-55; Dr N. Al Salloum (ed.), *Ministry of Transport and Communication in the Saudi Kingdom during 100 years: A Documentary Study* (Riyadh, 1993), pp. 22-27.

⁷³² Dr Ibrahim Abdul Ghani mentions that the merchants of Al Qassim became in charge of the international transportation of goods from the East to the West. He also says that those merchants became the only ones to transport goods from the east and centre of Asia to Basrah and move them to the Levant and the harbours of the Mediterranean so that they reached Europe. Abdul-Aziz Abdulghani, *Najdiyyoun warā'a al-hudūd, (Njden Beyond The Borders)* [in Arabic] (London, 2002), pp. 121-130, 211-220.

⁷³³ M. Al-Bassam, *Tuhfat al-mushtāq fi akhbār Najd wa al-Hijāz wa al-'Irāq (A Curious Extract from the Reports of Najd, Hijaz, and Iraq)* [in Arabic]; M. Alzkir, *al-'uqūd al-durrīyah fi Tārīkh albilād al-Najdiyyah* [in Arabic], manuscript; M. Al-Ubayd, *Al-Najm Al-lam'a (The Illustrious Star)* [in Arabic].

⁷³⁴ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, Vol. 1, pp. 297-298.

⁷³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷³⁶ Leachman, 'A Journey through Central Arabia', pp. 500-520.

⁷³⁷ *Ibid.*

addition to the business opportunities undertaken by the people to add to their fortunes. The writing style of describing the trade matters detected in Doughty, Palgrave and Leachman's accounts shows no hint of imperial ideologies, nor did they undermine the significance of the well-developed trade markets that existed at that time. If that were indeed the case, Doughty, Palgrave and even Leachman would not have mentioned the elaborate trade system that existed in Al Qassim. While a few travellers created a world of Arabs after their own images, others provided a more succinct portrayal of the progressive economic and social conditions of the region. Trade became a bridge for business and knowledge; connecting one society with another.⁷³⁸ One of the travellers estimated that two thirds of the people of Al Qassim worked in the convoys that moved between Najd, Iraq, the Levant and the Gulf. It is, then, definite that such movement would positively affect intellectual communication and knowledge interactions.⁷³⁹ This led the region towards prosperity, with the people enjoying increasing purchasing power to buy different goods. Despite the difference in timing of the visits by Doughty⁷⁴⁰ and Philby,⁷⁴¹ Al Qassim's market was found to be the best one for selling gold. With the expansion of trade to other regions, the merchants brought different cultures and trends home, which added value to the region's culture.⁷⁴²

From Philby's and Doughty's writings, it is evident that the people of Al Qassim not only enjoyed political independence, but also lived in a prosperous and progressing economy, with trade expanding to different regions. Doughty's observations as to the affordability of food in Buraydah enable the drawing of the deduction that Buraydah enjoyed commercial connections with Iraq, the Levant and other areas of Al Qassim. This implies that there was an extensive scope to the trade markets of the Arabs. Unayzah was even better connected with Yemen, Mecca and the Gulf, and this formed the bedrock of an even more elaborate trade system. Bedouins also became a significant factor in bringing prosperity to the trade of Al Qassim as they were responsible for the camels brought from Syria.⁷⁴³ The writings of the travellers, describing the progress of the trade of Al Qassim provides readers with a better understanding of the economic conditions of the region. The evidence provided by them about the flow of information to Al Qassim from other regions through newspapers, mail, and magazines implies that the people were interested in knowing what was happening in the

⁷³⁸ Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, pp. 220, 288, 295; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 442.

⁷³⁹ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 312.

⁷⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁷⁴¹ Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, p. 252.

⁷⁴² Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, pp. 313, 341, 344; Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*.

⁷⁴³ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 400.

outside world.⁷⁴⁴ In contrast to the image of the Bedouins and Arabs created by the Western travellers as an unreachable and isolated society interested in nothing but warfare, the travellers' accounts of their ever-expanding trade, flow of information and the transport of books and encyclopaedias⁷⁴⁵ show a different side to the people of the Arabian Peninsula. The social characteristics and prospering economy of Al Qassim indicates that the Arabs were a community interested in gaining progress and stabilising their economy, and that they adopted and utilised ways which were as civilised as the West. Undoubtedly, the political conditions had a direct impact on the trade and economy of the region. Subsequently, the success of the region in creating trade dynamics hints towards the stability of the political conditions of the region. The rulers were, therefore, more interested in keeping peace to stabilise their economy, than choosing to initiate wars with others, unless absolutely necessary.⁷⁴⁶ This is consistent with the writings of Philby, as discussed in detail in Chapter Two and again in Chapter Three. These writings were devoid of imperialistic attitudes in their descriptions of the scope of the trade and economic riches enjoyed by the people of Al Qassim. Even though Philby's initial objective was a political one, his writings prove to be a significant source as the knowledge produced by them, regardless of its use, financing, and motives had an objective value. As mentioned in the earlier chapters, British travellers began their journey to Arabian Peninsula, with their preconceived ideas based on misleading and distorted information with reference to customs and mannerisms of Arabs. Since Western travellers thought of West as the epitome of modernism and judged other nations based on the differences or similarities they had in comparison to them. If the nations were similar to the West, they were thought of as advanced, however, nations dissimilar to them were considered to be conservative and backward. In their exploration, a large majority of British travellers tended to reflect their own personality as a hero, based on their journey to a land of savages. This is consistent with how, even in the 17th century, travellers described the people of Arabia as wild, untrustworthy highwaymen who survived on the backs of camels. Through interpretation and analysis I have deduced that the impression extracted from the writings of the travellers about the economy and trade of the region can be that of impressed onlookers, who were not aware that the Arabs had made progress in terms of becoming a socially civil society.

⁷⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 438, 442; Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, pp. 220, 288, 295, 309.

⁷⁴⁵ Through the writings of Doughty and Philby, it can be said that a number of inhabitants were greatly connected with other areas, and had a number of books, encyclopaedias and rare books translated from French

⁷⁴⁶ Philby mentions that once the customs and business regulatory laws were set, Al Qassim would be the first to benefit from them. Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, pp. 171-172.

The travellers further described the markets in Buraydah and Unayzah as extensive with different streets dedicated to particular goods; different sections were given over to butchers, fabric sellers, jewellery makers, and others such as fish sellers. The travellers expressed their impressed opinions in this regard, as the organisation of the markets kept them from being overcrowding. This was important because of the great number of transactions that took place there.⁷⁴⁷ The travellers' accounts of the size and partitions within the market highlights the customs of the people of Al Qassim to frequent the market and buy their necessities as well as luxury goods.⁷⁴⁸ The prosperous trade relations and the involvement of local people in the economy of the region infers that their society was not a tactless, inconsiderate community which was always busy planning one war or another. On the contrary, the society operated much in the same way as that of the West; with social class divisions, established trade practices and peaceful political conditions. With regard to the role of women in the society, which most of the Western travellers considered to be one that was dictated by their male counterparts, my emphasis is on the revelations that arise from what some of the travellers described to be the role of women in the markets.⁷⁴⁹ Despite certain traditions and the laws of the society which required women to keep their distance from men, their role in the markets was an important one. Since Palgrave,⁷⁵⁰ Philby⁷⁵¹ and Doughty⁷⁵² described their role in the markets and the trade that they observed during their travels, while their travels occurred at different times, it is evident that women were part of the economy for quite some time. I would like to conclude that this stresses a significant trend in the history of Al Qassim, as most of the West deems the Orient backward and conservative due to their treatment of women and making them stay at their homes. The description of their role in the markets by the travellers, however, emphasises that Al Qassim society was involved in creating trade and employment opportunities for both genders. In comparison to other regions in the Arabian Peninsula, Al Qassim was in fact a more liberal society as the women were also involved in trade and economy, just like the men. Palgrave⁷⁵³ further refers to the role of women in society in the following terms:

⁷⁴⁷ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, Vol. 1, pp. 301-302, 271.

⁷⁴⁸ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 323; Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, pp. 200, 205.

⁷⁴⁹ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, Vol. 1, pp. 301-302, 271; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 323; Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, pp. 200, 205.

⁷⁵⁰ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, Vol. 1, pp. 301-302, 271.

⁷⁵¹ Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, pp. 200, 205.

⁷⁵² Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, p. 323.

⁷⁵³ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, Vol. 1, pp. 302, 321-322.

Where women bear a great part in active life and domestic cares. The female portion of the household, though not absolutely in the dark, is yet under a kind of shade... keep shops, buy, sell, and sometimes even go to war. Nor do the fair sex of Bereydhah seem a whit inferior to their rougher partners in "knowledge of business and thrifty diligence".⁷⁵⁴

From this, it is evident that despite the previous claims made by Palgrave about the backwardness of the people of Al Qassim, and especially with regard to the menfolk in dictating the lives of their women, he contradicts his own views by comparing the women to the local men and celebrates them as having an equal status. The active part of women in domestic cares and life, as noted by Palgrave, proved that society accepted their role in business, thrift diligence and other matters. While the orientalist travellers solved their epistemological dilemma, which was posed by the Arabs by keeping their imperial visions intact, the above analysis provides evidence to the contrary. Here, I would like to infer that the evidence supports the deduction that the Arabs were not historically or geographically primitive with no wisdom. From the above analysis, I deduce that the motives of different travellers varied and their writings played a significant role in portraying Arabs as an uncivilized nation. Palgrave's writings indicated that not only he had imperialistic motivations behind his travels and writings of Arabia, he also had his own personal prejudice directed at the people of Arabia, whom he found an inferior race and beneath contempt. However, even though the motives of Doughty were more personal rather than imperialistic, his account of his travels to Arabia were not objective and showed that he didn't succeed in getting an in-depth understanding of its society and culture.⁷⁵⁵ The obsession of British travellers with physical anthropology, considering that other races are inferior to the whites, made them incapable of making objective observations about the Arabs.

In contrast to the above analysis and evidence, some travellers described Al Qassim differently. This is consistent with Palgrave's⁷⁵⁶ narrative that despite the diversity of the market and dynamic nature of the industry, the trade of Buraydah was experiencing a significant downturn during his visit. My own argument here is that this was because when he visited Buraydah, the city was waging a war⁷⁵⁷ and the season of dates⁷⁵⁸ had ended.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

⁷⁵⁵ Rashid Shaz, *In Pursuit of Arabia*, pp. 50-51

⁷⁵⁶ Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey*, Vol. 1, pp. 302, 321-322

⁷⁵⁷ See Chapter Three for more information about that war.

⁷⁵⁸ Huber, a French traveller, pointed to the inaccuracy of Palgrave's judgement about trade in Buraydah. He clarified that so many shops were closed when the seasons were over. He emphasised the fact that Buraydah was a great trading centre, especially during the months after the harvesting of dates. He also stressed how Buraydah had great fortune in comparison with Hail, which he recently visited. See: C. Huber, *Voyage dans L'arabie Centrale, 1878-1882 (Rehllah fi Aljazerat Alarabiah Alwasta*, tr. E. Saadeh) [in French] (Paris, 1885), p. 76.

Furthermore, Palgrave's account is full of discrepancies and inaccuracies about the city of Buraydah and Saudi rule, as he held a personal bias against them. In this particular instance, Palgrave's account once again hints towards his underlying imperialist attitude that dominated his orientalist vision and hence accounts for his description of the Arabs as uncivilised and underdeveloped. From the analysis of Palgrave's account and his motivations, it is evident⁷⁵⁹ that the second reason holds a valid inference, which further incriminates the traveller as he himself described the progress and prosperity of the markets of Al Qassim and their economy. Similarly, Hamilton's descriptions also stated that Buraydah's markets were disappointing and held no noteworthy qualities. Philby's account, however, provides a contrasting view of the market. Since the difference between travels of Philby and Hamilton was only a few months, and Philby's stay was longer than the short-lived time of Hamilton within Buraydah, it is evident that Philby provided a more accurate account, which was supported by the local sources as well. Furthermore, during the time of Philby's visit to market, the religious celebration of Eid Al Adha was near to hand and this will have caused higher traffic in the markets. Hamilton, in contrast, remained at the city for only three to four days, meeting the Prince of Turki for military discussions and hardly had time to explore the markets in detail (as was clarified in Chapter Two). In addition, he did not provide clear elaborations on why he was disappointed in the market, and what indications made him feel that way.

Another noteworthy trend of the markets in Al Qassim was the trade of different types of weapons and horses, because of the increasing skirmishes between the tribes and rising political problems,⁷⁶⁰ as clarified by Doughty⁷⁶¹ during the second half of the nineteenth century, or by Philby⁷⁶² during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Although during the visit of Doughty, the region was enjoying independence, there were certain political issues and tribal clashes happening, which explains the popularity of selling different types of weapons in the market. In contrast, Philby discussed the weaponry in more detail. This is because his objective was to supervise the forces in Al Qassim and he had been sent to Ibn Saud by the British Government to collect information on Saudi rule and its forces. Philby

⁷⁵⁹ This has been clarified in Chapter One. In addition, Palgrave tried several times to condemn the ruling of that region. Pirenne says, "When reading Palgrave's book, it seems that he wrote it only to condemn Wahhabis."

⁷⁶⁰ Leachman, 'A Journey through Central Arabia', pp. 500-520.

⁷⁶¹ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. 2, pp. 389-491, 353.

⁷⁶² Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, pp. 205, 251.

described the quantity of weapons being traded, and how people were armed,⁷⁶³ in addition to including details about the horses. Since Philby was operating under the orders of the British Government, observing the weaponry trade was included in his official objectives. While this may have proved the theory of Edward Said that Philby described the trade and market reflecting Arab primitivism, Philby was one of the Western travellers who described Arabs as they were, and not through his own personal sense of superiority associated with the West. Hitherto, internal trade in markets were found to be prosperous because the people living there were involved in travelling and trading with a number of regions such as Iraq, the Arabian Gulf, the Levant, Egypt and India. Their people were avidly interested in travelling and leading convoys because their country was at the centre of the Arabian Peninsula, making it a bridge that connected the other areas with each other. This was important not only for the trade of goods but also the progression of holy pilgrimages to the sacred sites of Islam.

6.4 CONCLUSION

From the aforementioned arguments, it can be seen that the information provided by different travellers varied from each other and the local sources. Undoubtedly, the majority of the accounts provided by the travellers showed hints of bias against Arabs and imperialistic ideologies of the British travellers. However, not every one of them were on an imperial mission, supported by the British Empire thus rejecting Said's deduction that all the travellers from Britain travelled to Arabia intending to deliberately spy on the ways of Arabs. In some cases, the travellers were unable to study the culture of Arabia by understanding the context and meaning behind their actions in terms of what it represented in their culture rather than that of the traveller. Thus, they isolated the society and people of Arab, leading them to further misconstrue the meanings behind the ways of people of Arabia. This is particularly evident in their description of the women in Arabia who are thought of as nothing more than slaves unable to enjoy the same freedom as done by the women in the West. However, from the local sources and even Palgrave's own account, that contradicts his statement about women in Arabia (as mentioned earlier), I infer that the notions of these travellers regarding women were more to their own prejudice against Arabs rather than understanding their role in the society in context of the Arabian culture.

⁷⁶³ In his report, Philby attached a document about the weapons given to Ibn Saud from the British Government since their relationship was first established in Najd. See 'Report on Najd Mission 1917-1918', IOR/R/15/1/747.

Despite the clear disparity between the accounts written by the different travellers in the estimation of the population census, and their interest in the people's classifications and tribal affiliations, such differences should not, necessarily, be interpreted as a weakness. Such differences were due to the different circumstances that the travellers experienced and the sources from which they received their information, which was usually passed to them verbally. It can be inferred that no clear indications or underlying motivations could be detected in the writings of Palgrave, Doughty and Philby⁷⁶⁴ that they had the objective of serving British imperial interests. The official reports by the envoys, on the other hand, were used for the sole purpose of supporting the British Empire strategy of gathering information to be used for protecting the imperial interests of Britain, particularly the reports compiled by Philby and Hamilton who were sent to the region for political reasons only.

⁷⁶⁴ As for Philby's writings, they do not seem to serve the British interests, mainly because most of the information quoted here was not included in the report he had written during his travel. He wrote such information in the book he wrote after resigning in 1920. For more information about his biography and the difference between his report about that official envoy and his book *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, see Chapter Three.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This study's aims were to exhibit how the British informal travellers and political envoys viewed the Arabs, to explore the underlying motivations behind their writings, and to determine whether their personal ideologies reflected the racial superiority of a European background and limited their actual observations of the Orient. The research also addresses a gap in identifying the "reality" of the Arabian Peninsula by analysing the information from a new perspective, i.e. comparing the writings of British travellers with those of the local sources. The researcher therefore aimed to show whether the travellers revealed their own psychological reactions and ideological conflicts to certain events and in so doing provided a more 'fictitious' account of what they saw, or whether they were more objective and showed a reality of the people of the Arabian Peninsula. From the thesis the conclusion can be drawn that British interests in exploring the Arabian Peninsula increased with the advent of twentieth century and were driven by two objectives; to secure imperial interests, and to travel to an uncharted region and know more about it. The increased interest of travellers in scientific, geographic and anthropological research indicated that the travelogues and narratives could be used by future travellers and individuals for future travels. However, the explosion of regional acquisitions which occurred in 1800s were not solely due to strategic imperatives. Economic reasons were another significant factor that compelled the British Government to protect their worldwide interests. The economic and strategic endeavours combined with European ideologies formed the basis of British imperialism. Grand global ventures were a means to distract attention away from internal matters affecting the Empire. The study, hence, stresses that while strategic concerns were an active trigger in the rising imperialism, economic motivations and the ideological stances of the travellers also had a part to play in the motives of the British informal travellers and envoys who travelled to the Arabian Peninsula during the period with which this thesis is concerned.

Western travellers viewed themselves as superior to the Orientals. The travelogues maintained by western travellers were the primary source of information about life in the East. British travellers undertook explorative journeys to the Arabian Peninsula in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The journeys were undertaken by political envoys as well as informal travellers from the British Empire. The motivations for travelling to the Arabian Peninsula and the travel writings themselves were criticized by some theorists such as Edward Said who criticized Western travellers for having political motives behind their journeys. He argued that these travellers travelled for political reasons instead of personal

reasons. The focus of this study is on the objectives that lay behind the journeys of the western travellers to the Arabian Peninsula.

An epistemological interpretivism position was undertaken in this research as it allows the researcher to act as the interpreter of various aspects of research, involving the human aspect as well. Being a historian I believe that different perspectives of different historians should be included in the study and this is why ontological realism position is not taken in the study. With the help of relativist ontological position, I have been able to collect realities from different sources and merged the accounts of local sources, British envoys and travellers. Thus, I have been able to come up with different realities and truths from different sources. In this regard, I have justified the truths and realities of British envoys and travellers with one another and in comparison to local sources too. Moreover, I have also given my personal opinions for interpreting these realities through the research process.

Through the research undertaken for this thesis I traced the intellectual, institutional and social development of the political envoys and informal travellers who travelled to the Arabia Peninsula. This was done in order to answer the research questions so that a conclusion could be drawn as whether or not the European travellers undertook the journeys with the motive of spreading imperialism. The first research question sought to ascertain the way British envoys and travellers regarded social, political and economic aspects of Al Qassim during the period 1862-1918. This study presents the evidence of the motivations behind the journeys undertaken by the British travellers as evidenced from their writings. This was then, in the preceding chapters of this thesis compared with the information recorded from local sources. It is clear from the analysis herein that various recollections of political, economic and social conditions were recorded by the plethora of western travellers about Al Qassim. In summary, it can be stated that various western travellers did not undertake the journey to southern and central Najd which was the home base of Wahabism. Thus, the political practices and situations were not covered by their accounts. Many travellers to the area did not have prior knowledge about Al Qassim with respect to its political ideology, social environment, culture, politics, and other aspects of life. Therefore, this study differentiates between the political, economic, and social situations of Al Qassim and those that existed in the rest of the region. This attempt has not been made before and has been achieved by answering the five research questions one by one.

With the help of vertical analysis I was able to execute a critical evaluation of the opinions of British travellers as opposed to one another. It helped me determine the importance of the British travellers to Al Qassim in comparison to the local sources. The research questions were answered one by one, thus identifying the motives and reasons of travellers and envoys behind their visit.

7.2 FINDINGS

7.2.1 Motivations and Intentions behind the travelling of the British envoys and travellers

Chapter Two of this thesis analysed Palgrave's "*Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central Arabia*" whereby the author's ideological perspective about the world and his journey is discussed instead of taking solely a literal view of his writings. The work was analysed in the context of my position of ontological relativism. This is a position that I have taken throughout this research. His writings and travelogues give an account of the literature on the topic i.e. literature on the Orient where by the reality observed by the writer about the oriental life from his ideological perspective is prevalent to the point that the reader becomes increasingly aware of the real social reality.

Travels in Arabia Deserta by Doughty is an important source of information for travellers to the Arabian Peninsula and was also relied upon by the British military. The work was soon made a part of the curriculum in various British public schools. His work, in turn, inspired the work of various other writers such as the novelist Henry Green, the poet Ezra Pound, and the desert traveller Banham.⁷⁶⁵

Compared to Palgrave's writings, Doughty's writings followed a more scientific approach. This adds credibility to Doughty's approach and results in a more believable account having been created compared to Palgrave's. Nevertheless, the writings by Palgrave, Doughty, Oliphant, Palmer, Warburton, and Blunt provided a plethora of requisite information to Britain about the Arabs and Islam. I believe that the expansion of the British Empire took place due to the journeys undertaken by missionaries and merchants. This was then followed by the travels of soldiers and other administrative bodies. Together these contributed towards the expansion of British Empire in the Arab peninsula.

Although the focus of Palgrave's writings was the social life in Orient, his book *Personal Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central Arabia* unveiled more of his ideologies and worldview. In contrast, Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, despite his evidently imperial attitude, became an important point of reference for other British travellers and their military. Palgrave's writings were found to be imperialistic and without credible descriptions. On the other hand, Doughty's writings offered a scientific approach and included credible description of the Arabian Peninsula, giving a more accurate account of his time. There were other travellers who provided an account of their journey to Arab, including Warburton, Oliphant, Palmer and Blunt. However, none of them were able to provide as comprehensive and accurate an account as that of Doughty.

The writings by Doughty and Palgrave were based in the political sphere at the time when a massive change was experienced by Britain in its social life and other walks of life. I believe that by taking into account all the counts, the areas covered, the risks undertaken, and the successes achieved, only the work by Doughty and Palgrave can be compared with each other. The range of interests that Palgrave had, the knowledge he possessed and acquired, the intellectual capacity he had, and his ability to adapt to the local conditions of the area where he journeyed, distinguishes him from other travellers of the time. Further, the writings of Palgrave in his books are more pronounced compared to the writings of any other traveller of the time. However, despite the high qualities possessed by Palgrave as a writer, there were also some defects found in his accounts. This related to imagination, assumption, ambiguity, haste, and artificiality. Palgrave's "Odyssey" can be regarded as the antithesis to Doughty's work. While in Palgrave's work, the individual record is exhibited with respect to the area, Doughty's work provided scientific accounts of Najd including archaeological and geographical aspects from the traveller's point of view.

Having regard to the motivation of the British travellers behind their journey to Al Qassim, the writings by the British travellers highlighted the political, social, and economic problems in Al Qassim and were, in part, based on preconceived notion about the native people and the area. The reason behind this is the heterogeneous motivations of the travellers in travelling to that area. In this study I have provided evidence as to the debate surrounding the anthology of the travel texts written by the European travellers travelling to Al Qassim and how they highlighted its political, social, and economic issues. The truth may vary from one account to another with regard to the discrepancies which may be found between the texts if they are compared together. Therefore, generalisation about the European travellers' homogeneous perceptions were found to be inaccurate. In this study evidence is given against view that the political envoys served political purpose only. This is achieved by highlighting how the

religious, political, and social identities of the travellers influenced their narratives about the area that they were travelling to.

Both Doughty and Palgrave's writings were similar in their modern political sphere when a rapid change in society and social areas of Britain witnessed a rapid change. Nevertheless, the intellectual capacity, knowledge, range of interest and adaptability of Palgrave to desert conditions showed that he was different from other Victorian travellers. Moreover, his narrative was also found to be more pronounced than other travel books because of the qualities associated to his composition; including his dramatic interest and generalizations as a narrator. On the other hand, Doughty's texts offer a more scientific account of his travels and opposes Palgrave in his motivations, as the former was found to have presented himself as an imperialist with imperial ideologies.

Despite the fact that a majority of the travellers possessed imperialistic motivations and ideologies, the current thesis highlights the fact that not all the travellers can be generalized in this way. A writer may originally have travelled with political motives in mind since he was an envoy. However, it does not necessarily follow that his writings have to, thereafter, give an impression of any imperialism and hostility against the Arabs. Appreciation of this enables one to advance the hypothesis that while travellers could have political motives to travel to the area, their writings could be free from political motives. Their writings could, therefore, if they so desired, provide an on the ground view of the area.

It is also observed from reviewing the writings that despite the motivations of the travellers to travel to the area to protect British interests, their writings also highlighted the events which took place during their stay in the area. Thus the authors went beyond merely protecting the interests of European governments in their writings. On this basis it can be stated that one cannot blindly apply the aforementioned generalization to the writings of all the British and European travellers to the area. While it is true that western travellers were the representatives of the west in the area and that the purpose of their journeys could have been to obtain political goals, their writings tell a different story. Thus, generalizability cannot be ascribed to all the western travellers. It is also true that stereotyping of the Arabs is also found in some texts and that some texts regarded them as primitive savages who were far removed from being a civilized society. However, other travellers such as Lady Blunt and Philby highlighted the right correct of Arabian society. Their writings were not only free from stereotypical discrimination, they also represented the true account of the situation on the ground as they did not include imperialist visions. The western travellers and local sources presented the orient differently from one another. The orient was not just regarded as an experience for travellers, but also as an assertion of culture, ideas, signs, ethics, and oppositions. Therefore, a generalization cannot be ascribed to the travellers' accounts

7.2.2 Comparing the accounts of the British envoys and the Informal travellers

In Chapter Three of this thesis, analysis and a review of the various accounts of the British envoys and informal travellers to the area was conducted. This process of thought returns the view that there is a distinction between the writings of the British envoys and the informal travellers to the area of Al Qassim in particular as well as to the Arab region more generally. The accounts provided by the informal travellers can be distinguished from the accounts provided by the political agents who were on official missions to the area. The in-depth review in Chapter Three shows that the motivations of the informal travellers as evidenced from their account to be acutely different from the motivations of the political agents who were operating in the area. This is also evident from the difference between the accounts of Palgrave and Doughty.

The writings of Palgrave show a keen interest in economic aspects, social and cultural traditions and customs whereas the accounts by Doughty provide geographical and archaeological accounts of the region. Palgrave failed to give an account of the geographical and archaeological aspects of the area, Doughty on the other hand did not forget to give an account of the social and economic aspects of the area. Moreover, the duration which the travellers spent in the region had an influence on their writings. For example, Palgrave spent more time in Buraydah than Doughty did, therefore, his writings give a more account of the area than those of Doughty. Similarly, since more time was spent by Philby in the Arabian Peninsula as compared to the other travellers his writings give a more comprehensive account and provide useful details and insights about Al Qassim, Najd, and Saudi Arabia.

Having regard to the style and format of the writings and travel accounts, it may be stated that a striking difference was observed among the accounts by the researcher. The British also sent political agents into the area for the purpose of preparing to-the-point, short, and summarizing notes in which they were to jot down the events that were happening as well as give an account of the social, geographic, political, and economic factors of the region. This is evident from the writings of Shakespear, and Leachman. The writings of Hamilton were focused and precisely about his missions and also included some references to economic, social, and scientific problems. The accounts of Palgrave and Doughty give terse notions of fantasy and fiction and their accounts are about their trip to the area instead of being serious attempts to uncover reality.

Another distinction between the political agents and the informal travellers was with respect to their motivations for travelling. From Palgrave's account it is apparent that he was motivated by his political and religious views. Doughty on the other hand was not supported by any institution. Therefore, it is evident that the goals Doughty had were more scientific as his focus was on geographical and archaeological aspects as well as on the language of the

region. The motivation of British political agents on the other hand was purely political. Each agent of the government was appointed with particular orders to perform diplomatic and political roles. Nevertheless, some agents also took their voyage into the Arabian Peninsula as an opportunity to discover and explore the area from scientific and cultural aspects as well e.g. Shakespeare. Philby represents another such example as he became close to Ibn Saud. As a result, he gained an unrivalled opportunity to photograph the region, inquire about it and communicate with local people as many times as he wanted. Therefore, his motives may also be regarded as both political and scientific.

Noticeable differences were found between the writings of political envoys sent officially to the region and the informal travellers from Britain. This is evident in palgrave's journey when he reached Arab under the Wahhabi movement and was severely disturbed by their control. Philby, however, supported the tribesmen and identified them as the next force that will take control over the area. In contrast, Shakespeare did not criticize the policies of Britain openly as his motivations were driven by his dedication to the British rule and its imperial ideologies, which wasn't true for Philby who never showed any imperialist ideologies in his writings from the beginning. When compared with British envoys (Hamilton, Shakespeare and Leachman), and informal travellers (Doughty and Philby), Philby's writings revealed the most accurate version of history of Arab and eventually became one of the most important sources for the researchers. Therefore, a clear difference was noticed between the writings of British travellers, implying that not all the travellers from Britain had imperialistic ideologies and motivations behind their reason to visit the Arabian Peninsula. This is further proved by the fact that the writings by political agents on official missions were clearly different from that of the informal travellers and exhibited a different approach to how they described the region and its people. It was particularly evident in the format and style adopted by the travellers to describe their journeys. For instance, typically the format and style of writings by political agents was short, summarized and they used concise notes and arguments to provide an account of the events that they witnessed about Arab's economic, social, geographical and political aspects. Shakespeare and Leachman's writings followed this format in their writings. On the other hand Hamilton used an even more precise approach to describe his journey and observations, not even recording any observations on social and economic issues of the region. In contrast, the unofficial travellers (Palgrave and Doughty) exhibited hints of fantasy and fiction in their narration, and their accounts appeared to be more focused on offering a decorated account of their travels instead of the reality.

In concluding Chapter Three, I deduced that understanding of the Gulf region in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries primarily came from the accounts of travellers who undertook journeys to that area. There are limited local sources at that time as a majority of the population was illiterate in that area. The regional history of the Gulf was predominantly

recorded by European travellers, from Alfonso (Portuguese) to Philby (British). Further, an important role in this regard has been played by imperial agents, colonial officers, oil men, merchants, and spies. In the beginning of the twentieth century many Arab countries came under British influence to one extent or the other. I believe that since many areas were under the political influence of Britain, British travellers to these areas wrote extensively. Furthermore, at the time when the British Empire was extending into the Arabia Peninsula, the number of accounts by travellers increased. Conversely, when the British Empire started receding, the accounts started receding too.

I also believe that the motives of British travellers to the Arabian Peninsula was influenced by the imperialistic nature of British extensions to its empire. As the control of Britain started to increase in Arab, more and more travellers appeared on these regions. The nature of their visits was more often than not in official capacity, as prompted by the British government. There is no doubt that even the travellers who weren't sent by the British Empire were noted to have had imperialistic ideologies. Nevertheless, the research revealed that the Edwardian claim is not correct and that all the Western travellers, despite showing imperial ideologies, were not driven by the same motivations behind their decision to travel to Arabia. Although not every traveller had a primary political motive, imperialism did play a particular role. Even the travellers who undertook an independent journey to the area utilized imperialistic structures for framing their journeys to the area. Regardless, the fact remains that Edward Said's concept of orientalism and imperialism cannot be applied to all western travellers.

It is also evident from the analysis in Chapter Three that the claim that each European traveller had a political motive cannot be regarded as true in respect of all the European travellers. They might have been influenced by the expansion of British imperialism, but their motives may not have been solely imperialistic in nature. Despite the fact that various informal travellers and political agents approached the Arabian Peninsula with an imperialistic ideology, the current thesis concludes that the idea that imperialism and orientalism were the primary motives of every European traveller cannot be regarded as true. Not all travellers travelled with solely an imperialistic motive.

7.2.3 Al Qassim through the writings of British travellers and envoys

As Chapter Four indicated, Doughty, Philby, and Palgrave gave accounts of the political situation in Al Qassim almost at the same time, but their writings reflect different approaches towards Al Qassim. The context, content, and depth of information provided by both of these writers were different from one another. There were also certain misconceptions in the writings of Palgrave despite the fact that he witnessed the second Unayzah War that took place in the area.

Palgrave's writings were noticed to have included some discrepancies in it, including names of people, and therefore it seemed appropriate that further investigation be done in this respect. Even though his account is found to be a significant source because he was an eye-witness to certain circumstances, it is clear that he included many incorrect remarks and observations about the region and its people. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that he was working under any imperial motivations nor any particular incentives can be associated with his visit. On the other hand, Doughty's account was found to be a comprehensive narration of his visit, which included an analysis and description of the social, political, religious and economic aspect of Arabia. Still, there were certain events that he did not include in detail, which can be understood given the reason behind his decision to omit them. One of the reasons was the expulsion of Doughty from Buraydah, subsequently preventing him from collecting information about the city. Even though his account has been a comparatively fair narration of the events happening in Arabia, certain discrepancies were noticed in his writing. In this respect, a bias was noticed in Doughty against the leader of Buraydah and its people. This is particularly because of he was expelled from the city and neither the leader nor the general people in the city took to his presence positively. His bias against the leader and his people was noticed consistently in his writings where he described them as savages and brutal people. Nevertheless, this discrepancy in his narration can be ascribed to his personal bias and not any religious or political reason. In contrast, the reason behind the scientific account given by Doughty is the personal relationship that he had with local the people of Unayzah. Due to this he could give detailed accounts of the events taking place in the area. Philby, on the other hand, was noticed to have provided information in his writings that was closest to that of local sources, with respect to content, context and style of information. I deduced that this was because majority of the information gathered by Philby was taken from the local sources, which he claims himself in his book. Nevertheless, he compiled the information in his personal style and added his own opinions as well as evidence about the events he witnessed during his stay in the Arabian Peninsula.

In summary it is stated that since various travellers were not able to penetrate central and southern Najd, which is the homebase of Wahabism, the local practices and politics of Al Qassim are not found in their travelogues. Moreover, besides Doughty, Palgrave, and Philby the other travellers contributed little towards the small areas which they crossed on their way towards their ultimate destinations. Most of the travellers were also found to be unaware of local dialects, customs, and culture. They were also found to be not much aware of the political situation that existed in Al Qassim. Resultantly, the reader is unable to gain full knowledge about Al Qassim from such accounts. The reader is not able to fully understand the political, social, and economic situation that existed. That is why despite the fact that it is true that an individual reader's understanding may be increased through the accounts given by the informal travellers as well as by the political agents about their purpose of travelling to

Al Qassim, little information is available with respect to Al Qassim itself. This includes a lack of information on local customs, and the economic, social and political aspects of Al Qassim.

In the writings of Doughty and Palgrave, the real life situation in the east is not explained in detail. Instead the writings took a romantic turn in their visualizing of life in the Arabian Peninsula. There is romanticism involved with respect to life in the Arabian Peninsula and life in Europe in their writings. The writings of Palgrave and Doughty therefore provide narration of the life in the Arabia Peninsula. Philby's writings on the other hand provide a more realistic approach towards the events that took place in Al Qassim. Here I would like to point out that despite the value attached to such writings, it remains the case that they require comparison and investigation with foreign and local sources. This will return historical but verified information about the region in that time.

In light of the results given in Chapter Four, it may also be stated that in the context of Orientalism, the term Orient represents a construct or an idea which the colonialists built over a period of time and its presence is evident in the accounts of western travellers about eastern life. Therefore, I would also like to point out by virtue of this writing that a bias was sensed somewhere in the writings of these travellers. For example, Doughty supported Zamil in his travelogues. The latter was, for instance, described as democratic and a just ruler compared to the opposition who were described as tyrants and barbaric. In this regard the view that orientalism represents more of an invention which confines reality to the imagination, as evidenced in the example cited just above, may be regarded as true.

The theoretical knowledge of the orient by virtue of ideas may lead to the construction of stereotypes. For example, I found in Doughty's writing the construction of Arabs to be not from an imperialistic perspective or rooted in an on the ground reality but to have arisen because of his personal experiences with the people. Therefore, I believe that there are some components of political motivation which may still be relevant and true such as western perspectives about orientalism. This is evident from the terms Doughty used for the ruler of Buraydah that he was barbaric, fanatic, and a tyrant as Doughty was expelled from that city. Yet on the other hand, I disagree with the generalization that the political envoys served solely political objectives. Rather, they also recorded much historical information and historical data about Al Qassim.

7.2.4 The importance of British transcripts compared to local transcripts

From the analysis presented in Chapter 5, I conclude that the writings of Western travellers were significantly influenced by the orientalism that was driven by the colonialists over a period of time. I deduced that majority of the writings of western travellers showed a certain

kind of bias, whether negative or positive, towards the people of Arabian Peninsula. Doughty's bias was apparent in his description of the leader of Buraydah as a tyrant and barbaric ruler because of his treatment at his hands. In contrast, his bias towards Zamil was also noticed who Doughty described as a democratic and just leader because of how he was treated at Unayzah by him. By this instance, I infer that the argument of Said is valid here wherein he argues that orientalism is an invention that limits more invention by restricting imagination. I have reached the conclusion that Said's argument holds true because the act of theoretically possessing knowledge of the orient by appropriating it results in creating and generating different ideas, which further lead to bias that gives rise to different constructs and stereotypes. I noted that Doughty did not portray so much of an imperial theory about preconceiving ideas about who Arabs were, but instead the stereotypes were further set in concrete due to his own personal interaction with people that consequently resulted in his assumptions about different constructs.

The importance of the travelogue by Doughty is due to the aspects which are not found in the accounts of other writers. As such Doughty's work provides a unique perspective. Therefore, I believe that some inaccuracies found in Doughty's work are due to the extensive nature of his stay and work with respect to the area. It is not due to political or imperialistic motivations about the British Empire. Moreover, the current research provides a contesting and alternate view to Edward Said's approach on the basis of the critical analysis that it has undertaken of the accounts of that time from both foreign and local sources. Some western travellers including Doughty and Philby highlighted that the orient was not just an experience but also an active realization of culture, ethics, opposition and ideas. Therefore, my argument is that the idea that imperialism and orientalism served as the underlying motivations for European travellers is not true.

The current research takes into account the travelogues from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. During that time the Gulf region was primarily understood through travelogues. The history of the region was recorded primarily by the European travellers such as Shakespeare, Philby, Doughty, Alfonso, and so on. Further, the imperial agents and colonial officers also played a role in recording the history of the area at that time. This research has revealed the discrepancies in the travelogues of Palgrave about the Arabian Peninsula and some discrepancies were also found in Doughty's work. The study determines that the writings by Doughty provided a detailed insight into Al Qassim and also gave account of the

social, economic, and political situations of the people in that area. The writings by Palgrave are also found to be lacking in giving account of reality in its entirety. His work is regarded more as romantic account of his stay in the area and what he came across in the area. This was in addition to the imperial ideologies found in his narrative.

Doughty's writing on the other hand present a scientific account due to which they may be regarded as more accurate. However, Doughty's work has bias against local people at some points and is also influenced by European ideologies. Doughty's account about Unayzah and Buraydah present a conflicting view as he was expelled from Buraydah due to which his writings about Buraydah reflect a biased approach towards the area, its ruler, and the people therein. He described them as barbaric, tyrants, and savage. In contrast, the people and ruler of Unayzah were regarded as peaceful and friendly in Doughty's account. This is due to his recognition in the area and his personal relationship with people over there. Despite the fact that there is consensus between Palgrave and Doughty on some aspects, Philby's writings provide a more realistic account of the events which took place in Al Qassim and as a result his writings are a more credible source.

7.2.5 The Contribution of the British envoys and the informal travellers to Al Qassim's History

Despite the fact that there are differences between the travel accounts of the different travellers with respect to their classification of the native peoples, the census of population and the affiliations of different tribes, these cannot be regarded as weaknesses. Rather, such differences arise due to the different situations in which the travellers were travelling and writing their travelogues. Such differences can also arise due to differences with respect to the sources of information that they relied upon. Further, it is also imperative to point out that no evidence came to light that Palgrave, Philby, and Doughty had imperialistic motives behind their journeys to the area. In contrast, the official reports prepared by the envoys show that their accounts were written to serve the needs, desires, and aspirations of British Empire. They collected information that could be used to serve the interests of the British Empire e.g. the reports written by Hamilton on the region. Such reports were written against a backdrop of political motives.

From the arguments presented in Chapter 6, it is evident that different travellers from the West provided information that not only varied from the local sources but also that of other British travellers. Most of the British travellers, as analyzed in this study, were found to have

had imperialistic ideologies and bias against people of Arab, travelling under the perception that people of Arabian Peninsula were barbaric, savages and primitive in nature. Even so, not all of them were travelling in official capacity with imperial missions sponsored by the British Empire. Therefore, this rejects Said's inference that all western travellers were on imperial missions, set to travel under secret missions prompted by the British Empire. Several reasons were identified behind the travellers' motivations and discrepancies noted in their account. One of the key reasons was the cultural differences between the orient and the orientalist. Since the western travellers were unable to understand the context behind certain actions of the people of Arabia, they ascribed their own meanings to them, thus creating misconstrued version of the events happening around them. This is specifically consistent with how they described the women in Arabia who, according to the western travellers, were nothing more than wives, mothers and sisters with no individual existence as women. Moreover, they were typically described as slaves to their male counterparts, completely at the mercy of their whims. They compared the role of Arabian women with that of the Western women, disregarding the fact that their cultures were vastly different from one another. Freedom for one did not necessarily equalled the same freedom for another. Most of the western travellers were unable to grasp the concept of context in different roles played by different people in Arab that were completely understandable in their culture. For this reason, I deduce that the ideas of British travellers about women were incorrect because they projected their own cultural practices and roles of women to that of Arabian women. Instead, the correct way to understand the role of women in Arabia should have been to consider the cultural and societal context of Arabia.

The significant sources on the history of area also include the transcripts prepared by the political envoys as these reports provide economic and social details about the area. Such reports provided information about the census and the affiliations people had there with different tribes. Further, such reports also highlighted the traditions, customs, and commercial traffic taking place in the area. The objectives behind travelling to the area and the time during which the journeys were taken to the area were regarded as the key elements which dictated the writing style and the type of information ascertained by the writers. Since many of the local sources provided accounts of the political events taking place in the area, the accounts by Doughty, Palgrave, and Philby provide a useful insight into the customs of the area, and the economic aspects of the region. It can be stated that the theory of orientalism European in which travellers were western representatives in the area may be true to some

point, but it cannot be generally applied to all the European travellers to that area. Despite the fact that some travellers wrote accounts which reflected their bias against a particular area e.g. that of Doughty against Buraydah, it was possible to overcome that biased account by reading the accounts of other travellers who travelled to that area.

Al Qassim was mostly explored by Doughty, Philby, and Palgrave. These travellers explored the area far more extensively than any other European travellers. When it comes to comparing the accounts of the most travelled travellers of the area, the accounts of Doughty and Palgrave can be analysed against each other. This can be made in respect of the information they collected, areas that were covered by them in Al Qassim, the risks they undertook, and the success they achieved. The narrative of Palgrave was one of an individual who provided more of a romantic account of the events instead of the core realities. Doughty on the other hand focused more on the scientific information of the area and included political, geographical and archaeological information in his writings. Hence, I deduce that there were no clear indications of British imperial interests or motivations that could be found in the narratives of Palgrave, Doughty and Philby. On the other hand, the official reports made by envoys were used particularly to support the strategy of British Empire to collect information and use it to protect their own imperial interests in the broader scope. Therefore, I concur my opinion that certain elements of Said's ideology were found to be true, such as in the case of orientalist vision about the East held by the West that is also how Doughty describes the people of Buraydah. On the other hand, I do not agree with Said's belief that imperial motivations can be generalized to all western travellers. It is interesting to note that even though Said criticized the homogeneity of imperial discourse on one hand, on the other he generalizes the Western travellers through their motivations behind their travels.

7.3 CONTRIBUTION OF THE RESEARCH

The current research makes an important contribution towards enhancing existing knowledge on the subject. Firstly, the research is a philosophical contribution towards the topic as the current research is contrary to orientalism because I took epistemological interpretivism and ontological relativism positions. These positions proved helpful for me to uncover the true motivations of the British travellers who visited the Arab world. Therefore, by undertaking such philosophical positions, I was able to approach the same topic with a different perspective as it brought me closer to different realities.

As has been discussed previously, interpretivism enabled me to interpret various factors that arose within the process of the research undertaken for this thesis. The human interest in a particular phenomenon can also be interpreted by using this position. Therefore, the epistemological position taken by myself enabled me to discover the motivations underlying the travelling of British travellers to the Arabian Peninsula. It also enabled me to identify their interests and agenda for visiting the same. This philosophical position also proved helpful to me in interpreting the social, political, and economic significance of Al Qassim, because I belong to this area and know its historic background.

Interpretivism is also related with idealism as it is utilized for grouping together various approaches including phenomenology, constructivism, and hermeneutics. Interpretivism is opposed to objectivism as objectivism is focused on objective constructions of the world, whereas interpretivism enables a researcher to take into account subjective views for subjective construction. Therefore, by undertaking this position, the orientalist approach was rejected in the current research as I took a positivist approach in his study. Furthermore, the focus of interpretivist study is on the utility of multiple methods and meanings such as cooperation, criticism, and description. These are important for reflecting upon various dimensions of Al Qassim. Therefore, the philosophical direction undertaken in this study is against orientalism as various Arab historians are supporting orientalism with respect to British travellers in Arab world, but limited research has been done in interpreting their motives and motivations for undertaking such journeys.

Another major contribution of the current research is from the aspect of knowledge contribution. The major role played by historians relates to knowledge contribution which in the current research is done through the interpretation of truths, personal beliefs, motives, and realities as ascertained from various sources. Therefore, in the current study different approaches have been synthesized for justifying the existence of multiple realities and truths from various perspectives. Cumulatively, they contribute towards enhancing knowledge in the historical field. In the current study, application of the coherentism theory of justification has been made. This is helpful in providing comprehensive guidelines for future researches who wish to conduct the same nature of study but for different Arab regions.

Another prominent contribution of my current research is that it brings into the limelight the significance of Al Qassim to the history of the wider Arab world. Indeed, this study is one of its own kind for exploring the social, political and economic history of Al Qassim. It follows that this study will be helpful in attracting future historians to probe further into the historical significance of the place. The results of the current study will also be helpful for academics as well as for researchers who wish to develop further knowledge on the historical importance

of Al Qassim. My research provides deep insights into the motivations and the purposes of the British travellers to the place. Therefore, it is also helpful in uncovering historic realities.

Another aspect of the current study is that it highlights various realities by taking into account the British envoys, travellers, and local sources which, together, provide a rich stream of knowledge regarding Al Qassim over a particular period of time. Therefore, this research will be highly useful for researchers in the future as they can utilize my study as a foundation stone for their own research. The revelatory findings contained herein could, for instance, be compared with the motives of other European travellers to the area in the same time period. This shows that my research will also be helpful for drawing comparative analysis of historical importance. The realities are all justified by utilizing the coherentism theory of justification.

The realities of the region are uncovered through descriptive, critical, and comparative study. If the significance of each source that was utilised in the current study is taken into account then it is evident that British travellers like Doughty, Philby, and Palgrave each generated rich data that is of immeasurable historical importance with regard to the daily life taking place in Al Qassim. However, British envoys such as Hamilton, Shakespeare, and Lachman were unable to provide such historical data on the social life of the people of the area. Further, the local sources usually focused on the political aspects of their lives.

Therefore, the utilisation of different sources enabled me to provide an in-depth analysis of different sources which brought forward different realities of historical significance for the selected topic. The use of different sources also enabled me to draw on different point of views. Resultantly, I was able to justify different aspects from different sources which again highlights the unquestionable significance of coherentism theory to the justification of realities, truth, and research beliefs as noted within this thesis. Indeed, it has enabled me to develop and contribute unique knowledge and insights on the topic.

Thus, the study also shows that historical data from whatever source he comes across cannot be blindly used by a researcher whether it be a local source or a foreign source. In the current study I focused primarily on the source of foreign travellers such as their travel diaries. However, the data collected was justified through other sources as well including local sources. Therefore, the current study comprehensively utilised the theory of justification with regard to realities, truth, and beliefs.

Another contribution of the current study is that it places into the limelight the reasons or the major attractions which the British had for Arab world at that time. It provides the reason for the various travellers travelling to Al Qassim. My study found out that Philby and Hamilton visited Al Qassim for a particular purpose whereas Lachman, Shakespeare, Palgrave, and Daughtry did not have any specific motive for visiting Al Qassim. Therefore, it is revealed by the current findings that envoys and travellers had different motives when they visited Al Qassim. This is reflected in their writings as well. Furthermore, my research also stipulates that the significance of the motives underlying the visit of British and other European visitors cannot be ignored and as such the primary sources on the topic must be taken into account.

My research will also be helpful for future researches as future researchers can compare the economic, social, and political that they uncover with my research with respect to Al Qassim. My research also highlights the significance of Al Qassim from a political aspect and the political role that it played in the wider history of the Arabian Peninsula. As such the research gives an account of data from British sources that is reflected upon and analysed by reference to local sources. This is helpful for generating rich data about the region.

Lastly, my research encourages future researchers to utilize different sources when they are conducting research of historical significance. Adopting such an approach will enable them to provide comprehensive views for justifying diverging opinions if they take, as I did, epistemological interpretivist and ontological relativist positions as well as utilising coherentism justification for bringing to the fore different realities of historical significance. Therefore, I am confident that the current research will be helpful for future researches to prevent them from making the error of generalizing data on the topic. Rather they will be able to give an account of multiple realities and not provide overtly simplistic analysis. The further uses of the methodological approaches used in this thesis will, therefore, lead towards the generation of reliable data on the subject.

7.4 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

There are various directions in which future research could take place. Since the current research is descriptive in nature whilst also critically analysing the existing accounts on Al Qassim, (by comparing different travelogues and reports on Al Qassim as prepared by European travellers and political agents), future research might conduct case study analysis of the area by taking into account both local and foreign sources on the area as well.

I would suggest that future researchers should embrace the relativism and interpretivism positions for conducting multi source research so that they can also provide their point of views. This will justify the understanding and beliefs that they have. A prominent part of my research took into account the intentions and motivations of the British travellers, including both informal travellers and political agents, when they took their journeys to Al Qassim. On the basis of analysing their motives and reasons, I am able to provide my own argument as I took relativism and interpretivism positions in the current research. Future researches can also build upon the basis of my position in the current research and should, therefore, opt for an approach of positivism so that reality can be objectively ascertained.

Since in the current research British accounts are primarily relied upon along with some local accounts, I was able to highlight the economic, political and social aspects of Al Qassim. Future research can also take into account the travelogues of other European travellers and discuss whether they travelled with the motives of serving their respective governments or empires. This will enable the researchers to not only build upon my own unique contribution but to take the research forward by differentiating between the British and European travellers of the area. Indeed, such future research could uncover the reasons and motivations behind these other traveller's travel to Al Qassim and the extent of the control and influence that different European governments had on the Arabian Peninsula. The philosophical positions which I took in the current research are relativism and interpretivism; they enabled me to interpret distinct realities from various sources. Therefore, by taking inspiration from my work, future researchers can utilize the same position but with respect to different areas.

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