



## Lubuk Pusing Town, warriors and government ships: Unsolved mystery in the history of Kedah, Malaysia

Mohd Kasri Saidon<sup>1</sup>, Rozalina Khalid <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Universiti Utara Malaysia

Correspondence: Mohd Kasri Saidon (email: kasri@uum.edu.my)

### Abstract

Kedah is known as the oldest state in Malaysia and is also known as the nucleus state that represents the monarchy system with a very long historical line. Although the history of the monarchy is not widespread, the epic *Merong Mahawangsa* is said to be part of this historical background. The Kedah *Al Tarikh Salasilah* is in fact more historiographic in nature; unfortunately, not all the historical events of the state was recorded. Focusing on Kedah's history could help draw out the events which are still unsolved and can be said as questionable. The disappearance of the name Lubuk Pusing Town in Kuala Muda district, for instance, is one of the issues frequently mentioned. The commission of the government ship which also belonged to the Sultan has yet to be answered. The death of Kedah warriors which led to their invisibility in the history books has made this aspect of history an interesting area to be examined.

**Keywords:** epic, historical, Kedah, ship, Sultan, warrior

### Introduction

Kedah is established as one of the oldest states in Malaysia. In the history of Malaysia, it is often referred to as 'Kedah Tua' or the Old Kedah. This is because this state has a long history of the monarchy ruling system. In the manuscript titled '*Al Tarikh Salasilah Negeri Kedah*', it is said that this state has practiced the monarchy system for more than 1000 years<sup>i</sup>. This written historiography also presents the information about the history of *Merong Mahawangsa* as supplementary sources. Although in the historical aspect, myth such as this is not accepted as valid, the narrated version can nevertheless be considered as part of Kedah history<sup>ii</sup>.

In this state's long reign, there were countless incidents and events which are still mysterious to historians. There were only two recorded sources, namely The *Merong Mahawangsa* and *Al Tarikh Salasilah Negeri Kedah*, but the descriptions were still sketchy and had not recorded the incidents in detail. It was completed only after the Sultan of Kedah, Sultan Abdul Hamid, took reign in 1882. He had his assistant record all his administration matters or affairs in detail. All these records are now being kept by the National Archive as a collection titled '*Surat Menyurat Sultan Abdul Hamid*' (SMSAH) or the correspondences of Sultan Abdul Hamid. Interestingly, in 2001, these records were recognized as one of the world's heritage by UNESCO<sup>iii</sup>.

This paper presents the existence of Lubuk Pusing area which used to be the wedding place for the royal family (Photo 5) and also the centre for Kuala Muda palace administration. This paper explains the state of affairs and historical events of the past and the present. The main aim is to salvage the historical knowledge with the hope that this historical site is given priority in terms of preservation so that the historical events can be appreciated.

## The background of Lubuk Pusing

Among the questions that remain unanswered in history and that continue to be studied by researchers are the disappearance of the name Lubuk Pusing Town<sup>iv</sup>. This question is not something that is commonly sought by historians in Malaysia because they are more interested in the history of specific states in Malaysia. However, the story about this town is interesting, in that, it is important that its chronological sequence and history is adequately examined. More interestingly, this town has long been forgotten by the public and historians at large for more than 100 years. The authors only found out about this town in 2006 and then began to uncover more information about it. In fact, the only sources who can identify the area where the King resided were senior citizens as old as 70 years of age. Unfortunately, the town is also hidden by heavy forest. In recent years, most of the remaining structures were destroyed as a consequence of economic activities such as oil palm plantation, as well as due to lack of awareness of the heritage site and its historic value.

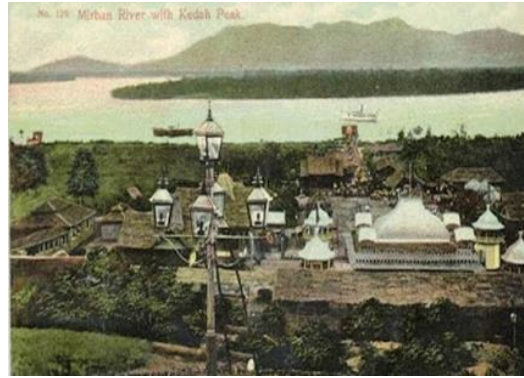
The matrimony between Sultan Abdul Hamid and Sharifah Seha Syed Hussin was held in 1892 in a town called *Lubuk Pusing* which was referred to by the name of *Lubuk Bayu* by the villagers. This town was situated at a small hill near the point where two rivers meet flowing towards Kuala Muda. It was a strategic port engaged in maritime-based trading commerce.<sup>v</sup> Moreover, this site had a wide bank which faced the deep river where big ships could dock. Besides that, this site was sheltered from the winds and could withstand change in weather such as a storm or a strong monsoon. The port also furnished shipping supplies such as food and water besides providing resting place, and security and equipment for boat or ship repairs. In terms of palace residential area, it is a familiar view since it has been occupied during the ruling of Sultan Ahmad Tajudin who resided in Pulau Tiga which is also situated in the district of Kuala Muda<sup>vi</sup>.

## Discovery of assets and its relationship to history

### *Postcard and correspondences of Sultan Abdul Hamid (SMSAH)*

It has been reported that the town was fully equipped and developed for the purpose of the wedding. There were palaces for the Sultan and the royal family to reside temporarily, a rest house, swimming pool, market, horse-carriage trail, mosque, and interestingly, a telegraph line.<sup>vii</sup> It was recorded in the *Surat Menyurat Sultan Abdul Hamid (SMSAH)* or the Sultan's correspondences that several officers from England, including Sir Frank Swettenham had visited the Sultan<sup>viii</sup>. Although the purpose of the visit was more than a social visit, it was filled with hunting activities which were considered a tradition among the Western high society<sup>ix</sup>. The relationship between the Sultan and Swettenham was seen as very close; there were jottings in the SMSAH on how the Sultan sent Swettenham's wife the Sapodilla fruit also known as *Ciku* as a token of friendship. In the SMSAH, dated 9 Mac 1889,<sup>x</sup> it was written that the Sultan had sent 200 *Ciku* to Swettenham's wife.

The Lubuk Pusing Town was considered fully equipped. However, it was abandoned and several years later, it was covered with bushes and undergrowth. Since then, there were no jottings about the town in the state government record and it was seen as something that should be forgotten. In 2006, the author cum researcher in the Malaysian History Society of Kedah Branch (PSMCK) was asked by Dato' Dr Wan Shamshuddin who was PSMCK's President, to look into this location. The author made a visit to Lubuk Pusing Town and found that they have replaced its name to *Bukit Kecil*. There was a rest house built above the water which was erected by the fishermen association in that area and during his visit, an oil palm plantation project was being developed<sup>xi</sup>.



**Photo 1.** A postcard of Lubuk Pusing town

### *The telegraph posts*

The local community, however, are aware that there was once a royal palace situated there. It was unimaginable to them that there was once a completely equipped and well-developed town in that era. Nevertheless, the locals could still recall the swimming pool, the remains of the mosque; in fact, they talked about the remnants of the lamp posts. They recalled how the remnants of the posts would get tangled in their fishing nets. They actually sold these posts because at that time the price of scrap metal was quite high<sup>xii</sup>.

Based on the author's research, it is very likely that the lamp posts that the locals mentioned were actually telegraph posts which were installed in that area. The line was said to be installed from the river bank of a place called *Segantang Garam*. This place is said to be situated opposite *Lubuk Pusing*<sup>xiii</sup> (Photo 2). This fact is still being studied by PSMCK; however, based on the verbal sources collected from stories passed down from generation to generation, there were telegraph posts in the area. Basically, it makes sense because during that era, Kedah was the telegraphic equipment hub or depot for provinces in south Siam such as Salang (Phuket), Rundung (Ranong), Kupa (Takuapa), Pungah (Pangga), Gerbi (Krabi) Segenting Kra (Kra Buri) and also Terang<sup>xiv</sup>.



**Photo 2.** View from Lubuk Pusing

### *Remains of the palace and surrounding buildings*

It came as a surprise for the locals when the author showed photos of the town which used to be located in that area. The author has also managed to track several remains such as the pillar plate of the palace and the rest house, swimming pool, market area and the mosque's ablution pool. From the author's observation, the swimming pool was quite similar to the swimming pool found in an old palace in India. It could be that a builder from India was brought to Kedah for that purpose. This fact is not impossible because the construction of Kuala Kedah city was also sourced from Indian expertise and technology. In fact, in one of the pillar plates there was a fossil of snail shells which are believed to have been used to strengthen the construction. The same was also found in the construction of Kuala Kedah city which can still be seen until today<sup>xv</sup>.



**Photo 3.** *Pillar plate of the palace in Lubuk Pusing*

### *Paved road*

In March of 2014, the PSMCK members and a research group from Kedah State Museum once again went to inspect the site. They found tar-paved road about five feet wide which was connected to the main road in Lubuk Pusing. The rest house was maintained but historic remains such as the swimming pool, the market place and the ablution pool for the mosque were ignored. The author, however, has found several pillar plates and roof remains of the palace at Lubuk Pusing (Photo 3 and Photo 4).

The question about Lubuk Pusing being abandoned was still unanswered. In the author's opinion, the Sultan's real intention was to build a base camp that could compete with Penang which was prosperous under the British rule because the town's location was facing the Muda River. Moreover, the Muda River used to be a maritime port hundred years ago<sup>xvi</sup>.



**Photo 4.** *The remains of the palace roof*

It was also planned to be the catalyst for trading activities in the southern part of Kedah to attract traders who flocked to Penang. There were also records showing British officers participating in recreational activities (Photo 6) in that area while at the same time eyeing for potential land to start new breed of rubber plantations. The author also claimed that the area used to be rubber estates before it was converted to oil palm plantations in the 1990s<sup>xvii</sup>. The author feels that the state administration did not have any future plans for this place. It was even more unfortunate when Kedah's economic state weakened as a result of the Sultan's lack of management skills. This had resulted in the state taking a conditional loan from the Thai government<sup>xviii</sup>.

As a result, the town was forgotten and at present, if nothing is being done to revive the town and its glorified history, the town will slowly be lost. There are countless stories about the town that still remain questionable especially details about the construction project, developments, events, total population, and the most important of all, the reason it was abandoned<sup>xix</sup>.

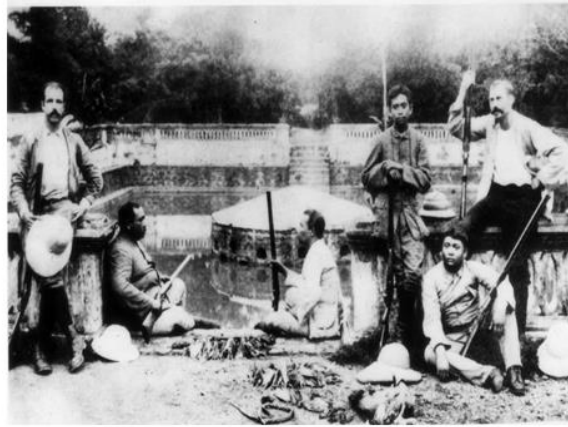


**Photo 5.** *The Royal Wedding*

### **Issues of Lubuk Pusing as preservation and continuity of history**

Clearly, the discovery of a town such as this is considered something intriguing and at the same time gives rise to so many questions which require answers that are verified scientifically. It also opens a path for further discussion and exploration of more fascinating stories behind it. Thus, based on this inclination, further studies need to be conducted to explore other hidden events and facts as to address the reason this town was built in Lubuk Pusing, which was a distance of 80 kilometres from the Sultan's administrative town in Kota Setar. Historians are also seeking to find the reasons for the town to be abandoned despite it being adequately developed and equipped with facilities. What happened during the Sultan's reign of the state is also significant and needs to be studied. Several factors and supplementary information should be researched to address these issues. It could relate to the Sultan's way of ruling or it could also be due to his personality.





**Photo 6.** *Royal picnic and hunting with British officers*

Sultan *Sir* Abdul Hamid who was the heir of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Mukkaram Shah became the 25<sup>th</sup> Sultan in 1881. He was seen as a ruler who wanted to follow the progress and development brought by the British Colony. The British settlement in Penang had brought about change in terms of state administration. The tax system was introduced by strengthening the administration and setting up of various departments in the government. Kedah looked up to Penang as the benchmark especially in the state's trading such as rice, tin, cassava tube and other nature produce because during that time Penang was an important trading port which is seen as equivalent to Singapore at present, in terms of trading in South East Asia.

The Sultan had taken steps in governing the state affairs by comparing it to the development and success of Penang. In addition, honourable relationship with the Bangkok government in Siam was also maintained. Kedah can be said as in the early stage of being an economically self-sufficient state where paddy was its main produce. The market for paddy was high and widespread but traders from Penang were the main players. Therefore, Kedah relied on Penang's role to market the state's produce. This reliance did not stop at paddy produce, but also extended to other produce such as bird's nests, tin, and cassava tubes<sup>xx</sup>.

Choosing Lubuk Pusing as the Royal matrimonial setting could be seen as an excuse. The main reason for developing it was due to the fact that the location was very strategic for Kedah to build a port which could be used to gather and trade produce. The authors carried out a follow up of the location which was neglected in the Kedah history for almost 100 years. It was found that the infrastructure was already destroyed. Economic needs such as opening up land for oil palm plantation and ignorance in historical value are the main causes for the destruction and abandonment of the site. Furthermore, grant ownership of the land has also changed hands since there was no heir claiming the land.

It seems reasonable that the Sultan had selected the place to compete with Penang as a trading port. It was located near the wide Muda River which made it accessible to huge ships. There were hills in Lubuk Pusing (now called Bukit Kechil) and the Segantang Garam cape, opposite it, acting as barricade against sea-breeze, especially during the monsoon season. In other words, ships from the sea can berth for several kilometres safely. This place was also near the local residents which guaranteed good market and food source. The main towns such as Sungai Petani and Kuala Muda were not far via river or land. Traders came from all directions just like in Penang. The bank along the river was suitable for the trading of produce besides establishing social activities.

When Melaka fell and the British took reign, Kuala Kedah which was famous as a city of defence, was made the main port. This happened for just a short duration and Kuala Kedah was again forsaken when the British got hold of Penang. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Dutch, British, French, Spanish, Germans and even Americans came looking for trading grounds. This gave Kedah the opportunity to enhance the state's economy status. There was no short cut for success or prosperity except becoming or making the port a trading centre. However, Kedah did not have this advantage, so the Sultan decided to make use of Lubuk Pusing for that purpose. Formal and leisure visits from the outside world, especially traders and western

administrators were considered as upscaling Lubuk Pusing's status. Unfortunately, the crisis within the Royal families hindered the Sultan's effort. As a result, Kedah had to take a loan from the Thai government and this caused Kedah to be under the control of the Siamese<sup>xxi</sup>.

The State Executive Council that was formed in 1905 was seen as an effort to stop the Sultan's full control of the state's decision and a major part of the decision making was already in British hands. After 1909, Kedah was officially under the custody of the British. The people accepted the British advisers because of their great influence. The majority of the constitutional decision making and its implementation were under the jurisdiction of the departments or administration under the State Executive Council. Since the Sultan's health was also deteriorating, Lubuk Pusing was slowly forgotten and eradicated from history.  
<sup>xxii</sup>

Another factor that could be said as the cause for Lubuk Pusing to be forsaken was the Sultan's disposition. The fact that he married 8 times, had 42 children and 92 grandchildren, had distracted him of his attention towards his ruling tasks. Furthermore, he had to spend a lot of money to cater to his wives' and children's physical and emotional needs. Among his wives were Cik Menyelara, Che Sofiah, Sharifah Fatimah binti Syed Idrus, Sharifah Seha binti Syed Hussein, Che Spachendra, Sharifah Mariam and Che Laraseh<sup>xxiii</sup>. His 7th son and his 20<sup>th</sup> child with Cik Menyelara was Tunku Abdul Rahman,<sup>xxiv</sup> who was born when he was 39 years old. His successor, Sultan Badlishah (26<sup>th</sup> Sultan of Kedah) was his son with Che Sofiah.<sup>xxv</sup>

## The account of Kedah's warriors and alliance

### *Syeikh Abdul Samad Palembangi and Tunku Mohammad Saad*

Kedah was under attack by the Siamese in 1821 where Kuala Bahang (Kuala Kedah) was the entry point. Kedah's captives were termed as "*rengke*" (Kedah accent to mean being chained together by the ears and tied using rattan which made them looked exactly like fish on sale during those times). Some were taken to the palace and were made slaves. Movements to free Kedah were planned and led by Tunku Mohammad Saad, Tunku Mohammad Akib, Tok Mo Deris, Dato' Madi, Tunku Long Putih, Wan Mohammad Arshad, Syed Hassan Perlis, Dato' Kamajaya, Tunku Anom with the involvement of Syeikh Abdul Samad Palembangi, a very dignified pietist. He was claimed to be more than 80 years old when he joined the activists to free Kedah around 1838-39<sup>xxvi</sup>.

Kedah forces had succeeded to inspire thousands of warriors from outside Kedah. This Malay Force had in the end managed to chase the Siamese (Ligor) out till Songkhla. Unfortunately, it did not last long because the Kedah warriors had to retreat when the Siamese (Ligor) returned more powerful than before. Tunku Mohamad Saad retreated and took refuge in Kuala Muda. The British detained Tunku Mohammad Saad, charging him for committing piracy in Kedah waters because they wanted to ward off any issues with the Siamese. Subsequently, nothing was heard of him except his death, where he was buried in Kelawai, Penang in 1847<sup>xxvii</sup>.

However, PSMCK's exploration failed to find his grave yard. Furthermore, there were numerous versions regarding Tunku Mohammad Saad's story. Some said he came back alive and disguised as a commoner in the community. There was also a grave in Sungai Petani which was claimed to be that of Tunku Mohammad Saad's. PSMCK had an opportunity to meet a person who claimed that he was the descendant of Tunku Mohammad Saad in 1910. However, due to the lack of evidence, PSMCK could not verify the claim and the source as reliable. The story about Tunku Mohammad Saad as one of the Kedah warriors has until now been considered inconclusive<sup>xxviii</sup>.

In contrast, the grave of Syeikh Abdul Samad was found in 1990 in a rubber estate near a public religious school in Ban Trap, Songkla. A rock from the river was made the tombstone to mark his grave. His grave was well kept by the community, especially the principal of the religious school. In fact, the landowner who is a Buddhist has agreed to maintain the location of the grave. There are also various versions about his death. One version claimed he was beheaded by the Siamese soldiers and some said he

was invincible that he finally died after his assailants knew that he was susceptible to any weapon made from bamboo stem. However, there are also sources claiming that before he died, he managed to write his final book titled "*Sairus- Salikin*"<sup>xxxix</sup>.

PSMCK are trying their best to bring his remains back to Kedah, just as the government had done with the remains of Ngah Ibrahim from Singapore to Perak. Syeikh Abdul Samad's heroism is very significant and meaningful to Kedah. His fight is related to the real meaning of *jihad*, patriotism and the joint forces of pietists which was a traditional practice in Kedah. Nevertheless, PSMCK's effort is restricted as this will create issues with the Thai government. The fate of his tomb rests upon the authority of the Malay community in that area<sup>xxx</sup>. It is hoped that our future generation will still be able to visit his tomb and recap the history of Syeikh Abdul Samad's gallantry.

## The account of Kedah Government Ships

Another fact that remains a mystery is the existence of Kedah Government Ships and also the Sultan's trading ship especially during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid and his ancestors. The significant fact about these ships is that they were the only form of transportation used for government affairs. During that time, ships or boats travelled from Tanjung Chali, Alor Setar to and from Penang, Langkawi, Singapore or Phuket<sup>xxxi</sup>.

Sea transportation was very important because before 1900, the road from Alor Setar and southern onwards was not considered as the main road. Land transport was only made possible as a result of landfill from the canal known as '*Terusan Wan Mat Saman*'<sup>xxxii</sup>.

Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin, during his reign, used to have a trading ship which had three sails named 'Gratitude'. The Sultan appointed Nevins and de Luz, as the agent and engaged a captain, named Fowler, to sail the ship. The ship sailed between India and Singapore and sometimes reached China. Its route included Amoy, Foochow, and Swatow and the final destination was Macau. It was unfortunate that the ship had sunk after being hit by a storm nearing Vietnam. It was reported that the ship had sunk near a barrier reef called 'Pedra Branca' by Portuguese sailors. The disappearance of the ship and the details of the claims made by the Sultan towards the agent were not investigated<sup>xxxiii</sup>.

Sultan Abdul Hamid himself used to have a private ship named 'Good Luck' between 1920 and 1940s which was regularly used for government businesses with the Penang government and personal use for visiting Thailand, Burma and India. It was reported that 'Good Luck' which was navigated by Captain Nicol was involved with an accident with another passenger ship named 'Sportmen' in Berembang Panjang which was about four kilometres away from Kuala Kedah on 21 February 1895. Unfortunately, none of the ship's log book or written records could be found<sup>xxxiv</sup>.

In terms of administration, Kedah used to own a ship called '*Darulaman*'. Several captions or snapshots of the ship could be seen at the museum. Majority of the government affairs were successfully handled using the ship. This ship regularly commuted from Tanjong Chali along Kedah River up to Kuala Kedah and then set sail to Penang. There were several records about the movement of this ship; among others are by Wan Yahya (Kedah State Secretary) in 1914 to Mecca. He sailed from Kedah to Penang and then boarded a passenger ship to Egypt<sup>xxxv</sup>.

The issue now is that all the log books regarding the ship's movement were missing. If they had been found, the mystery of the ship's movement could have been explained or perhaps new facts could be found regarding the history of Kedah. This includes the dealings between Kedah and the British government, the sending of the sultan's son and dignitaries' children overseas to study, the journey to Mecca, and so on. There is only verbal evidence to relate the event that the Sultan went to perform his Haj. Unfortunately, the people who had witnessed the events during Sultan Abdul Hamid's era had long died and the mystery of the government ship is still unresolved<sup>xxxvi</sup>.



## Conclusion

Kedah is the oldest Malay Empire which lasted for more than a thousand years. The history of the state focuses mainly on *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* although it lacks reliable historical facts. *Al Tarikh Salasilah Negeri Kedah* is one source that is considered reliable; however, not all events were recorded in it. The formation of Lubuk Pusing town, the crusade against Siam and the questions regarding the government ship are still a mystery. The main problem is that there is no written evidence or records found as proof since these events were passed down verbally. This article hopes to trigger those who are interested to search more about the mystery of Lubuk Pusing town and the ships during the Sultan's era.

## Endnote

- <sup>i</sup> The manuscript was written by Muhammad Hassan bin Muhammad Arshad, as the undercover clerk for Sultan Abdul Hamid. It was published in 1928 in the form of a book by Jelutong Press, Penang, Malaysia.
- <sup>ii</sup> The author for the chronicles has yet to be discovered. Till now, there are 7 versions that are based on this saga in Malaysia. The saga talks about the existence of Kedah state and the big event which included the attack by King Chola from the Indian Continent.
- <sup>iii</sup> There are 14 copies kept in the National Archive which display the Sultan's working notes from 1882 until 1943. They received world's recognition as Memory of The World in UNESCO's conference in South Korea in 2001.
- <sup>iv</sup> This place is presently called 'Bukit Kecil' and situated in the Kuala Muda district in Kedah.
- <sup>v</sup> It parallels the comments made by J. M. Gullick, *Sistem Politik Bumiputera Tanah Melayu Barat*, Kuala Lumpur; Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1978, pgs. 29. Political domination and opening of the state is based on conquering the rivers and estuaries.
- <sup>vi</sup> The Sultan moved there as he felt insecure with having Kuala Bahang (Kuala Kedah) as the ruling town. This town was then attacked by the Siamese in 1821; Siam occupied Kedah for 20 years since thereon.
- <sup>vii</sup> Kedah is the telegraphic equipment storage depot for South Siam, refer to Wan Shamsuddin Mohd Yusof, 'Relationship between Kedah and Setul (Satun) from the Historical and Cultural Perspectives Until the 20<sup>th</sup> Century', in conjunction with the 5<sup>th</sup> Borders Cultural Summit in Satun, Thailand on 16 Jan. 2004.
- <sup>viii</sup> Among the events recorded in '*Surat Menyurat Sultan Abdul Hamid*' (SMSAH) are picnic and hunting activities which involved Western officers dated 3 July 1893 -SMSAH Jilid 10 (1905-1911)
- <sup>ix</sup> This event is recorded as picnic and hunting carnival dated 3 July 1893. See also experiences by Frank Swettenham in *Perihal Orang Melayu* translated by Zubaidah Ibrahim, published by Universiti Malaya, 2003.
- <sup>x</sup> See also writings by Dato Dr Wan Shamshudin Mohd Yusof, "*Surat Menyurat Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah* (1882-1943)" in *Bengkel Kajian Naskah Kesultanan Kedah*, Hotel Quality, Kuala Lumpur on 2-5 July 2001, pg.7.
- <sup>xi</sup> This area is now an oil palm plantation managed by big companies and smallholder farmers.
- <sup>xii</sup> The activities ended at the end of the 1980s when they could not find any more remains.
- <sup>xiii</sup> The author's latest discovery is that the area has been developed with the construction of floating chalets or rest house.
- <sup>xiv</sup> This state or province was once occupied by Kedah during the reign of Sultan Mohammad Jiwa (1710-1778), see Muhammad Hassan, *Al Tarikh Salasilah Negeri Kedah*, Pulau Pinang: Jelutong Press, 1928, pg.204
- <sup>xv</sup> It was said that among the mixture to build a castle is egg white and snail shells.
- <sup>xvi</sup> The maritime economy plunged, and Kedah started to shift the administrative city to the mainland in the northern part of Kedah. It stayed tall since.
- <sup>xvii</sup> Information from a reliable source also stated that the area used to be the heart of the state, also a rubber plantation which then changed to an oil palm plantation when the price of palm oil soared in the 1980s.
- <sup>xviii</sup> Based on the conditional loan given, a finance consultant from the Thai government stayed in Kedah's administration.
- <sup>xix</sup> In SMSAH, there was no mention of the reason this town was forsaken. After 1915, there were no more jottings of government affairs which relate to the town.
- <sup>xx</sup> It is an unsurprising fact if many of the Kedah royal family members reside in Penang, including Tunku Kudin; see Saemah Mokhtar's proposal titled, '*Imbasan Sejarah Rumah Tunku Kudin*' in Majlis Diskusi Sejarah, Kompleks Pustaka Warisan Seni, Pulau Pinang, 5 June 1998.

- <sup>xxi</sup> Refer to Syed Mohammed Syed Hassan Shahabudin and M.G. Knowels, 'The Three Million Dollar Wedding' in *Malaysia in History*, July 1958, pg. 10-12.
- <sup>xxii</sup> See also description by Mohd Isa Othman, *Politik Tradisional Kedah 1681-1942*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1990.
- <sup>xxiii</sup> His wives were those from all walks of life such as the commoner, elitist, royal family and noble family from Siam.
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Tunku Abdul Rahman was the first Prime Minister of Malaysia.
- <sup>xxv</sup> [https://ms.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sultan\\_Abdul\\_Hamid\\_Halim\\_Shah](https://ms.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sultan_Abdul_Hamid_Halim_Shah).
- <sup>xxvi</sup> See Dato' Dr Wan Shamshudin Mohd Yusof's writings titled, '*Syeikh Abdus Samad Al Falembani*' in *Seminar Pemikiran Ulamak, Masjid Al Bukhori Alor Setar*, 30 December 2002, pg. 9.
- <sup>xxvii</sup> There were some disorders between Tunku Mohammad Saad from Kedah and South Thailand provinces. Historians are still conducting research on them.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> A grave found in Sungai Petani was said to be his but could not be verified by the Kedah Government through PSMCK.
- <sup>xxix</sup> This book is still used until now especially in religious hut schools in Kedah.
- <sup>xxx</sup> PSMCK has gradually conducted historical exploration at the tomb area; however, shifting of the tomb will involve a much more complicated procedure at the Foreign Affair Ministry.
- <sup>xxxi</sup> Tanjung Chali is situated near Kedah River, close to China Town; this spot has also been the spot for the first *Pekan Rabu* before World War 2 and several important government offices including the Customs offices and Department of Agriculture.
- <sup>xxxii</sup> This structured programme was seen as the catalyst to maintain the vast area of paddy fields around south of Kota Setar towards the foot of Gunung Jerai. With the formation of this canal, swamp areas can be transformed into paddy fields which becomes the state's economic source.
- <sup>xxxiii</sup> For further details, refer to Dato' J. F. Agustine in *Kedah Zaman Silam*, Alor Setar: Muzium Negeri Kedah, 1996, pg. 76.
- <sup>xxxiv</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>xxxv</sup> His work was titled "*Tarikh Al Syihah Ila Makatul Mukarmah*" which means 'Travelogue to Mecca', published in Jawi script in November 1914 while its publisher could not be traced. His work has been translated by PSMCK's research department; however, it has not been published yet.
- <sup>xxxvi</sup> At the time of writing this article, PSMCK's research department is still trying to locate the ship's log book which is believed to be in someone's safekeeping.

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