

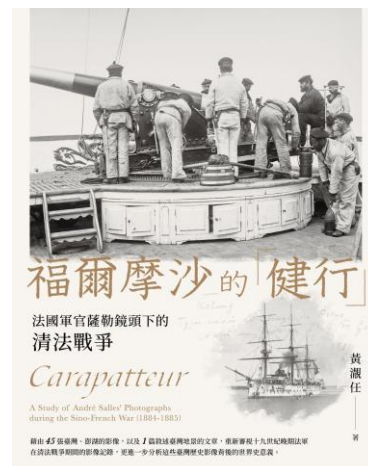
CARAPATTEUR: THE SINO-FRENCH WAR ON FORMOSA THROUGH THE LENS OF ANDRÉ SALLES

福爾摩沙的「健行」：法國 軍官薩勒鏡頭下的清法戰爭

During his sojourn on Formosa (Taiwan) during the Sino-French War, French naval officer André Salles made a personal record of the island's people and sights in photographs. Different from typical "war photography", these images reflect Salles' impressions of late nineteenth-century Taiwan and his inquisitiveness about exotic lands and cultures.

In 1884, France expanded its war with the Chinese Empire over sovereignty in Indochina to the island of Taiwan, hoping to make it a bargaining chip in eventual peace negotiations. After several failed attempts to capture Tamsui, the French briefly occupied the northern port town of Keelung and the Pescadore (Penghu) Archipelago before abandoning the venture altogether. Today, France's military interlude on Taiwan is an important topic of academic interest and study. *Carapatteur* centers around forty-five photographs taken by French officer André Salles while on Taiwan and the Pescadores in 1884 and 1885, exploring contemporary cultural and natural landscapes as well as Salles's motivations and photographic approach.

Noble-born and educated, it is likely Salles enlisted in the navy out of a dual sense of patriotism and eagerness to see the world. As a French Alpine Club member, he published some of his photographs as engraved prints along with descriptions of the highlands of northern Formosa (Taiwan) in their journal, *The Alpine Club Annual*.



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Included among the forty-five photographs are pictures of French forces firing cannon from a hilltop stronghold, soldiers and civilians posed by a temple gate, and a captive fisherman posed next to a battleship gun. Many of the images seem to have been taken while off-duty and often portray scenes at odds with France's status as a hostile occupation force. Always off-camera, Salles captures the complex face of the French occupation and the fact that, although fighting to extend and secure France's colonial empire, not all soldiers were wholly comfortable with their imperialist mission.

Drawing on rigorous historical research and data as well as insights into the thoughts and thinking of those invested in France's colonial mission, this book packs exceptionally reprinted photographs and insightful, engaging prose. Readers see the limitations imposed on individuals caught in the flow of history, and how victories, defeats, transformative events, and political ideologies spring from a complex, and very human, polity.

Huang Ching-Jen 黃靚任

Huang Ching-Jen holds a degree from National Taiwan Normal University's Graduate Institute of Taiwan History. In addition to *Carapatteur: The Sino-French War on Formosa through the Lens of André Salles*, which is based on her master's thesis, Huang is the co-translator of *The Witnessed Account of British Resident John Dodd at Tamsui* and other historical non-fiction works focused on nineteenth-century Taiwan.

CARAPATTEUR

By Huang Ching-Jen

Translated by Genevieve Feest

Prelude: Finding A New Perspective on Taiwanese History through Travel Photography

“Carapatteur”, a French term meaning “a person who loves to walk,” once described sailors who, after spending weeks or months at sea, were fond of taking leisurely walks in areas their ships laid anchor. André Salles, a French officer who had taken several hiking journeys in Taiwan and the Penghu Archipelago between November 1884 and August 1885, was one of those who wore with pride the “carapatteur” moniker.

Officer André Salles landed in Taiwan with French forces after the Sino-French War spread to the island in 1884. Guided by subjective awareness and keen sense of observation, Salles took forty-five photographs throughout Taiwan and Penghu. He also penned an essay describing local scenery and landmarks that was published in The French Alpine Club’s journal, *The Alpine Club Annual (l’Annuaire du Club Alpin)*. This book takes a closer look at André Salles’ forty-five photographs and related journal articles to understand the awareness and perspective Salles invested in these photographs taken on his hikes through Taiwan and examines the historical context behind these images.

The Global Historical Significance Behind Late-Nineteenth-Century Photographs of Taiwan

As a soldier in the Sino-French War, André Salles came to Taiwan not to do business or preach the gospel but to blockade Taiwan’s ports. Therefore, his photographs may be considered more an expression of putting his personal knowledge into practice than of his objectively recording Taiwan’s characteristics. Interpreting these photographs as Salles’ personal undertaking can complement previous research on Taiwan’s photography history, which has largely emphasized the analysis of visual content.

According to Historian Douglas Fix, photographic analysis requires taking into account the life history of the photographer, including their education, exploration experiences, and access to sources of knowledge, among other factors. Moreover, photos must be compared to one another to further elucidate the information contained within. Doing so can help us gain a deeper understanding of the background and significance of the “Taiwan landscape” as perceived through foreign eyes. This book takes a closer look at Salles’ photographs and notes to better appreciate his observations and photographic awareness. We re-examine the photographic records of French soldiers from the Sino-French War to shed light on the global historical significance of late-nineteenth-century photographs of Taiwan. Salles’ photographs invite the viewer into the

contemporary cultural landscapes of Taiwan and Penghu and to appreciate the connections between these landscapes and the French Navy and hiking culture of the period.

The primary historical materials referenced in this book are André Salles' photographs of Taiwan and his articles from *The Alpine Club Annual* and other publications. The author has translated and published Chinese versions of the original French-language articles in the *Bulletin of Taiwan Historical Research, NTNU*. André Salles donated his negatives to the Geographic Society's collection, which are now conserved by the National Library of France, and all of the forty-five photographs referenced may be viewed online on the National Library of France's official website.

Research on Late-Nineteenth-Century Foreign Surveys and Writings on Taiwan

Foreigners in Taiwan on business, military, political, and other missions during the late nineteenth century collectively produced a considerable amount of written material and photographs that reflect their findings and observations as well as their understandings and thoughts of Taiwan. The current discourse in research on these foreign surveys and records centers on two primary aspects: survey results and writings about Taiwan. These two aspects are further explained in the following sections.

1. Research on Foreigners' Surveys and Image Publications

Currently known surveys and writings on Taiwan by foreigners published in the late nineteenth century include those of John Thomson (1871), Charles Le Gendre (1875), and Camille Imbault-Huart (1893). Numerous researchers have since performed route investigations, landscape comparisons, and related studies of their work. For example, the on-site investigation by Yu Yung-fu retraced John Thomson's route through southern Taiwan, doing a comparative analysis of the present-day landscape and referencing Thomson's descriptions of the land, people, architecture, and clothing. In *Voices of Photography* magazine, Hsiao Yung-Seng featured a series of articles on the history of photography and photographic technique in Taiwan that address nineteenth-century printmaking techniques, photographs in *The Diary of George Leslie Mackay*, and photographs in French sinologist Camille Imbault-Huart's *The History and Descriptions of Formosa*.

Two works by Wang Ya-lun, *French Collections of Early Taiwan Photographs (1850-1920)* and *The Dawn of Taiwan's Photographic History*, discuss early photographs of Taiwan from a photographic perspective. The former contains photos taken by John Thomson and Camille Imbault-Huart during the Japanese colonial period, while the latter discusses early photographs of Taiwan and how they shed light on the influence of nineteenth-century trade and cultural exchange on Taiwan. Focusing on colonial photography of Japan-ruled Taiwan, researcher Chen Wei-chi analyzes the ethnographic photographs of the Aboriginal Affairs Agency and the photography experiences of contemporary anthropologists. Chen's work emphasizes

photography as a process of ethnographic archive production, focusing on the construction of anthropologists' field perspectives and their representation of knowledge.

Addressing the use of photographs in relation to text, Douglas L. Fix offers a detailed analysis of Charles Le Gendre's use of photographs in his *Notes of Travel in Formosa*, providing an analysis of Charles Le Gendre's views and purpose in using photos and further demonstrating the importance of conducting comparative analyses of photographers' works. In *Reclaiming Reality: On the Historical Formation of Taiwanese Photography*, Chang Shih-lun conceptualizes issues in Taiwan's photography history, emphasizing the economic and political networks and powers behind nineteenth-century photographs of Taiwan and further highlighting the diversity and difficulties encountered in the history of photography.

The numerous surveys and reports compiled and published during this period have also become important historical research materials. Examples include *From Province to Republic to Colony: The James Wheeler Davidson Collection on the Origins and Early Development of Japanese Rule in Taiwan, 1895-1905*; *The Island of Formosa Past and Present*; *The Mission Correspondence of Hugh and Elizabeth Ritchie*; *The History and Descriptions of Formosa*; *Journal of a Blockaded Resident in North Formosa: During the Franco-Chinese War 1884-5* (translated by Jackson Tan); Eugène Germain Garnot's *The French Expedition to Formosa*; *The Diary of George Leslie Mackay*; *The Cabin Boy of Admiral Courbet*; and René Coppin's *Tonkin Memorial: The Sino-French War and Formosa*. These and other research and historical data publications allow us to understand the survey results of foreigners and their experiences of Taiwan in the late nineteenth century through media other than photography.

However, there remains significant further room for discussion and analysis, with plenty of relevant material that may be combined with and compared to the works already mentioned. For example, the materials of André Salles and Charles de Montigny in the collection of the National Library of France have yet to receive much discussion. Current scholars who have contributed this field of research include Arsène Donada-Vidal, whose work discusses the shaping of collective memory under colonization based on his comparative analysis of the records and writings of multiple veterans of the Sino-French War.

2. Foreign Perceptions of and Writings on Taiwan

The discourse on foreigners residing in Taiwan during the late nineteenth century and their transmission of knowledge and beliefs has been led primarily by two scholars.

Wenpei Lin uses cognitive construction as an entry point for researching Westerners' descriptions and knowledge of Taiwan, using knowledge reconstruction and power relations as a means of analysis. Wenpei Lin compares the knowledge presented in *Notes of Travel in Formosa* by Charles Le Gendre and *The Island of Formosa Past and Present* by James W. Davidson and discusses how transmission of this knowledge may have guided the development and perpetuation of related colonial perspectives. For his part, Chen Tung-sheng uses nineteenth-century Western missionary narratives to analyze the influence of Western views and religious

values on their perspectives of Taiwan. Chen Tung-sheng's research focuses on the knowledge systems of Protestant and Catholic missionaries assigned to the island, describing the limitations on their understanding of Taiwan society reflected in these texts and their negative judgments of non-believers and their culture, particularly when evangelistic results fell short of expectation.

Regarding research on contemporary writings, Lin Hsin-yi has researched the works of Westerners such as Milicent M. McClatchie, who recorded her impressions of the general atmosphere and societal changes in Taiwan over seven months between 1895 and 1896; Marjorie Landsborough, whose narratives introduced Taiwan's uniqueness to the children of her home country; and Lise Boem and Thurlow Fraser, both of whom wrote novels set in Tamsui during the Sino-French War. With regard to McClatchie, Lin Hsin-yi analyzed how her foreigner and female identities influenced her writing, and how the characteristics of travel literature influenced her readers. Marjorie Landsborough's publications demonstrate the process and experience of church missions as well as depict her understanding of Taiwan society. Research on the two novels set during the Sino-French War show how contemporary writings depict daily life for foreigners in Taiwan during the late Qing dynasty and the divide between foreign communities and local residents. Lin Hsin-yi's textually based research pays close attention to outsiders' knowledge about Taiwan and reflects the era in which these novels were set. Moreover, discussions exclude the writings of foreigners with brief stays in Taiwan and those without significant experience of the island beyond the foreign community.

The work of Douglas L. Fix was a great source of inspiration for this book and shed light on the importance of historical photographs and experiences. According to Fix, historical photographs allow us to better grasp the authentic observations and objectives of foreigners in Taiwan. Textual descriptions, maps, photos, and other media that describe the landscape, when brought together in discussion, can illustrate an individual's multiple perspectives, contradictory opinions, and fragmented views on a particular topic. Furthermore, people's knowledge and changing perceptions of a certain place can illustrate the complexity and diversity of spatial discourse and the observer's unique perspective and choices. A similar discussion on this type of research method may be seen in Paul D. Barclay's research. Barclay's comparative analysis of photos of indigenous peoples taken during the Japanese colonial period and mapmaking approaches facilitates his exploration of the changing role of photographs in the service of colonial authorities, the results of which he uses to explain how different ethnic groups were lumped together and how geographical features were constructed. Cross-examining multiple photographs and texts allows researchers to more deeply understand their authors' cognitive differences and, from the viewer's perspective, the influences of powers at work.

However, the current body of research lacks the photographer's perspective, the production process, and the analysis of the photographer's personal history. As a result, most research efforts have yet to grasp the significance of photography and image composition because they fail to consider the photographer's background or the spatial and temporal context of production. Thus, in light of the above and building on previous discourse, this book uses André

Salles' photographs to explore foreigners' observations of Taiwan in the late nineteenth century, with a focus on plumbing the history and knowledge (e.g., framing and content) hidden within.

Notable research on the Sino-French War (i.e., the period during which André Salles was in Taiwan) includes works by Hsu Hsueh-chi, Hsu Yu-liang, and Yeh Chen-hui. Hsu Hsueh-chi's work traces the course of the war from the perspective of commander of Qing imperial forces at the Battle of Tamsui, General Sun Kaihua. Hsueh-chi references *Literature Collections of the Sino-French War* to analyze troop deployments in Tamsui, the attack strategies of the French, battle routes, and French views of Sun Kaihua. Hsu Yu-liang's work compares official Qing Dynasty palace memorials with records made by French soldiers regarding the drawn-out battle for Keelung, with the results painting a more accurate picture of battlefield scenarios that draws on the actual deployment and movement of Qing forces and compares the locations of Keelung forts to French descriptions. The establishment of the Martyrs' Tomb afterward in the city is also discussed. Yeh Chen-hui's work delves into official British consular report files and Garnot's *The French Expedition to Formosa* to conduct a comparative description that describes the development of the Battle of Tamsui, further clarifying the significance of historical sites from this time period. While the above-mentioned works do not utilize André Salles' notes and photographs as research materials, they nonetheless contribute to this book in two important ways:

First, they enhance our understanding of the course of the war and causal relations among events through their investigations of the Tamsui and Keelung battlefields, troop allocations, the progression of the war, and details underlying troop advances and withdrawals. Understanding these details gives further insight into the history and background of André Salles' photographs.

Second, they highlight the usefulness of photographs and records left by French soldiers. Prior research revealed that, in addition to André Salles, French sailors such as Eugène Germain Garnot and officers such as René Coppin produced a considerable number of records as well. In *The French Expedition to Formosa*, even with the memoir style adopted by Garnot, the narrative comprehensively describes the progress of battle, local topography, and settlement observations from the French perspective. *The Cabin Boy of Admiral Courbet*, authored by Courbet's cabin boy "Jean L.", expresses the author's views on the war through letters that center primarily on Courbet's movements and the overall course of the war. In addition, diaries, letters, and other documents written by French officers in Taiwan have been compiled and translated, and now serve as research materials. For example, Coppin's *Tonkin Memorial: The Sino-French War and Formosa 1884-1885* retraces the course of the war, providing detailed records and descriptions of Taiwan. These materials collectively record the minute details of the war and, in many respects, overlap with André Salles' perspective on the unfamiliar land of Taiwan. Comparing the materials of Salles and other French officers helps highlight the unique value of Salles' photographs and records.

Building on prior research, this book uses Salles' photographs and essays to understand foreign perspectives on late-nineteenth-century Taiwan and the differing perspectives on interactions among the island's main ethnic communities. Centering on photography as a method of record-making, this book seeks to interpret different views of the Sino-French War.

Exploring the Possibilities of Visual Analysis

There is a substantial body of research on photographs within the context of historical studies. In *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, historian Peter Burke points out that images are a useful resource in the research of cultural history, particularly in the aspects of material culture and daily life. In the field of Taiwanese History, Kaim Ang, Chen Tsung-jen, and numerous other scholars have targeted their research on drawings, maps, and photos to, among other things, discover lost maritime knowledge. Related research conducted in Taiwan and elsewhere clearly illustrates the effectiveness of historical image research, comparison, and analysis. This book uses the former as a foundation to further expand Taiwan's photographic narrative.

The discussion of Salles' photographs and their research value in this book is not limited to how they prove the impacts of the Sino-French War. What is worth a closer examination is the perspective, framing, historical context, and construction of knowledge that is hidden within them. To expound upon and analyze the significance of these photographs, the writer expands on Douglas Fix's observations by incorporating personal history into the research methodology. Prior research has largely treated photographs as records of imperialism in foreign lands and evidence of imperial power. However, this book analyzes the content of Salles' photographs, the subjects of his concern, and compares them with other photographs of the period. From the scenes captured in Salles' photographs and published writings, we better appreciate the observations of French officers during the Sino-French War and better discern the unique consciousness and awareness of the photographer himself.

The past decade of discourse on visual ethnography (photography, films, and other forms) shows us how, since the development of modern anthropology and sociology in the nineteenth century, photography has consistently been used to record and present knowledge. Photographs, as a division of visual ethnography, bring more details, movement, and meaning to viewers. The fountainhead of visual anthropology research, *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis* (1942) written by Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson, uses a large collection of photographs, each accompanied by a descriptive caption. According to Mead and Bateson, this type of research method is effective because the entire interaction is preserved within the pictures, and pictures within the same series can be cross-referenced with one another. In other words, by analyzing photographs and descriptions, field research can be easily grasped, the details within the photos can be uncovered layer by layer, and the significance behind their production can be understood. Using the analytical perspective outlined above, we discover each photograph organized by Salles was accompanied by a similar, simple record attached to the outer sleeve holding the negatives. This indicates Salles photos may indeed be analyzable through the lens of anthropology.

In terms of historical materials, this book primarily utilizes Salles' forty-five photographs of Taiwan and Penghu and his essay "Days on the Far East Fleet Explorer (November 1884 – October 1885)" in photograph verification and analysis work. This essay was published in *The*

Alpine Club Annual (l'Annuaire du Club Alpin), a journal largely unrelated to the Sino-French War. However, However, I believe that, in combining Salles' monograph and photographs, we can reconstruct the author's cognitive structure in a manner similar to ethnography. From a micro-perspective, the author hopes to draw connections between Salles' personal life experiences and imperial expansion.

In summary, this study of Salles' life and his work about Taiwan has significance for our understanding not only of the history of photography but also of how foreigners came to understand and interpret Taiwan and Penghu during the Age of Empire. In addition, this book adds to the body of knowledge related to Taiwan's social and cultural history. In the words of Jean-Paul Sartre, "We are 'us' only in the eyes of others." It is hoped the 'eyes' of this naval officer with a passion for hiking shed illuminating light on how late-nineteenth-century Taiwanese society was interwoven with global history.