

THE MEMORY OF THE WORLD REGISTER: THE SULTAN ABDUL HAMID CORRESPONDENCE AND KEDAH HISTORY

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From the historiographical point of view, the collection relating to the Sultan Abdul Hamid Correspondence has opened a new chapter in the written history of Kedah, particularly between 1882 and 1920. Filled with a variety of information be it politics, economy and social, this collection allows the researcher to revisit Kedah history from another angle. More importantly, the collection indicates how the palace and the elites combined their efforts and ideas to ensure the smooth operation of the state administration and at the same time to secure the sustained loyalty of the people, even when it was later placed under a British Financial Adviser appointed by Bangkok in 1905 or under Britain from 1909 onwards. The correspondence, reports, minutes and agreements compiled in this collection show the earnestness of the palace and Kedah elites in developing the economic, political, and social aspects of the state, besides keeping the good relations with the Siamese and the British in Penang. This collection reveals the wisdom of the local ruler in managing a state despite having to face many challenges. To the ruler and the elites it was paramount that Kedah's Malay identity should be upheld despite the challenge posed by western (and Thai) imperialism and colonialism.

Keywords: the correspondence of Sultan Abdul Hamid, Kedah history, historiography

INTRODUCTION

The discovery of 14 books consisting of copies of letters written in Jawi during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah (1881–1943) in 1982 (henceforth referred as the Sultan Abdul Hamid Correspondence Collection or SAHCC) was a significant breakthrough for historians and scholars in the field of Malay studies. These books were found in their original form by the National Archives, Kedah/Perlis Branch during a visit to the Office of the State Secretary which was located at Wisma Negeri Kedah. The collection was then transferred to the Archives' premises at Wisma Persekutuan. Preserved in their original form these books were labelled with numbers. Since then its transliteration into Romanised Malay was undertaken in stages.¹ At the same time, researchers were allowed

access to the original books which were in Jawi. Realising the importance and historical value of these documents for Kedah history, efforts have been made by the National Archives of Malaysia to secure for these correspondences "the memory of the world register" recognition from United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO). The efforts paid dividend when on 4th September 2001 the SAHCC was accorded world heritage status.

A significant part of the SAHCC has now been Romanised. These are kept at the Kedah/Perlis Branch National Archives. The discovery has unearthed many new facts regarding Kedah history since the end of the 19th century until the mid-20th century in particular for the 1882–1920 period, which is covered by most of the correspondence. It must be emphasised that although the scope of the SAHCC is listed to cover 1882–1943 period which was based on the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid, in reality there are no correspondence for the 1921–1943 period (this is based on the review of SAHCC titles). Regular shifting of the office of the State Secretary and book loss due to the death of the officer in-charge of the collection, destructions due to flooding and insect attacks were some of the factors that caused the missing gap from 1921 to 1943. Wartime destruction was probably another factor while there is also the possibility that certain books are kept as personal collections of unknown individuals (Zakiah, 1981).

THE CONTENT OF THE SAHCC

As stated by Annabel T. Gallop (1994: 8) in *The Legacy of the Malay Letter/Warisan Warkah Melayu*, Malay correspondence has yet to be given a place by scholars in historical, cultural, civilisational or Malay aesthetical studies. Although these letters have been in existence for decades, the contents have never been studied in detail, except in separate parts. In fact, from the angle of the utilisation of correspondences as a written source, Gallop and Kratz who had studied many Malay manuscripts, conclude there is no widespread awareness of the importance of Malay letters as an important source of research. This view should be given due consideration although one should be aware of various barriers in consulting these letters. Badriyah Haji Salleh (1999: xvii) who had studied the Farquhar letters opines that local researchers may not be aware of the existence of these Malay letters as many of them are kept outside of the country; hence, Malay letters are hardly used in historical research. For those who might have the interest to use them as their source or as study materials, there are other obstacles such as the inability to read old Jawi while to Romanise these would take a long time. In fact, the transliteration aspect is a big barrier for researchers who are interested to undertake research on Malay correspondence and to evaluate their significance.

Despite the many limitations, the correspondence of Malay rulers creates space for research and potential as sources of study, be it for the arts, culture and civilisation, as well as its value and historical assumptions. In the context of the Malay sultanate, royal letters and their stamps served as a medium for diplomatic communications between the rulers; these also reflect their power, greatness and sovereignty (Drakard, 1999: 117). These traditions were well acknowledged by European officers who had established relationships with local rulers, to the extent of supplying letter of safe conduct to any diplomatic, trade and exploration missions, to request assistance from these rulers or the people who were under a certain ruler (Raimy, 1998).² It is within this context that the SAHCC should be discussed and analysed. Ahmat Adam (2009: 35) in *Letters of Sincerity* confirmed R. Bonney's conclusion in his famous book, *Kedah 1771–1821: The Search for Security and Independence* (1971), that the Kedah ruler, under pressure from Siam, had looked for the assistance of the British East India Company (EIC), even though a Thai-Malaysian scholar, Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian claims that the Kedah-Siam relation was a harmonious one as Bangkok gave full freedom to the Kedah Sultan to manage the state.³ Ahmat Adam's conclusion is based on his analysis of the letter Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin (reigned 1804–1843) had written to the EIC which highlighted the problems Kedah faced in its relation with Siam.

The Sultan Abdul Hamid Correspondence is much bigger than the letters of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin. Originally in 14 books, the National Archives of Malaysia, Kedah Branch had found out there were actually 16 books under the SAHCC label (based on the book registration for the transliterated collection at the Kedah Archives). This was due to the discovery of new books identified as belonging to the SAHCC collection. Dato' Haji Wan Shamsudin bin Mohd. Yusuf (1999: 20), a local scholar, has grouped these books into five categories:

Group 1 – Correspondence in the form of customs and norms (Book 2, 3, 5, 8, 10) which consist of letters of the Sultan, crown prince, local nobility and Chinese revenue farmers.

Group 2 – Letters relating to the state's various revenue farm agreements (Book 7, 9) which consist of a list of Chinese revenue farmers and the types of revenue farms.

Group 3 – The state's budget statements (Book 1, 2) which consist of income sources and budget details including lease installments to Penang after its takeover from the Kedah Sultanate by the EIC in 1786, palace expenditures (including palace maintenance), royalty allowance, clothing, feasts and other matters.

Group 4 – Palace diaries (Book 4) that indicate the visits and return visits of Sultan Abdul Hamid and King Chulalongkorn to Siam and Kedah, and the Sultan's visit to Penang. Included also are the visits of the Kedah nobility to Bangkok.

Group 5 – State Council Resolutions since 1905 (Book 11) when the State Council was formed (consisting of meetings, minutes, legislations and others).

Book No. 1: SAHCC T.H. 1300–1304/A.D. 1882–1886 (*Ini Kira-kira Terima Rial Hasil Pajak Kuala Muda dan Merbuk - This is Kuala Muda and Merbok Lease Revenue Rial Acceptance Account*)

This book contains information on income from revenue farms in two districts, Kuala Muda and Merbok, which were the main source for the Kedah treasury. These revenue farms covered rubber, opium, gambling, wood, rice, tobacco, *gambir*, salt, cane and chickens and ducks. Most of these revenue farmers were Chinese who had close links with the Kedah palace. The number of Malays who received leases was very small and they include Tunku Dziauddin (also known as Tunku Kudin). The income from these leases was reported every month. Book No. 1 also contains details of palace expenditure for each month. The expenditure includes for immediate royal family members and subsistence for palace workers. Although the income from revenue farmers was substantial, the balance in the Kedah state treasury was small due to the high palace expenditure. The situation could be detected from the financial statement (income and expenditure) found in the book. In fact, the high expenditure of two members of the royal family, Tunku Dziauddin and Tunku Yusof, both viewed by Sultan Abdul Hamid as problem cases, is also discussed in the book.

Book No. 2: SAHCC T.H. 1304–1312/A.D. 1886–1894

This book consists of two volumes and contains letters sent to the king of Siam and senior Thai officials including the governor of Phuket who handled financial loan applications from Kedah to Bangkok and the delivery of the *Bunga Emas dan Perak* (Gold and Silver Flowers). There are also letters addressed to the British Residents in Penang, Perak and Selangor, and the governor of the southern provinces of Thailand. In the first volume, there are discussions on the rising state expenditure as opposed to the decrease in income that had delayed salary payments for palace staff. Kedah overcame the problem by aligning salaries of her officials with the state revenue from various sources. Efforts to modernise the state is attested by the fact that Kedah was the site to gather telegraph materials for Siam besides the erection of telegraph poles in the state. The book indicates that forced labour was used to erect these poles in the identified areas. There is also information on the entry of Chinese labour in the

mines of Kulim and Karangan, and the Chinese fighting one another. Problems caused by Tunku Dziauddin and Tunku Yaacob received the most attention in Book 2. Sultan Abdul Hamid wrote a number of letters to the Siamese Foreign Minister conveying his grief and concern regarding the two senior members of the Kedah royalty.

Volume two of Book No. 2 consists of letters sent to the King of Siam requesting for Perlis and Setul to be reunited with Kedah. One of the outstanding issues is a report from Kedah on Khun Parman, a Setul man who was sent by Siam to measure the small islands in Langkawi. Khun Parman was reported to have become mentally ill, but after investigations by Kedah, it was found that he was not ill but was living in fear for cooperating with Perlis to "do evil to Kedah". In one letter from the Sultan which was personally carried by the Kedah Prime Minister Wan Mat Saman to Siam it is stated that, after checking items belonging to Khun Parman, Kedah found proof that there existed cooperation between Khun Parman and the Perlis raja to "compress the [Kedah] state border."⁴

Book No. 3: SAHCC T.H. 1306–1307/A.D. 1888–1889

This book contains 324 letters from Sultan Abdul Hamid and Kedah dignitaries to the Siamese Councillor in Penang, A. D. Neubronner, and Resident Councillor of Penang. Their content touches on administrative matters and the people including criminal cases like murders, thefts and burglaries. It also includes cases of misdemeanour committed by those from Kedah in other states. Also included is a report on incidents of Chinese fracas in Kulim, and a letter to Frank A. Swettenham, the Resident of Perak, about the proposal to build a railway line from Kerian to Kota Setar.

Book No. 4: SAHCC T.H. 1307–1310/A.D. 1889–1892

This book contains notes or reports on the Sultan presenting himself before the king of Siam in Penang and the king's visit to Penang and Singapore.

Book No. 5: SAHCC T.H. 1308–1313/A.D. 1890–1895

Book No. 5 is made up of two volumes. The first volume contains letters from Sultan Abdul Hamid to Neubronner, the Siamese Consul in Penang, Resident Councillor of Penang and the Resident of Perak, Frank A. Swettenham. The other content covers criminal matters, such as a criminal from Perak who had escaped to Kedah and was in hiding in the state, kidnapping or unlawful taking of someone else's wife to Penang, and matters relating to opium farms in Kulim and Kuala Muda. There are also personal letters from the Sultan. One is the letter that he wrote to the Siamese Consul in Penang on 2nd Syawal 1308 (10 May 1891) asking him to be the guarantor for a loan from the Siamese king. The Sultan also

wrote a letter to the Resident Councillor in Penang to request permission to bring Indian labourers to Kedah for plantation works.

Sultan Abdul Hamid had a good relationship with revenue farmer Lim Lan Jak. He even wrote a letter to the Siamese Consul in Penang to convey Lim's wish to take up a loan from the Siamese king. The friendship between the two is manifested throughout the book. The Sultan had regularly asked Lim Lan Jak to buy items like guns and other items to be placed on the royal ship named "Good Luck" for the visit to Tongkah.

The second volume covers letters from the Kedah Sultan to the Siamese Consul in Penang and Resident Councillor of Penang regarding economic and criminal matters that involved the two states. These include the agreement between Kedah and Penang to avoid flood waters from Sungai Kuala Muda overflowing into Kedah state, matters relating to the purchase of opium in Karangan and population census of Kulim which was undertaken by the Kulim district chief, Tunku Mohamad Saad. The Kulim census did not include any racial breakdown because, according to the Sultan, the number of Malays was very small. Nevertheless, to ease opium purchase, Sultan Abdul Hamid informed the Resident Councillor of Penang that he had instructed his officers to conduct the census on the Kulim Chinese.

Similarly, letters in the second volume highlight the close relationship between the Sultan and Lim Lan Jak. Lim was called to be the witness in the annulment of an authorisation letter for Wan Hajar (Sultan Abdul Hamid's mother) and Wan Jah; both ladies were the wives of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin. Lim was also asked to manage matters relating to financial loans between the Sultan and the Siamese totaling \$17,000. At the same time, Lim received a loan to the total of \$33,000 from Sultan Abdul Hamid. The Sultan had given \$10,000 to Lim and had asked him to get the balance from the Siamese Consul in Penang from the amount the Sultan had borrowed from the Siamese king. Sultan Abdul Hamid had also requested the Resident Councillor to get an authorisation letter over properties left by his father, Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin in Penang. One item which is included in the second volume is the agreement between Sultan Abdul Hamid and the Sultan of Perak regarding water sources at Bukit Pancur which was under Kedah's jurisdiction.

Book No. 6: SAHCC T.H. 1314–1317/A.D. 1896–1899

This book consists of palace expenditure and the state's monthly income. Palace expenditure includes salaries, the cost of state feasts and others. Fees for a doctor, *bomoh* (traditional healer) and the Sultan caregivers – also known as illness fees,⁵ are also noted in the book. There was a tendency for Sultan Abdul Hamid to give money to his wives and individuals whose identities could not be confirmed in terms of their relationship with the Sultan. Through this book, it is found that the Sultan liked to indulge in gambling notably the game of *pok* and *cap ceki*.⁶

Book No. 7: SAHCC T.H. 1315–1317/A.D. 1897–1899

This book contains letters from crown prince Tunku Abdul Aziz to the revenue farmers in Kedah. Tunku Abdul Aziz at the time was the acting Sultan (as Sultan Abdul Hamid was frequently ill during this period). Among the revenue farms involved were alcohol, opium, tin, pawns, *nipah* palms, tobacco-*gambir*-salt, tapioca, animal hide, buffaloes and cows, fowls and ducks and pigs. Most of the revenue farmers were Chinese although a few of them were Malays. The firmness of the Kedah ruler in upholding the Malay identity of the state could be seen from the book when Tunku Abdul Aziz instructed all revenue farmers to use Malay in all official dealings with the state with regard to these farms.

Book No. 8: SAHCC T.H. 1315–1331/A.D. 1897–1912

This book contains letters from crown prince Tunku Abdul Aziz and secretary Che' Muhammad Ariffin to the district heads in Kedah in relation to the usage of Malay in all matters relating to revenue passes which was sent by Tunku Abdul Aziz to all the district heads. District heads were instructed to investigate any revenue passes that were not written in Malay and to mete out punishment to those who defied the ruling. The book also contained instructions by Tunku Abdul Aziz to Abdul Rahman, the Kuala Muda district head, to galvanise locals to build a road from Sungai Korok to Lubok Pusing. The book also contains official permission given to members of the *nobat* (royal drum) to collect drum revenue from various districts in the state.⁷

Book No. 9: Lease Letters T.H. 1318/A.D. 1900

This book contains 47 letters regarding revenue farmers in Kedah with most of them being Chinese.

Book No. 10: SAHCC T.H. 1323–1325/A.D. 1905–1907

This book contains letters sent by Che' Muhammad Ariffin, the State Secretary/Sultan's Secretary, under the instructions of Sultan Abdul Hamid, to department heads in Kedah and to crown prince Tunku Abdul Aziz. Matters covered in the book comprise information to department heads and district heads on complaints by the people relating to land matters, revenue farms, debt and crime; efforts to build/replace telegraph poles in the state, the shifting of the *Balai Nobat* (*Nobat* Hall) to a new location that involved the strict adherence of certain procedures/taboo; instructions from the Sultan that members of the *nobat* were not allowed to be involved in menial labour; Tunku Mansor's study expenditure in Cairo; problems relating to Tunku Mansor while studying in London; disbursal of tithing money for those in debt while performing the hajj; and

the sacking of Telok Chengai mukim (subdistrict) head because of his obnoxious conduct. This book also contains notes on state functions organised by the Sultan, such as, the ceremony to receive the letter from Siam regarding the *Bunga Mas dan Perak* (Gold and Silver Flowers) at Balai Besar, honouring British Consul Meadow Frost in Kampong Baru, state dinner for the Siamese Financial Adviser G. C. Hart, who was going on vacation leave in Europe, and garden parties. The invited guests to these functions were usually members of the Malay aristocracy, British officers and Chinese revenue farmers.

Despite the Sultan's generosity, it is clear that Kedah elites were cautious in terms of handling monetary problems in the state. Che' Muhammad Ariffin had even sent a letter to department heads inviting them for a meeting to discuss a proposal to borrow money from Siam on 8 Rabiulawal 1323 (12 May 1905). On 12 Syaaban 1324 (30 September 1906), Sultan Abdul Hamid wrote a letter to crown prince Tunku Abdul Aziz to seek clarification on his action to employ three Englishmen in the state administration who were paid high salaries at a time when the government was facing severe financial problems. Many applications by members of the royalty to fix their houses were postponed due to the lack of state fund. Of interest is the application from Che' Muhammad Ariffin to crown prince Tunku Abdul Aziz who was also President of the State Council on 20 Zulhijjah 1324 (3 February 1907) to increase the Sultan's expenditure (from Rial 5,300.00 monthly) which was postponed until the return of Dr. Hart from his European vacation. Matters relating to the annual compensation from the East India Company to Kedah regarding the acquisition of Penang in 1786 are also found in the book.

Book No. 11: SAHCC T.H. 1335/A.D. 1916 (*Undang-undang Penjual dan Pembeli Getah dan Bijih – Rubber and Tin Seller and Buyer Law*)

This book is made up of two volumes comprising the compilation of laws enacted and enforced in 1916 when Tunku Ibrahim was Acting Sultan and President of the State Council. There were 21 laws enacted either as new ones or amendments to previous laws. The laws were Rubber and Tin Seller and Buyer Law 1335, Marijuana Prohibition Law, Prison Law 1335, Government Savings Bank Law 1335, Court Expenditure Law 1335, Auction Law 1335, Train Rail Law 1335 (amendment to the 1334 law), Gun Law 1335, Buffalo-Cow License and Registration 1335 (amendment to the 1329 law), Rice Planting Law 1335, Gambling Lease Law 1335 (amendment to the 1329 law), Post Office Law 1335, (amendment to the 1333 law), Canon Al-Akubat 1335,⁸ Tax Law 1335, Revenue Law 1335, Court Law 1335 (amendment to the 1334 law), Transformation into Rubber Plantation Land Protection Law 1335, Quarantine and Disease Confinement Law 1335, State Hazard Period Law 1335, Guarantee Rial Gathering on Government Officers Law 1335,⁹ and Coconut Tree Protection Law 1335 (amendment to the 1333 law).

Book No. 12: SAHCC T.H. 1337/A.D. 1918

This book contains various circulars sent by the State Council. Among them are on war allowances, general orders for those afflicted with venereal diseases, travelling costs for officers on vacation in Europe and in-service courses for department heads.

Book No. 13: SAHCC T.H. 1338/A.D. 1919

This book is about the laws that were enacted and enforced in 1919 when Tunku Ibrahim was Acting Sultan and President of the State Council. There were 17 laws enacted including amendment to previous laws. The laws include Previous Enemy States Entry Allowance Clause Protection Law 1338, Medicinal Drugs Clause Law 1338, Stolen Items Law 1338, Motorcar Law 1338, Conduct of Civil Matters Law 1338, Importing Hindu Coolies Expenditure Clause Law 1338 (amendment to the 1328 law), Hazard Period Law (amendment to 1335 law), Disease Confinement Quarantine Law 1338 (amendment to the 1335 law), Stolen Items Law 1338, Police Law 1338 (amendment to the 1334 law), Sanitary Board Law 1338 (amendment to the 1334 law), Tenant Law 1338, Handover of State Banished Person Law 1338, Rice Planting Law 1338 (amendment to the 1335 law), Drinks Law 1338 (amendments to the 1337 law), and Federal Law 1338.¹⁰

Book No.14: SAHCC T.H. 1338–1339/A.D. 1919–1920

This book contains laws and matters that were approved by the State Council. Tunku Ibrahim, the Regent, was also President of the State Council.

Book No. 15: SAHCC T.H. 1245–1306/A.D. 1827–1887 Lease Letters

This book contains letters relating to revenue farms from the time of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin until the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid. Most revenue farmers were Chinese who had applied for revenue farms that could guarantee handsome returns such as opium, alcohol, gambling, salt, rice, tobacco, *gambir*, wood, rattan, chickens and ducks. Most of these revenue farms were in Kuala Muda and Merbok. There were a small number of Malay revenue farmers focusing on *gambir*, chickens and ducks.

Book No. 16: SAHCC T.H. 1318–1320 /A.D. 1900–1902

Book No. 16 consists of three volumes. These include letters sent by Tunku Abdul Aziz to Neubronner, the Siamese Consul in Penang, on matters regarding revenue farms in Kuala Muda, letters to village heads, heads of land office and letters to the court relating to complaints from the people regarding land

disagreements, properties, debts, crimes and other matters. Tunku Abdul Aziz also wrote a letter to Ku Din Ku Meh, the Kedah official who was sent to Setul to undertake its administration, on crime in the two states. He also wrote a letter to his mother, Wan Hajar, to inform her that he could not free convicts as she had wished.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SAHCC TO KEDAH HISTORY

Since 1985 the SAHCC is kept in the National Archives of Malaysia, Kedah Branch but its existence does not attract researchers except those who undertake research on Kedah history. Among the first scholars who had referred to this collection was Sharom Ahmat. While researching for his PhD thesis which was later published as *Tradition and Change in a Malay State: A Study of the Economic and Political Development of Kedah, 1878–1923* (1984), Sharom had stumbled on these documents. He had made references to the SAHCC to clarify certain aspects of the economy and politics in Kedah. In the economy aspect, for example, the letters provide a picture of Kedah facing financial crisis as early as 1888 that resulted in the reduction of stipends for members of the Kedah royalty while a number of officers were not paid their salaries due to the lack of funds (Sharom, 1984: 47).

It was only in the 1990s that the SAHCC began to attract the attention of those interested in Kedah history.¹¹ These letters, their writing styles and brief content were discussed by a local researcher, Dato' Haji Wan Shamsudin bin Haji Wan Yusuf. Wan Shamsuddin was one of those who was involved in the initial transliteration after the documents' relocation to the National Archives of Malaysia, Kedah/Perlis Branch. His insightful essay was published in *Warta Darulaman* (official magazine of the Malaysian History Society Kedah branch from 1998 to 1999). As a fitting acknowledgement of these documents as world heritage status, Dato' Wan Shamsudin again raised its significance in the "*Bicara Karya Agung Negara Warisan Dunia*" which was held in 2002 in Kuala Lumpur. Later Mohd Kasturi Noor (2006; 2011) had undertaken an in-depth study of these letters focusing on its significance as a source of political, economic and social history of Kedah. Based on the contents of all the volumes in the collection, this essay highlights the importance of the SAHCC not only as a new source for the writing of Kedah history, but also as a starting point for debate from the angle of traditional government in retaining Malay identity and sovereignty.

In general, early Kedah historiography was elitist in nature. This is evident from traditional works like *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* and *Al-Tarikh Salasilah Negeri Kedah*. *Al-Tarikh Salasilah Negeri Kedah*, written by Muhammad Hassan bin To' Kerani Mohd Arshad under the instruction of the regent Tunku Ibrahim ibni Sultan Abdul Hamid in 1927, for instance, had become official history of the state replacing the earlier *Salasilah atau Tarekh*

Kerajaan Kedah. Written by Wan Yahya bin Wan Muhammad Taib in 1911, *Salasilah atau Tarekh Kerajaan Kedah*'s publication was stopped due to its criticism of the Sultan. In the early 20th century, Kedah was portrayed as a peaceful, developing state in term of its economy. It was also politically stable. The *Al-Tarikh Salasilah Negeri Kedah* attributed these successes to Kedah rulers. Accounts of the wisdom of the Kedah rulers came to an end with the arrival of colonialism in 1909. Like other Malay states which were under British administration, official records came in the form of annual reports and so forth. These reports began to replace the notes and views of the elites which were the norm prior to British rule. Owing to its structured and complete nature, the documents produced by British administrators received much attention from researchers who focus on Kedah.

The first annual report was published in 1905 (September 1905–August 1906) after Kedah agreed to accept a Siamese Financial Adviser following the \$2.6 million loan from Siam to solve her financial crisis. The first Kedah annual report was prepared by G. C. Hart, the Siamese Financial Adviser who was sent to provide advice on financial matters. With the transfer of Kedah to British control following the Bangkok Agreement of 1909, the annual administration reports were prepared by the British Adviser. These reports which covered various aspects such as administration, health, education, lands, labour and other aspects were seen to be more complete and holistic although they were geared towards highlighting the greatness of imperialism, and that Kedah only achieved rapid development after it was placed under British rule. The influence of the annual reports is certainly not insignificant. The financial report for 1905–1909, which was prepared by the first British Adviser, W. G. Maxwell (1909–1914), shows that the revenue in Kedah had increased rapidly during this period, from \$402,638 (1905) to \$1,240,276 (1909).¹² R. Emerson (1979: 235–248), while praising the Kedah ruler in ensuring the state's sovereignty and its development, viewed highly British ability to rescue the state and to continue to generate state income which had increased annually.

Despite colonisation, documents from the Sultan's Office never stopped. These documents were indicative of a government that consistently protected the state's sovereignty and its Malay identity. In fact colonialism was never easily accepted in Kedah with the Malay elites constantly negotiating its terms and conditions. While not dismissing the need to cooperate with the British they also ensured that the sovereignty of the state was not affected by colonial rule. After the 1821 Siamese invasion and the restoration of the throne in 1842, Kedah took various measures to ensure the state's sovereignty was protected. Although she lost by virtue of the 1909 Bangkok Agreement that was sealed between Siam and Britain without prior consultation with the affected states, Kedah never changed her stand. The relationship of the Kedah elites and the British Advisers was multifarious in nature. Both the ruler and the aristocracy could compromise with a few British Advisers, but they showed a different attitude towards W. G.

Maxwell whose actions displeased the Kedah ruler and the elites.¹³ Kedah remained firm that the Malay language was used in all government dealings and the requirement to place Malay officers in all important departments. To ensure the ruler remained as lord of his own state, the existence of a separate administration directly under the Sultan was not unexpected. This means the Sultan's letters must be studied not only in the context of the "center of authority" as stressed by H. M. J. Maier (1988), but also within the context of "peripheral history, in-between gaps or even local history" as suggested by Winichakul (2003). They must also be looked from the angle of spatial history and geography to understand local history in the local and global contexts (Brenda Yeoh, 2003). This is important because the content of the letters are not only about Kedah's internal issues, but also her relationship with Siam, Penang and Perak.

What are the images of Kedah history that could be constructed from these letters in particular the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid? Undoubtedly the SAHCC is a significant source for Kedah history before the advent of official records like the annual reports published by both the Siamese Adviser and British Adviser. The SAHCC encompasses the socioeconomic, political and social situations of Kedah from the 19th century until the second decade of the 20th century. After the 1842 restoration, the state was said to be stable in term of her economy and politics. With an agricultural economy Kedah was not attractive enough for outsiders to come in. Hence the state was spared from political turmoil as experienced by Perak and Selangor which were well known for tin mining. In Kedah's traditional rule, the sultan was placed as the absolute central authority which was acknowledged by the district chiefs. This differed from other Malay states where the sultan was weak and very often at the mercy of their chiefs. For Kedah both the sultan and the chiefs were aware of the Siamese factor. This reminded them of the need for caution and to ensure the state's correct relationship with Siam. From the perspective of her relationship with London, Kedah had learned through history that Britain was not entirely reliable in assisting Kedah in case of conflicts with Siam. In fact, Kedah rulers had found out the hard way that Britain could at any time manipulate domestic turmoil as an excuse for political interference as happened in the Federated Malay States. As a Malay state (Malays were in the majority), the Malay identity was of paramount importance to the Kedah ruler. Even when changes were forced upon Kedah in 1905 as a result of the Siamese loan and later by the British in 1909 when many economic measures that were not beneficial to the state were abolished, the Kedah ruler and Malay elites continued their efforts to ensure they could play a role in the state's socioeconomic and political developments. The SAHCC show that the rulers and the Kedah elites worked together for the common good and at the same time to modernise the state. Such information is not found in the annual reports which focused on financial and economic matters, as well as reforming the various sectors of the state administration after 1909. One of the important

issues noted in the SAHCC is the state's financial problem which led Kedah to be placed again under Siam in 1905.

REVISITING KEDAH'S FINANCIAL ISSUES: 1886–1905

Was Sultan Abdul Hamid's extravagance, as claimed in many writings on Kedah, the sole cause that led to the critical economic situation since 1886 which later deteriorated into bankruptcy in 1904 and forced the state to borrow \$2.6 million from Siam in 1905? The SAHCC provides its own perspective on the issue. The SAHCC shows Siam was no longer a threat to Kedah after 1842. Instead it was members of the royal family who were the main threat. These letters bring to light the real situation relating to the financial crisis from the time Sultan Abdul Hamid ascended the throne. These letters show Kedah receiving incomes from a variety of revenue farms but these could not guarantee a sound financial standing.

Incomes from the revenue farms of Kuala Muda and Merbok which were used to finance state expenditures were always insufficient while the poor balance between expenditure and income gave the impression of an unstable and weak state. The balance was often at an unsafe level; For Safar 1304 (October 1886), although the government income was high at \$15,008 the deduction of \$14,899 for the month was equally high leaving with a balance of only \$109.¹⁴ It is significant to note that a large amount of the expenditure was used to pay allowances to members of the royal family. One thorny issue in the state expenditure was the salary of Tunku Dziauddin which totaled \$1,708.00.¹⁵ Sultan Abdul Hamid was uneasy about this but did little to ameliorate the situation. The balance for Jamadilakhir 1304 (March 1887) was \$3,462 while expenditure (covering allowances for the Sultan and members of the royalty, salary of palace workers, installments and interests for debts and other matters) was \$3,245. The balance of \$216¹⁶ was small compared to previous years.¹⁷ The expenditure statement for Sya'aban 1314 (January 1897) still showed very high expenditure covering the Sultan's Office, members of the royalty and palace administration; kitchen expenditure; salary of workers; palace maintenance; transportation rentals; medicinal costs as the Sultan was regularly ill; debts of the Sultan and other members of the royalty and the payment of annual interests to the king of Siam to the amount of \$2,500.00 (the total loan was \$100,000).¹⁸ Its regards the annual interest payment, this was not the first loan the Sultan had secured from the Siamese government. There were a few other loans (probably personal ones) as seen from the financial statements. The SAHCC attested the fact that both the Sultan and members of the royal family had borrowed money from Siam which was not unusual. As for the other months and years these are not discussed here as they show a similar pattern.

The expenditure statement indirectly exposed other problems within the royal family. In Kedah, the Sultan and the royal family were situated at the

highest social order while the sultan's rule was almost absolute. The royalty possessed unchallenged rights over income and expenditure in the state. The Sultan could approve any type of expenditure according to his whims and fancy. The problem of high expenditure for members of the royalty caused considerable concern that the Sultan brought up this matter in a discussion with other royals namely Tunku Yaakob, crown prince Tunku Abdul Aziz, Tunku Kasim, Tunku Akil and "all the elders who work in the state of Kedah." This discussion took place on 14 Zulkaedah 1304 (3 August 1887) with the aim of "putting a check to the decreasing revenue at a time of high spending."¹⁹ Subsequently, a new ruling (new salary formula) was formulated for the state. A clearer flow chart for both inflow and outflow was prepared to ensure the ability of the state treasury to pay delayed salaries of its officers. It is interesting to note that salaries of officials were determined by income made by the state from various revenue sources; in time of profit the normal salary would be paid while reduced profit would lead to salary reduction.

Although majority of the royals were willing to compromise with delayed or reduced salaries, Tunku Dziauddin and his younger brother, Tunku Yusof opposed the new ruling.²⁰ Tunku Dziauddin had previously requested to be appointed the Sultan's advisor with Tunku Yusof as assistant. The request was turned down by Sultan Abdul Hamid. The situation worsened when salary cuts began to affect the two royals.²¹ SAHCC has taken note of the actions of Tunku Dziauddin and Tunku Yusof to complain to the Siamese about the salary cut. They demanded from the Sultan a salary of \$1,500 each. The Siamese however refused to entertain their complaint.²²

Although the letters do not clarify the reason for Tunku Dziauddin's "aggressive" behaviour and his "breaking of custom by defying order", the whole issue was closely linked to the contest for the throne following the death of Sultan Zainal Rashid Muazzam Shah II (reigned 1880–1881). Sultan Abdul Hamid was not Tunku Dziauddin's choice who was once appointed crown prince during the reign of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Mukarram Shah.²³ After Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin passed away, Tunku Zainal Rashid was appointed Sultan, and the title of crown prince was given to Tunku Abdul Hamid. After the death of Sultan Zainal Rashid, Siam approved Tunku Abdul Hamid as the new Sultan (Gullick, 1987: 73–98). Since then, a sort of psychology war was waged by Tunku Dziauddin and his ally, Tunku Yusof, against Sultan Abdul Hamid. Scholars have linked the situation to Tunku Dziauddin's own ambition to become the Kedah ruler after the death of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin as he was the eldest sibling of the late sultan. However, the idea was opposed by the crown prince, Tunku Yaakob, who believed that the post could only be filled by the two sons of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin namely Tunku Zainal Rashid and Tunku Abdul Hamid (Kobkua, 1989: 81–108). SAHCC T. H. 1304–1312 (A. D. 1886–1894) provides details on the relationship of the two contending sides.

Tunku Dziauddin and his ally had brought up the issue of the state finances to dethrone Sultan Abdul Hamid. The Sultan not only defended his action for the salary cut to members of the royalty but also used the same issue to counter Tunku Dziauddin. Tunku Dziauddin insisted Sultan Abdul Hamid handed over the state's financial statements from 1299–1304 (1882–1887) for scrutiny. The Sultan responded by instructing both Tunku Dziauddin and Tunku Yusof to prepare similar statements for the same duration which both refused as it would only expose their weaknesses in financial management.²⁴ In another letter, Sultan Abdul Hamid clarified to the Siamese on doubts raised by Tunku Dziauddin regarding Kedah's income including those not written in the statements as they were against Islam. The revenue farm for pigs was one such case. Some incomes were combined, such as the revenue farm for hide for Kuala Muda and Kota Setar. Some payments were not included as the amount was very small. Some incomes were not included in the statement prepared by Tunku Dziauddin when he was crown prince, such as the Kuala Muda revenue farm for fish which was privately owned.²⁵

From the SAHCC we know Sultan Abdul Hamid had openly questioned his uncles' (Tunku Dziauddin and Tunku Yusof) disloyal behaviour. He blamed the two as responsible for weakening the state's financial standing through their habit of borrowing money under the name of the Kedah government between 1881–1882. As a result lenders began to pressure the state for payment. As soon as Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin passed away, both royals took \$13,748.37 from the state treasury. Tunku Dziauddin had a personal loan from Siam to the total of \$4,800 and Tunku Yusof, \$3,181,05. To clear these debts, Sultan Abdul Hamid had to borrow money. According to the SAHCC, both royals were not allowed to be involved in any state matters during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid as both were dishonest.²⁶ Subsequently, both the Sultan and Tunku Dziauddin had raised the issue with Siam but Bangkok took the side of the former. The sultan viewed salary demands by his two uncles as unreasonable as both did not contribute to the state. In fact, both lived in Penang.²⁷ The sultan deemed their actions as contravening the customary village rules as well as Islamic law by defying the state ruler. It seems the sultan never forgave his two uncles.²⁸

The conflicts did not end here. The SAHCC continued to expose Tunku Dziauddin's effort to dethrone Sultan Abdul Hamid through the attempted murder case of Tunku Haidar, the son of Tunku Dziauddin. A senior official of the Sultan by the name of Che Man Tajar was allegedly involved in the plan. The Sultan claimed that it was mere slander. After investigation, the Sultan found that Tunku Dziauddin was the mastermind of the case. Tunku Dziauddin was reported to have made a complaint that Che Man had paid money to a Siamese by the name of Endin Nai of *mukim* (subdistrict) Padang Kerbau to poison Tunku Haidar who also lived in the same area. During investigations, and when pressured for proof, Tunku Dziauddin, admitted that his son was lying and that it was done to frame Che Man. Tunku Dziauddin could not even give any evidence for his claim of a

letter supposedly written by Che Man. The Sultan, on the other hand, assumed the letter was written by Tunku Dziauddin as he was uneasy to see the Sultan ruling the state in a fair manner.²⁹ Mindful of his standing as a ruler and the need for peace in the state, the Sultan suggested to the Siamese to instruct Tunku Dziauddin and Tunku Yusof to cease meddling in state affairs.³⁰ In summary, the start of Sultan Abdul Hamid's reign was full of challenges, particularly from his uncles.

Based on the Bangkok-Kedah correspondence for 1886–1888, Tunku Dziauddin and Tunku Yusof had sent 23 letters complaining of Sultan Abdul Hamid's actions which they claimed were aimed to frame them. This was also their professed reason for not residing in Kedah. The Sultan responded with 14 letters, touching on the state's financial situation and the two royals. However, not all the letters are in the SAHCC. The two royals blamed Sultan Abdul Hamid as the mastermind for the attempted arson on Tunku Yusof's house in Kuala Muda in 1886/7. Both had cited personal safety as their reason for not residing in Kedah. In response, the Sultan stated that after investigations, it was found that Tunku Yusof had given the house to his mother-in-law, Wan Sara while the fire was caused by a firecracker played by one of her grandchildren. As proof, Wan Sara and Tunku Ataullah wrote confession letters regarding the transfer of the house ownership and the firecracker incident.³¹ The problems with Tunku Dziauddin only ended after his demise in 1909. Yet Sultan Abdul Hamid still showed his deference to his uncle by bringing the body for burial in Langgar. Kobkua claims the lack of Siamese efforts to ensure Kedah's political stability had indirectly elevated the prestige of Sultan Abdul Hamid, and his father, Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin. In reality Siam acted as protector of Kedah, including in providing solution to the crisis among the royals (Kobkua, 1989: 81–108).

The financial crisis and the poor relationship among the royals did not subside even after the demise of Tunku Dziauddin. A new challenge came from Tunku Abdul Aziz who was appointed crown prince in 1881. After 1890, the loans made by the Sultan to overcome the state financial crisis had increased substantially. Crown prince Tunku Abdul Aziz had gone to Bangkok to borrow money without stating the reasons for them (Muhammad Hassan, 1968: 251). Nevertheless, a British official report linked the action to the Sultan's illness.³² The report mentioned that while he was in a weak state, the Sultan became generous to whoever needed financial assistance and he was equally generous with expensive gifts. The crown prince tried to control the situation; he failed as income from revenue farms were paid directly to the Sultan. The financial situation became worse when the Sultan decided to have a huge wedding feast to marry off his five children simultaneously in 1904. The expenditure involved totaled \$43–44 million.³³ When he was critically ill, Wan Hajar, the Sultan's mother, under the influence of Tunku Abdul Aziz signed a letter which was subsequently sent to Bangkok requesting permission to form a Council of Regency. Siam declined the request as Bangkok later found out the Sultan was

healthy. The formation of the Council of Regency was important as it would enable government power to be transferred from the Sultan to the Council. It is interesting that in 1905, following the loan and the arrival of the Siamese Financial Adviser, Kedah's financial standing was in a transition; as stated by Sharom it was between "tradition and change". Prior to 1905, the financial system did not differentiate between the income and expenditure of the state and those of the Sultan. The arrival of the Siamese Adviser and later, British Adviser had led to administrative restructuring. Financial affairs began to be more systematic after the arrival of the British. The Sultan and the nobility no longer had the power on state revenue. Uneconomic matters like forced labour, revenue farms, debt-slavery, *ampun kurnia* (royal grant) and tax relief privileges for members of the *nobat* and *mukim* holder were removed either by force or through legislation.³⁴ However, according to Mohammad Isa Othman, the Kedah ruler and elites did not willingly accept British rule. They continued to adapt the state's economic rhythm with capitalism. The Sultan still possessed absolute authority for the state and his people; the nobility still made efforts to exercise their authority towards state officers; state officers had the authority over the people. All these were meant to ensure the peoples' loyalty to the state.³⁵ This idea is clearly seen in the SAHCC. Although crown prince Tunku Abdul Aziz tried to control the Sultan's actions in financial matters by asking for assistance from Siam, the efforts faced considerable difficulty as the Sultan possessed absolute power in the state.

CONCLUSION

The SAHCC is proof of how a Malay state that was helmed by more powerful neighbours restructured its administrative and ruling system. What is interesting is that although it was under the influence of Siam since 1905 and later the British since 1909, the Kedah ruler and elites continued to play their roles to sustain the loyalty of the people by reforming the state's administrative flow, including the handling of various complaints from the people. The SAHCC is important in analysing the type of relationship between Kedah and neighbouring states like Penang, Perak and Siam. Although the collection is incomplete especially for the period after 1921, the ones available provide details on economic, political and social condition that had to be dealt with by Sultan Abdul Hamid. This information is not touched on in Kedah's official reports produced by the British. In the last analysis the SAHCC has opened up a path not only for the discovery of new themes in Kedah history for the period 1882–1920, but also allows the re-evaluation of old issues such as the financial crisis during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid.

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NOTES

1. The books were found originally without any numberings. The numbering was done by the Archives based on the consecutive flow of the year. Since 1983, *Sahabat Arkib* (Friend of the Archives) was formed by National Archives of Malaysia, Kedah/Perlis Branch, to assist in the transliteration process. Interview with Tuan Haji Salehuddin bin Abdul Ghani (Kedah Archives Director 1982–1996) on 3rd December 2008 at the National Archives of Malaysia, Kedah/Perlis Branch.
2. Stamford Raffles supplied "letter of safe conduct" dated 4th February 1817 in both Malay and Javanese to Captain Philip Parker King for a mission on the Australian Northern waters in 1817 until 1822. The mission's aim was to map and explore the waters for the benefits of the British, as well as to obstruct other European powers from leading and competing with the efforts. The importance of writing the two letter versions is due to the fact that since the 18th century, Makasar-Malay fishermen often patrol the Australian waters to look for trepan and there was a high probability that the team would meet them and asking assistance from them.
3. For further information, see also, Bonney (1971); Kobkua Suwannanthat-Pian (1999).
4. The aim was to reduce the size of Kedah area by falsifying measurements of the border with Perlis.
5. Sultan Abdul Hamid was said to have fallen ill for 14 years since 1895.
6. A type of game that involved betting.
7. *Nobat* and *nobat* player had a special place in Kedah. The players were exempted from paying land taxes that was introduced in 1883. They were also beyond the control of the State Council that was formed in 1905. The players were not given salaries but were allowed to ask for *ripai* tax (a tax of 16 *gantang* [pots] of paddy a year) and *nobat* tax from each household. The British was not happy with this and later abolished it in 1909. Since then, *nobat* players were given salaries and were not allowed to ask for taxes from the villagers. See, *CO 716, The Kedah Annual Report of the Adviser to the Kedah Government for the Year 1327 A.H. (23 January 1909–12 January 1910)*.
8. Canon Al-Akubat 1335 consists of 511 clauses, rules and punishments that cover various aspects.
9. The law was related to security for government officers while undertaking their duties.
10. The 1338 Federal Law regulated that clubs, companies and groups that have more than 10 members were to be registered. Failure to do so could cause the group to be deemed illegal.

11. Other than Sharom SAHCC was also referred as an important source by Mohd. Isa (2001).
12. *CO 717, The Annual Report of the Adviser to the Kedah Government for the 1327 A.H. (23 January 1909 – 12 January 1910)*, Appendix A.
13. The strained relationship between Maxwell and Kedah elites side is described in *CO 273/351* and *CO 273/360–361* which includes the letter from Tunku Mahmud to Maxwell and British High Commissioner, John Anderson and replies from W. G. Maxwell to Tunku Mahmud. Maxwell was seen by Kedah officers and members of the State Council to have made many decisions on behalf of Kedah without first informing the State Council. Among the heated issue was Maxwell's attempt to stop the payment of allowances to the Sultan's children who had reached the age of 15 as they were then supported by the state government. Another issue was his instruction that all correspondences must be done in English.
14. SAHCC, Book No. 1, T.H. 1300–1304/A.D. 1882–1886: *Ini kira-kira terima rial hasil pajak Kuala Muda dan Merbuk* for the month of Safar 1304.
15. SAHCC, Book No. 1, T.H. 1300–1304/A.D. 1882–1886: *Ini kira-kira terima rial hasil pajak Kuala Muda dan Merbuk*. See, *Kira-kira bayar belanja Duli Tunku-Tunku dan harga barang-barang yang kepada bulan Zulhijjah 1300*.
16. SAHCC, Book No. 1, T.H. 1300–1304/A.D. 1882–1886: *Ini kira-kira terima rial hasil pajak Kuala Muda dan Merbuk untuk bulan dan tahun yang berkenaan*.
17. SAHCC, Book No. 1, T.H. 1300–1304/A.D. 1882–1886: *Ini kira-kira terima rial hasil pajak Kuala Muda dan Merbuk*. For example, the balance in Kedah treasury for the month of Zulhijjah 1300 (income deducted by expenditure) was 2265 rial; in Muharram 1301, a total of \$2,458; in Safar 1301, a total of \$2,321; in Jamadilawal 1301, a total of \$1,218.
18. SAHCC, Book No. 6, T.H. 1314–1317/A.D. 1896–1899: *Kira-kira keluar belanja bulan Sya'ban 1314, (Out-flow account for the month of Sya'ban 1314)* p. 5.
19. SAHCC, Book No. 2, T.H. 1304–1312/A.D. 1886–1894: *Fasal mesyuarat perturun belanja dan gaji-gaji di Kedah ini*.
20. SAHCC, Book No. 2, T.H. 1304–1312 A.D. 1886–1894: *Fasal mesyuarat perturun belanja dan gaji-gaji di Kedah ini bertarikh 14 Zulkaedah 1304*.
21. The original salary for Tunku Dziauddin was \$1,708.33 per month was then reduced to \$800, while Tunku Yusof's salary of \$841 was reduced to \$400 per month. See, SAHCC, Book No. 2, 25 Safar 1305. *Rencana surat beri Cukun Kalahom fasal perturun belanja-belanja di negeri Kedah ini*; SAHCC, Book No. 2, 25 Jamadilakhir 1305. *Balas surat Tra fasal suruh beri belanja Tunku Dziauddin. Rencana surat beri kepada Chao Phya Potlib fasal ia suruh beri belanja Tunku Dziauddin*; SAHCC, Book No. 2, 28 Safar 1306. *Rencana surat beri pada Chao Phya Potlib yang kata ganti tempat Semuhak Phrak Kalahom fasal sudah beri belanja Tunku Dziauddin dan Tunku Yusof yang tertahan kemudian daripada ditetap di dalam estimet dan fasal rumah Tunku Yusof terbakar itu*. In the letter, it was stated that Tunku Dziauddin and Tunku Yusof's salaries which were also withheld from Zulkaedah 1304 till Zulhijjah 1305 with the reason that Kedah's financial standing was very bad; SAHCC, Book No. 2, 13 Jamadilakhir 1306 stated that the two salaries continued to be withheld until

- Zulhijjah 1306 and many Kedah officers were facing the same situation due to Kedah financial standing that was not strong.
22. SAHCC T.H. 1304–1312 (A.D. 1886–1894).
 23. Tunku Dziauddin (the son-in-law of Sultan Abdul Samad) was later fired by Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin for his involvement in politics in Selangor in the early 1870s.
 24. SAHCC, Book No. 2, 18 Zulkaedah 1304. *Rencana surat beri Cukun Kalahom fasal perturun belanja-belanja di negeri Kedah ini.*
 25. SAHCC, Book No. 2, 11 Rejab 1305. *Rencana surat beri pada Chao Phya Potlib fasal jawab pengaduan Duli Tunku Dziauddin kata kira-kira hasil negeri Kedah yang Duli Yang Maha Mulia perbuat mari pada Cukun Kalahom itu tiada betul dengan kira-kira ia perbuat.*
 26. SAHCC, Buku No. 2, 4 Rejab 1305. *Rencana surat private beri pada Krom Luang Teow Ong pasal kejahatan Tunku Dziauddin perbuat di atas duli Tuanku Yang Maha Mulia dan tiada beri campur dalam kerja.*
 27. SAHCC, Book No. 2, 18 Zulkaedah 1304. *Surat kepada Chaokom Klahom.*
 28. SAHCC, Book No. 2, 4 Rejab 1305. *Rencana surat private beri pada Krom Luang Teow Ong pasal kejahatan Tunku Dziauddin perbuat di atas duli Tuanku Yang Maha Mulia dan tiada beri campur dalam kerja.*
 29. SAHCC, Book No. 2, 4 Rejab 1305. *Rencana surat private beri pada Krom Luang Teow Ong pasal kejahatan Tunku Dziauddin perbuat di atas duli Tuanku Yang Maha Mulia dan tiada beri campur dalam kerja.*
 30. SAHCC, Book No. 2, 4 Rejab 1305. *Rencana surat private beri pada Krom Luang Teow Ong pasal kejahatan Tunku Dziauddin perbuat di atas duli Tuanku Yang Maha Mulia dan tiada beri campur dalam kerja.* See also, SAHCC, Book No. 2, and 20 Rejab 1305, *Rencana surat beri kepada Chao Phya Potlib fasal Tunku Dziauddin perbuatan kejahatan di atas Duli Yang Maha Mulia dan di atas negeri Kedah.*
 31. SAHCC, Book No. 2, 28 Safar 1306. *Rencana surat beri pada Chao Phya Potlib yang kata ganti tempat Semuhak Phrak Kalahom fasal sudah beri belanja Tunku Dziauddin dan Tunku Yusof yang tertahan kemudian daripada ditetap di dalam estimet dan fasal rumah Tunku Yusof terbakar itu;* SAHCC, Book No. 2, 22 Safar 1306. *Ini surat periksa Wan Sara fasal rumah Tunku Yusof di Kuala Muda kata Tunku Yusof beri kepadanya;* SAHCC, Book No. 2, 22 Safar 1306. *Inilah salinan surat periksa Tunku Ataullah fasal rumah Tunku Yusof yang terbakar di Kuala Muda itu.*
 32. *Al-Tarikh Salasilah Negeri Kedah* (1968: 247) stated 1896 as the beginning of Sultan Abdul Hamid illness.
 33. See, *CO 716, The Annual Report of the Kedah Adviser to the Kedah Government for the year 1327 A.H. (23 January, 1909–12 January 1910)*, p. 9. See also, Syed Mohammed bin Syed Hassan Shahabuddin and M. G. Knowles (1979: 150–155).
 34. For further discussion, see, *CO 716, The Annual Report of the Adviser to the Kedah Government for the year 1327 A.H. (23 January 1909–12 January 1910)*.
 35. Mohd. Isa (2001: 25).

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