

Religion and Power: Women Travellers in Macao

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ABSTRACT: As the first female missionary visiting Macao in 1836 before settling in Hong Kong in 1842, the significance of Henrietta Hall Shuck to Hong Kong is definitely remarkable. Yet, our present understanding of her influences on Macao is comparably limited. Since historical themes are strongly tied to the portrayal of ‘woman’ created by hegemonic discourse, this research enables us to rethink women who are comparatively underrepresented in ‘history’. The realisation of inclusive femininity can be achieved through an examination of the material and historical heterogeneities that characterised the lives of women in the third world during the colonial era and, therefore, redefining, producing, and representing ‘women’ as a singular third-world ‘woman’. This paper puts forward a colonial feminist theory and discourse by third-world women who exercise power and operate resistance. It is argued that power relations are defined as a source of power and a collective response to power. This article draws a comparison between Henrietta Hall Shuck’s self-presentation and her representation of women in Macao about religion and power, it proposes hegemonic discourses that are inscribed in power relations where women oppose, resist and implicitly support.

KEYWORDS: Feminism; Colonial women travellers; Third-world women; Oppression; Missionary.

INTRODUCTION

The significant implication in this paper stems from Foucault’s argument that discourse is related to power in the way that language has functioned as a restriction upon reality. For Foucault, power is inflected in the interaction of multiple social relations constituting norms and regulations.¹ The hegemonic social relations at the macro-level as a

shaping force and at the micro-level of the local force relations define a society’s general and institutional characteristics. Through struggles, confrontations, and transformations against the norms from below, knowledge with the support of power can emerge.² Foucault attempts to replace a universal negative power that models law and prohibition from the top with a positive analysis of power from the bottom.³

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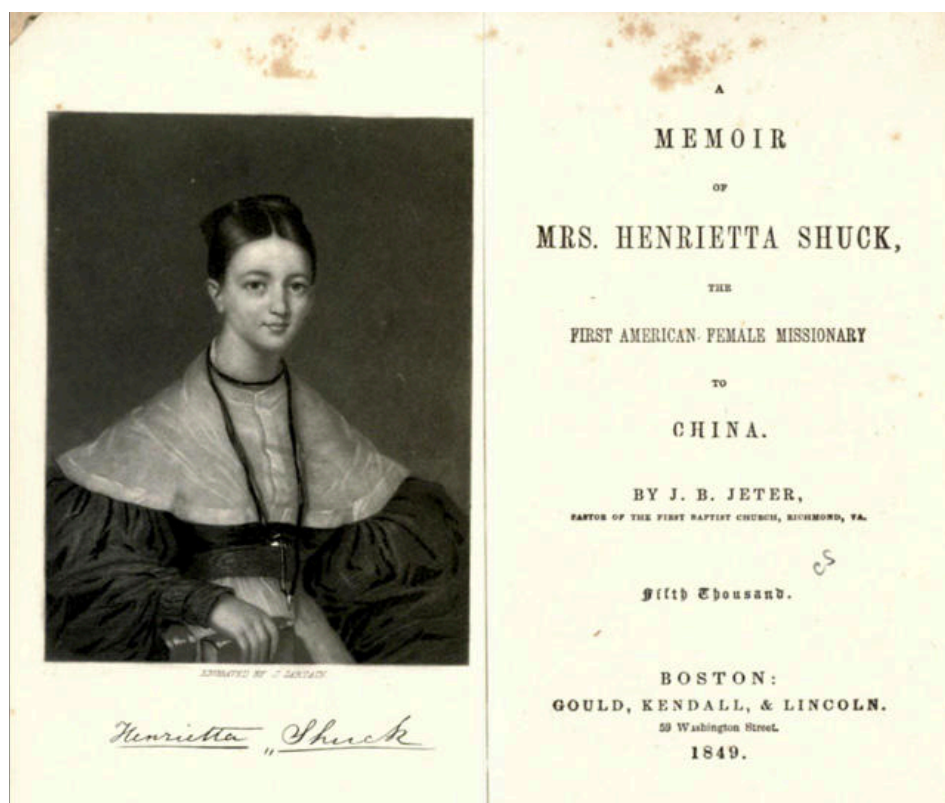


Fig. 1: Henrietta Hall Shuck's diary, *A memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, the First American Female Missionary to China*. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln, 1849.

To support the argument, I demonstrate that gender study is infused with Foucault's analysis of power, knowledge, and discourse, which helps to define the meaning of Henrietta Hall Shuck's self-representation and representation on 'other' during her visit to Macao in 1836 before settling in Hong Kong in 1842. The Foucauldian concept of discourse delineates the direction for the reconceptualisation of women's representation which contributes to both coping and understanding the social reality and expands our constructed meaning of knowledge and power to not simply a matter of class interests. Hence, this paper pushes our understanding of transcultural forces beyond the clash of class interests in Foucauldian analysis of power and knowledge.

Foucault's works have wielded a strong influence on feminist scholars for decades. Various feminist

scholars have made Foucault's analysis a compellingly theoretical tool to elucidate and augment the understanding of some critical yet overwhelming understudied concepts.⁴ Foucauldian concepts rely on the theoretical notion of 'decentering' knowledge and truth from epistemology, thereby emphasising the impact of discourse, knowledge, and power on both society and individuals.⁵ While many feminists analyses had exclusively drawn on Foucault's writing on power, Foucault himself indeed had little interest in gender issues. The blindness of gender in Foucauldian concepts of power is problematic because we live in a society where a normatively neutral stance on power is not viable. According to Sandra Lee Bartky, Foucault's work perpetuates the inherent sexism present in Western political theory.⁶ Clearly, the Western feminist discourse, which is 'a coherence of effects', is inherent

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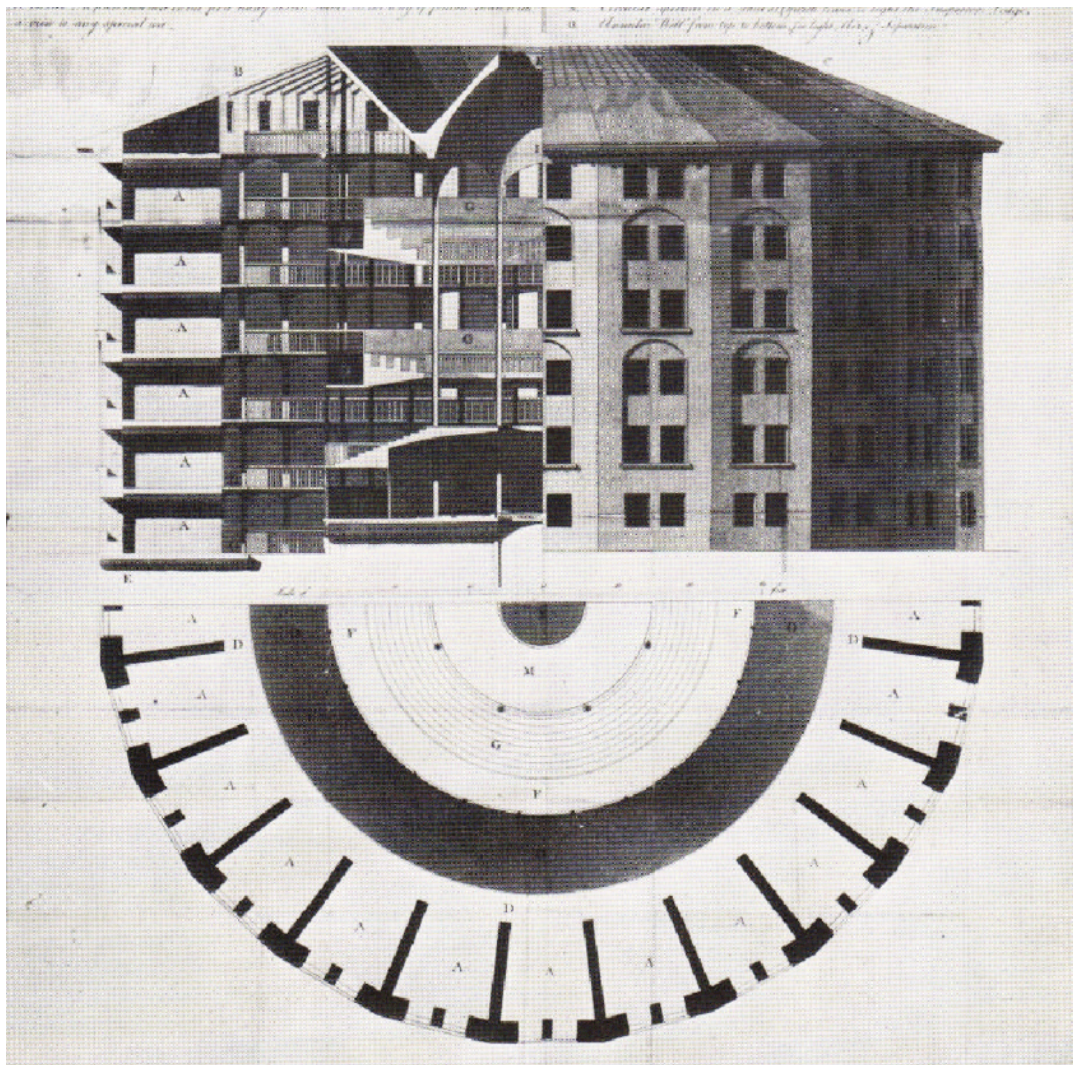


Fig. 2: The Panopticon design of Jeremy Bentham, drawn by Willey Reveley in 1791, in Philip Steadman, “The Contractions of Jeremy Bentham’s Panopticon Penitentiary,” *Journal of Bentham Studies*, vol. 9 (2007): 9.

in the supposition of ‘the West’.⁷ Anne Balsamo further claims that Foucault pens down in his writings viewing the site of power as male-dominated discourse.⁸ Most of Foucault’s works have been roundly criticised for not recognising the significance of gender in shaping power due to the fact that femininity can determine disciplinary practices which assert on bodies and create identities and, consequently, functions as an effective form of social control.⁹ The social construction of gender is determined by society, disciplines, and culture

around us. In turn, every culture has its particular form of discipline on the body. In his work *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault did not make any distinction when dealing with the ‘genderless’ of the watchman.¹⁰ If the pleasure in looking has been depended on the separation between entities to guarantee a distinction between active, male or disciplinary and other entities as passive or female in the patriarchal society, treating body ‘as one’ is not sustainable.¹¹ Balsamo further indicates that Foucault’s analysis treats female identity

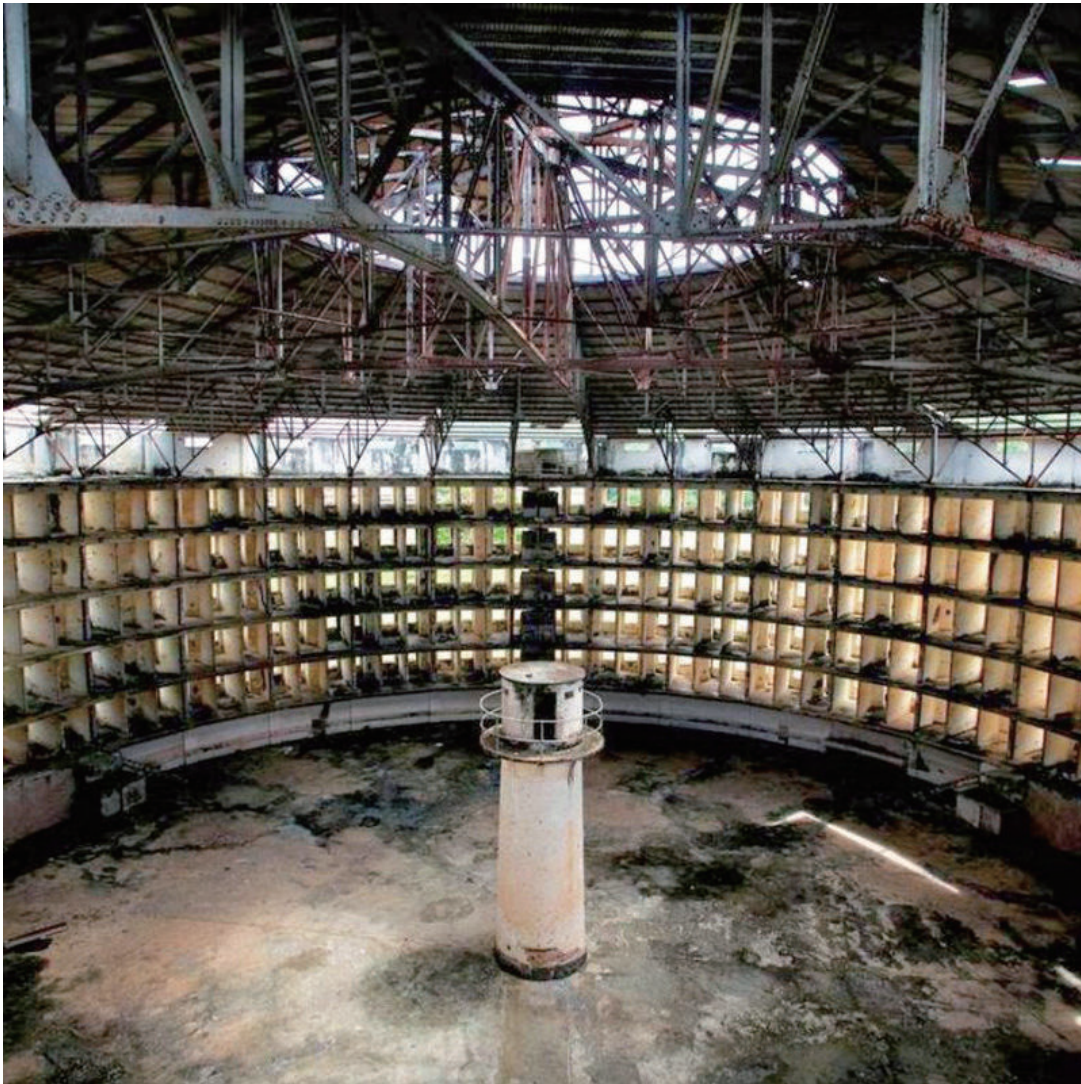


Fig. 3: Presidio Modelo prison in Cuba, an example of a Panopticon penitentiary. Source: <http://hiddenarchitecture.net/panopticism-presidio-modelo/>

as an inherent or natural quality of the body rather than a ‘truth effect’ about sexuality produced by cultural discourses of identity.¹²

Therefore, it is imperative to reformulate the Foucauldian concept of power by acknowledging gender as a notion of difference articulated from its discursive construction. However, Foucault’s concern for discourse and discursive formation helps us to relate ‘culture’ to ‘representation’. My assumption stems from the notion that culture is assumed to represent

women because of its gender hierarchical nature and its relations of power in gender study. Hence, this article primarily focuses on how the feminist discourse epitomises Foucault’s argument about sexuality and power, yet how conspicuous it is by its absence. This supposition makes reading female discourse as a target of Foucault’s analysis of power possible. By examining Henrietta Hall Shuck’s account of her relationship with the Chinese female orphans in her missionary school in Macao, gender here can be included in the

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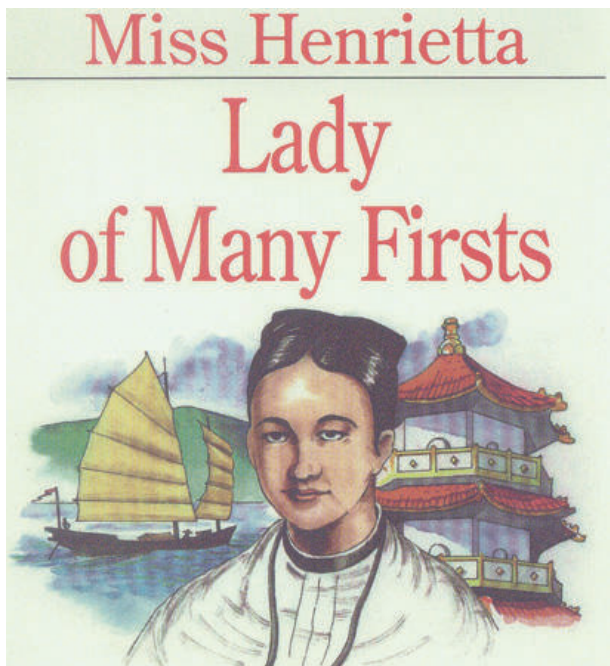


Fig. 4: Book cover of *Miss Henrietta, Lady of Many Firsts*, written by Beth Branyon in 1996.

analysis of power relations and, in turn, a product of discourse. However, this paper is not a comprehensive approach to Foucault's extensive analysis but is indeed an introduction to his central idea for understanding representations and the intersections of discourse, power, and the subject within.

GENDERING FOUCAULDIAN CONCEPT OF POWER AND KNOWLEDGE

The Foucauldian concept of power indicates that power relations can appear in unexpected places. According to Foucault, power should not be viewed as an institution or a structure, nor should it be considered as an inherent strength possessed by individuals. Rather, it is a term used to describe a multifaceted strategic situation within a given society.¹³ Power relations are not an institution or structure. For Foucault, power emerges from the force of relations. The force of relations is 'immanent', which means it exists only within a domain or discourse.¹⁴

Therefore, power is advised to study through coding the relationship between different forms of power in various ways because various patterns of domination and resistance exist in different social settings. In fact, power is characterised by a multifaceted and complicated strategic situation.¹⁵ The 'strategy' is how we might wish to be perceived by various groups in different contexts. However, the construction of our self-presentation has frequently been moulded and impacted by power dynamics. The omnipresent nature of power is attributed to its continuous production and manifestation in various points and relations. The concept of power permeates all aspects of society. The reason for its comprehensiveness is not due to its all-encompassing nature, but rather its origin from diverse sources.¹⁶

According to Foucault's perspective, power is not a commodity that can be possessed, but rather it arises from social interactions and relationships. Therefore, he suggests that power should be exercised rather than possessed. He asserts that the strategic positions held by the dominant class have a greater impact than any acquired or preserved privilege.¹⁷ As discussed, the truth and morality that shape our life not simply exist but are produced through culturally discursive elements. People of different social groups unconsciously expose themselves to a dominant group of discursive elements, and that structural discourse ultimately privileges the ideas of normalisation. The power exerted on the body should be viewed as a strategy rather than a property. Foucault suggests that a perpetual battle should serve as a model for this power, rather than a contract that regulates 'a transaction or the conquest of a territory'.¹⁸ Therefore, the notion of power does not circumvent binary relationships. The system of power relations operates in various ways in which different forms of relationships intersect and entwine instead of just functioning within an individual.

Foucault further suggests that 'power' must be understood in a dual sense. 'Power' could be ingrained

in how we talk and function as English speakers, but it also refers to capability and capacity. According to Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, the term 'power' can be understood through the change of meanings of some French words — 'savoir' (knowing), 'savoir-faire' (a refined form of 'know-how'), and 'savoir-vivre' (awareness of social life and customs) into 'pouvoir' (power).¹⁹ Drawing on the ideas of Foucault, Spivak places particular emphasis on the manner in which a particular form of implicit knowledge, referred to as 'savoir' (knowledge), that pervades a given historical epoch, shapes the explicit knowledge — 'connaissance' (an ideal object of knowledge) — that is codified within the disciplinary frameworks of the human sciences, encompassing both the natural and social sciences. Spivak further claims:

*You might come up with something like this: of the lines of making sense of something are laid down in a certain way, then you are able to do only those things with that something that are possible within and by the arrangement of those lines. Pouvoir-savoir — being able to do something — only as you are able to make sense of it.*²⁰

This is to say, what is considered the 'common sense' of the time, place, and people within a specific historic period consolidates what is believed to be the truth or knowledge. The knowledge, in passive form, is not from some authoritative bodies from high. According to Dianna Taylor, Foucault considers that knowledge can be recognised as truth and can be existed with the support of the arrangement of power.²¹ Foucault did not try to theorise the evolutionary progress for a 'better' system of knowledge. However, he is concerned with how society reflects and values, transforms into knowledge and gradually becomes an institutionalised form of knowledge. Indeed, Foucault shows implicit interest in exploring the

representation of knowledge and the context in which such representations are given from, delineated, and ultimately applied. His discourse and discursive formation concepts are central to his notion of knowledge representation. Without Foucault himself ever noticing, he does not approach the issue of sexual difference directly, although his analysis supports the study of feminism concerning questions on sexuality.

CHALLENGING THE UNIVERSALITY OF FEMALE IDENTITY — BEING WATCHED

During the eighteenth century and nineteenth century, feminist scholars extensively drew on Foucault's use of women's sexual identities.²² From the eighteenth century, there was an immediate attempt for the population to become necessarily aware of their sex and sexual activities.²³ Within the realm of sex, there was an intense urge to categorise people according to gender, for instance, masculine and feminine, heterosexual, and homosexual and other sexualities. Sex entails something that people are coerced into a confession.²⁴ In turn, not only does sex amalgamate biological and physical characteristics, but it also implicates the crucial and psychological core of the individual.²⁵ Here, Foucault's original intention in doing a genealogy of sexuality which considers sex as an arbitrary and a contingent component of identity has been undermined. He also expresses apprehension regarding the proliferation of discussions pertaining to sexuality within the realm of power dynamics. This phenomenon is viewed as an institutional support to engage in explicit and comprehensive articulation of such matters.²⁶

In this sense, the atomisation of discourse is not natural but is constructed as a product of how power and knowledge interact in society. Foucault turns the question inside out and argues that sex has to be spoken of. The issue concerning the public discourse surrounding sex is that it is limited and fails to fully capture its essence, thereby requiring an ongoing quest

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for a more comprehensive understanding.²⁷ The fluid mode of discourse was unable to establish a bond, resulting in the dispersion of centres from which discourses originated, 'a diversification of their forms, and the complex deployment of the network connecting them [...] to a regulated and polymorphous incitement to discourse'.²⁸ Foucault posits that instead of regarding sex as a secret that forbids overtly conversation, certain organisations have devoted themselves to constantly discussing it, all the while making use of its hidden elements.²⁹

Hence, the atomised mode of Foucault's analysis returns our attention to universalism and supports the reality of sexual identity based on shared feminist identity. Traditional feminists believe there is a universal and ahistorical notion of 'woman'. Foucault further demonstrates its limitations and dangers. He puts forward the question of placing sex as a core aspect of identity and refutes the essentialist notion of treating identity as the foundation of a community. Therefore, contemporary feminists draw on Foucault's notion of sexual identity by excluding the single category of 'woman'. Judith Butler criticises the tendency to construct women as a global sisterhood. She argues:

This globalizing gesture [the universality of female identity] has spawned a number of criticisms from women who claim that the category of 'women' is normative and exclusionary and is invoked with the unmarked dimensions of class and racial privilege intact. In other words, the insistence upon the coherence and unity of the category of women has effectively refused the multiplicity of cultural, social, and political intersections in which the concrete array of 'women' are constructed.³⁰

The concept of 'patriarchy' has been a powerful organising concept that undermines the overt

articulation of an asymmetrical gender system in various cultural contexts. Butler proposes that the subject of 'women' appears not only as a stable and distinct entity. In light of feminism's efforts to align itself with movements against racial and colonialist oppression, it has become imperative to challenge the colonising epistemological approach that seeks to subordinate diverse forms of oppression to a universal concept of patriarchy.³¹ In fact, the interaction between 'women' as historical subjects and the representation of 'woman' generated by dominant discourse functions to subjugate the diverse material and historical realities of women in the Orient, resulting in the creation and portrayal of a singular 'woman'. Henrietta Hall Shuck exercises this authority by questioning 'the proper training and education of the children of missionaries'. She wrote:

Can this be done in the heathen countries? Missionaries, so far as we are acquainted with their views, concur in the opinion that it cannot be done. But it remembered too, that this opinion is formed, not only with the amplest opportunities of judging correctly, but in opposition to the dictates of natural affection. The reasons for the opinion are clear and convincing. The young must have associates. If intelligent, refined, and pious society cannot be found, they will inevitably, and from the depravity of their hearts, most readily, mingle with the ignorant, vicious, and degraded [...] Unable to elevate the heathen, they will sink to the level of heathenism.³²

She concerns about sending her child back to her native land for education, which provides a 'better' education and prevents her child from 'the contamination of heathenism'. Here, Henrietta Hall Shuck refers to Macao as 'heathen' throughout her description of Macao carrying the negative connotation of idolatry. She uses the words 'ignorant',

‘vicious’, ‘degraded’, and ‘heathen’ to describe the Others in Macao, whilst Henrietta Hall Shuck implicitly represents herself as educated and modern because of her ability to make autonomous decisions about her own body and sexuality. The discrepancy between her self-presentation and her re-presentation of Macao’s Others is evident in her assumption of privileging a particular group as dominant constituting social norms and referents. The representation continues when she describes the practice of Chinese parents to sell their daughters. She describes:

I have recently met with a poor little Chinese girl, about six years old, whom we have adopted as our own child. Her case is peculiarly interesting. Her mother, imitating the example of heathen mothers, sold her to a Chinaman, who kept her only a few months, and sold her again to another Chinaman and his wife, whose hearts, if they were in possession of such a thing, would not allow them to bestow on her a single act of kindness. They used her cruelly, and made her perform such labor as could be expected only from the older and stronger persons. And it seems that these cruel people, not satisfied with this, even denied her necessary food.³³

Incidentally, an American passed by and offered to ‘buy’ the ‘poor Chinese girl’. The ‘Chinaman’ consented, and the American paid her ‘ten dollars’. The American took the ‘poor Chinese girl’ to Henrietta Hall Shuck, and she named the Chinese girl ‘Jane Maria’. The representation of the ‘poor Chinese girl’ extends beyond the portrayal of the female gender as constructed by dominant hegemonic discourse. It can be inferred that Shuck draws on discourse to colonise the diverse material and historical experiences of women in the developing world, in order to present a singular, composite representation of ‘woman’. Hence, the correlation between ‘women’ as entities of historical

significance and the portrayal of ‘woman’ created by dominant discourse does not entail a linking through identity, correspondence, or mere implication.³⁴

WOMEN AS A UNIFIED GROUP OF SUPPRESSION — WATCHER

The concept of gender can be regarded as complex due to its ability to allow for various converging and diverging expressions without conforming to normative standards.³⁵ Butler claims:

The articulation of an identity within available cultural terms instates a definition that forecloses in advance the emergence of new identity concepts in and through politically engaged action, the foundationalist tactic cannot take the transformation or expansion of existing identity concepts as a normative goal. Moreover, when agreed-upon identities or agreed-upon dialogic structures, through which already established identities are communicated, no longer constitute the theme or subject of politics, then identities can come into being and dissolve depending on the concrete practices that constitute them. Certain political practices institute identities on a contingent basis in order to accomplish whatever aims are in view.³⁶

Butler grounds her assumption on Foucault’s notion of discourse, which refutes the possibility that the power/knowledge can be ‘from below’. The portrayal of Jane Maria as a ‘woman’ exemplifies a political practice that creates a novel historical actuality, wherein women can resist and combat the all-encompassing mandate of norms and limitations. As Dianna Taylor describes in *Michel Foucault: Key Concepts*, a boy being teased by his classmates for his obsessed desire to play with girls’ toys that subject him to treatment. She explains that not the little boy’s distress or the teasing he faces brings him to the

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Fig. 5: The Henrietta Secondary School in Hong Kong, founded in 1924.

treatment, but the authority his classmates retain is noticeable. The intolerance of the boy's classmates on his inappropriate behaviour provides an example of a different individual possibility to exercise power. This case serves as an illustrative example of the pervasive nature of power dynamics that exist between young children, parents, and teachers. These dynamics, as described by Foucault, form a complex network that permeates various apparatuses and institutions without being confined to any particular location.³⁷ Dianna Taylor provides an example that is significant for the disciplinary effects that expand the reach of the rational mind to broader domains. The little boy who is subject to a field of visibility will consequently learn, while his peers have already learnt, to assume 'responsibility for the constraints of power [...] [to] become the principle of his own subjection'³⁸ and 'this

productive network of power [...] [to] run through the whole social body'.³⁹ Located at this Foucauldian analysis of power, Henrietta Hall Shuck's response to Jane Maria's deviation is instrumental.

Education was central to women's missionary work in the nineteenth century. They helped to find and educate other women and children in a foreign school.⁴⁰ If education, for Henrietta Hall Shuck, regulates as a universal women's essence and, at the time, the true self a woman sees herself, education will take on a significant role in constructing social norms that provide a pathway for women's empowerment. Education is not only understood as intellectual qualities specific but also normality which serves as a standard imposed on women. Here, Jane Maria seems to have been represented as an arbiter of gender norms questioning the need for education that might

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draft Henrietta Hall Shuck into her own prescribed role as a missionary wife, a mother, and a sister. She wrote a letter to his sister, Isabella, insisting on the importance of education, 'I wish now to urge on you the importance of cultivating your intellect. I do hope that you will pay strict attention to your education, and now consider it completed when you quit school'.⁴¹ She further represents the significance of education as the role of a missionary wife: 'It is exceedingly improving to the young mind to read much, and digest well. You will never regret having done so, when you come out into society, particularly if you should be a *missionary's wife*'.⁴²

Jane Maria provides a need to detect violations of norms and alert for the problem with the need for education. She is obviously making an effort in behaviour correction against the perceived and accepted norms that define social meanings and constructs associated with Henrietta Hall Shuck. However, Jane Maria's approach involves the use of comparative analysis to establish a normative standard, whereby individuals are evaluated against each other, and differences are measured. This method is employed to assert gender norms and uphold the principle of truth. This standpoint values the analysis of how contested gendered space is bestowed on Jane Maria, who is empowered to produce new 'knowledge', that is new 'understanding', new 'truth', not only about Henrietta Hall Shuck, 'women' as a real and material subject of collective histories but also about Jane Maria, 'woman' as a composite Other constructed through diverse representational discourse, who would be identified under the new order, in this case, the need of education.

INTERSECTIONALITY AS A LEADING FEMINIST PARADIGM

Naomi Zack proposes that women experience multiple forms of oppression, forming the unique identity of race, gender, and class. The concept of

intersectionality is perceived as democratic as it allows women of colour to exercise their agency in creating their own feminist movements, which has been granted to them through the endorsement of white feminisms. However, the theory of intersectionality, when applied to women's identity, has limitations in terms of inclusivity, as it allows for the formation of feminisms only by members of a particular intersection of race and class.⁴³ Zack brings to mind that instead of identifying female gender as the psychological effect of female biology sex, the determinants of female gender could be other cultural forces.⁴⁴ It is a universal claim that the second wave white feminists ignore the existence of third-world women. The white feminists seem to have compared themselves to third-world women in terms of oppression and disadvantages. For instance, Henrietta Hall Shuck compares how differently the parents in China reared their children, particularly those who were sick.

*Several Chinese females, and an old man, with a poor little blind girl, were standing outside. As soon as they saw me, they all cried out, with one accord, to know if I would like to purchase the little girl whom they had brought. They seemed exceedingly anxious to get rid of the child [...] What a vast and deeply affecting contrast between the children of Chinese parents, and those whose privilege it is to dwell in lands where Christianity triumphs! In the one, we see them tenderly nurtured in the lap of maternal love. When disease seizes them, how intense the solicitude of the mother! She watches by their bedside without one wish to leave, but if compelled, for a moment, to do so, how eager is she to return!*⁴⁵

Her perception of motherhood was definitely different from the representations of third-world women according to the universal ideology of

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motherhood attached to Western women throughout American history.⁴⁶ Her discourse implies that third-world women are excluded from the leading feminist paradigm.

Naomi Zack's assumption allows third-world women to pursue their own feminism without changing the establishment of feminism.⁴⁷ The implication supports my argument that Western women can be treated as third-world women. For instance, Henrietta Hall Shuck wrote, 'This little girl knows herself by no other name than the one we have given her and no one else does, she always answers when I call for Jane Maria, and I am certain she will never have any other name'.⁴⁸ Naomi Zack posits an argument that despite the commonly-held belief that women are inherently different, these differences can be identified and separated before being reassembled, as 'people exist as integral totalities'.⁴⁹ Henrietta Hall Shuck proves third wave feminism as inclusive as she recognises a comparison that she could be treated as the third-world women are treated.

*I have no fear that pa' [father] will neglect the education of his girls, for I know well his views on that subject. I am sure he will put you in some good school as soon as he can. Only let me say to you, my dear sisters, do your part — be studious — let every passing moment find you acquiring something useful and important. Do, not as I have done, but as I now tell you. Much of my precious time has been thrown away. I sincerely repent, and feel ashamed of myself, when I remember how much money my dearest father spent on my education; and where is the knowledge I should have gained?*⁵⁰

The connection in the negligence of education between her sisters and the Chinese girls is to identify the intersection of the female gender as a distinct identity of disadvantage. Henrietta Hall Shuck further wrote:

*I should much prefer taking girl exclusively; but so great is the opposition of Chinese parents to have their female children educated, that I find I must take boys in order to get girls [...] At last, I refused to take any more [boys], unless for every boy they would bring a girl. So that now, they permit the poor neglected daughter to accompany them.*⁵¹

Foucault's theory of power and knowledge highlights the possibility for individuals within an oppressed group to assert a shared identity with members of the dominant group, as a means of challenging and ultimately dismantling oppressive structures. Specifically, Foucault suggests that Jane Maria, as a member of an oppressed group, may draw upon a sense of commonality with Henrietta Hall Shuck, a member of the dominant group, in order to bring about transformation and conform to the norms of the dominant group. Relevant here is, as a dominant group, Henrietta Hall Shuck imposes commonality on Jane Maria within the subaltern by overlooking and repressing the specific problems of subalterns concerning education and religious devotion, which are part of their oppression or result from it. This assumption seems to have returned to the notion of the homogeneity of gender ideology and captures something of the intuitive sense of portraying all women as a singular group owing to the shared oppression concerned.⁵² But Naomi Zack asserts that commonality does not entail the negation or subjugation of differences, as it is precisely the foundation upon which difference is predicated. This is implicitly invoked whenever we refer to the distinctive characteristics of women.⁵³ This paper examines the potential of commonality as a foundation for morality that can effectively combat oppression. By emphasising the shared experiences of women, this moral framework can inspire collective efforts towards liberation and drive political and social change.

REFERRING 'WOMEN' TO WOMEN

Elizabeth Spelman claims that ignorance of the difference between women can lead to the universalist project concerning domination. The problem of difference masks a generalisation for privileged people by constructing the generalisation as a paradigm without justification. The notion extends to the lives of those less privileged.⁵⁴ A positive inclusive feminism will require a multiplicity of comparisons and exchanges. Gender refers to the different effects on women's social experience, emotional experience, and personhood. As a dominant agent in different historical contexts, Henrietta Hall Shuck has generated a different understanding of the implication of being a woman attached to Western history in the nineteenth century to other women within the third-world group.

However, the extent that gender has come to mean commonality depends on how gender can be captured by the concept of 'women's essences' shared by the members of a unified group. The assumption provides an understanding that relates to the historical category of an oppressed group. Instead of substituting a broad meaning of gender that does not specify race, class or sexuality, gender claims differences in race, class or sexuality, resulting in the inclusive sense of gender that refers to common women's identity. Henrietta Hall Shuck lives in a closed circle of privilege intruded on by Chinese girls who were consistently identified as less privileged. She exemplifies the very social hierarchies that many scholars have committed to levelling. 'The division of human beings by race, class and sexuality are not taxonomies of mere variety but grades of human worth and power'.⁵⁵

Henrietta Hall Shuck uses contextualised meanings associated with educational opportunity and religious devotion to differentiate herself from third-world women. This differentiation leaves a notion of women only referred to the West, where they assume the gender is all women. Too much is achieved theoretically that the differentiation produces several

interrelationships as comparisons and exchanges that reinforce the constraints imposed on Henrietta Hall Shuck and other women in the West, which was done in reality throughout the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth regarding education opportunities. For instance, there was a time Henrietta Hall Shuck assumed that Chinese girls were like them as women who could be neglected in education by her parents. This theoretical effect of commonality has a positive consequence on inventing, discovering, and reinforcing the distinctive and valued identities, not only on Henrietta Hall Shuck but also on Jane Maria and other Chinese girls in the missionary school. Henrietta Hall Shuck wrote to her sisters, requiring an urgent need for transformation in education and religion. This commonality thus makes Foucauldian analysis of power and knowledge possible in explaining how power and knowledge can be exercised from below or less privileged, reinforcing the understanding of reality and the need for transformation.

To conclude, reading the account of Henrietta Hall Shuck on the Chinese girls in Macao through the theoretical lens of Foucault provides a new insight into how striking it is to view the Chinese girls' treatment similar to Foucault's surveillance system implemented for the evolution of disciplinary power.⁵⁶ Henrietta Hall Shuck's account on Macao focuses on the Chinese girls in her missionary school. These girls, isolated from their kin and family members, become objects of the gaze. Most accounts by Foucault about Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon accentuate a machine that contains cells opened to a central tower. The Panopticon manifests Foucault's belief that power should be 'visible and unverifiable'.⁵⁷ The concept of the Panopticon embodies Foucault's notion that power ought to be both visible and indeterminate. The structure breaks down the dichotomy of observing and being observed. In the peripheral ring, an individual is deemed fully visible, yet remains unaware of the observer's identity. Conversely, individuals situated

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in the central tower possess the ability to observe all without being observed themselves. The individuals who are isolated become the apparent subject of the anonymous gaze representing the invisible members of the dominant authority. Hence, the aim of panopticism is to ‘internalise’ the authoritative gaze when the individual is:

*Subjected to a field of visibility [...] assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he comes the principle of his own subjection.*⁵⁸

Michel Foucault’s Panopticon challenges the notion that power is always focused on one individual only but can be ‘distributed’ through a disciplinary system so that the individual will be both the ‘object’ and ‘subject’ in which power is exercised. As an example, an imprisoned individual is under observation but is willing to exercise self-monitoring. It is possible for him to act as his own inspector. The term ‘inspector’ is commonly attributed to an individual who observes and monitors a particular situation. However, it is noteworthy that the inspector himself may also be subject to investigation, as his function as an observer is subject to inspection. Hence, the Panopticon conception of visibility as disciplinary power transforms our conception of power and its operation. To return to how Henrietta Hall Shuck

had embraced difference, the Chinese girls in the missionary school are ‘watched’, and Henrietta Hall Shuck is the ‘watcher’. Zack posits that if gender is acknowledged as a theoretical commonality among women across various hierarchical taxonomies such as race, class, and sexuality, then there is a greater likelihood of abolishing the hierarchy itself, including its perceived ranking.⁵⁹ But as far as the commonality is concerned, Henrietta Hall Shuck can be the object of gaze by retreating to the mere mention of difference into theorising about the reality of her own cloistered virtues imposed by the Chinese girls in her missionary school.

Based upon the study of limited historical records of Chinese women in Macao in the 1840s, the writing of Henrietta Hall Shuck and other Western women living in Macao at times served as significant sources that filled an important gap in Macao’s history.⁶⁰ These writings not only provide alternative perspectives that bring women into discussions but can also be utilised as a component of more extensive studies examining the Western perspectives of China that potentially influence our understanding of local history and help to shape our historical consciousness and public memory. So, it is vital to bring these voices into the mainstream historical narratives of Macao history, allowing a shift from a dominant discourse into more intimate stories of women’s experiences within the colonial context. This approach recasts our understanding of the complexity of gendered experiences to encompass attention to an inclusive understanding of gender. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 For a discussion of how the interaction of multiple social relations constitutes norms and regulations, see Michel Foucault, “Two Lectures,” and “Truth and Power,” in *Power/Knowledge — Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977*, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon et al. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 78–133.
- 2 Foucault’s first lecture series introduces a number of important

themes concerning knowledge, the will to know, and the power of truth and truth-telling — themes that Foucault would develop during the next thirteen years in his lectures, conferences, and books. See Michel Foucault, *Lectures on the Will to Know: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1970–1971, and Oedipal Knowledge*, ed. Daniel Defert, English Series ed. Arnold I. Davidson, trans. Graham Burchell (New York:

- Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
- 3 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995). The work outlines the development of specific disciplinary mechanisms such as prisons, hospitals, and schools to explain the formation of a 'disciplinary society' in the late seventeenth century and emphasises that the transition from sovereign to disciplinary power is a historically specific phenomenon.
 - 4 Examples are Susan Hekman, *Gender and Knowledge: Elements of a Postmodern Feminism* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1990); Judith Butler, "Subject of Sex/Gender/Desire," in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York and London: Routledge, 2010), 1–34; Sandra Lee Bartky, "Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power," in *Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on Resistance*, ed. Irene Diamond and Lee Quinby (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 63; Susan Bordo, "The Body and the Reproduction of Femininity," in *Gender, Body, Knowledge: Feminist Reconstructions of Being and Knowing*, ed. A. Jaggar and S. Bordo (New York: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 23.
 - 5 Paul Raymond Harrison, "Michel Foucault," in *Social Theory: A Guide to Central Thinkers*, ed. Peter Beilharz (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 84.
 - 6 Sandra Lee Bartky, "Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power," in *Feminist Social Thought: A Reader*, ed. Diana Tietjens Meyers (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), 95.
 - 7 Similar assumptions can be found in Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), and Chandra Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses," in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 334.
 - 8 Anne Balsamo, *Technologies of the Gendered Body: Reading Cyborg Women* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 22.
 - 9 Angela King, "The Prisoner of Gender: Foucault and the Disciplining of the Female Body," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 5, no. 2 (2004): 30.
 - 10 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 201.
 - 11 King, "The Prisoner of Gender," 33.
 - 12 Balsamo, *Technologies of the Gendered Body*, 112.
 - 13 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge* (London: Penguin Books, 1998), 93.
 - 14 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 94.
 - 15 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 94.
 - 16 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 95.
 - 17 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 26.
 - 18 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 50.
 - 19 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 32.
 - 20 Spivak, *Outside in the Teaching Machine*, 34.
 - 21 Dianna Taylor, *Michel Foucault: Key Concepts* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 145.
 - 22 See Judith Butler's works on "Subject of Sex/Gender/Desire," in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 1–46; "Bodies and Power Revisited," in *Feminism and the Final Foucault*, ed. Dianna Taylor and Karen Vintages (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 183–194; *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Jane Flax, "Postmodernism and Gender Relations in Feminist Theory," in *Feminism/Postmodernism (Thinking Gender)*, ed. Linda J. Nicholson (New York and London: Routledge, 1989), 39–62; Sheila Jeffreys, "Women and Sexuality," in *Women's History: Britain, 1850-1945: An Introduction (Women's and Gender History)*, ed. June Purvis (New York: Routledge, 1995), 193–217; Lois McNay, *Foucault and Feminism: Power, Gender and the Self* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1992), 115; Caroline Ramazanoglu, *Up Against Foucault: Explorations of Some Tensions between Foucault and Feminism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 207.
 - 23 Karen Harvey, "The Century of Sex? Gender, Bodies, and Sexuality in the Long Eighteenth Century," *The Historical Journal* 4, no. 4 (2002): 899–916.
 - 24 Larry May and James Bohman, "Sexuality, Masculinity, and Confession," *Hypatia* 12, no. 1 (2020): 138–154.
 - 25 Leonard Lawlor and John Nale, *The Cambridge Foucault Lexicon* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 21.
 - 26 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 18.
 - 27 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 33.
 - 28 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 33–34.
 - 29 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 35.
 - 30 Butler, "Subject of Sex/Gender/Desire," 21.
 - 31 Butler, "Subject of Sex/Gender/Desire," 46.
 - 32 Jeremiah Bell Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck: The First American Female Missionary to China* (California: Hardpress Publishing, 2012), 130–131.
 - 33 Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck*, 105–106.
 - 34 Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes," 334.
 - 35 For more detailed discussions on gender complexity, see Ann Kaplan, "Is the Gaze Male?," in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell and Sharon Thompson (New York: New York University Press, 1983), 309–327 and Si Kei Leong, "Lamenting Loss: Transforming Confucian Womanhood in Modern China," *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 22, no. 2 (2016): 95–113.
 - 36 Butler, "Subject of Sex/Gender/Desire," 22.
 - 37 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 96.
 - 38 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 202–203.
 - 39 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 119.
 - 40 Tiffany K. Wayne, *Women's Roles in Nineteenth-Century America (Women's Roles through History)* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 3.
 - 41 Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck*, 162.
 - 42 Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck*, 163.
 - 43 Naomi Zack, *Inclusive Feminism: A Third Wave of Theory of*

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- Women's Commonality (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 2.
- 44 Zack, *Inclusive Feminism*, 2.
- 45 Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck*, 111–112.
- 46 Leong, "Lamenting Loss," 95–113.
- 47 Zack, *Inclusive Feminism*, 54–55.
- 48 Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck*, 106.
- 49 Zack, *Inclusive Feminism*, 4.
- 50 Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck*, 103–104.
- 51 Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck*, 138.
- 52 Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes," 333–358.
- 53 Zack, *Inclusive Feminism*, 9.
- 54 Elizabeth Spelman, *Inessential Woman* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1988), 24.
- 55 Zack, *Inclusive Feminism*, 24.
- 56 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 170–194.
- 57 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 195–228.
- 58 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 202–203.
- 59 Zack, *Inclusive Feminism*, 11.
- 60 For more detailed discussions on the other Western women living in Macao in the nineteenth century, see Si Kei Leong, "Rethinking Western Representation of the Orient: China in Ana d'Almeida's Dairy," *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 10, no. 1 (2014): 112–123 and "The Transnational Rural in Alicia Little's My Diary in a Chinese Farm," in *Gender and Space in Rural Britain, 1840-1920 (Warwick Series in the Humanities)*, ed. Charlotte Mathieson and Gemma Goodman (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), 145–161.

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