



THE ATTITUDE OF THE DOWASIR TRIBE FROM THE BRITISH REFORMS IN BAHRAIN (1922-1923)

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Abstract

This research dealt with an important issue related to the attitude of one of the tribes with great weight in Bahrain, namely The attitude of the Dowasir tribe on the British reforms in Bahrain (1922-1923), as the Dowasir tribe felt that the alleged reforms were nothing but an attempt through which Britain wanted to strengthen its influence in The region in general and in Bahrain in particular, so it stood against it. The research contained three axes, as the first axis dealt with the attitude of the Dowasir tribe from the reforms since its inception in general, while we focused in the second axis on the tribe's attitude on the British removal of Sheikh Issa bin Ali for judgment. As for the third and final axis, we touched on the reactions of the Dowasir tribe towards the reforms, as those reactions contained many attitudes that we clarified in the form of points.

The research relied on many sources that varied between unpublished documents, academic studies and Arabic books, as well as some scientific research published in Arab periodicals.

Keywords: Bahrain, Al-Dowasir, Britain

THE INTRODUCTION

Some Arab tribes have been distinguished throughout their history with features that are unparalleled in other tribes, and among these features is their declaration of disobedience and rebellion against the arbitrary measures taken by the colonial countries towards the countries under their colonial control, but those countries are sometimes surprised by the emergence of strong rejection of what they intend to do. Measures under the name of (reforms), which are in fact a front to achieve colonial aims .

What was mentioned fully applies to the title of our research, which is (The attitude of the Dowasir tribe towards the British reforms in Bahrain 1922-1923).

The research contained an introduction, three axes, and a conclusion that included the findings of the research. As for the three axes, each axis represented the tribe's attitude on reforms. The first axis included a study of the tribe's attitude on reforms since its inception. As for the second axis, we dealt with the tribe's attitude on the issue of removing Sheikh Issa from power, as one of Britain's reform measures in Bahrain is its By removing Sheikh Issa from power, and we concluded the study with the third axis, in which we recorded the reactions of the Dowasir tribe towards the reforms.

The research relied on a variety of sources, foremost of which were some British documents that dealt with that important stage in the history of Bahrain in general and the Dowasir tribe in particular, in addition to some important Arab sources such as Arabic books and scientific research published in Arab periodicals.

The first axis: the attitude of the Dowasir tribe on reforms:

The Al-Dowasir tribe opposed the idea of reforms from its inception, when Dixon placed one of the tribe's women under British protection, which Al-Dowasir considered an insult to them, and they continued to oppose the alleged reforms⁽¹⁾.

(1)Eman Aliwi Saloumi Al-Bindawi, British Policy towards Bahrain 1876-1923, unpublished master's thesis, College of Education for Girls, University of Baghdad, 2005, P. 95.



The Al-Dowasir tribe's opposition to the reforms increased more clearly when Britain announced its intention to reform the tax system and the diving system, because most of the tribe's sons were working in the profession of diving and pearl extraction, so the reforms to be carried out in the pearl sector will limit the influence of Al-Dowasir and are in the interest of divers. This will never be accepted by the Dowasir⁽²⁾.

Also, the reform of the tax system has faced opposition from the tribe since its inception, as it did not accept in any way the payment of taxes, because they were exempted from it by the ruler, so how is it imposed on them today?⁽³⁾

Al-Dowasir's opposition to imposing the laws of the Government of India on them was based on their knowledge of the political situation in eastern Arabia⁽⁴⁾, so that some of the sheikhs of this tribe paid two visits to Najd in May 1922 and met with Prince Abdul Aziz Al Saud and obtained from him a promise to support their attitude opposing reforms. Especially with regard to the subject of taxes, and those two visits were mentioned in a report that Trevor sent to the Government of India with his telegram numbered 542-B in July 1922, in which he stated, "I have the honor to inform the Government of India that the Political Agent in Bahrain mentioned that Sheikh Al-Dowasir paid at least two visits to Ibn Saud, one of them at a time when discussions were taking place regarding the proposed reforms and the other shortly thereafter."⁽⁵⁾ as well as their reliance on their economic strength derived from their maritime trade, their work in pearl diving, and their possession of vast palm plantations in Bahrain⁽⁶⁾.

One of the things that encouraged Al-Dowasir to oppose the reforms was the external support they got from the Emir of Najd (Ibn Saud), as the latter's attitude on the reforms was ambiguous. It is clear that the reforms to be carried out in Bahrain constituted a threat to him and the (Wahhabi) creed, or perhaps he wanted, with his support for the opponents of reforms in Bahrain, to increase the intensity of the internal conflict in it, which would then make it easier for him to enter Bahrain, and perhaps the other reason is closer to reality because it is in line with Abdel Aziz's expansionist policy⁽⁷⁾.

In addition, the movement of the Shia'hs in Bahrain in order to reduce the severity of the taxes imposed on them was not recommended by Ibn Saud, because the latter has Shia'h subjects in the Qatif region and imposes many taxes on them, and they are determined to move to lift the injustice befalling them, so if what happened to the Shia'hs of Bahrain. On their demands on the issue of taxes, such a matter would encourage the Shia'hs of Qatif to demand something similar to what the people of their sect got in Bahrain, which Ibn Saud rejects altogether and in detail, which was represented through his attitude opposing reforms in Bahrain through his representative, who was one of the well-known pearl merchants. His name is (Abdul Rahman Al-Qusaibi)⁽⁸⁾.

(2) Iraa Jamil Saleh Al-Aqili, *Bahrain during the era of Sheikh Hamad bin Issa 1923-1942, a study in political and economic developments*, Baghdad, 2017, P. 76.

(3) Muhammad bin Ibrahim bin Ali Al-Khan, *Dammam Citadel and History, a historical study on the establishment of Dammam 1214-1358 AH / 1800-1939 AD*, Manama, 2017, P. 193.

(4) Nawal bint Ahmed bin Saqr Al-'Ajaleen Al-Farjan Al-Doswsary, *Ahl Al-Than Al-Dawasir Al-Qila .. History .. Society*, Manama, 2021, P. 184.

(5) I.O.R/R/15/2/87, *Dowasir tribe and its deportation from Bahrain, No.542-B reforms in Bahrain*, P.1.

(6) Nawal Bint Ahmed Al-'Ajaleen, *Op.Cit.*, P. 184.

(7) Fouad Ishaq Al-Khoury, *The Tribe and the State in Bahrain: The Evolution of the System of Authority and its Practice*, Beirut, 1983, PP. 146-147.

(8) Abdul Rahman Al-Qusaibi: He is Sheikh Abdul Rahman bin Hassan bin Abdullah Al-Qusaibi, and his lineage goes back to the town (Al-Qasab) in Najd, when he grew up in it. That is why his family was called (Al-Qusaibi), and he was born in Al-Na'athel neighborhood in the city of Hofuf in the year 1883, he received his education in Bahrain and trained in commercial business there, as he participated in his uncle and his brothers in the beginning of his work until he became one of the famous merchants in the Arab Gulf region and India as well, he learned the English language and mastered it. His society, he was appointed as an agent for Ibn Saud in Bahrain, because before Riyadh took control of the Hijaz, there were no so-called official consuls or diplomatic representatives of Riyadh in other countries, but the choice was made by Ibn Saud on one of the Najdi merchants residing in those countries and he By assigning him on his behalf, i.e. serving as agents for the capital, Ibn Saud chose the merchant Abdul Rahman al-Qusaibi to represent him in



The attitude of Sheikh Issa and his sons began to be weak and hesitant to stand in the face of the strong opposition rejecting the expansion of tax collection. Daily realized this and tried to urge the Government of India to provide its support in order to implement these reforms immediately, but the government was sticking to its previous attitude and was not enthusiastic about implementing the reforms. Not to interfere between the Sheikh of Bahrain and his subjects, or at least not to act in a way that suggests to others that the British government is interfering between the Sheikh and his subjects⁽⁹⁾.

From the aforementioned regarding the weak attitudes of Sheikh Issa and his sons and the attitude of the Government of British India, we can say that both attitudes represent encouragement for the Dowasir tribe in order to continue its endeavors to stand against tax reform.

However, external events took place at the end of 1922, which led the British government of India to change its attitude on reforms in Bahrain that it had previously rejected. Those events were represented by the Persian press launching harsh campaigns against British interference in the affairs of Bahrain, as it condemned (Muhammad Sharif Qutbuddin) Director General of the Manama Municipality, accusing him of being loyal to the British and cooperating with them for the provisions of their control over Bahrain and their implementation of the reforms that they intend to carry out there⁽¹⁰⁾.

For its part, the Government of British India communicated the wishes of the Foreign Affairs Office to the British Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, and added to it that the persecution of one sect against another in Bahrain might lead to stirring up feelings against Britain to face such a possibility, and also instructed the British Resident there to assess the situation public in Bahrain⁽¹¹⁾.

Trevor soon reviewed the situation in Bahrain and studied it with Daily, so he sent a report to the Government of India on January 27, 1923 summarizing the bad conditions in Bahrain in the light of his assessment of the general situation there, and both Trevor and Daily agreed that the causes of the political turmoil in Bahrain This is due to several reasons, most notably the following:

A- Inequality in the distribution of taxes between the different groups of society and that a new tax system should be introduced to which everyone is equally subject.

B- The need to introduce a system of justice through (a court) and ensure respect for its laws, as advocates of reform are subject to imprisonment or any other punishment according to the wishes of the Sheikh of Bahrain or a member of his family.

C - Reforming the diving system and divers, as these were subject to the mercy of the captains, and such reform should include all pearl fisheries in the Arabian Gulf and not be limited to Bahrain only⁽¹²⁾. Trevor added, saying: "Sheikh Issa may not submit to these pressures, and in this case the British government must use force against him or remove him from office, especially since he has reached a very old age"⁽¹³⁾.

Through our observation of the three reasons mentioned by Trevor and Daley's report, we see that it is not in the interest of the Dowasir tribe in anything and that it does not serve their cause at all, so it is very likely that what will result from it in terms of internal political conditions in Bahrain

Bahrain, as well as agents in other regions, most notably: Abd al-Latif Pasha al-Mandil in Baghdad and Basra, Abdullah al-Nafisi in Kuwait, Abdullah al-Fawzan in Bombay and Sheikh Ibn Laila in Damascus. For more details, see: Madhawi Hamad Al-Nasser Al-Hatlani, *The City of Riyadh: A Historical Study in the Political, Economic, Social and Cultural Development 1902-1975 AD / 1320-1395 AH*, Cairo, 1996, P. 57; *Al-Riyadh Newspaper*, Issue (16881), September 12, 2014.

(9) Abbas Hussain Machesser, *Political Developments in Bahrain 1869-1923*, unpublished master's thesis, College of Arts, University of Baghdad, 1991, P. 164.

(10) *Ibid.*, P. 165.

(11) Muhammad Ghanem Al-Rumaihi, *Issues of Political and Social Change in Bahrain 1920-1970*, Kuwait, 1976, PP. 285-286.

(12) Harith Yousef Issa, *Political Developments in Bahrain 1942-1971*, unpublished master's thesis, College of Education - Ibn Rushd, University of Baghdad, 2010, P. 21.

(13) According to: Jamal Zakaria Qassem, *The Arabian Gulf, A Study of the History of the Arab Emirates 1914-1945*, Cairo, 1973, P. 210.



may lead to fueling the Dowasir tribe and the emergence of their cause and opposition Clearly and more powerfully than before .

The Government of India has agreed to the proposals presented by the British Political Resident in the Arabian Gulf, aimed at taking measures to achieve the necessary reforms in Bahrain⁽¹⁴⁾.

The Viceroy of India sent a telegram to the British Foreign Office on April 17, 1923 informing it of his government's approval to implement administrative and financial reforms in Bahrain⁽¹⁵⁾, and he confirmed his intention to do so by saying, "We will do everything we can to make the Sheikh of Bahrain adopt these reforms as if it were his personal initiative. And at the same time, we will make it clear to him that his survival on the seat of power is linked to our protection for him, that protection that only prevents his subjects from revolting against him. ruling and the deportation of his son, Sheikh Abdullah, from Bahrain"⁽¹⁶⁾.

From the foregoing, it appears that the British government, in its telegram, is determined to implement reforms in Bahrain, regardless of the obstacles that stand in its way.

For his part, the ruler of Bahrain, Sheikh Issa, showed a tendency to respond to the demands put forward by the national elements in Bahrain, including the establishment of a legislative council and the organization of a national police instead of the police force that was made up of foreign elements, as well as presenting a list of reforms that guarantee the citizen a decent life⁽¹⁷⁾.

As a result of Sheikh Issa's attitudes in support of these demands, the British government began to think seriously about removing him from power because his stay would be an obstacle to the British reforms in Bahrain⁽¹⁸⁾ .

The opportunity came for Britain to achieve its aims in removing Sheikh Issa from power, when a dispute broke out between the Najdi and Persian communities in Manama in early May. The incident began when a watch was stolen from the house of a merchant from the people of Najd. And the dispute developed from words to conflict and fighting, and the riots continued continuously for the period (10-13 May) 1923, which resulted in the killing of five people, three from the Najdis and two from the Persians, and behind the riots that occurred in Bahrain was Muhammad Sharif Qutb al-Din of Persian origin who ordered His men shot him as the mayor and (Abdul Rahman Al-Qusaibi), Ibn Saud's agent in Bahrain⁽¹⁹⁾.

The British blamed Sheikh Issa and held him responsible for the disturbances that occurred, so the riots were an opportunity that Britain took advantage of to implement its scheme in Bahrain⁽²⁰⁾ , as the political agent Daily telegraphed to the political resident in Bushehr (Knox) (Lt. cil.S.G.Knox) informing him of an order The disturbances, so Knox immediately went to Bahrain, which he arrived on May 15, 1923 ⁽²¹⁾ , and three days after his arrival, he ordered that the actual affairs of the country be in the hands of Sheikh Hamad and asked Sheikh Issa to relinquish power to his son on May 21, 1923, showing him his inability to carry out the burdens of responsibility entrusted to him. On his shoulders due to his old age, but Sheikh Issa refused to concede and vehemently told Knox that he would not relinquish power even if his head was cut off or thrown into the sea, but Knox was determined to carry out his order to relinquish Sheikh Issa from power, so he called Bahrain's notables and prominent men to meet with him on May 26, 1923, about (200) to (300) people attended, including Sheikh Issa, who realized that there was no point in procrastinating and that the British government had finished its role. In this meeting, Knox officially announced the

(14)Abbas Hussain Machesser, Op.Cit., P. 166.

(15)Muhammad Ghanem Al-Rumaihi, Op.Cit., P. 287.

(16)According to: Jamal Zakariya Qassem, Op.Cit., P. 211.

(17)Mustafa Abdul-Qader Al-Najjar, Et al., History of the Modern and Contemporary Arab Gulf, Baghdad, 1984, P. 165.

(18)Harith Youssef Issa, Op.Cit., PP. 21-22.

(19)Khalifah bin Abdul Rahman Al-Maso'ud, Persian-British ambitions in Bahrain and their role in the events of 1341 AH / 1923 AD and their impact on Saudi interests there, Journal of Arab and Human Sciences, Qassim University, Volume (3), Number (1) January, 2010, P. 74.

(20)Amin Al-Rihani, Kings of the Arabs, 3rd Edition, Part 2, Beirut, 1951, P. 183.

(21)Muhammad Jaber Al-Ansari, History of the First Democratic Movement in the Arabian Gulf - Bahrain and Kuwait, the period between 1920-1940, The Arab Historian Magazine, Issue (15), Baghdad, 1980, P. 75.



abdication of Sheikh Issa bin Ali Al Khalifah (compulsory) from ruling Bahrain to his son, Sheikh Hamad⁽²²⁾.

Sheikh Hamad bin Issa assumed power in Bahrain (1923-1942) and chaos and instability prevailed in the sheikhdom, and the source of the unrest that prevailed in Bahrain after Sheikh Issa's forced abdication were two groups: the first is the more conservative political elements, which include a number of members of the Al Khalifah family and the Dowasir tribe towards British procedures, while the second category was moderate⁽²³⁾.

The second axis: The Attitude of the Dowasir tribe regarding the removal of Sheikh Issa from power:

The response of the first group to Britain's measures was somewhat violent, and the Dowasir tribe was included in this category, as they were opposed to the installation of Sheikh Hamad in place of his father, Sheikh Issa. They even preferred that Sheikh Abdullah be the one to rule because (Hamad) intended to implement British reforms that would not be in their interest, but it will be in the interest of other groups⁽²⁴⁾.

In view of the British government's realization that the Dowasir tribe will stand against the measure taken by Britain to remove Sheikh Issa from the rule of Bahrain, so (Knox), the political resident in the Arabian Gulf, directed a speech to the Dowasir tribe during the speech he delivered in the council that was held on May 26, 1923, which witnessed the announcement of Removing Sheikh Issa from power, as Knox said in this meeting, addressing the Dowasir tribe, "Gentlemen, followers of the Sunni sect, and especially the men of the Dowasir tribe, you should realize that we intend to consolidate the rule of these islands under the rule of one of the Sheikhs of Al Khalifah, and that the rights of the Sheikh will be applied equally to Everyone is to the best of their ability, Sheikh Hamad, and he will get full support in his attempts. They have often faced similar threats in the past, through a counter-threat to leave these islands and go to Ibn Saud or others. You would be surprised if the state confiscated your lands and homes and gave them to others, and I can assure you that there will be many applicants for this. These islands are not palm groves in the desert of the Arabian Peninsula, where the owners roam the desert all year round and return only to eat the harvest of their orchards at harvest time and I do not mean that it should be understood from my words that any owner going to Bombay or Hajj or any other legitimate business would be a signal to the sheikh to confiscate his property from behind him, but I mean that people who act in rebellion will be dealt with strictly, and we have no benefit from absentee owners of property or people with dual loyalties, and I am afraid that in the east this means inciting one ruler against another ruler and betraying both of them"⁽²⁵⁾.

An extensive look at Knox's speech addressed to the Al-Dowasir tribe reveals to us that this speech contained in its content an implicit threat to the tribe, if it persisted in its attitude opposing the British measures, and the image of that threat was clearly evident when Knox promised that everyone who stands in the way of the measures will have his property confiscated and deported Absolutely from Bahrain.

However, the Al-Dowasir tribe did not acquiesce in the threat of Knox and opposed the implementation of reforms in Bahrain, based on its refusal to have equal rights and duties with the Shia'hs. They are subject to its laws, treat them as ordinary subjects, and deprive them of the privileges they have enjoyed for decades⁽²⁶⁾.

The third axis: The Reactions of the Dowasir tribe to the reforms:

The Al-Dowasir tribe's reactions to the reforms came through its many moves, which were intended to stand against the British reforms, and to embarrass the attitude of Sheikh Hamad, which the tribe refuses to recognize as the new ruler of the country, rejecting the removal of Sheikh Issa.

(22)Abbas Hussain Machesser, Op.Cit., P. 174.

(23)Muhammad Ghanem Al-Rumaihi, Op.Cit., P. 293.

(24)Iraa Jamil Saleh, Op.Cit., P. 78.

(25)Bahrain Archives in the original British documents 1820-1971, Volume V 1923-1932, translation and investigation: Awal Center for Studies and Documentation, Beirut, 2019, PP. 35-36.

(26)Sa'eed Al-Shihabi, Bahrain 1920-1971, a reading in the British Documents, Beirut, 1996, P. 73.



1- A group of individuals from the Dowasir tribe, in cooperation with the followers of Sheikh Khalid bin Ali Al Khalifah, attacked the Shia'h village of 'Aali on the twenty-ninth of May 1923 and killed two residents of this village. They also threatened witnesses from the other sect if they tried to provide specific evidence. Against them, and therefore the blame for this incident was directed to the sheikh of the Dowasir tribe (Ahmed bin Abdullah Al-Dosari) ⁽²⁷⁾, so Major Daily asked Sheikh Hamad bin Issa to bring Sheikh Ahmed quickly so that he would be held accountable for this matter, but Sheikh Hamad made it clear to the major that he did not. It is possible to reach Sheikh Ahmed and bring him at the present time, due to his going on a commercial trip at sea, and Sheikh Hamad bin Issa sent a message to Daily in this regard, in which he said, "After the befitting peace of your sublime attitude and God's mercy always. Your lover is known by Ahmed bin Abdullah Al-Dosari that he is not present at present, and because of the strength and intensity of the winds, so we cannot reach him as quickly as you wish, because I do not have a ship to catch up with him, so I see it necessary for your honor to send a person from one of the servants in order to bring said person quickly" ⁽²⁸⁾.

2- On June 19, Al-Dowasir struck some of the pearl merchants from the pro-reform category in the village of 'Aali near (Khor Fasht) when they were supplying fresh water in preparation for diving ⁽²⁹⁾, and the case of the attack on the village of 'Aali was mentioned in a detailed report sent by the British Political Agent in Arabian Gulf to the Government of India "Two boats belonging to Al-Dowasir attacked a boat manned by the Bahrainis and it was severely beaten, and some minor disturbances occurred in the outer villages. This repetition is undoubtedly due to the negligence in dealing with the issue of 'Aali by the sheikhs, so Sheikh Hamad ordered the wounded to be removed from one side. Other evidence is available that there was a man who was secretly attending to the wounded yesterday. Sheikh Hamad ordered the appearance of Ahmed Al-Dosari in Muharraq this morning and he will detain him there pending the settlement of the case" ⁽³⁰⁾.

3- As a result of that attack, Sheikh Hamad bin Issa arrested Ahmed bin Abdullah Al-Dosari and placed him under arrest. He also referred the case to the courts ⁽³¹⁾, and the report of the British Political Agent regarding the court order stated, "The Sharia court was prolonging the consideration of cases for several months, while the demands were The Sheikhs of Bahrain remove Sheikh Ahmed Al-Dosari from the leadership of Al-Dowasir and fine him all the property that was looted and stolen from the village of 'Aali and pay blood money for the dead and wounded, in addition to a sufficient fine to be paid by the Sheikhs of Al-Dowasir. There is any problem with the Dowasir tribe complying with the order, as it seems that they are somewhat afraid, but the order of their compliance is the most important test for Sheikh Hamad bin Issa and his ability to manage matters, and if the Dowasir tribe delays paying the fine imposed on them, this will encourage the rest of the tribes to do the same as he did Al-Dowasir, I think it is necessary for us to support Sheikh Hamad by providing him with some gunboats" ⁽³²⁾. A few days later, Ahmed Al-Dosari and his tribe were sentenced to pay appropriate compensation to the families of the dead and the injured individuals as a result of the accident. The court did not release Ahmed Al-Dosari until after he undertook to pay the fine, which was estimated at (15,000) rupees. Indeed, the fine was paid by Sheikh Al-Dowasir, with the support of some of the tribe's men ⁽³³⁾, during that, Judge Qassim bin Muhaz'a ⁽³⁴⁾ (Judge of Bahrain)

(27) Muhammad Ghanem Al-Rumaihi, Op.Cit., P. 293.

(28) I.O.R/R/15/2/87, Dowasir tribe and its deportation from Bahrain, P.1.

(29) Ramlah Abdul Hamid, The Crossing Toward the Modern State in Bahrain 1919-1939, Beirut, 2015, P. 71.

(30) I.O.R/R/15/2/87, Dowasir tribe and its deportation from Bahrain, Memorandum: attack On Ali By Dowasir tribesmen, P.1.

(31) Muhammad bin Ibrahim bin Ali Al-Khan, Op.Cit., P. 204.

(32) I.O.R/R/15/2/87, Dowasir tribe and its deportation from Bahrain, Memorandum: Attack On Ali By Dowasir tribesmen, P.2.

(33) I.O.R/R/15/2/87, Dowasir tribe and its deportation from Bahrain, No. 631-S, P.1.

(34) Qasim bin Muhaz'a was born in the winter of 1847 in the Bahraini town of 'Askar, then moved to the city of Manama after his father moved there. He was able to memorize the Holy Qur'an. He witnessed the flourishing economic life of the pearl merchants. His father died when he was fourteen years old, so he continued his life and continued his studies. Then he left Bahrain towards Al-Ahsa in order to complete his



defended against the measures taken by Britain against Sheikh Ahmed bin Hassan Al-Dosari and demanded Major Daily to release him and that he had no right to arrest him and then impose a fine on him before proving his guilt and this is an order Reason does not accept it and it is not fair in anything. Major Daily apologized for returning the answer to the judge at the time, but in the end he released Sheikh Ahmed bin Abdullah Al-Dosari⁽³⁵⁾. It is worth noting that this is the first time in the history of Bahrain that a tribe of high status, such as the Dowasir, is brought to court and under the authority of common law⁽³⁶⁾.

4- Al-Dowasir did not comply with the measures taken against them, so, shortly after the events of June, they killed two of the pro-reform group, i.e. from the Shia'hs near Budaiy'a, and they are (Abdullah bin Ahmed and Hassan bin Ramadan) in retaliation for their attitude and testifying against Al-Dowasir in the case 'Aali village, and this new case was referred to the courts as well, and Ahmed Al-Dossary was sentenced to pay the fine as blood money for the dead⁽³⁷⁾.

It is worth noting that the last incident was detailed in memorandum No. 106-C dated August 22, 1923 sent by the Political Agent in Bahrain (Daily) to the Political Resident in Bushire (Trevor). The text of the memorandum reads as follows: "I have the honor to inform you of the circumstances A critical situation that caused a lot of unrest among Bahrainis. On the evening of the tenth of August, a Shia'h scholar named Sheikh (Abdullah bin Ahmed) and another Shia'h who was with him called (Hassan bin Ramadan) were killed with daggers between the villages of Budaiy'a and Duraz. Until now, the killers have not been tracked down. Circumstances indicate that the perpetrators of the crime are from the Badi', and it is possible that the matter is motivated by revenge on the Shia'hs because of what was imposed on Al-Dowasir regarding the incident of the attack on the village of 'Aali and with the direction of Sheikh Hamad and Sheikh Abdullah to adopt this point of view, with which I agree: First, the scholar was an old man and had a lot Out of respect among Bahrainis, secondly: the theft was not the motive, as there was a watch for one of the two men whose value is estimated at (900) rupees that was not stolen. Thirdly: the murder took place in a secluded area near Budaiy'a. Fourth: The murdered scholar was when the people of his village sought refuge After seeing Al-Dowasir coming forward to attack the village of 'Aali, the people asked him if they should present their testimony in that case, so the scholar asked them to go to Manama and present their testimony there, and it is likely that this is the reason for choosing him to be a victim of revenge " ⁽³⁸⁾.

The memorandum also indicated the attitude of Sheikhs Hamad and Abdullah on the incident, and in this regard, Daily mentioned, "Both Sheikhs Hamad and Abdullah are aware of the importance of putting an end to these crimes if they want to reduce unrest among the Shia'hs and try to track down the criminals quietly by offering some rewards, and if they fail to do so, I am afraid If such crimes become commonplace, and on the other hand, if we succeed in the task, then it will seem necessary to take some strict measures if the involvement of Al-Dowasir is proven. In the 'Aali case, Al-Dowasir was fined (15,000) rupees and about (13,000) of it was paid as compensation to the injured and to the heirs of the dead. But since they killed three persons, badly wounded four persons, and plundered most of the village, it may be said that they escaped the matter lightly. On the other hand, they have been accused of many similar crimes against the Baharnah (Shia'h) in the past, and Shaikh Issa was either afraid of recording them or was inclined to Sympathizing with them and covering up their crime, and as a result, the news came very shocking to them and they were

education. The scholar Abd al-Latif bin Ibrahim al-Mubarak in the section in which he studied for one year and learned jurisprudence, legislation, Arabic language and its literature, after that he moved to (Al-Mizer), where Qasim Al-Muhaz'a spent about two years and studied under the hands of the two sheikhs Muhammad bin Abdul Mohsen and Muhammad bin Katheer, after which he returned he moved to Bahrain, then was appointed to the attitude of Judge of Manama by Sheikh Issa bin Ali in 1875. For more details, see: Mubarak Al-Khater, Chief Judge Qassim Bin Muhaz'a 1847-1941, Manama, 1975.

(35) Muhammad bin Ibrahim bin Ali Al-Khan, Op.Cit., P. 204.

(36) Abbas Hussain Machesser, Op.Cit., P. 178.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Bahrain Archives in the original British documents 1820-1971, Volume V, P. 148.

very upset when Sheikh Hamad punished them, but they were still angry at the Baharnah who presented their testimony in the 'Aali case, unlike their attitude in previous events”⁽³⁹⁾.

Conclusion

The research on the attitude of the Dowasir tribe towards the reforms revealed many facts, the most prominent of which are the following:

- 1- The Al-Dowasir tribe was one of the first groups to reject the British policy measures in Bahrain, by standing in the face of the alleged British reforms, which were nothing but a facade of reform for a colonial content.
- 2- The attitude of the Dowasir tribe towards the reforms was progressive. In the beginning, it used legitimate methods to express this rejection, by submitting petitions and complaints, and even declaring publicly its rejection of what the representatives of the British government were doing in Bahrain, and when it saw that this method did not receive any response from On the other side, the tribe's members resorted to escalation by doing everything that would embarrass Britain's attitude, so it attacked villages that support reforms, especially Shia'hs, as well as its refusal to appoint a person of Shia'h faith to a security attitude.
- 3- The British were determined to implement their reforms in Bahrain, regardless of the obstacles they encountered in this way, so they removed Sheikh Issa from power just because he showed sympathy with the demands of the patriots of the people of Bahrain, then followed it up with another procedure, which is the removal of everyone who opposes its decision to remove Sheikh Issa on the verdict. Of course, the Dowasir tribe was among the staunchest opponents of such a procedure, so Britain decided to deport them and banish them from Bahrain.

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