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A PORTRAYAL OF THE LIVES OF BRUNEIAN WOMEN IN THE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES AS REFLECTED IN THE WRITINGS OF SOME CONTEMPORARY WESTERN VISITORS

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims is to examine the lives of Bruneian women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as reflected in several accounts by British officials and other western visitors. It also attempts to show how erroneous it is to fit women into a mould greatly influenced by the nineteenth century supposition that women were weak and delicate passive creatures that should remain at home and confine themselves largely to "womanly" activities. It was this supposition which, to some extent, influenced the personal judgment of the authors. It was not clear from their accounts whether or not they had acquired prior knowledge that Brunei, or its society, was patriarchally structured, before they conceptualised their experiences while there. If they had, such factors may have further defined the nature of Brunei and women in these travellers' eyes and how they should be treated and portrayed. Through the analysis of the westerners' accounts one could see how the condition of these women did not necessarily conform to nineteenth century supposition. In fact, they were strong women who were fully conscious of their own value, and had successfully fulfilled what was considered an ideal lifestyle for a woman of that era: marriage, children, confinement to the domestic sphere, and autonomy in economic activities. Even in the midst of persistent male domination, which in many ways had forced and reduced them to the situation exactly portrayed by the western accounts, Bruneian women proved to be adaptive, accepting conditions without any resentment; and this, probably, effectively softened the judgmental voice echoed in the westerners' accounts.

INTRODUCTION

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a number of British personnel and western travellers visited Brunei (which had rarely been visited by foreigners earlier) for various purposes. They gathered information on the country's inhabitants, and some of them had evidently even spent brief periods with the Sultans during their stay. Their accounts could not exactly be regarded as presenting a wealth of information on Brunei in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as they are not at all comprehensive reports and, in fact, are rather sporadic; the authors seem to have written only about things that interested them and/or caught their eyes. Nevertheless, their accounts detailing what they learned about Brunei women make their accounts significant. Such accounts became sources of rare information about the attitudes of the Bruneian males, and the society as a whole, towards women.

However, these accounts have rarely become a focus of academic attention, not even from those involved in women's studies, discourse analysis or cultural studies. The reasons for such disinterest have not been ascertained; it may be attributed less to disinterest but, perhaps, more to the inaccessibility of the said material to the prospective students of women's studies. The lack of study on these texts could also be due to the general belief that they are of marginal relevance in women's studies as women only occupied only marginal positions in Brunei society during those centuries.

Many of the westerners' accounts analysed in this paper are those compiled by Peter Blundell in his book *The City of Many Waters* (1923) and Simon Francis in his paper entitled *Pictures of the Palace* (1993). The analysis relies on these texts as being basically "true" in the sense that they are understood to accurately portray the authors' personal feelings about their travel experiences. There are, of course, general arguments which could refute such a premise. Sara Mills, for example, argues that there are various

processes which could pollute an author's ability to produce a text that portrays experience in a pure, untampered way.[1] Anything from the authors' own personal biases, be they conscious or not, may influence them in their writings; this is bound to raise the question of the reliability and objectivity of these texts. However, the present paper would take the position that the accounts are sufficiently reliable as a basis for the analysis attempted here.

Before the paper proceeds with the analysis, it is necessary to provide readers with a brief insight into the situation Brunei were in during the time the westerners, whose accounts are analysed in this paper, visited Brunei: the periods cover the reigns of Sultan Abdul Mumin (1852 AD–1885 AD) and Sultan Hashim Jamalul Alam (1885 AD–1906 AD). These periods were not exactly glorious times for Brunei. Rather, they were dark times in Brunei history. It was during these periods Brunei territories were taken away, one after another, either by the Brooke regime in Sarawak (which was in place since 1841), or by the British North Borneo Chartered Company (which was run by a governor in North Borneo (Sabah) after the granting of a charter by the British Government in 1881)), thus jeopardizing Brunei's survival. The culmination of the land cessions was the annexation of Limbang, which Brunei was resolutely reluctant to let go of due to its economic importance, by Charles Brooke in 1890. This marked the beginning of the end of Brunei as a large kingdom which was once very powerful and commanded the whole of the northern part of Borneo Island and the southern Philippines. The declining prosperity of Brunei during this period was so acute that Hugh Clifford, when he visited Brunei in 1901, characterized Brunei as a dying kingdom.[2] Brunei was still on the verge of extinction when Peter Blundell arrived in Brunei in 1903, and it was only in 1906 when the British Residency was stablished in Brunei that the situation gradually changed for the better. This British Residency could be seen as the starting point when Brunei became a part of the British conscience. Other than the system of monarchy, everything else changed with the establishment of a British-style administration and the growth of bureaucracy, the education system, and the extension of a modern health system and related facilities; this may be interpreted as an attempt to resuscitate the 'dying kingdom'. It can be said that socio-economic conditions during the period under study were generally unfavorable, and this, in turn, may have influenced women's status in Bruneian society at the time.

SECLUSION FOR PROTECTION

Most of the accounts analyzed in this paper reinforced the idea that gender differences were seen as a distinct factor in the way that women were regarded. This is manifested in some statements in the accounts suggesting, implicitly, the apparent inferiority of Brunei women when compared with men. Peter Blundell wrote that women, especially the young ones, were strictly kept in seclusion. While they might not really have enjoyed such restrictions, the fact that men of all levels in society, regardless of their marital status, were constantly 'on the prowl', had pushed them to abide by the unwritten rule for the sake of their family's reputation and name [3]; Blundell's text contains ample examples of this fact[4], while Juilliard too provide further cases.[5] The following excerpt from Blundell shows the main reason for the enforced seclusion of young women: "*[t]he young women are kept in fairly strict seclusion. They need to be. Bachelors and married men are on the prowl continually, all of them, eager to take advantage of innocence.*" [6] However, none of these accounts tend to show any real sympathy for Bruneian women who found themselves in such dire conditions. It is not an exaggeration to say that an inherent pattern in the authors' personal judgments was that Bruneian women could not exactly be seen as fellow human

beings of equal status with men but, rather, as objects to be classified and labelled for fulfilling their basic roles in society.

However, there is more than that. Malay society at all times has viewed women with a great sense of respect although customary laws (*adat*) might recognise some hierarchies.[7] Islam also provides women with matrimonial and social rights so that they can play their role alongside the opposite sex in society.[8] Because of such regard that women have within the society, and as a result of the fusion of Malay and Islamic values, there was a tacit rule that needed to be observed by women during those centuries, and this has remained intrinsic within the society even until the present day: the rule is that women should maintain the highest level possible in the moral department by conforming to the codes of morality.[9] It is obvious from various accounts, though, that such rules were normally imposed only on women whereas there were no such binding rules on men. However this one-sided imposition of rules should not readily be seen as women's submission to male domination. Far from it, since the purpose is to reinforce both cultural and religious values so that women could be guaranteed to have continued regard in the society.

Moreover, in the past, a clear distinction had definitely been made between 'good' and 'bad' women, and only good women were considered as suitable for marriage. It was the general notion that good and ideal young women could only be produced by secluding them and keeping them away from the public eye. This, it was argued, would allow them to build and reinforce high standards of cultural refinements such as good manners, courtesy and, more importantly, purity. This is also in line with the Islamic teaching that men and women should mingle and mix freely only within certain acceptable limits and under proper guidance.[10]

MARRIAGE AND CONCUBINAGE

Marriage is not an issue that was commonly included in the westerners' texts; only Peter Blundell elaborated on this issue. His long stay in Brunei may have enabled him to acquire a more detailed understanding of some aspects of Brunei culture, including marriage, that was unavailable to other western travellers. In his book, Blundell endeavoured to give a realistic picture of the relationship between women and marriage where he said that the "... the main occupation of the Brunei women is marriage and the main pre-occupation of the Brunei woman is man".[11] His growing personal alignment with Si Ajar [12] confirmed this viewpoint as Si Ajar, while in Blundell's care, was quite concerned about the wellbeing of her secret lover, Pengiran Chuchu, and she was only occasionally conscious of the mutuality of the newly formed relationship between her and Blundell. One could easily see how Blundell's writing entails contradiction. The above extract from the text exhibits his attempt to present what he thought was an objective description of what he saw and, also, clear evidence of his western sensibilities, while his personal choice to make acquaintance with the native woman is another competing voice which sought to understand and absorb the culture of the host country.

One thing that Blundell first learnt about marriages in Brunei society was that they were all arranged by prospective parents-in-law.[13] The young people did not have much input in choosing a partner, although there had been a few indications that marriages based on romantic attachments were seemingly not uncommon in the early period of the twentieth century. However, the tradition of arranged marriages was still evidently strong. As is indicated in Blundell's text, one prince actually married for love, with the Sultan still insisting that "gold could not mix with brass". This shows how social status is one of the preferential rules for arranged marriages. This was due to the fear that was always prevalent that the lack of ethnic or status compatibility in marital relationships could lead to cultural incompatibility and questionable standards of morality [14] which could

potentially pave the way to divorce, something that was too shameful to be accepted within Brunei society during those times. On the other hand, the system of arranged marriages had a kind of double standard: a man had the freedom to choose the girl he liked and could be nagged into marrying a particular girl only in special situations, whereas young females did not have such freedom and had to allow the parents to search marriage partners for them. If a girl insisted on choosing whoever she fancied to become her partner in marriage, her persistence would be interpreted as an immoral, improper act, and a definite breach of the code of morality.

However, Blundell's earlier statement and the system of arranged marriage should not be seen simply as an indication of the erosion of women's status in relation to male authority in the society. Nor should it be taken as representative of the intellectual capacity of women during those centuries. No one, of course, could debate that in any Asian society, once a woman marries a man, her social circle as well as responsibility shifts from her natal family to that of her husband. As a wife, she should obey her husband and continue to bear the primary responsibility for bearing and rearing children, looking after her husband's needs and doing housework.[15] Married women's initial priorities were towards their husbands and families before pursuing any interest that they might have outside the domestic circle. But such conditions do not necessarily imply that women during the periods concerned were of inferior status and had no authority.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the status of women within the society, was not measured by whether or not they had attained equality in pay, nor was it measured from an increase in women's employment in professional fields, but was determined rather by the woman's success in securing and protecting her status and interests which, as suggested by Blundell, lay within the family circle. In other words, for these women, a role as housewife brought a respectable status, much like any remunerative occupations women are engaged in nowadays. It can be said that while the husbands went out to attend to their work as bark collectors, fishermen and silversmiths, the wives would devote maximum energy and attention to shoulder the full responsibility for the domestic chores.

It was clear that there was no exact definition of, nor a limit on, the kind of domestic burden and chores that women needed to handle. Blundell in his book provided a useful insight of the married life in Brunei which could be used to define domesticity in the context of Brunei in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He made a comparison and saw that marriage in Brunei could never be equal to that in Britain. In fact, Blundell seemed to suggest that Bruneian wives were rather in control of their lives. In addition, the wife's voice carried weight not only in matters relating to childrearing but also in all matters of household expenditures, including having control over every cent of her husband's earnings.[16] What comes out from the comparison is the fact that Bruneian women were strong financial managers within their households. The wives were the ones who actually controlled the domestic purse strings, while men on the other hand could be seen as having no choice but to be dependent upon their wives' decisive voices. Such a phenomenon was not something peculiar to Brunei society only. Two other Asian societies with similar status for women can be cited here: (1) in the Javanese society during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, women had considerable control over their husbands' income and financial affairs; [17] and (2) similarly, in Japanese society, particularly during the later period of Tokugawa, *Koshu*'s (house-head's) authority could easily be tempered by *shufu* (housewife) whose sphere of influence extended to household income.[18] This clearly shows how, in these societies, housewives could easily attain a rather respectable socioeconomic status, and this is perhaps the reason why, according to Blundell, in Brunei, men were "susceptible to the charm of their companion sex".[19]

Thus it is clear that domesticity does not necessarily mean inferiority. The spheres of control of power in the family in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as discussed earlier, were rather woman-centred. Domesticity clearly provided the wives with not just wide powers in dictating and shaping the household, but also an effective means for the wives to become confident leaders in their households, usually in some subtle ways. The fact that the family institution during these periods was seen as an essential insurance for social welfare and security has helped to further bolster the socio-economic status of Bruneian women, and would help, thus, disprove the notion of female inferiority and passivism.

Apart from marriage, concubinage is another interesting dimension about women that could be found included in several western texts on Brunei. It appears that concubinage was another kind of "occupation" for Brunei women during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. S. E. Dalrymple writes on the practice with reference to higher strata of society in Brunei. [20] as did Walter J. Clutterbuck [21]. The practice of having more than one wife, though at odds with European thought, was seemed to be perfectly understood by the authors as a well-regulated system in Brunei and also throughout the Malay world.[22]

Many now would rather dodge the issue of concubinage practice among the Brunei rulers and nobilities as this could be seen as compromising the Islamic image that Brunei has all this time been striving to achieve. D.E. Brown states that Muslim laws in the past had allowed limited polygyny and concubinage.[23] Polygyny was and is allowed by Islam but this has never been the case with concubinage. But to solely question the integrity of Islam in Brunei in relation to the practice of concubinage will do nothing but injustice and such injustice emerges from several factors. One is the fact that even until the present day, there is still continued conflicts between Islam and local customary laws or *adat*. Islam might have been successful in marginalizing the physical manifestations of other religions such as temples and statues, but it has not been able to find similar success in terms of getting rid of intangible influences of other religions which were already in tune with the local customary laws.[24] Despite the fact that Islam has asserted religious influence in Brunei since six hundred years ago, it has not successfully eradicated all the un-Islamic elements embodied in local customary laws. The reasons for the continued apparent contradiction between Islam and local customs are beyond the scope of this paper, but this is raised here if only to bring to the fore the questions of superimposition and integration. If the conflict between *adat* and Islam still persists today, one could imagine how local customary laws could easily have overridden Islamic principles during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this view, as well as for the reasons which caused the toleration of the practice of concubinage discussed earlier, the practice of concubinage therefore should not solely be seen as an act of transgression of Islamic laws, but rather a way of conforming to popular ideology among the Sultans in the Malay world.[25] Similarly, arranged marriages are, in their truest sense, against Islamic principles as Islam never forced women into marriage and, in fact, their consent to engage in marital bondage is necessary.[26] However, even if this is the case, arranged marriages were still widely practised during those periods and even later, and this is clearly due to cultural reasons which have been discussed earlier. Another issue is divorce which was seen as taboo; the reason for this is that, despite the fact that it is permissible in Islam, the norms and values of the society was yet to be seen through the true Islamic perspective.

WOMEN AND ISLAM

At present, Islam has gained a strong foothold in the country and this has partly been made possible by the continuous efforts of the government in promulgating Islamic teachings, including the establishment of more and more government institutions which

uphold Islamic principles; declaring Islam as the official religion in the 1959 Constitution; and more importantly, recognising Islam as one of the integral elements of the national philosophy, *Melayu Islam Beraja* (MIB) or the Islamic Malay Monarchy when Brunei achieved independence in 1984. All these efforts in spreading the word of Islam undoubtedly made the religion serve an ideological purpose which increasingly defined and structured the way of life of the population, in ways that emphasise the teaching of Islamic ideals and values.[27]

And this is exactly what Brunei lacked in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and may explain why Islam did not appear to be an integral part of the people's life. Islam was undoubtedly practised by the population, as illustrated by Dominic Daly in October 1888, where she heard what she called "...discordant clashings of Moslem gongs, as the followers of the Prophet were summoned to their daily devotions".[28] However, this could not be used as verification that all Muslims truly observed and practised the religion, let alone understood the religious restrictions, particularly the practice of *adat* which did not go well with Islamic teachings and values. Blundell once recognized the high taste that Bruneian women had for port-wine which, according to the women he met, would "[warm] them up and [do] them good"[29]. Of course, one should not rush to make generalizations based on such statements. Perhaps the women that Blundell met were those who comprised only a small proportion of the population that remained less attached to Islam and easily forsook religious observances. However, as his writing continues, it became clear that the women's lack of attachment to the religion was not by choice but due to their failure of understanding the fundamental religious principles. From his conversation with the women, Blundell found out that "according to the law of Mahomet no true believer is allowed to drink wine but then, no women are allowed to enter heaven".[30] This is an illustration that Islam during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may have been understood by the population solely as an act of worship. Moreover with the absence of religious institutions in the state, it was difficult to present the population with a comprehensive and balanced understanding of Islam. The religious knowledge of the women that Blundell met was clearly distorted, and might well have led to the misconceptions about Islamic ideology as inhuman and intolerant. However, considering the dire political and socio-economic crises confronting the country during those times, it is understandable why efforts to propagate Islam, so the real essence of Islamic teachings reached the population, took a back seat.

Thus, when one talks about Bruneian women during the periods covered in the present paper, it may be said that their status and position within the society had nothing to do with the teachings of Islam as such. When the country professed Islam as its faith arguably since the fourteenth century, it did not necessarily mean the social institutions in the country would no longer be deeply imbued with local culture, which, for the most part, was not exactly aligned with Islamic teachings that actually determined the status of women in Brunei society. However, a popular view which suggests that Muslim women were traditionally been continuously confronted by oppression, discrimination and prejudice, could easily blind us into a false generalisation that it was Islam which shackled Bruneian women during the 19th and early 20th centuries and beyond.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

There is little historical research directly concerning Bruneian women's economic situation during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In general works, there are sporadic references to the role of women as traders but they are only superficial comments on their economic participation. Some travellers' accounts do mention the women's economic activities during those periods referring exclusively to one kind of activity, that

is as 'traders in boats', or better known nowadays as *padians*. F. H. H. Guillemard, who spent a night in Brunei in June 1883 during his geographical exploration, came across a group of canoes where,

> "... the occupants... are almost without exception women... Each wears a palm-leaf hat of enormous size, which serves the purpose indeed of an umbrella also, for it is large enough to protect the whole body from either sun or rain".[31]

A similar account was also given by S.E. Dalrymple where he described a unique market place "where some hundreds of market boats jostle each other, while their inmates shriek and haggle over bargains...". [32] Lady Brassey also confirmed the existence of the *padians*.[33] This is actually valuable information about Bruneian women during the periods concerned as it exhibits a clear division of labour, not along gender lines, but rather among the women themselves. The married women, particularly the younger ones, as explained earlier, were in charge of the running of the household and taking care of the young, while the older women would make significant economic contribution to the household by participating in the 'boat market'. These *padians* were those women around the age of forty or above, and their trading commodities included daily food items such as fish, vegetables and fruits.[34] Of course, these older women still attended to their matrimonial duties but, unlike the young ones, there were fewer restrictions imposed on them which made it easier for them to make full use of their creative economic abilities. One might think there would have been some conflict between the males and these women. The males had always been seen as breadwinners and the fact that the older women in the family now contributed significantly to the household income, could have bruised their ego and reputation as good providers. However, anything to suggest the existence of such conflicts in the society could not be found in any of the travellers' writings, not even in Blundell's. If pure conjecture is permissible, then it can be suggested that during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was totally acceptable to run a house with a woman's earnings, and that the economic status of women was in no way inferior to that of men. It may, also, be a reflection of the fact that Bruneian women were accorded equal treatment and respect, particularly within the economic field, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

CONCLUSION

While a look at the travellers' accounts used in the present study provides some interesting insights, one needs to be very careful so as to avoid making over-generalised conclusions. It is best that each text is examined individually, for treating them together will tend to be arbitrary and may produce an analysis that disregards thinking of the author and the complexities of the creation of the text. The essence of the above discussion is the argument that Bruneian women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not conform to the traditional supposition that that women were weak and delicate; much of the travellers' accounts tend to depict Brunei women according to this supposition. However, the above analysis, on the other hand, tries to present an alternative interpretation of feminine matters, such as the domestic seclusion, marriage, concubinage and economic activities, which were viewed by the travellers as evidence that Bruneian women had been condemned to a position inferior to men. Culture, at one point or another, could tie the women to passivism, but since not all factors which affect women's status necessarily point in the direction of female inferiority, Bruneian women in the periods concerned could not be said to have been generally passive and inferior to men in terms of position and status.

Thus, it would be incorrect to infer that women did not exert any kind of influence on the society and households, although the degree of such influence would be exceedingly difficult to measure. Moreover, women may well have exercised what might be described as indirect or concealed influence over their households and their husbands and the society as a whole. As such, it can be concluded that, despite there being strong male domination within the society, once it had been exerted, and accepted, the way was open for women to enjoy relative freedom and liberty.

END NOTES

[1] Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: an Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 30.

[2] Clifford, in his writing, also regarded Brunei as a "moribund kingdom" as he viewed "the miserable wreck of past glory". The conspicuous absence of a strong stream of emigration at Brunei Bay, the non-existence of thriving pepper-gardens and groves of rich spices on Brunei hills, and the fact that Brunei's throne was not in the hands of capable men are all clear manifestations of Brunei's departed wealth. Hugh Clifford, "The Dying Kingdom" in *Macmillan's Magazine,* Vol. 86, No. 512, May- October 1902, pp. 106-114.

[3] Peter Blundell, *The City of Many Waters* (London: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1923), p. 107. Peter Blundell's real name was F. N. Butterworth, and he was working as an engineer for a cutch factory belonging to Island Trading Syndicate. His book, *The City of Many Waters*, was written during the period prior to the arrival of Malcolm McArthur in Brunei in 1904.

[4] Blundell, *The City of Many Waters*, pp. 109-110.

[5] Francis Guillemard was sometime Reader in Geography at Cambridge as well as a traveler, naturalist and writer. His account was written during his one-night visit to Brunei sometime in June 1883. The visit was part of his geographical exploration to Southeast Asia. Simon Francis, *Pictures of the Palace: travellers' accounts of the Brunei of Sultan Abdul Mumin and Sultan Hashim between 1881 and 1906*, (Hull: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hull, 1993), pp. 42-43.

[6] Blundell, *The City of Many Waters*, p. 107.

[7] Wazir Jahan Karim, *Women and Culture: Between Malay Adat and Islam* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), p. 7.

[8] Parven Shaukat Ali, *Status of Women in the Muslim World*, second edition (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1986), p. 21.

[9] Wazir Jahan Karim, *Women and Culture*, p. 182.

[10] According to the Hadith reported by Al-Bukhari, narrated by Anas bin Malik, an Ansari woman came to the Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) and he took her aside and said (to her), "by Allah, you (Ansar) are the most beloved people to me". The significance of this Hadith is that a private meeting between a man and woman is permissible so long as it is not conducted in seclusion. Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan, *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al-Bukhari*, Vol. VII (New Delhi: Kitab Bharan, 1984), p. 118.

[11] Blundell, *The City of Many Waters*, p. 105.

[12] Si Ajar, according to Blundell, was one of the inmates of the harem belonging to one of the Wazirs and she was apparently a prince's favourite. However, Si Ajar was in love with another man, Pengiran Chuchu, and the liaison might just have cost them their lives and brought disgrace on their families for generations to follow. See Blundell, *The City of Many Waters*, pp. 51-53.

[13] Blundell, *The City of Many Waters*, p. 180.

[14] D. E. Brown, *Brunei: The Structure and History of a Bornean Malay Sultanate*, Monograph of the Brunei Museum Journal, Vol. 2 No. 2, 1970, p. 36.

[15] The Chinese women for example, were traditionally regarded as '*neiren*' or 'inside person', who should literally remain inside the house, taking full responsibility of domestic chores and letting the husband be the only 'outside person'. The Chinese society, even until nowadays, still place greater weight on such tradition as it is the bedrock of social order and stability. See Norman Stockman, *Understanding Chinese Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), pp. 110-112; Elisabeth Croll, *Changing Identities of Chinese Women: Rhetoric, Experience and Self-perception in Twentieth Century China* (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1995), pp. 120-121.

[16] Blundell, *The City of Many Waters*, p. 93.

[17] Ann Ruth Willner, "Expanding Women's Horizons in Indonesia: Toward Maximum Equality with Minimum Conflict", in Sylvia A. Chipps, and Justin J. Green, eds., *Asian Women in Transition* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980), pp. 186-187.

[18] Kathleen S. Uno, "Women and Changes in the Household Division of Labour", in Gail Lee Bernstein (ed.), *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600 – 1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 24.

[19] Blundell, *The City of Many Waters*, p. 106.

[20] S. E. Darymple was appointed as the Assistant Resident for British North Borneo Chartered Company in North Borneo (Sabah) and he was posted to different areas throughout his appointment. The purpose of his visit to Brunei in June 1884 was not made clear but Simon Francis suggested that he might have been on an official business visit as he was joined by W. H. Treacher , the Governor of the British North Borneo Chartered Company during the visit. See Francis, *Pictures of the Palace*, p. 43.

[21] Unlike other Western travellers, Walter J. Clutterback, a recipient of Fellowship of the Royal Geographical Society, visited Brunei for pleasure. See Francis, *Pictures of the Palace*, p. 35.

[22] According to *Silsilah Raja-Raja Brunei*, Sultan Saiful Rijal would take by force fine-looking princesses to be his concubines. See P. L. Amin Sweeney (ed.), "*Silsilah Raja-Raja Brunei*" in *The Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 41, Part 2, 1968, p. 20. Sultan Hassan is also said to have had a few concubines of his own. P. L. Amin Sweeney (ed.), "*Silsilah Raja-Raja Brunei*", p. 55; Y.B. Pehin Orang Kaya Amar Diraja Dato Seri Utama (Dr.) Awang Haji Mohd. Jamil Al-Sufri bin Begawan Pehin Udana Khatib Dato Seri Paduka Awang Haji Umar, *Chatatan Sejarah Perwira-Perwira dan Pembesar-Pembesar Brunei* (Brunei: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1973), p. 33. See also Hugh Low, "List of the Mohamedan Sovereigns of Brunei", in *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 5 (June 1880), p. 26.

[23] D. E. Brown, *Brunei: The Structure and History of a Bornean Malay Sultanate*, p. 37.

[24] N. J. Ryan, *The Cultural Heritage of Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur: Longman Malaysia, 1971), pp. 14- 15.

[25] Hoyt mentions that it was Sultan Mudzaffar Shah of Malacca, a noble character, who proclaimed Islam as the state religion, and had many wives and concubines. Whereas Sir Frank Swettenham, while he served as a Resident in Perak, observed that the Malay Raja not only maintained as many wives as allowed by Islam but the wives should expect, or were educated to expect, that the Raja would have concubines as the ruler was simply following the practice of his ancestors and concubinage was made a custom of the country. See Sarnia Hayes Hoyt, *Old Malacca* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.11; Sir Frank Swettenham, *Malay Sketches* (Singapore: Graham Brash, 1984), pp. 182-183.

[26] Prof. Dr. Anwarullah, *Right of Women in Islam* (Bandar Seri Begawan: Islamic Da'wah Centre, 2002), pp.1-2.

[27] Haji Abdul Latif Haji Ibrahim, "Melayu Islam Beraja: Suatu Pengenalan", in Haji Latif Haji Ibrahim, *Melayu Islam Beraja: Pengantar Huraian* (Akademi Pengajian Brunei: Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 2003), p. 67.

[28] Mrs. Dominic Daly was the wife of a senior official who worked with the British North Borneo Chartered Company. Her purpose of visit to Brunei in October 1888 was to accompany her husband who had an important task in hand, that was to reach an agreement with the Sultan on the transfer of land concession of Padas River to the Company. See Francis, *Pictures of the Palace*, p. 12.

[29] Blundell, *The City of Many Waters*, p. 107.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Francis, *Pictures of the Palace*, p. 18.

[32] Francis, *Pictures of the Palace*, p. 19.

[33] Lady Brassey was the wife of a wealthy politician, Lord Brassey. At the end of their extensive sea journey to the Far East, he was made Director of the British North Borneo Chartered Company. Lady Brassey kept a journal throughout their journey in which she wrote down her experience of a day trip to Brunei in April 1887 in Rajah's infamous steamer, *Lorna Doone*. See Francis, *Pictures of the Palace*, p. 21.

[34] Haji Awang Zainuddin Hassan, "Pengalu dan Padian, Suatu Tinjauan Tradisi Perdagangan di Brunei", in *Pusaka*, No. 5, 1992, p. 41.

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