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250 Tahun
Alor Setar
250 Tahun
1735 - 1985

Kerajaan Negeri Kedah Darulaman
1990

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Sultan Negeri Kedah Darulaman
Kebawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia
Tuanku Hajah Bahiyah binti Almarhum Tuanku Abdul Rahman
Sultanah Negeri Kedah Darulaman
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PERUTUSAN

Terlebih dahulu saya ingin mengucapkan tahniah kepada Jawatankuasa Pensejarahan/Buku Kenangan yang telah berjaya melahirkan sebuah buku berkenaan sejarah bandar Alor Setar sempena perayaan 250 tahun bandar Alor Setar.


Oleh itu adalah bertepatan sekali sempena perayaan ulangtahun 250 tahun bandar Alor Setar sebuah buku diterbitkan bukan sahaja untuk memperingati peristiwa bersejarah ini tetapi juga buku ini dapat memberi maklumat dan pengetahuan yang tidak ternilai harganya.

Saya dihafamkan pihak jawatankuasa ini telah cuba memasukkan gambar-gambar lama yang belum dilihati umum dan juga dokumen-dokumen yang belum pernah diketengahkan.

Ini tentu sahaja akan memberi faedah yang besar kepada pembaca dan juga memberi satu galakan dan minat kepada mereka untuk meninjau ke tempat sejarah yang tersebut di dalam buku ini.

Dato' Seri Hj. Osman bin Hj. Aroff,
SSDK, DHMS, JMN, JP.
Menteri Besar Negeri Kedah Darulaman.
PRAKATA

Usaha menerbitkan sebuah buku sejarah seperti ini bukanlah satu perkara yang mudah kerana ianya banyak memerlukan pertolongan dan kerjasama dari beberapa pihak tertentu.

Di sini saya mengambil kesempatan untuk mengucapkan berbanyak-banyak terima kasih kepada pihak yang terlibat yang telah memberi kerjasama dan khidmat bakti dari segi tenaga, buah fikiran dan sebagainya kepada usaha menjayakan penerbitan buku ini.

Buku ini bukanlah sebuah buku yang dianggap sebegitu lengkap menceritakan keseluruhan sejarah Alor Setar. Adalah sesuatu yang mustahil bagi buku ini untuk mencakupi sejarah perkembangan yang menjangkau 250 tahun.

Walau bagaimanapun pihak Jawatankuasa ini telah cuba menyatukan gambar-gambar bersejarah, dokumen-dokumen penting yang dapat dijadikan panduan bagi pengkajian yang lebih mendalam.

Akhir sekali saya berharap penerbitan buku ini adalah suatu usaha positif untuk mengekal kecemerlangan Sejarah Kedah Darulaman. Saya berharap buku ini dapat dimiliki dan dibaca oleh segenap lapisan masyarakat terutama mereka yang menyintai sejarah bangsanya.

Sekian.

Dato' Hj. Zakaria bin Said, DSDK, SMK, AMN, PJK.
Ahli Majlis Mesyuarat Kerajaan
Negeri Kedah Darulaman
merangkap
Pengerusi Jawatankuasa
Perayaan Ulang Tahun Alor Setar 250 Tahun.
PENDAHULUAN

Buku Alor Setar 250 Tahun ini adalah merupakan kumpulan artikel yang dipetik daripada majalah, buku, kertas kerja, buku cenderamata, tesis, akhbar yang secara teliti dipilih untuk dicetak semula. Artikel ini ditulis oleh pengarang-pengarang sejarah yang cukup terkenal seperti Logan, Skeat dan Gullick.


Selain daripada catatan-catatan perjalanan ini buku ini juga memuatkan artikel-artikel berkenaan pendidikan, ekonomi, zaman pemerintahan Jepun dan Thai, politik, undang-undang, matawang, setem dan laporan tahunan.


Menerbitkan sebuah buku sejarah ini bukanlah satu perkara yang mudah kerana ianya banyak memerlukan pertolongan dan kerjasama dari beberapa pihak tertentu. Di sini saya sebagai penyusun ingin mengucapkan berbanyak terima kasih kepada pengarang yang memberi kezimah untuk menerbit semula artikel mereka. Juga kepada pihak penerbit yang membentarkan petikan-petikan daripada buku terbitan mereka.


Hajah Mazizah bt. Hj. Md. Darus, BCK.
Pengerusi,
Jawatankuasa Pensejarahan/Buku Kenangan
Alor Setar
Kedah Darulaman
Malaysia
April 1990.
Pusat-pusat Pentadbiran Kedah Darulaman
Dari Bukit Meriam Ke Kota Setar.
Haji Wan Shamsuddin Mohd. Yusuf

"Kesan dan peninggalan kota-kota dan pusara lama, surat-surat rasmi dan artifek-artifek melukiskan proses kemajuan dan kemegahan serta kestabilan politik, sosial dan ekonomi sepanjang masa yang dilalui dalam sejarah kesultanan Kedah selama 855 tahun."

Sejak awal lagi sejarah telah membuktikan bahawa Kedah mempunyai wilayah dan jajahan takluk yang luas. Di samping Kayang (Perlis), kawasannya menjangkau jauh di utara sepanjang pesisir barat wilayah Setul hingga ke Kuala Bara. Di selatannya pula mencakupi Pulau Pinang dan Seberang Perai malah suatu ketika ianya meliputi kawasan Kerian hingga ke Kuala Kurau dalam negeri Perak.

Dari beberapa pusat pemerintahan yang saling bertukar ganti itulah pelbagai peristiwa penting telah berlaku. Ini termasuklah hubungan politik dan perdagangan dengan kuasa-kuasa luar dan tempatan, peristiwa-peristiwa perang, kebangkitan awal wira Melayu Kedah menentang pencerobohan luar pada awal abad ke-19 dan pelbagai peristiwa lagi.

1. KOTA BUKIT MERIAM, 1136–1236


Syai kh Abdullah Yamani dari Arab Selatan adalah orang yang bertanggungjawab mengislamkan Kedah dan beliau menamakan negeri ini sebagai Kedah Darulaman.

Zaman pemerintahan Sultan Muhammad Shah iaitu Sultan Kedah yang ke-3 (1201–1236), duit emas pertama telah diterbitkan. Tercatat nama baginda pada duit itu iaitu ‘Muhammad Shah’ dan juga perkataan ‘Al-Sultan Al-Adil’.

2. KOTA SUNGAI EMAS, 1236–1323


Zaman ini perniagaan mula berkembang. Sekitar kawasan Gunung Jerai dan pinggir Sungai Merbuk mula didiami orang.

Zaman Sultan Mahmud Shah (1280–1321) baginda telah mengasaskan Kota Siputih (Daerah Kubang Pasu) dan Kota di Hulu Sungai Merpah (dalam Pulau Panjang, wilayah Setul) sebagai pusat pertahanan di utara.

Pada awal abad ke-19, sebuah kota dan istana telah dibina di pekan Kota Kuala Muda tidak jauh dari Kampung Sungai Emas. Raja Muda Kedah waktu itu iaitu Tunku Ibrahim pernah bersemarya di situ. Apabila mangkat beliau dimakamkan di Kampung Langgar, Sungai Emas. Istana ini juga pernah diduduki oleh Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Halim Shah II (Marhum Melaka).
3. **KOTA SIPUTIH, 1323–1626**


4. **KOTA NAGA, 1626–1654**


Zamannya, hubungan perdagangan dengan Belanda di Melaka dan Betawi (Jawa), juga dengan India (Koromandel dan Benggala) sangat erat. Kedah banyak mengekspor timah dan gajah. Mahal daerah Naga waktu itu merupakan pusat menangkap dan menjinak gajah.

Sultan Rijaluddin merupakan pemeringat ketah yang pertama menerima 'Undang-Undang atau Hukum Kanun Kedah' pada tahun 1650. Terdapat dua orang sultan yang pernah bersemayam di sini.

5. **KOTA SENA, 1654–1664**

Letaknya dalam Mukim Sena, tidak jauh dari bandar Kangar, Perlis. Ketika itu Perlis masih sebahagian daripada Kedah.


Sengkita telah berlaku di antara kedua pihak kerana kegagalan Belanda mewujudkan dasar monopoli timah di Kedah. Akibatnya mulai tahun 1659 Belanda cuba mengepung kuala-kuala sungai di Kedah yang menggendalakan perdagangan untuk sementara waktu.

6. **KOTA INDERA KAYANGAN, 1664–1687**


Zaman ini angkatan Bugis cuba menyerang Kedah disebabkan soal perlantikan Raja Muda tetapi gagal. Selepas kemangkatan baginda (1687), pusat pemerintahan ini diabaikan tetapi kembali berfungsi apabila Tunku Dhiuuddin menjadi sultan bergelar Sultan Dhiuuddin Mukarram Shah II (1797–1804).

7. **KOTA BUKIT PINANG, 1687–1735**

Mula diasaskan dalam tahun 1664 dan terdapat 4 orang sultan yang pernah memerintah di sini. Zaman Sultan Abdullah Muadzam Shah (1698–1706), Sultan yang ke-17, adindanya Tunku Ibrahim dilantik sebagai Raja Muda.

8. KOTA SETAR/ALOR SETAR, 1735 HINGGA KINI


A. Sultan Muhammad Jiwa Zainal Adilin Muadzam Shah II, 1710–1778


Baginda menetapkan penggunaan matawang baru seperti sapa, jempal, emas, rial atau paha dan tahil. Juga ukuran tanah seperti hasta, tali, jembang, penampang, petak dan relung.

Zamannya Kedah diancam oleh Bugis dalam tahun 1723 dan 1770 menyebabkan hubungan rapat bermula di antara Kedah dengan Syarikat Ingeris Hindia Timur. Baginda mangkat dalam tahun 1778, merupakan pemerintah Kedah yang paling lama di atas takhta iaitu selama 68 tahun.

B. Sultan Abdullah Mukarram Shah, 1778–1797

Sultan yang ke-20. Adindanya pernah menjadi Raja Muda iaitu Tunku Dhaiauddin, bersemaimay di Kota Indera Kayangan.

Zamannya, Siam mula mengancam Kedah dan baginda memenangkan Kaptan Francis Light bagi pihak Syarikat Hindia Timur menduduki Pulau Pinang (1786). Baginda juga membina semula kota Kuala


Kedah dengan menggunakan tukang-tukang bata dari India yang diketuai oleh Syaikh Abdul Jalil (Dato’ Maharaja Kadhi) yang juga ditugaskan membuat pelan kota itu.

C. Sultan Dhaiauddin Mukarram Shah II, 1797–1804

Baginda pernah menjadi Raja Muda Kayang dan Setul yang kemudian memangku takhta kerana putera sulung kekandanya iaitu Tunku Ahmad Tajuddin (Tunku Pangeran) masih kecil. Baginda bersemaimay di Kota Indera Kayangan.

Pada tahun 1800, baginda memenangkan Syarikat Hindia Timur menduduki Seberang Perai.
Bangunan asal Balai Besar dibina pada zaman pemerintahan Sultan Muhammad Jiwa Adilin Muadzam Shah II (1710–1778)
(Muzium Negeri Kedah)

Rumah Pelamin
(Arkib Negara Malaysia)
Almarhum Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Halim Shah I (1804–1843)  
(Muzium Negeri Kedah)
D. Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Halim Shah I, 1804—1843


Serangan-serangan yang dipimpin oleh Tunku Kudin, Tunku Sulaiman dan oleh baginda sendiri dari Melaka telah digagalkan oleh Siam dan Inggeris.

Tunku Muhammad Saad, sepupu baginda telah berjaya membentuk angkatan perang Kedah yang kuat seramai 10 ribu orang, berhasil menduduki semula Kedah dalam tahun 1838. Bersama Tunku Muhammad Akib dari Setul, Dato’ Pekerma Ali dari Langkawi dan juga ulama terkenal, Syaikh Abdul Samad Palembang, angkatan Kedah mara ke Patani, Haadnyai dan Singgora, tetapi dapat diundurkan oleh Siam dan sekutunya Inggeris. Syaikh Abdul Samad terkorban dalam pertempuran itu.


Di samping pahlawan dan pemerintah, baginda Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin bijak mengarang syair. Karya yang dihasilkan oleh baginda sewaktu di Melaka ialah ‘Syair Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin’ dan Syair Sultan Maulana’ terkarkang pada zamannya juga yang mengisahkan kegagahan angkatan perang Kedah di Selatan Siam. Baginda mangkat dalam tahun 1843 bergelar “Marhum Melaka.”

E. Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Mukarram Shah, 1854—1879


Tunku Yaakob juga bertanggungjawab melantik putera saudaranya Tunku Abdul Hamid ke takhta, apabila mangkatnya Sultan Zainal Rashid II, Sultan Kedah yang ke-23.

G. Sultan Badlishah, 1943–1958


Baginda mangkat pada hari Ahad 13hb. Julai 1958 setelah memerintah selama 15 tahun, digantikan oleh putera sulung baginda Kebawah D.Y.M.M. Tuanku SULTAN HAJI ABDUL HALIM MU’ADZAM SHAH.
SALASILAH DULI-DULI YANG MAHA MULIA SULTAN NEGERI KEDAH DARULAMAN, 1136 HINGGA SEKARANG

1. Sultan Al-Mudzaffar Shah I
   1136–1179

2. Sultan Mu’adzam Shah
   1179–1201

3. Sultan Muhammad Shah
   1201–1236

4. Sultan Muzzil Shah
   1236–1280

5. Sultan Mahmud Shah I
   1280–1321

6. Sultan Ibrahim Shah
   1321–1373

7. Sultan Sulaaiman Shah I
   1373–1422

8. Sultan Ataullah Muhammad Shah I
   1422–1472

   1472–1506

10. Sultan Mahmud Shah II
    1506–1546

11. Sultan Mudzaffar Shah II
    1546–1602

12. Sultan Sulaaiman Shah II
    1602–1626

13. Sultan Rijaluddin Muhammad Shah
    1626–1651

14. Sultan Muhyiddin Mansor Shah
    1651–1661

15. Sultan Dhiauddin Mukarram Shah I
    1661–1687

16. Sultan Ataullah Muhammad Shah II
    1687–1698

17. Sultan Abdullah Al-Mu’adzam Shah I
    1698–1706

18. Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Halim Shah I
    1706–1709

19. Sultan Muhammad Jiwa Zainal Adilin Mu’adzam Shah II
    1710–1778

20. Sultan Abdul Mukarram Shah II
    1778–1797

   Sultan Dhiauddin Mukarram Shah II
   1797–1804 (Pemangku Sultan)

21. Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Halim Shah II
    1804–1843

22. Sultan Zainal Rashid Mu’adzam Shah
    1843–1854

23. Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Mukarram Shah III
    1854–1879

24. Sultan Zainal Rashid Mu’adzam Shah II
    1879–1881

25. Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah
    1882–1943

26. Sultan Badlishah
    1943–1958

27. Sultan Haji Abdul Halim Mu’adzam Shah
    1958

BIBLIOGRAFI


Negeri Terbuka Dagangan Murah
Ismail bin Hajl Saleh

"Alor Setar bukan sahaja menjadi pusat pentadbiran tetapi juga pusat pergerakan ekonomi yang cergas. Selain daripada hasil-hasil Kedah seperti kayu-kayan, rotan, gading, damar, hasil-hasil timah daripada Patani, Klian Intan dan Pengkalan Ulu juga disalurkan melalui Alor Setar."

Matawang emas yang dikeluarkan pada zaman
Sultan Muhammad Jiwa Adilin Muadzam Shah II (1710–1778).
Sultan Muhammad Jiwa memperkenalkan sistem memungut hasil dan cekai yang lebih kemas dan teratur. Sebagai langkah awal Baginda menubuhkan sebuah Jawatankuasa Peringkat Negeri untuk memperkenalkan matawang baru yang lebih lengkap iaitu:-

12 tara — 1 pitis
12½ pitis — 1 dirham atau 1 kupang
4 dirham — 1 emas atau 1 jempal
2 emas — 1 rial
2 rial — 1 paha
4 paha — 1 tahil
3 tahil — 1 bahara

Sultan Muhammad Jiwa juga menyelaraskan sistem ukuran tanah supaya tidak lagi menjadi punca pertelingkahan di kalangan rakyat. Baginda memperkenalkan ukuran baru iaitu:-

5½ hasta — 1 jamba
11 jamba — 1 tali
2 tali — 1 penampung
1 penampung persegi — 1 relung
1 jamba persegi — 1 tapak @
1 dapur
484 jamba persegi — 1 relung
22 jamba x 22 jamba — 1 relung

Baginda adalah yang mula mengeluarkan geran-geran tanah yang rasmi menggunakan ukuran-ukuran di atas. Bentuk geran-geran ini merupakan sijal-sijil yang ditulis tangan dengan cop dan mohor Sultan di atas sebelah kanan seperti geran-geran yang dikeluarkan oleh Sultan Akbar di India kepada rakyatnya.


Sultan Muhammad Jiwa ialah Sultan yang mula-mula sekali menetapkan tugas menteri-menteri dan pembesar-pembesar supaya tidak bertindih-tindih di antara mereka. Baginda telah menimbulkan persengketaan yang tidak kecil di antara pembesar-pembesar Baginda yang biasa dengan kebebasan yang tidak disekat-sкат.

Sultan telah mengeluarkan perintah yang tegas melarang pembesar-pembesar berkecimpung dalam perniagaan. Pembesar-pembesar menumpukan perhatian, tenaga dan masa hanya untuk kemajuan dan pembangunan Negeri, bukan mengumpul kekayaan secara berniaga atau membuka perusahaan melombong dan sebagainya.

Mufti Kerajaan mengeluarkan fatwa:

“Adalah adat menteri-menteri penggawa itu tiada boleh sekali-kali berjalan-jalan mencari makan kerana perbuatan yang demikian itu akan menimbulkan nama jahat kepada Raja........”

Seterusnya fatwa itu berkata:

“Hendaklah menteri-menteri itu jangan meninggalkan pekerjaan yang diperhukum Allah dan Rajanya ....
supaya orang-orang di bawahnya
menurutnya melakukan pekerjaan itu. Hendaklah menteri-menteri itu bersyukur kepada Allah dan bersyukur atas nikmat Rajanya .............."


Pasir putih di Pulau Redang,
Diaang oleh Pulau Langkawi;
Lapik putih bantal bermiang,
Racun bermain di dalam hati.

Sultan Muhammad Jiwa Zainal Adilin Muadzam Syah ditarbalkan menjadi Sultan Kedah ke-19 dalam bulan Oktober 1710 menjelang bulan puasa 1122. Takhtanya bukanlah petakna yang empuk gebu tetapi amat panas dan tegang seperti yang dijalankan oleh sejarah sepanjang riwayat pemerintahan Baginda.


Perkataan "ringgit" bererti wang emas. Satu bahara wang emas pada masa ini bernilai 24 rial. Lima belas bahara ialah 360 rial. Hasil mahsul negeri Kedah pada zaman ini berkisar kepada 80,000 rial setahun.

Persoalannya adakah dengan 360 rial itu – harga dua ekor gajah dara pada masa itu – orang-orang Bugis sanggup menggadaikan nyawa berperang di Kedah selama lebih dari dua tahun semata-mata kerana memperkuatkan kedudukan Sultan Muhammad Jiwa. Seperti kata bidalan Melayu "Kalau tidak ada berada manakan tempua bersarang rendah".


Selepas peperangan Bugis ini, Sultan terpaksa bertindak sesuatu untuk meningkatkan hasil negeri dan apabila Sheikh Abdul Jalil Mufti pulang dari Palembang perbincangan meluaskan kawasan persawahan padi mula diperkakatan dengan serius.


Sebatang Pokok Setar yang tumbuh di tebing sebatang alor kecil yang berlari dari rusuk masjid ke rusuk kota sedang segar bugar. Tunggul pokok itu di belakang bangunan Balai Seni hilang dari pandangan hanya 80 tahun dahulu. Alurnya hilang dalam tahun 1983.


Apabila Sultan mengorek anak sungai iaitu Sungai Raja menyambung Sungai Tajar dengan Sungai Anak Bukit dan lain-lain anak sungai maka persekitaran Alor Setar tidaklah digenangi air dan tanahnya menjadi sesuai untuk tanaman padi. Sultan Muhammad Jiwa telah melihat sawah di Jawa dan sawah di India dan Baginda sedar lembah di Kedah amat berpotensi untuk
memakmurkan negeri, Alor Setar menjadi pusat pengeluaran beras yang paling besar di Semenanjung lama sebelum 1500 lagi. Kawasan sawah yang “rap” atau sesuai untuk ditanam padi ialah di antara Sungai Kedah dan Sungai Perlis.


BIBLIOGRAFI:


Perang Saudara Di Kedah

Raja Ali Al-Haji Riau

Dipetik dari Tuhaft al-Nafs, Singapura, 1965

Maka tatkala itu banyaklah mati orang-orang Kedah dan Temenggung dan Laksamananya pun larilah membawa lukanya ke Alor Setar namanya.......... maka Suliratang pun berkata,

'Pikul lela-lela itu! Bedil dengan lela-lela itu biar jauh sedikit makannya.........'

......... Sekali bedil dua tiga yang rebah. Maka kata Suliratang,

"Ini lela bagus benar patutlah dinamakan Siharung Darah.'

Syahadan kata sahibul hikayat apabila Raja Kedah yang muda itu mendengar saudaranya itu dilantik oleh Yang Dipertuan Muda Riau serta upu Raja-raja Bugis, maka ia pun sangatlah marahnya. Maka lalu ia mengumpulkan hulubalang menterinya serta beberapa rakyat tentera-nya. Maka sudah kumpul, baharulah ia pergi melanggar kota Raja Kedah yang tua itu. Maka berperang besarlah dengan Yang Dipertuan Muda Riau serta segala saudaranya. Maka sangatlah ramainya sebelah menyebelah, dengan gegak gempitanya daripada bunyi meriam dan senapang dan bunyi bahana sorak tempiknya, maka bermati-matianlah antara kedua pihak itu. Syahadan ada kira-kira sebulan lamanya ia berperang itu, maka pecahlah perang pihak Raja Kedah yang muda itu kerana banyak panglimanya mati. Maka lalu undur ia membawa dirinya kepada tempat yang jauh. Syahadan orang-orang Bugis serta orang-orang Riau masuklah ke peradalaman Raja Kedah yang muda itu, merampaslah ia.

Syahadan apabila sudah selesai dari-pada perangnya itu, maka Yang Dipertuan Muda serta upu-upu itupun berjumpalah dengan Yang Dipertuan Kedah, hendak minta balik kerana pekerjaan sudah selamat. Maka dibayarlah oleh Yang

Perang 2


Syahadan kata sahibul hikayat sepeninggalan Yang Dipertuan Muda berangkat ke Kedah itu maka Sultan Sulaiman pun bersalah-salahah faham dengan anak-anak Bugis di dalam Riau itu, maka baginda itupun belayarlah ke Kampar. Maka berhentihlah ia di Kampar.

Seberrmula adapun Yang Dipertuan Muda serta saudaranya berbicaralah ia hendak membaikkan Raja Kedah yang dua beradik itu. Maka mengajaklah ia akan Raja Kecil, masih hendak juga mencari jalan pergaduhan. Maka di dalam hal itu marahlah Yang Dipertuan Muda, maka lalulah berperang besar Raja Kecil dengan Yang Dipertuan serta saudaranya bersama-sama membuat kubu sebelah menyebelah.


Syahadan apabila Yang Dipertuan Muda serta Upu Daing Chelak melihat paduka kekandanya sudah hilang itu, maka Yang Dipertuan Muda serta upu-upu pun


Maka apabila sampailah baginda bertiga saudara itu ke Riau, maka tetaplah ia di dalam Riau bicara meramaikan negeri Riau dengan perdagangan serta mengukuhkan negeri dengan berbuat kubu-kubu serta menyediakan beberapa kelengkapan penjajab perang, serta disediakan dengan orang-orangnya dan ubat pelurunya, demikianlah halnya. Syahadat adalah jatuh perang Kedah yang kemudian ini pada Hijrah Sunnah 1136 adanya.

Perang 3


Syahadat adapun Kelana Raja Haji serta paduka kekanda Raja Sa'id maka belayarlah ke Kedah. Maka apabila sampai ke Pangkor maka Raja Haji pun mendapat anak seorang laki-laki dinamakannya Raja Jaafar, timang-timangannya Raja Laut. Syahadat kelengkapan Raja Haji berangkat
ke Kedah itu dengan kapal dan keci dan enam puluh buah penajaib.


Setelah habis dibacanya maka titahnya kepada Suliwatang, “Ini surat perjanjian orang tua-tua dahulu dan yang berjanji dan yang menerima janji tiada lagi. Dan yang saya menjadi Raja ini bukanlah Bugis mengangkat saya, Bendahara, Temenggung saya sendiri mengangkat saya menjadi Raja. Saya kirim salam saja kepada Raja Haji, janganlah dipanjangkan lagi perkara ini.

Maka Suliwatang pun memaklumkan kepada Raja Haji. Maka apabila Raja Haji mendengar perkataan Raja Kedah itu, merahlah mukanya seraya bersabda kepada Suliwatang, “Berperanglah kita, hari esok melanggar kubu di Batangau di hulu.”

Maka sembah Suliwatang, “Tiadakah menanti paduka kekanda itu dahulu?”

Maka jawab Raja Haji, “Apa yang dinanti abang itu lagi? Kita menyuruh sajalah memberitahu ke Perak kepada abang mengatakan yang kita sudah berperang.”

Maka sembah Suliwatang, “Baiklah.”

Maka Suliwatang pun berkerahlah akan segala Indera Gurunnya dan juak-juaknya dan segala Bugis-Bugis yang banyak disuruhnya bersiap dan memakai pakaian perang serta menyiapkan meriam dan lelarentakannya dan terakal pemburasnya dan lembing kerisnya. Kemudian maka mengaruklah ia segala Bugis-Bugis itu serta dengan kilung musungnya. Syahadan setelah orang kubu Batangau melihat hal yang demikian itu, maka orang Kedah itu pun bersiaplah dan mengisi segala meriannya.


itu maka segala pertikaman Bugis pun naiklah bersama-sama nakhoda itu serta membedilkan pemburasnya.


Syahadan adapun Yang Dipertuan Kedah apabila Raja Haji itu sudah masuk ke dalam negeri Kedah maka undurlah ia ke hulu Kedah, tetapi banyak juga anak raja-rajanya tinggal di situ, maka tiada diberi oleh Raja Haji cabulkan. Syahadan pada masa itu kapal Keling ada sebelas buah di dalam pelabuhan Kedah maka dapatlah semuanya. Maka negeri Kedah pun alahlah.

Syahadan adapun orang yang memberitahu ke Perak kepada Sultan Salihul

The Coinage Of Kedah
Mohammed Kassim bin Haji Ali
William Shaw
Dipetik dari Kedah Dari Segi Sejarah Vol. 4 - April 1970

'Coins have been discovered in Kedah with the above obverse coupled with reverse inscription in Arabic reading 'Malik-al-Adil'"

Sejenis mata wang agak 'unik' diterbitkan pada zaman Sultan Mohammad Jiwa. Ianya berbentuk seekor ayam jantan sebagai duit besar sementara beberapa duit kecil sebagai 'duitpecahan' dilekatkan di bawahnya yang boleh ditanggalkan satu persatu.
(Muzium Negeri Kedah)
Prior to the establishment of the Malacca Sultanate, the medium of exchange in the Peninsular Malay States was gold, silver and tin, by weight; and although foreign coins, Arab, Indian and Chinese may well have been in limited circulation at the main trading ports, there was no coinage indigenous to the area.

By the early 1400's market transactions were carried out by the use of tin currency bars of fixed and certified weight. This was a transitional stage in the advance to the conventional coinage that later in that century appeared in Kedah's southern and eastern neighbours, Malacca and Patani.

The Patani monetary system was based upon coined gold of two denominations: the dinar, usually just called 'mas'; and the quarter dinar or kupang. These coins probably originated at a time when the religion of the people was Saivite Hinduism, for they featured on one side the image of a humped-back Indian bull, thought to have been intended to represent Nadi, the mount of the Hindu god Siva. Following the conversion of the people to Islam, this animal underwent a gradual metamorphosis until it more nearly resembled a Malayan kijang.

Coins have been discovered in Kedah with the above obverse coupled with reverse inscription in Arabic reading 'Malik al-Adil'. As they differ in style from all other known varieties, in that the bull/kijang faces to the right instead of to the left; it was at first conjectured that they were minted within the State. However similar coins have since been dug up in Kelantan, and so it may well be that all of these were Patani trade coins which circulated over a wide area. Indeed Tavernier, an early European trader in the East, stated categorically (Les Six Voyages de Jean Tavernier, Paris 1679 quoted by Millies) that the King (of Kedah) struck no other coin than tin.

Despite Tavernier's statement for he did not himself visit Kedah and his observations are based on hearsay, there is a silver coinage ascribed albeit somewhat tentatively to this period. Gardner, writing in the Journal of the Malay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society described and illustrated a coin found in Kedah, the date and title of which accord with Winstedt's list of Kedah rulers. This does not of course, prove that it was actually minted there. Furthermore, the coin is octagonal while all other known specimens of the State's coinage are circular.
SILVER
Sultan Dziyu’ddin al-Mukarram Shah
1661–1687

1. An octagonal silver-copper alloy coin; weight 0.77 grammes; denomination unknown.
   Obverse: In two lines, in Arabic script: ‘Dziyu/d-din.’
   Reverse: In three lines: ‘Sultan/1076 (i.e. 1665 A.D.) sanat’
   See plate (1).

Plate 1

Sultan Mohammed Jiwa Zainal Abidin II,
1710–1760

In the museum’s collections there is a circular silver coin that can with certainty be ascribed to Kedah, for the name is clearly stated on the reverse. Numerous die varieties of this type exist which seem to indicate that, although dated for the opening of Sultan Mohammed Jiwa’s reign, it was re-issued over a long period.

2. A circular coin with a diameter of 21mm.
   Obverse: In Arabic: ‘Sultan Mohammed Jiwa Khalifatul-Rahman’.

Plate 2

From the beginning of the 17th century until the early 1900’s, the standard unit of value within the State was the Spanish dollar of 8 reales. What fraction of this the locally minted silver coins represented is not yet know. However, from 1788, the East India Company’s silver coins struck for Penang; half, quarter, and one tenth dollars; were accepted into the monetary system of Kedah at their face values.

MINOR COINAGE—TIN

The earliest information from European sources about the minor coinage of Kedah is contained in the books of Beaulieu (Relation de Divers Voyages Curieux, Paris 1666, quoted by Millies7) and Tavernier. The former records that the King of Kedah cast tin cash called Tras, while the latter (quoted by Temple6, p. 19) adds that each of these cash had a market value of 50 cowrie shells.

Sultan Rajalu’ddin Shah 1625–1651

Both Millies and Temple describe the following coin, the inscription of which they have attempted to decipher from drawings in Tavernier’s book. There is some doubt about their interpretation of the date.

3. Obverse: In Arabic: ‘La Ilaha Illah Muhammad’ Rasulu’llah: Zarb Fi Kedah Sanat 1041 (i.e. 1631/2) (There is no God, but God, Mohammad is his prophet). Reverse: In the centre is an 8-pointed star, or perhaps a wheel, encircled by a garland of flowers and fruit.
Sultan Ahmad Taju’d-din Halim Shah
1797–1843

Millies states (p. 137) of the next coin that the second and fourth figures of the date are not very distinct, but that his reading of the year as 1224 is supported by the inscription ‘tahun aliff’. This is apparently a reference to a former usage in parts of Malaya and Indonesia of counting the years on a small cycle, borrowed from the Arabs, in which certain letters were employed as numbers. These were: alif.....ha.....jim.....za.....dal.....ba.....wau.....dal, or in numbers 1, 5, 3, 7, 4, 2, 6, 4. This is confirmed by Newbold7 (p. 356) who gives the year 1251 as Tahun Za. By this reckoning, year 1224 would, therefore, be tahun Alif.


Plate 3

Sultan Zainal Rashid al-Muazzam Shah
(1843–1854)

5. A circular coin with a large central hole. Obverse: Belanja Balad al Perlis Kedah; sanat 1262 (i.e. 1846 A.D.) Reverse: A lotus flower of five petals. See plate (4)

Plate 4

Mr. J.R. Logan (writing in the journal of the Indian Archipelago, Singapore 1851 p. 58) says that in 1850 the tin coins of Kedah called tra were valued on the following scale:-
160 tra
= 1 tali (i.e. 1 string of cash not a coin)
8 tali or 1280 tra
= 1 Spanish dollar

Mr. W.W. Skeat (Quoted by Temple6 pp. 20 and 53) gives for 1899 a comparable scale for both Kedah and Setul. This is:
4 tra = 1 doit
10 doits or 40 tra = 1 kenderi
32 kenderi or 1280 tra = 1 spanish dollar.
MINOR COINAGE—COPPER

Only one specimen of the following copper coin has been recorded. This is figured by both Millies and Temple from the Royal Numismatic Collection at the Hague, Holland. It is circular, bears no date, and has no central hole for stringing. The reading of the first word of the obverse is doubtful.

6. Obverse: In Jawi: 'Belanja Kedah'.
   Reverse: In Arabic: 'Dar ul-Aman'.
   See plate (5)

Plate 5

CONCLUSION

This is the sum total of our knowledge to date. Museum Negara will therefore welcome any information that members can give regarding the currency of Kedah; and particularly solicits donations of coins and coin moulds for the National Collection.

We gratefully acknowledge permission by the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society to reproduce the illustration of coin No. (1), which originally appeared in volume XI, part 2, of their journal, in an article by Mr. G.B. Gardner entitled 'A Coin from Kedah'.

REFERENCES


Two Malay Letters Written by
Sultan Muhammad Jiwa Muazzam Shah
of Kedah to Captain Francis Light

Russell Jones

Dipetik dari Persidangan Antarabangsa Pengajian Melayu Mengenai Bahasa,
Kesusasteraan dan Kebudayaan Melayu 8 - 10 September 1979

'A few matters of detail bear observation. The heading
Kaul al Hakk is positioned to the right of centre of the letter
indicating the superiority of the writer over the recipient'
In 1976 the Cambridge University Library acquired two letters written in Malay script; they are registered under Or. 2193, and are not mentioned in any catalogue. The shorter letter (Or. 2193 [2], called "C" here,) does not appear to be of any great significance, and is discussed briefly in the Appendix below.

LETTER "A"

The longer letter ("A") is of greater interest. It is registered as Or. 2193 [1], and consists of a single sheet of paper, measuring 20.0cm x 19.8cm; the paper is thin, probably of local manufacture, and bears no watermark. The ink is black, and the writing is in a smallish, neat Jawi script. There are 13 lines of writing. The letter bears a red ochre seal, inscribed:

Raja Muhammad Jiwa
Ibn
'Atā'ullāh
TRANSCRIPTION OF “A”

1. Surat daripada Paduka Seri Sultan Muhammad Jiwa Zain al-'Adilīn Mu'aazzam Syah yang di atas tahta kerajaan
2. di Negeri Kedah, Dar al-Aman, mari sampai pada anak kita Lait Kapitan Dewa Raja yang jadi Syaudagar dengan titah
3. la-ong thu比亚迪 Raja mahabesar tetap berniaga di dalam Salang. Maka akan surat daripada anak kita
4. diberi (?) mari sebuah kapal muatan dalamnya dagangan embalau dan kesumba, dan timah, pinta tolong jual
5. serta pinta tolong beli beras. Maka akan embalau dengan kesumba tiada syaudagar boleh membeli seperti
6. harga yang tersebut di dalam daftar itu, dan timah itu pun tiada syaudagar membeli, demikian lagi beras di dalam
7. Negeri Kedah, hingga beli makan sahaja seratus duaratus gantang boleh cahari; jika sekitanya
8. empat lima koyan hendak beli, tiada tempatnya. Demikianlah hal Negeri Kedah, karena baharu saat (?) lepas
9. kesakitan lapar itu. Maka akan Raja Udana Dewa belum lagi sampai mari ke Negeri Kedah, dan perahu
10. dari Aceh sebuah dua mari sampai bawa pinang lada, tiada ia bawa’ beras dari karena itulah tiada tempat
11. hendak beli beras. Sebemula segala tertera kata di luar surat telah kita maklum sematanya, demikian lagi
12. segala pesan daripada kita nyatalah pada penyuruh anak kita itu. Perbuat surat pada sanat 1187
13. tahun, tahun bā, pada dua belas hari bulan Sya’ban, hari Jumat. Tamat.

SEAL
Raja Muhammad Jiwa
ibn
‘Atā’ullāh
TRANSLATION OF "A"

1. A letter from His Highness Sultan Muhammad Jiwa Zain al-Adilin Muazzam Shah who occupies the throne
2. of Kedah, the Abode of Peace, to our son Light Kapitan Dewa Raja, who is a merchant, by command
3. of His Majesty the King [of Thailand] trading permanently in Salang. Now the letter from our son
4. comes with (?) a cargo vessel loaded with stick-lac, and safflower and tin, asking aid to sell [it]
5. and asking aid to purchase rice. As for stick-lac and safflower, merchants [here] are not able to purchase them at
6. the prices mentioned in the list, and neither may tin be purchased, and similarly rice: in
7. Kedah they may buy it for provision — say one or two hundred gantang they may have — but they would not
8. find four or five koyan on sale anywhere. That is the situation in Kedah, because it has only just
9. emerged from a famine. Now Raja Udana Dewa has not yet come to Kedah; one or two vessels
10. have come from Acheh bringing areca nuts and pepper, but they brought no rice, as a result of which there is no
11. place [here] where rice can be purchased. Now regarding all that has been said (?) outside the letter we have understood all of it, and
12. Our [unwritten] message has been made clear to your messenger. This letter was written in the year 1187
13. a ba year, on the twelfth day of Shaaban, A Friday. Finis.

[Note: The date corresponds to Friday 29 October 1773 AD]

SEAL
Raja Muhammad Jiwa
ibn
'Ata'ullah
Notes

Line 1 – Dar al-Aman is the recognised epithet for the state of Kedah.

Line 3 – la-ong .... These words in Thai form part of the longer title used to refer to the King of Thailand: tai fā la-ong thulī phrabat (literally meaning “beneath – sole – dust – royal foot”).

Line 4 – embalau This Malay term refers to two products recorded by I.H. Burkill (A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula, 2 vols., London 1935, i 370–2, ii 1290–4). The first is a small shrub, Brucea amarissima, the fruit of which has been used as a medicine in the treatment of dysentery, but it is not likely that this is the substance we are discussing. The second is an insect species, Laccifer lacca, little cultivated in Malaya but cultivated in Thailand as far south as Bangkok. “The Malays” Burkill observes “have long known stick-lac derived from L. lacca, as an import used in two ways, as furnishing a dye, and as furnishing resin.” Its importance in 1773 was probably as a dye.

Line 4 – kesumba Burkill (op. cit., i 186, 330, 465 & c) mentions several shrub-like plants known by this name; Antidesma ghaesembilla: “As ‘sekinchak’, it is found more abundantly in Kedah gardens than elsewhere. The fruits are edible.......” More likely in our case is Carthamus tinctorius, Safflower, a woody herb not produced in Malaya, of which the chief product used to be a red dye made from the flower. Marsden in his History of Sumatra (London 1788, p 79) mentions the Cassoomboo, which yielded “a valuable dye”. An informative note on this product (an export from India) is to be found in Hobson-Jobson under Safflower (Yule & Burnell, 1886, p 588; it is mentioned by Crawfurd (1856) under dyeing, kasumba and safflower.

Even if our transcription is wholly correct, which is by no means certain, there are some puzzling features in this letter from the ruler to “Lait Kapitan Dewa Raja” which will not become clear until we have looked at the historical background of this period.

Sultan Muhammad Jiwa Zainal Adilin Muazzam Syah is quite well known in the history of Kedah. Generally his name Zainal Adilin, which is unusual is “corrected” to the more usual Zainal Abidin. Zainal Adilin (“Adornment of the Just Ones”) is in fact antipode for a ruler, and it does occur in certain of the sources; one such is a Malay manuscript from Kedah, copied in 1898, that of the Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa (ed. Dzulkiifli bin Mohd. Salleh, Kuala Lumpur 1968, ix, 163); moreover the British civil servant Anderson (1824, p152), who was Malay translator and could have taken his information from a Malay manuscript, gives amongst the names of this ruler “Zeina Adelin”. The occurrence of the name here in an official letter bearing the ruler’s seal is virtually conclusive evidence that it is the correct form.

The dates given for his reign vary; one of the latest writers on the subject, R. Bonney (p 211), gives 1723–1778 AD, which is a remarkably long span of time. If
this is accepted, he is the ruler who in 1723 came to the Kedah throne with the aid of Bugis mercenaries, the failure to pay their fee being the reason given for the incursion into Kedah of a later generation of Bugis warriors in 1771, though that would not appear to be the whole story (see Bonney, 31ff). At all events the troubled times with which this event is connected, obliging Sultan Muhammad Jiwa to withdraw to Kangar (present-day Perlis), and making him very receptive to any possibilities of aid from any British who happened to be in the area, had a direct bearing on the opportunity opened up to Francis Light, whose career we will now consider.

Francis Light was born, or about, 1740 in Suffolk, England (for biographical data see Clodd, 4–7). In 1759 he entered the Royal Navy as a midshipman, and served until the war with France ended in 1763. In 1765 he sailed in an East India Company vessel to India, where he was given command of a Country ship belonging to a firm of merchants in Madras. He was sent to Acheh, North Sumatra, as the firm’s agent and subsequently – probably in 1771 – he arrived in Kedah.

There he won the favour of Sultan Muhammad Jiwa. In August 1771 he was able to report to his principals in Madras that the Sultan was willing to make a concession of the Kedah Estuary (carrying with it the control of the trade) to the British in return for military aid against the rebellious Kedah dignitaries and their Bugis allies in Selangor. The British began to consider seriously the possibilities opening up for them in Kedah. In 1772 the young Edward Monckton (see Clodd, 14ff) was sent as emissary of the Madras Council of the East India Company to Kedah to negotiate with the ruler. In the end the alliance contemplated between Kedah and Company failed to materialise owing to the unwillingness of the Company to support offensive action against the state of Selangor. It may have been this setback which induced Light to move in that year, 1772, to Ujong Salang, where he was to remain as a trader for several years.

In this island under Thai suzerainty Light again showed his capacity for getting along with the local government. He won favour with the Thai officials (see Kachorn Sukhabanij, passim,) and even with the King of Thailand (Clodd, 29), so that he was honoured with a Thai title, P’ya Raja Capitan (Kachorn Sukhabanij, I). No doubt this would be due in part to the position he was in to acquire arms and supplies for the Thais, but must also have owed something to his personal merits; it is on record that he knew Thai (Clodd, 35; Simmonds, 213), indeed the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies possesses a Thai primer bearing the name of Light, with the date 1778 (SOAS MS no. 12157B).

Against this background the contents of this Malay letter become comprehensible. In writing to Francis Light, Sultan Muhammad Jiwa addresses him by the Malay title of Dewa Raja, a title which was similarly used to refer to Light by the next Sultan of Kedah in a letter to the Governor General of Bengal in 1785 (see Anderson, 56); I had assumed that this title had been
conferred on Light by the Sultan of Kedah until Dr Bonney drew my attention to the fact (see his Kedah p 35 n. 42, Sukhabanij p 2) that it would simply be a Malay translation of the Thai title he bore, P'ya Raja. Light is addressed affectionately as "our son" by a ruler who is 40 years his senior. (Alternatively, and more probably, as Dr. Kathirithamby-Wells points out, the term may reflect the formal relationship of a local ruler with a foreign representative, their relative ages being only incidental). As we have now seen, it is a fact that when the letter was written Light was residing permanently in "Salang" (Ujung Salang), that he was a merchant there, and that he was there presumably by the grace of His Majesty the King of Thailand.

This Ujung Salang, an island off the west coast of Thailand nearly 200 miles north of the present Malaysian frontier, has been known by many names: in Thai it is called Thalang, or Chalang; in English it was commonly known as Junk Ceylon, an ugly corruption of the Malay name which is no longer used, having given way to the name Phuket (which is actually the name of the chief port on the island). The name Salang, as it appears in the letter, turns out to be the precise name by which Light knew the island, as is shown by a description which he himself wrote in about 1778:

SALANG an island belonging to Siam, produces 3 to 4,000 peculs of Tin Annually — Inhabitants very few Governor Arbitrary — Safe Harbour small supply of provision no Foreign Trade. Imports Opium and piece Goods and Dollars.

(— JMBRAS xvi, i, 1938, 125)

This is also the name by which Light habitually refers to the island in a much longer description of it which has been republished in Anderson, Appendix, pp xlvi ff. In this account Light remarks of Phuket "Pookit, formerly the principal Town of the Island, and where Tin was melted, is now neglected" (p liv).

Armed with this background information we may be in a position to attempt a translation of the Malay letter.
The picture is now fairly clear. We can understand why this letter written in Malay from a Malay ruler ended up in a British collection: the recipient “Dewi Raja” is in fact a British captain. We can surmise that Light sent a cargo from Ujung Salang to Kedah, consisting of embalau, kesumba and timah (tin), being either products of Ujung Salang or imports from further north. With the cargo he sent a letter (line 3) to the Kedah ruler, knowing well that “The King is the only merchant and without his license no one can buy” as he had observed in a letter to his principals in 1771 (Clodd, 8). In the event the ruler had to report that he could find no purchasers for the embalau and kesumba at the prices quoted, nor for the tin; as for the rice that Light wanted, owing to the recent shortages (no doubt due to the disturbed state of the country) only small amounts could be purchased in Kedah, not the large quantities which Light seems to have requested: a koyan was equal to about 800 gantang. Light may have needed the large quantities for resale in Ujung Salang, which does not grow rice.

This letter would have been sent by the ruler to Light’s agent in the vessel, to be delivered to Light in Ujung Salang. From the penultimate sentence we can gather that further information was transmitted verbally via Light’s messenger. This verbal transmission of supplementary (and more confidential?) information seems to have been a regular practice; there is another instance of it in our letter “B”, the practice is also referred to by Barbara Watson Andaya in connection with the Saudagar Raja (see JMBRAS 51, Pt 1, 1978, 18).

LETTER “B”

With a view to finding whether there were any similar communications from the Sultan of Kedah available, I looked through the collection of Malay letters preserved in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies which are registered collectively as MS 40320 (see Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, p. 162). The collection contains some hundreds of letters, dating mostly from the letter part of the eighteenth century, and many are addressed to Captain Francis Light. The letters are not described, nor even listed, but going through them it was possible to pick out the letters originating from Sultan Muhammad Jiwa by their distinctive small red-ochre seal. There are six such letters in file no. 8, and are seventh in file no. 9. They are small, unpretentious missives written on paper of local manufacture, many undated, and mostly devoted to discussion of everyday business matters; an exception is the last (that in file no. 9) which seems on a quick reading to bestow on Light an Indian lady with her three children. However, it is the third letter in file no. 8 which is of greatest interest in throwing light on Sultan Muhammad Jiwa’s view of Light and Monckton.

This letter measures 17.0 x 21.0 cms, being also written on thin paper of local manufacture, bearing no watermark. The ink is black, and it is written in small, neat Jawi script quite similar to that of letter “A”. There are 14 lines of writing. The letter bears a seal identical with that of letter “B”.


SEAL
Raja Muhammad Jiwa ibn
‘Atâ’ullâh
TRANSLATION OF "B"  

The Saying is the Truth

1. A letter from us the ruler of Kedah, the Abode of Peace, to our son Captain Light Dewa Raja. Now
2. you left us in a state of prosperity to go to Salang Harbour. When you left Mr. Monckton was your successor,
3. all that he has done to us has been entirely bad, and harmful to us, he has done us no good whatsoever.
4. For fear of incurring the disfavour of the Governor in Madras or your disfavour, we have [affected to] not
5. take head of his actions, we will not dwell on it now. When you are safely here
6. in our presence will be the time to expose his carryings on. Meanwhile we have no news about how you
7. are getting on in Salang — write a letter to let us know all that has been happening, so that we
8. may get our son’s good news. A number of our emissaries, the merchants Nakhoda Mir Anin and Fakir Lebai, and
9. ...... who set off with our merchandise have not come back after a very long time, for which reason we fitted out a
10. Sampan for Temenggung Dajati to go and find our son to ask you to bring pressure on all those merchants with their goods, to get
    their respective vessels laden
11. and instruct them to come and report to us without delay, they have no instructions from us to trade back and forth to Salang
    Harbour. Will our son
12. assist them in overcoming any obstacles, to bring us prosperity, as our son has managed things all along?
13. As for that we have given all the news to the Temenggung to whom you may address yourself. Letter written
14. in the year 1186 AH, in a Dal awal year, on the 24th Dhu’l-Hijjah, on Wednesday. Finis.

[Note: The date corresponds to Thursday 18 March 1773 AD]

SEAL
Raja Muhammad Jiwa
ibn
‘Ata’ullāh
This letter does not call for much comment. It will be noted that it was written some seven months earlier than "A", when the Sultan was still fuming about the misdeeds of Edward Monckton. That he disapproved of Monckton is well known, but this letter is of some interest as confirming the depth of his annoyance with the British emissary. It also shows beyond any doubt the affection he felt for Light.

A few matters of detail bear observation. The heading Kaul al-Hakk is positioned to the right of centre of the letter, indicating the superiority of the writer over the recipient.

Line 1 – Lik: In nearly all letters from this sultan Light is known by the name “Lik” (though spelt slightly differently in the different letters). The letters in Thai addressing him by name – most address him by title only – also address him as Capitan Lek (Hlek) (see e.g. letters nos. 26 and 45 in S.O.A.S. MS no. 12157A).

Line 4 – Gurnadur: (“Governor”) is of Portuguese origin (Governador); it is the title normally used also for the Superintendent of the new settlement at Penang (from 1786) in the Malay letters addressed to him.

APPENDIX
LETTER “C”

To complete the account a brief note is added here on the shorter of the two letters acquired by Cambridge University Library, MS Or. 2193 [2]. It consists of a single sheet of thin paper also probably of local manufacture, bearing no watermark. There are only six lines of writing, in Jawi script written in black ink. It measures 15.0 cm x 9.5 cm. It bears no seal nor date.
تعدادان أن تأتي الإجابة صعبًا كالصيغة حضرة العلماء الأندلسيون كان كليمن بعثت بين العلماء على ع多彩، انقل معالمها جدًا دولًا. سمعت رحمته تفوق على الإجابة على استمتع، تذكر هكذا نهظمًا كواقلًا في المد روائي خُلق. لن ندخل له كليم سبائك ساق تص مهار، جملة إنما انتهى إلى أن بول/button ما مثبّع، نصبه وما سكين

القد مهندس ما في مغافر تفاصيل الإجابة.
Ya Aziz

1. Anakanda Wan Ngah empunya sembah ke bawah hadirat kadam ayahanda Toh
2. Kaya Kapitan yang teraziz lagi mulia. Ahwal anakanda Maklumkan
3. jika ada limpah serta rahim kadam ayahanda akan anakanda, anakanda hendak
4. pohonkan beli padi barang dua kunca dengan harga lima rial kepada
5. sekunca. Maka haraplah anakanda akan bolehnya. Maka Tok Penghulu Mesjid
6. anakanda suruh pergi mengadap kadam ayahanda yang mulia. Tamat.

TRANSLATION OF “C”

O Dear One

1. Your humble young servant, Wan Ngah, pays his respect to the beloved and
honourable Toh Kaya Kapitan, and has the honour to ask if you, Sir, have
2. pity on your young servant, your young servant may
4. buy two kunca of unmilled rice at five dollars per
5. kunca. Your humble young servant hopes that this may be possible. The head
6. of your humble young servant’s mosque told me to approach your honour. Finis.
Line 4 — kunca: two kunca would equal 320 gantang.
This translation was suggested to me by Mr. E C G Barrett, who also made many other helpful comments on these letters.
As was observed earlier, this letter does not seem to be of any significance. The fact that it occurs together with a letter address to Francis Light suggests that the “Toh Kaya Kapitan” refers to him.

Acknowledgement

I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Mr Lockwood and Mr Crane of Cambridge University Library, who brought these two letters to my notice and provided copies of them, of Mr Peter Bee who advised on matters of Thai language; and of Dr. J Kathirithamby-Wells and Dr R Bonney for very helpful suggestions.

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'........ of this and of the rebel promise to the mercenaries, Light wrote, the Buggesses (Bugis) burned everything as they went and plundered without distinction carrying away all the women and children they could find. Amongst the plundered carried away by the Bugis were the property and ships of the Chulia merchants and 300 fine brass cannon taken from the fort of Kuala Kedah.'
On 18 March 1771, Sultan Muhammed Jiwa Zainal Adilin Mu'azzam Shah addressed the Governor of Madras appealing for the assistance of the English East India Company to help suppress a rebellion then ensuing in Kedah. Almost simultaneously, he despatched an emissary to some English merchants present at Atjeh with a force of sepoys to offer commercial concessions in Kedah in return for aid in quelling the insurrection. The circumstances which led Sultan Muhammed to make these unprecedented moves as well as the consequent developments are of singular importance, and although among the more thoroughly studied episodes of Malaysian history, the problem is worth re-examining here.

Most writers on eighteenth-century Malaysian history have relied to quite a large extent on Malay chronicles as they are probably the only sources available that give an insight into the complex pattern of relations within and among the Malay States themselves. In reconstructing the history of Kedah, in particular, heavy reliance has been placed on the Tuhfat al-Nafis, and it is largely on this source that the background to, and the events of, 1771 have so far been built.

The Tuhfat al-Nafis relates that in 1770, Raja Haji, the famous Bugis warrior, persuaded his brother, Sultan Sala'u'd-din of Selangor, to demand from Kedah the payment of the debt of twelve bahara of dollars still outstanding for Bugis help rendered in 1724. The Raja of Kedah refused to meet the demand whereupon the Bugis forces invaded Kedah and brought it under their control. Strongly disagreeing with Raja Ali Haji's re-enactment of the 'invasion' of 1770 and the conclusions of historians who have based their arguments on the Tuhfat al-Nafis are the testimonies of Francis Light, who was in Kedah in 1771 and 1772, and Edward Monckton, who was there in 1772. Light's account is far more reliable than that in the Tuhfat al-Nafis for he lacked any bias when he wrote a near eye-witness account only a short while after the events of 1771. On the other hand, Raja Ali Haji's account, written about ninety-four years after the event, was to a large extent aimed at glorifying the achievements of his ancestors.

Since there were no children by his royal marriage, Sultan Muhammed Jiwa chose a son of his first cousin to succeed him to the throne. Later, however, he had a son, Tunku Abdullah, born to him by one of his gundek and 'of whom he grew so fond' that he eventually put aside his original nominee for the succession and publicly declared that Abdullah be his heir and successor. As Sultan Muhammed advanced in age, there grew up powerful factions who began to threaten his rule and there are strong indications that this was essentially due to his choice of Tunku Abdullah as the new heir. In 1770, finding himself too old to administer the affairs of the entire negeri alone and especially in the face of this opposition, Sultan Muhammed passed on to Tunku Abdullah the rulership of the whole of Kedah, south of and including the Sungai Kedah basin, while he retained the rest, comprising the districts of Setul, Perlis and Kubang Pasu. A very significant point made by Light was that almost immediately after this delegation to Tunku Abdullah had been effected, many of the Sultan Muhammed's relatives, taking advantage of his old age and infirmities, decided to depose Tunku Abdullah, 'whom they all hated'. Thinking that they should oust Tunku Abdullah without any difficulty and place their nominee for the succession on the throne, these relations made secret arrangements and obtained the services of Bugis mercenaries from Selangor and Perak to fight for them, promising that 'as soon as they
got possession of the King's person they
should have the plunder of all the
Choolias [Chulias] and Chinese. The
Bugis came.........'.

This is Light's on the spot account of
the reasons behind the troubles of 1771.
Nowhere in their letters and accounts did
Light or Monckton make any reference to
the debt of twelve bahara of dollars or in
any way imply that the Bugis invaded
Kedah for specific motives on their own.
It is indeed hard to believe that the Bugis
would have waited as long as forty-eight
years for the debt to be paid up (if there
was any debt at all), and to all intents and
purposes, it seems to be nothing but an
effort on the part of Raja Ali Haji to give
a more grandiose explanation for the
participation of the Bugis mercenaries in
the Kedah rebellion of 1771, which histo-
rians, in turn have seen as an invasion and as
part of the overall pattern of Bugis expan-
sion and ascendancy in the Peninsula.

Unknown to Sultan Muhammed and
Abdullah, the arrival of the Bugis mercen-
aries at the mouth of the Sungai Kedah
in the early part of March 1771 was the
signal for the outbreak of the rebellion.
Completely unsuspecting that his own
relatives were plotting to oust Abdullah
and were, in fact, the ones responsible for
the Bugis presence, Sultan Muhammed sent
them to make a defence. They, however,
linked up with the Bugis as was planned
and the fort at Kuala Kedah fell quite
easily. The combined forces then moved
up-river to Alor Setar, the royal capital,
which was also taken without much diffi-
culty. Light wrote that Sultan Muhammed
'was so struck with terror and rage to find
himself betrayed, he fainted and was
carried away to Perlis; his Friends pressed
him for leave to fight, but he remained
stupified without being able to speak for
several days'.

Soon after his arrival at Kangar,
Sultan Muhammed began to make a
number of moves to quell the rebellion,
preumably after having recovered from
the shock that he had received. Apart
from the strong likelihood of his having
taken various steps to counter rebel action,
it is also likely that he may have thought in
terms of obtaining help from Siam. While it
can be safely presumed that he did consider
appealing to Siam, there is, however, no
clear-cut evidence that any such appeal
was made or a response received. It is also
doubtful whether he made any approaches
to the Dutch for assistance.

Sultan Muhammed, however, for
reasons best known to himself, turned to
the English. Two avenues were open to
him, the powerful English East India
Company, whose military achievements in
India were well-known, and an English
trading agency at Atjeh operating on a
'trade in return for protection' basis. As
there were trading connexions between
Atjeh and Kedah, Sultan Muhammed must
undoubtedly have heard from reports
reaching Kedah of their presence there and
their specific offer of military assistance to
the Raja of Atjeh. He decided on
approaching both.

Sultan Muhammed consequently
wrote to the Governor of Madras on 18
March 1771 asking for 'the support and
assistance of the Company to reinstate him
in the possession of his Country and to
enable him to drive out these Invaders
[the Bugis mercenaries]' . To the English
merchants at Atjeh, however, he sent a
woman as his personal emissary to convey
his offer, obviously placing greater chances
of success and a quicker solution to his
problems on this quarter.

In the meantime, the rebels were not
as successful as they had anticipated. It is
quite clear that they had miscalculated
public support for their move, and when
none of the local populace or leaders
supported them, they vented their spleen
by burning Alor Setar. Of this and of the
rebels promises to the mercenaries, Light wrote, 'the Buggesses [Bugis] burned everything as they went and plundered without distinction, carrying away all the women and children they could find. They destroyed everything they could not carry with them leaving not a shrub or fruit tree standing. The relations of the King were obliged to retire with the Buggesses'. Amongst the plunder carried away by the Bugis were the property and ships of the Chulia merchants and 300 fine brass cannon taken from the fort at Kuala Kedah.

From Light's description of the events of 1771 and from Monckton's evidence which corresponds with that of Light, it is very clear that there was no Bugis 'invasion' of Kedah in the accepted sense of the term. As on an earlier occasion, one of the parties to a dispute had obtained the help of Bugis mercenaries and on this occasion they had been promised the plunder of the Chulis and the Chinese as payment for their services. This they obtained, but in no way did their presence or actions in Kedah constitute an 'invasion' as part of their policy to gain ascendency over the Peninsula. For that matter, even the rebellion that they fought for collapsed and there is not a shred of evidence to support the claim that as a result of this 'invasion' they established their influence over Kedah.

On 24th April 1771 the emissary sent to Atjeh returned to Kedah with Light, who brought along two armed vessels, powder, arms and thirty sepoys. In an audience, Sultan Muhammed was presented with the details of the negotiations with Harrop and Light. Conditional to the Raja granting Francis Jourdain a 'Licence to trade' and the right to open an agency-house at Kuala Kedah, Light had promised 'to furnish him with 100 sepoys to keep out any Enemy whatever'. The Raja and Light's employers were to share equally between them two-thirds of the profits derived from the firm's trade in Kedah, while the remaining third would be given to Light to pay for the maintenance of the sepoys and the agency-house. Sultan Muhammed accepted these terms and 'ordered Datoo Paduka Serrewancer [the Dato' Paduka Seri Wangsa] and Datoo Seree Maharajah Cancanan [the Dato' Seri Maharaja Kankanna] to write two of these agreements, one whereof the King [Raja] was to sign and give to Capt. Light, agent for Mr. Francis Jourdain, and the other Capt. Light [was] to sign and give to the King'.

The signing of this contract is of unique interest in that it was the first defensive agreement ever signed by any Malaysian state with the English. Furthermore, the general impression given by historians is that no such contract was signed. It must be remembered that at the time Sultan Muhammed despatched his appeal to the East India Company and his emissary to Atjeh, he had sought assistance to put down the insurrection. The emissary's return with help was, in this context, belated, for the rebellion had collapsed and the Bugis mercenaries had withdrawn. Fear of a similar recurrence of events, however, must have occasioned the signing of this agreement with Light, which obliged the Madras firm to provide a hundred sepoys for the defence of Kuala Kedah and 'to keep out any enemy whatever'.

By the middle of August 1771, by which time conditions in Kedah must have returned to normal, a further motive could be observed in Sultan Muhammed's aims in entering into treaty relationships with the Madras firm. He now sought offensive military assistance from the Madras firm for an expedition to Selangor, to recover the ships, guns and booty carried away by the Bugis. He therefore forwarded fresh
proposals through Light, offering the cession of Kuala Kedah and its fort to the Madras firm, in return for an undertaking on its part to defend the fort and to assist in the expedition. He proposed that the costs of maintaining the defence of the fort and the assistance to be given to Kedah to go against Selangor, should be equally shared by the firm and himself, while all the rights of trade of Kuala Kedah would be in the firm's hands. With no response to these proposals forthcoming from the Madras firm, Sultan Muhammed, towards the end of November 1771, sent a personal letter enquiring if the terms he had made in August were acceptable to them. Of even greater interest was the added inducement he dangled before them – the cession of the whole stretch of coast from Kuala Kedah to Pulau Pinang.

This proposed cession of territory as well as the commercial proposals made in August were remarkably generous offers, explicable for a number of reasons. Essentially, Sultan Muhammed wanted to secure the permanence of the Madras firm's military assistance for the defence of Kedah. In addition, and in fact what seems to have been the immediate motivation behind these proposals, was his desire for military assistance for the expedition to Selangor. Quite clearly, the pillaging of Kuala Kedah and the villages along the Sungai Kedah, the looting and burning of Alor Setar, and the plundering of the ships and 300 fine brass cannon amidst the overall plunder and destruction must have been the bitter incentives for the expedition. Furthermore, Sultan Muhammed was bent on recovering the booty carried away by the Bugis, and of greater importance to him, on capturing his rebellious relatives who had fled to Selangor and obtained asylum.

Light's statement that 'he [Sultan Muhammed] is too clever to be led with idle notions, he knows the English are capable of assisting him not only against Selangor but Siam......' is of interest for it strongly suggests that Sultan Muhammed, in seeking an alliance with the English, also had Siam in mind. In 1769, he had conceded to the Siamese demand for the Bunga Emas dan Perak in order to avert the invasion of Kedah by P'ya Taksin, then riding at the crest of his military victories. It would therefore seem likely that Sultan Muhammed did think of the value that such a defensive arrangement with the English would have in securing Kedah's independence from Siamese claims to overlordship or in the face of Siamese threats of invasion.

About this time also, Light says the Raja received an offer of assistance from the Danes. Two Danish vessels with 40 sepoys, guns, ammunition and other military equipment had arrived from Tranquebar (the headquarters of the Danish East India Company on the Coromandel coast of India), with a letter and present for the Raja. The Danish Governor of Tranquebar was said to have offered to send an additional force of 300 sepoys to help Sultan Muhammed in his expedition to Selangor on condition that they be allowed to set up a factory at Kuala Kedah. Sultan Muhammed supposedly turned down the offer as he had already approached the British and had promised them the fort, Kuala Kedah, and the coast stretching from there to Pulau Pinang. The Danes are then said to have approached and given presents to some of the Kedah officials to use their influence on him, but he remained adamant.

By the middle of January 1772, Sultan Muhammed learnt from Light that the Madras firm could not approve of the terms of the August and November proposals of 1771. It seems quite clear that the offensive assistance required by Sultan Muhammed for the expedition to Selangor was the factor that led to the refusal by the
Madras firm. The failure of this approach made Sultan Muhammed, probably at Light's suggestion, decide on approaching the East India Company. He consequently despatched a personal letter to the Governor of Bengal, Warren Hastings, asking for the Company's assistance and sending, more out of custom than an inducement, two Siamese slaves as a present. There is no evidence of any positive response. It is probably because of this silence on the part of the Bengal Government that Sultan Muhammed wrote through an intermediary, Nockelly Farqueer, to the Chief of Cuddalore for permission to purchase guns and military stores, presumably planning to go it alone against Selangor.

Affairs took a sudden turn when on 9 April 1772, Sultan Muhammed received a letter from one Edward Monckton, a representative of the Governor of Madras, who appeared at Kuala Kedah and sought an audience. The letter must have come as a surprise because Monckton professed to have come with a force in response to an alleged appeal by Sultan Muhammed to the Governor of Madras for assistance. Letters were also received from the Laksamana and Light who wrote of Monckton's arrival. As his arrival was unexpected and since he spoke in terms of assistance, Sultan Muhammed decided to consult the Laksamana and Light on the matter before replying to Monckton, and he therefore wrote to them. Before an answer could be sent, however, Monckton appeared at Kangar on 13 April, with Light, an interpreter and a small force. The Laksamana also, had arrived in Perlis slightly earlier, presumably on receipt of the Raja's letter.

The following morning Sultan Muhammed granted Monckton's request for a public audience. Apart from the presentation of the Governor's letter and present, little beyond an exchange of compliments seems to have taken place, save for Sultan Muhammed's question as to when Monckton would be ready to move against Selangor and whether the force he had with him was sufficient. Monckton, however, did not commit himself. Full discussions with Monckton began in a private audience the same evening where Sultan Muhammed had the Laksamana and four or five Chullias (probably his advisers) with him.

Sultan Muhammed and his council heard with great surprise Monckton's claim that he had been sent by the Governor of Madras in consequence of a request from the Raja for military assistance 'to defend his Kingdom against all Invaders and to quell any intestine troubles'. In return for such defensive assistance which Monckton said the East India Company was willing to provide, the Company sought a number of concessions, namely, a grant of the fort at Kuala Kedah (the expenses for the maintenance of the sepoys to be borne by the Raja) with an adjacent piece of land, and a contract by which the Company would provide the Raja with opium and blue cloth, in return for tin, elephant's teeth and pepper. Also submitted for Sultan Muhammed's consideration was Monckton's proposal that the collection of duties at Kuala Kedah and Kuala Perlis be handled by the Company to pay for the cost of the troops. Any surplus of duties over expenses would be paid to the Raja, while on the other hand, he would have to make good any deficits.

Sultan Muhammed was surprised by Monckton's assertion that he had been sent by the Governor of Madras in response to an appeal by Sultan Muhammed himself, because no such appeal had been made. He therefore disclaimed having written to the Governor of Madras or even having asked for assistance. However Monckton's unexpected presence with a force seemed promising, and Sultan Muhammed consequently suggested that Monckton assist
him in the expedition to Selangor. But as to the proposed trade agreement and the terms Monckton had suggested, Sultan Muhammed refused to sign any contract.

On Monckton’s explanation that he could not deviate from his superiors’ orders by assisting Kedah in the expedition to Selangor, Sultan Muhammed advised him to write to Madras for permission to do so. Sultan Muhammed then made his stand clear — he would not make any grant or contract unless offensive assistance was provided. Unperturbed by Monckton’s subsequent attempt at coercion by impressing upon him the strength and popular image of the British East India Company, and his final threat to leave, Sultan Muhammed, in reply, stated that he could not do anything about it, for inasmuch as Monckton rightfully could not to disobey his orders, neither could he disobey his as Raja, for the Emperor of Siam had forbidden him to allow Europeans to settle in Kedah. However he plainly told Monckton that, as Siam was at war and could not assist him, he was willing to let any European nation that was prepared to help him settle in Kedah. But with the Company’s representative insisting that he could offer only a defensive treaty, there ceased to be any further point in discussion.

The urgency and necessity of the expedition to Selangor, however, seems to have loomed so largely in Sultan Muhammed’s mind that he accepted a compromise proposal put forward by Light which incorporated limited offensive assistance. On the 19 April 1772, the Hakim Seri Maharaja Kankanna drafted a contract on the basis of Light’s proposal which had also proved acceptable to Monckton. The contract, signed on 20 April was of great significance not only in terms of the obligations it comprehended, but also when seen in view of the number of misconceptions that have since arisen.

By the terms of the contract, Sultan Muhammed gave the English East India Company the port of Kuala Kedah and a small piece of adjacent territory with rights of full jurisdiction over it and granted the Company the monopoly of Kedah’s exports of black pepper, elephant’s teeth and tin. Sultan Muhammed reserved the right to purchase an unlimited amount of opium from the Company at a fixed price of $350 per Chest and at the same time protected the interests of Kedah’s private merchants by stipulating that any other opium supplied by the Company to these private merchants should not be sold at more than $400 per Chest. Another clause stipulated that no other nation would be allowed to settle in Kedah. In return for these concessions, the East India Company was obliged to keep warships to guard the coast of Kedah, the expenses of which were to be paid from duties collected on vessels entering Kuala Kedah and Kuala Perlis. This clause thereby encompassed both Sultan Muhammed’s underlying objective of obtaining, and the Company’s willingness to provide, defensive assistance.

The compromise solution reached on the provision of offensive assistance did not form part of the contract proper, but formed a follow-up engagement signed by Monckton. It ran, ‘Mr. Monckton engages [that] when the King [Raja] sends his Prows [perahu-perahu] to Selangor [Selangor] to send a Vessel with them and to suffer no other Prows in the River of Selangore while they are there, and if any English ship is there to order them not to assist the People of Selangore’. This undertaking by the Company’s agent to escort the Kedah perahu-perahu to Selangor and to maintain a blockade of the Sungai Selangor, although falling far short of Sultan Muhammed’s desire for offensive assistance by the Company on a larger scale was, nevertheless, the determining factor in his signing the contract.
Personal reasons also played a part in Sultan Muhammed’s aim in securing an alliance, first with the Madras firm and later with the East India Company. Having recently experienced a rebellion initiated by his own brothers and relations, and being also advanced in age, he realized that the only way to protect himself and his position (as well as that of Abdullah and Diya’u’d-din) was to obtain military assistance from an external power which would not be involved in the internal politics of Kedah. And by giving the English (or failing them, the Danes or Dutch) certain concessions, he would have a guarantor of his position and authority.

When seen in terms of Kedah’s tributary relationship with Siam, the initialling of the contract was an extremely decisive step indeed. Although the evidence is not very explicit on the suggestion that Sultan Muhammed had Siam in mind when he sought an alliance with the English, it is clear that by signing this agreement at least, he was consciously flouting the orders of the King of Siam. The Company’s obligation to provide defensive assistance, however, would permit him to blunt any consequent punitive action or pressure. Viewed from this angle, in the light of all its implications, Sultan Muhammed’s decision to enter into defensive relationships with the East India Company was therefore of great significance, for it would not only enable him to break Siam’s claim of suzerainty over Kedah, but would strengthen Kedah’s overall position in the traditional balance of power of mainland South-East Asia as well.

After the formalities of the signing of the contract were over, Sultan Muhammed addressed a highly complimentary letter to the Governor of Madras clearly bent on cementing the new alliance. Of even greater interest is that with English protection for Kedah and limited offensive assistance for the expedition to Selangor secured, Sultan Muhammed put forward a fresh proposal to the East India Company, namely, to help reinstate Raja Ismail as Raja of Riau. Sultan Muhammed has been described as being “in strict alliance with the Kings of Trangana (Terengganu), Johor and several other powerful Monarchs” and from the tenor of his letter we can gather that there was strong resentment in the Malay States over the intrigues of the Bugis. Just before his death in 1759, Sultan Muhammed (who belonged to the Johor royal line) of Siak, a dependency of Johor, had initiated the massacre of the Dutch garrison on Gunting island. His son, Raja Ismail, succeeded him but in 1761 was forced to flee by a Dutch punitive expedition to Terengganu where he married the Raja’s daughter. In 1761 also, as a result of a coup in Riau, Daeng Kemboja had become the Yam Tuan Muda of the Johor empire, placing an infant on the throne and ruling as regent. Sultan Muhammed Jiwa suggested in his letter to Madras that the Company should not only help him recover his property from Selangor but retake Riau from the Bugis as well. He had informed Monckton of his intention to help Raja Ismail regain Riau and seemed assured of additional help from the Raja-Raja of Terengganu, Minangkabau and Indera Giri. He requested the Company’s help not only against the Bugis but possibly the Dutch as well, should the latter come out in support of the Bugis, with whom they had made peace in January 1758.

In accordance with the terms of the agreement reached, Sultan Muhammed abrogated the contract with the Madras firm. On 22 April the fort at Kuala Kedah was handed to Monckton and the responsibility of Kedah was now the responsibility of the East India Company. The task of the collection of customs duties at Kuala Kedah and Kuala Perlis to pay for Kedah’s defence was passed over to Monckton, and soon afterwards Sultan Muhammed issued orders to the Laksamana for preparations
to be made for the expedition to Selangor. These were subsequently begun. But then came disillusionment.

Towards the end of July 1772 Sultan Muhammed received Monckton in audience after the latter had received fresh instructions from his superiors. It was here that Sultan Muhammed learnt of the Company’s refusal to grant him any offensive assistance which Monckton now claimed, if granted, would force the Company ‘...to Act against People who had not only been continuously inviting the English to settle among them, but have also shown them particular Marks of Friendship...’ If Sultan Muhammed were to insist on an offensive alliance, Monckton’s orders were to withdraw. Seemingly unaffected by the Company’s final stand and its complete turnaround from the engagement to which Monckton had affixed his signature, Sultan Muhammed told Monckton that when he had made the contract, ‘he had hoped [though they had never promised] that it would have so cemented the Friendship between them that the Company would have avenged Him and insults he had received from His Enemies and with those Expectations he had given them the Grant...’ However, as things had proved otherwise, he saw no reason for the Company remaining in Kedah and considered the matter closed. Monckton then became passive, and asked for further talks. Nine days later, at another audience requested by Monckton, Sultan Muhammed reiterated the hopes he had placed on the Company for its assistance in the expedition, but as it had decided against such assistance, he had no alternative but to withdraw the contract. And despite Monckton’s almost frantic protestations about the advantages that Kedah could derive from an alliance with the Company, Sultan Muhammed remained adamant. On 29 July he granted his final audience to Monckton.

It has been suggested that Sultan Muhammed’s rejection of the Company’s application was partly due to pressure exerted on him by the Chulias and some members of the ruling elite. Both Light and Monckton accused the Chulias of being opposed to the idea of admitting the English into Kedah for fear of losing their trade. That such a fear would have invariably and justifiably existed (even in any merchant or trading community elsewhere) is obvious, but to attribute the rejection solely to this is, for a number of reasons, untenable. Firstly, the leading Chulias were present during the discussions with Monckton, the outcome of which was the contract and the engagement. Secondly, the contract protected the interests of the Chulias and the defensive alliance was also to their advantage. And thirdly, one of the main reasons for the expedition to Selangor was to recover their property plundered by the Bugis mercenaries. The Dato’ Laksamana and the Dato’ Bendahara who received a share of the duties of Kuala Kedah and certain members of the ‘nobility’ are recorded as objecting to the grant of concessions to the Company as they lost part of their income and power. Although it is probable that these parties with vested interests would have brought their influence to bear on Sultan Muhammed, it is definite that this was not the deciding factor in the rejection of the Company’s proposals, as Monckton claims it was. The overriding factor in the rejection was Sultan Muhammed’s wish for an offensive alliance and he was prepared to grant commercial concessions despite internal opposition against the securing of such an alliance. Such an agreement, although limited in scale, had, in fact, been signed by Monckton but was vetoed by the Madras Council. Consequently when Sultan Muhammed was informed of this and of the Company’s un-willingness to offer anything further than a defensive alliance, he rescinded the contract and rejected its new proposals, thus losing the opportunity for defensive assistance by the East India Company — an opportunity which was only to be renewed after 1909, under different circumstances.
'Walaupun terdapat beberapa persamaan di antara Hukum Kanun Melaka dan Hukum Kanun Dato’ Kota Setar, namun pada bahagian yang menghuraikan fasal ‘larangan diraja’ dalam Hukum Kanun Dato’ Kota Setar ada kelonggarannya. Rakyat biasa dibolehkan membuat sesuatu yang terkandung dalam larangan tersebut pada ketika-ketika yang tertentu.'
Undang-undang atau Hukum Kanun Kedah (selepas ini disebut sebagai 'HKK' sahaja)\(^1\) seperti juga dengan undang-undang Melayu lama yang terdapat di negeri-negeri Melayu lain di Nusantara ini adalah merupakan suatu gaya penulisan atau gaya bahasa sesuatu zaman. Ianya juga tergolong sebagai sebuah genre kesuasteraan Melayu lama atau tradisional, satunya penghasilan kreatif elita Melayu di kalangan istana dengan ciri-ciri tersendiri sebagaimana yang terdapat pada corak-corak sastera Melayu lama lainnya.

Seperti juga dengan teks lama yang bersifat historiografi, Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa misalnya yang isinya seratus peratus tidak bersifat sejarah, maka begitu halnya dengan teks undang-undang lama. Ia lebih banyak memaparkan tentang sosio-ekonomi dan sosio-budaya bagi sesuatu masyarakat pada zaman silam, dan ini adalah sesuai dengan pendapat yang menyatakan “bahawa sastera lama adalah sebahagian daripada kebudayaan lama yang dipancarkan oleh masyarakat lama”\(^2\).

Di Kedah, penulisan HKK bermula pada 1060 Hijrah (1650 Mashi). R.O. Winstedt telah membahagikan HKK kepada empat bahagian yang masing-masing diberikan judul seperti berikut:

1. Undang-undang Tahun 1060 Hijrah (1650 Mashi).
2. Tembera Dato’ Paduka Tuan.
4. Fasal Bunga Mas, Alat Kerajaan Pada Masa Bertabah, Orang Besar-Besar dan Adat Meminang.\(^3\)

Dalam kata pengantar bahagian terawal dari HKK itu, penulisnya mencatatkan begini:

"Pada tarikh seribu enam puluh tahun, tahun zai, pada tujuh belas haribulan Jamadilakhir, hari Jumaat, bahawa pada ketika itu maka adalah titah Syah Alam Yang Maha Mulia terjunjung ke atas jemala Paduka Raja suruh salin ambil taruh undang-

undang perbuatan Dato’ Besar dahulu ...................”\(^4\)

dan pada tempat lain pula penulisnya menyatakan:

"Maka undang-undang ini diperbuat dari zaman Sultan Rijaluddin Muhammad Shah semayam di Naga, muafakat dengan sekelian menteri pegawai dan pendita membincarakan dia supaya tetap adat ini janganlah berubah-ubah ............"\(^5\)

Berdasarkan dua petikan di atas jelas menunjukkan undang-undang itu mula ditulis pada 17 Jamadilakhir 1060 Hijrah yang menurut kiraan saya bersamaan 26 Jun 1650. Sebagai sebuah hasil karya istana, ternyata penulisan HKK itu dilakukan dengan kehidupan atau perintah raja.


Dari Kota Naga itulah baginda memerintahkan pembesarnya (Paduka Raja) supaya menyempurnakan penulisan Undang-undang Kedah seperti yang ternyata dalam dua petikan tersebut. Kandungan bahagian pertama dari HKK itu pada keseluruhannya mencatatkan tentang undang-undang yang berkaitan dengan pelabuhan yang di dalamnya termasuk tatacara mengendalikan pelabuhan, perdagangan dan pesara (pekan/ bandar).

Kelahiran undang-undang pelabuhan itu memang sesuai dengan situasi politik di Kedah waktu itu yang sudah stabil, tidak lagi diganggu-gugat oleh musuh-musuh dari luar. Ramai pedagang luar bertumpu ke
pelabuhan Kedah termasuklah India (Kalinga dan Gujerat), Belanda yang waktu itu baru menduduki Melaka, Acheh dan kepulauan lain di Nusantara, juga Patani, Lakur (Ligur/Nakon Sithammarat), Singgora (Songkhla) dan Merdulung (Pattalung) iaitu negeri-negeri Melayu di selatan Thailand yang waktu itu sebahagian besarnya kewabawan dan keutuhan politiknya masih belum tercabar. Hubungan erat dengan negeri-negeri tersebut jelas dapat dilihat bagaimana utusan atau duta mereka yang datang ke Kedah, disambut dan diberi penghormatan sewajar mengikut kecil besarnya kerajaan tersebut.


Hukum Kanun Dato’ Kota Setar (selepas ini diringkaskan sebagai ‘HKDKS’)
pada keseluruhannya mengandungi lapan falas 12 iaitu yang berkaitan dengan:
(a) Tugas Temenggung,
(b) Perintah Raja-raja,
(c) Syarat Raja-raja,
(d) Bahasa Raja-raja,
(e) Pakai Raja-raja,
(f) Lima Perkara yang dibenarkan rakyat biasa melakukannya,
(g) Warna bendera untuk Raja-raja, Menteri dan Hulubalang,
(h) Sifat kebesaran yang ada pada raja-raja dan para pembesar lain.

Seperti juga dengan tugas ‘Syahbandar’ yang begitu banyak diperkatakan dalam HKK,13 maka dalam HKDKS tugas ‘Temenggung’ paling banyak dinyatakan dari falas-falas yang lain. Selaku pembesar yang bertanggungjawab untuk keselamatan negeri dan kesejahteraan rakyat, beliau bersama pembantunya seramai 60 orang sentiasa melakukan rondaan secara bergilir-gilir, di samping ada yang mengawal penjara. Mereka akan menangkap pesalah-pesalah seperti pencuri, penyamun, pemakan madat, penyabung ayam dan pembunuh orang.

Orang ramai tidak dibenarkan berjalan malam kecuali mempunyai sebab-sebab utama dengan syarat menggunakan damar (sebagai lampu atau obor). Mereka yang melanggar hukuman ini akan ditangkap, yang melawan akan dibunuh kerana “ia melawan titah raja”.14 Sekiranya orang yang didakwa atau saksi-saksinya tidak menghadiri perbicaraan yang ditetapkan oleh Hakim, maka Temenggung akan menugaskan orangnya menurut mereka. Pihak anak buah Temenggung yang mencari mereka akan mendapat upah atau bayaran dari mereka mengikut jarak dekat atau jauh mereka itu dapat dikesan. Misalnya jika ke Perlis atau Pedu upahnya dua emas, Tanjung Pauh upahnya dua kupang, sementara Anak Bukit atau Naga upahnya sekupang.15

Fasil empat dan lima dalam HKDKS ditekankan segala ‘larangan diraja’ baik dari segi perkaraan atau bahasa maupun dalam hal pakaian. Ini merupakan antara ciri-ciri keistimewaan yang diperuntukkan kepada raja-raja yang tidak boleh dilakukan oleh orang biasa. Dari segi bahasa, HKDKS menegaskannya begini:


Apa yang menarik perhatian kita ialah perkara yang sama terdapat juga pada teks Hukum Kanun Melaka dan Undang-Undang Riau.17 Cuma yang berbeza dalam HKDKS tidak terdapat kata ‘murka’ dan ia sebaliknya digantikan dengan kata ‘kita’ manakala yang lainnya adalah serupa.

Dari segi pakaian pula, HKDKS menyatakan begini:

“Fasal pada menyatakan pakaian raja-raja itu empat perkara: pertama berkain kuning, dan kedua bertilam pandak empat persegi namanya peterana, dan ketiga ubur-ubur, dan keempat tombak bercabang. Maka seperti pakaian yang demikian, tiada boleh yang lain memakainya, barangsiapa memakainya kelak dirampan”.18

Kesemua larangan tersebut jelas menunjukkan betapa tingginya taraf sesorang raja dianggap berdaulat itu. Larangan tersebut bertujuan untuk membezkannya dengan rakyat jelata. Dalam HKDKS, di samping warna kuning menjadi warna khusus untuk pakaian diraja, terdapat dua perkara lagi yang menjadi kepunyaan raja seperti yang ditegaskan dalam falas 6 iaitu:

(i) membuat perusung atau alat
mengusung orang yang dipanggil 'raja diraja'.

(ii) membuat binaan sebagai tambahan kepada yang sedia ada pada bahagian kiri dan kanan sesuatu bangunan, atau rumah, kapal atau perahu, yang dipanggil 'sayap lelayang'.

Kedua-dua perkara ini juga adalah dilarang kepada rakyat biasa membuatnya. Bagaimanapun ada pula kecemasannya iaitu dalam mengerjakan sesuatu adat atau aktiviti harian, rakyat dibenarkan membina dua perkara di atas termasuk dibenarkan memakai pakaian berwarna kuning, tetapi mestilah dengan syarat-syarat tertentu dan yang ada kaitannya dengan kebaikan atau kepentingan kepada raja. Berikut ini diperturunkan beberapa kutipan menarik dari HKDKS yang berkaitan dengan perkara yang dibincangkan ini:

"Fasal yang menyatakan lima perkara yang boleh diperbuat oleh mereka yang keluaran, kerana maaf dan diampuni raja.

Pertama di atas 'mempelai' yang diarak, boleh ia memakai pakaian kekuatan dan pakaian beremas dan berpayung besar yang dipegang oleh orang serta bersorak-sorak, dinamai akan dia 'raja sehari', kerana puteranya pada sehari itulah raja kepada kekalian warisnya.

Dan kedua di atas 'jenazah' boleh diperbuat mereka itu raja diraja dan sayap lelayang dan sulur bayung serta kain sampai, kerana puteranya sehari itulah hilang di mata mereka itu sekaliant warisnya, sekalian pekerjaan itu tiada menjadi tulah atau papa.

Dan ketiga di atas 'perahu' yang dibawa ke lautan boleh dibubuh sayap lelayang, maka petuanya tiada dapat pada ketika perahu itu dipinjam raja.

Dan keempat pada 'masjid' boleh dibubuh sayap lelayang, maka petuanya di rumah Allah, apabila raja berangkat, nescaya singgah ia sembahyang.

Dan kelima di atas 'pangkalan' yang besar-besar serta banyak orang pergi datang bolehlah diperbuat jamban berdirinding papan dan bersayap lelayang.

Dan demikian juga pada 'jalan raya' hendaklah diperbuat telaga dan balai bersayap lelayang, maka petuanya tatkala raja berangkat mudik, bila dipandangnya jamban itu baik, dan singgahlah ia naik kepada jamban itu, dan apabila berangkat berburu, bila dipandangnya, balai dan telaga itu baik, nescaya singgahlah ia di situ, berhenti bersemayam.'"

Pada fasal terakhir HKDKS dinyatakan apakah sifat-sifat kebesaran yang ada pada seseorang para pembesar seperti Syahbandar, Laksamana, Temenggung, Panglima Negeri dan lain-lain termasuklah juga mata-mata dan 'hamba raja'. Pada keseluruhannya yang ingin ditegaskan oleh undang-undang tersebut ialah ketika para pembesar itu menjalankan kewajipan atau tugas yang ditetapkan, kuasa mereka seperti seorang raja, kerana mereka menjalankan tugas raja, seperti dalam beberapa kutipan berikut:

"Dan kebesaran Panglima Negeri, pada masa dititahkan raja berkerah, ialah raja, tiada boleh dilalui (dibantahi) sabdanya”.

"Dan kebesaran Temenggung itu pada masa membunuh orang dengan titah oleh raja, tiada boleh dilalui perkataannya kerana ialah raja pada masa itu".

tahun 1870 di zaman Almarhum Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Mukaram Shah, Sultan Kedah ke-23.


Pada akhir rencana ini kita perlu juga meninjau beberapa pendapat yang menyatakan adanya pengaruh-pengaruh luar dalam penulisan Hukum Kanun Kedah. Kebanyakan Hukum Kanun atau Undang-Undang Melayu Lama di negeri-negeri di Nusantara ini dikatakan banyak didasarkan kepada Hukum Kanun Melaka yang dianggap sebagai prototaip atau contoh penulisan undang-undang di negeri-negeri lain. Contoh yang jelas ialah ‘bahasa diraja’ iaitu beberapa perkataan yang dilarang kepada orang biasa menggunakan seperti yang telah dinyatakan.


Dalam mengendalikan pelabuhan dan perdagangan ekspor-import dari kuala hingga ke ibu negeri, Hukum Kanun Kedah mencatatkan dengan teratur menurut protokol-protokol tertentu mengenai tugas pegawai-pegawai yang terlibat seperti Panglima Kuala, Panglima Negeri, Syahbandar dan Panglima Bandar, bila sesebuah kapal dari luar tiba. Kerana begitu rapi dan terperinci itulah maka kemungkinan ada kebenarannya bila Winstedt menyamakan dengan Undang-undang Pelabuhan yang terdapat pada zaman keagungan Dinasti Moghul di India yang menurutnya:

"After the fall of Malacca, Kedah became particularly rich in legal digests. The oldest recorded is dated A.D. 1650 and deal with port laws, which resemble closely those of the Great Moguls in the Tarikh-i Tahiri".23
Petikan halaman akhir dari teks Hukum Kanun Dato' Kota Setar versi Berlin.
NOTA:

4. SOAS, hal. 1.
5. Ibid., hal. 16.
7. SOAS., hal. 16 – 17.
10. Ibid., hal. 114.
11. SOAS, hal. 24.
12. Ibid., hal. 26 – 29.
13. Dalam Hukum Kanun Kedah, tugas Syahbandar dalam samping mengendalikan soal-soal perdagangan dan pelabuhan, ia juga berperanan selaku Temenggung (Ketua Polis) yang tugasnya meliputi ke atas pasar (pesara), menangkap mereka yang melaku-

kan perkara-perkara yang dilarang termasuk penyembelih kerbau haram (diceri atau tanpa izin/cap Syahbandar), dan juga mereka yang makan di khalayak ramai pada bulan Ramadan.
14. SOAS, hal. 26.
15. Ibid., hal. 27.
16. Ibid.
17. Undang-undang Riau, Mikrofilem 161, Batavia, hal. 2.
18. SOAS., hal. 28.
19. Ibid., hal. 29.
20. Di samping seorang Perdana Menteri, beliau juga adalah seorang jurutera yang bertanggungjawab menyatakan pembinaan sebuah terusan yang terkenal (Terusan Wan Muhammad Saman) sepangjang 35km, dari Alor Setar ke Gurun bagi tujuan pengaliran air ke sawah-sawah padi.
"Apabila diberitahu yang Logan ingin melawat Makam Langgar, Tuanku pun menitah menyeruh sediakan 6 ekor gajah berserta dengan beberapa orang pengikutnya lagi. Gajah-gajah itu mengharung bendang-bendang yang belum lagi ditanam dan di bendang yang sudah bertanam, gajah itu melangkah dengan teratur dan sekali pun tidak berjaya hendak meragut anak-anak padi itu kerana disergah oleh gembalanya."


Kisah pelayarannya ke Kedah itu disiarkannya di dalam Journal tersebut, iaitu dalam Jilid kelima tahun 1851. Dari jurnal itulah dipetik isi-isi bagi rencana ini. Saya percaya bahawa inilah suatu kisah berlulis sezaman negeri Kedah yang mempunyai nilai sejarah yang tidak kurang pentingnya dari buku “Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah” yang terkenal itu.

Karángannya ditulis dengan cara yang objektif, segala yang dilihati semuanya dicatatkan. Tetapi oleh sebab masa itu merupakan suatu zaman yang agak gelap di dalam sejarah Kedah berhubung dengan tekanan-tekanan Siam serta perdian Inggeris yang mengecewakan, maka di sana sini terdapat juga sentimen-sentimen yang bersipati dengan penderitaan yang ditanggung oleh Kedah pada masa itu.


Setelah melalui sebuah selekoh, Logan pun sampai ke kampong Seberang Nyonya yang letaknya pada sebelah kiri. Kampong ini kata Logan mempunyai lebih kurang lima belas buah rumah dan di antaranya cuma sebuah sahaja yang terbesar. Rumah itu dipunyai oleh Wan Sme (Ismail); kellilingnya berpagar dan ada sebuah perahu di hadapannya. Dari tanda-tanda yang menunjukkan kekayaan itu nampaknya dialah orang yang terkenama di tempat ini.

Kemudian diceritakannya dengan lanjut akan tiap-tiap selekoh Sungai Kedah itu lengkap dengan ukuran kebudukannya sekali, beberapa darjah ke utara atau ke selatan; disebutnya segala nama kampong, gunung atau bukit yang dilalui atau dilihat olehnya; serta anak-anak sungai yang mengalir ke dalam Sungai Kedah itu dan tanaman-tanaman atau tumbuh-tumbuhan yang didapati. “... nipah sekarang lebih tebal dan besar-besarnya... kelihatan gunung keriang... sebelah kanan sawah padi... pokok kelapa kelihatan di belakang pokok nipah dan hutan... ada beberapa buah rumah orang di sebelah kanan... tanah lembah yang luas di tebing kiri di selangi dengan barisan-barisan pokok kayu... Gunung Jerai kelihatan di sebelah” demikian katanya. Keterangan-keterangan yang halus teliti ini seolah-olah untuk menjadi panduan kepada orang-orang yang hendak pergi ke Kedah kemudian daripadanya kelak.

Rumah-rumah tadi itu rupanya ialah Kampong Alor Setar tempat kediaman ketua-ketua pemerintahan negeri Kedah. Logan pun mengutuskan jurutulis Melayunya ke dalam kota. Setelah beberapa lamanya jurutulis itu pun balik bersama


Logan menyatakan tujuannya hendak mengikut Raja ke sana seberapa boleh dengan tidak melanggar pantang dan Menteri itu pun berjanji hendak memberi seorang penunjak jalan kepadanya. Sebelum bertolak balik ke kapalnya Logan telah berbual panjang dengan menteri yang berdua itu, akan tetapi sayang Logan tidak menerangkan apa yang telah diperbincangkan melainkan katanya:

"keadaan negeri Kedah yang menyedihkan pada masa itu tak membentakkan saya mengulang ini percakapan itu."

Pada malamnya Logan pun mudiklah ke Bukit Pinang. Di situ ada balai tempat orang menjaga pantang, yakni tempat menahan orang keluar masuk mengikut tempat itu disebabkan oleh penyakit cacar yang disebut tadi. Tempat itu sebenarnya merupakan satu karentin, kerana perahu yang sampai siang dibenar meneruskan pelayarannya pada malam hari. Tiap-tiap perahu yang sampai ditambah di pengkalan itu, hingga ramailah tempat yang sunyi dan tiada berumah orang itu. Orang-orang perahu yang datang itu ada yang bercakap-cakap sesamanya, ada yang memasak dan ada pula yang tawar-menawar ikan kering dengan mata-mata yang berjaga di balai itu. Tebing sungai itu sejauh 20 dengan 30 langkah adalah dibiar tidak bertanam, cuma dipenuhi dengan rumput dan pokok-pokok kecil dan dipagari oleh pokok-pokok buluh.

Hasilnya dikira hitung panjang adalah lebih kurang 1 kunca pada satu relung, padahal di tanah yang baharu seperti di Alor Setar yang lebih dekat dengan laut hasilnya lebih kurang 2 kunca. Setengah daripada orang-orang Melayu telah pergi tinggal di seberang. Dan orang-orang yang tinggal itu sungguhpun lebih gemar akan tempat mereka tinggal itu, hujan emas perak negeri orang, hujan keris membing negeri kita, baik juga negeri kita telah bersungut yang mereka dikehendaki bekerja untuk Raja berlebihan dan dengan tidak tentu masa dan dengan cara yang sewenang-wenang misalnya pada masa itu setengahnya dikehendaki mencari bahan-bahan bagi rumah Raja yang baharu dan menolong mendirikannya.


bertanam gajah itu melangkah dengan teratur dan sekali pun tidak berjaya hendak meragut anak-anak padi itu kerana diserang oleh gembala mereka.


Pada pagi esoknya Logan belayar menghilir Sungai Kedah membawa sepucuk surat pengenalan dari Tunku itu kepada penghuninya de Krian. Logan telah menetapkan hendak pergi ke Krian dipergi ke Sungai Muda kerana Sungai Muda itu arusnya deras dan susah hendak memudiknya.

Logan menambah lagi katanya, "tersangatlah mendukacitakan bahawa
tanah pamah yang tersangat luas itu, yang boleh menyarankan penduduk yang ramai dengan makmurnya sedang bilangan penduduk masih lagi jauh dari 100,000 orang, harus terbiar di dalam keadaannya sekarang; lebih semak-samun daripada tanah yang dikerjakan. Letaknya yang berhampiran dengan Pulau Pinang dan bekalan beras, kerbau, lembu dan lain-lain makanan anak negeri yang tidak terhad patut menjadi satu galakan yang penuh bagi memulihkan balik kepada keadaan yang dahulunya.

Di Kedah lembu berharga di antara $3/- sampai $6/- seekor, kerbau di antara $5/- dan $6/- seekor, ayam $3/- seratus, padi pada masa sekarang $3/- sekunca tetapi pada masa lepas menuai cuma $2/- sahaja.

Dengan keadaan Kerajaannya yang bergoyang seperti sekarang harapannya hendak memperoleh penduduk yang ramai lagi tetap adalah tipis. Apabila ketua-ketua orang Melayu balik ke tempat masing-masing (setelah lari dari serangan Siam) beberapa orang pengikut balik bersamanya. Tetapi sebahagian besar daripada mereka yang telah mendapat tanah di Seberang atapun di tempat-tempat yang lebih jauh, dan mereka yang telah besar di situ semenjak dari serangan Siam, lebih suka pula bermastautin di sana. Penduduk negeri Kedah pada masa itu mengikut keterangan Tunku Daie dan menterinya adalah seperti berikut:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negeri</th>
<th>Jumlah Orang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanah pamah negeri Kedah</td>
<td>4,500 orang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jajahan Tunku Daie</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jajahan Tunku Anum</td>
<td>6,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muda</td>
<td>1,300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perlis</td>
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Dalam lawatannya ke Kedah pada kali ini dan pada lawatan-lawatannya yang berikut, Logan telah dapat memerhatikan keadaan Gunung Jerai dari semua sudut kecuali dari timur. Dari tiap-tiap sudut itu katanya nampaklah Gunung Jerai itu panjang dan megah dan ini membentuk kepercayaan orang-orang Melayu yang mengatakan Gunung itu empat segi tapaknya. Logan sendiri berpendapat yang gunung itu lebih menyerong dari barat laut ke tenggaranya, tidak dari timur laut ke
barang daya. Pada sebelah baratnya Gunung Jerai itu tersergam menimbul dari laut dan banjaran-banjaran dan gunung-gunung boleh dilihat manakala dia melalu dari Pulau Pinang ke Kedah. Pada bahagiannya yang lain dia adalah dikeliling oleh tanah pamah dan tentulah Gunung Jerai itu pun pulau juga dahulunya seperti adiknya Pulau Pinang.

Permukaannya pada sebelah matahari naik bahagian utara dan selatannya adalah sama curamnya tetapi di bahagian tengahnya banyaknya yang berpecah dan jadilah berlainan sekali dengan gunung-gunung yang berbatu granit seperti yang didapati di pulau-pulau dan di bahagian-bahagian lain Semenanjang ini di antara Singapura dan Pulau Pinang. Curamnya diliputi dengan hutan-hutan dan kadang-kadang curamnya terlampaui dalam dan hutannya bertambah tebal. Setengah daripadanya menunjukkan batu pejal yang tidak ditumbuhi apa-apa. Logan mengira ada enam curam yang dalam-dalam seperti itu dan satu daripadanya apabila dilihat dengan teropong menampakkan air terjun. Pada keseluruhannya gunung itu merupakan satu batu yang berlapis seolah-olah telah dimakan dengan lamanya oleh air laut. Logan berkata hal ini tentulah hasil dari sebab gunung itu timbul sedikit-sedikit daripada muka laut hingga halam sampai kepada keadaannya sekarang yang tak sampai lagi dijilat oleh air laut. Cerun-cerun yang curam menyerupai Pulau Tioman tidak seperti gunung-gunung berbatu granit yang lain dan tidak syak lagi kata Logan Gunung Jerai itu adalah terdiri daripada batu-batu berlapis yang telah ditekan dan dihimpit oleh gerakan gerak gempa. Akan tetapi sama ada boleh dilihat yang ia akan berubah menjadi batu granit seperti di Pulau Tioman tak dapatlah hendak diteka.


Logan berasa kesal yang masa tidak membenarkanannya melawat lebih ke utara bengkak sehari dua. Beberapa buah pulau yang tiba-tiba timbul lagi dari laut seperti Gunung Keriang timbul lagi dengan tiba-tiba dari tanah pamah dan gunung-gunung di Pulau Langkawi yang berjalur-jalur dalam yang semuanya tak jauh dari Kuala Kedah. Ini menunjukkan yang dia (Logan) telah sampai pada bahagian garisan lintang Semenanjang ini yang tidak lagi boleh didapati cuma batu pasir dan lumpur yang tidak mempunyai apapun bekas tumbuh-tumbuhan atau binatang-binatang lama bahkan sudah sampai pada kawasan yang mengandungi batu kapur yang boleh
didapati dengan banyaknya.


Setelah jemun menanti dan Semang itu tidak juga didapati Logan pun membonongkak sauh lalu belayar lagi ke hulu melalui Kuala Semagaga dan terus ke Kampong Raja. Satu hal yang menarik hati yang disebutnya ialah di kawasan Bukit Panchor orang menanam padi dengan tidak menggunakan tenggala, dan hasilnya 2 hingga 2½ kunca, bahkan dekat ke laut hasilnya dikatakan 4 kunca. Semang itu didapati di kawasan Bukit Panchor dan dihantar balik dahulu ke Bagan Lama.

Penghulu yang tersebut tadi bernama Sme (Ismail) telah tinggal di situ selama 10 tahun. Kuasanya meliputi dari Sungai Krian ke Prai. Tetapi penduduknya ramai tinggal di Krian sedangkan kawasan di utara Sungai Muda ialah hutan. Penghulu itu berkuesa mengenakan cukai 1/10 dari hasil padi, gula/damar dan atap, juga mengenakan $4.00 bagi tiap-tiap bahara bijih, $2.00 tiap-tiap keluarga yang tinggal di tanah yang dikerjakan serta ke atas gading. Ia juga diberi kuasa mencukai barang-barang masuk tetapi tidak dilakukannya. Sedikit bijih timah telah juga didapati dan ia sendiri mengerjakan sebuah kelian tak jauh dari Bukit Tunggal.


Sebaliknya pihak-pihak yang berkuesa di Pulau Pinang nampaknya selalu menganggap Sungai Krian sebagai sempadan. Di dalam sebuah makalah pendek mengenai Kedah yang ditulis oleh Mr. Topping daripada butir-butir yang diberi oleh Captain Light sebelum Inggeris menguasai Seberang Prai ada disebut:

"Krian mengeluarkan rotan. Iniilah bahagian negeri Kedah yang paling selatan dan selepas itu ialah negeri Perak."
Di sini perkataan Krian itu barangkali bermaksud lembahan dan bukannya sungai iaitu seperti yang biasa digunakan oleh orang-orang Melayu. Kerajaan negeri-negeri Melayu adalah terdiri daripada kawasan-kawasan penempatan di tebing-tebing sungai dan Logan menyatakan bahawa tidaklah ada suatu contoh pun yang sudah didapati dalam mana sesuatu kawasan sungai dibahagikan sempadananya oleh sungai itu sendiri.

Ia telah memajak damar, rotan dan bijih timah pada seorang Cina yang dikenali sebagai baba Melaka tetapi yang sebenarnya bernama Ku Tin. Tunku Kudin tinggal berhampiran dengan Bukit Tunggal selama lebih kurang 4 tahun. Apabila Sultan dihantar ke Melaka Nakhoda Kudin telah disuruh menjaga Krian bagi pihaknya. Dan pada masa ia pulang ke Kedah dalam tahun 1842 ia telah menguasai semula daerah itu.

Akan tetapi Perak telah membuat persetiaan dengan Syarikat India Timur dan Sungai Krian tidak disebut menjadi sempadan negeri itu. Pihak-pihak Ingeris memikirkan yang mereka berkewajiban menegakkan sempadan dan memaksa Tunku Daie meninggalkan bahagian selatan lembahan Sungai Krian tersebut dalam tahun 1848. Logan tidaklah mahu melibatkan dirinya untuk memberi fikirannya mengenai perkara ini. Tetapi katanya semua orang-orang Melayu yang dijumpainya adalah sebulat fikiran menyatakan bahawa seluruh lembahan itu sememangnya bahagian dari negeri Kedah dari zaman berzaman dan mereka menganggap perkara ini adalah begitu nyata sehingga tak perlu dipersoalkan lagi. Bukti-bukti lain yang kuat juga menentukan hal ini. Tetapi Logan berasa bukanlah kena pada tempatnya bagi dia menyebutkan perkara itu di dalam karangannya.
'No one can produce better history than the available sources permit. But it is worth attempting a reconstruction, Fragmentary as it may be, of the history of Kedah in the period when Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin II guided its fortunes. This is a story of strong government and outstanding achievement by a Malay ruler. In 1850 Kedah ravaged by the effects of the Siamese occupation (1821–1842) was a depopulated waste land. By contrast in the early 1870's it was recognised as one of the most flourishing of the Malay States'.
For a period of thirty years (1850–1880) there is almost complete silence about Kedah in the contemporary records of the Straits government. The absence of material from that source leads to a similar gap in modern historical studies of the period. Then for the period which begins in 1879 we have the study of the economic and political development of Kedah by Professor Sharom Ahmat, who draws mainly on the Kedah archives. This account incidentally throws much light on the legacy of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin, who died in 1879, to his successors. Finally there are two Malay histories of Kedah written in the first part of this century which reproduce local traditions and records.

No one can produce better history than the available sources permit. But it is worth attempting a reconstruction, fragmentary as it may be, of the history of Kedah in the period when Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin II guided its fortunes. This is a story of strong government and outstanding achievement by a Malay ruler. In 1850 Kedah, ravaged by the effects of the Siamese occupation (1821–1842), was a depopulated waste land. By contrast in the early 1870's it was recognised as one of the most flourishing of the Malay states. Swettenham said of Kedah in 1873 that "it had attained to a degree of order and development which placed it far ahead of any of the states." Yet, as the silence of the external records shows, the rehabilitation of Kedah was effected with little outside help.

Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin II was a young man in his early twenties when he came to the throne in 1854. Like his better known brother, Tunku Kudin the viceroy of Selangor during the civil war, the Sultan had a natural courtesy and charm. When he went to Bangkok, with his brother, in 1855 to seek recognition as ruler of Kedah (in Siamese eyes he was merely an appointed provincial governor of an outlying district of Siam) he made a happy impression on King Mongkut who wrote to Governor Blundell in Singapore asking him to give "proper advice and suggestions" to the two brothers since they were "very young" and obviously inexperienced. Later the Sultan was "on very friendly terms" with Anson, Lieutenant Governor of Penang from 1867 to 1882.

However there was another and harder side to his nature. Thirty years after his death he was still remembered in Kedah as "a powerful man". As will be related later in this essay the Sultan stood up to the bluster of Governor Ord. Ord reported to the Colonial Office that "during his earlier interviews he manifested considerable suspicion and shyness but gradually gained confidence." In the end he refused to sign the document which Ord put before him, showing a "stolid pertinacity" which Ord said was characteristic of him. The "considerable suspicion" detected by Ord reflected the strain of anxiety in the temperament of a conscientious and hardworking ruler. It has to be remembered that he had spent the first ten years of life in the traumatic circumstances of exile and he had inherited from his father an obsessive fear of Siamese intervention in his state.

He adopted many western ideas and practices, both in his government of Kedah and in his personal lifestyle, as will be described in due course. Swettenham wrote that the Sultan and his brothers were a family of "more than ordinarily enlightened views" — by which Swettenham meant that Europeans found them easy to deal with. Yet the Sultan also retained many of the tastes and prejudices of a traditional Malay ruler. The Kedah royal family, it was said, "have for many years been noted for their intelligence and taste for native literature." He shared a
be a power in Kedah as Raja Muda from 1873 and later as Regent during the minority of Sultan Abdul Hamid. When Ibrahim Munshi visited Klang in April 1872 he recorded his impressions of every person of importance whom he met except Tunku Yakob. Ibrahim mentions that Yakob was present at various discussions but implies that he stood a silent figure in the background. It would seem that he was a dour, reticent personality and a natural “loner”. He was disabled by a stroke in 1889 and died, childless, in 1898.

The youngest brother, Tunku Yusof, had the family charm but less of its ability. A suitable post was in due course found for him in southern Kedah. Here about 1865 Yusof became involved in a scandal which rocked local Malay society. He eloped with the daughter of the penghulu of Air Tawar in Province Wellesley, who was then the wife of “a Malay gentleman of Kedah in the Raja’s service.” Later a divorce was arranged “with much difficulty” and Yusof married the lady. He had a streak of eccentricity. When the Kedah royal family was divided by a bitter quarrel in 1879 Yusof took the side of his brother, Kudin, and vowed that he would never shave again until Kudin was restored to power in Kedah. Pasqual says that “wearing a heavy moustache and flowing beard on a light olive coloured complexion he was in general appearance more like a European Arab than a Malay.” Bloomfield Douglas’s verdict on Yusof was – “a nicer companion one could not find – the ladies were quite charmed with him.”

The Sultan had at the start of his reign secured his position by an alliance with the leading non-royal family of Kedah. The most prominent member of this dynasty was Wan Ismail but later on, as Ismail grew older, his place was taken by his son, Wan Mohamed Saman, who is best known in Malayan history as the builder of “Wan Mat Saman’s canal” which runs for
some 20 miles north from Kedah Peak alongside the modern main road.

What was the origin of this powerful family? It is likely that in earlier times Ismail and then Mohamed Saman would have held the traditional position of Laxamana, one of the four major officers of state at the royal court. It is known that Wan Ismail was the son, and so the natural successor, of a Datuk Laxamana, probably the one who was killed in the Siamese attack at Kuala Kedah in 1821. However it became the policy of the Sultans of Kedah in the nineteenth century to let these traditional offices remain vacant and so lapse into oblivion when death removed the latest incumbent. But the Sultan could not govern without the aid of the Kedah aristocrats. He therefore conferred on individuals of his choice a personal delegated authority as “chief minister” (menteri besar) and the like and rewarded them for their services with a grant of royal revenue (ampun kurnia). Power-sharing was a necessary part of the system but its basis was changed from traditional claims to royal favour.

When Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin’s father died in 1854 his claim, as the late ruler’s eldest son but a very young man, was disputed by a distant kinsman who then held the position of Raja Muda. The young son of the late ruler owed his succession to the support given by Wan Ismail and Wan Ibrahim, who was the brother-in-law of Ismail and son of the last Bendahara, who also had been killed in 1821. Moreover Wan Ibrahim’s sister, Wan Maseran, had been the wife of the late Sultan. Two brothers of Wan Ismail held or later rose to the positions of Datuk Syahbandar and Syaikh ul-Islam respectively. This closeknit group consolidated their position around the throne when Wan Maseran arranged that her son, the new ruler, should marry Wan Hajar, daughter of Wan Ismail.

When the new Sultan went to Bangkok in 1855 Wan Ibrahim accompanied him as the senior member of his entourage while Wan Ismail was the senior member of the council of regency in Kedah. Both men acted as menteri besar, whether jointly or in succession is not stated, during the reign. Thus the pattern of a new style of government was set — an aristocrat appointed to the senior non-traditional office of chief executive. But it could lead to rivalry between the chief minister and the Raja Muda, as will appear from the enmity between Wan Mohamed Saman and Tunku Kudin to be described later.

By good fortune Wan Mohamed Saman, who became chief minister about 1870 — with Wan Ismail and Wan Ibrahim as his advisers — proved to be a man of great ability who served Kedah well until his death in 1898. Swettenham judged him to be “the most intelligent man in the state”. He may have been one of the “lads of good family” who were at school with Mr. Keasberry in the 1850’s. At all events Swettenham noted that “he understands a little English and speaks Hindustani fluently.” He may have learnt his Urdu in Penang or during a stay in India. His canal is sufficient witness to his ability as an organiser.

After the initial struggle for power in 1854 the Sultan and his government maintained firm control of Kedah to the end of his reign in 1879. Yet the smack of firm government masks the underlying stresses and weaknesses of the regime.

Kedah, like other Malay states, had an in-built susceptibility to disruption by a continuing struggle for power within the ruling class. There were never enough jobs for the boys. The Sultan’s grandfather, who had been driven into exile by the Siamese in 1821, had been one of nine brothers, one of whom — Tunku Embong or Yakob — had intrigued against him with the Siamese. Throughout the long years of
exile the Kedah aristocracy had been divided into the more numerous group who backed the Sultan in attempts to drive out the Siamese by force and the minority, headed by the exiled ruler's cousin, Tunku Anum, who remained in Kedah to exercise such power as the Siamese, who distrusted them, would allow them to have. In the end the exiled "resistance party" split and its moderates, chastened by defeat, made a deal with the Siamese by which they shared Kedah with Tunku Anum and the collaborators. Tunku Anum died in 1853 and in 1864 the Sultan regained control of the northern district of Kubang Pasu which the Siamese had assigned to him in 1842. The real opposition within Kedah was the rump of the party which had advocated — and practised — war to the bitter end against the Siamese. Their leader was Tunku Mohamed Said, who had been accommodated with the position of Raja Muda during the short reign of the Sultan's father and who made an unsuccessful bid for the throne when it fell vacant in 1854.

Nothing more is heard of Tunku Mohamed Said and the "many rajas and court officials" who had supported him in 1854. They could make no headway inside Kedah since the Siamese might intervene if these former firebrands came to power. But much of the strength of their party had lain in the support which they attracted in Penang. To understand the possible significance of that factor in the 1850's it is necessary to return briefly to the heyday of armed resistance to the Siamese in Penang in the 1830's.

The British authorities in Penang had been much put out by the ease with which the Malay exiles had concealed from them their plans for attacks on the Siamese in Kedah. Yet substantial aid was given by commercial and other interests in Penang. It has been suggested that rival groups of secret societies in Penang were allied with the exiles and with the Siamese in the hope of obtaining valuable commercial concessions in Kedah. This was the period during which Malay associations (jumai) originally concerned with the harmless object of celebrating the Muharram festival were drawn into the Chinese secret society world to become underground criminal gangs, which emerged into the light of day as the notorious "Red Flag" and "White Flag" societies during the Penang riots of 1867. When the Kedah exiles surged into Kedah in 1838 they fought under "the old red flag of Quedah".

The Chinese Ghi Hin society, with which the White Flag Malay society was associated, is found to be linked with the Siamese. One Kok Chai, a prominent Chinese merchant, was the agent at Penang of the Raja of Ligor, who directed the Siamese occupation of Kedah. Thomson describes Kok Chai as "an enterprising man — he planted largely and entered into many speculations." Such a man might well have been interested in the possibilities of concessions in Kedah. In 1847 Kok Chai had made a brief appearance in Perak with 200 men to collect debts owing to the Siamese.

There is evidence for supposing that the Ghi Hin-White Flag interests backed the Siamese and their Malay supporters and that the Hai San-Red Flag group aided the Malay exiles. It is a much more doubtful hypothesis that these secret societies were strong enough to impose a settlement of the conflict on the adversaries in 1841. Wynne supposes that the Chinese businessmen who headed the societies became disenchanted with the endless and inconclusive fighting from which they got nothing. He then puts a question — "was a bargain struck in Bangkok with the Triad wire-pullers in the background, whereby the Malay dynasty was to be restored only if the Kedah court undertook to accept Triad and White Flag influence in Kedah, instead of the
"Tokong" and Red Flag support upon which they had hitherto relied, thus giving the Triad, the supporter of Siam in the struggle, first pick of the spoils in Kedah after the restoration to the discomfiture of the "Tokong"?" Wynne has then to admit that he can find no evidence at all in contemporary records to support his hypothesis.

Without accepting Wynne's ingenious suggestion one may — and should — follow his preliminary conclusion i.e. that the Chinese and Malay societies of Penang were a force in Kedah politics which the ruler could not safely ignore. Logan provides one small but significant piece of information when he says of the staff of the police and law courts in Penang that they included members of the Red Flag society and "maintain a hereditary connection with Kedah court — members of it are often employed by the Raja of Kedah as "kranis" and land measures."

Kedah was spared the serious disruption which the same elements inflicted on Perak and Selangor in the 1860's and 1870's. Kedah had no significant tin deposits and did not offer the same prizes as the states further south in central Malaya. But the gang raids across the Kedah-Province Wellesley border of the 1860's do seem to have had connections with the secret societies. To these events we shall come later.

The economic recovery of Kedah between the 1850's and the 1870's was the result of expansion of its peasant agriculture. Kedah had been almost empty of people when Logan visited it in 1850 — he estimated the population at a mere 8,000 (exclusive of the lost districts of Setul and Perlis). Agricultural prosperity in the ensuing years was a consequence of restoring the population to a level of 50,000 or a little more.

This was not a simple matter of recalling all the Kedah exiles who had settled in Province Wellesley to escape the hardships of the Siamese occupation. Many of these people preferred to remain in British territory, where the soil was said to be more fertile than in Kedah and the cultivator was not subject to the much resented burden of compulsory service (kerah) to a Malay overlords. Many of the Malays who settled in Kedah in the 1850's came from the north-east, especially from Patani which had been divided into small states by the Siamese after an unsuccessful revolt in the 1830's. Here the burden of direct Siamese rule through powerless local chiefs was much resented. In other areas local disturbances induced the peasants to resort to their traditional mode of escape — by packing up and moving elsewhere. When, for example, Larut was disrupted in the 1860's by the first phase of the civil war between the miners Perak Malas came north to settle in Kedah.

The migrants had a choice of destination since many states needed population. Why did they come to Kedah? The double attraction of Kedah was that it had much vacant but developed land and secondly that it was within reach of a market for surplus agricultural produce. When Logan visited Kedah in 1850 he described central Kedah as "an immense paddy field broken at great intervals by clumps and belts of trees but only a small part is now under culture." He believed that until 1821 it had supported a population of up to 100,000. When new settlers moved in to Kedah thirty years later they had to clear the land of secondary jungle (belukar) or rank grass and bushes. But this was a light and easy task compared with felling primaeval jungle on virgin land elsewhere. It was reckoned that it took three years' work to clear jungle and develop new land for rice growing.

The peasant expected to grow his own basic food — rice and minor crops — but
there were many other necessities such as salt and cloth which he must buy for cash. Hence he needed a market in which he could sell surplus produce and products such as rattan collected from the jungle. Kedah had such a market across the narrow straits of Penang. Georgetown had drawn much of its imported food supplies from Kedah since the days of Francis Light. But a market is only “available” if there is an adequate system of communications between the village producer and the urban consumer.

It is evident from his active development of communications in Kedah that Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin anticipated the policy of later British administrators in Perak who found that the construction of communications to link Malay villages and Chinese mining centres had a dramatic effect on the village economy. Hugh Low wrote that “a great improvement in the circumstances of the people has taken place by the ready market that now exists for everything they produce, all kinds of property have enormously increased in value, their fruit, their grain, their buffaloes, goats and poultry sell for more than four times the price at which they could have been purchased in earlier years.”

In the Malay economy there were three traditional methods of transporting goods. Porters could be hired to carry loads on their backs — the pikul of 133 lbs means literally to carry on the shoulder and is the conventional measure of the maximum which a man could move on his back. But this was prohibitively expensive — in 1892 a two-mile carry of bags of rice cost $7.50 per bag. An elephant could carry between a quarter and half a ton but elephants were scarce and likewise expensive with the result that they were an uneconomic means of transport except for goods of high value such as tin ingots.

The cheapest and most satisfactory method of moving goods was by boat along a river or other waterway. For this reason villages in Kedah, as in other states, were usually sited along the banks of rivers. Kedah differed from some other states in having a long coastline but few navigable rivers. In the mid 19th century the agricultural heartland of Kedah was the zone along the Kedah river above Alor Star. Rivers were not always a reliable and economic line of communication. If they meandered it increased the length of the journey and if they were in flood it was difficult to move boats upstream. Rapids, shallows or fallen trees might oblige the boatmen to undertake laborious portage operations to get round an obstacle.

Previous rules of Kedah from the late 17th century onwards had tried to improve the waterways by digging canals (sungai korok). As there was no means of constructing sluicegates canals were limited to traversing flat level country — in the coastal zone. The main purpose of the Kedah canals was either to drain swamps, in order to make land accessible and usable, or to permit the movement of boats. Irrigation required precise control of the flow and ancillary distribution channels. In the 1850’s the practical limit on canal digging was lack of manpower in an empty country.

Accordingly Sultan Abdul Tajuddin began to build short lengths of road over which goods could be moved by bullock cart. In this way he could shorten journeys or open up adjoining valley land to the main river system. In 1858 he built a road from Alor Star to Anak Bukit up the river; in 1866 this was extended to Kepala Batas. The major achievement was the stretch of some 70 miles of main road built from central Kedah as far as the Siamese border, where it joined a road running south from Singgora (Songkhla) at the southern end of the Gulf of Thailand. The work began in late 1863 or early 1864, The Sultan,
who was about to visit Bangkok, went by
elephant — as was his normal practice —
overland to Singgora, whence he would go
on by sea to Bangkok. The Raja Muda,
Tunku Kudin, accompanied the Sultan as
far as Singgora, where they conferred with
the Siamese provincial governor to settle
the details of the junction at the frontier.
Before leaving for Bangkok the Sultan
gave authority to Tunku Kudin to proceed with
the project, which would entail a major
call-up of manpower in Kedah for kerah
service. Tunku Kudin, and his brother,
Tunku Yusof, then returned southwards
to supervise the cutting of the trace
through the jungle to mark the line of the
road. When the Sultan came back from
Bangkok he travelled by elephant over the
line which had been selected.

Years later W.G. Maxwell described
how the road ran north from Alor Star
to Kepala Batas “and thence continues in
an absolutely straight line due north.” In
dry weather the road had “an excellent
surface of hard lateralite earth; in wet
weather however it is hardly fit for wheeled
traffic.” When the road was completed
with all its bridges the Sultan, and his
brothers Tunku Kudin and Tunku Yakob,
set off by elephant to inspect its whole
length. The episode is an interesting picture
of the Sultan at work — unremitting
personal attention to detail.

As a feat of organisation it excels the
better known twenty miles of Wan Mat
Saman’s canal built in the 1880’s. No other
independent Malay state engaged in any
significant road building in the nineteenth
century. However it exacted its costs.
The work was carried through to
completion with a determination and a
ruthless disregard of human suffering which
shows the hard side of the men who ruled
Kedah at this time. The Kedah court
history, which elsewhere ignores the
activities of Tunku Kudin as Raja Muda,
attributes to him the executive
responsibility for this road as it attracted
blame as well as fame. The criticism arose
from the use of kerah labour.

The Resident Councillor of Penang
said that the Sultan “called up all his
ryots for assistance; they were forced to
labour at considerable distances from their
homes not only without wages, but having
to provide their own food; the line was
carried through some deep jungle and
swampy land; many caught fever and died,
and many more carried their families across
our boundary.”

By 1874 it could be said that “there
is constant traffic both by elephants and
by horses” over the road. It is unlikely
that it was economic to move bulky
commodities such as rice over so long a
stretch of road, even with the use of
bullock carts. There is no information of
what commodities were carried on a
regional rather than local route. Apart
from rice the other main foodstuff which
Kedah supplied to Penang was meat,
usually on the hoof. When W.E. Maxwell
made his overland journey in northern
Malaya in 1876 from Perak into Patani he
met a party of Malays driving twenty or
thirty cattle. The two parties camped
alongside and in the drovers’ camp “large
fires were kept burning all night under the
cocnut trees to keep away tigers.” One
has the impression that whatever was
movable and marketable was carried to
the point of sale over surprisingly long
distances.

Much of the exportable produce of
Kedah came from the north and from the
south — Perlis, Sanglang and Jerlun to the
north and the Merbau and Muda area in
the south, together with the island of
Langkawi. Here the economics of transport
dictated movement to the nearest point on
the coast and then shipment direct to
Penang. The harbour of Penang was kept
busy with the traffic — it received almost
two thousand craft from all quarters in
1856. Then in the 1860's the thriving local shipping trade perceived new and wider opportunities. European shipowners sold off their sailing vessels and went over to the use of steamships. In 1865 it was said that "native merchants.... now own a large proportion of the square-rigged shipping visiting the port" of Penang. It was not economic to use these larger ships in the purely local coastal trade and so their new owners began to send their vessel to more distant ports.

Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin had a share in these new ventures. He purchased his first British barque, the Gratitde, in 1856 but she was lost off the coast of China in the following year. Later in 1863 the Sultan bought a two-masted sailing ship and manned her with a Malay crew under a Penang sea-captain, Tuan Syed Mohamed. When he went to Bangkok in 1864–65 the Sultan travelled from Singgora to Bangkok in this ship, which he used as his base during his visit to the Siamese capital. The Siamese - not to be outdone - placed a state barge with oarsmen at the Sultan's disposal. In this splendid fashion he was rowed along the canals of Bangkok to make his formal calls. Towards the end of his reign the Sultan owned a paddle-steamer which he used for trips to Penang and to Langkawi, and he also owned another vessel, the Tentayu.

From ownership the Sultan moved on to the building of sea-going vessels. In 1862 he established a yard for building or enlarging wooden ships on the east bank of the Kuala Sungai Raja near Alor Star. A few years later there is mention of Malay craftsmen building a schooner. His shipyard absorbed the interest of the Sultan who would ride over at the end of a long working day to watch the Malay shipwrights at work. Again one notes that whatever this energetic man set his mind to had his personal attention.

Although peasant agriculture was the mainstay of the Kedah economy there were experiments with plantations. The Sultan established a plantation near his house at Anak Bukit and took the lead in planting coffee at Bukit Pinang in 1870. He also granted land to Chinese entrepreneurs for the same purpose and permitted them to bring in Chinese and Indian labourers. The links with the Chinese business world of Penang forged in the hard times at the beginning of his reign grew stronger as Kedah prospered - and added to its prosperity. There were new townships at Kuala Muda and Baling to which Chinese and Indian merchants came in large numbers. The business centre of Alor Star was laid out in plots for the erection of brick shophouses. Bridges were built to improve the road system of the town. As the Chinese community grew a local kapitan cina was appointed. The most prominent Chinese community leader in Kedah was Lee Yok Siew upon whom the Malay title of Datuk Vijaya Bisara was conferred.

Thye Choon Taw telah dilantik sebagai Kapitan Cina dan digelar Dato' Vijaya Setia.
Economic progress was assisted by a framework of stable administration. The Sultan allocated to members of the ruling house the control of outlying districts. As already mentioned the large but undeveloped northern district of Kubang Pasu was the fief of Tunku Anum (until his death in 1853) and then of his grandsons. This partition of Kedah — and the excision of Perlis and Setul — had been decreed by the Siamese as part of the settlement of 1842. When Tunku Anum’s heirs failed to cope with a difficult task the Sultan, with Siamese approval, resumed control and assigned the district to his brother, Tunku Yakob.

There was a rudimentary system of written titles to land and a penghulu was appointed to take charge of each mukim. In many respects the Sultan’s centralised direction of government was effective and successful. Nonetheless there were two serious weaknesses. The execution of modern public works, such as the building of roads, was based on the traditional right to demand labour from the peasant under the kerah system. In 1850 villagers had complained to Logan of “the arbitrary and irregular demands that were made on their time and labour.” Even if the actual demands made were not excessive the fear that they might be was a disincentive. In later years the effects of the kerah system became much worse when private individuals, to whom the revenues of a district had been allocated, called on the peasants to work on their lands or even sold to third parties that right. Customary service came close to being serfdom.

The other major weakness was the absence of a system for the central collection of and accounting for public revenues. The ruler made grants (ampun kurnia) to individuals of the right to collect revenues from a specific source or a particular locality. The Malay grantee had no means of collecting his revenues and so he sold his rights to a “tax farmer”, usually Chinese, in return for an agreed fixed annual payment. The grant of revenues was often in lieu of payment of a salary to the grantee for public services rendered; or an official might be assigned part of the revenues, to be paid over to him by the tax farmer. An effective and businesslike ruler such as Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin could maintain a financial equilibrium despite the absence of a central treasury and budget system. But it was a defect which had disastrous results in the reign of the extravagant Sultan Abdul Hamid.

For the time being at least the Sultan managed to provide new public services and support an expensive style of living. In 1861 a Malay school was established — probably the first in an independent Malay state — for the education of the sons of rajas and notables. In 1866 Kedah recruited an Indian doctor from Madras who was known locally as bomoh ayai. In 1862 the Sultan appointed a Dutchman, a Muslim convert known as Haji Abdul Rahman, to be military instructor to a local Malay force of about a hundred men, the nucleus of the new style of Kedah military and police force. He was succeeded in 1865 by an Englishman Captain Duyong (Young or De Jong?). Third in succession was Captain Pellet who in 1870 became police commandant and military instructor. There were also Malay appointments — a judge, a kadi and several assistant kadis, and a mufti.

The Sultan and the Raja Muda built fine houses in Kedah which were fitted up in European style. Later on the Sultan’s house at Anak Bukit became a guesthouse for European visitors — Sir Frederick Dickson described it as “a charming house with well kept grounds”; Swettenham who was accommodated there noted “everything being done as in a European’s house.” The furnishings included Venetian glass mirrors and Italian crystal canadelabra.
For business and pleasure the Sultan also had a house at Penang to which he was a frequent visitor. As we have seen he was on friendly terms with Anson and cooperated with him in organising the reception for King Chulalongkorn of Siam on his return from India in 1871. The King was carried up to Anson’s bungalow on Penang hill and the Sultan “lighted up the three miles of jungle path ascent by torches borne by Malays.”

The Sultan had many European tastes and habits. He usually wore a suit rather than Malay costume and he drank alcohol. He had an aptitude as a musician and employed a European music-master called Taylor to teach him to play the violin, at which he practised for an hour or two each evening. One wonders whether music helped him to “unwind” from the tensions of an active life. Taylor went with the Sultan on his pleasure trips to Langkawi island. Taylor’s other task was to raise and train a western style military band, for which a set of instruments was procured from Europe.

The Raja Muda, Tunku Kudin, shared his brother’s tastes. He employed a Singapore architect, Anton Ferrao, to build a palatial mansion at Bukit Tinggi “handsomely equipped and surrounded by a wall of stone.” In later years this house became the royal family’s country residence. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra al-Haj recollects that in his childhood, early in this century “we went to stay in this house for days. The estate covered an area of eighty relangs. I remember distinctly the big chandeliers in the main hall, the servants taking time to light
all the candles in all the rooms in that big mansion..... Leading to the river was an avenue one hundred feet wide with big cement vases on both sides. It was a beautiful well-paved avenue. Behind the vases red and white chempaka trees lined both sides.

In spite of the evident success of his regime and the dolce vita which it made possible the Sultan had his continuing problems. One of them was the threat of disorder along the border between Kedah and Province Wellesley. This had been the main base of the Kedah exiles in their attacks on the Siamese in the 1830’s and it continued to be a stronghold of secret society influences. It was all too easy for the gangs to establish themselves in southern Kedah, slip over the frontier to raid the villages of Province Wellesley and then flee back to asylum in Kedah. All this was a long way from the royal capital and difficult to suppress.

Logan describes a wave of these raids in the 1860’s – “one of my tenants had his house burnt down..... a gang of ten or twenty robbers may march through the most populous villages, plunder houses and retire with complete immunity.” The Penang police could not cross the frontier in hot pursuit since Kedah was Siamese territory which, under the treaty of 1826, the British might not “attack or disturb”. There was however an Anglo-Kedah treaty of 1800 which provided that “all persons guilty of murder running from Pulo Penang to Purlies and Quedah, shall be apprehended and returned in bonds.”

The Sultan was probably too much of a realist to permit the niceties of extradition procedure to embarrass his relations with the authorities in Penang. But sometimes it was embarrassing to him to be asked to hand over a wanted man who was a person of consequence (or secret society connections) in Kedah. Thus in 1862 the
penghulu of Kota, on the Kedah side of the Muda river, was implicated in a gang robbery in Province Wellesley. At first the Sultan “insisted upon his being blameless but was ultimately convinced of his guilt and caused him to be dismissed from his office and otherwise punished.”

The most notorious of these affairs was the incursion into Province Wellesley in 1865 of Syed Hussein at the head of a following of forty armed men. It was a secret society raiding party which came “with a view to attacking a rival society.” The penghulu of Teluk Air Tawar ordered the raiders to disperse and was assaulted for his pains. Later a warrant was issued for the arrest of Syed Hussein who had withdrawn into Kedah again. The Sultan obviously found it difficult or embarrassing to arrest Syed Hussein and did not cooperate. The Straits Settlements authorities then went over his head to Bangkok which despatched a “special Royal Commissioner to enquire into the matter conjointly with the Rajah of Quedah and the Siamese consul at Penang.” The Sultan did not wish to give the Siamese the opportunity to intervene in Kedah and so he tried to salvage his dignity at the last minute with an offer to hand over Syed Hussein. But now the Resident Councillor was not prepared to cooperate – he said that he was “precluded from taking any further action in the case and consequently declined to receive [Syed Hussein] into custody.” The Siamese commission took its course and Syed Hussein was convicted but deported to Siam for punishment.

The other bone of contention between the Sultan and the Penang authorities was the Sultan’s levy of duties on produce exported from Kedah to Penang, in breach of the Anglo-Siamese treaty of 1826, which provided that “the Siamese shall not levy no duty upon stock and provisions such as cattle, buffaloes, poultry, fish, paddy and rice which the inhabitants of Prince of Wales Island, or ships there, may have occasion to purchase in Kedah.” However it was a useful source of revenue which the Sultan and his predecessors had collected for many years. The Siamese, who obtained no revenue from Kedah, were not disposed to support the Sultan in a situation which they found embarrassing.

This long-running dispute was aggravated by another frontier difficulty. The eastern boundary of Province Wellesley included a salient of Kedah territory. As with gang robbers it was very easy for local people to slip across to evade British laws. The Malays of Province Wellesley went over the border to gamble and smoke opium. Gambling houses and opium shops were established just inside the Kedah salient to exploit this profitable trade. As far back as the 1830’s Thomson met “many of the Province Wellesley Malays well known to me indulging in a spell of dissipation at the three favourite pastimes of the Malays” i.e. gambling, cock-fighting and opium-smoking.

When the Straits Settlements passed to Colonial Office control in 1867 it fell to the new broom, Governor Ord, to deal with these problems. He proposed to make a tripartite deal. He would concede the collection of export duties (on a defined scale) in return for a straightening of the frontier by an exchange of territory and a “quarantine” zone of two miles along each side of the frontier within which no gambling or opium establishments might be built. On the frontier itself the authorities on each side would keep a hundred yard wide belt of land clear of jungle to facilitate control of movement across the border. It was a fair and reasonable compromise but Ord, not for the last time, tripped up over the niceties of protocol.

In August 1867 Ord invited the Sultan of Kedah to meet him in Singapore. The
memorandum of agreement put before the Sultan provided, among other matters, for Kedah export duties of $8 per koyan (40 pikuls) of rice, $4 per koyan (800 gantangs) of padi, $1 per head of cattle etc. and $1 per 100 ducks or fowls. This was the meeting at which the Governor found the Sultan suspicious and shy. The underlying cause of the Sultan’s hesitation was the fear that he would embarrass his own relations with his Siamese overlords if he negotiated a deal with the British without reference to them. However the Siamese counsel-general, Tan Kim Cheng, whom Ord found to be “a highly intelligent Chinese gentleman” reassured the Malay ruler. Tan Kim Cheng was an influential figure; another source said that he “had great influence on the Chinese outside the Colony, especially in the northern states bordering on Siam.” One detects the presence at this stage of the Chinese secret society leadership which a Kedah ruler could probably not ignore. Tan Kim Cheng undertook to consult the Siamese government and later informed the gratified Ord that the Siamese “approved highly” of the terms of the memorandum.

At this point the masterful Ord overplayed his hand. He decided that he had an opportunity to tidy up the tangle of old treaties, in particular the unsatisfactory provisions for extradition of wanted criminals, by putting forward a treaty which would embody what had so far been agreed and replace the obsolete treaty provisions. He also failed to appreciate the key role of Tan Kim Cheng in bringing his discussions with the Sultan in Singapore to a satisfactory conclusion. When the draft treaty was ready Ord took it with him, as part of the business of a visit to Penang, and invited the Sultan to meet him there in company with the local Siamese consul at Penang, W.T. Lewis. Confronted with a document which contained much new matter not approved by Siam through Tan Kim Cheng the Sultan with “stolid pertinacity” told the enraged Ord that “he should not sign the treaty.” After much acrimony, including a clash with the British Consul-General in Bangkok, Ord was able to get his treaty signed — not by the Sultan but by commissioners representing the Siamese government.

The whole affair gives useful insights into the Sultan’s character — clear-thinking, adroit but determined — and also into the constraints on his freedom of action in dealing with the Straits Settlements authorities. On the whole his personal relations with them were satisfactory. Cavenagh and Anson, who were friendly men, like Logan in earlier years, got on well with a Malay ruler whom they respected, understanding his difficulties as a vassal of Siam. Moreover they were not permitted to manoeuvre to disengage Kedah from Siamese sovereignty since a watchful British consul-general in Bangkok was concerned to uphold the territorial integrity of Siam lest French expansion in Indo-China should deprive Siam of more territory on its north-eastern frontier.

In the early 1870’s the Straits Settlements government was much preoccupied with the troubled course of events in Perak and Selangor. The presence of Tunku Kudin in Selangor did not — in British eyes — involve Kedah itself. It was only in 1876, when ex-Sultan Ismail of Perak fleeing from his British pursuers crossed over into Kedah, that Kedah became marginally involved in the crisis which followed the death of J.W.W. Birch. As the net closed around Ismail the Sultan of Kedah with a thousand men at call met Ismail and persuaded him that his best course was to surrender. The Sultan then went over to Penang to settle the arrangements with Anson, the Lieutenant Governor. On 20th March 1876 Ismail and 18 followers came across to stay at
the Sultan's Penang house and three days later Ismail gave himself up to Anson.

In this affair the Sultan had again a delicate problem to resolve. If he had declined to cooperate in rounding up the fugitive he would have lost the trust and goodwill of the British. Yet as a Malay ruler he could not openly arrest a fellow ruler and hand him over to an alien power. When he went to meet Ismail he had left his armed force at a distance out of sight. Lastly he had to remember that in Kedah Ismail was within the limits of Siamese suzerainty. The Sultan did not have time in which to consult the Siamese but perforce relied on his judgment that Bangkok could acquiesce in a fait accompli even if the Siamese government privately disapproved of it - as apparently it did.

When it was all over the British tried to secure for the Sultan the reward which he most earnestly wished to obtain i.e. Siamese recognition of his position as Sultan, ruler of Kedah in his own right. This proposal was referred to the British Consul-General in Bangkok who advised against even raising this delicate matter with the Siamese. They would "probably conceive that some sinister end was in view." In support of his advice the Consul-General explained how the Siamese government treated the ruler of Kedah. In official correspondence they addressed him as Chao Phya Sri Sultan Ahmad. Chao Phya was the title of a provincial governor of senior rank and "Sultan" was at least included as a personal honorific prefix. But the Siamese would not budge over the essential point i.e. that in their eyes the Sultan was an appointed provincial governor. He might have earned that position by hereditary status but he did not hold it in his own right. In conversation Siamese officials addressed the ruler merely as Chao Phya. They raised no objection to British and Malay practice in addressing the ruler as Sultan; they well knew that they could not prevent it. But they would not follow suit.

Relations with Siam were an anxiety always in the Sultan's mind. Many years later Swettenham commented that Sultan Abdul Hamid (1882–1943) unlike his father could discuss his relationship with the Siamese without constraint or signs of anxiety. At first sight it looks like an irrational obsession. Since his accession in 1854 the Sultan had been treated with courtesy and trust by King Mongkut and his successor King Chulalongkorn of Siam, and by their ministers. There was no credible rival in Kedah whom the Siamese could set up against or prefer over him. That had become plain when they agreed that he might reunite Kubang Pasu with the rest of Kedah in 1865.

There were reasons of self-interest underlying the Siamese attitude. There had been a time when the Siamese feared that Kedah would desert them and support their ancient enemies, the kings of Burma. But the Anglo-Burmese war of 1825–26 had ended with the total defeat of Burma. The Tenasserim coast down to Kedah was no longer an area of strategic importance to Siam, which could now afford to treat Kedah with benign neglect provided that the formalities of Siamese suzerainty were respected by the triennial presentation of the Golden Flower and the like. The other major factor in Siamese policy towards Kedah was that bitter experience had taught them that the only practicable way of retaining Kedah was indirect rule through a Malay ruler who could preserve order by his authority and without calling on the Siamese for support.
The Sultan was an intelligent man. His visits to and other contacts with Bangkok made him well aware of Siamese policy. Why did he then worry? Why in particular did he prompt (as one assumes he did) his British friends to seek for him Siamese recognition of his position as Sultan of Kedah, which he must have known the Siamese would be reluctant to concede? The answer to those questions is found in his father’s complaint, in conversation with Logan in 1850, that “the uncertainty of his tenure and the character of the Siamese government filled him with apprehension, not so much for himself as for his children” (emphasis supplied). So long as the Siamese insisted that the Sultan held a personal appointment and not an hereditary office it was open to them to deny to the Sultan’s heir succession to the position of ruler of Kedah. They might, for example, find a Malay alternative, such as Tunku Anum had been in 1838, or even try again to impose direct Siamese rule in the quieter times which now prevailed. James Low had written years before that the prospects of the Kedah royal house retaining its position depended on “their own conduct and continued fealty to Siam.”

Hence the Sultan was preoccupied with two matters. First, there should be a clearly designated line of succession to the Kedah throne which would limit the possibilities of Siamese interference at his death. Secondly, no member of the Kedah royal house should by his conduct raise doubts in Bangkok about their reliability. Yet by the late 2860’s problems were looming up of the very kind which the Sultan wished to avoid.

Although Malay rulers often contracted polygamous marriages it was their general practice to have only one acknowledged “royal consort” so that the sons of that union took precedence as heirs over any half-brothers by other wives. As has been related above Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin II had on his accession married Wan Hajar, daughter of the powerful Wan Ismail, as his principal wife. But when he went to Bangkok in the following year the Siamese chief minister had invited him – it amounted to a command – to wed Wan Jah, a member of the Patani Malay ruling family who had grown up in the minister’s family. The Sultan complied but as a result he had two royal wives; in time both bore him sons.

On his return from Bangkok in 1855 the Sultan made the conventional allocation of separate residences to the two wives - Wan Jah took the south wing and Wan Hajar the north wing of the astana. But this spatial separation only gave symbolic recognition to their inherent rivalry. Until her death in 1869 Wan Masheran, the Sultan’s widowed mother, was the dominant female figure in the royal circle. After her death the mantle of matriarch descended to Wan Hajar, who was a strong personality and the sister of the chief minister, Wan Mohamed Saman. However it was other wife, Wan Jah, with her Siamese connections who bore the Sultan’s eldest son, Tunku Zainal Rashid (generally called Tunku Petra).

In an effort to settle the succession the Sultan made a will by which he declared that Tunku Petra, as the eldest son, should be his successor but next in succession should be Tunku Abdul Hamid, the eldest son of his marriage to Wan Hajar.

In the 1860’s the Sultan was still under forty and his elder sons were young children. The more immediate problem was the future position of the Sultan’s eldest brother, the Raja Muda Tunku Kudin. Of the other two brothers Tunku Yakob lacked the charisma and perhaps the ambition to contend for the throne if it fell vacant and Tunku Yusof was too much of a playboy to be a serious rival. But Kudin was able and ambitious – “very pleasant when he chose, he did not always choose” was the
verdict of Emily Innes later on. Kudin may already have been at loggerheads with Wan Mohamed Saman — "the man whom he hated most."

Then — it must have seemed providential to the Sultan at the time — in 1867 the Sultan of Selangor wrote to invite his fellow ruler to be or ro provide a husband for Tunku Arfah, the daughter of the Selangor Sultan. It was decided that Tunku Kudin should marry the Selangor princess — probably the marriage took place in mid 1868. The elderly Sultan of Selangor then delegated to his new son-in-law vague powers which British administrators later interpreted as giving him the position of "vicereoy" of Selangor.

However within a year Kudin came back to Kedah, ostensibly because his mother was dying. How much Kudin told his brother of the Selangor civil war, then in its opening stages, and of Kudin's plans we cannot know. Kudin must have had the Sultan's approval for raising a force of 500 men which he was to take back to Selangor. But it is unlikely that the Sultan realised how deeply Kudin would become involved. Later one of Kudin's European friends wrote that he "seems to have gone to Langat, when the war broke out, with a view as he expressed it, of guarding his house, that is looking after his own or his wife's property." On his return he did send half his men to Kuala Langat and kept half as a personal bodyguard. But within a short time all but fifty were gathered at Klang and engaged in Kudin's successful bid to capture Klang from his opponent, Raja Mahdi. Driven out of Klang Raja Mahdi protested to Siam that its vassal state of Kedah was intervening by force in Selangor in breach of the Anglo-Siamese treaty of 1826. As the protest did not come from Britain the Siamese merely referred the matter to the ruler of Kedah. The Sultan was sufficiently disturbed to recall Kudin from Selangor so that he might go to Bangkok to explain and justify his position. The Sultan also suspended indefinitely the despatch of reinforcements from Kedah whom Kudin urgently needed and sent his brother, Tunku Yakob, for a short visit to Klang — presumably for the purpose of obtaining information of the real situation there. Finally in 1873 the Sultan revoked Kudin's appointment as Raja Muda and appointed Tunku Yakob in his place.

By these steps the Sultan distanced himself and his state from Kudin's activities in Selangor. He did not however disown his brother nor apparently object to Kudin's return to Kedah in 1878 after Kudin had retired from the position of viceroy, which in the altered circumstances of the British protectorate no longer afforded scope for Kudin's ambitions.

Although the Sultan was evidently sensitive to events which might embarrass his relations with Siam there are signs that Bangkok continued to find the Malay ruler of Kedah a reliable and useful vassal. A few years before, just after Raja Mahdi's protest, the Chinese miners at Tongka in southern Siam rose in revolt. At the request of the Siamese government the Sultan raised a force of a thousand men who were sent to Tongka under the command of Wan Mohamed Taib and of Tunku Yakob. By this means the rising was suppressed in 1873. The Siamese were grateful. Later King Chulalongkorn visited Kedah, returning to Singgora over the road which Kudin had built. In his progress the King took with him Tunku Yakob and Tunku Yusof, who then spent three months at Bangkok and were honoured with the titles Phya Saraponpit (for Tunku Yakob) and Phya Kidai Surin (for Tunku Yusof). The effect of these royal marks of favour was that the two younger brothers, like the Sultan, were suitably placed in the Siamese bureaucratic hierarchy. What the King gave, the King could take away.
If Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin had lived on to old age he might have guided Kedah through the next decade or two with more prudence and greater financial restraint than was shown by his young son, Sultan Abdul Hamid, whose long reign (1882–1943) marked the beginning of a new era. However it was not be. In 1878, when he was still in his mid forties, the Sultan fell sick of a lingering illness. He went off to spend some months at Bukit Pinang, where he had a coffee plantation, to recuperate his health. He returned to Alor Star in March 1879. From time to time a temporary respite and his sheer will-power brought him forth to confer with his ministers in the council chamber. But his condition deteriorated and he died on 22nd June 1879. This was the start of a bitter struggle for power within the royal family of Kedah — just what he had been so anxious to prevent.

Gambar pemandangan Pekan Melayu 1905
(Gambar: Muzium Negeri Kedah)
'As soon as we arrived Mr. Kus who is the French parents but born in America showed us around the town and is a quarter of an hour we had seen the six small streets'
On Monday 22 October, at 9 a.m. we embarked on "The Fly" which arrived at the mouth of Kedah river at about 4 in the afternoon. There were dropped anchor to receive the customs officers.

While the formalities were going on we noted two small cannon in the fortress which guards the entrance to the river.

After the customs examination we sailed up the river for about an hour and disembarked at Laosta, capital of the kingdom where the Sultan's residence is.

"As soon as we arrived Mr. Kus who is the French parents but born in America, showed us round the town, and in a quarter of an hour we had seen the six small streets."

We spent Tuesday in learning all we could of the customs and products of the country. Our first visit would have been to the "Rajah" if he had not be absent; but as nobody knew where he had gone, we visited a Chinese (Kapitan China?) who entertained us to tea and cigars. We had heard much of the "Rajah's" country-house; so we determined to visit it.

About three miles from the town on the Royal Road we find to the right, a narrow path about a hundred yards long, bounded by long grass. At the extremity we enter a park about one hundred yards square, enclosed by trick walls at least ten feet high. A large well-built house occupies the centre, with a small flower garden separating the front door from the door of the park. The castle is devoid of ornaments. In the spacious saloon there is a round table and armchairs.

On going out I saw some Malays who told me that the Sultan had another and more beautiful country-house farther on the same road. We quickly went in the direction indicated and soon arrived before a large garden-door in a well remarkably high. We were told it was the Regent's house (Pumpong).

The park was larger than the first. The enclosure at the back was fenced with wood. At the end of the park near the river we saw a pretty wooden house well constructed. The garden adjoining it consisted of nothing but sterile sand, consequently there is no hope of vegetation. So, to beautify his garden the Regent has hugh Chinese flower-pots.

On Monday and Tuesday we noticed the most important building. The Admiralty House is built of old planks and roofed with attap. The Central Police Station has the appearance of a marketplace. The Royal Police is large, built of brick and covered with tiles. The prison which is, I believe, the only one in the kingdom, is a veritable curiosity. It is about twenty five yards square and has walls about seven yards high. On these walls there is a sloping one-panelled roof which covers the cells. This roof slopes towards the centre. When it rains there is a kind of channel to receive the water and it is in this that the prisoners bathe. There are more than one hundred.

On Tuesday after Mr. Kus had given the little princes (the Sultan's brothers) their lessons, he conducted us to the famous country-house, in the Royal carriage. It is situated about five miles from the road we traverse this morning. After travelling for four miles we came upon an immense plain of paddy fields with thousands of small streams gurgling on every side.

Here and there are little clumps of trees which break the monotony of the scene, and the distance chains of high mountains frame the scenic landscape which is the most beautiful I have ever seen.

The country-house is situated on an island encompassed by two tributaries of a large river. The Castle crowns a small hill projecting in the middle of the island. It is all paved with marble and the apartments are so placed as to enjoy a continual cool-
Almarhum DVMM Sultan Abd. Hamid Halim Shah
(Memerintah Negeri Kedah 1882-1943)

YTM Tunku Abd. Aziz
(Raja Muda)
ness. The view from it takes in the whole plain, but the eye has to rest on the vast and splendid garden of the Royal Garden, and contemplate avenues, which flank the avenues, on which can be found on the banks of the river. These are chiefly orange, mangosteens, chikus, pomelos, and many others with whose names I am not familiar, but which are indeed delicious. At the foot of the hill we admired a magnificent cemented pond framed in an ornamented wall of cemented lacework. In the pond there are some enormous fish that gambol on the surface and swallow flowers thrown to them by visitors. I do not think that there is a more delightful spot in all the Starits."

Balai Polis
Kedah, Setul and Perlis:
Seventy Years Ago
Skeat's Reminiscences of Visits

Dato' Wan Ibrahim Wan Soloh

Dipetik dari Kedah Dari Segi Sejarah Jil. 4, Bil. 1 April 1970

'After interviewing the players of the naubat on the history and significance of the royal regalia, he was invited to partake of the saffron rice (nasi kunyit) and curry that were laid on the floor. Skeat did not mention whether he really partook in the eating in the rice'
The University of Cambridge Expedition to the North-Eastern Malay States and Upper Perak in 1899-1900 was largely due to the interest and enthusiasm of William Walter Skeat who headed the expedition.

Skeat, a son of Rev. W.W. Skeat, the well-known authority on Anglo-Saxon, was born at Cambridge in 1866. He entered the University in 1884 as an undergraduate at Chris's College, reading for a classical tripos. The following year he became a scholar of his College where he obtained his B.A. in 1888, and M.A. in 1891. He came to Malaya and joined the Selangor Civil Service in May 1891 and posted to Klang as Assistant District Officer of Ulu Langat and Kuala Langat; in Perak as District Magistrate, and in Larut in 1898. He then went on leave. The period of his leave was twice extended to enable him to make the necessary preparations to lead the Expedition.

They then proceeded to Bharu, Kelantan, where they stayed for twenty three days.

Then they left for Kuala Trengganu by steamer and remained there for two weeks. On November 5th, 1899 they continued their way south by sea, arriving in Singapore two days later. On 16th November Skeat left Singapore for Penang. He fell ill on arrival at Penang and was admitted to hospital where he remained for nearly a month.

At the beginning of this period the Expedition Party split up. Evans went on a solitary trip to Pulau Songsong, Pulau Bidan and other Islands off the coast of Kedah while Laidlaw and yapp set out for Gunong Bintang on the border between Kedah and Perak. Gwynne-Vaughan left for England early in August.

On his discharge from hospital Skeat went to Malacca to climb Mt. Ophir with a party of Europeans.
in a European coat with a coloured shirt, stand-up collar and linen tie.

As a special favour, the Sultan's Malay story-teller (Penghibr Lar) was commanded to wait for Skeat at eight o'clock the following morning. Unfortunately the man did not turn up; so Skeat strolled along in search of his house. On the way he saw the Sultan flash past mounted on a bicycle and closely followed by an attendant.

Continuing his search for the story-teller's house he passed the Balai Besar and just beyond it he heard music emanating from a turret-like building. He walked over to it and ascended a steep stair-case and found himself in a loft-like room. There, with their players, were the instruments of the Sultan's regalia, the Naubat. "After interviewing the players of the Naubat on the history and significance of the Royal regalia, he was invited to partake of the saffron rice (nasi kunyiit) and curvy that were laid on the floor. Skeat did not mention whether he really partook in the eating of the rice."

On the afternoon of the same day he visited Kampong Alor Malai and was shown how to make flageolets (bangsi) out of padi stalk. Old people, he was told, did not approve of the making of flageolets out of paddy stalk. They believed that the cutting of the stalk while the plant is still growing tends to weaken the growth, and hence has a bad effect on the crop as a whole.

On returning to the Rest House he discussed with the Orang Bertelor (the man that lays eggs, or the butler) of the Rest House his programme for the next day. He was told of a wedding at Tanjark, pottery-making at Alor Merah and other Malay handicraft industries in the localities. Skeat was keen to see the Malay weaving industry. He apparently did not go to any of the places mentioned but instead he went to Derga to watch a cock-fight on the after-

noon the next day, 30th December.

He said the people here laughed at the "Ominous Times" (ketika) once so scrupulously observed by Malayan cock-fighters. But he noticed that they still used the old form of Malayan water-clock for regulating bouts. It consisted of a half coconut shell with a small hole in it, the latter so arranged so that if the shell was set floating in a bowl of water it would fill and sink in exactly twelve minutes. Each bout was supposed to last for one filling, and the birds were considered good if they could last five fillings (that is, one hour).

On 31st December at 7.30 a.m. Skeat and his party left Alor Star by boat for Setul. Seven hours later they reached Pulau Panjang and dropped anchor for an hour waiting for the tide to rise. The next three or four hours were wasted in vain attempts to find the proper channel. At the outset, the serang, a Chinese, was positive that they would reach Setul at 2 p.m. So Skeat did not take any food and therefore had to go 'fasting' until he reached his destination.

Balai Nobat Lama
When he spoke to the serang about the late arrival, he made the excuse that he only came here “once in four or five years”. Shortly after he exclaimed that he had “never had such ill-fortune before”, although he had been to Setul four hundred times.

Finally Skeat reached Setul and on arrival at the Rest House he found that the District officer, Tuan Kudin (Ku Din) was there to receive him.

Skeat said that Ku Din was a good example of the more intelligent type of Siamese official. He spoke and wrote both Malay and Siamese. Ku Din told him that he had been in Setul for two years, and for the last six months, following the death of the late Raja, he had been acting Regent. The Raja Muda who was to succeed him had gone to Bangkok to undergo training for his duties.

Skeat was also told that the founder of Setul was one Ungku Dewa who had come from Kedah but who was not related to the Kedah Royal Family. He had been sent to Setul by the Siamese Government. He was afterwards succeeded by one Tunku Bisma in whose time there was war between Ligor and Kedah. A period of anarchy followed. Kedah sent Tunku Mohammed Akib to govern the province and this was recognised by the Siamese Government. Mohammed Akib was succeeded by his son, Tunku Ismail, and he by Tunku Abdul Rahman. Tunku Ismail died about 6 months before Skeat’s visit.

Skeat recorded Setul town as lying between two rivers, the Setul and the Ayer Tawar. The town had a good road with about 60 well-built timber shophouses most of which had thatched roofs. There were also a few brick-and-tile shop-houses owned by Chinese. There was a school with about 30 pupils run by a teacher trained in penang. There was a Court House and prison built of brick. The laws of Setul were very much the same as those of Kedah. The Hakim (Judge) had the power to sentence a person to two years imprisonment and a fine not exceeding $500/-. Appeal could be made to the District Officer.
The population of Setul according to Ku Din at the last census was 25,000 but the people of Perlis, great rivals and critics of Setul, said this was exaggerated. According to them the entire province could not have more than 5,000–6,000 souls at the most.

The Government annual revenue, Skeat was told, was $26,000/–, mostly derived from Government Farms (pajak besar) and import and export duties (pajak kechil). Import and export duties on coconuts were fixed at 3% and valorem. This also applied to textiles and other stuffs such as edible bird-nests.

Taxcs on boats were:-
(a) Mast tax (hasil tiang) — 12½ cents per ton
(b) Timber — per tongkang 40 cts. in $12/–
(c) Out-ward passes (pas belayar) — 50 cents.

The prices of poultry and eggs, cattle and buffaloes were usually very cheap but for the last 2 years they had risen considerably. At the time of Skeat’s visit fowls were sold at 25 cents per head, compared with 10 cents two years before. The price of ducks which was formerly $1/– for 6–8 head had risen to 25 cents per head. Cattle, formerly $20/– to $25/– per pair were now $30/– to $40/–. This was almost the same for buffaloes. Duck’s eggs, usually 10 for 4 cents now cost 15 cents for the same number. Fish, 3–4 cents per kati was now 20 cents per kati.

Whisky could be bought for $1.20 per bottle, and toddy at 3 cents for about a pint.

The rise in prices was attributed to the opening of local ports and the number of traders who came from Penang.

It was customary for Setul to send tribute in the form of Bunga Emas to Bangkok once in three years. This was valued at $1,500/–. This money was raised by levying poll-tax (cukai kepala).

On the morning of 2nd January, 1900, Ku Din took Skeat to see the Sam-sams. These, Skeat was told, were Malays who had turned Siamese in everything except their religion.

At 11 that night Skeat bade farewell to Ku Din and sailed for Kuala Perlis, reaching Kangar 12 hours later. The late arrival was due to the bungling of the serang’s sense of direction in piloting the launch in the proper course.

Skeat was taken to stay at the Rest House at Kangar. He described the Rest House as a palatial two-storied building of brick-and-tiles, which had cost the Government $8,000/– to build. It had mahogany tables, bentwood chairs and iron beds with spring mattresses. In 1900 these were luxuries for a Rest House. After a short rest and sending a letter of introduction to the Raja, he went for a walk round the town. He visited the market. Here he found that fish were sold by the ‘tail’ and by lots (lunggok). The prices ranged from a few cents to a dollar, depending on the type and quality of the fish.

The main street, Skeat found, consisted of about sixty-two houses, mostly made of brick and owned by Chinese. There were about eight Malay shops made of plank with attap roofs. He also saw a Court House and a prison. The wall of the prison was about 18 feet high. It contained about 8 Malay prisoners and only one Chinese. He asked why there was only one Chinese inmate in a place where Chinese were numerically in the majority. He was told that Chinese prisoners were let out on ‘security’, whenever anyone could be found to bail them out.

The annual revenue of the State was about $27,000/– and this was collected in the form of monopolies by farming the following:-
Opium, rice etc.        $14,000.00
Import and export duties  $ 1,000.00
Oil                     $ 1,500.00
Salt, spirits, gambier    $ 3,200.00
Tobacco                  $ 900.00
Fish                     $  780.00

There was no land tax on account of the retention of the corvee (kerah) system and the land was not demarcated.

Like Setul, Perlis also sent tribute to Bangkok in the form of gold and silver trees. The gold tree was made up of 12 bongkal of gold (16 bongkal equals one kati) and the silver tree was made up of 25 pieces of Spanish dollars. The whole would cost the Government $1,500/- excluding $500/- worth of presents to the various Siamese chiefs and officials.

Skeat was told the population of the State was estimated at between 3,000–4,000. But according to a Kedah official his Government estimated it at 6,000 men who were liable to ‘kerah’ (compulsory labour). This would make a total population of about 16,000 including the women and the Chinese.

On the morning of January 4th, Skeat went to Gua Berhala, a distance of about 6 miles from Kangar. It was in this cave that the red clay medallions were discovered, some stamped with figures of Buddha, others with characters believed to be Siamese. A European who had come here some years earlier was said to have taken away all the best stamped medallions.

Early the next morning the Raja (Syed Sofi) visited Skeat at the Rest House and the conversation they had mostly about Sam-sams, and one Sam-sam family in particular. The Raja told Skeat that this family consisted of mahouts and the head of the family was named Ikut. Ikut had a son by the name of Eman and a grand-son named Isch. When one of Eman’s brothers died, Eman and Isch stole the body and cremated it according to Buddhist rites. The members of this family were suspected of secretly attending Buddhist prayers at the temple. They spoke Siamese and knew only a few words of Malay and yet they called themselves Malays. This was during the time of the previous Raja (Syed Ahmad).

Skeat was also told that quite a good quantity of tobacco was being grown up-country. Two types of tobacco were grown, the ‘chenak’ and ‘lerik’.

He was told the various processes of curing tobacco leaves. One kati of cured tobacco leaves was sold at five cents per kati.

Skeat left Perlis for Alor Star early the next morning (6th January, 1900). He reached Alor Star at 10 a.m. and went to the Rest House to make the necessary preparations for a trip to Baling the next morning.

In the morning of the 7th he began his journey to Baling. He hired two elephants, Chaping (male) and Kupang (female). Apparently he went via Hutan Kampong and Langgar though he himself did not affirm this so. Crossing a broad plain of bendang (rice fields) he saw an ‘enemy entrenchment. He was told that it was the site of a battle between Kedah and the Ligor invaders. The entrenchments were earth-worke about six feet high. Then he passed through Kepak Jantan, a stream supposed to have been called after a place where a Malay boat of that name had been wrecked. He was told that for a long time the whole mast of the boat had been visible, but when he saw it only a stump remained. It had been ‘canonised’ and was considered by the local inhabitants as ‘keramat’.

Early the next morning he continued his journey passing through rice plains. He saw Bukit Perak on the left and Gunung Jerai on the right at a distance. Both were wrapped in the bluest of blue haze. He
passed through Tanah Merah and Kampong Kaya. The latter got its name after a wealthy Malay who it was said would offer a buffalo to anyone able to stand at his 'ranch' gate and count exactly the numbers of buffaloes as they were driven past him.

Skeat spent the night of 8th January at Jeneri and left at 5 a.m. the next morning for Kampong Teloi passing through Kampong Biak. His next stop was a big village. Here he found the men wore loose waist-cloth (kain lepas) extending down to the knees with ends hanging loose in front the same as he observed at Jalor, Patani Province, but of inferior quality. The women wore cloths of better and finer patterns. Most of these were obtained from Penang.

Leaving the village at 6.30 the following morning, 10th January, he passed Sungai Tempat and Sungai Keriang and Rejang at 2 p.m. and another place which he thought was Baling but was not. He was told that if he wanted to see Negritos (Sakai) he had to go to Siong. He spent the night at this place which transpired to be "Kampong Che' Wang Kechil".

Baling which was reached later appeared to him a 'squalid-looking place' though it boasted of having some fifteen two-storied brick-and-tile Chinese shop-houses. At the end of a street he found a police post outside which, to his surprise, he met a police-man in khaki uniform. In reply to his question the police-man told him that this police station was manned by six police constables under the charge of a corporal.

He left Baling and reached Siong at about 2.30 p.m. passing on the way a continuous succession of small kampons (hamlets). During the journey, not far from Baling, he came to a place where a cock and a hen had been impaled on two long bamboo poles and set about eight feet from the ground on each side of the path. This, Skeat was told, was a consequence of their having mated within the owner's house. The belief was that the fowls were considered to have committed the equivalent of incest and therefore cleansing was essential.

Skeat put up for the night at the Penghulu's house at Siong. Although it was late in the afternoon, the penghulu sent for Negritos and three came to see him in the evening. They were known locally as 'Semang Padang', and were said to belong to the 'Jarum lot, Jarum being a place a day's journey from Siong in the District of Rhaman in the Province of Patani.

The Penghulu told Skeat that in Siong the people did not name a child until he or she could talk. Then it was their custom to write seven alternative names on seven bananas and allow the child to choose one of them.

On the 12th (January) Skeat spent the whole day at the Negrito camp at Bukit Temesu, some two miles from Siong. For giving him all the information required, he presented them with tobacco, matches and red cloth for which they thanked Skeat profusely.

All the Negritos at Siong lived in one 'long hut' with an arched roof of 'bertam' palm leaves. The Malay houses round the area were thatched with 'chuchoh' palm. Skeat found that these Negritos were less wild than those of the hill type, though they spoke the same language.

Skeat spent the whole of 13th and 14th January with the Negritos too. He was able to see how the Negritos made their bark-cloths and apply poison to blow-pipe darts. During the day, to his surprise and delight, his servant, Haji Sirat, arrived from Penang, having crossed over and walked through the greater part of Kedah to find him.

On the 16th he began his return journey back to Alor Star. He left very early in the morning. On the way he
stopped at Lubok Legong where there was another Negrito Camp.

He spent the night at Chepir and left very early in the morning of the 17th, passing through Sik and arriving at Kuala Berok late in the afternoon. After early breakfast 'sahur' (it happened to be Muslim fasting month) he left for Jeneri at 1 a.m. and arrived at Padang Pusing at about 8.30 a.m. After a short rest he proceeded to Tanah Merah. He missed a boat for Alor Star and was forced to hire a whole Chinese sampan to take his party (with all their luggage) by sea to Alor Star for the absurdly small sum of $5/. On arrival he proceeded to the Rest House at Bakar Bata and later left for Penang. After three days in Penang Skeat returned to Alor Star for a quick visit to the village of Jarum, near Tanah Merah, where he had met several Negritos and there took more measurements and photographs of them.

On the 2nd of February, 1900, he had an audience with the Raja Muda (Tunku Abdul Aziz) at his istana at Alor Merah.

While in Alor Star he went for a crocodile shooting expedition. He finally left Alor Star on the 9th for Penang and sailed for England by S.S. Valetta with R.H. Yapp on the 10th of February.
'The Kedah State Council gave me my first taste of the joy of a one language legislative and executive body. Everything was done in Malay, the enactments were drafted by me in Malay, and translated into English after they had been passed. In the same way, I wrote my minutes and memoranda in Malay. Every item on the agenda was keenly discussed, and differences of opinion between two or more members, though always friendly and courteous, were not infrequent, for the whole thing was so very new'
On the 15th. July, 1909, at midday, I arrived by a Government launch at Alor Setar to assume duty as Adviser to the Kedah Government under the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of the 10th March, 1909, and was met at the wharf by His Highness Tunku Mahmud, President of the Kedah State Council and the members of the Kedah State Council and Mr. W.J.F. Williamson, Financial Adviser to the Siamese Government. My predecessor, Mr. G.C. Hart, the adviser appointed by the Siamese Government, had already left Kedah, and Mr. Williamson had arrived from Bangkok for the official ceremony which was to mark the transfer of suzerainty under the Treaty from Siam to Great Britain. In every detail, the arrangements made by the Kedah Government were most elaborate. The houses and streets were decorated with flags and bunting. The official ceremony opened at 3.30 p.m. in the Balai Besar, where Mr. Williamson and I were received by His Highness the Sultan in the presence of all the members of the State.
Council, the leading officials and private members of the community. After we had been conducted to our seats, Mr. Williamson addresses His Highness in a speech explanatory of the ceremony’s connection with the treaty, and my arrival as the future Adviser.

I then made a speech mentioning His Majesty’s acceptance of the transfer of suzerainty, and the instructions which I had received to take over the duties of Adviser. In conclusion, I gave an assurance of my earnest desire to serve the State to the best of my ability. Mr. Williamson and I, as representatives of the Siamese and British Governments, then signed a deed of transfer in duplicate. The Sultan then made a speech, in which he thanked Mr. Williamson, as the representative of the Siamese Government, and myself, as the Adviser appointed by the British Government, and there upon the proceedings terminated. Throughout the ceremony, Malay dignity and courtesy were seen at their highest and best.

After Mr. Williamson’s departure for Bangkok, I was in the extremely delicate position of occupying a newly created post without any instructions concerning my duties. Fortunately for me, I found in H.H. Tunku Mahmud, the President of State Council, one of the most delightful men that I have ever met, and one of the best friends that I have made. Although we were strangers to one another, I explained my difficulty unreservedly to him. I told him that I had no written or verbal instructions of any kind beyond the one to be “an Adviser”, and I suggested to him that pending any instructions that I might receive from Singapore, it was for him and me to agree, in general terms upon what I could and should do, and what I could not and should not do.

In the first place, I said that I was well aware of the “Adviser” system, as it prevailed in Siam where the Adviser’s duties were strictly confined to giving advice, and the difference between it and the “British Resident” system in the Federated Malay States, where the Residents were executive officers. I assured him that I had no intention of doing anything more than giving advice. This was a great relief to his mind, and he welcomed it with pleasure. I than said that, as I knew nothing of the system of departmental administration in Kedah, one of my first
duties would be to visit the various Departments in Alor Setar, and discuss matters with the Heads of Departments. He agreed to this willingly. I then asked for an assurance that nothing of any real importance should be done without my knowledge. He agreed without hesitation, and we thus had a good working arrangements.

The Kedah State Council gave me my first taste of the joy of a one-language legislative and executive body. Everything was done in Malay; the enactments were drafted by me in Malay, and translated into English after they had been passed. In the same way, I wrote my minutes and memoranda in Malay. Every item on the agenda was keenly discussed, and differences of opinion between two or more members, though always friendly and courteous, were not infrequent, for the whole thing was so very new.

When any decision had been reached, I real it out, and, when it had been approved, with or without amendments, by the President, and when the members had nodded their assent, it was written down then and there by the Secretary for confirmation at the next Council Meeting. Enactments, which received the most meticulous attention, naturally presented difficulties, particularly when they dealt with such complex matters as, for instance, Courts, Lands, Mines or Sanitary Boards. The Annual Estimates were an ordeal. Until the State Council had approved of “Salary
Schemes”, the salary of a terribly large number of officials, from the top to the bottom, came under discussion with a view to an increase of salary. In one year, the Estimates were discussed on nearly every day (except Fridays) of a whole month from 10 a.m. till 4.30 p.m. with an interval for lunch. It was at the height of the hot dry season, when the North-East Monsoon, blowing over parched padi fields, burned like a flame. Towards the end of such a day, when two members had been arguing interminably whether some clerks should get an increase of ten dollars a month, I turned to Tunku Mahmud and asked him for a cigarette. With astonishment, he said “but you don’t smoke”. I replied “Tunku, I haven’t smoked for years, but unless I smoke now, I do not know what may happen”.

Council proceedings were in abeyance, while, amid the amusement of all and jokes and laughter, I lit my cigarette. It certainly did me good, and we all felt the better for an unexpected interlude. Whether the clerk got his increase I do not remember, but we got on a little faster with the Estimates.

Some years later, the Council passed a vote of some importance. The “Debt-Bondage” system had been inherent in the State since time immemorial. Most middle class Malay families had some man, woman of child as an unpaid domestic servant for his or her life-time, and the upper class families had several of them. The State Council heartily favoured the principle of abolishing the system, but was unanimously of opinion that abolition was not a practical proposition. After some long and anxious deliberations, the State Council approved a system under which all these debts would be invalid unless they were registered, and all debts would be automatically reduced every month by a fixed sum in lieu of salary. As the period which was to elapse before the debtor could be free depended upon the amount
of the debt, the debtors would not all become free at once. Within a couple of years of the enactment coming into force, some debtors won their freedom, and either left their employers, or, as often happened, stayed on with them as free salaried servants. This was hardly noticed by the general public; and then every month, in increasing numbers, more and more debtors won their freedom.

By this time everyone realised that the system was nearing its end, and the State Treasury had been keeping a careful record of every debt and of the amount still Council was dealing with the Public Works Department’s estimates, and was approving considerable sums $50,000 for this service, and $100,000 for that one – I asked Tunku Mahmud whether he had any idea of the total amount due by all the debt-bondsmen and women in the State. When I gave the figure supplied by the State Treasury, every one was amazed by its being not more than some of the items which we had been cheerfully passing for the P.W.D. I then said “Shall we pass a vote now, pay off all the creditors, and put an end to the thing?” This was unanimously approved with acclamation. Proclamations were issued the next day that all these debtors were free, and that the creditors would be paid the amount due to them upon application to the Treasury. This system was followed with equal success in Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu.

With the transfer of suzerainty to Great Britain, the functions of the British Consul in Kedah automatically terminated. Mr. Meadows Frost, who had been stationed in Alor Setar as British Consul since January, 1906, and who had at times shewn consummate tact in difficult situations, was extremely popular and admired as a personality, but the fact that he wielded extra-territorial powers in the Civil and Criminal Courts of the consulate naturally jarred upon the susceptibilities of the Kedah authorities. On the day that I assumed duty as Adviser in Kedah, he assumed duty as Adviser in Perlis. When he left Alor Setar the house which had been his consular court, office and residence was, by a happy thought, converted into the Kedah Club. A billiard room and all the other rooms and attractions of a club were quickly installed, and the club became the place where Malays and Europeans met regularly every evening.

I had a beautiful house, and gave much attention to laying out the spacious grounds around it. At the entrance, there was, on one side of the drive, a fairly large patch of padi land on which some Malays had been allowed to squat. With Tunku Mahmud’s approval, they were given land elsewhere and compensated. Using convict labour, I had an ornamental pond made by excavating the soil to some depth and using the material to raise the level of the surrounding ground. When it was finished, no one could have guessed that a padi field had been there.

Kelab Kedah
(Arkh Negara M’sia)
Convict labour also made a nine-hole golf course, designed in such a manner as not to interfere with a race course which was also being made round the house. These convicts, all of them Malays, were delightful fellows, and the real fault of many of them was high spirits and youth. They were padi planters, and in the unirrigated padi fields, there is no work for any one for five months in the year. After the harvest, these lads had lost their money in gambling and had then stolen a buffalo or some cattle from a neighbouring village: there had been the excitement of getting away with the stolen animals to some distant village for sale, and evading the pursuit of the infuriated owners. These adventures sometimes ended in bloodshed, and, even if they did not, they were so prevalent as to be worse than a nuisance to the peace of the countryside. The fixed penalty for cattle theft was seven years rigorous imprisonment. Our two small sons loved these convicts, and spent hours walking about the grounds hand in hand with them.

Every year, there was a Gymkhana meeting, and visitors came up from Penang with their ponies. Tunku Mahmud and some other Malays were keen horsemen, and rode regularly for afternoon exercise. Dr. A.L. Hoops, the State Surgeon, and Mr. J.J. Fleury, the State Veterinary Officer, were enthusiasts.

At every meeting, on top of the usual gymkhana races and event, there was a Cross-country Steeplechase. The course, laid out by Dr. Hoops and Mr. Fleury, covered some miles and lay over padi fields baked to the hardness of cement, and intersected by frequent drains of varying sizes. It really was a dangerous course, and, as it was all out of sight of the spectators until the final run-in to the winning post, the wives of the riders were sometimes sorely afraid until their husbands, battered and bruised may be by falls, appeared in view.

On occasions, Dr. Hoops and Mr. Fleury were the leading spirits in pig-sticking parties. There was plenty of wild pig, but the beaters had difficulty in making them break cover. So far as I am aware, Mr. Fleury was the only man who ever speared a wild boar in an open chase across a Malayan padi field.

Space and time prevent me from giving a description of our snipe-shooting picnics. A mixed party of Malays and Europeans would leave in pony traps for some place where a canal crossed the road, and thence we would proceed in dug-outs to the snipe grounds.

Here we broke up into small parties; we were all pleasantly tired when, at some pre-arranged time, we foregathered at some kampong, where in the welcome shade of coconut palms an incomparable Kedah curry, sent out from some Tunku's house in Alor Setar, awaited us.

I must end these inconsequent jottings with mention of something which I have never seen anywhere except in Alor Setar. Early in September of every year, when fading light had just put an end to play on the tennis courts of the Adviser's house, and servants were handing round refreshments, we would be the sight of a multitude of small specks — so small and so high up as to be barely visible — speeding down from due North. It was not in the least like the clumsy, straggling collection of bees, which is well described by the word "swarm" it was like the "Division" of an army. Every speck flew in a perfect formation, with the same distance between each speck. Apparently, they all flew at exactly the same height, and, if there was a sound from them, it did not reach the ground. The front, the sides and the rear of the formation might have been tens of thousands of them.
They were snipe coming in from their unknown breeding grounds to spend the wet season in Malaya. No one could guess how long it had been since they had first taken to the air; why, in their long journey, they appeared over our heads at almost exactly the same hour of the day; and when and where they would settle down for rest and food. A few minutes after this Division had passed out of sight, another Division would appear, following exactly the same line, and in precisely the same formation. Sometimes four or five Divisions passed until it became too dark for us to see anything. Undoubtedly, these flights have gone on every season for countless ages, and, so long as there are feeding grounds in Malaya, they will continue. The Tennis courts may have been moved to another site. In my time they were due West of the Residency.

Anyone who keeps a look out there at sunset next September should see the same wonderful sight.

The Annual Report of the Adviser to the Kedah Government for the year 1327 A.H.
Sir George Maxwell

'In all the progress that marked the period after the institution of the State Council, the Raja Muda, a most enlightened, able and energetic ruler was the leader and it was not always that the other Malay members of the council were in accord with his views. The sudden death of the Raja Muda on 31st May 1907, was an irreparable loss to the country. By his long sustained and whole-hearted efforts, he succeeded in saving the country from utter ruin and he died at a time when these efforts were beginning to show the fruits of success.'
THE ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

ADVISER TO THE KEDAH GOVERNMENT

FOR THE YEAR

1327 A.H.

(23rd JANUARY, 1909—12th JANUARY, 1910),

BY

W. GEORGE MAXWELL,
ACTING ADVISER TO THE KEDAH GOVERNMENT.

WITH

THE ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

ADVISER TO THE PERLIS GOVERNMENT

FOR THE SAME PERIOD,

BY

MEADOWS FROST,
ACTING ADVISER TO THE PERLIS GOVERNMENT.

KUALA LUMPUR:
PRINTED AT THE F.M.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1910.
OFFICE OF THE ADVISER,
ALOR SETAR, KEDAH.
29th. April, 1910.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I have the honour to submit the Annual Report upon the State of Kedah for the year 1927 of the Muhammadan era (23rd. January, 1909—12th January, 1910).

The first printed official report upon this State appeared over the signature of Mr. G.C. Hart, the Adviser appointed by the Siamese Government, and covered the period from September, 1905, to August, 1906. The second report, which was also signed by Mr. Hart, covered the period from September, 1906, to February, 1908, the latter date corresponding with the end of the Muhammadan year 1325. No report was issued for the year 1326.

As the present report is the first one written since the transfer of the State, in accordance with the provisions of the Anglo-Siamese treaty of 1909, from the suzerainty of Siam to that of Great Britain, I have ventured to give some description of the country as well as to recount the events of the year. I have, therefore, divided the report into two parts, of which the first contains a brief account of the geography, history, constitution and administration of the State, and the second, while dealing with the work of each Government department, gives a slight sketch of its development. For the sake of convenience, the account of the agricultural and mining industries is included in the second part, and is dealt with in connection with the Lands and Mines Departments, respectively.

In connection with this report I also forward an Annual Report for the State of Perlis for the same period by Mr. Meadows Frost, who is, under my general supervision, Adviser to the Government of Perlis. HIS EXCELLENCY
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.
THROUGH THE RESIDENT-GENERAL.

EARLY ACCOUNTS AND HISTORY

The Malay Peninsula has since early times been connected both with the mythical Golden Chersonese and with the land of Ophir.

The germ of the myth lies in the name of "Golden Island" (in the sense of Island of the Sun or Sunshine) given by the early Arab navigators to more than one island in the far eastern seas, and from this there developed the story of "an island of gold and another of silver" which Alexander's Macedonians took back to Europe with them from India. It was not until a much later date that the golden island was spoken of as a golden peninsula, or chersonese. Josephus was, so far as I am aware, the first to connect the Golden Chersonese with the land of Ophir.

The truth, however, is that until comparatively recent years the Malay Peninsula was a place to be carefully avoided. Before the twelfth century, the coast was probably only inhabited by the sea-Sakeis, now nearly extinct, who were certainly a treacherous and murderous race, if not actually, as stated by the Portuguese, cannibals. The Malays who began to populate the Peninsula in scanty numbers in the twelfth century were pirates, who, when any vessel fell into their hands, seldom scrupled to kill the crew as well as plunder the cargo. There was nothing to export. When, therefore, the ships of the Chinese and Japanese merchants came sailing down from the China seas on the north-east monsoon, and the ships of the Indian and Arab merchants came sailing down on the south-west monsoon from the Indian Ocean, it was with food reason that they avoided the Malay Peninsula and sought some port on the civilised Javanese coast where they could exchange their merchandise, and then sail back to their own ports on the following monsoon. The rise of Singapore (the Temasik of the Malays, Tan-Ma-Seih of the Chinese, and Marco Polo's Malaiur)
in the thirteenth century probably first attracted commerce to the Malay Peninsula.

This accords fairly well with the story of the founding of the kingdom of Kedah, which is given in the legendary history known as the "Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa," or sometimes as the "Kedah Annals," namely that the kingdom of Kedah was founded by men who came from the west in a fleet under a leader named Marong Mahawangsa. They landed at the foot of Kedah Peak, and built a fort and a town named Langkasuka, in which Marong Mahawangsa established himself as king. Before the arrival of Marong Mahawangsa the country was only inhabited by men who had long canine teeth and cannibal propensities, and (according to the account) Marong Mahawangsa's descendants extended the kingdom north, and east and south.

The earliest contemporary mention of the Malay Peninsula of which I am aware is in the Javanese panegyric poem "Negarakretagama," composed in A.D. 1365, which in a list of the places in the Malay Peninsula, mentions Kedah, Jerai (Kedah Peak), Langkasuka (the traditional capital above-mentioned), Klang, Cape Rachado, Muar, Johore and Singapore on the west coast, and Pahang, Dungun, Trengganu, Kelantan and Sai on the east coast. It will be noticed that of eight places on the west coast no less than three are in Kedah. The omission of all mention of Perak and Malacca leads to the inference that these places had not then attracted a population.

The next mention of Kedah in chronological order is in the Chinese charts appended to a work called the "Wu-pei-pi-shu," and said to be more than five hundred years old, where the mouth of the Kedah river (Keih-ta) and Langkawi Island (Lung-ya-kiao-vi) are clearly shown.

When Singapore was conquered and destroyed by the Javanese about the year A.D. 1377, the Malas who escaped thence founded the city of Malacca. The third ruler of Malacca, Sultan Muhammad Shah, whose date was probably the early years of the fifteenth century, made himself extremely powerful, and Valentijn in his description of Malacca (dated A.D. 1726) states that all the countries in the Peninsula south of, and including, Kedah on the west coast and Patani on the east coast, appear to have been subject to Muhammad Shah.

There is a Kedah tradition to the effect that the nobat, or musical instruments which are insignia of royalty, were obtained by a former Kedah Sultan from a Sultan of Malacca, and there is an account in the "Sijarah Malayo" of the nobats having been conferred by Mahmud, the last Sultan of Malacca.

The "Commentaries" of Albuquerque, who conquered Malacca in A.D. 1511, mention the boundaries of the kingdom of Malacca as extending up to the "kingdom of Qeda" on the one coast and the "kingdom of Pam" (Pahang) on the other.

The earliest European writer who mentions Kedah is (so far as I am aware) the Portuguese Duarte Barbosa (A.D. 1516) who gives the following reference to it:

"Having left this town of Tanassary (Tenasserim), further along the coast towards Malacca there is another seaport of the kingdom of Ansiam (Siam) which is called Qeda, in which also there is much shipping and great interchange of merchandise."

Joao de Barros in the "Decadas de Asia" (A.D. 1553) says:

"The settlements from Tavay to Malacca are these: Tenassary, a notable city, Lungur, Torrao, Qeda, producing the best pepper on all that coast, Pedao, Pera, Solungor, and our city of Malacca."

It was probably from de Barros' account that Camoens took his reference to Kedah pepper (which is now only grown
in Langkawi Island and at Yen, at the foot of Kedah Peak) in the following lines in the Lusiad:

“Olba Tavai cidade onde comece
De Siao largo o imperio tão comprido
Tenassari, Queda, que he so cabeça
Das que pimenta al tem produzido.”

The lines are thus rendered by Burton:

“Behold Tavai city, whence begin
Siam’s dominions, Reign of vast extent;
Tenassari; Queda, of towns the Queen
That bear the burden of the piment.”

Ramusio (A.D. 1556) mentions the “Siamese trade on Tenacerim side with Pacem, Pedir, Queda, Pegu, Bengal and Guzerat,” and says that the Siamese had viceroy in Tenacerim and Queda.

The first landing by any Englishman upon Kedah territory was probably in June, 1592, when Captain Lancaster called at Pulopinaom (Penang) – then, of course, Kedah territory – in order to rest his crew and cure them of scurvy.

The Dutch Naturalist, Linschoten (A.D. 1598), mentions the pepper of Kedah and also its wine made from the nipah palm.

In the celebrated report dated March 10th, 1600, upon a memorial setting forth “certain reasons why the English merchants may trade into the East Indies, especially to such rich kingdoms and dominions as are not subject to the King of Spain and Portugal,” in which Fulke Grevil submitted to Secretary Sir Robert Cecil the information which led to the establishment of the London East India Company, there is mention of Arakan, Pegu, Siam, Tenasserim and Queda as places at which the Portuguese trafficked.

That this traffic was not always peaceful is seen in an account by Bocarro (A.D. 1614) of a successful Portuguese raid under Diogo de Mendonca, who sailed from Malacca up to Kedah in a galley belonging to Joao Rodriguez de Pavia, and “finding the Malays unprepared, made an attack at daybreak, burnt the town, and carried off a quantity of provisions and some tin.”

At the end of the sixteenth century Acheen had derived enormous wealth from its exports of pepper and from the trade that visited its ports: the Portuguese power in Malacca was rapidly decaying, the Dutch were not yet sufficiently strong to drive out the Portuguese; and the Achinese acquired power in proportion to their wealth. In 1619 the King of Acheen conquered Kedah and Perak, and is said to have held both countries for some years as his vassals. Kedah is mentioned in the preface to the “Bustanu’s Salatin” as belonging to the Sultan of Acheen, but the possession probably meant little more than that, after looting the countries, the King required the State to send him some form of annual or periodical tribute as a token of vassalage. At this time the Sultan of Perak was in the unenviable position of being required to send tribute both to the Portuguese in Malacca and to the Achinese.

The Dutch after wrestling Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641, established opperhoofden (commandants) and factories in Perak, Kedah and Tongkah (Junk-Ceylon). The Perak Malays, however, (who are described by the Dutch historian Valentijn as being “very mean and murderous”) killed every soul in the Perak factory in 1651. The Kedah Malays appear to have been but little better disposed to the Dutch, for Valentijn writes:

“We had there also an Under-factor and a Settlement to barter tin, gold and elephants for the Honourable Company; but this small kingdom gave us also now and again so much trouble that we have been obliged to break up this factory too.”

There were opperhoofden in Kedah from A.D. 1654 to 1657 only.

The following reference to Kedah in
the year 1655 by Niccolao Manucci in his history of the Mogul Empire ("Storia do Mogor") is of interest as containing a list of important trading centres. Writing of the port of Surat, on the north-west coast of India, he says:

"It is resorted to by a great number of ships from different parts of Europe, Persia, Arabia, Mecca, Bessora, the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, Musulipatam, Bengal, Siam, Acheen, Quedah, the Maldives, Malacca, Batavia, Manilla, China and many other parts of the world."

Guy Tachard, a Jesuit missionary, in his "Journal du Voyage de Siam fait en 1685 et 1688," has the following reference to Kedah's relation to Siam at that time:

"Les Rois de Camboge, de Geor (Johore), de Patani, de Quedah, et de Jambi sont tributaires du Roi de Siam et lui payent tous les ans un bouquet de fleurs d'or."

Kedah is said to have rebelled against Siam in 1720, and to have been "speedily reduced to obedience."

In 1770 the Sultan’s selection of his heir so displeased his two brothers that they raised a force, principally composed of Bugis men, in Perak and Selangor, and sailed to Kuala Kedah with the object of raising a rebellion. The Kedah Malays would not, however, join them, and the invaders, after sacking and burning Alor Star and Kuala Kedah, retreated to Selangor.

During the desperate struggles between the Burmese and the Siamese in the eighteenth century, Kedah appears to have been left alone by both sides, and to have greatly extended its borders. Thus, Captain Light records in his account of Junk-Ceylon (Tongka):

"The King of Queda claims the dominions of these seas (i.e., between Salang and Mergui) and grants a license for collecting the birds’ nests and sea slug (beche-de-mer) to some of his officers for which he receives about twelve or fifteen hundred dollars per annum. After the loss of Siam (i.e., after the conquest of Siam by Burmah) the Malays got possession of the island (i.e., Tongkah), and the Laksamana of Queda maintained an absolute authority, treating the Siamese as slaves, until an accident inspired the islanders with the idea of liberating themselves which they performed in one night. The Laksamana constantly regretted the loss of this island, and offered me eight thousand men when it was proposed to establish an island there."

This may be taken as a typical instance of the nature of the expansion of a Malay State by reason of the weakness of its neighbours, and of its contraction by reason of its own weakness.

Captain Light's "Agreement with the King of Quedah for the cession of Prince of Wales' Island" in the year 1786 is the next event of interest. Under this a agreement, Captain Light took possession of Penang, which was then inhabited by a few fishermen only, and hoisted the British flag on the 12th August, 1786. The agreement was modified by a treaty in 1791, by which the Honourable East India Company agreed to pay the Kedah Government $6,000 every year "so long as the English continue in possession of Pulo Penang."

About a year after the occupation of Penang, Captain Light set forth the somewhat complicated political position of Kedah in a letter to the Government dated the 17th May, 1787:

"There is," he wrote, "a necessity for coming to some terms with the King of Quedah while the fears of the Siamese and Burmese are upon him, and I have reason to believe that nothing will be acceptable without Government promising the King protection. Should the Siamese be permitted to take possession of his country ...... we shall be under the necessity of assisting them in their wars or of going to
war with them ourselves. I humbly conceive that it will be easier and attended with less expense to the Honourable Company to declare at once the King of Quedah under our protection; little else than the name of the Company will be wanted .... The Danes, the Dutch and the French have solicited permission to have a house only in Quedah; either of them will promise much, and should the King consider himself aggrieved or disappointed by the English, he may in despair seek for other alliance."

In 1800, the Kedah Government, by a treaty made by Sir George Leith, "Lieutenant-Governor of Pulo Penang," and "His Highness the Iang de per Tuan Rajah Moodah of Purlies and Quedah," agreed to give to the Honourable East India Company forever the strip of Kedah coast territory now known as Province Wellesley, extending between the mouths of the Muda and the Krian rivers, in consideration of an annual payment of $10,000 for this territory and Penang Island. The object of the transaction was to enable the East India Company to deal with the pirates, who, with strongholds and refuges in the Muda, Prai, Juru, and Krian rivers, greatly harassed the trade of Penang.

These treaties were subsequently modified by the British treaty with Siam in 1826, known as "Captain Burney's Treaty," a treaty made in 1831 with the Chow Phya of Ligor, and the treaty with Siam dated the 6th May, 1869. The annual payment of $10,000 in respect of the cession of Penang and Province Wellesley is now made by the Colony as the assign of the Honourable East India Company.

Soon after the first agreement with Captain Light, the Sultan of Kedah, who had made the agreement without reference to Siam, was called upon by Siam to assist in attacking the Burmese in Pegu. The Sultan prepared a force of 5,000 men and 150 armed boats in 1788, but whether they actually set sail or not is unrecorded.

In 1791, the Sultan of Kedah tried to drive the British out of Penang, and on the 9th April, a force of over a hundred prahuas seized Prai, and entrenched itself there. It was joined by a land force, and threatened to attack Penang. The forces were attacked by the British on the 12th and were defeated, but fought again on the 14th, when they were again defeated.

In 1811, the Kedah Government was again called upon by Siam to furnish a hundred equipped and armed boats to fight the Burmese. The requisition was complied with, but again it is not clear whether the force ever left Kedah.

In 1813, Kedah, at the instigation of Siam, attacked Perak and overran it. It was more than a mere raid, for the Kedah forces occupied for some time Kota Lama, a formerly important position near Kuala Kangsar.

In 1818, Kedah supplied a force of 2,500 men which assisted the Siamese in driving the Burmese out of Tongkah with great slaughter. In the same year, Kedah again overran Perak.

On the 12th November, 1821, the fort at the mouth of the Kedah river was surprised by a force of Siamese, who gained a landing on the pretext of obtaining provisions for an attack upon the Burmese. The Malays defended themselves valiantly, but were overcome.

Immediately after the capture of the fort, part of the Siamese fleet set sail for the Merbok river, where the Sultan was then living and supervising the construction of the present canal between the Merbok and the Muda rivers. The slight check given by the opposition of a fort at the mouth of the river gave the Sultan and his followers time to flee on elephant-back into Province Wellesley. Another part of the fleet captured Langkawi Island.

In 1829, Tunku Kudin, a relative of the Sultan, made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the fort at Kuala Kedah. In April, 1831, he appeared before Kuala Kedah.
with a fleet, and drove out the Siamese Governor after slight resistance. The Chow Phya of Ligor, however, soon collected a large Siamese force, and marching upon Kedah overland drove Tunku Kudin within the fort in June. He was unable to take it by storm, but reduced it by starvation in October. Tunku Kudin, and most of the men who remained with him, were killed.

In 1838, another attempt was made by Tunku Muhammad Saat, a brother of the Sultan (and a grandfather of the present District Officer of Kulim and a great-grandfather of the District Officer of Kuala Muda). He, too, was successful at first and drove the Siamese out of Kedah, and as far as Singora. The Siamese, however, again collected a large force, and, aided by the British, who sent Her Majesty’s Ship “Hyacinth” to blockade Kedah, besieged Kuala Kedah fort, which was, after a protracted defence, abandoned by the Malays. Tunku Muhammad Saat escaped to Penang, where he was tried as a pirate and acquitted. His acquittal is fully reported in the first volume of Kyshe’s Law Reports of the Colony.

After a perusal of this record of sacks by Portuguese, Achinese, Bugis and Siamese, it is possible to believe that it was a hope for its future, rather than a description of the past, that inspired the Malays to give the State its honorific title of Kedah Darul Aman, “Kedah — the secure abode.” The derivation of the word Kedah (it may be here said) is unknown, though the fanciful have sought to establish some connection between the word and the Indian word for an elephant enclosure. It is worthy of note that of the three characters with which the word is spelt (قنه), the first and the last are only found in words imported into the Malay language through the Arabic. A native word would be spelt كانه and it is the hard initial ق that is responsible for the “Qu” of the early spelling of Quedah.

RECENT HISTORY

Upon the occupation of Kedah in A.D. 1821, the Siamese Government divided the kingdom of Kedah into four parts: Setul, Perlis, Kubang Pasu and Kedah, placing each under a separate ruler. In A.D. 1843, the Sultan of Kedah (who after his escape to Province Wellesley in 1821 had lived in retreat in Malacca) was allowed to return to Alor Star, and to re-assume the rulership of the last-mentioned of these four parts. Setul, Perlis and Kubang Pasu, however, remained under their separate rulers, who were made independent of the Sultan of Kedah.

Kubang Pasu is an unimportant and sparsely populated district in the interior of Kedah, between Kota Star and the Singora frontier, and when Tunku Anum, the Raja of Kubang Pasu, died some years later, the Siamese Government allowed the district to become again part of Kedah. It is now administered by a District Officer. The Raja of Perlis is independent of the Sultan of Kedah, and has an entirely separate Government. Setul is now a part of Siam.

His Highness Abdulhamid Halimshah ibni Ahmad Tajuddin, the present Sultan, succeeded to the throne in the year A.D. 1881, upon the death of his elder brother, who only reigned two years. His Highness fell seriously ill not many years after his accession, and for a very long period was unable to leave his bed, and during this time the entire administration of the country was in the hands of H.H. Tunku Abdul Aziz, the late Raja Muda. When the Sultan became convalescent he took little or no interest in regulating the expenditure of the Government and of the palaces, and being extraordinarily generous by nature, delighted in making lavish gifts. The Raja Muda continued to administer the Government of the country, but the revenue paid in by Chinese “farmers,” which constituted
the bulk of the revenue of the country, was paid direct to the Sultan. It was with difficulty that even the salaries of the Government officials were paid. As the Court expenditure increased, every kind of means of raising money was resorted to: estate owners by paying down a few years' rent in cash obtained documents remitting rent for a number of years; farms were re-let in advance (and often re-let again and again) to any person who would make a "deposit" of a year's rent in advance; and money was borrowed at exorbitant rates of interest from money-lenders.

The celebration on an extraordinarily elaborate and expensive scale of the weddings of His Highness' eldest son, Tunku Ibrahim, and of four other royal princes, in June, 1904, brought on a crisis. All available means of raising money were exhausted by the end of the year, and when the creditors, who were mostly British subjects, brought forward claims supported by the Resident Councillor of Penang as British Consul for the Western Malay States ..... to extricate the State, therefore, from its helpless position, H.H. the Raja Muda, with the consent of the Sultan applied for a loan to the Siamese Government in April, 1905.

Arrangements for the loan were made at once by the Siamese Government, and a loan contract was signed in Bangkok on the 16th June of the same year, by the Siamese Minister of Finance and the Raja Muda. The amount of the loan was $2,600,000, bearing interest at six per cent., and in consideration of the loan the Kedah Government undertook to accept the services of an Adviser to be appointed by the Siamese Government.

In the same month, Mr. W.J.F. Williamson, Financial Adviser to the Siamese Government, came to Kedah to pay off the debts of the State, to prepare estimates of revenue and expenditure, and generally to lay the foundations of a financial administration.

Mr. Williamson in his report to H.R.H. the Siamese Minister for Finance divided the liabilities of the State into:
(1) Arrears of salaries and allowances;
(2) Overdrafts from the revenue farmers;
(3) Unpaid principal and interest on loans by money-lenders;
(4) Unpaid bills of tradesmen and others;
(5) The debts of the Sultan and various members of the royal family, amounting to about $300,000.

In a marvellously short time, Mr. Williamson reduced chaos into order, and his estimates for the second half of the current year provided for a revenue of $779,496, and an expenditure (including an item of $156,000 for interest on the loan) of $778,559.

On the 23rd. July of the same year, H.H. the Sultan issued an Edict appointing a Council of State to assist in the "Administration of all Public Affairs." The edict will be referred to later on in this report in the paragraphs dealing with the constitution and administration of the State.

On the 18th September, 1905, Mr. G.C. Hart, an officer lent to the Siamese Government by the Indian Government, arrived in Kedah to take up the duties of Adviser to the Kedah Government, and upon his arrival Mr. Williamson returned to Bangkok.

A strong State Council and financial stability had an immediate effect upon the administration of the State: many reforms were instituted, and during the next two years a number of European officers were appointed. The Public Works were placed under European supervision upon the arrival of Mr. Gorman as State Engineer; the Medical and Gaol Departments came under Dr. Hoops; the Police Department...
and the Audit Department were strengthened by adding two European officers to each; an Assistant Adviser and a State Veterinary Surgeon were two other European appointments.

Mr. Meadows Frost, of the Federated Malay States Civil Service, was appointed British Consul in December, 1905, and resided in Alor Star from January, 1906, until July last, when he proceeded to Perlis as Adviser to the Government of Perlis. Before Mr. Frost's arrival, the Resident Councillors of Penang had been for many years ex-officio Consuls for the Western States known as Monthon Puket and Monthon Saiburi.

In all the progress that marked the period after the institution of the State Council, the Raja Muda, a most enlightened, able and energetic ruler, was the leader, and it was not always that the other Malay members of the Council were in accord with his views. The sudden death of the Raja Muda on the 31st May, 1907, was an irreparable loss to the country. By his long-sustained and wholehearted efforts, he succeeded in saving the country from utter ruin, and he died at a time when these efforts were beginning to show the fruits of success.

His Highness the Sultan decided not to appoint another Raja Muda, and H.H. Tunku Mahmud, the last surviving brother of H.H. the Sultan, was appointed to be President of the State Council without the title of Raja Muda.

After this date the next date of importance in Kedah history is the 10th March, 1909, when the Anglo-Siamese treaty was signed, whereby the suzerainty of Kedah was transferred from Siam to Great Britain.

The period for which Mr. G.C. Hart was lent by the Indian Government to the Siamese Government expired on the 30th April, 1909, and he returned to India on the 19th June, after handing over to Mr. W.J.F. Williamson, who, by reason of the special knowledge of the country which he had obtained in 1905, and of the prestige which he had then won, was specially sent from Bangkok by the Siamese Government for the purpose of officiating as Adviser to the Kedah Government until the time should arrive for the transfer of suzerainty.

CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION

The Sultan in former days had, as was usual in Malay States, a Bendahara, a Temenggong and a Mantri, for his principal officers. It is unnecessary, however, for the purposes of this report to describe the functions of these officers.

The succession to the throne is from father to son, and the second brother of the Sultan is appointed Raja Muda. Thus, H.H. the Sultan was Raja Muda for the two years when his elder brother Zainol-Rashid Mokaram Shah (generally known as Tunku Petra) was Sultan, and when, upon his elder brother's death without issue, His Highness, the third brother, succeeded to the throne (passing over the second brother who was not considered suited to the throne). H.H. Tunku Abdul Aziz, the forth brother, succeeded as Raja Muda. It has been mentioned that upon the death of the Raja Muda in 1907, the Sultan (who as each Bendahara, Temenggong and Mantri had died, had refused to appoint successors) decided not to appoint another Raja Muda. Though the appointment was done away with, yet the actual line of succession was followed, for, as has been mentioned, H.H. Tunku Mahmud, the fifth and youngest brother, succeeded the Raja Muda as President of the State Council.

The function of the Raja Muda was to govern the country in the name of the Sultan, from off whose shoulders he was expected to take the drudgery of routine
administration. All important matters of State were dealt with by the Sultan, who also controlled the finances of State. The Raja Muda was merely the Sultan’s deputy, and the Sultan never hesitated to reverse or modify any order given by the Raja Muda with which he did not agree.

The Raja Muda’s jurisdiction was limited in many respects, and he had no control over:

1. The finances;
2. The “farms”;
3. The ampun-kernia; gifts by the Sultan to a subject for life of some particular form of revenue;
4. The mukim-holders; men who had obtained from the Sultan the gift of the revenue of a mukim (which is a sub-division of a district corresponding to a parish);
5. The men of the nobat, or royal band.

The ampun-kernia will be referred to in detail in the paragraphs dealing with the farms, and the mukim-holders in the paragraphs dealing with the abolition of forced labour.

The ampun-kernia-holders almost invariably farmed out their rights, and their farmers were similarly independent.

The mukim-holders appointed and dismissed their penghulus at will, and the penghulus recognised no authority except that of the mukim-holders. The penghulus were unsalaried, and levied a tax known as ripai over which the Raja Muda had no control. Similarly, the nobat-men levied from every house in the State a tax, known as the nobat-tax, over which, too, the Raja Muda had no control.

The most important measure ever passed by his Highness the Sultan is undoubtedly the Edict, dated the 23rd July, 1905, shortly after the execution of the Siamese loan contract, whereby His Highness constituted a Council of State of the leading officials in the service to assist him in the “Administration of all Public Affairs.” The Council was to consist of five members, to be appointed by His Highness: the Raja Muda was President, and the Adviser appointed by Siam under the loan contract, and the Chief Judge were ex-officio members. The other two members were to be selected by His Highness subject to the approval of the Siamese Government.

The following powers were conferred upon the State Council:

1. The disposal of revenue farms;
2. The collection and appropriation of Government revenue,
3. The regulation of the amount of all salaries, and the allowances of members of the ruling-house,
4. The enactment, subject to His Highness’ approval, of all laws;
5. The power to make rules, regulations and by-laws for the proper administration of the country.

The finances and the “farms” thus came under this power of the State Council, but —

1. The ampun-kernia-holders and their lessees;
2. The mukim-holders and their penghulus;
3. The nobat-men

continued to be independent of the State Council, and the corresponding taxes, over which the State Council had no control, were:

1. The market, ferry, and other tolls and duties conveyed by the Sultan’s ampun-kernia;
2. The private levy of forced labour, and the ripai-tax,
3. The nobat-tax.

With the transfer of suzerainty, the Adviser appointed by the British Government has taken the place of the Adviser appointed by the Siamese Government. There have been for some time past six
members of the State Council, of whom the nominated members are:

Inche Muhammad Ariffin, Secretary to His Highness the Sultan;
Syed Muhammad Shahabudin, Auditor-General;
Syed Mansur Aljaffri, Director of Lands.

The State Council has in the latter months of the year given its most careful consideration to the problems connected with *ampun-kernia*-holders, *mukim*-holders and *nobat*-men. The steps taken by it to get into the hands of the Government departments the collection of the revenue covered by the Sultan’s *ampun-kernia* are described in later paragraphs. In October, a proclamation signed by H.H. the Sultan abolished the forced labour system throughout the State, and with its abolition the *mukim*-holders lost their power in their *mukims*. The later decision of the State Council to pay salaries to such *penghulus* as were recommended by the District Officers as suitable men for Government employment, and to appoint new salaried *penghulus* in the place of unsuitable men has cut off the *penghulus* in the most effectual manner from the *mukim*-holders, and with the payment of these salaries the Government has abolished altogether the *ripai*-tax. Lastly, in December, H.H. the Sultan gave his approval to a recommendation of the State Council, whereby salaries are to be paid by the Government to a limited number of the *nobat*-men, and the *nobat*-tax abolished.

The Council held in the year under review 25 meetings (of which 19 were in the second half of the year), and its most important Enactments and decisions were (in chronological order):

(1) An Enactment to provide Allowances for Members of the Ruling House;
(2) An Enactment to define the Powers of the Kathis’ Courts;

(3) The Abolition of Forced Labour (Krah);
(4) The Abolition of the Nobat-tax;
(5) The General Orders relating to the Duties of District Officers;
(6) The Chandu Enactment;
(7) The Private Note Prohibition Enactment;
(8) The Sanitary Board Enactment;
(9) The Resolution regarding Debt-bondage;
(10) The Abolition of Import Custom Duties in Langkawi;
(11) The Concessions Enactment;
(12) The Land Revenue Collection Enactment;
(13) The decision to pay Salaries to *Penghulus*.

In addition to the above there was a series of extremely imported decisions relating to the numerous farms and *ampun-kernia*.

The State is more purely a Malay State than the States of the Federated Malay States. The Muhammadan, and not the Christian, calendar is used. Friday is, as well as Sunday, a day upon which the public offices are closed. The language of the Legislature, the Courts and the public offices is Malay. There are only ten European officers in the State, and of this number three are police officers, two are financial officers, three are professional officers (the State Surgeon, the State Veterinary Surgeon and the State Engineer), and the remaining two are the Adviser and the Assistant Adviser. There are a few Tamil officers in the Medical and Postal Departments, but with the exception of these officers, of the Sikh detachment of the Police Force, and of a few interpreters and detectives (Chinese, Siamese and Tamil) all the Government servants are Malays; and of the Malays perhaps not more than half a dozen understand any language except their own.

The administration of the Govern-
ment is by departments somewhat on the lines of the departments of the Federated Malay States, and there are District Officers in each district. These District Officers, however, have not had the multifarious duties of the District Officers in the Federated Malay States, and have been considered merely as Police Court Magistrates. This was altered by General Orders issued by the State Council at the end of the year, and the District Officers now interest themselves in the work of the Land Office, Mines Office, Hospital, Gaol and Public Works and other departments in the same way that the District Officers do in the Federated Malay States.

PART II
FINANCIAL

The actual revenue for the year was $1,240,276 as against an estimate of $1,214,140.

The revenue since the date of the creation of the State Council has been:

A.H. 1323 (A.D. 1905) — $402,639 (for six months only)
A.H. 1324 (A.D. 1906) — $947,784
A.H. 1325 (A.D. 1907) — $1,056,425
A.H. 1326 (A.D. 1908) — $1,102,911
A.H. 1327 (A.D. 1909) — $1,240,276

The actual expenditure for the year was $1,005,328, being $213,753 less than the estimated expenditure of $1,219,081, and $234,948 less than the actual revenue.

The expenditure since the date of the creation of the State Council has been:

A.H. 1323 (A.D. 1905) — $272,443 (for six months only)
A.H. 1324 (A.D. 1906) — $885,786
A.H. 1325 (A.D. 1907) — $1,244,496
A.H. 1326 (A.D. 1908) — $1,165,562
A.H. 1327 (A.D. 1909) — $1,005,328

The figures here given differ from those shown in the appendices to Mr. Hart's reports, where advances recoverable are shown.
Kedah Stamp

Abd. Hamid Azmi

Dipetik dari The Gate, 1953

'Old stamps issued before the war were much more attractive than those of today'
In 1909 the jurisdiction of the State of Kedah was transferred from Siam to Great Britain. In 1912 Kedah issued her first postal and revenue stamps. They were of three designs:

(a) A sheaf of padi with the Jawi script "Kedah" on the top and a Romanised equivalent at the bottom. The words "Post and Revenue" in Jawi Malay and in English are on the left and the right side respectively. The denominations are at the four corners. They are:

1 c. — green and black.
3 c. — carmine and black.
4 c. — slate and carmine.
5 c. — orange brown and green.
8 c. — altramarine and black.

(b) The 10 c., 20 c., 30 c., 40 c. and 50 c. stamps had the picture of a Malay farmer (wearing a baju, seluar and sarong with a nipah-leaf hat) ploughing with two oxen. The use of two oxen for ploughing has apparently become uncommon in Kedah "bendanga" now. The colours for the various stamps are as follows:

10 c. — black, brown and blue.
20 c. — yellow, green and black.
30 c. — carmine and black.
40 c. — lilac and black.
50 c. — dull blue and brown.

The dollar to five dollar stamps had the picture of the Balai Besar. The Balai Besar is where official functions to which representatives of the public are invited, are held. Since 1948 the Council of State holds its meetings there.

The colour of the dollar stamps are:

$1 — scarlet and black on yellow.
$2 — dark brown and dark green.
$3 — dark blue and black on blue.
$5 — carmine and black.

In 1919 the 1 c., 3 c. and 4 c. (both purple and scarlet) stamps of Straits Settlements were authorised for use in Kedah during a temporary shortage of Kedah stamps. Stamps so used can be identified by the post mark. It should be noted, however, that the stamps of one State can be used in another since the Federation of Malaya came into being.

During the period 1919 to 1921 the following new denominations were issued:

2 c. — green sheaf of padi.
21 c. — red, violet and blue—ploughing.
25 c. — red, violet and blue—ploughing.

and the following existing denominations were with new colours:

1 c. — brown.
3 c. — dark violet.
4 c. — scarlet.

In 1937 the portrait of His Highness Sultan Abdul Hamid replaced the picture of the padi sheaf, Balai Besar and the ploughing on all stamps valued from 10 c. to $5.

At the beginning of the Japanese regime in Malaya, 1941, Kedah stamps (padi sheaf issued just before the war) were used. The words DAI NIPPON, 2602 were over printed in red. Sometime later, presumably in 2603 Japanese year, for so do most of the stamps show, the Japanese Government issued new Malayan stamps. They were of several designs such as, an Indian rubber tapper, Malayan vegetables and fruits, a farmer ploughing at sunrise,
and a Malay fishing village. Each stamp was printed with the word MARAI (for Malaya) both in Kanji and Katakana, the Japanese alphabets. The denomination was written in English and Katakana.

One should be surprised to see the attractiveness of the Japanese Malayan stamps. Nevertheless a middle aged Malayan knows that these stamps never passed any Post Office outside the “Japanese Empire”.

All these stamps were replaced by the B.M.A. stamps in 1945. The latter were Straits Settlements stamps overprinted with the words B.M.A. MALAYA in red.

To commemorate the silver wedding of the late King George VI in 1948, Kedah together with other States and Settlements issued stamps of similar designs. The picture of the King and the Queen formed the main design and the name of the State or Settlement was written at the bottom.

In 1949 Kedah celebrated another anniversary by issuing a few attractive stamps. It was the 75th Anniversary of the Universal Postal Union.

A philatelist would certainly agree the old stamps of Kedah issued before the war were much more attractive than those of today. It is not only the design, but also the paper of today’s stamps that brings down their value. However, we hope that Kedah as well as Malaya will produce outstanding issues of stamps.
Alor Setar Dari Kaca Mata Wartawan
Zain Ariff
Ibrahim Yaakub
Zaaba

'Penduduk-penduduk di Kedah pada masa ini cukup puas hati dengan kehidupan masing-masing sehingga kerbau di dalam bendang sekalipun menjadi gemuk'
Catatan 1

(Dipetik dari Zain Ariff 'Secebis Kenangan'
Dewan Satera 15 Mei 1979)


Walau bagaimanapun ayah terpaksa menempuh berbagai rintangan semata-mata untuk mencari nafkah kami berempat.

Encik Muhamad Zain b. Ariff
seorang penulis 1940 an yang aktif
Ayah hanya diberi bayaran tambahan sebanyak $5 oleh majikan sebagai elaun pengangkutan. Majikan tak dapat menyediakan pengangkutan untuk ayah ke Bukit Pinang kerana hanya ayah seorang sahaja yang berulang alik.

Anak-anak saya sendiri misalnya terpaksa dibangunkan oleh ibu mereka dengan pujuk rayu setiap pagi untuk ke sekolah atau ke tempat kerja. Kalau hari hujan, mereka akan minta hantarkan dengan motokar. Kalau keadaan payah sedikit, mereka lebih rela ponteng sekolah atau ponteng kerja.

Keadaan kewangan ayah bertambah baik sejak bertugas di Bukit Pinang. Dengan gaji, elaun basikal dan overtime jumlah pendapatannya lebih dari $40 sebulan dan ini sudah melebihi gaji seorang kerani di waktu itu.

Setiap pagi ketika keluar dari rumah, ibu selalu terdengar sumpah serahan ayah. Ayah naik radang, kerana kakinya terkena najs yang dilonggokkan oleh keluarga jiran kami di barek itu. Menjadi pelik pada ayah, mengapa mereka suka "melonggok" di atas jalan raya atau dalam rumput di tepi jalan, padahal jamban yang sempurna sudah pun disediakan di tiap-tiap rumah.


Hingga hari ini, bila saya sendiri sudah pun menjadi datuk kepada sembilan orang cucu, saya masih belum dapat menggambarkan, betapakah susunan perabot dan keadaan di kamar tidur ibu bapa saya. Sejak kami mencapai umur satu setengah tahun, kami tidak lagi tidur bersama ayah dan ibu. Kami tidak diizinkan malah dilarang keras masuk ke kamar tidur ibu bapa kami, hinggakan kami rasakan bilik tidur ayah dan ibu merupakan sebuah kamar rahsia. Demikianlah ayah mendidik kami, supaya menghormati kamar tidur ibu bapa.

Kalaualah ada sesuatu yang hendak dibincangkan oleh ayah dan ibu, atau ada sesuatu yang hendak diperdebatkan mereka, mereka masuk ke bilik tidur dan menyelesaikan masalah itu tanpa diketahui oleh kami. Bila di hadapan kami, ibu dan ayah tetap baik, sepakat, dan aman damai.

Tidak jauh dari rumah kami terletak sebuah rumah besar yang dikenali sebagai "Kelab Candu", di samping sebuah rumah

Salah satu upacara dalam rawatan di "Tokong Candu" itu, ialah dengan mengadakan "wayang tongkol" (puppet show — wayang patung) dan wayang Cina di tanah lapang dekat rumah tokong itu. Wayang tongkol dan wayang Cina ini bermain siang malam, memukakan lakonan yang memuja dewa-dewa dan memohon restu dewa-dewa itu "memulihkan" penagih-penagih candu.


Bila tabuh di masjid berhampiran berbunyi menandakan waktu asar, kami akan bertempur pulang kerana di waktu itu ayah kami akan pulang dari kerja, dan ibu saya akan bangun dari tidur. Begitu lelah keadaan saya setiap hari ketika tinggal di kampung itu.

Catatan 2
(Dipetik dari Zain Ariff 'Secebis Kenangan' Dewan Sastera 15 Okt. 1979)

Tahun 1938, tahun akhir saya di sekolah Melayu merupakan tahun yang penuh peristiwa dan cabaran. Sebagai kumpulan pertama yang mempelopori darjah empat di sekolah itu, kami, iaitu guru dan murid, berusaha keras mencapai kejayaan cermerlang bagi membuktikan bahawa walaupun kami baru setahun jagung, namun kebolehan kami tidaklah boleh dipersoalkan. Tujuan kami yang besar ialah menaikkan nama sekolah.

Pak Zain, bersungguh-sungguh mengajar kami. Sekiranya ada murid yang sukar memahami pelajaran akan diajaknya ke rumahnya. Setelah diberi makan dan minum, murid itu terus diajarinya.

Persaingan murid lama yang sudah berumur, saki-baki dari sistem sebelumnya, dengan murid-murid muda amatlah hebat. Murid-murid lama, yang ada di antara mereka sudahpun berumur 16 tahun, tidak mahu mengalah, malu mereka kepada teman-teman yang muda, manakala yang muda mahu pula membuktikan bahawa mereka juga tidak kurang kebolehan. Persaingan ini amat sihat bagi kemajuan darjah kami.

Suatu perkara yang saya kenang hingga sekarang ialah kegigihan guru-guru yang mengajar. Mereka tidak tergesa-gesa melepaskan murid pulang, selagi murid belum faham pelajarannya. Pernah berlaku beberapa kali kelas diteruskan sehingga satu jam lampau dari waktu yang dijadualkan.

Kalaupun ada pula murid yang mundur, bukan kerana otaknya lemah, tetapi kerana kekurangan buku dan lain-lain alat, guru-guru ini berusaha mendapatkan bantuan, kadang-kadang dengan menggunakan wang sendiri.

Tidak ada guru yang tergesa-gesa pulang kerana hendak memberi tuition di rumahnya, kerana tidak ada yang membuat kerja lain bagi menambahkan pendapatan. Di antara guru-guru tidak ada perlumbaan menunjukkan lagak. Kebanyakan guru hanya mampu menggunakan basikal sahaja untuk berulang-alik berbelas-belas batu dari rumah ke sekolah, kerana sistem pengangkutan di zaman itu tidak teratur seperti sekarang.


Di zaman itu, guru-guru diwajibkan memakai pakaiannya seragam, berbaju dan berseluar warna putih, dan berkain sampin bagi lelaki. Manakala guru-guru perempuan pula berbaju kurung dan berkain sarung yang tidak mempunyai apa-apa corak atau bunga. Dari warna kain sampin dan kain sarung tenun itulah pula masyarakat mengenal pencapaian guru itu sendiri.

Umpamanya, sebagai guru gred tiga, kain sampin atau kain sarungnya berwarna merah, gred dua biru, gred satu hijau. Bila sudah menjadi guru besar atau mencapai gred khas, kain sampinnya ialah kain tenunan Pantai Timur, bertamah putih beragi hijau.

Pendek kata, di zaman itu sekolah bukanlah tempat berlagak atau tempat menggayaan fesyen pakailan.


Saya sendiri juga secara tidak langsung terlibat dengan 'Perang Cina Jepun' itu. Setiap tengah hari, ketika dalam perjalanan pulang dari sekolah, saya akan ditahtan oleh sekumpulan penarik beca. Mereka meminta saya bacakan berita yang disiarkan dalam suratkhabar-suratkhabar Melayu tentang perang di negeri Cina itu. Mereka beramai-ramai berkongsi membeli suratkhabar itu. Mulanya, pernah saya menolak permintaan mereka, tetapi mereka begitu lembut memujuk, jadi mahu atau tidak, saya tunaikanlah hajat mereka. Saya bacakan apa yang sebenarnya tersiar di dalam suratkhabar itu.


bila ditanyakan tentang nama dan daerah, budak-budak itu akan melarikan diri.


Selain dari menjadi "pegawai penerangan Perang Cina-Jepun" secara sukarela ini, ayah telah membebaskan saya untuk ke masjid di waktu malam, terutama sekali di bulan Ramadan, untuk bertadarus dan bertarawik.


Di dalam bulan Ramadan, semua corak dan bentuk hiburan adalah dilarang. Panggung wayang dan taman hiburan semuanya ditutup. Maka berpusu-pusulah manusia bertumpu ke padang kawasan masjid yang dihias indah itu.

Perempuan dengan baju "Kedah", berkain pelikat, kebanyakannya berkasut kayu, dan bertudung kain sarung "Kain Rawa" yang cuma menampakkan muka sahaja, akan berkelompok-kelompok di bawah pokok-pokok yang rendang, mendengar bacaan Quran tadi.
Catatan 3

(Dipetik dari Zain Ariff 'Secbesia Kenangan'
Dewan Sastera 15 Disember 1979)

Tahun 1940 merupakan tahun yang penuh erti di Asia Tenggara dan tahun yang penuh peristiwa dalam hidup saya.


Beberapa pasukan askar terdiri dari askar Gurkha, Baluchistan (tentera India), pasukan Australia, dan pasukan British (East Surrey Regiment) telah ditempatkan di kubu depan sekali di Jenan. Kedatangan askar yang begitu ramai serentak menimbulkan beberapa masalah. Kubu dan berek mestilah didirikan, bekalan juga mestilah diselenggarakan.


Tinggal dengan Pak Zain, saya sentiasa dikawal rapi. Tidak dapat menjalankan kegiatan-kegiatan yang banyak itu: misalnya bekerja untuk KMM, ke panggung wayang, mengikuti orkes dan lain-lain. Oleh itu saya pun membuat olah dan helah dan akhirnya berjaya melepaskan diri dari rumah Pak Zain. Saya tinggal di sebuah rumah (berselah-berselah dengan rumah Pak Zain) bersama dengan Encik Abdullah Ghazali yang menyewa rumah itu dari ayah. Sebagai bayaran sewanya,


Paling seronok sekali ialah menonton anggota Pasukan Sukarela ini bergaduh dengan anggota polis. Masing-masing mahu menunjukkan kuasa, terutama dalam panggung bangsawan. Selalunya anggota polis yang menjadi mangsa.


Pendek kata, sebelum Jepun mendarat rasa kesatuan atau setiakawan di antara pasukan-pasukan dalam Angkatan Perang British sudah pun hancur oleh perbezaan layanan, gaji dan sebagainya.

Perpecahan ini diapi-apikan lagi oleh penyokong-penyokong KMM yang berpeluang bertugas atau berdamping rapat dengan askar-askar British ini. Akibatnya, bila musuh menyerang, berlaku banyak-banyak peristiwa dalam bala tentera India yang boleh disifatkan sebagai mutiny atau penderhakaan. Ada yang tidak menembak sebutir peluru pun, ada yang lekas-lekas membunuh senjata dan melarikan diri. Medan perang Jenan banyak menyaksikan kisah dan peristiwa, ada yang sudah diketahui umum dan ada yang masih tersembunyi hingga dewasa ini.


Dalam pertengahan bulan Oktober
Gambar ramai anak-anak wayang kumpulan Nooran Opera.


Kebanyakan pelajar Maktab Abdul Hamid diseru memasuki Perkhidmatan Sukarela Pertahanan Awam, kerana Kedah tidak mempunyai kesempatan menubuhkan pasukan pertahanan awam yang lebih teratur. Saya secara sukarela bertugas sebagai pembaca berita dalam pasukan penentang serangan udara. Dengan itu saya terus bebas bergerak walaupun dalam masa perintah berkunung dan juga di dalam kawasan larangan.

Kebebasan bergerak ini amatlah penting bagi saya untuk menjalankan tugastugas yang dipikulkan oleh anggota-anggota KMM.


Dengan bermulanya zaman penaklukan Jepun, berakhirlah satu episod dari kisah hidup saya. Hilang sudah nikmat dan kemanisan hidup bersekolah dimusnahkan oleh letupan bom Jepun.


Berhubung dengan perkara kehidupan orang-orang yang miskin itu, seorang putera Raja iaitu Yang Teramat Mulia Tengku Yaakub putera Sultan Kedah yang baru berkenal dengan saya menjelaskan, dia sedang mengambil urusan yang berat hendak mengembalikan semula perusahaan orang Melayu. Dia telah membangunkan


daripada Sumatera dan lain-lainnya. Setengah daripada penuntut-penuntut itu bila bulan puasa keluarrlah ke merata-rata negeri meminta sedekah atauupun menerima zakat fitrah kerana mereka orang yang sedang menuntut (Talibul Ilmu).

Satu langkah sedang diusahakan oleh pihak pengelola agama, iaitu hendak menukarkan sekolah cara tua itu kepada cara baharu. Langkah itu ada dijalankan dengan beransur-ansur. Sementara itu Sekolah Arab mengikut cara sekolah di Mesir sudah dibangunkan pula. Dipercayai cita-cita yang dijalankan oleh pihak Pejabat Agama itu akan memberi hasil yang baik tidak berapa lama lagi.

Tara pelajaran orang ramai jika dibandingkan dengan Negeri Melayu Bersekutu, barangkali Kedah ketenggalingan ke belakang sedikit. Pihak lelaki dianggarkan 60 peratus sahaja yang tahu membaca dan menulis dan yang perempuan 10 peratus sahaja. Ini adalah disebabkan ahli-ahli agama cara tua itu masih menentang kebebasan anak-anak perempuan belajar.


Seperkara sahaja yang boleh dimesahkan di Kedah ini, iaitu bahasa rasminya bahasa Melayu. Meskipun sudah bercampur


Catatan 6

(Dipetik dari ‘Wartawan-wartawan Syonan Melawat Kedah’, Matsuroi, 1942)


Maka pada jam empat petang para wartawan-wartawan itu memohon diri serta mengucapkan 'sayonara'. Pada petang itu juga wartawan-wartawan itu terus (ke Prai) di mana keretapi akan bertolak pada pukul 8.00 malam ke Ipoh. Ipoh ialah tempat yang akan dilawatinya pula.
(Dipetik dari zaaba ‘Pemandangan Saya: dalam lawatan yang baharu ke Tanah Malai.’ Fajar Asia, 25 Jun 1943)

Di Alor Star kami telah menjadi tamu kepada Tuan Yang Terutama Tsukigawa, iaitu seorang yang sangat lemah-lembut dan murah pada segala istiadatnya. Dia seorang yang disukai oleh orang ramai di dalam Kedah. Mereka memandangnya sebagai bapa kepada hamba rakyat sekalian. Dan lagi ia sangat gemar kepada pekerjaan bercucuk tanam dan telah berbuat banyak jasa memajukan perusahaan bercucuk tanam barang-barang makanan dalam Kedah.


Lepas makan malam itu, Tuan Yang Terutama telah bercakap-cakap panjang menerangkan kepada kami akan semua makna dan tujuan Kemakmuran Bersama, dan menyatakan bahawa tanah Malai boleh mengadakan cukup makanan sendiri jika kerja bercucuk tanam diperbuat betul. Kami telah diberitahu bahawa dalam Kedah barang-barang makanan yang perlu masih murah, dan telur umpamanya masih boleh dapat dengan harga 3½ sen sebutir.

Gambar Zaaba
ketika berkhidmat sebagai wartawan
akibat Jepun ketika di Singapura.

Lepas itu kami pergi ke Perlis, dan makan tengah hari bersama-sama Raja Perlis di istananya. Raja itu menyatakan bahawa dalam Perlis lebih daripada 3000 ekar tanah baharu yang telah dibuka bagi tanaman padi, iaitu tambahan dari tanah yang telah sedia dari masa Inggeris dahulu. Ia telah memberi juga kepada kami banyak perkhabaran dari hal beberapa perkara yang lain lagi.


Bergambar di Syonan-to (Singapura) pada 19 Jun 1944. Duduk: Za’ba, N. Nagai,
Implikasi Pemerintahan Jepun
Mohd. Yusof Hassan
Dipetik dari buku cenderamata Minggu Sejarah Kedah 1975

'Jepun tidak sedar bahawa rakyat Malaya juga tidak berdiam diri dalam usaha membebaskan diri dari penjajahan Inggeris ........ golongan agama telah memberi pengaruh kuat terhadap penjajah ........ golongan guru dan wartawan memperhebatkan usaha menimbulkan gejala protes secara tidak langsung terhadap penjajah Inggeris.'

Selama ini Jepun menganggap dirinya sebagai pusat tumpuan kebudayaan di Timur. Kata Prof. Hidezo Tanakadate:

*The islands of Nippon have been a refuge or haven on the edge of the Great Pacific, for all who have set their faces to the East. From Korea to Manchoukuo, China and countries to the South, immigrants have reached the shores of Nippon and have made their homes in the new land. Mongolians from the desert, sea-faring Malays from the South, even Europeans from a more distant sphere, have brought their separate customs, ideas and religions.*


Dari segi semangat kebangsaan untuk menghapuskan penjajahan rakyat di Nusantara rasa cukup bersetuju, tetapi dari segi kebudayaan, rakyat seperti di Malaya dan Indonesia rasa tidak secocok dan tidak akan rasa secocok sama sekali.


Orang-orang Jepun juga mendakwa mereka mempunyai peribadi yang lemah lembut, bersopan santun dan ramah dalam tutur kata serta tidak mementingkan diri sendiri. Kata Prof. Hidezo Tanakadate dalam ucapan memperkenalkan kebudayaan Jepun pada masa pemerintahannya di Malaya:

“We Nippon-zin are not egoistic or should I say not egocentric or self-sacrificing........ We sacrifice our pride for the honour of the other........ So our humble way of expression is better and safer........ The Nippon-zin is purposely humble for he is not the centre of his life.”

Tetapi apa yang dilakukan oleh orang-orang Jepun dalam pemerintahannya
adalah sebaliknya: agonis, kejam, egoistic dan tidak berperikemanusiaan. Apakah perbuatan-perbuatan ser孵化-manegar orang, memaksa orang naik kelapa dengan benet terhunus dibuntunya, upah tambang "pergi dan baliknya" dan memaksa orang minum air bertimbang dan lain-lain seksa itu merupakan perbuatan-perbuatan yang dianggap "very delicate and finer ones" oleh seorang Professor mereka tadi?

Sikap jahil dalam ilmu jiwa rakyat atau "mass-psycology" dalam pemerintahan Jepun itu telah mencepatkan proses keruntuhan zaman Jepun yang boleh dianggap sebagai zaman malapetaka dan kekejaman atau "reign of terror" yang tidak boleh dilupakan oleh rakyat. Jepun telah mengambil tindakan yang terburut-buru dan ingin memerintah dunia selepas mata, akibatnya matahari yang terbit pada 8hb. Disember 1941 itu amat pahit dan getir sekali!


Di sini timbul konflik dan pertentangan di antara tiga golongan: golongan yang memimpin (pemerintah Jepun), golongan yang dipimpin (tentera Jepun) dan golongan yang baru dipimpin (rakyat Asia). Persefahamkan tidak ada langsung di antara golongan tersebut dan akibatnya pemerintahan itu hanya menunggu masa keruntuhanannya!

Apakah sebab-sebab Jepun bermaifau rakan benar untuk menakluk Asia? Kata Prof. Kotaro Zimbou, seorang pensyarah dan penyair terkenal di Nippon University, Tokyo:

*Nippon rose up on Dec. 8 last to carry out her most faithful mission of revolutionizing world history. Nippon did not stand up on any designed profit-making business. It is a real fact that Nippon stood up as a result of the Unification of the minds of the whole people which led them to a final explosion. I believe that this is the start of our firm determination and activities answering to the voice of God.*

Negeri Jepun sendiri mengalami arus-arus pengaruh Kebudayaan Buddha, Kebudayaan Cina dan Kebudayaan Barat, tetapi tidak pernah dijajah secara langsung. Dengan ini, Jepun ingin membebaskan diri
dari belenggu kebudayaan tersebut lantas mencari jalan untuk memusnahkan Kebudayaan Barat — dengan peperangan — bagi mengevakkan kembali ajaran Sintoism yang mereka anuti. Untuk memusnahkan Barat, Jepun mencari dan meminta sokongan — dengan paksaan — dari negara-negara Asia!


Selain dari apa yang diperlihatkan dalam tema hasil-hasil karya dari tiga golongan yang tersebut di atas tadi terdapat penubuhan parti-parti politik Melayu yang cuba membangkitkan nasionalisme Melayu. Perasaan perkaumen dan persuksuan dalam masyarakat majmuk ketika itu menambahkan keruncingan situasi yang sedia bergolak.

Suasana di negara-negara jiran juga memperlihatkan keadaan yang sama agresif. Pergolakan-pergolakan anti-penjajahan seperti negeri Burma yang menentang Inggeris Filipina menentang Amerika Syarikat dan Indonesia menentang Belanda telah merangsangkan serta menyemarakkan api kebangkitan di Malaya.


Pemerintahan Inggeris yang membawa prinsip “divide and rule” itu amat ketara benar. Permusuhan antara kaum menjadi jadi. Masalah perkaumen begitu hebat.

Selepas menghadapi beberapa cabaran dan ancaman, negara kita berjaya juga.
mencapai kemerdekaannya pada 31hb. Ogos 1957.

Jadi tujuan asal Jepun yang kononnya "to oust Anglo-American exploitation from this part of the world and wants to liberate and emancipate the whole of East Asia" itu semata-mata membawa penderitaan dan kesan yang cukup buruk. Implikasinya, kedatangan Jepun tidak memberi sesuatu yang bermanfaat.

Dalam pemerintahannya, Jepun mengadakan sistem untuk menyatupadukan rakyat dengan menggunakan bahasa kebangsannya sambil menanamkan semangat cinta kepada bahasa tersebut, kerana orang-orang Jepun percaya bahawa:

When you have learnt to use one Nippon-go word, you have made one step further in your efforts to know more and understand Nippon. When you learnt 100 Nippon-go words, you will feel more friendly towards Nippon-zin, when you have learnt 1,000 Nippon-Go words, you will never wish to forget Nippon or the Nippon-zin.4

Bagi menyibarkan kesusasteraannya pula, Jepun telah memperkenalkan bentuk bentuk puisi Tanka dan Haiku. Sajak ini banyak memperkatakan tentang keindahan alam dan kesucian hidup manusia. Jenis puisi Jepun yang dipanggil Uta adalah terhad kepada tiap-tiap rangkap 32 sukukata dalam lima baris iaitu: 5-7-5-7-7. Perkataan yang digunakan bagi lima baris dan 32 sukukata itu tidak boleh melebihi 12 patah.

Tetapi walau bagaimanapun Jepun berusaha bersungguh-sungguh menanamkan rasa cinta terhadap bahasa dan kesusasteraan itu di kalangan rakyat, rakyat tidak tertarik dengan aspek-aspek penting dalam kebudayaan Jepun itu. Bahasa Melayu tidak sedikit pun terpengaruh dengan bahasa Jepun dan orang-orang Melayu masih tetap menggunakan bentuk puisi iaitu pantun dan syair. Ini disebabkan oleh

S.K. Shiiba — seorang peniaga Jepun sebelum Perang, kemudian menjadi pegawai ketika pentadbiran Jepun. (Muzium Negeri Kedah)
cara Jepun memperkenalkannya dengan paks. Paksaan itu telah mengakibatkan kebencian yang meluap-luap di kalangan rakyat secara implisit.

Bagi menyibarkan propaganda mereka, Jepun mengadakan alat sibaran am seperti radio, majalah-majalah Fajar Asia dan Semangat Asia dan akhbar harian Berita Malai. Melalui media persuratkhaban, ramai penyair-penyair kita telah turut menyuarakan propaganda itu melalui sajak-sajak mereka sebagai usaha menyokong Jepun. Sebanyak 58 buah sajak telah dihasilkan dalam jangkawaktu 3 tahun 8 bulan itu. Lebih daripada separuh sajak-sajak tersebut membawa tema patriotisme, yakni membawa seruan mempertahankan negara di bawah lindungan Jepun yang dianggap sebagai "penyelamat" Asia Tenggara dari cengkaman penjajah.⁵


Nada yang pahit dan sinis terasa sekali di dalam karya-karya tersebut.

Mengikut dakwaan pemimpin-pemimpinnya, Jepun datang ke Asia Tenggara dengan kekuatan ekonomi, kerana mereka telah bersiap sedia sebelum berlakunya peperangan. Sungguhpun negeri itu tidak mempunyai sumber-sumber alam, tetapi rakyatnya rajin bekerja dan terus bekerja. Dalam hal kerajinan ini, Jepun boleh mengatasi Barat. Kata Mr. Sinzyo Takahasi:

_Unlike America and Britain, as Nippon did not believe in blowing her own trumpet, the real mettle of Nippon came out in deeds not in words, when the day for real fighting arrived._⁶

Jepun muncul iberat seorang kaya baru yang mempunyai alat-alat dan wang ringgit serta kuasa yang kuat, tetapi serempak orangnya. Akhirnya menjadi sekor kera sumbang dalam pergolakan politik dunia pada pertengahan tahun-tahun empat puluhan.

Bom-bom di Nagasaki dan Hiroshima itu sudah cukup dapat mengajar Jepun bahawa hidup bukan sekadar mempunyai kekayaan material sahaja tetapi kekayaan perikemanusiaan yang menebal dan kental.

Demikianlah nasib sekutum bunga sakura yang segar gugur di Malaya dan akhirnya layu begitu sahaja.


Apakah kebudayaan "Honda-Toyota-Kubota" dari Jepun ini di Negara kita kini merupakan satu gantirugi zaman pemerintahannya dulu?
Dengan kepercayaan ini, Jepun ingin membina Malaya sebagai sebuah negara yang makmur dan kaya-raya di Asia sambil menyeru:

_I, therefore, urge all the people of Malaya, especially, to realize the significance of this control economy and co-operate with it with grim resolve for a better day. You have to share with the people of Nippon the bitters as well as the sweets of life as need arises._

Sambil mengemuk penjajahan Inggeris yang membawa kemerdekaan ekonomi di Malaya semasa pemerintahannya.

Dengan itu, setibanya di Malaya Jepun melancarkan gerakan tanaman secara besar-besaran sambil menamam semangat rajin bekerja di kalangan rakyat. Inilah satu cara yang baik, tetapi Jepun tidak begitu faham tentang keadaan masyarakat di Malaya yang sebelumnya telah hidup dalam keadaan ekonomi secukup hidup. Untuk mengubah sikap rakyat, ia memerlukan masa yang panjang. Tetapi Jepun mahu rakyat mengikuti cara hidup mereka yang serba kelamkabut. Ini juga ada hubungan dengan latarbelakang sejarah Negara mereka yang sentiasa diganggu gugat oleh kuasa-kuasa lain. Mereka rasa hidup mereka sentiasa terancam dan hidup penuh kegelisahan.

**RUJUKAN:**

2. Ibid, h. 5.
3. Dari ucapan Prof. Kotaro Zimbou, "Asiatic Cultures Have Flourishing Centre in Nippon", Glimpses of Nippon Culture op. cit, h. 16.
4. Ucapan Mr. Hazima Fukuda di atas tajuk "How Nippon-zin And People of Malaya can be Bound Together in Friendship Forever,“ Glimpses of Nippon Culture, op. cit, h. 31.
7. Ucapan Mr. Kenzo Nakazima "New Era Dawns with Advent of Nippon To Southern Region", Glimpses of Nippon Culture, op. cit, h. 45.
Tunku Saves Alor Setar
Tan Sri Dato' Haji Mubin Sheppard

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'I am not afraid to die. If my efforts to find a peaceful solution fail, I will lead you against our common enemy. But until tomorrow evening you must remain calm and give me time to find my own solution.'

The invasion of Kedah was only twenty four hour old when the Regent and his advisers decided to evacuate the elderly Sultan of Kedah an invalid to Penang. Tunku attempted to oppose the decision believing that the ruler should remain with his people. When his views were rejected Tunku waited on the main road the next morning and diverted his father’s Rolls Royce from the official convoy and took the Sultan to stay in a remote kampung.

The fury of the Regent (Tunku’s elder brother), who did not discover the successful interception of the Sultan until he arrived at Butterworth turned to terror when the Japanese bombed Penang and drove him back as a refugee to Kulim where Tunku was District Officer.

During the first lawless month of the Japanese occupation, Tunku drove to Singapore twice to search for his brother-in-law. Captain Raja Aman Shah, who fought with the FMS Volunteers and was captured by the Japanese. Both expeditions were fruitless. Raja Aman Shah was never found and on several occasions Tunku nearly lost his life.

For the next year Tunku remained in Kulim as District Officer, but he was a reluctant civil servant under the Japanese military administration. When he received an order from Alor Setar to fell a rubber estate and to replant it with cotton, using forced labour, he refused to carry it out. His insubordination was treated by the military as ‘mutiny’, and he was ordered to vacate his post at twenty four hours notice, and to proceed to the Audit office in Alor Setar, where he was allotted a table and chair but no appointment. To make life still more miserable, his house in Alor Setar was requisitioned by the Japanese, and he was forced to seek shelter with a friend.

During those days of ignominy, at the end of 1943, new evidence of the brutality of the Japanese military began to appear in Alor Setar. Half starved and diseased Malays, who had escaped, from the infamous ‘Railway of Death’ in North Siam, where they had been forced to work on railway construction, started to arrive in the town and to seek shelter and food. Resilient and always compassionate, Tunku took it upon himself to organise a personal volunteer welfare service, when it became clear that the challenge had been ignored by every branch of the Kedah Civil Service.

For the next eighteen months, assisted
by some of his close friends, Mohamed Khir Johari, Senu Abdul Rahman, Syed Agil and Mohamed b. Jamil, Tunku provided a ‘Poor Man’s Home’ and two cooked meals a day, which were the only measures which stood between hundreds of these refugees and death from starvation and disease. As on many other occasions, Tunku’s initiative received no official recognition. But his reputation circulated. More and more people all over Kedah came to regard Tunku as their leader in an emergency, — fearless, sincere and generous. And when a crisis of unparalleled gravity erupted in Alor Setar in the second half of August 1945, they turned to him.

The crisis was caused by the unexpected surrender of the Japanese, following the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6th. and 9th. 1945. This was a golden opportunity for the Communist Guerillas in the Malay jungle, calling themselves the Malayan Peoples Anti Japanese Army, to try to seize control of the government in Kedah and all over the country.

Rumours of these plans quickly reached Alor Setar and some leading Malay officials went to consult the Japanese Army Commander, and to ask for his help in preventing any such attempt by the guerillas. But the Colonel replied that this was a civil matter and no concern of his.

The Malays knew that the Communist guerillas had been well armed by the British, through air-drops, to enable the M.P.A.J.A. to attack the Japanese in the rear when the British invaded the peninsula. It was also common knowledge that, if they came out of the jungle, the guerillas were likely to take revenge against anyone whom they accused of ‘collaborating’ with the Japanese, in particular the Police. Discouraged by the failure of their initiative with the Japanese army commander, the senior officials made no attempt to assemble heads of departments for consultation or to provide any form of leadership.

Tunku and his close friends met each evening in his house to discuss the deteriorating situation. Messages from guerilla leaders were coming to Chinese shopkeepers in Alor Setar, calling on the public to oppose the return of the British.

The guerillas had “won the war”, they said, and the M.P.A.J.A. was ready to move into Alor Setar and other districts and to take control.

After his evening meal Tunku mounted his bicycle and rode it at a moderate pace through the streets. They would normally have been tolerably busy until darkness fell and shops would then close, though a few might stay open till eight p.m. But on this particular evening, as soon as the call for Maghrib prayer sounded from the town mosque, as dusk began to fall, the Police in the Central Police Station removed their uniforms, locked their arms and ammunition in the store and left the building empty and in darkness. News of this development spread like lightning through the town. Shops shut and pedestrians disappeared.

Tunku rode through the deserted town, past the empty police station, and returned to his house. He began to discuss the formation of a ‘Vigilante Corps’ with Khir Johari and other friends, with the object of reoccupying the Police Station and maintaining law and order.

Before they had time to finalise any plans, a messenger arrived at the house from a little town called Alor Janggu about six miles from the capital, and asked to speak to Tunku personally.

As Tunku knew, the majority of the population of the town were locally-born Chinese. The messenger brought news from the Penghulu that a group of young Chinese had surrounded the Police Station, crowded
into the building, disarmed the Corporal and constables and herded them into the 'lock-up'. The messenger had gone first to the central Police Station, but finding it empty had come straight to Tunku.

Tunku lost no time in further discussions. He asked Khir Johari and four others to leave, immediately, on foot, for Alor Janggus, with a personal message from him to the young Chinese, ordering them to release the police, and not to interfere with the government.

Khir Johari and his companions arrived at Alor Janggus very early in the morning. He told the leader of the young Chinese that he had been sent by Tunku Abdul Rahman, and that Tunku ordered him to release the Police and to leave the police station. The young leader was obviously impressed by the name of Tunku Abdul Rahman, but said that he had been given his orders by the leader of the Communists in Changloon, a small town to the north, close to the Siamese border, and would have no obtain his permission before he could withdraw. It might take a little time to telephone to Changloon in the middle of the night, but he would do his best.

Khir Johari agreed to return in an hour, and he and his friends went to the house of the Penghulu where they consumed an early breakfast of rice and black coffee. When they returned to the police station the young Chinese handed Khir the key to the lock up and led his young supporters back to the town. The Penghulu provided Khir with a boat which took him and his companions back to Alor Setar and they went to report to Tunku.

News of the Alor Janggus incident and of the withdrawal of the Police from the Central Police Station in Alor Setar give still further support to the rumours that the Communists were on their way to take charge. That evening a large crowd of Malay men of all ages assembled on the open space in front of the Balai Besar and called for Tunku. When he arrived a spokesman told him that they had assembled in order to prevent the Communists from entering the town. They asked for Tunku support and advice. Tunku asked the speakers and all those who had assembled not to take any action yet, and in particular to avoid any act which might precipitate a racial riot. He told them that he was trying to find a peaceful solution which would prevent any loss of life.

Some of the young men could be heard grumbling, and one spoke for the rest: they were not satisfied with Tunku's request for more time. They believed that time was now very short and that they must prepare and arm themselves, and organise resistance now. If Tunku was

Khir Johari dalam tahun 1945
afraid to become involved. He could go back to his house. They would take responsibility for whatever followed. Tunku showed no sign of taking offence, but answered firmly: “I'm not afraid to die. If my efforts to find a peaceful solution fail, I will lead you against our common enemy. But until tomorrow evening you must remain calm and give me time to find my own solution.”

The crowd dispersed; Tunku with his close friends returned to his house. But he was silent. He must find a solution to the problem. How could the guerrillas be prevented from forcing an entry into Alor Setar. How could this be done without loss of life.

Tunku withdrew to his bedroom, took a bath and said his evening prayers, and sat silently on his prayer mat, hoping for guidance. The first thoughts which flashed into his mind were of a small Malay Resistance Force, which had been formed about six months earlier, with its headquarters near the Siamese border.

Three British officers and two junior Malay Officers, both Tunku’s nephews, had been parachuted in to lead and train locally enlisted recruits, many of whom had been sent by Tunku. But the Malay group only numbered about one hundred: the communist guerrillas in Kedah numbered at least five hundred. They were better armed and much better trained.

Tunku knew that there was no possibility of bringing the Malay Resistance group to Alor Setar to oppose the Communists, but perhaps he could make use of the British officers. They represented a large invasion force which was on its way to reoccupy Malaya. Tunku’s intuition, ever his secret weapon told him that the solution lay with the British commanding officer. He would discuss the detail with Khir, but the discussion would have to be held while they drove, if they were to complete the plan and prevent the Communist from entering the town tomorrow night.

Pulling on his trousers and a freshly laundered shirt, Tunku emerged from his bedroom and said to Khir: I have an idea; I am going to Kuala Nerang, now. Will you come with me? They set off in Tunku’s Austin Seven. Khir drove the car in order to allow Tunku more time to develop his plan. Tunku explained the basic idea, and they discussed it as they travelled.

At Pokok Sena, a village about 12 miles from Alor Setar, the Communist guerrillas had set up a road block. It was manned by several armed guerrillas in khaki uniforms. Tunku told the young man on guard that he was going to visit a relative at Kuala Nerang and they made no attempt to delay him.

At Kuala Nerang, another 12 miles distant, they drove to the Police Station and asked to be shown the headquarters of the Malay Resistance force. The OCPD led Tunku to the Rest House, where he met two British Officers, Major Hasler, Capt. Burr and a French officer, Major Maze. Tunku had hoped to meet at least one of his nephews, but they were both in camp with the Malay guerrillas.

Tunku was his genial self. He gave no sign of the anxiety which he felt, but he explained calmly that the Communist guerrillas might try to take control of Alor Setar within forty eight hours: that the Malay population of the town intended to prevent this and that heavy loss of life was likely to follow any clash between the two groups.

It seemed to him. Tunku said, that only the Japanese Army commander could prevent a confrontation, if he was willing to send sections of armed men to block the road approaches to the town, and to maintain these until the British arrived. But the Japanese commander had already refused to intervene when some leading Malay civilians approached him. He might
arrive at a different decision, Tunku told Major Hasler if the request came from the representative of the British army which was on its way to reoccupy the country.

Tunku then added that, in his opinion, it would be advisable to quote International Law, with which he, Tunku, was familiar, and to emphasise that if serious intercommunal disorder occurred within a mile or two of his headquarters, and it could be shown that the Japanese commander had done nothing to prevent it, he would be held responsible.

Hasler, Maze and Burr listened intently. Hasler then replied that he would like to help, but he had been given strict orders not to leave his headquarters, which was in constant wireless communication with the British invasion headquarters in Colombo. He would be willing to send Major Maze, but his French accent might not be understood by the Japanese: he would therefore send Capt. Burr. Tunku thanked him and warned that there was a Communist road block at Pokok Sena and suggested that Burr should travel by a different route. Tunku and Khir then drove home.

Capt. Burr left Kuala Nerang early the next morning and drove direct to the Japanese Military headquarters on the outskirts of Alor Setar. He drove to Tunku's house later in the morning and gave him an account of what happened.

Capt. Burr was dressed in jungle green uniform, with a Force 136 badge in his Beret and a parachute badge on his left breast. A Malay wireless technicians who had also been dropped into Kedah drove the car which Hasler had borrowed. Burr wore a revolver on his belt and carried a Tommy Gun.

The Japanese Colonel received Burr stiffly, and without uttering a word. An interpreter stood beside him. Burr placed his Tommy Gun on a table when he entered the room. He said that he had come to ask the Colonel for help. He then described the situation in Alor Setar. He told the Colonel that the Japanese soldier

Pasukan Force 136 pimpinan Major Hasler ketika di Alor Setar pada bulan Oktober 1945.
were still feared by the guerillas and that he believed that all that was necessary was for the Colonel to send a section of well armed men to block each road leading to Alor Setar and to refuse entry to any armed guerillas.

The Colonel remained silent. Burr continued, it is unlikely that this action will result in any injury to your troops: the guerillas will not attack them. You have it in your power to save this town and its people from destruction and bloodshed. If this occurs and you do not attempt to prevent it, the British will receive a full report, when they arrive within the next few days, and you will be held responsible.

The Japanese officer still remained silent, but he then stood up, and marched out of the room, followed by the interpreter. Burr could hear him speaking in a loud voice in another room: it sounded as if he was issuing orders. A few minutes later another officer could be heard shouting orders which echoed along the corridors of the college building.

Burr did not meet the Colonel again perhaps his embarrassment was too acute. About an hour later, after sitting alone, he was invited by the interpreter to come to the front porch. From there he watched three Japanese military vehicles drive away, each with a section of heavily armed men. Another lorry carried what appeared to be wooden road block barriers. Burr’s car then reappeared and he drove to Tunku’s house.

That evening, at dusk, an MPAJA reconnaissance party from Pokok Sena drove along the road to Alor Setar. They planned to drive as far into the town as they were able, take note of what they saw and report back to the commander. They were astonished to find the road blocked with wood and barbed wire barriers and several heavily armed Japanese soldiers stretched out on each side of the road in defence positions.

They were roughly refused permission to proceed and ordered to return to Pokok Sena. Another reconnaissance party travelled along the main road from Jitra and met a similar obstruction. It was not the wish or the intention of the guerilla leaders in the jungle to engage in armed confrontation with the Japanese, and when these leaders received a report from the reconnaissance parties they decided to abandon their hopes of taking control of the capital.

They contented themselves with the occupation, unopposed, of Police Stations and District Offices in other parts of Kedah. There they enjoyed briefly the intoxication of dictator ship and announced from the front of each District Office that Kedah was now a Communist State.

As far as Alor Setar was concerned, this was wishful thinking, but it could well have been otherwise, had it not been for the courage and leadership of one man – Tunku Abdul Rahman.
Pekan Alor Setar dalam tahun 1940an.
Penyerahan kuasa kepada pihak Thai ini memberi makna yang besar pada penduduk Kedah. Mereka telah benar-benar terlepas dari suatu bala yang sentiasa mencengkam hidup. Datangnya kuasa Thai menandakan bermula kembali pentadbiran awam yang memberi kelegaan kepada rakyat.'

Setem yang diterbitkan pada zaman pendudukan Thai di Kedah (1943—1945)
Ilhan: Tuan Hj. Wan Shamuddin Yusuf


Mungkin pemerintahan Thai telah menyertai tentang keadaan mereka di Kedah hanya sementara? Hal ini bermungkinan kerana mereka dapat mengikuti kemenangan awal pihak berikat di Pasifik melalui siaran radio All-India. Pihak Thai telah mengagakkan keadaan mereka tidak akan berpanjangan di Kedah. Berdasar pada hal ini mereka tidak begitu bermingkat untuk menjalankan rancangan kemajuan.

Pegawai-pegawai Thai yang dihantar ke Kedah tidak ramai yang berkelayakan dalam bidang pentadbiran. Setengahnya mengambil kesempatan dengan kedudukan mereka itu bagi mendapatkan keuntungan diri sendiri. Walaupun pemerintah Thai tidak membawa apa-apa kemajuan di Kedah tetapi boleh dikatakan keseluruhan rakyat bersyukur dengan kedatangan mereka. Kedatangan Thai telah membebankan mereka dari ketakutan lantaran pemerintahan tentera Jepun, suatu keadaan yang penuh prasangka dan was-was mungkinkah besok mereka akan diseret dan dihukum tanpa melakukan apa-apa kesalahan.


**KEDAH SEBELUM PEMERINTAHAN THAI**


Seseorang itu mungkin ditangkap dan diseksa oleh tentera Jepun tanpa sebab. Ada orang yang mengambil kesempatan membalas dendam dengan membuat fitnah kepada Jepun mengatakan seseorang itu menjadi ahli dalam pergerakan anti-Jepun. Dalam keadaan itu kita tidak dapat mengetahui siapakah kawan dan siapakah lawan.


Pentadbiran Jepun mengadakan pertandingan bercucuk tanam juga mengadakan pertunjukan bahan pertanian serta memberi nasihat teknik kepada mereka yang menjalankan rancangan bercucuk tanam.

PERUBAHAN KUASA

Pihak pentadbiran tentera Jepun telah menyerah negeri Kedah kepada Siam atau Thai pada bulan Ogos 1943. Negeri-negeri lain yang terlibat dalam penyerahan ini termasuklah Perlis, Kelantan dan
Gambar ini dirakamkan ketika Pegawai-pegawai Tertinggi Slam Melawat Kedah pada tahun 1874. Bangunan latar belakang dalam gambar ini ialah bangunan "Balairong" yang asal.
(Muzium Negeri Kedah)


Penduduk Kedah menyambut baik perubahan kuasa ini. Sudah tentu mereka merasa senang kerana pentadbiran telah kembali pada pihak awam. Perubahan kuasa ini telah memberi kebebasan bergerak yang lebih kepada rakyat di mana mereka tidak lagi diancam oleh pihak tentera. Pegawai-pegawai Thai yang datang ke Kedah telah memberi perintah supaya menjalankan pentadbiran masing-masing
seperti sebelum Jepun. "Carry on as before". Maksud mereka supaya mengikuti cara Inggeris.


Tugas polis tentera Jepun yang benar ialah mengawal kegiatan komunis dan gerakan anti-Jepun. Orang-orang Cina masih dijaga rapi oleh Kampetai kerana ramai orang-orang Cina yang terlibat dalam kegiatan anti-Jepun.

Penyerahan kuasa kepada pihak Thai ini memberi makna yang besar pada penduduk Kedah. Mereka benar-benar telah terlepas dari suatu bala yang sentiasa mencengkam hidup. Mereka telah terlepas dari keadaan yang serba mengecam dengan seribu tandatanya. Datangnya kuasa Thai menandakan bermula kembali pentadbiran awam yang memberi kelegaan pada rakyat.

Gambar kumpulan yang diambil Dalam Tahun 1906 di depan Balai Besar Alor Setar ketika merayakan perkahwinan Tengku Mahmud Saudara kepada Almarhum DYMM Sultan Abdul Hamid yang kelihatan berdiri di atas tangga dengan pedang di tangan Baginda. Yang ketiga dari kiri Baginda ialah Y.M. Tengku Bahadur, Aide-de-Cong kepada Sultan. (Muzium Negeri Kedah)
PENTADBIRAN THAI DI KEDAH (SYBURI)


Setiausaha Kerajaan paling berkuasa di waktu itu. Kebanyakan usul yang dikemukakan oleh beliau diterima oleh Gabenor General Thai. Kebolehan Tuan Haji Mohd. Shariff sebagai Setiausaha Kerajaan mendapat pujian dari pihak Thai. Gabenor Thai bertugas sebagai penasihat kepada Setiausaha.8 Di zaman pemerintahan Thai ini tidak terdapat pengubahan undang-undang secara besar-besaran.9 Perjalanan undang-undang tidak begitu tegas, banyak kesalahan-kesalahan kecil dimaafkan.10

orang Melayu seperti 'Tanah Simpanan Melayu' dihormati oleh Thai. Sultan masih dianggap Ketua Negeri.\footnote{11}


Layanan pemerintah terhadap rakyatnya dari segi bangsa tidak ada perbezaan. Cuma rakyat Kedah yang berketurunan Siam merasa lebih beruntung.\footnote{12} Kalau dalam penandbiran awam pegawai-pegawai Siam tempatan mendapat layanan yang lain dari pegawai-pegawai Thai.

Keadaan disiplin tidak begitu kukuh di kalangan pentadbir-pentadbir Thai. Dari Gabenor hingga la to peringkat bawah pegawai-pegawai itu bebas menjalankan perniagaan sendiri sebagai menambahkan pendapatan mereka.


Tidak ada orang yang akan menyalahkan kerja mereka. Perlaksanaan begini terus-menerus seolah-olah mereka menerima gaji percuma. Jabatan Kewangan adalah satu-satunya pejabat yang paling diburu di waktu itu. Setiausaha Kewangan Negeri dipergang oleh Encik Lee Ewe Boon seorang anak tempatan.\footnote{13}


3. Mengikut keterangan Datuk Wan Ibrahim penyerahan ini pada bulan Ogos, 1943 tetapi mengikut Encik Ch'ng Chin Eong penyerahan kuasa berlaku pada 18 Oktober 1943.


Penubuhan dan Pergerakan Politik Melayu Negeri Kedah 1945 - 1955

Azmi Saad

Dipetik dari majalah Jebat, 1975

'Gerakan besar kaum Melayu Kedah telah diadakan hari ini (19-1-1946) manakala lebih daripada 50,000 orang yang telah mengambil bahagian di dalam perarakan yang telah dijalankan di bawah riayah Kesatuan Melayu Kedah........'

Perhimpunan Rakyat menentang Malayan Union di Alor Setar pada tahun 1946.
(Muzium Negeri Kedah)
Kesedaran bangsa Melayu di bidang politik bukanlah satu perkara baru malah sudah tersemai sebelum Perang Dunia Kedua lagi. Tetapi dahulunya terdapat beberapa perkara yang menghalang kecerdasan kegiatan berpolitik di kalangan bangsa Melayu. Menurut SUARA SABERKAS:

"Politik dipandang oleh kebanyakan orang-orang Melayu sebagai perkataan haram atau menyalahi kerajaan semata-mata."


Kepuncak kegiatan politik di Kedah dapat dilihat dalam konteks beberapa peristiwa yang berlaku serta juga perkembangan politik dari dua aspek. Pertama aspek per golakan masyarakat, bahawa masyarakat di Negeri Kedah, malah di Tanah Melayu ketika itu sudahpun memperlihatkan corak masyarakat majmuk atau 'plural society'. Bangsa Melayu sedang menghadapi bencana proses yang menjadikan mereka sebagai kaum atau komuniti yang mempunyai hak dan taraf sama dengan kaum pendatang. Aspek kedua ialah jentera Kolonial British yang makin meluas dan percubaan untuk menguasai secara
menyebabkan timbulnya kesedaran yang cepat di kalangan pemuda-pemuda Kedah, seperti Senu Abdul Rahman, Mohammad Khir Johari, Ahmad Noordin dan Wan Din yang mengambil keputusan menubuhkan sebuah badan, iaitu SABERKAS.

Selanjutnya suasana di Kedah semakin menampakkan kematangan dalam pergerakan politik. Ini tercetus sesudah Jepun menyerah kalah dan kaum China dari kumpulan Bintang Tiga telah cuba mengambil alih kuasa politik yang ‘kosong’ ketika itu.

Pergolakan Politik Ketika Bintang Tiga


Oleh yang demikian, apabila Jepun menyerah kalah pada 14-8-1945, dan pihak Inggeris hanya baharu mengambil alih kuasa di Tanah Melayu pada 5-9-1945, maka dalam "waktu kekosongan" itu MPAJA telah tidak membuang masa;

"Gerila MPAJA tersebut kurang disiplinnya, kerana sebelum tentera Inggeris mendarat di Malaya..... terjadilah kekosongan kekuasaan pentadbiran..... banyak kaum gerila yang keluar dari hutan dan mencuba menjadi tuan besar di beberapa tempat, di antara mereka ada yang bertindak sewenang-wenang menangkap orang-orang yang dianggap pernah menyokong Jepun...... ada yang
dianggap bersalah besar dibunuh oleh mereka."


"Pemuda-pemuda SABERKAS telah mengambil tindakan segera melindungi balai polis Alor Setar dari diambil alih oleh Bintang Tiga itu."


Tuan Hj. Husain Che Dol seorang ulamak yang banyak jasanya. (Muzium Negeri Kedah)

Keseluruhannya keresahan kaum yang hampir-hampir mencetuskan pergaduhan yang besar di Kedah dapat dikawal oleh perpaduan beberapa tenaga penggerak bangsa Melayu. Pertamanya peranan yang dimainkan oleh SABERKAS. Kedua, kerjasama yang diberi oleh golongan agama, terutama yang dipimpin oleh Haji Husain Che Dol. Akhirnya peranan yang diberi oleh peniaga-peniaga Melayu Pekan Rabu yang letaknya di tengah-tengah bandar Alor Setar itu merupakan tenaga penggerak terpenting dalam mengawal perpaduan tersebut.

Kemunculan Pertubuhan-Pertubuhan Politik

Sungguhpun suasana aman telah dapat diwujudkan dalam masa dua minggu sebelum kedatangan tentera Inggeris, dan selanjutnya pentadbiran BMA yang akhirnya diubah kepada Pentadbiran Awam. Tetapi akibat dari peristiwa itu, ditambah pula dengan sikap British yang cuba menguatkannya kuasa kolonialnya dengan memperkenalkan Malayan Union menjadikan;

"...... orang-orang Melayu sedar dan insaf akan nasibnya dan sedar kepada wajib dan mustahak mempunyai satu badan politik yang besar dan memberi pelajaran kepada mereka, percaya kepada diri sendiri dan percaya kepada faedah bersatu padu".

Memandang keadaan tersebut, SABERKAS telah mengambil langkah memeringkinkan politik. Perubahan dan pendirian baru ini masih dalam cadangan untuk menukar dasarnya dari sebuah Syarikat Bekerjasama kepada pertubuhan atau pergerakan politik.


Secara rasmi perubahan SABERKAS sebagai badan politik diputusan dalam Mesyuarat Agung yang berlangsung di Alor Setar pada 19-6-1946, iaitu keputusannya berbunyi;

"Mengambil keputusan dan persetujuan mengubah SABERKAS dari Syarikat kepada PERSATUAN SABERKAS"

Gambar berkumpulan ahli-ahli SABERKAS Alor Setar, 1944.
Perubahan yang lewat ini, tidak bererti SABERKAS tidak memain peranan dalam isu-isu politik di Negeri Kedah, sebaliknya dalam setiap isu politik SABERKAS sentiasa bersama pertubuhan-pertubuhan lain melakukan tindakan. Ini dapat diperhatikan dalam perarakan menentang Malayan Union.


Menurut keterangan Syed Ahmad Shahabuddin, beliau bersama-sama dengan Mahathir Mohamad, Zahir Ismail dan Khalid Awang Othman turn serta ke Kampung-kampung untuk menjalankan kempen supaya orang-orang kampung keluar beramai-ramai pada hari perarakan tersebut.

Selepas daripada perhimpunan pertama itu, lahir beberapa buah pertubuhan politik. Kecenderungan menubuhkan organisasi, sama ada politik atau tidak, bukanlah bererti tidak ada persefahaman antara tokoh-tokoh politik di Kedah. Tetapi oleh kerana dasar dan cara perjuangan pertubuhan-pertubuhan yang sudah wujud, terutama SABERKAS, tidak dapat memenuhi kehendak semua golongan, maka sebab itu hal sebagai jalan keluar, mereka menubuhkan badan lain.

Kesan semerta dari perarakan tersebut berlaku sebelah petang selepas perhimpunan itu, iaitu kelahiran Persatuan Ulama Kedah.

"Kerana mengambil kesempatan baik bagi merakamkan tawarikh ‘Hari Kebangsaan Melayu’ di dalam perarakan yang dianggarkan lebih kurang 50,00 orang daripada sekalian rakyat jelata Negeri Kedah telah ditubuhkan Kesatuan Ulama-Ulama di sebelah petangnya...."

Lebih kurang 100 orang para ulama telah hadir di Maahad Mahmud dan mereka telah mengambil persetujuan;

1. Bersatu kata sekaliannya mengadakan Kesatuan Ulama.
2. Sebulat suara menamakan dengan nama KESATUAN ULAMA-ULAMA.

Anggota Jawatankuasa yang dilantik pada hari penubuhan itu adalah seperti berikut:

Yang Dipertua
- Haji Husain Che Dol, Mudir Sekolah Arab Guan Chehmedak.

Penolong Yang Dipertua
- Haji Abdul Rahman Merbok, Mudir Sekolah Arab Merbok.

Setiausaha
- Haji Abdulllah Abbas Nasution, Mudir Sekolah Arab Tanjung Pauh, Jitra.

Penolong
- Haji Yahaya Junid, Mudir Sekolah Arab Padang Lapat.

Bendahari
- Haji Abdulllah, Mudir Sekolah Arab Tambak Bunga.

Pemeriksa Kira-kira
- Haji Mustaffa, Guru Besar Sekolah Arab Tambak Bunga.

Penolong
- Mohammad Saad, Guru di Maahad Mahmoud.

Tuan Syeikh Abdul Halim, Mudir Sekolah Maahad Mahmoud dilantik sebagai
Penasihat Am Kesatuan Ulama-Ulama, manakala penolongnya ialah Lebai Ismail, Anak Bukit. Manakala ahli Jawatankuasa dilantik dari tiap-tiap daerah Negeri Kedah, yang kesemuanya terdiri dari tokoh-tokoh ulama tempatan, sama ada ia seorang guru agama atau ketua agama bagi madrasah-madrasah di tempat itu.

Tujuan Kesatuan Ulama-Ulama Kedah seperti yang dibentangkan dalam Majlis Mesyuarat tersebut adalah seperti berikut:
1. Merakamkan perhubungan berkenalan di antara sekalian guru-guru agama.
3. Mencari jalan bagaimana memperbaiki taraf kehidupan penuntut-penuntut agama terutama bangsa Melayu.


JADUAL 1
STRUKTUR PENTADBIRAN PERSATUAN ULAMA KEDAH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yang Dipertua</th>
<th>Naib Yang Dipertua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bendahari Setiausaha A/J/Kuasa Pemeriksa
13 orang Kira-kira
2 orang

Penolong Setiausaha

Dari pembahagian serupa inilah yang menjadikan PUK dapat bergerak dengan lebih berkesan, terutama dalam menghadapi isu-isu tertentu umpamanya isu sumpah Pegawai-pegawai Kerajaan Kedah. Hasil dari tentang PUKlah yang mengakibatkan Kerajaan Kedah terpaksa menarik balik sumpah tersebut.

Dilihat dari tujuannya, tidak menyebut untuk kegiatan politik tentu dianggap bahawa Persatuan Ulama Kedah bukan sebuah pertubuhan politik. Mengikut Haji Yahaya Junid;

"Persatuan Ulama Kedah tidak dapat memisahkan dirinya dari politik. Hanya ia bergerak secara tidak langsung, tetapi pada peringkat akhirnya, kegiatan politik Persatuan ini lebih terang".


turut hantar wakil-wakilnya yang terdiri dari Syeikh Othman bin Salleh dan Haji Husain Che Dol ke Perjumpaan Ulama Se Malaya anjuran UMNO yang dilangsungkan di Muar, Johor. Perwakilan Ulama Kedah telah membawa lima cadangan dan salah satu yang menyentuh soal politik ialah;

"Meminta supaya Majlis Undangan Kuala Lumpur hendaklah mempunyai wakil daripada pihak Ulama Se Malaya".

Dalam tahun yang sama juga, PUK tidak ketinggalan turut campur dalam perkara perletakan jawatan oleh Datuk Onn bin Jaafar. PUK telah menghantar telegram kepada Datuk Onn supaya terus memegang jawatan Yang Dipertua UMNO; bunyi telegram tersebut adalah seperti berikut;

"Kami Ahli Jawatankuasa Persatuan Ulama Kedah, tinggi harapan, pohon Yang Berhormat Datuk memangku semula jawatan Yang Dipertua UMNO Se Malaya"

"Kami sentiasa berdoa kebajikan kepada Datuk selama-lama dan Datuk memangku jawatan pemimpin agung umat Melayu. Persatuan Ulama Kedah berdiri tegap taat-setia kepada UMNO dan berkepercayaan penuh kepada Datuk. Hidup Melayu".

Lebih jelas sejauhmana penglibatan PUK dalam politik dapat dilihat dalam tahun 1956. Persatuan ini turut menghantar memorandum kepada Suruhanjaya Bebas Perlombagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Butir-butir yang diketengahkan oleh PUK adalah seperti berikut:

1. Agama Islam hendaklah dijadikan dasar pemerintahan Kerajaan.
2. Yang Dipertuan Agong mestilah seorang daripada Raja-raja Melayu.


Kecenderungan untuk menubuhkan badan-badan politik di Kedah terus bergolak, terutama di kalangan pemuda-pemudanya. Dengan ini pada bulan Mei 1946 dengan daya usaha Mahathir


Apa yang jelas, walaupun wujudnya PPMK, tetapi kerjasama antara pertubuhan-pertubuhan itu terus terjalin dengan baik, terutama antara PPMK dengan KMK. Ini disebabkan Mahathir Mohamad, Zahir Ismail dan Khalid Awang Othman adalah juga menjadi anggota KMK. Oleh yang demikian, dalam kebanyakan kegiatan yang bercorak politik oleh PPMK, lebih banyak bergantung atau mendapat kerjasama dari KMK.

Dalam jangka masa yang tidak jauh bezanya, tertubuh pula sebuah badan politik lain yang diberi nama Anjuran Kesatuan Pemuda Kedah (AKP) yang dipelopori oleh Syed Ahmad Shahabuddin yang bertindak sebagai Setiausaha dan Arshad Omar dilantik sebagai Ketua.

“Mulanya Anjuran Kesatuan Pemuda tidak mendapat sambutan, hanya 20 orang ahli sahaja semasa ditubuhkan. Kemudian makin bertambah menjadi 300-500 orang”.


Menurut keterangan Syed Ahmad Shahabuddin, AKP disertai oleh semua golongan, terutama dari golongan muda. Banyak juga anggota-anggotanya terdiri dari bekas ahli-ahli API, INSAF, malah PKMM cawangan Kedah. Oleh kerana golongan muda banyak yang menyertainya, maka AKP telah membentuk Barisan Pemudanya sendiri;

“Barisan Pemuda ini diberi latihan berkawat dan mereka yang berbaris menyambut Datuk Onn ketika datang ke Alor Setar”.

Selain daripada bergiat dalam politik, AKP juga mempunyai bahagian-bahagian yang diberi tugas bergiat dalam bidang sosio-budaya. Tujuan utamanya mengadakan pertunjukan pentas untuk mendapatkan wang bagi melicinkan lagi pentadbiran AKP.

Satu yang paling menarik dalam perkembangan pertubuhan politik di Negeri Kedah ini ialah kesejahteraan antara pemimpin-pemimpinnya. Hasil dari inilah juga AKP akhirnya bersetuju menjadikan pertubuhannya itu sebagai sebuah cawangan kepada PPKM atau lebih dikenali dengan Anjuran Kesatuan Pemuda-Cawangan Persatuan Pemuda Melayu Kedah.


Kesatuan Melayu Kedah Dan Kegiatan Politik Di Negeri Kedah
Penubuhan Kesatuan Melayu Kedah
Maahad Mahmud menjadi pusat yang melahirkan KMK. Ini disebabkan dua faktor. Pertama kebanyakan orang-orang yang mempeloporinya terdiri dari guru-
masa itu sebuah organisasi yang telah kuku. Sekiranya ia bukan pertubuhan yang popular dan mewakili rakyat Melayu, sudah tentu SABERKAS yang sudah wujud sejak tahun 1943 diberi kepercayaan menjadi pengangur perhimpunan tersebut. Ini satu bukti yang menunjukkan bahawa KMK wujud sudah agak lama dari hari perhimpunan tersebut. Sekurang-kurangnya sudah tiga atau empat bulan sebelum itu. Dengan ini dapat diambil satu kesimpulan bahawa kewujudannya adalah antara pertengahan atau akhir tahun 1945.

Satu lagi yang menjadi persoalan ialah mengapakah KMK ditubuhkan, sedangkan, masa itu SABERKAS sudah wujud, dan jelas kegiatannya melibatkan juga soal politik. Menurut Haji Abdullah Abbas Nasution, mereka berkehendakkan satu pertubuhan yang sepenuhnya sebagai pertubuhan politik dan boleh mewakili rakyat Kedah.

"Masa itu matlamat semua rakyat ialah menentang Malayan Union, jadi sebuah badan politik yang boleh menjadi barisan depan perlu dibentuk, terutama boleh mempengaruhi rakyat Kedah menentang Malayan Union."

Manakala menurut Senu Abdul Rahman, bahawa SABERKAS terlalu radikal dan tidak sesuai dengan beberapa golongan ulama dan pemuda-pemuda seperti Ibrahim Endut, Ustaz Ibrahim, Mahathir Mohamad, Syed Ahmad Shahabuddin dan lain-lain, maka mereka mencari jalan lain dan menubuhkan KMK. Satu lagi kesan yang diperolehi menurut Syed Ahmad Shahabuddin, selain daripada SABERKAS dianggap radikal, pertubuhan itu juga lebih bergantung kepada pemimpin-pemimpin yang berkaliber, tetapi tidak bergantung kepada massa. Sebab itulah ahli-ahlinya tidak banyak, walaupun kegiatan SABERKAS boleh dikatakan besar, terutama dalam bidang ekonomi.

Dari kenyataan-kenyataan tersebut,
terdapat dua sebab besar mengapa KMK ditubuhkan. Pertamanya tidak semua orang Melayu, terutama golongan ulama dapat bersama-sama dengan SABERKAS. Ini disebabkan keradikal dan ia bukan sebuah pertubuhan politik yang sebenar-nya. Kedua, banyak kalangan pemimpinnya terdiri daripada orang-orang yang berkaler, tetapi tidak rapat dengan massa. Oleh yang demikian, menjadikan SABERKAS sebagai pertubuhan yang tidak dapat membentuk aksi massa secara total. Manakala bagi KMK pula, dengan berjaya-manya mengajur perhimpunan yang besar menentang Malayum Union, sudah terbukti kedayaannya untuk menggerakkan aksi massa.


"Setelah Datuk Onn meminta semua pertubuhan-pertubuhan Melayu seluruh Tanah Melayu hadir dalam kongres itu, maka KMK dengan cepat mengadakan Mesyuarat Agung bagi memilih wakilnya."


Agenda Mesyuarat pada hari tersebut ialah;
1. Mengesahkan undang-undang Kesatuan.
4. Dan lain-lain.

Hasil dari persidangan tersebut, maka terbentuklah Jawatankuasa KMK yang pertama seperti berikut:

- Yang Dipertua: Haji Husain Che Dol
- Naib Yang Dipertua: Haji Ayob b. Abdullah
- Naib Yang Dipertua: Haji Mohd. Rejab bin Darus
- Setiausaha: Mohd. Khir Segara bin Abdullah
- Bendahari: Puteh bin Napa
- J/Kuasa Pergaulan: Haji Othman bin Haji Yusof
- J/Kuasa Siasah: Ibrahim bin Endut
- J/Kuasa Ugama: Daisarah kepada Kesatuan Ulama Kedah
- J/Kuasa Iktisad: Ismail bin Haji Mohd. Said
- J/Kuasa Pelajaran: Hassan bin Shuib
- Pemeriksa Kira-kira: Mahmoud

Mesyuarat pada hari itu juga memilih enam orang perwakilan untuk Kongres Melayu di Kuala Lumpur;

- Haji Husain Che Dol: Ketua Perwakilan
- Haji Ayob bin Abdullah: Perwakilan
- Senu bin Abdul Rahman: Perwakilan
- Ibrahim bin Endut: Perwakilan
- Omar bin Din: Perwakilan
- Haji Mohd. Rejab bin Darus (Pemerhati)
- Haji Salleh bin Shamsuddin (Pemerhati)

Satu keganjilan dari pemilihan perwakilan KMK untuk kongres itu kerana di dalamnya termasuk Senu Abdul Rahman yang ketika itu menjadi Setiausaha SABERKAS. Bagi KMK, bukanlah kerana kekurangan tokohnya menyebabkan Senu Abdul Rahman dilantik, tetapi disebabkan
Senu Abdul Rahman yang hadir dalam mesyuarat tersebut banyak sekali memberi pandangan dan pendapat kepada mesyuarat itu. Oleh yang demikian, beliau dapat mempengaruhi majlis yang akhirnya memberi kepercayaan kepada beliau untuk mewakili KMK.

Melihat keadaan ini, ahli-ahli SABERKAS telah mendesak jawatankuasa supaya segera mengadakan mesyuarat bagi memilih perwakilan ke kongres tersebut. SABERKAS yang mengadakan persidangan selang beberapa hari dari Mesyuarat Agung KMK telah memilih Mohammad Jamil Binjai (Ketua Perwakilan), Azahari Taib, Haji Mohammad Ma’bud Taha dan Haji Omar (Pemerhati), sebagai wakilnya dalam Kongres Melayu itu.

Kelahiran KMK menjadikan kegiatan politik di Negeri Kedah semakin rancak. Terutama kelahirannya itu di tengah-tengah kencang semangat orang-orang Melayu menentang Malayan Union. Sebab itulah bagi KMK, setiap isu-isu yang berkait dengan penentangan terhadap Malayan Union segera mendapat reaksi darinya, berbanding dengan SABERKAS. Walau bagaimanapun, kedua-dua organisasi itu tidak bermaksud untuk bersaingan, atau saling mencari pengaruh. Sebaliknya perhubungan kedua pertubuhan itu adalah sentiasa baik.

Kepimpinan Dan Keahlian KMK

Dilihat personaliti-personaliti yang memimpin KMK seperti yang diputuskan dalam Mesyuarat Agung pada 14-2-1946 itu terdapat paduan antara dua tenaga atau golongan. Pertamanya mereka yang datang dari golongan agama yang terdiri dari;

1. Mudir dan Guru Besar:
   Haji Husain Che Dol
   Haji Yahaya Junid
   Syeikh Abdul Halim
   Haji Abdullah Abbas Nasution

2. Guru-guru Agama:
   Haji Othman Haji Yusuf
   Ustaz Ismail Said
   Ismail Hj. Mohd. Said


Corak kepimpinan sedemikian belum pernah terjadi dalam lain-lain pertubuhan di Negeri Kedah, sama ada sebelum atau selepas KMK ditubuhkan. Malah SABERKAS sendiri terkumpul di dalamnya tokoh-tokoh yang datang dari golongan berpendidikan sama ada Melayu atau Ingeris. Persepaduan kepimpinan dari dua golongan ini memberi kekuatan kepada KMK. Lebih-lebih lagi dengan kepercayaan yang diberi kepada Haji Husain Che Dol sebagai Yang Dipertua menunjukkan bagaimana seorang tokoh ulama memain peranan, bukan sahaja dalam bidang agama, tetapi dalam bidang politik.

Dengan pemilihan itu menunjukkan peri pentingnya tenaga ulama dalam kepimpinan pertubuhan politik. Ini disebabkan dalam masyarakat Melayu, ulama amat berpengaruh dan dipandang tinggi.

"Golongan ulama adalah lebih bebas, tidak terikat dengan kerajaan. Kebanyakan dari mereka membuka sekolah sendiri."

Keadaan ini menjadikan mereka lebih bebas untuk bertindak, tanpa ragu-ragu dan takut-takut seperti setengah pegawai-pegawai kerajaan yang memimpin pertubuhan lain. Mereka tidak dapat dikenakan sekatan dan tindakan tatanan walaupun kadang-kadang pertubuhan pim-

pinan mereka itu menggugat pihak
pemerintah. Sebab itu golongan agama tidak sahaja berfungsi di peringkat daerah dan kampung-kampung sebagai tokoh agama dan tok guru, tetapi mereka juga memain peranan yang terpenting di peringkat negeri, khasnya dalam kencah politik.

Disebabkan persefahaman yang terdapat dalam kepimpinan KMK, maka golongan yang bukan berpendidikan agama tidak pernah mempersoalkan kewibawaan yang ada pada Haji Husain Che Dol sebagai pucuk pimpinan KMK sejak tahun 1946-1949. Di sini terlihat bagaimana kemampuan yang ada pada tokoh ulama tersebut.

Kemampuan ini terletak kepada personaliti beliau yang merupakan seorang ulama yang disegani dan dihormati. Beliau juga seorang ulama yang bersefahaman kebangsaan, dan baginya segala pengalaman yang ada padanya itu dijadikan dasar perjuangan KMK. Pertubuhan ini dijadikan sebagai badan politik kebangsaan yang berpegang kuat kepada prinsip-prinsip Islam.


Hubungan antara KMK dengan PUK juga menunjukkan bagaimana liberalnya pemimpin-pemimpin KMK, terutama dari golongan yang bukan ulama. Dengan adanya hubungan ini, segala aktiviti KMK dapat diperkuatkan lagi, terutama dalam bidang agama yang diserah terus kepada PUK.

Dengan terserahnya tugas di bidang agama kepada PUK itu, menjadikan KMK dapat memberi perhatian sepenuhnya kepada aktiviti-aktiviti politiknya. Oleh yang demikian, dalam setiap isu politik KMK dapat bertindak cepat, malah menunjukkan sikap dan reaksi yang lebih cepat dari SABERKAS.

Manakala dalam isu-isu yang berkaitan dengan agama, KMK tidak mengeluarkan sebarang kenyataan, walaupun Haji Husain Che Dol, Yang Dipertua KMK seorang ulama terkenal. Dalam soal ini beliau lebih suka menyerah kepada Jawatankuasa PUK, misalnya dalam perkara yang berkaitan dengan 'Sumpah Pegawai-Pegawai Kerajaan'.

Kerjasama antara KMK dengan PUK tidaklah menghairankan, kerana sebahagian dari pemimpin KMK, terutama pucuk pimpinan mereka adalah juga menjadi pemimpin kepada PUK. Haji Husain Che Dol sendiri, di samping menjadi Yang Dipertua KMK, beliau juga sebagai Yang Dipertua PUK. Begitu juga halnya dengan beberapa orang pemimpin lain, mereka terlibat dalam kedua-dua pertubuhan itu.


Berdasarkan hubungan timbal-balik ini, penulis lebih tertarik membuat satu kesimpulan, iaitu Persatuan Ulama Kedah adalah seolah-olah "Dewan Ulama" Kesatuan Melayu Kedah. Ini terbukti setiap isu agama semuanya dirujukkan kepada PUK, manakala bagi PUK pula, dalam banyak hal yang berkait dengan politik di Negeri Kedah, pertubuhan itu lebih banyak berdiam diri.

Persefahaman dan perpaduan yang terdapat dalam kepimpinan KMK dan hubungan luarnya pula dengan PUK, SABERKAS, Persatuan Pemuda Melayu

ALOR SETAR 250 TAHUN • 181
Kedah dan Anjuran Kesatuan Pemuda, merupakan satu tahap yang penting dalam proses penubuhan badan-badan politik di Kedah. Persekutuan yang lebih ternyata dalam KMK ialah kerjasama antara dua golongan seperti yang dibincangkan itu menjadikan KMK sebuah badan yang cukup kukuh. Pertubuhan ini dengan sikap yang tegas dan ingin mengambilkan keutuhan bangsa Melayu telah mendapat sambutan dari masyarakat. Sambutan yang besar ini diperolehi kerana kedudukan kepimpinan KMK sendiri yang meliputi dua kriteria iaitu golongan ulama dan bukan ulama.


Bagi cawangan di Tanjung Dawai seperti yang dilaporkan oleh Setiausaha UMNO cawangan tersebut menjelaskan,

"Sejak ditubuhkan pada 19-8-1948 hingga 26-11-1948 alhinya yang sudah Berdaftar Terus berjumlah 135 orang"

"Ahli-ahli yang belum Berdaftar Terus kadar 200 orang, mereka ini dahulunya adalah menjadi ahli KMK. Mereka ini sudah diberitahu, tetapi mereka tidak mahu memberi keputusan. Pada pendapat sahaja mereka yang tersebut ini enggan menjadi Member Mendaftar Terus".

Dengan ini bermakna ahli KMK cawangan Tanjung Dawai (Sebelum Berdaftar Terus) berjumlah 335 orang. Ini termasuk 135 orang yang bersetuju berdaftar terus. Mereka ini sudah tentu bekas ahli-ahli KMK juga kerana semua ahli-ahli KMK dalam tahun 1948 menjadi ahli daftar terus kepada UMNO, iaitu setelah KMK diserapkan terus menjadi UMNO.

Cawangan-cawangan lain, walaupun tidak menyebut jumlah keanggotaannya, tetapi yang jelas KMK mempunyai cawangan di Kulim, Sungai Pekan Yan, Baling, dan Bandar Baharu.

Setakat ini sekitar dicampur kesemua jumlah keahlian yang ditemukan itu, berjumlah 1,335 orang ahli KMK, ini tidak termasuk cawangan-cawangan di Kulim, Sungai Petani, Yan, Baling dan Bandar Baharu. Jumlah ini tidak jauh bedanya dengan yang diberi dalam Laporan Keahlian UMNO sehingga 31-12-1946, di mana ahli-ahli KMK adalah melebihi ahli-ahli SABERKAS.

Mengikut Laporan Keahlian UMNO itu, bilangan ahli-ahli KMK pada bulan
Julai 1946 ialah 1,800 orang. Pada bulan September angka ini menjadi 1,924. Manakala hingga bulan Disember 1946 jumlah semua anggota-anggota KMK meningkat kepada 5,940 orang.

Bagi SABERKAS, dalam bulan Julai 1946 anggotanya berjumlah 4,800 orang. Keahliannya tidak bertambah walaupun seorang pun sehingga bulan Disember 1946.

Dari data ini dapat dibuat analisa tentang kedudukan ahli-ahli KMK. Yang amat menarik sejak ditubuhkan hingga bulan Julai 1946, iaitu kira-kira sembilan atau sepuluh bulan sahaja KMK berjaya mengumpul ahlinya seramai 1,800 orang.

Sedangkan SABERKAS yang ditubuhkan sejak tahun 1943 hingga Julai 1946, iaitu kira-kira tiga tahun berjumlah 4,800. Dengan ini bermakna peningkatan ahli-ahli KMK lebih tinggi dari SABERKAS dalam masa setahun.

Apabila KMK sudah benar-benar kuat, kelihatan SABERKAS tidak dapat menambahkan ahli-ahlinya, sedangkan KMK dalam masa kira-kira lima bulan ahlinya bertambah 4,140 orang yang menjadi kesemuanya pada bulan Disember 1946 seramai 5,940 orang.

Dari segi menyumbangkan yuran kepada UMNO, kelihatan KMK membayar dengan cukup. Misalnya untuk sumbangan bagi tahun 1946 yang berjumlah $5,940.00 itu selesai dibayarannya pada 19-7-1947 (pembayarannya dilakukan sebanyak 4 kali ansuran). Berbanding dengan SABERKAS untuk jangka masa yang sama hanya membayar sebanyak $2,800.00. Ini bermakna SABERKAS masih belum menjelaskan yuran tahunannya berjumlah $2,000.00, iaitu seperti yang terdapat dalam Laporan Penyata Sumbangan Yuran Dari Badan Gabungan UMNO.

Manakala sumbangan untuk tahun 1947, ternyata pada bulan April 1947 KMK sudah membayar semua sekali sumbangannya yang berjumlah sebanyak $5,940.00. Sedangkan SABERKAS masih terus tidak dapat menjelaskan kesemua sekali seperti yang dilakukan oleh KMK.


Di sinilah letaknya titik-penentuan sejauh mana berkesannya perjuangan sesebuah pertubuhan itu. Kerana jumlah ahli dan perasaan bertanggungjawab itu adalah menjadi penggerak utama kepada berjaya atau tidak perjuangan sesebuah pertubuhan. Satu lagi yang dapat diketengahkan ialah kepimpinan yang ada pada seseorang itu juga boleh membawa sesebuah pertubuhan itu mendapat sambutan, atau menjadi pertubuhan massa. Maksudnya, pemimpin itu mestilah dapat diterima oleh semua golongan tidak kira dari golongan agama, pemuda-pemuda yang menerima pendidikan modern dan dari sesiapa sahaja yang dinamakan bangsa Melayu.
KMK agak beruntung kerana pemimpinnya terdiri dari setiap golongan, yang terbesar ialah dari dua golongan iaitu dari yang berpendidikan agama dan berpendidikan Melayu atau Ingeris. Manakala SABERKAS, sungguhpun pemimpinnya dari golongan yang berraliber, dan setengahnya pula mendapat pendidikan tinggi, tetapi kerana tidak ada perpaduan dari dua golongan seperti KMK, maka agak susah untuk meluaskan pengaruhnya di kalangan masyarakat Melayu Negeri Kedah.

Walau apa sekali pun yang bergolak dalam pertubuhan-pertubuhan politik di Negeri Kedah, yang paling jelas ialah tidak ada persaingan buruk antara mereka. Ini bukan sahaja terdapat antara sesama pucuk pimpinan, tetapi sesama ahli juga sentiasa dalam satu teka untuk menghadap perjuangan yang sama.

Kehakian KMK Akibat Penyusunan Semula UMNO

Selepas daripada persidangan di Seremban pada 1–2 Mac 1947, pucuk pimpinan UMNO memikirkan untuk mengemaskan lagi UMNO, mestilah dijadikan sebuah badan politik yang tunggal dan bukan lagi terdiri daripada gabungan pertubuhan yang mempunyai pendirian berbeda.


Sikap SABERKAS yang tegas ini menyebabkan Datuk Onn memberi pilihan kepada:

"Jika ditakdirkan SABERKAS keluar, maka pengeluaran SABERKAS tersebut tidak akan menjadi hal kepada PEKEMBAR ataupun jika SABERKAS mahu berubah maka sudah tentu membesarkan hati PEKEMBAR."

Manakala KMK yang menyokong usul tersebut akhirnya bersetuju memansuhkan KMK dan menjadi ahli terus kepada UMNO. Bagi KMK kewujudan sebuah pertubuhan tunggal seluruh Tanah Melayu adalah lebih berfaedah, kerana semua orang-orang Melayu akan bersatu di bawah satu payung. Selagi UMNO membiarkan keadaan tidak berpadu berkekal, selama itulah UMNO akan terumbar-ambing, terutama di dalam membuat satu-satu dasar yang berkait dengan Perlembagaan.


Walaupun terdapat juga ahli-ahli KMK yang tidak mahu berdaftar terus itu, seperti ahli-ahli dari cawangan Tanjung Dawai, tetapi keseluruhannya KMK tidak menghadapi pertentangan antara pucuk pimpinan dengan pucuk pimpinan UMNO seperti yang berlaku kepada SABERKAS.

Selepas KMK dimansuhkan serta diserap ke dalam UMNO, kepimpinan KMK yang selama ini dipenggal oleh Haji Husain Che Dol (1946–1948) telah berubah kepada Datuk Syed Omar Shahabuddin yang dilantik menjadi Presiden UMNO Kedah. Peralihan pucuk pimpinan ini menunjukkan satu sikap jujur yang ada
pada Haji Husain Che Dol, kerana apabila beliau merasa bahawa beliau tidak mampu dan berdaya lagi untuk memimpin, terutama bagi menghadapi perjuangan yang semakin kompleks, maka dengan rela beliau melepaskan jawatan tersebut.

Pergerakan Politik Orang-Orang Melayu Kedah

Untuk melihat pergerakan politik orang-orang Melayu di Kedah hingga tahun 1955, bererti tidak dapat memisahkan dari melihat pergerakan SABERKAS, Kesatuan Melayu Kedah, Persatuan Pemuda Melayu Kedah, Anjuran Kesatuan Pemuda dan UMNO. Sungguhpun begitu, percubaan ini akan lebih menyumbangkan kepada pergerakan KMK yang akhirnya dimansuhkan dan diserapkan ke dalam UMNO Kedah. Kedah juga halnya dengan PPMK dan AKP.

Kesatuan Melayu Kedah telah menyusun struktur pentadbiran yang rapid, supaya ia dapat bergerak dengan lebih menyeluruh di Negeri Kedah. Lebih-lebih lagi supaya setiap aktiviti itu menepati tujuannya seperti berikut;

1. Menyatukan orang-orang Melayu seluruh Kedah dalam sebuah pertubuhan politik.
2. Berjuang menghapuskan Malayan Union.
4. Membela tanah air dari kaum asing.
5. Mengekalkan kuasa raja yang menjadi pelindung kepada bangsa Melayu.

Pergerakan awal selepas penubuhaninya ialah perhimpunan menentang Malayan Union. Dalam perhimpunan penentangan yang kedua dan ketiga, PPMK, AKP dan PUK ikut serta bersama-sama KMK dan SABERKAS.

JADUAL II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRUKTUR PENTADBIRAN KESATUAN MELAYU KEDAH</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yang Dipertua</td>
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<td>Naib Yang Dipertua</td>
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<td>2 orang</td>
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Bendahari Setiausaha Ahli J/Kuasa Pemeriksa
15 orang Kira-kira

Sisah Pergaulan Agama Iktisad Pelajaran

Diserah kepada Persatuan Ulama Kedah


"Persidangan itu telah menimbangkan berkenaan dengan surat-surat per-
sembahan kepada DYMM Sultan Kedah di atas pindaan yang dipinta diadakan di dalam Undang-Undang Tubuh Negeri Kedah....


Oleh itu Kesatuan Melayu Kedah bersama-sama SABERKAS dan Persatuan Pemuda Melayu Kedah telah menghantar cadangan pindaan Undang-Undang Tubuh Negeri Kedah kepada kerajaan. Terdapat lima cadangan pindaan yang dikemukakan oleh Kesatuan Melayu Kedah;

**Cadangan (1) Perkara nasihat dan persetujuan Pegawai-pegawai yang dikehendaki.**

**Maka di dalam Rang Undang-Undang Tubuh itu ada tersebut perkataan "Chiefs and Elders" faham di dalam negeri ini tiada ada memakai pangkat-pangkat yang tersebut itu dengan rasminya. Oleh itu inilah dicadangkan tinggalkan perkataan-perkataan itu dan di tempatnya digantikan dengan perkataan-perkataan yang mengandungi makna wakil-wakil pertubuhan-pertubuhan siasah Melayu yang diiktirafkan dalam negeri ini supaya dengan permasukan perkataan-perkataan ini dataplah difaham oleh rakyat jelata yang pertubuhan-pertubuhan ini yang menjadi wakilan rakyat ada mengambil bahagian di dalam perkara perlembagaan itu.**

**Cadangan (2) Perkara Lantikan Menteri Besar.**

Maka bab yang dicadangkan tambah itu berasas di atas teladan-teladan yang biasa dipakai di dalam lain negeri iaitu tiada lazimnya seseorang yang menjadi bakal atau yang boleh menjadi bakal raja-raja memegang jawatan Menteri Besar.

Dari dua cadangan yang dikemukakan di atas menunjukkan bagaimana sudah ada benih-benih mahukan demokrasi yang meletakkan badan-badan politik itu sebagai pemerintah di dalam negeri. Dari apa yang ditekankan, KMK mahu supaya wakil-wakil dari pertubuhan politik yang dianggap mewakili rakyat mestilah diberi peranan yang sewajarnya di dalam pentadbiran negeri.


Berhubung dengan perlantikan Menteri Besar, KMK dan lain-lain pertubuhan politik di negeri ini mahu supaya orang yang memegang jawatan itu benar-benar jujur dan mahu berkhirmat kepada rakyat. Dalam hal ini, walaupun Cadangan (2) dalam perlembagaan Negeri Kedah yang dikemukakan oleh mereka
menekankan tidak semestinya keturunan Diraja memegang jawatan tersebut, tetapi bagi mereka Tengku Yaakob adalah orang yang paling layak menjawat jawatan Menteri Besar.


Oleh sebab demikian, dalam satu surat Kesatuan Melayu Kedah kepada Haji Mohammad Shariff ditegaskan;

"Berkenaan dengan jawatan Menteri Besar itu oleh kerana suara ramai telah mencadangkan Yang Teramat Mulia Tengku Yaakob menjadi Menteri Besar maka Kesatuan ini bersetuju dihadkan keturunan DYMM diluluskan memegang jawatan Menteri Besar itu di mana-mana bab yang munasabah dengan tempatnya"


Dari bantahan tersebut, proses politik di Kedah pada masa itu amat jelas. Mereka sudah berani dan tegas dalam menghadapi sesuatu isu, terutama yang menyentuh kepentingan bangsa Melayu. Mereka juga sudah matang mempertimbangkan bagaimana pentingnya jawatan Menteri Besar dan Setiausahanya Kerajaan Negeri. Mereka juga mula mempersoalkan kuasa Sultan dalam melantik dan melucutkan jawatan seseorang pegawai kerajaan. Dalam hal ini, apakah Sultan mempunyai kuasa untuk
menolak hasrat rakyat jelata.


Disebabkan bantahan itu berterusan, maka Haji Mohammad Sharif telah memanggil enam orang wakil Kesatuan Melayu Kedah ke pejabatnya pada 19-11-1947. Tujuan jempuran itu adalah untuk bermesyuarat dan berbincang soal Undang-undang Tubuh Negeri Kedah. Tetapi apa yang berlaku, Haji Mohammad Sharif menunjukkan Undang-Undang itu kepada perwakilan Kesatuan Melayu Kedah, sambil berkata;

"... ini adalah modelnya yang semacam dengan lain-lain negeri tiada perubahan apa-apa melainkan Undang-Undang Tubuh Negeri Sembilan sahaja sebab di sana ada pula Undangnya.


"Maka yang demikian itu balalah jempuran itu bukanlah untuk mesyuarat yang sebenarnya hanya membuat helah melepaskan daripada taksir sahaja. Oleh kerana dibimbang barangkali pada kemudian hari akan berbangkit percakapan mengatakan Kesatuan ini telah mengambil bahagian di dalam perkara menyusun Undang-Undang itu..."

Kerana kegagalan dari perjumpaan tersebut, maka Haji Mohd. Rejab telah menulis surat kepada Datuk Onn Jaafar menyatakan bahawa sekiranya UMNO tidak mengambil tindakan menyelesaikan perkara ini, tidak ada jalan lain bagi beliau melainkan mengadakan satu perjumpaan semua pertubuhan politik di Kedah bagi membincangkan tindakan selanjutnya:


Ancaman ini mendapat perhatian dari UMNO yang merupakan pertubuhan induk kepada KMK, SABERKAS dan lain-lain. UMNO terpaksa campurtangan yang menyebabkan Kerajaan Negeri terpaksa beralah kepada tuntutan tersebut. Walaupun begitu kerajaan negeri telah memberi syarat iaitu pegawai-pegawai Kerajaan tidak boleh menjadi Council Member di dalam negeri.

Syarat ini dengan sendiri menghalang Kesatuan Melayu Kedah, SABERKAS, Persatuan Ulama, Persatuan Pemuda Melayu Kedah dan Anjuran Kesatuan Pemuda untuk memerintah negeri ini melalui Majlis Mesyuarat Negeri kerana ramai ahli-ahlinya terdiri dari pegawai-
pegawai kerajaan terutama ahli-ahli SABERKAS, Persatuan Pemuda Melayu Kedah dan Kesatuan Melayu Kedah.


"...... Walau bagaimana hendak jadi sekalipun akan negeri ini kelak tetap berpendirian dengan agama Islam juga".

Tuntutan yang dikemukakan oleh pertubuhan-pertubuhan politik di Negeri Kedah ini mendapat perhatian UMNO, yang telah menghantar surat kepada DYMM Sultan meminta supaya dalam menggubalkan Undang-Undang Tubuh Negeri Kedah mestilah meluluskan peruntukan yang membolehkan pegawai-pegawai Melayu menjadi ahli Majlis Mesyuarat Negeri Kedah.


Surat Sumpah ini berkehendakkan setiap pegawai kerajaan mentaati Sultan. Tiap-tiap pegawai itu itu tidak boleh menyeleweng dari peraturan yang ditetapkan oleh kerajaan. Dengan perkataan lain, Kerajaan Negeri Kedah cuba menguatkuasakan peraturan mencegah pegawai-pegawai kerajaan dari aktif dalam politik. Malah sekrinya boleh pihak pemerintah cuba menyekat kegiatan pertubuhan-pertubuhan politik di Negeri Kedah. Haji Mohammad Shariff sebelum bertolak ke Mekah dalam satu ucapannya menegaskan:

"Adalah mustahak orang ramai memahami baik-baik bahawa kemajuan dalam lapangan politik tidak berapa berharga......"

Oleh yang demikian, tidak keterlaluan kalau dikatakan sepanjang beliau berkhidmat sebagai Setiausaha Kerajaan Negeri dan kemudianya sebagai Menteri Besar, beliau sentiasa sahaja mencari jalan menyekat pergerakan politik. Salah satu darinya ialah mengemukakan Surat Sumpah tadi.

Penentangan dari Persatuan Ulama Kedah telah menimbulkan keraguan di kalangan pegawai-pegawai Kerajaan untuk mengangkat sumpah tersebut. Jadi untuk menghalang daripada kekecohan tersebut,
kerajaan telah menghantar surat siaran ke Pejabat-pejabat Daerah seluruh Negeri Kedah supaya memberi arahan kepada pengulu-penghulu mengadakan penerangan dan penjelasan kepada orang ramai. Pihak kerajaan juga memberi alasan mengapa sumpah tersebut mesti dikuatkuasakan:

"...... sebab yang disuruh pegawai-pegawai mengambil sumpah ini semata-mata kerana hendak memelihara mereka itu daripada tersimpang pada jalan yang salah dan kerana hendak memelihara rakyat-rakyat daripada terkena ania atau zalim."


Pernyataan yang menimbulkan penentangan terhadap Surat Sumpah itu dapat dilihat dari dua aspek. Pertama yang berkait dengan Agama Islam, dan kedua yang ada hubungannya dengan pergerakan politik di negeri ini, khasnya oleh pegawai-pegawai kerajaan.

Berhubung dengan soal Agama Islam, jelas sekali surat sumpah ini berlawanan dengan Agama Islam, kerana menurut Abdullah Abbas Nasution bahawa Islam bukan suatu agama yang meminta laksatnaya seperti yang terkandung dalam surat sumpah itu, sebaliknya Islam menyeru kepada kebajikan. Kandungan dimaksudkan itu adalah seperti berikut:

"Maka jika dusta aku pada sumpah aku ini nescaya bala Allah dan lakenaninya dari murkanya turun dan timpaka dan kena di atas ubun-ubun batu kepala aku......"

Soal agama ini pula mempunyai kaitan dengan politik, iaitu Agama Islam digunakan demi mencapai sesuatu tujuan dan kepentingan seseorang. Sebelum ini sudah diketahui bahawa berlaku perselisihan antara parti-parti politik dengan Haji Mohammad Shariff dalam beberapa hal yang berkait dengan politik, terutama mengenai Undang-Undang Tubuh Negeri Kedah. Oleh yang demikian, tidak hairan sekiranya beliau mengambil kesempatan dari surat sumpah tersebut bagi membenarkan kegiatan politik di Negeri Kedah.

"...... aku telah mengaku bahawa tiada sekali-kali hendak membuat apa-apa pekerjaan yang bersalah dengan kehendak jawatan yang aku telah junjungkan".

Dengan ini bermakna, semua pegawai-pegawai kerajaan yang waktu itu banyak melibatkan diri dalam KMK, SABERKAS, PPMK, AKP dan PUK tidak lagi dapat meneruskan pergerakan mereka. Ini adalah disebabkan oleh penegasan yang dibuat dalam surat sumpah itu secara langsung menyekat kegiatan politik mereka. Apa lagi di waktu itu kebanyakan pergerakan politik yang berlaku di Negeri Kedah adalah bersifat "menentang" kerajaan.

Oleh yang demikian, semua pertubuhan politik di Negeri Kedah telah bersatu menentang Surat Sumpah tersebut kerana menurut Senu Abdul Rahman, selagi Surat Sumpah itu tidak dibatalkan, selama ituulah pergerakan politik di Negeri Kedah tidak memberi makna kepada rakyat.


Sebelum itu satu perkara yang lebih menarik dalam pergerakan politik di Kedah adalah yang berkait dengan KMK, PPMK dan Anjuran Kesatuan Pemuda. Sebenarnya ketiga-tiga pertubuhan ini adalah berasingan dan mempunyai pemimpin yang berlainan. Sungguhpun begitu pertubuhan
ini sentiasa bekerjasama, malah bagi PPMK dan AKP, Kesatuan Melayu Kedah itu adalah seperti bapa kepada mereka.


Kedudukan politik di Kedah bermula tahun 1949 adalah berbeza sekiranya dibandingkan di setengah-tengah negeri lain, kerana di negeri ini SABERKAS terus bertindak atau menganggap dirinya sebagai ahli berskutu, bukan ahli daftar terus seperti yang terjadi kepada Kesatuan Melayu Kedah. Peranan SABERKAS dalam politik di Negeri Kedah semakin sedikit, tetapi ia lebih berperanan dalam UMNO Pusat, terutama peranannya dalam setiap kali Persidangan Agung UMNO.

"SABERKAS terus menjadi seperti 'Pressure group' dalam UMNO, baik UMNO pusat maupun UMNO Negeri Kedah. Ini dapat dilakukan kerana ia tidak dimansuhkan dan didaftar terus. Sebagai ahli berskutu SABERKAS lebih bebas bersuara."

Suasana Politik selepas Darurat diisyiharkan telah menunjukkan peranan SABERKAS di dalam UMNO, khasnya dalam setiap persidangan UMNO. Untuk menghadapi Darurat kerajaan telah menubuhkan Jawatankuasa Perhubungan Antara Kaum (Communities Liaison Committee) pada tahun 1949 untuk mendapat kerjasama dan hubungan antara kaum yang lebih baik. Tetapi apa yang berlaku, jawatankuasa ini bertindak lebih dari hak kuasa yang ada padanya dengan menerbitkan manifesto yang menegaskan penyelesaian krisis kaum ini dapat dilaksanakan sekiranya disemak semula soal-soal kerakyatan, dasar pelajaran, lagu kebangsaan dan bendera.

Yang peliknya cadangan tersebut diterima oleh Datuk Onn selaku Presiden UMNO dengan sokongan yang kuat dari orang-orang bukan Melayu. Langkah ini telah dikecam oleh orang-orang Melayu, termasuk The Malay Graduate Association yang menuduh beliau sebagai pembelot dan pengkhianat.


Penentangan kuat dari ahli-ahli UMNO menyebabkan Datuk Onn mengancam untuk meletak jawatan dari menjadi Yang Dipertua UMNO, kerana bagai beliau soal mengadakan undang-undang kerakyatan itu adalah soal dasar UMNO, dan sekiranya beliau gagal, bermakna partinya tidak menerima dasar tersebut. Dengan ini tidak ada jalan lain baginya melainkan meletakkan jawatan.

Oleh kerana orang-orang Melayu memikir masa itu tidak kedapatan seorang


"SABERKAS telah menjalankan kempen di merata tempat sama ada di Negeri Kedah atau di seluruh negara supaya menerima Tengku Abdul Rahman memimpin UMNO".


Tindakan SABERKAS ini adalah bertujuan untuk menentang pengaruh I.M.P., kerana SABERKAS menganggap sekiranya ia masih tidak memasuki UMNO, maka akan berlaku perpecahan yang lebih luas antara orang-orang Melayu, terutama di Negeri Kedah.


Walaupun mereka tidak mencapai
kemenangan, tetapi yang lebih jelas kepada kita ialah perpecahan fahaman politik di negeri ini. Sungguh pun begitu, dari satu aspek lain, keilhatan tentang kemataan fikiran dan kebebasan pendirian tokoh-tokoh politik di negeri ini.

Kesimpulan

Dalam pergolakan badan-badan politik di negeri Kedah hingga tahun 1955 ini, tumpuannya bukan sahaja dalam aspek politik, sebaliknya dalam bidang ekonomi dan sosial juga tidak ketinggalan, SABERKAS umpamanya banyak memberi sumbangan dalam bidang ekonomi, terutama dalam bidang perniagaan.

“Cawangan SABERKAS Padang Perahu, Jitra telah menjalankan berbagai perniagaan, termasuk mengimport beras dari Siam dan dijual di sekitar Padang Perahu, terutama kepada ahli-ahlinya. Kedai barang-barang rancit di sini adalah satu yang termaju bagi cawangan SABERKAS”.

Kesatuan Melayu Kedah juga tidak ketinggalan memperjuangkan ekonomi bangsa Melayu. Beliau bertindak kuat untuk mendapatkan pendaftaran SAHABAT KITA, sebuah syarikat pengangkutan bas yang hendak ditubuhkan oleh seorang peniaga Melayu. KMK menjadi badan politik yang kuat mendesak UMNO dan pihak kerajaan supaya membenarkan pendaftaran syarikat tersebut.

Manakala dalam bidang sosial, SABERKAS DAN KMK lebih banyak menumpukan perhatian bagi meninggikan pelajaran orang-orang Melayu, misalnya kedua-dua pertubuhan itu telah banyak menubuhkan sekolah-sekolah persendirian. Dalam hal ini bagi KMK mereka lebih banyak menumpukan perhatian kepada penubuhan Sekolah-Sekolah Arab dan agama. Manakala SABERKAS telah menubuhkan beberapa buah sekolah seperti Sekolah Inggeris SABERKAS, Kelas Bimbingan, Kelas Dewasa dan Kelas TADIKA.

Selain daripada itu, PPMK, AKP dan PUK tidak ketinggalan menyertai bersama KMK dan SABERKAS dalam semua kegiatan. Manakala AKP walaupun bergiat dalam politik, mereka juga tidak ketinggalan bergiat dalam bidang sosial, terutama dari segi meninggikan sukan dan kebudayaan.

Apa yang jelas dalam pergerakan politik di peringkat ini, ialah persefahaman antara badan-badan politik di Negeri Kedah. Hasil dari persefahaman inilah menjadikan pergerakan politik di negeri ini mencapai banyak kejayaan dan mematangkan lagi pemimpinnya dalam arena politik.
Moving Frontiers Of Agricultural Settlement
In 18th. And 19th. Century Kedah

Che Zaharah Hj. Mahmud

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'The laws of Dato Seri Paduka Tuan dated 1667 A.D. for example deal specifically with the agricultural economy. Of the sixteen articles contained in this code, six refer directly to the various aspects of wet rice cultivation and the remaining clauses are devoted to a miscellany of observances pertaining to the administration of agricultural land.'
Wet rice cultivation organised within a highly subsistence framework was the basis of settlement in the State of Kedah during the traditional period, meaning, the period before the changes of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries which pioneered the patterns of modern geography. Although the ruler, the immediate members of the royal family and the more exalted members of the traditional hierarchy did not physically participate in the activity, padi cultivation accounted for the entire activity of the population. It dictated the choice of settlements; it conditioned social conventions and decided the whole pattern of traditional activity. The cultivation of wet rice was not merely a means of livelihood, it was a way of life. For example, two of the four codes contained in the Kedah Laws¹ have been useful in reflecting the economy of the State during the traditional period. The Laws of Dato Seri Paduka Tuan, dated 1667 A.D., for example, deals specifically with the agricultural economy. Of the sixteen articles contained in this code, six refer directly to the various aspects of wet rice cultivation and the remaining clauses are devoted to a miscellany of observances pertaining to the administration of agricultural land. The pre-occupation with agriculture in general and with wet rice culture in particular was indeed great².

The cultivation of wet rice in Kedah of the variety known as Oryza sativa (L.) is believed to have originated from Thailand. The techniques of flooding and ploughing the fields are also assumed to have been brought over from the north in the fifteenth century³. This century too witnessed the coming of Islam. On the basis of existing references it is reasonable to assume that this century witnessed the beginnings of settled Muslim-Malay communities in Kedah, actively engaged in sedentary wet rice agriculture.

Kedah’s fame as an important rice producer is not only confined to the modern period. Merchant ships which called at its ports in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were supplied with large stocks of rice to last them their long voyages. Frequently too, Kedah was called upon by Portuguese and Dutch Malacca to furnish the settlement with rice when food supplies from Java were not forthcoming. But the fact that rice was produced in sufficient surplus to furnish merchant ships and to be occasionally sent to other parts of the country should not imply that the rice economy in Kedah was a commercial one. The cultivation of rice was in fact organised within a tightly knit subsistence framework. Rice was cultivated by the common people or the rakyat⁴. The amount that each peasant produced was barely sufficient to provide him with a year’s supply of food after paying his landlord and fulfilling other traditional obligations. It is the portion given out to the landlords and the produce from the fields of the landed gentry that frequently entered commerce. For the common peasant there was little opportunity to produce anything beyond his immediate needs. His deployment of labour was small. The water buffalo was the only draught animal used in traditional agriculture and the services of these animals had to be rented from a small number of relatively well-to-do persons who owned them. The small deployment of labour was aggravated by the calls made on the peasant’s personal services by members of the traditional hierarchy who were in a position to extract krah⁵, a form of feudal labour. Such services were usually extracted when the peasant’s own fields required his labour. With the short period that he had at his disposal during the planting and harvesting seasons, the traditional producer had little opportunity to produce more than what was required for mere subsistence. Other socio-economic factors, for example, the system under
which he cultivated his land, also worked on him, ensuring that he remained a subsistence producer.

A subsistence community is characteristically static. The persistent process of land colonisation which characterised the traditional period in Kedah would, therefore, seem contradictory. Land colonisation during this period, however, was not so much an indication of "progress" as the process of maintaining equilibrium within traditional society.

Increase in population and the subsequent increase in the size of settlements provided the main stimulus for agricultural expansion. The limited skills and poor technology of peasant farmers quickly exhausted the supply of naturally suitable land in the vicinity of any one settlement. A village of thirty to fifty houses, with five to six persons per house, was in most cases as large a population as could find naturally suitable land within a convenient distance from any one kampong. It was common, therefore, for a section of a big village to break away and form a new settlement when the population of the "mother" settlement increased beyond the capacity of the surrounding land.

The extension of the frontiers of agricultural settlement during the traditional period was a continuous process because constant increase in population resulted in localised pressures on available land resources at various parts of the State. During spells of political disturbances when life and property were threatened, for example, the Siamese invasion of the State in the 1820s, the activity might cease temporarily. But when peace was restored reclamation and pioneering for new areas of settlement inevitably followed. The rate of expansion depended on the challenges offered by the virgin land and the skill and technology of the peasants to overcome them.

The history of land colonisation follows a common pattern everywhere. The first instance of human intrusion and subsequently of settlement tend to be the areas where the chances of survival are greatest. In Kedah the regions of maximum opportunity consisted of two main types of country. Firstly, traditional settlers indicated marked preferences for locations close to waterways, both coastal and riverine. Coastal locations made possible contacts with the outside world and with other settlements. Moreover, marine fishing provided a complementary occupation to rice cultivation. By traditional settlements also indicated strong attractions for riverine locations where good alluvial soils are generally available, communications easy and freshwater, for domestic and agricultural purposes, plentiful. Thus, it is no coincidence that estuaries and river mouths, during the traditional period, were characterised by populous Malay villages since they combine the two types of location favoured by traditional settlers. Similarly, the hubs of traditional kingdoms and of subsidiary territorial units, where possible, concentrated in such locations.

The second type of country which offered the greatest supply of naturally suitable land for agricultural settlement were the well-drained valley lands bordered on the one side by the swamps and on the other by the fifty foot contour. The swamp country was initially negative to settlement because of the permanently waterlogged conditions, the difficulty of movement and of obtaining domestic water. The hillslopes, on the other hand, were topographically unsuitable for the cultivation of padi as it was practised in Kedah during this period.

The region which carried the bulk of the population in Kedah during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries was the valley of the Kedah, the major river in the northern half of the State. Compared with the valleys of the Muda and the Merbok in the southern half of the State, it was a relatively "new" area, since it was settled in earnest only from the 17th. century on.
Thus, for the last three centuries of the traditional period this whole region was the scene of massive land colonisation. The older centres of traditional settlement, in the estuarial regions of the Merbok and the Muda rivers, by virtue of their small alluvial hinterland, saw but a limited amount of agricultural pioneering during the period in question. Furthermore, these older centres experienced a continued loss of population to the northern region during the 18th. and 19th. centuries. But even within the Kedah valley areas that were first colonised and those which were being colonised during the 18th. and 19th. centuries revealed the contrasts between “old” and “new” land.

Thus, Kedah during the traditional period was divided into two regions in terms of settlement geography. The first consisted of the “old” land, the areas that were first colonised and the second of the “new” land, the areas that were recently or in the process of being settled. While one region reflected the habits of a long established agricultural settlement, the other indicated all the bleakness and hardships of a pioneer community. The two types of landscape existed side by side with distinctive clarity.

Examples of the areas of “old” land are still evident and are widely distributed over the whole State. Common examples can be found in the populous coastal villages located at the mouths of the Kedah, Yen, Muda and Merbok rivers and a host of other less defined rivulets that drain into the sea. Examples of the “old” land away from the coast are to be found in the inner valleys of the Kedah in areas that once bordered the central swamps. Examples of these settlements can be easily picked out in the Kedah valley. The settlements at Anak Bukit, the place of royal residence and Alor Star, the State capital, form the western extremity of a ring of inland settlements representing the old areas. Northeast of Anak Bukit, for example, is the town of Bukit Pinang, once a thriving royal settlement, but by the late nineteenth century a mere outpost. Similar to Bukit Pinang is the small township of Langgar. These sites represent the core of the older settlements in the Kedah valley closely hugging the lower edges of the fifty foot contour. As evidence of long settlement, Dobby remarked that,

“The country around Langgar has been cultivated in much the same way for more than two centuries a history which has left it the chief smallholder zone of the plain and the region where yields are accorded locally as averaging below those of the other parts of the plain to the west”.

Consequently, when all the suitable land was occupied, pioneering for new areas of settlement was faced with two alternative directions of expansion. Expansion could either take place in the direction of the foothills or into the central swamps. The swamps, although initially shunned, became the only possible choice. In the northern lowlands in the 18th. and 19th. centuries, therefore, the pioneer fringe moved inwards into the central swamplands. The greatest pressure was exerted from the western fringe westwards. Also, the frontier moved northwards away from the slopes of the Kedah Peak. On a smaller-scale came the westward drive of coastal settlements. When a number of artificial drainage channels were constructed in the 19th. century, for example, the Wan Mat Saman Canal (a twenty-two mile long canal from Alor Star to the townships of Gurun in the south) they traversed the central swamp country. These canals provided newer baselines from which the penetration of agricultural settlements could take place. Settlements then moved in all directions. The patterns became confused and blurred and the direction of the moving frontiers less defined as greater and greater footholds.
were made in the swamps. By the middle of the nineteenth century pioneering in the central swamps had put large areas of hitherto unclaimed glam forests under the plough. The reclamation through the centuries had created by the 1850s,

"...... a magnificent plain which I can only compare to one of the wide plains of Bengal for there is nothing like it in the rest of the peninsula. The whole is an immense padi field broken at great intervals by clumps of belts of trees....."9

By the end of the traditional period, the remaining parts of the northern lowlying country that had yet to come under cultivation were the extensive glam forests in the northern District of Kubang Pasu and the deeper swamps of the Pendang and the Choras rivers on the southern fringes of the central swamps. These remained the areas of agricultural pioneering well into the present century. The Kubang Pasu swamps, for example, become a major area of land colonisation under the colonial administration during the post-traditional period and is the largest padi colonisation scheme in the country at present.10

As pioneering continued it was inevitable that some measure of redistribution in the regional emphasis of settlements in Kedah should take place. The extensive pioneering in the central swamplands caused a shift in the emphasis of settlement from the regions of the "old" land on the foothills into the central lowlands by the end of the traditional period. The supercedence of the central swampcountry over the inner ring of old settlements was inevitable because of two major factors. In the first place, the new areas provided unlimited opportunities for wet rice cultivation always the raison de etre of traditional settlements. In the second place, these areas are much closer to the other example of "old" land, that along the coasts and at the estuaries, which had always proved to be the more important of the two.

By the mid-nineteenth century, for example, peasants working in the older settled areas around Bukit Pinang commented that,

"..... the average produce here [Bukit Pinang] is about one kuncha per relong while the newer land that is nearer to the sea yields about two kunchas per relong"12

In the face of agricultural pioneering in the Kedah valley in the 18th. and 19th. centuries only Anak Bukit, as the royal residence, retained any of its old significance. Bukit Pinang has ruins to remind it of an important past and Langgar has perpetuated its royal connections by remaining the site of the royal cemetry. Alor Star, on the other hand, increased in importance because of its relative position betwixt the old land on the east and west and the extensive lowlands on the northern and the southern banks of the Kedah.

The fact that traditional settlements changed their regional emphasis in late traditional times did not also mean that concepts governing the location of settlements changed as well. It was clearly evident that the rivercentric tendencies of Malay agricultural settlements never ceased to influence the direction and pace of land colonisation.

Initially, when pioneering started on the western fringes of the "old" land, expansion into immediately adjoining areas of the swamp country was carried overland by footpaths. The colonisation of these areas was greatly facilitated by the construction of footpaths and mud tracks by members of the ruling community. A number of articles in the second code of the Kedah Laws, quoted previously, reflected the official encouragements given to such projects which were fairly common by the late 17th. century.
The store of land that could be colonised via overland routes, however, was rapidly exhausted because settlements could only penetrate into areas where contacts by road were plausible. On that other hand, these settlements could not move to far inland from natural waterways and the amenities that living close to them offered. Thus, the overland tracks as well as the earlier stages of pioneering concentrated along the lower edges of the old areas.

As cultivation moved inwards communication by overland routes became progressively difficult. It is in this respect that the construction of artificial Waterways and large drains had been of singular importance in the history of land colonisation in Kedah. These man-made rivers attracted agricultural settlements in much the same ways as had natural waterways. Besides, these artificial waterways had all the advantages but little of the disadvantages of the former. Realising the importance of artificial drainage and irrigation channels in the colonisation of padi land, the ruler and other members of the traditional aristocracy devoted a great deal of effort towards their construction. This was especially so in the later part of the traditional period when land that could be colonised via overland routes was almost negligible.

Beginning from the late 18th century, various territorial chiefs as well as the ruler constructed canals of varying sizes in various parts of the central swampcountry. Most of these were of purely local value. Canal building under traditional conditions lacked the co-ordination and planning necessary for projects of this kind. Furthermore, there were always political disincentives to sinking capital and labour in large-scale projects such as water control schemes. The relatively high mobility rates of population and settlement, during periods of natural and political calamities, discouraged long-term planning. It was not until the late traditional period, when stabilised political and social conditions prevailed, that the construction of drainage and irrigation canals were undertaken on a large-scale.

The three major canals that were to form the basis of large scale drainage and irrigation schemes, in post-traditional Kedah, were laid down during this period. These were the Wan Mat Saman canal, the Alor Changleh Canal and the Sanglang Canal. The first canal, built by the raja’s chief minister traversed the swamplands south of Alor Star and the following two, built by the raja’s uncle traversed the swamps to the north of the capital. Of these, the most important, in terms of the area served, has been the Wan Mat Saman Canal. Its importance was confirmed, in the early years of the post-traditional period-by the construction of the trunk road alongside the canal.

The Wan Mat Saman Canal and the two other canals established permanently the linear pattern of agricultural settlement, one which was to become increasingly common in later years when more and more drainage and irrigation canals cut up the surface of the Kedah Plain. Along these canals Malay settlements string out in an endless chain. Seldom two deep, the padi fields commence immediately behind them. Along these canals the former tendency for Malay settlements to congregate in clusters became lessened. There was little need now to concentrate in flood-free locations which was necessary when settlements were located along natural waterways. Houses too moved closer to the water’s edge. Further in, of course, after the limit formed by lands in the hands of canal side dwellers may occur the widely dispersed homesteads on the pioneer fringe.

The characteristically linear padi settlements along these canals became a firmly established feature of the State’s settlement geography. The construction of
complementary canals in latter years created widespread duplicates of a pattern pioneered during this phase.

The pace of agricultural pioneering during the traditional period was admittedly slow especially when compared with the pace of agricultural expansion in post-traditional times. Despite the several centuries of reclamation, over-land contacts between centres of traditional settlements in the State became possible only in late 19th. century. On the eve of the present century large tracts of lowland swamps still remained unreclaimed.

The slow pace of land colonisation was the result of a number of factors. In the first place population was small and the need to move into new areas of settlement was felt at certain times and by certain sections of the community only – the incentives to pioneering were, therefore, extremely localised. Secondly, traditional agriculture was basically subsistence. Thus, there was little incentive to develop more land than was immediately necessary for subsistence farming. On the other hand, land colonisation during this period was not induced by the economic factors behind the expansion of agriculture in the post-traditional years, for example, the enhanced demands for food as a result of the increase in the non-agricultural population.

The principal factor behind the slow rate of land colonisation, however, was the harsh conditions of pioneering. Pioneering for padi was and still is a long and arduous process. Initially, it involved the draining and clearing of swamps. This was usually followed by the construction of drainage and irrigation ditches. Difficulties in the performance of these tasks increased with time because the relatively easier parts of the swamp country would have been colonised first. The challenges offered by the virgin land gets progressively difficult in time. Furthermore, all these tasks were undertaken under waterlogged conditions, under the scorching sun and in mosquito infested country. The difficulties were increased by the fact that pioneering was frequently an individual affair. The peasant undertook these tasks on his own and at the most with the aid of his immediate family, nor were there many others around the pioneer fringe. The complete absence of mechanical labour is to be expected but the peasant seldom had the good fortune of owning a draught animal. Weeding and clearing were painstakingly carried out by hand. Such duties that would tax the farmer working in the temperate zone to but a mild degree would completely exhaust the peasant working the hot and humid environment of the equatorial region. It is imperative, therefore, that we examine the rate of agricultural pionnering in this light.

The harshness of pioneering for padi was well recognised by the traditional community both by the peasants themselves and the administrators. It was a common practice, therefore, during this period to grant the rights to land clearance only to able-bodied young males. They were the people with the necessary energy and the minimum of family responsibilities.

Even in the modern period pioneering for padi has remained an unrewarding task. The methods of clearing and preparing the land for cultivation have not changed much over the centuries. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Malay peasantry today forms the most outmoded section of Malay society.
1. Winstedt R.O., Kedah Laws, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. 6, June 1928, The four codes mentioned are the Port Laws dated, 1950 A.D., the Tembera Dato Seri Paduka Tuan dated, 1667 A.D., the Hukum Kanun Dato Star which is undated and the Undang-undang of 1784 A.D., which is mainly a reproduction of the Undang-undang Melaka. Although the laws were all compiled after the 17th. century, they had been in existence for many centuries prior to the date of compilation. The ruler who took the initiative of putting the laws on paper was Sultan Rijaluddin Mohamad Shah who ruled in the mid-17th. century.

2. The earliest documentary estimate of the proportion of the States population engaged in the cultivation is only available in 1911 but there is no reason to suggest that the proportion was much greater in 1911 than it was the centuries before. In 1911, 88,491 Malays in Kedah were engaged in agricultural occupations. Of these 88,121 or 99.59% were padi planters.

3. A great deal of controversy still surrounds the beginnings of wet rice culture in Kedah and in the country as a whole. It is possible that wet rice cultivation in Kedah began earlier than the 15th. century. Some mention of this is made in Agriculture and Land Colonisation in Kedah, in the latest issue of the Journal of the Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, Kedah Branch.

4. Rakyat is a term denoting the common populace as opposed to members of the royal community. Technically the term encompasses the entire population who do not possess the prefix Tengku before their names. Normally, however, even persons with the prefixes Syed and Wan before their names consider themselves apart from the rest who have no prefixes whatsoever before their names.

5. Krah was a local form of compulsory, unpaid labour. All rakyats were subjected to it. This was a particularly common practice in States tributary to Siam. The laws governing krah were ill-defined. Technically, krah should only be extracted from those who were liable to land rent. But in practice this principle was never observed. Again, the ruler alone was empowered to extract such services but in practice even the petty hierarchy exercised this privilege. Abuse of the practice was very frequent. The peasants were called upon at arbitrary times and for indefinite durations, frequently when their own fields needed them. The system was reduced in severity in late traditional times and completely abolished by the British by 1920.

6. A large proportion of Kedah’s rice planters were and are tenant farmers of one type or other. The two common forms of tenancy are the pawah and the bagi-dua systems. By the former the farmer pays a fixed portion in kind at every harvest. But by the latter the produce at the time of every harvest is divided into two equal parts. Both have their disadvantages from the tenant’s point of view.


8. Glam (Melaleuca leucodendron Linn.) or Hutaa Glam, glam forests, is a mixed forest with 60 feet glam trees and bongor (Largestroemia speciosa) dominating an association of Keriang (Archyea vahlii) and jawi (Ficus rhododendriformia). These trees normally stand in water and during the dry season in about 3 feet of water. Some 25,000 acres of these still remained in the 1950s, the remnants of the forests which once covered the whole of the Kedah Plain.


10. Of the 9 major padi schemes in the country in the 1960s, the largest is the Kubang Pasu scheme with 75,000 acres followed by the Krian scheme in Perak with 57,928 acres and the Tanjong Karang scheme with 48,961 acres which is in northern Selangor.


13. The most common method by which land was cleared was for individuals to obtain permission to clear land from the required authorities, either the local chief or the ruler himself. The ownership was frequently determined by right of clearance. Occasionally a family group or a group of persons may undertake a joint attempt. But this was not a widespread practice. Another method of land clearance quite common in the Kedah plain was by the pondok system. This method involved the clearing of land by young Malay youths who settled at a particular kampong for the purposes of religious education. Much of their time, however, was taken up by land clearance. These settlements may contain as many as 40 to 50 young Malay men, the size depending on the fame of the teacher. The name pondok is derived from the very small huts in which these young men lived in, each man to a hut. Land clearance was also undertaken by paid labour, for example, in lands belonging to the traditional aristocracy. A prominent example was the several hundred acres of land cleared for one member of the aristocracy at Padang Lumat along the Wan Mat Saman Canal. Land was cleared by Chinese labourers who were employed for a wage. But this method of land clearance was the exception rather than the rule.
Penanaman Padi di Kedah:
Sejarah Peranan Dalam Ekonomi
Negeri Kedah

Dr. Affudin Hj. Omar

Dipetik dari Konvensyen Sejarah Kedah 1981

'Apabila Sultan Mohamad Jiwa berpindah ke Alor Setar dan memulakan proses pembukaan Wilayah Ekonomi Kedah, beliau menyedari bahawa insentif untuk rakyat tanam tani meneroka dan mengusahakan tanah-tanah paya wajib diberi. Pada pertengahan abad ke 18 baginda memerintah supaya satu sistem pembahagian tanah kepada rakyat diwujudkan. Daripada masa itu tanah-tanah yang belum diampun kurnia-kan kepada golongan bangsawan diberi milik kepada rakyat.'
I. PENGENALAN


Hasilnya ialah suatu pertumbuhan dan pembangunan sistem pentadbiran negara Kedah yang sophisticated dan matang untuk mengendalikan corak-corak ekonomi dan politik yang baharu misalannya sistem pemaritan yang besar yang dibina oleh Wan Mat Saman (1885), Tunku Yaakob (1890) dan Wan Yahya (1895) dengan jaringan-jaringan talair dan jalan-jalananya yang banyak di samping menambahkan hasil pengeluaran, ianya juga merupakan suatu alat pentadbiran yang baharu dan berkesan sekali. Jaringan-jaringan talair dan jalan-jalan baharu yang dibina seiring dengan talair-talair ini dapat digunakan untuk perhubungan pentadbiran dan juga militer, serta merupakan saluran-saluran pengawalan cukai ke atas barang-barang pengeluaran rakyat. Di masa pembukaan tanah inilah penggunaan undang-undang tanah Kedah yang dicipta pada tahun 1667 bernama Undang-Undang Dato' Seri Paduka Tuan, berlaku seluas-luasnya.

II ASAS EKONOMI-POLITIK
MASYARAKAT TANI DI ABAD SENBILAN BELAS


Apabila Sultan Mohammad Jiwa berpindah ke Alor Setar dan memulakan proses pembukaan wilayah ekonomi Kedah, beliau menyedari bahawa insentif untuk rakyat tani meneroka dan mengusahakan tanah-tanah paya wajib diberi. Pada pertengahan abad ke 18 baginda memerintah supaya suatu sistem pembahagian tanah kepada rakyat diwujudkan. Daripada masa itu tanah-tanah yang belum diambil kurniaan kepada golongan bangsawan diberi milik kepada rakyat.


Tetapi apabila bilangan penduduk mula bertambah dan tanah-tanah untuk diteroka mula berkurangan, suatu perubahan besar di dalam sistem pemerintahan berlaku. Tekanan penambahan penduduk dan kekurangan tanah mengakibatkan perebutan dan persaingan yang hebat untuk memiliki sumber-sumber ekonomi, terutamanya tanah. Ini memerlukan pembesaran struktur birokrasi pentadbiran guna menyelesaikan masalah dan memenuh kehendak-kehendak rakyat.

Pembesaran birokrasi pentadbiran ini disokong lagi dengan peningkatan permintaan terhadap beras Kedah dari tanah-tanah jajahan British seperti Pulau Pinang, Singapura dan Melaka. Bonney
merakamkan bahawa pada tahun 1785 Kedah mengekspot beras sejumlah 80,000 pikul dan pada 1821, ekspotnya kepada tanah jajahan East India Company di Pulau Pinang sahaja ada kurang sedikit daripada jumlah di atas.3 Golongan pemerintah menghadapi perkembangan ini dengan menumpukan tenaga terhadap memperluasan dan mengawal penerokaan tanah-tanah sawah dan menguasai tempat-tempat yang strategik di dalam jaringan perhubungan sungai dan talai untuk menambah pemungutan hasil.


Sebelum berlakunya proses pembesaran sistem birokrasi kuasa seseorang penghulu adalah berdasarkan kepada mandat yang diberi oleh anak-anak buahnya sepertimana termaktub di dalam adat perkampungan. Tetapi selepas pembesaran, kuasa ini datang dari Sultan melalui surat tauliah yang bukan sahaja mengalihkan arah pengaliran kuasa, malahan menambahkan lagi bidang kuasanya. Perkembangan ini merupakan suatu gejala penting pertama yang mengubah asas ekonomi-politik rakyat tani di Kedah.

Pengubahan ini adalah pemisahan dari bentuk monolithic kepada bentuk differentiated. Di dalam bentuk monolithic sistem pemerintahan dan rakyat mempunyai objektif ekonomik yang agak sama. Walau-
pun sistem ekonomiknya feudal tetapi di dalam bentuk monolithic ini kepentingan sesuatu golongan itu tidak terlalu ketara. Raja dan rakyat di samping mempunyai jalinan perhubungan yang intensif dan extensive tidak terlalu jauh perbezaan taraf kehidupannya. Tetapi apabila bentuk ini berubah kepada bentuk differentiated di mana golongan-golongan perantaraan raja dan rakyat mula berkembang bukan sahaja perhubungan raja dan rakyat mula berenggang tetapi taraf hidup pun mula berbeza terlalu ketara.


Hakikat di atas tidak menggalakkan pengeluaran hasil yang mempunyai kelebihan (surplus) yang banyak untuk sesuatu keluarga tani. Dilihat dari segi tahap pengeluaran pada masa itu di mana satu-satu relong dapat mengeluarkan purata sebanyak 2 kunca untuk tanah baik dan kurang dari satu kunca di tanah masam, sesuatu bidang sawah seluas 5 relong dapat memberi kadar kelebihan seperti berikut.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JADUAL 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tahap Kelebihan Pengeluaran Beras</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Setahun Untuk Sekeluarga Tani</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tahap Pengeluaran</strong> (Purata)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanah Baik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanah Masam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumber: Afifuddin Haji Omar Op Cit. M.S. 71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Di dalam struktur penukaran barang di atas Sultan adalah menjadi pendagang utama. Harga barang-barang adalah dikenakan secara sewenang-wenang. Misalannya sepertimana ditunjuk oleh Zaharah Mahmud⁴ untuk tiap-tiap kati garam yang dibeli oleh Sultan dari pedagang antara-bangsanya ialah $30.00. Ini dijual pada kadar $50.00 satu koyan dengan mendapati kadar keuntungan sebanyak 67%. Sebelum ianya sampai ke tangan rakyat tani harga ini bertambah lagi.

Perkembangan di atas di samping
Adalah diriwayatkan baginda Sultan pada tahun-tahun 1880'an cuba mengurangkan tekanan-tekanan ke atas rakyat tani dengan memerintah supaya sistem kerah dilonggarkan apabila sebilangan besar rakyat tani dari Yan hendak berpindah ke daerah Dinding di Perak. Tetapi langkah ini tidak begitu berkesan kerana penghijrahkan ke selatan berlaku terus lebih-lebih lagi apabila Wan Mat Saman mula mengorek terusannya pada tahun 1885. Tenaga buruh yang banyak sangat diperlui dan justru itu keseluruhan rakyat dikerah mengorek terusan ini.


Walaupun bagaimanapun pada tahun 1882 suatu perintah dari istana untuk menseragamkan kadar kutipan hasil dikeluarkan. Walaupun perintah ini tiap-tiap pemilik tanah mesti membayar sebanyak 25 sen Straits Settlement bagi tiap-tiap relong setahun. Mana-mana rakyat tani yang tidak
dapat membayar dengan wang tunai mesti membayarnya melalui kerja kerah.


Pendek kata, di dalam abad sembilan belas peminggiran rakyat tani dari sistem politik dan ekonomi memuncak dengan terubuhnya struktur-struktur politik di dalam bentuk birokrasi-birokrasi yang semata-mata bertujuan mengawal keadaan. Fungsi pembangunan yang diwujud pada tahun awalan penerokaan dataran Kedah diketepikan.

III. PEMINGGIRAN MASYARAKAT TANI DI ABAD DUA PULUH


Kedatangan pengaruh British membawa satu perubahan besar di dalam perhubungan pengeluaran padi di dalam bentuk pengharaman sistem kerah dan orang berhutang. Di dalam aspek pemilikan tanah pula suatu proses liberalisation berlaku di mana tanah-tanah milik pemerintah dibahagi-bahagikan selepas dibayar harga kepada petani dengan secara yang senang. Sehingga tahun 1920 keseluruhan tanah datar di dalam Daerah Kota Setar diberi hak milik kepada pengguna-penggunanya. Pemilikan tanah sawah oleh individu-individu merupakan langkah pertama menuju ke arah penggunaan modal yang banyak yang akhirnya menarik kaum tani ke dalam bidang ekonomi pertanian komersial. Ini di dalam masa awalan perkembangan capitalism membawa kepada peningkatan daya pengeluaran (increasing productivity) dan seterusnya peningkatan pemasaran keluaran yang berlebihan.

Kebanyakan orang-orang Cina pada masa ini adalah pedagang dan pelabur yang bertumpu di dalam daerah Kota Setar. Pada tahun 1921 kaum Cina meningkat dari 13,528 kepada 59,403 orang berbanding dengan bilangan orang-orang Melayu sebanyak 237,490 orang. Ini merupakan peningkatan penduduk dari tahun 1911 hingga 1921 adalah pada kadar 34% setahun di kalangan orang-orang Cina dibandingkan dengan kadar hanya sebanyak 5% setahun di kalangan orang-orang Melayu.

Selain dari pelaburan di dalam pengilangan beras modal-modal orang-orang Cina memasuki bidang perdagangan borong dan runcit. Masyarakat tani Kedah pada masa itu dikenalkan dengan barang-barang impor dari luar terutama oleh Britain seperti kain yang dapat dibeli dengan harga yang agak murah dan banyak pilihan. Perusahaan tenunan kain di kalangan masyarakat tani mulahapus.


Jaringan pengilangan-pedagang Cina memegang monopoli-monopsoni ini menjadi lebih kuku dan kaya hasil dari padi keluaran kaum tani Kedah. Maxwell telah membuat pemerhatian berikut pada tahun 1913.

"......... kebanyakan pesawah-pesawah
adalah pada masa ini di dalam kekuasaan peruncit-peruncit yang menghulurkan hutang dari masa ke semasa sementara menunggu padi masak dan hutang-hutang ini dibayar dengan sepenuhnya pada musim penunaian."


IV. INTEGRASI PASARAN:
Suatu Keadaan Ekonomi "Dependency"


Kos mengangkut padi ke pekan adalah tidak dimasukkan ke dalam perkiraan harga padi kerana harga i ini dikuasai oleh kumpulan pedagang dan pengilang. Tetapi disebaliknya kos pengangkutan barang yang diperlukan oleh petani dimasukkan ke dalam harganya. Dari segala sudut petani yang menanggung kerugian.

Di kawasan yang tidak mempunyai pekan-pekan yang dapat memampang kehendak harian para tani, selalunya terdapat jaringan pekan sehari atau lebih terkenal sebagai pekan nat di Kedah. Di pekan-pekan nat ini (yang selalunya diadakan di persimpangan-persimpangan jalan yang strategis) petani dan pedagang berjual-beli. Selalunya proses pertemungan ekonomi ini berlaku sehala sahaja di mana petani sahaja yang membeli dan pedagang sahaja yang menjual. Bahan-bahan keluaran tani kebanyakananya dijual kepada pedagang yang memberi pinjaman.


Oleh itu walaupun ada golongan pedagang yang muncul dari kalangan masyarakat tani Melayu, mereka ini hanya berpendapatan yang sederhana. Taraf hidup mereka tidak sangat berbeza dari taraf hidup petani biasa. Justeru itu penabungan pendapatan berlebihan adalah lemah sekali kerana kelebihan adalah terlu pada kecil. Pelaburan tidak mungkin dilakukan lebih-lebih lagi dengan adanya kuasa monopoli.

Dari segi proses evolusi sistem capitalism selepas keruntuhan sistem feudalism, kemunculan golongan pedagang kecil Melayu dari masyarakat tani adalah gejala yang baik di dalam pembangunan ekonomi masyarakat. Phasa dagangan ini malangnya terencana pada peringkat awalan lagi kerana proses peralihan modal dan tenaga buruh dari bidang dagang ke bidang industri disekat oleh kuasa monopoli. Atau di dalam keadaan tertentu peralihan ini berlaku ke arah asal iaitu ke arah feudalism atau neo-feudalism.

Wujudnya sistem dagangan kecil yang terencana ini dapat dilihat hingga ke hari ini di Pekan Rabu. Generasi demi generasi pedagang hanya mendagang
barang yang sama dan dengan sekil yang sama. Paul Baran menyarankan bahawa keadaan terencatnya proses pembangunan ekonomi pribumi adalah seperti anak kecil yang hidupnya menderita kelaparan dan apabila umurnya berlanjut ia tidak dapat menikmati hidup remaja kerana badannya sudah lemah dan lesu.

Proses peminggiran kaum tani dari sistem ekonomi capitalism ini mengakibatkan kedudukan Kedah sebagai satelit ekonomi Pulau Pinang. Dalam tahun 1905 Barnes menulis,

"manakala Kedah adalah sebuah negera yang merdeka di bawah naungan Siam, (malangnya) sistem ekonominya adalah bergantung semata-mata kepada Pulau Pinang. Tiap-tiap ringgit modal yang dilaburkan adalah datangnya dari Pulau Pinang dan semua pedagang Cinanya mempunyai pertalian dengan syarikatsyarikat besar di Pulau Pinang."


V. RUMUSAN


4. Zaharah Ahmad, Op cit m.s. 96.


7. Sila lihat M.S.H. McArthur, Kedah Annual Reports (September, 1920 – September, 1921) m.s. 3.


BIBLIOGRAPHY


7. Mc. Arthur, M.S.H. “Kedah Annual Reports” (September, 1920 – September, 1921) m.s. 3.


Pasar Perniagaan Orang-orang Melayu di Tanjung Chali

Tempawan Ahmad


‘Selain daripada memain peranan sebagai pusat melatih orang Melayu dalam bidang perniagaan, Tanjung Chali juga merupakan sebagai sebuah pengkalan atau pelabuhan bagi persinggahan kapal-kapal, perahu-perahu dan tongkang-tongkang yang keluar masuk dari luar dan dalam negeri melalui Sungai Kedah, Sungai Anak Bukit, Terusan Wan Mohamad Saman dan Sungai Raja’.
Tanjung Chali, merupakan sebuah tapak bagi melatih orang-orang Melayu di dalam perniagaan. Kawasan perniagaan ini ditubuh pada tahun 1920’an adalah dari hasil kesedaran seorang putera Diraja Kedah, YTM Tunku Yaakob, tentang kemunduran orang-orang Melayu dalam perniagaan.

Sekiranya orang-orang Melayu masih lagi tertumpu di bidang pertanian nescaya mereka tidak akan mencapai kemajuan. Orang-orang Melayu perlu diberi peluang bersama-sama dengan bangsa asing di dalam perniagaan.

Pada peringkat permulanya mereka digalakkan memasarkan ataupun menjual hasil-hasil pertanian mereka yang berlebihan dari kampung-kampung ke bandar. Berdasarkan kepada kesedaran itulah beliau telah membuka satu kawasan perniagaan di Tanjung Chali.

Peringkat awalnya, perniagaan di Tanjung Chali itu diselenggarakan oleh ahli ahli Jawatankuasa yang terdiri dari 7 orang. Mereka ini dipilih daripada orang-orang yang berpengaruh. Biasanya Penghulu dipilih kerana ia merupakan orang yang berpengaruh dan dihormati oleh orang-orang kampung pada masa itu.

Peniaga-peniaga Melayu di Tanjung Chali.
(Muzium Negeri Kedah)

Perusahaan tangan orang-orang Melayu yang dibuat atau dianyam daripada mengkuang, seperti tudung, bakul, kampot dan dumpit ada juga dijual. Begitu juga lain-lain jenis barang yang dibuat daripada lidi kelapa seperti lekar, daripada kayu seperti sudet, kukur kelapa, papan rehai dan daripada buluh seperti bakul, nyiru dan raga. Sementara kain-kain baju pula terdiri daripada kain batik dan kain pelikat. Ubat-ubatan Melayu seperti minyak angin, maajun dan lain-lain ubat daripada akar kayu, barang-barang besi seperti pisau, golok, parang, tajak dan cangkul juga dipasarkan.

CARA BERNIAGA

1. Semua barang-barang yang dijual itu ada yang dijual secara longgok, diatur atau disusun kemas mengikut jenis barang yang dijual.

2. Bagi barang-barang seperti buah-buahan kecil tempatan seperti jambu air, timun, terung, buah-buahan asam dijual secara longgok.

3. Kain baju pula ada yang berlipat, disusun kemas, ada yang dibuka luas atau digantung bagi menarik minat pembeli tentang corak kain tersebut. Sementara kain-kain batik pula digantung tinggi.

4. Tikar-tikar yang diperbuat daripada mengkuang dan ada yang berwarna-warni digulung. Pisau, tajak dan parang serta barang-barang lain disusun dengan teratur supaya tidak bercampur antara satu dengan lain.

5. Satu lorong kecil memanjang biasanya disediakan agak luas bagi kemudahan pembeli-pembeli berjalan untuk memilih barang-barang keperluan mereka.


PEMBELI-PEMBELI DI PASAR MINGGU


Kebanyakan daripada pembeli-pembeli terdiri daripada orang-orang Melayu, sedikit sahaja dari orang-orang

PERBANDINGAN ANTARA PEKAN RABU DENGAN LAIN-LAIN PASAR MINGGU


Selain daripada itu ia terus menempah sejarah perkembangannya, selari dengan perkembangan bandar Alor Setar dari masa ke semasa.

BAB III

PEKAN RABU DI JALAN TUNKU IBRAHIM


Tapak Pekan Rabu itu letaknya di tepi Jalan Tunku Ibrahim dengan Sungai Raja. Luas tapak baru itu ialah '39,400 kaki persegi'\(^4\).

1. **Pekan Rabu Di Atas Tapak Baru**

Pekan Rabu bertempat di Jalan Tunku Ibrahim itu telah 'didirikan pada tahun 1932'\(^5\), mengandungi 3 buah bangunan oleh Kerajaan Negeri Kedah.

Rupa 3 bangunan tersebut berbentuk 'gedong'\(^6\) yang 'berlantaikan batu, berumbong zing dan tiang kayu. Di atas lantai simen itulah tempat ahli-ahli Syarikat Pekan Rabu bernaiga'.


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Pekan Rabu sebelum didirikan kompleks sekarang

(Arkib Negara Malaysia)

2. Perubahan Selepas Perang Dunia Ke 2


Perbezaan pada permulaannya, pada Hari Rabu Pekan Rabu itu lebih ramai dikunjungi oleh pembeli-pembeli bagi membeli barang-barang kampung.

Selepas Kemerdekaan Hari Sabtu pula lebih ramai dikunjungi pembeli-pembeli, kerana pada hari itu orang-orang dari luar bandar lebih ramai ke bandar Alor Setar kerana urusan dengan Pejabat-pejabat Kerajaan dan membeli-belah.
NOTA:


4. Encik Johari Salleh, Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.


10. Encik Johari Salleh, Ibid.

11. Ibid.


Sejarah Pendidikan Inggeris dan Pelajaran Tinggi
Di Kedah

Dato' Ahmad Nordin Hj. Mohd. Zain

Dipetik dari Konvensyen Sejarah Negeri Kedah
28 November - 1 Disember 1981

'Masalah beberapa murid dapat diatasi apabila guru besar Encik Mohamad Iskandar meminta pertolongan Tuan Hj. Wan Sulaiman Wan Sidek yang baru tiba dari Mekah untuk menasihat ibu bapa supaya mengikis segala sangkaan buruk mengenai 'masuk kristian' dengan sebab belajar Bahasa Inggeris. Encik Mohamad Iskandar pergi ke rumah berjumpa dengan ibu bapa yang masih takut-takut lagi. Menjelang tahun 1910 bilangan murid telah meningkat lebih daripada 50 orang.'
PENDAHULUAN


Sumber-sumber bagi kebanyakan keterangan yang digunakan di sini terdiri dari majalah-majalah sekolah sekadar yang boleh didapati, esei-esei yang telah diusahakan oleh beberapa orang mahasiswa sebagai sebahagian dari kerja kursus masing-masing, dan temu-temubual yang telah dilakukan di Kuala Lumpur dan Alor Setar dengan beberapa orang bekas pelajar yang kini telah menjadi tokoh yang berjaya dalam bidang masing-masing atau yang hidup sejahtera sebagai pesara, dan orang-orang lain jua.

Kepada sekelian yang telah menolong dan memberi kerjasama yang sangat dihargai, penulis tidak lupa mengucapkan berbanyak terima kasih.


Dalam tahun 1911 setelah Encik Mohamad Iskandar meletakkan jawatan kerana perselisihan faham dengan Pejabat Pelajaran, Encik Ismail Merican dilantik menggantikannya. Apabila bilangan murid telah bertambah lagi menjadi 97 orang bangunan sekolah yang ada tidaklah dapat muatkan murid yang begitu ramai. Oleh itu Kerajaan pun mendapatkan sebuah bangunan yang lebih besar di Jalan Penjarah Lama (belakang Balai Polis sekarang), dan G.E.S. dipindahkan ke situ dalam tahun itu. Sungguhpun bangunan ini besar sedikit akan tetapi tidaklah begitu sesuai keadaan dalam dan sekiranya. Namun demikian menjelang tahun 1912 bilangan murid telah meningkat kepada 160 orang iaitu 103 Melayu, 43 Cina, 11 India dan 3 Siam. Darjah yang tinggi sekali ialah Darjah IV.

Murid-murid yang lulus Darjah IV diberi peluang meneruskan pelajaran di Pulau Pinang. Kerana kelulusan setakat ini pun sudah boleh menjaminkan pekerjaan maka tidaklah ramai yang mahu belajar lagi. Di antara yang menerima tawaran
Almarhum YTM Tunku Kassim Ibni Almarhum Sultan Abd. Hamid (Tunku Laksamana Kedah)


Haji Wan Sulaiman bin Wan Sidek Sheikhu-Isam.

Tidaklah ada peraturan-peraturan tentang pakaian seragam pada masa itu. Budak-budak Melayu memakai sarung dan baju dengan bersongkok bila ke sekolah; tidak ada yang berani memakai seluar pendek kerana pakaian itu memampakkan aurat. Anak-anak Cina pula berseluar dan berbaju Cina dengan rambut bertocang panjang.


Mr. Stuart meninggal dalam tahun 1927 di Pulau Pinang, dan menunut wasiat-nya jenazahnya dikebumikan di Alor Setar. Namanya diabadikan dengan sebuah perpustakaan yang dibina di pekarangan sekolah dari wang-wang derma orang ramai dan sumbangan Kerajaan.


Dalam masa inilah satu perubahan
penting dalam dasar pelajaran dilakukan oleh Penguasa Pelajaran, Mr. E. La M. Stowell. Dia adalah yang telah menganjurkan pelajaran rendah percuma untuk semua di sekolah-sekolah Melayu dan penutupan kelas-kelas rendah di sekolah-sekolah Inggeris. Di masa depan kemasukan ke sekolah-sekolah Inggeris hanya boleh ditentukan dengan peperiksaan pemilihan di sekolah-sekolah Melayu. Seseorang murid yang berjaya dalam peperiksaan ini akan dimasukkan ke dalam Special Malay Class, dan selepas dua tahun dalam kelas ini akan berpeluang melompat ke Darjah V.


IBRAHIM SCHOOL


Murid-murid yang datang tidaklah ramai kebanyakannya dari sekolah Anglo-Chinese yang telah ditutup. Kelayakan mereka tidak sama — ada yang Darjah I dan ada yang Darjah II dan Darjah III (sekarang bersamaan Darjah III, IV dan V). Darjah yang rendah sekali masa itu dipanggil Class Primary. Murid-murid dikehendaki berada dua tahun dalam Class Primary — Primary I dan Primary II — sebelum naik ke Darjah I. Dalam pada itu pun murid-murid yang cedera otaknya diberi peluang melompat naik darjah.

Untuk memasuki sekolah, umur tidak dikira sangat asalkan mereka mahu sungguh-sungguh belajar. Mengikut cerita Encik Mohamed bin Mann, ada seorang murid yang setahun lebih tua daripadanya iaitu berumur 21 tahun, sudah beristeri dan mempunyai dua orang anak semasa dia masuk Darjah III.

Dalam tahun 1921/22 manakala bilangan murid bertambah, tiga orang guru lagi dihantar bertugas, dan dalam tahun 1928/29 seorang lagi guru ditambah, dan Kerajaan terpaksa menyewa sebuah rumah kedai di Jalan Petri untuk menampung murid-murid yang telah ramai.


Dalam tahun 1939 apabila merosotnya bilangan murid-murid maka Kerajaan

Masa meletus Perang Dunia Kedua terdapat hanya enam orang guru yang bertugas iaitu Tuan Syed Jan, Chong Foong, Sutan, Md. Noor, Chang Siang Teik dan Mohamed bin Mann.

Di antara murid-murid tua sekolah ini yang telah mencapai kejayaan yang cemerlang di bidang masing-masing ialah:

Tun Azmi bin Haji Mohamed, bekas Ketua Hakim Negara.
YB Encik Sanusi Junid, Menteri Pembangunan Negara dan Luar Bandar.

ST. MICHAEL INSTITUTION


Sebagai sekolah swasta yang dibiyayai oleh gereja Katholik bebaslah ia menentukan kurikulum dan suka pelajaran sendiri tanpa gangguan dari pihak Kerajaan. Keadaan kelas terlalu sempit dan kelengkapan dan alatan mengajar pula kekurangan.

Murid-murid yang diambil masuk tidak dihadkan umur. Hitung panjang umur dilingkungan 12 hingga 15 tahun. Kebanyakannya adalah murid-murid yang sudah lebih umur yang tidak dapat masuk ke sekolah-sekolah Kerajaan atau pun yang telah digugurkan daripada sekolah-sekolah itu kerana melebihi had umur.

Gaji yang dibayar kepada guru-guru $50 sebulan. Sungguhpun rendah kalau dibanding dengan kelulusan mereka itu akan tetapi mereka tetap bekerja dengan penuh dedikasi.


Berkenaan disiplin murid-murid, sungguhpun Guru Besar memandang berat akan hal ini akan tetapi kerana kebanyakan mereka lebih umur lagi pula suasana sekolah yang tidak memuaskan maka tidaklah dapat dikuatkuasakan disiplin sebagaimana sepatutnya. Berkenaan pakaian pula, kerana tidak ada peraturan yang memastikan mereka memakai sesuatu maka terpulanglah kepada masing-masing memakai apa yang disukai. Ada yang memakai seliper dan ada yang tak berkasut-pun.

Satu lagi masalah ialah murid yang lewat datang dan balik sesuka hati. Jadual persekolahan ketika itu bermula dari 8.00 pagi hingga 12.00 tengahari dan hari-hari persekolahan ialah dari hari Isnin hingga hari Jumaat. Oleh kerana kesukaran pengangkutan di Alor Setar ketika itu maka murid yang tinggal jauh terutama di kawasan Jitra, Hutan Kampong dan Kuala Kedah mendapat sukar untuk menepati waktu datang ke sekolah. Ada yang tiba pukul 9.00 dan 10.00 pagi dan ada pula yang mengambil kesempatan untuk datang lewat. Kehadiran murid-murid amat tidak memuaskan, dan ini merupakan masalah yang rumit untuk diatasi.


Permainan dan kegiatan persatuan-persatuan tidak ada langsung sama ada masa perjalanan persekolahan pada waktu pagi atau di waktu petang.

Kurikulum sebelum perang

Keadaan kurikulum dan sukatan pelajaran ketika ini bergantung kepada jumlah bilangan murid. Jika didapat jumlah murid mencukupi, maka dijukudkan kelas untuk satu-satu pelajaran yang tertentu. Taraf pelajaran di St. Michael sehingga darjah 9 atau Senior Cambridge. Pelajaran-pelajaran yang diajar seperti berikut:

1. Bahasa Perancis
2. Bahasa Inggeris
3. Ilmu Hisab (Matematik)
4. Ilmu Alam
5. Kesuasteraan Inggeris
6. Lukisan


Pada tahun 1937, jumlah murid yang lulus Senior Cambridge daripada St. Michael ialah 3 orang dari 8 orang yang mengambil peperiksaan itu.

Guru besar Nishikawa kemudiannya bersara dan digantikan oleh Encik Ng Kam Ark, yang menjadi guru besar selama dua tahun dan selepas itu diganti oleh Encik Perera pada tahun 1937.
St. Michael Pindah Ke Lorong Merpati


Keadaan di sini pun tidak memuaskan kerana ianya dikelilingi oleh kawasan paya dan hutan nipah terutama di belakang bangunan sekolah serta letaknya juga berhampiran dengan sungai yang berlumpur.

Ketika di Lorong Merpati jumlah bilik darjah telah meningkat 7 buah dan murid berjumlah lebih kurang 320 orang sedang guru yang bertugas sebanyak 11 orang termasuk Guru Besar Encik Perera.

KAMPUNG BHARU GIRLS' SCHOOL

Sekolah ini diasaskan dalam tahun 1922 oleh Kerajaan Kedah yang membeli istana kediaman Cik Chempa Chendra, isteri pertama al-Marhum Sultan Abdul Hamid, untuk digunakan sebagai sekolah bagi mendidik puteri-puteri kerabat Raja dan anak-anak perempuan pegawai tinggi Kerajaan "supaya mereka hilang malu bila bergaul dan bercakap dengan isteri-isteri pegawai Inggeris yang bekerja di Kedah pada masa itu". Demikian menurut Puan Hajjah Tom bt. Dato Abdul Razak, yang merupakan salah seorang bekas guru kanan sekolah tersebut. Dengan kerana itulah sehingga pecah Perang Dunia Kedua pintu sekolah itu tidak dibuka seluas-luasnya dan pelajaran yang diberi pun setakat peringkat rendah sahaja. Pemilihan murid-murid dilakukan oleh satu Jawatankuasa yang termasuk Tuan Syed Ahmad Idid, Encik Ismail Haji Puteh dan Mr. E.A.G. Stuart, Penguasa Pelajaran.


Dalam tahun 1934, Miss Lewis telah mengemukakan cadangan kepada Kerajaan supaya sekolah ini dibuka untuk kanakanakan umum. Apabila dirujuk kepada pihak JKR Jabatan tersebut berpendapat bahawa bangunan sekolah itu terlalu tua untuk digunakan sebagai sekolah umum. Bangunan itu hanya boleh diduduki oleh 60 orang murid. Walau bagaimanapun Kerajaan mengambil keputusan memperluaskan sekolah itu dan membenarkan lebih
ramai lagi anak-anak pegawai lain memasuki sekolah itu.


Dalam tahun 1938 Miss Lewis bersara, digantikan oleh Miss Aikman, kemudian Miss Davies.


Selepas perang, Kerajaan membuka pintu KBGS sepenuhnya kepada segenap lapisan masyarakat dan semua kaum. Murid-murid yang menduduki Darjah VII ke atas terpaksa dihantar ke Sultan Abdul Hamid College untuk belajar bersama-sama murid-murid lelaki kerana kekurangan segala kemudahan yang perlu di KBGS.

Akhirnya sebuah sekolah baru dengan berasrama didirikan di Derga, dan dalam bulan Oktober 1956, sekolah itu pun diriasmkan sebagai Sekolah Menengah Sultanah Asma.

BAHAGIAN II — PELAJARAN TINGGI

Sememangnya telah menjadi tujuan dasar Kerajaan Kedah bahawa dengan memula kan pendidikan Ingeris pada awal kurun ke 20 akan dapahh melatih dan melayakkan ramai anak-anak negeri yang akan dapat mengantikan pegawai-pegawai British dalam segala bidang pentadbiran negeri pada satu masa kelak.

Adanya daras ini disahkan oleh Tun Azmi bin Haji Mohamed dalam temubual dengan penulis baru-baru ini dan oleh YTM Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra dalam bukunya LOOKING BACK. Berkata Tun Azmi: “Rancangan Tunku Sulong (Tunku Ibrahim Regent) ialah untuk melatih anak-anak negeri supaya boleh mengambil alih daripada pegawai-pegawai British”. Berkata pula Tunku dalam bukunya yang tersebut: “It was Tunku Ibrahim who, as a matter of policy, started sending students to English schools in Penang and others to England”.


Di antara anak-anak orang kebanyakan pula, yang pertama sekali memenangi hadiah biasiswa Kerajaan Kedah ialah Dr. Mustapha bin Osman dalam tahun 1919. Dia dihantar belajar di Universiti Hongkong dan setelah lulus, memenangi pula Rockefeller Fellowship untuk melanjutkan pengajian bila di bidang Ilmu Kaji penyakit (Pathology) di United Kingdom. Setelah mendapat ijazah M.D. beliau mengajar


Sungguhpun ramai yang diberi biasiswa untuk menuntut undang-undang di England namun bidang-bidang lain tidaklah diabaikan kerana kalau menurut rancangan yang tersebut Kedah mestilah mempunyai pegawai-pegawai yang cukup dalam segenap lapangan untuk mengambil alih dari pegawai-pegawai British kelak. Lapang-lapangan lain yang tidak kurang dipentingkan ialah Kejuruteraan Awam, Kejuruteraan Letrik, Kejuruteraan Mekanikal, Perubatan, Sains Veterinaria, Ekonomi dan Perakaunan.


meningkat hingga akhirnya dilantik sebagai Ketua Pengarah Jabatan tersebut. Beliau merupakan pegawai Melayu yang pertama menggantikan pegawai bangsa Eropah yang bersara selepas Merdeka.


Di antara pelajar-pelajar yang dihantar belajar Perubatan di Singapura sebelum perang ialah Salma Ismail, Abu Bakar Ibrahim (telah meninggal), Omar Din, Ahmad Haji Osman dan Ahmad Kadir. Kesemuanya masuk berkhidmat dengan Kerajaan apabila lulus, Kesemuanya berjaya dalam lapangan masing-masing – Dr. Salma sesudah bersara membuka praktik sendiri dengan mempunyai beberapa klinik di Kuala Lumpur; Datuk (Dr.) Abu Bakar (suami Dr. Salma) setelah bersara sebagai Pengarah Institut Penyelidikan Perubatan pun turut berpraktik bersama dengan isterinya. Kedua-dua Datuk (Dr.) Omar Din dan Dato (Dr.) Haji Ahmad bin Haji Osman setelah berkhidmat beberapa lama memperoleh kelayakan tinggi sebagai pakar bidang Radiologi dan sekarang membuka praktik sendiri. Demikian juga dengan Dr. Ahmad Kadir, setelah bersara dari Kerajaan membuka praktik sendiri.

Dasar menghantar anak-anak Kedah untuk memperoleh pelajaran-pelajaran tinggi bukan sahaja terhad kepada orang-


*Dr. Salma Ismail, Wanita Pertama Melayu Menjadi Doktor*


Dalam rangka dasar membawa kemajuan ke negeri sendiri, Kerajaan Kedah sejak zaman sebelum perang tidak kurang memberi kepentingan kepada pelajaran tinggi di lapangan agama Islam. Anak-anak muda yang bermaklumat dihantar ke Cairo untuk belajar di Universiti Azhar iaitu merupakan pusat pengajian Islam yang ulung di dunia Islam dan universiti yang tertua di seluruh dunia.

Di antara mereka yang dihantar ke sana ialah Sheikh Ismail, Sheikh Ramli dan Tunku Ahmad Tajuddin Haji (ketigatiganya telah meninggal) dan Dato' Sheikh Abdul Halim Othman. Sheikh Halim berlepas dalam tahun 1927 dan berada di sana selama 10 tahun. Oleh kerana yang pergi dari sini tidak mempunyai kelayakan cukup untuk terus masuk ke universiti maka masing-masing terpaksa belajar peringkat menengah dulu. Mengikut keterangan beliau 5 tahun lamanya dia belajar di peringkat ini, dan di antara mata-pelajaran yang wajib ialah Kimia dan Matematik yang merupakan pelajaran yang sangat sukar diikuti kerana tidak diajar di sekolah-sekolah agama di Kedah masa itu.


Dasar menghantar pelajar-pelajar di bidang Islam ke Mesir dan lain-lain tempat di Timur Tengah diteruskan oleh Kerajaan Kedah hingga ke hari ini.
BAHAGIAN III-
PENGANALISAAN DASAR DAN RANCANGAN

Bahawa adanya dasar untuk membanyakkan anak-anak negeri yang berpelajaran dan berkelayakan tinggi supaya Kedah tidak terpaksa bergantung kepada pegawai-pegawai dagang dari luar negeri sudahlah ternyata dari keterangan-keterangan yang disebut awal tadi.

Seperti yang diketahui, kalau ada dasar pun tidak bererti sekiranya tidak ada rancangan (program) yang boleh dilaksanakan untuk mencapai objektif dasar itu. Maka sia-sialah dasar itu.

Adalah sesuatu rancangan yang telah disusun oleh Kerajaan Negeri Kedah untuk menghasilkan dasarnya itu? Bagaimana dilaksanakannya, dan siapakah tokoh-tokoh yang memainkan peranan penting dalam pelaksanaan rancangan itu?

Kerana telah tidak menemui rekod-rekod bertulis (yang mungkin ada tersimpan dalam beratus fail dan dokumen yang sedang dipelihara di Arkib Negara atau di Sekretariat Kedah?) maka penulis hanya boleh cuba membuat penganalisaan dari berbagai tindakan dua orang tokoh yang dapat dikesan dari segala pembacaan dan temubual yang telah dapat dilakukan oleh penulis dalam membuat kajian ini. Dua orang tokoh yang dimaksudkan di sini ialah al-Marhum Tunku Ibrahim (Regent, mangkat tahun 1934) dan Allah Yarham Tuan Haji Mohd. Sheriff bin Osman ("Secretary to Government", meninggal 1960). Sedikit sebanyak latarbelakang mereka penting sekiranya kita hendak memahami tindakan yang dilakukan oleh tiap seorang.

Sebagai putera sulung al-Marhum Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah, Tunku Ibrahim memainkan peranan penting dalam pentadbiran negeri terutama sekali apabila beliau dilantik sebagai Regent (Pemangku Raja) manakala ayahandanya lama dalam

"...... he became a good Regent....
He was a character who could never be surpassed. During his term as Regent, many developments took place. He made many changes for the better, and in consequence the finances of the State improved".


"The administration of the State, continued to be conducted in Malay, but qualification for entry into the State Civil Service was English. Sons of civil servants and Kedah aristocrats received posts after they acquired the right qualifications, which were either a pass in Junior Cambridge or Senior Cambridge".

Berkenaan perwatakannya, Tunku Abdul Rahman mencerita:

"Tunku Ibrahim was a ‘terror’ to members of the civil service, but with his wife he was a meek husband”.

Tunku Ibrahim seorang yang kuat perwatakannya, tegas lagi berani. Mengikut cerita Tunku Abdul Rahman lagi, beliau (Tunku Ibrahim) telah berbalah dengan Penasihat British kerana pihak British bercadang hendak membawa masuk pegawai-pegawai Melayu dari Negeri-Negeri Bersekutu (FMS) untuk membaiki perkhidmatan dalam negeri, dan juga atas

Sir Mohamad Sheriff bin Osman
KOM., KBE., CMG.
cadangan hendak menarik Kedah masuk ke dalam "Customs Union" (yang bererti akan disatu dan disamakan pentadbiran kastam dan sistem kutipan cukai di seluruh Semenanjung).


Di sinilah dia bekerja dan mendapatkan banyak pengalaman yang berguna untuk masa depan. Setelah beberapa lama sebagai Penterjemah dinaikkan pangkat sebagai "Under Secretary" kemudian Pengarah Tanah dan akhirnya menjadi "Secretary to Government".


Jarang dia melawat ke mana-mana tempat atau menjenguk ke pejabat-pejabat lain, tetapi mencerusi segala laporan yang diterima tahu dia apa yang berlaku di seluruh negeri. Sebagai seorang ahli "State Council" yang dipengerusikan oleh Tunku Ibrahim dia dapat menolong membentuk dasar-dasar Kerajaan dan menjalankan pentadbiran negeri dengan sepenuh tanggungjawab kepada majlis tersebut.

Bagaimana dia telah melaksanakan dasar yang telah ditetapkan oleh Kerajaan iaitu untuk membanyakkan anak-anak negeri yang berkelulusan tinggi untuk mengambil alih dari pegawai-pegawai British di satu masa kelak? Adakah sesuatu program yang dibuat untuk diikuti?

Kerana tidak terjumpa dengan sebarang rekod bertulis walau pun sudah puas bertanya, maka bolehlah agaknya dibuat tafsiran dari segala tindakan dan cara yang dilakukan sesuatu tindakan oleh Haji Mohd. Sheriff.

Pertamanya, dari penentuan yang dibuat tentang bidang-bidang pelajaran
tinggi yang akan diikuti oleh mereka yang dihadiahkan biasiswa.

Kedua, cara dia membuat keputusan dalam menentukan siapa yang akan belajar apa di luar negeri, dan siapa yang akan masuk bekerja dalam Perkhidmatan Awam Negeri (KCS).

Berkenaan soal pertama, pembahagian kepada berbagai bidang ilmu dan ikhtisasi — Perubatan, Undang-Undang, Kejuruteraan, Pertanian, Verterinaria, Perakaunan dan lain-lain — menunjukkan satu gambaran yang menepati dengan rancangan yang bertujuan hendak mengambil alih dari pegawai-pegawai British segala urusan pentadbiran negeri. Suatu "pattern" yang baik perseimbangannya, yang sekiranya sampai masanya, tentulah akan dapat mencapai objektif yang tertentu tanpa sebarang kesukaran.


Tidak siapa yang berani bertanya jangankan hendak membantah. Kalau pegawai-pegawai Kerajaan pun gerun dengannya apatah lagi pula anak-anak muda yang baru keluar sekolah.

Demikianlah orang-orang seperti Dr. Abu Bakar, Johari Daud dan lain-lain yang disebutkan tadi ditentukan oleh Haji Sheriff apakah perkara yang akan dipelajari dan apakah sesuatu bidang pekerjaan yang dimasuki oleh seseorang.

Banyak orang yang ditemubual mengenang jasa baik Haji Sheriff membuat keputusan untuk mereka. Berkata Allah Yarham Datuk (Dr.) Abu Bakar, "Masa itu manalah saya tahu hendak berfikir sendiri apa yang patut saya belajar atau apa suatu bidang yang saya patut masuki. Boleh dapat kerja masa itu pun cukup rahmat". Apa yang dikatakan oleh Allah Yarham ini boleh dianggap mencerminkan pendapat orang-orang lain juga. Dato Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad adalah seorang lagi yang ditentukan oleh Haji Sheriff untuk mengikuti kursus Perubatan sedangkan dia sendiri berhasrat hendak belajar undang-undang.


Demikianlah dua orang tokoh yang telah membina asas-asas yang kuat untuk segala kemajuan dan pembangunan bagi negeri Kedah khasnya dan negara Malaysia amnya.

Pada hemat penulis, para penejara patutlah cuba membuat kajian lagi tentang "perjuangan" dua orang yang sangat "remarkable" dan mempunyai pandangan begitu jauh walau pun tidak berpelajaran tinggi.

Apabila berlaku perubahan politik dan dengan munculnya Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dalam tahun 1948 Kedah pun
turut masuk sebagai salah sebuah negeri dalam "ikatan" baru. Semangat kedaerahan atau kenegerian digantikan dengan semangat kebangsaan (nasionalisme) Malaya.

Apabila Persekutuan Tanah Melayu mencapai kemerdekaan dalam tahun 1957, maka orang-orang yang telah diberi pelajaran tinggi oleh dua orang tokoh inilah yang didapati boleh mengisi segala jawatan-jawatan tinggi yang dikenalkenakan oleh pegawai-pegawai British yang bersara.

Kalau dipandang dari satu segi, hal ini merupakan satu kerugian kepada Kedah dan keuntungan bagi Kerajaan Pusat, tetapi dari satu segi lain pula boleh kita mengambil pandangan bahawa objektif yang dipelupori oleh dua tokoh ini walau pun tidak tercapai bagi negeri Kedah akan tetapi telah dapat dijayakan dalam konteks kenegaraan yang memberi manfaat kepada semua.

BIBLIOGRAFI:


8. Temu-temu bual dengan:
   i. Tun Azmi bin Haji Mohamed di Kuala Lumpur (November 1981)
   v. Datin (Dr.) Salma Ismail di Kuala Lumpur (Oktobre 1981).
Perjumpaan Bekas Pelajar-pelajar Government English School 1936
Sejarah Maktab Mahmud
Halimah Desa

Dipetik dari Beberapa Aspek Sejarah Negeri Kedah,
Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1983

'Maktab Mahmud dapatlah dikatakan telah berkembang maju sebagai sebuah institusi pengajian untuk memelihara dan mengembangkan serta meluaskan pengetahuan agama Islam dan Bahasa Arab'.

Bangunan Maktab Mahmud
(Muzium Negeri Kedah)
Asas Penubuhan


Haji Wan Sulaiman b. Wan Sidek  
Sheikh ul-Islam Kedah  
Ihsan: Puan Wan Rahmah Hj. Wan Sulaiman


Syarat-syarat Masuk Ke Maktab


Dasar Pelajaran Maktab Mahmud

Pelajaran dijalankan pada pukul 8.00 pagi sehingga pukul 12.46 petang, iaitu enam hari dalam seminggu. Pada peringkat awal, pelajaran yang diberikan merupakan pelajaran tentang agama Islam dan bahasa Arab sahaja. Bahasa pengantarn yang digunakan ialah bahasa Arab. Ini bersesuaian dengan dasar Maktab tersebut yang cuba berjuang untuk memelihara dan mengembang serta memperluaskan lagi pengetahuan agama Islam kepada penuntut-penuntut bagi membolehkan mereka mendalami Islam di peringkat yang lebih tinggi.

Tetapi mulai tahun 1962, dasar

Dengan cara ini dapat memberi peluang kepada mereka untuk berkhidmat dalam perkhidmatan awam. Sebagai contoh, dalam peperiksaan Sijil Rendah Pelajaran tahun 1967, seramai 88 orang pelajar telah menduduki peperiksaan tersebut; 56 orang telah mendapat pangkat A, 2 orang pangkat B dan 30 orang pangkat C. Peratus kelulusan ialah 66%.


Tetapi mulai tahun 1968, Peperiksaan Sijil Maktab Mahmud ini tidak lagi diadakan untuk pelajar-pelajar pada tahun akhir. Ini adalah kerana pelajar-pelajar tersebut (iaitu pelajar tingkatan lima) terpaksa menduduki Peperiksaan Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia yang telah mula dijalankan di Maktab tersebut bersesuaian dengan dasar pelajaran yang dijalankan di Kolej Islam.

Pada tahun 1969, pihak Maktab membuat rancangan untuk mengadakan kelas Tingkatan Enam. Tujuan ialah untuk membolehkan pelajar mengambil peperiksaan Sijil Tinggi Pelajaran (STP) dengan mengikut sukan pelajaran yang dijalankan di Kolej Islam. Matapelajaran yang dicadangkan ialah Pengetahuan Agama Islam, (Syariah dan Usuluddin), bahasa Arab, bahasa Melayu, bahasa Inggeris Khas, Ekonomi dan Sejarah. Hanya pelajar-pelajar yang lulus Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia dan lulus matapelajaran Pengetahuan Agama Islam dan bahasa Arab (kertasnya disediakan oleh pihak Maktab ini) sahaja yang akan diterima masuk ke Tingkatan Enam.

Perubahan ini terpaksa dilakukan berikut daripada berlakunya perubahan yang dasar pelajaran Kolej Islam pada tahun 1970. Mengikut dasar pelajaran yang dijalankan di Kolej Islam, pelajar-pelajar yang hendak memasuki Kolej tersebut mestilah memiliki Sijil Tinggi Pelajaran (STP). Pada kebiasaannya, kelas Tingkatan Enam ini dijalankan dalam jangkamasa dua tahun iaitu pada peringkat Tingkatan Enam Rendah dan Tingkatan Enam Atas. Pada tahun pertama (Enam Rendah) pelajar-pelajar adalah digalakkan mengambil Peperiksaan Sijil Maktab Mahmud kerana sijil ini membolehkan mereka melanjutkan pelajaran ke universiti-universiti di Timur Tengah. Matapelajaran untuk Sijil Maktab Mahmud diajar bersaingan (serentak) dengan matapelajaran untuk Sijil Tinggi...
Persekolahan. Apa yang membezakan kedua ini ialah Sijil Maktub Mahmud mesti dijawab dalam bahasa Arab sedangkan Sijil Tinggi Persekolahan pula dijawab dalam Bahasa Malaysia.

Pelajar-pelajar di Maktub ini diberikan masa selama dua tahun bagi menduduki satu-satu darjah atau kelas sekiranya mereka gagal dalam peperiksaan tahun pertama dalam satu-satu darjah. Peperiksaan naik darjah diadakan pada tiap-tiap tahun; hanya pelajar-pelajar di Tingkatan Tiga dan Lima sahaja tidak mengambil peperiksaan ini kerana mereka ini dinaikan darjah berdasarkan keputusan Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia.

Matapelajaran Yang Diajar

1. Peringkat Persediaan
   i. Pengetahuan Agama Islam – diajar dalam Bahasa Arab.
   ii. Bahasa Arab

2. Peringkat Menengah Rendah
   i. Pengetahuan Agama Islam – dalam Bahasa Arab
   ii. Bahasa Arab

3. Peringkat Menengah Tinggi
   i. Pengetahuan Agama Islam dalam Bahasa Arab.
   ii. Bahasa Arab

Kakitangan (Staff) Atau Tenaga Pengajar


Pentadbiran Maktub Mahmud

ini terletak di bawah kuasa Pejabat Hal-Ehwal Agama Islam Kedah.

Dari tahun 1961, telah diwujudkan "Jawatankuasa Tertinggi" bagi mengendalikan hal-hal kebajikan Maktab ini; ahlinya terdiri daripada 9 orang. Pengerusinya adalah dipilih oleh Sultan sendiri dengan nasihat State Council. Lain-lain ahlinya adalah wakil-wakil yang dihantar oleh Kementerian Pelajaran, Majlis Agama Negeri dan dua orang bekas penuntut Maktab ini.

Pada 25 Mac 1967, Majlis Undangan Negeri telah meluluskan satu enakmen Maktab Mahmud yang dengan bersyarat telah berjanji untuk mengadakan:

.....suatu pertubuhan dan Perbadanan Lembaga yang kekal turun temurun dan mempunyai suatu meteri dan kuasa bagi memperoleh dan memegang harta yang boleh berpindah dan tidak boleh berpindah dan melupaka atau dengan jalan lain-lain membuat apa-apa berkeraan dengannya.4


1. Dato’ Sheikh Abdul Halim Hj. Othman, DPMK, BCK. – Pengerusi
2. Yang Berhormat Tuan Hj. Ali Hj. Ismail, JMN, SMK, PJK, JP.
3. Yang Berhormat Tuan Hj. Laidin Abdul Manan, JP.
4. Tuan Hj. Ahmad Hj. Abdullah, AMN, JP.
5. Tuan Hj. Mansor Hj. Chik, PJK.
6. Tengku Burhanuddin Tengku Yahya
7. Tuan Abdullah Mahmud, PJK.


Sumber Kewangan


Pihak Kementerian Pelajaran negeri juga turut memberi sumbangan kewangan, misalnya pada tahun 1967 pihak Kementerian Pelajaran telah memberi sumbangan berjumlah lebih kurang $12,584.00.6


Selain daripada tapaknya (tanah), Maktab ini juga memiliki tanah sawah seluas lebih kurang 124 relong (lebih kurang 83 ekar) yang dikenal sebagai “tanah wakaf”. Tanah wakaf ini merupakan hasil daripada derma atau hadiah beberapa orang dermawan dan ada juga yang telah dibeli sendiri oleh pihak Maktab ini. Antara dermawan-dermawan yang telah bermurah hati mendermakan tanah itu ialah:


Hasil daripada sewaan tanah wakaf inilah digunakan untuk membeli tanah seterusnya. Misalnya Maktab Mahmud telah membeli tanah seluas 15 relong (10 ekar) di Megat Dewa, 10 relong (7 ekar) di Lana Bulu, 16 relong (11 ekar) di Jerlun dan 6 relong (4 ekar) di Padang Hang. Pada tahun 1957 sahaja dianggarkan jumlah sewaan yang diperolehi daripada tanah wakaf ini berjumlah lebih kurang $22,177.00.
Biasiswa dan Bantuan Kewangan


Kejayaan Yang Dicapai

Di Kedah, Maktab Mahmud dapatlah dikatakan telah berkembang maju sebagai sebuah institusi pengajian untuk:-

......memelihara dan mengembangkan serta memperluaskan pengetahuan agama Islam dan bahasa Arab......


Terdapat juga beberapa orang lepasan Maktab ini yang bekerja mendapatkan kelulusan tinggi. Dua orang antaranya agak terkenal ialah Dr. Abdul Halim b. Ismail


Dalam bidang politik, keterlibatan mereka adalah amat kurang sekali; misalnya, dalam Dewan Undangan Negeri terdapat hanya dua orang bekas penuntut Maktab Mahmud di dalamnya.

Dengan penjelasan di atas dapatlah kita katakan Maktab ini telah berjaya mencapai matlamat asasnya iaitu memajukan pengajian agama Islam dan bahasa Arab. Dengan itu dapatlah dikatakan Maktab ini berfungsi sebagai kolej persediaan kepada penuntut-penuntut yang ingin melanjutkan pelajaran ke peringkat yang lebih tinggi (peringkat tertiary) melalui bahasa pengantar Arab bagi membolehkan mereka melanjutkan pelajaran seterusnya ke Kolej Islam, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Universiti Al-Azhar dan universiti lain di Timur Tengah.

Sejauh manakah Maktab Mahmud telah berjaya melahirkan pelajar-pelajar yang berkebolehan dalam pelajaran kebangsaan. Ini dapat dijelaskan dengan melihat kepada peratus kelulusan yang dicapai dalam peperiksaan Sijil Rendah Pelajaran dan Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia. Dalam peperiksaan Sijil Rendah Pelajaran bagi tahun 1967, 1968 dan 1969, peratus kelulusan yang dicapai ialah 66%, 64% dan 81%, sedangkan dalam peperiksaan Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia pula bagi tahun 1968, peratus kelulusan yang dicapai ialah 75.9% dan bagi tahun 1969 menurun sedikit iaitu 57%. Walaupun dengan peratus kelulusan yang diberikan sudah cukup bagi membuktikan yang Maktab Mahmud tidaklah mencapai kejayaan yang dapat dibanggakan, memandangkan bahawa pelajar-pelajarnya terpaksa belajar dalam tiga bahasa serentak (Inggeris, Bahasa Malaysia dan Arab), maka
sepatutnya Maktab Mahmud itu dianggap sudah agak berjaya dalam mencapai matlamat keduanya; menghasilkan pelajar-pelajar yang berkebolehan dalam bidang akademik.


Juga didapati hingga sekarang, ramai daripada lepasan-lepasan Maktab Mahmud melanjutkan pelajaran ke sekolah-sekolah yang lebih baik atau terkenal. Apa yang jelas ramai daripada mereka ini melanjutkan pelajaran ke Kolej Islam selepas menduduki peperiksaan Sijil Rendah Pelajaran dan Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia di Maktab ini. Ini adalah kerana sistem pelajaran Maktab Mahmud selaras dengan sistem pelajaran Kolej Islam.15 Sekali pandang, langkah menghantar pelajar-pelajar yang berjaya ke sekolah-sekolah yang lebih baik merugikan Maktab ini sendiri kerana pelajar yang tinggal, yang meneruskan pelajaran dalam tingkatan empat atau enam di Maktab ini merupakan pelajar yang kurang berjaya. Namun demikian Maktab ini masih berjaya atau berkemampuan mengeluarkan penuntut-penuntut yang berjaya dalam peperiksaan Sijil Rendah Pelajaran dan Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia. Ini terbukti berdasarkan peratusan kejayaan yang dicapai dalam peperiksaan tersebut yang telah didelaskan sebelum ini.


NOTA:


3. Ilham, Majalah Maktab Mahmud, Bilangan 13, Tahun 1970, hlm. 11.


5. Laporan Tahunan Maktab Mahmud 1957.

6. Ilham Majalah Maktab Mahmud, Bil.

7. Ilham, Bil. 11, 1968, hlm. 16.

8. Laporan Tahunan Maktab Mahmud Tahun 1951.


10. Abu Zaki Fadhil.


Sejarah Pembinaan Jalan Keretapi Negeri Kedah
Salim Nabijan
Dipetik dari Jelat Bil. 9 1979/80

'Sejarah pembinaan jalan keretapi di Kedah telah mengalami satu proses yang agak unik dan berbeza dengan negeri-negeri Melayu yang lain'

Stesyen keretapi Alor Setar.
(Arkh Negara Malaysia)
Kerajaan Siam berhubung dengan projek pembinaan di atas, maka hingga ke hari ini masih tidak terdapat jalan kereta api menghubungkan Bukit Mertajam dengan Kulim.


Sementara itu dalam tahun 1907 itu mengenai usaha untuk menghubungkan negeri Kedah dengan landasan kereta api telah timbul semula. Kerajaan Siam telah bercadang untuk menawarkan konsesi kepada Kompani German (dengan menggunakan kewangan German) bagi membina jalan kereta api dari Bangkok untuk menghubungkan dengan negeri Kedah dan seterusnya dengan jalan kereta api Negeri-Negeri Melayu Bersekutu. Jalan kereta api ini juga akan menggunakan landasan yang berbeda dari yang digunakan oleh kereta api Negeri-Negeri Melayu Bersekutu dan usaha pembinaan akan dijalankan di bawah pengawasan Jurutera-jurutera German.


Cadangan untuk membina jalan kereta api menghubungkan negeri Kedah dan Siam dengan Negeri-Negeri Melayu Bersekutu mendapat perhatian dari persatuan-persatuan tertentu. Hal ini adalah kerana kemajuan ekonomi dan peningkatan dalam ‘volume of trade’ atau perkembangan aktiviti perdagangan memerlukan sistem perkhidmatan dan pengangkutan yang baik dan efficient seperti kereta api.

*The press agitated in its favour and the Penang Chamber of Commerce Vitally aware of the necessity of this extension, sent a delegation to the Governor of the Straits Settlements on this matter.*

Sementara itu kita dapat bahawa jalan yang mendapat perhatian dari The Malay Railway and Works Construction Company ialah dari Singgora ke Selama juga tidak dibina. Seperkara lagi yang menjadi tanda tanya dan persoalan hingga ke hari ini ialah sebab-sebab mengapa landasan kereta api dari Bukit Mertajam ke Kulim tidak dibina, terutama selepas Perjanjian Ingeris-Siam 1909 di mana Negeri-Negeri Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah dan Perlis di bawah naungan Ingeris, walaupun sebahagian besar dari kawasan selatan Kedah termasuk Kulim adalah merupakan kawasan yang strategik dan
kaya dari segi ekonomi.

Justru selepas termeterinya perjanjian Ingeris-Siam tahun 1909 dan Kedah diserahkan oleh Kerajaan Siam kepada pihak Ingeris, barulah Kerajaan Ingeris benar-benar berusaha untuk membina jalan keretapi untuk menghubungkan Bukit Mertajam dengan Alor Setar. Landasan tersebut sejauh 56 batu dari Bukit Mertajam di daerah Province Wellesly memanjang hingga ke Alor Setar, ibu negeri Kedah.\(^7\) Pembinaan jalan ini telah dimulakan pada penghujung tahun 1912.\(^7\)

Sementara itu persediaan serta penyelidikan pertama dan terakhir atas usaha untuk membina landasan keretapi dari Bukit Mertajam ke Alor Setar telahpun dijalankan pada penghujung tahun 1911 dan di awal tahun 1912. Jumlah kewangan yang digunakan untuk tujuan persediaan yang penyelidikan dan fasilti sebanyak $38,179.88. Peruntukan keseluruhan yang ditetapkan oleh pihak Pentadbiran Keretapi Negeri-Negeri Melayu Bersekutu bagi membina jalan keretapi dari Bukit Mertajam hingga ke Alor Setar adalah seperti di bawah:\(^7\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Trial Survey Railway} & \\
\text{Extension to Alor Setar} & \text{\$ 22,063.86} \\
\text{Permanent Survey} & \\
\text{Railway Extension to Alor Setar} & \text{\$ 16,116.02} \\
\text{Kedah Railway Extension} & \\
\text{Bukit Mertajam to Alor Setar} & \text{\$686,042.06} \\
\text{Total} & \text{\$724,221.94}
\end{align*}
\]

Pihak Pentadbiran Keretapi Negeri-Negeri Melayu Bersekutu mula menjalankan kerja-kerja penyelidikan dalam usaha untuk membina landasan keretapi Bukit Mertajam—Alor Setar dalam bulan Oktober, 1911 dan mendapat kawasan yang diperlukan untuk projek ini pada 1hb. Februari, 1912.\(^7\)


\textit{The Railway Administration, which had started work upon the Bukit Mertajam — Alor Setar line in October of the preceding year, obtained complete possession of the land required for the line on the 1st February. Work had been carried out with great energy throughout the year. Construction trains are running for a distance of fifteen miles at the southern end and ten miles at the northern end. It is expected that the rails will be linked up in June, 1914, and that the entire section, which is 56 miles long, will be open for traffic in 1915.}\(^7\)

Setelah selesai kerja-kerja pembinaan, maka jalan keretapi utama dari Bukit Mertajam ke Alor Setar telah dibuka dengan rasminya untuk kegunaan pengangkutan dan penumpang pada tahun 1915.\(^7\) Pembukaan jalan keretapi Bukit Mertajam — Alor Setar telah menentuskan satu perkembangan baru dalam sistem perhubungan dan pengangkutan di negeri Kedah khususnya.

Sementara itu setelah kerja-kerja pembinaan jalan keretapi Bukit Mertajam — Alor Setar hampir selesai, pihak Pentadbir Keretapi Negeri-Negeri Melayu Bersekutu telah meneruskan usaha-usaha penyelidikan untuk menyambungkan landasan keretapi dari Alor Setar ke negeri Perlis dan Padang Besar pada tahun 1914.\(^7\) Kerja-Kerja pembinaan jalan keretapi ini telah dimulakan pada tahun 1915.\(^7\)

Landasan keretapi dari Alor Setar ke Bukit Ketri di negeri Perlis sepanjang 56½ batu telah dibuka untuk kegunaan pengangkutan dan penumpang pada 15hb. Oktober, 1917.\(^8\) Sementara itu landasan keretapi dari Bukit Ketri ke Padang Besar telah dibuka untuk kegunaan pengangkutan...
dan penumpang pada 1hb. Mac, 1918.\(^1\) Jumlah peruntukan untuk pembinaan jalan-jalan keretapi ini ialah sebanyak $172,502.74. Seterusnya kita dapatilandasan keretapi dari Padang Besar telah disambungkan dengan jalan keretapi Negeri Thai dan dibuka secara rasminya pada 1hb. Julai 1918.\(^2\)

Terdapat sebanyak dua puluh tiga buah stesyen keretapi dan perhentian kecil atau 'halts' di sepanjang jalan keretapi dari Bukit Mertajam ke Alor Setar dan seterusnya ke Padang Besar. Stesyen-stesyen dan perhentian kecil tersebut ialah:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stesyen</th>
<th>Kek</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bukit Mertajam</td>
<td>Penanti</td>
<td>4 batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jarak</td>
<td>7 batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kreh</td>
<td>9½ batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pinang Tunggal</td>
<td>15 batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sungai Petani</td>
<td>18 batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sungai Lalong</td>
<td>23½ batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Semiling</td>
<td>27½ batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sungai Toh Pawang</td>
<td>29½ batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gurun</td>
<td>34 batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guar Cempedak</td>
<td>36½ batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Junun</td>
<td>39½ batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kobah</td>
<td>45½ batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tokai</td>
<td>49½ batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alor Setar</td>
<td>56½ batu</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anak Bukit</td>
<td>61½ batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tunjang</td>
<td>67½ batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kodiang</td>
<td>75¼ batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arau</td>
<td>80 batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mata Air</td>
<td>82½ batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bukit Ketri</td>
<td>86½ batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kubang Tiga Halt</td>
<td>90¼ batu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Padang Besar</td>
<td>98¼ batu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


73. Ibid.
74. Ibid, p.18.
79. F.M.S. Railway Annual Report, 1918, p.11.
80. Ibid, p. 11.
81. Ibid, p. 11.
82. F.M.S. Railway Annual Report, 1919, p.15.
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13. Tempawan bt. Ahmad
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dan

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Perbadanan Perpustakaan Awam Kedah Darulaman

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Ketua Bahagian Koleksi Khas
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