Taiwan Journal of Anthropology 臺灣人類學刊 10(2)：01–57, 2012

The Missionary Gaze:

The Social Biography and Archiving of Dr. David Landsborough IV's Photographic Collections

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This research showcases the 'social biography' and significance of missionary photographs and the archives in which these images were deposited. I explore the internal and external narratives of the photograph-as-artifact, which was generated within the practice of missionary medicine from the end of the nineteenth century to the early period after the Second World War. In particular I examine the photo collection of Dr. David Landsborough IV（1914-2009, also known as 蘭大弼）, with reference to other visual records produced by medical missionaries and other historical accounts. Drawing upon theories of historical anthropology and engaging the collector by the method of photo elicitation, I show how photographs present researchers with a new window on missionary medicine, one alternative to those of imperial or colonial history.

Landsborough's collection reveals the mixed and hybrid material culture of British and Japanese colonialisms and the local folk of Taiwan. It also shows the transformation and localization of missionaries' identities over time. By showcasing the story "A Skin-Graft with Love," this paper analyses the process by which a paradigm of missionary medicine was illustrated and projected through photography and other graphic forms.

* The author would like to acknowledge the many valuable suggestions made by Dr. Michael SY Liu at Academia Sinica, Ms. Mei-Ling Chen and Mr. Donald Landsborough.

Received: May 6, 2012 Accepted: November 2, 2012

It also attests to the necessity of such projection in the contested medical marketplace of multiple colonial cultures. In addition, by tracing the career history of the Landsboroughs from natural historians to medical missionaries, this paper suggests that photography can be seen not only as a method of documentation, but also as a way to represent cultural and ritual life in the social networking of certain intellectual communities. Lastly, this paper discusses the problems researchers might encounter, including ethical and cultural repatriation issues, when using photographs as resources for historical enquiry.

Keywords: photo elicitation, social biography, social archive, missionary medicine, material culture

Photographs as an Instrument of Anthropology: A Brief Introduction

Anthropologists have been employing photography as instrumental to analyzing human behaviors and material cultures for more than 50 years. Early in the history of anthropology, social-cultural data was collected by aerial reconnaissance (El Guindi 1998). In the first half of the twentieth century, scholars such as Alfred Cort Haddon, Walter Baldwin Spencer, Franz Boas, and Marcel Graiaule used photography to help record their field trips or relied on photographs as auxiliary study tools. However, not until Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson's fieldwork in Bali, New Guinea, between 1936 and 1938, during which the two researchers took 25,000 photos, did systematic research into still images become a focus of anthropological interpretation. Ever since Mead and Bateson's work, anthropologists have used photography extensively to cover a wide range of interests and subjects.

Photography has been praised as a recording method that overcomes the limitations of textual description, especially in the study of human development and non-verbal communications (Collier 1967 ; Mead 1956). For example, Mead (ibid:79) described still photography as the first technical aid given full use, "partly because of cost and simplicity" and "partly because our methods of analysis were still so rudimentary." She observed that photographs represent the "complexity of the original material" and "simultaneity in which the memory of the investigator is at a minimum during the analysis" (ibid:80).

Limits, however, were discovered with regard to scholars' useful interpretation of images. Therefore, moving away from analyzing photographs directly, John Collier Jr. (1967) noted that images could be used to develop other knowledge informed by indigenous interpretations. New methods of elicitation were then used "to stimulate a number of lines of enquiry that have hitherto been unexplored" (Olien 1968:837). Adapted from the "interview with photo/film" procedure conducted by field linguists, the elicitation technique formally developed out of what was known in the 1960s as the new ethnography (Krebs 1975).

Over the past two decades, anthropologists have continued to test different approaches to working with photographic images, whether still or motion, to unpack the multiple layers of meaning that photography can transmit. Pulling from disciplines such as art theory, the history of technology, and visual studies, anthropologists now appreciate photography for its materiality and historical significance; it is no longer considered merely an analytical tool. In this paper, I employ new theories and methods developed by visual anthropologists in a narrative interspersed with comments about

a fortuitously acquired set of family photographic albums. What do these new theories contribute to the history of missionary medicine, the history of photography, and anthropology writ large?

Encountering the Landsboroughs' Photographic Collection

Missionary medicine in East Asia has been explored in depth only recently, using colonial and postcolonial theories to understand the development of Western medicine in the Orient. Unlike writings by church historians, who focused on the good deeds and works of Westerners in the East, these accounts possess a different tone. From 2006 to 2008, I often visited the late Dr. David Landsborough IV (1914-2009) ,[1] a British medical missionary who worked in Taiwan for more than three decades. During these visits, we came across a number of photographs, both loose and in albums of great historical value, if badly in need of systematic organizing. This photographic collection will be central to my attempt to write the history of missionary medicine in Taiwan, from the late nineteenth century to the pre-World War II period, from the perspective of visual anthropology.

Practitioners of history, who have traditionally recounted and argued by strokes of a pen rather than with snapshots, have only recently acknowledged visual accounts as trustworthy historical sources. Images, including those produced by photography, provide new kinds of information, but they also bring with them additional questions and problems. Landsborough's photographs provide a unique documentation of medical missionaries from the end of the nineteenth century onwards. The missionary gaze they assume provides a special way of either echoing or resisting established

1 Dr. David Landsborough IV was born in Changhua in central Taiwan in 1914, and spent much of his infancy and adolescence on the island, which was then a Japanese colony. He and his sister, initially the only Western children in the region, grew up speaking both Taiwanese and English. Landsborough's father, Scottish-born medical missionary Dr. David Landsborough III, arrived in Changhua in 1896. Traveling with his mother and sister -- his father would usually remain at the hospital and attend to patients -- the boy saw much of Taiwan. He then followed in his father's footsteps, journeying to London in 1931 to study medicine at the Royal Hospital, University of London. In 1940 Dr. David Landsborough IV returned to the Far East, bound this time for mainland China. He began working as a medical missionary in Chuanchow, a Hokkien-speaking part of Fujian province. He and his wife served together on the Chinese mainland until January 1951, when political conditions made staying on impossible. After a brief period in England, Dr. Landsborough accepted an invitation to join the staff of Changhua Christian Hospital. In 1955 he was appointed superintendent. Both he and his wife worked at Changhua Christian Hospital for 28 years, before leaving Taiwan in 1980 for retirement in England until his death on 2 March 2009.

theories about European scientific knowledge and colonial medicine.

This study, drawing on the social biographical approach (Edwards 2001) and theory of social archive of photographs in historical anthropology (Banks and Vokes 2010), will analyze both internal and external narratives revealed by Landsborough's collection, including the dynamic mixture and hybridity of the material culture, the missionary way of viewing others, the transformation of identity among medical missionaries, and the use of photography an instrument of communication in the practice of missionary work. The images in these photographs reflect the vibrant correspondences and rival relationships between different cultures, social classes, and religious groups, and demand further investigation of these wider contexts.

Methodology

The development of documenting technology has produced a wider repertoire of historical sources. While visual accounts are seen squarely as key evidence of historical occurrence, the study of photographs has become an important field in its own right. Scholars of fine arts and art history have widely commented on the intention of photographers concerning the meanings of images they try to construct through their practice of photography. Whereas anthropologists have suggested that researchers look through, at, and behind the photographs and consider their content, context, and their internal and external narratives, meaning the story that the images attempt to communicate, as well as the meanings that are constructed by the readership and the audience (Banks 2001; Wright 2004). In Landsboroughs' case, not only the subjects of the photographs tell the story of their missionary work in the Far East; the use of photography itself, a technology developed in the West, conveys the fact that this tool was available only among certain privileged social groups. Furthermore, the information in these photographs is much more complex than what was intended for their expected audience.

Elizabeth Edwards (2001) notes that, to utilize photographs as historical resources, certain factors must first be considered, including the nature of the photograph, its ambiguity and its occasional denial of history. Next is the fact that photographs possess both private/personal and public/collective functions. Finally, it must be remembered that inscriptions on photographs are only the first act of interpretation. As Vokes (2010) argues, photographic images, especially postcards, have been used among missionaries for their communication function rather than merely representing the colonial experience; thus these items form a social archive. Dr. David Landsborough's photographic collection, for example, can be seen as a collaborative rather than a personal work. Many of the photographs were given as

presents within the medical missionaries' social networks. Moreover, when looking at the captions to the photographs, remarks about "savages," for instance, have been revised over time. If one were not aware of such alterations, these photographs, with their already fixed comments, would become ahistorical. Thus, due to a lack of fixity and to being context-dependent in its meaning, a photograph cannot be fully understood at one single point in its existence. To get at the preliminary meanings of these photos, I not only conducted photo elicitation with Dr. Landsborough IV but also examined the processes by which these photographs were produced, exchanged, and exploited, and finally how the collection was formed.

The biographical approach to things, as noted by Igor Kopytoff (1986), presents the range of possibilities that the society in question offers, and it examines the manner in which these possibilities are realized in the life stories of various categories of people. For this research, I take the community of medical missionaries as a society, and photography as the thing used. In dealing with the relationship between photography and history, for example, Edwards proposes an approach by which the analysis of photographs would no longer be restricted to sorting out structures of signification, but which would take into account the signifying role of photography in relation to the whole nature of the object and its social biography. In other words, this paper stresses the means by which ways of seeing could be culturally redefined in the daily life of medical missionaries, as well as to what purpose, in what way, and for whom the Landsborough photographs were put to use.

This paper also addresses the problem of gaze. Inspired by French scholars such as Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, gaze can be understood not only as a way of seeing but also as an opinion made concerning a certain individual or collective attitude (Burke 2001). In dealing with the visual representations in the colonies of otherness, the "colonial gaze" was often applied alongside the "imperial gaze" (Pratt 1992). This, however, cannot be applied to certain colonies, where state power and knowledge hegemony did not necessarily originate from the same source — such as occurred with modern Western medicine in colonial Formosa. Furthermore, when talking about the construction of Western knowledge, scholars tend to locate the issue squarely in the context of hegemony (Coombes 1994). That term might also be applicable in the case of Landsborough's photographic collection. Coombes's "hegemony" refers to Michel Foucault's analysis of the dynamics of power in Gramsci's political writings, in which an interactive and mutually transformative relationship between communities gives rise to a heterogeneous quality rather than straightforwardly oppositional entities. It has been argued, however, that missionary medicine is an ***anomaly*** within colonial medicine, because it not only undertakes the civilizing mission but also carries out physically and spiritually remedial good deeds

for people in the colonies, since the colonizers and missionaries undertake dissimilar civilizing and converting projects. This benevolent and altruistic quality is, by nature, at odds with colonial medicine (Hardiman 2006). In this paper, my aim is not to find visual evidence of these good deeds; instead, following Hardiman's charge, I will attempt to discover the hidden elements in the visual representations, ones that go beyond the established theories of European imperialist science and colonial medicine.

To showcase the Landsborough photograph collection and answer the questions asked in the introduction, I regard the collection as an as-yet uncoded archive. A primary goal of this paper is to write the social and cultural biography of this unique archive. To begin, I carried out photo elicitation sessions with Dr. David Landsborough IV between December 2007 and July 2008, meeting roughly twice a month. From April to June 2008, I was granted access to some of the photographs in order to scan them. I also managed to photograph the ones filed in about thirty albums, nine of which and one box of loose photographs are the most historically valuable for this study. The others Landsborough considered private and inappropriate for publishing.[2] Descriptions of photographs in the following paragraphs are based on Landsborough's own words.

To conduct the interviews I employed Marcus Banks' concept of using archival photographs to prompt memories or comments from informants, a process that involved at least three social embeddings or frames. These are as follows: the context of the image's original production, the photographs' subsequent histories, and the context in which the social researcher deploys the photographs in the course of an interview. In Landsborough's collection, the original context was colonial Formosa, where photography was practiced by medical missionaries as well as by wealthy indigenous families who began to take on Western upper-middle-class customs. The subsequent histories of these photographs include the culture of exchange among missionary communities and the photographs' publication history.

The meanings of images should be understood by referring to the context of a more structuralized symbolic system (Barthes 1980). Moreover, they comprise hidden political ideologies beyond the Western culture of aesthetics (Berger 1972). Therefore, I also consulted the English Presbyterian Church / Foreign Mission Committee archives of photographs and correspondence at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, as well as the personal papers of Dr. James Marxwell

2 Based on the oral agreement with late Dr. Landsborough in 2008, a fully coded catalogue of scanned photographs was produced and returned to the family. Currently, some of the albums are kept in the Museum of Changhua Christian Hospital.

in the Main Library at the University of Birmingham to explore the social archive into which Landsborough's albums can be subsumed.[3] In addition to my direct personal communications with David Landsborough, these sources helped me piece together a discursive structure for the research.

Apart from analyzing the content of the images, I identify ways by which their meanings were ascribed and stabilized. Those included the inscription of captions, their publication by the Landsboroughs in various ways, and the course of negotiation about the final allocation of the collection. Additionally, I also briefly present a case study that focuses on the roles images perform in the making of paradigms within history, in effect interpreting them as social actors that impress, as well as articulate and construct fields of social action.

Historical Context

Early European Gaze on Formosa

Photographic evidence from Formosa did not exist until the 1870s, when the Scottish photographer John Thomson traveled there under the guidance of medical missionary Dr. James L. Maxwell. Before arriving in Formosa in 1872, Thomson had already traveled with Maxwell around coastal and interior China in the 1860s. It is believed that Thompson's photography is the most complete body of work on 19th-century China. When he was working in China, knowing that his photographs would ultimately be published, he also measured, took notes, and produced a score of photographic essays. Certain of his behaviors matched the practices behind the grand surveys, classification, codification and statistical analysis projects being carried out elsewhere by Westerners.[4] However, the legacy Thomson left behind also captured more of the ordinary and humble scenes of the 1860s and 1870s. As a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, Thomson regularly contributed articles to the Society's journal, creating a great deal of textual narrative in addition to the images he captured.

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3 James Laidlaw Maxwell Senior (1836-1921) was the first Presbyterian missionary to Taiwan (Formosa). He served with the English Presbyterian Mission. He was an elder in the Broad Street Presbyterian Church before being sent to Taiwan by the Presbyterian Church of England (now within the United Reformed Church) in 1864. In 1865, he established the first Presbyterian church in Taiwan. First his mission centered in the then-capital Taiwan Fu (now Tainan City); in 1868 he moved near Qijin (now part of Kaohsiung) where his work, both medical and missionary, was more welcomed. In early 1872 he advised the Canadian Presbyterian medical missionary pioneer George Leslie Mackay to start his work in northern Taiwan, near Tamsui.

4 For an example of cataloguing the Chinese 'uncanny', see J. *The Punishments of China, Illustrated by Twenty-Two Engravings: With Explanations in English and French* (Mason, George Henry, 1801), each plate with an accompanying leaf of letterpress.

His descriptions of the island Formosa appear mainly in one of Thomson's six photographic travelogues, *Through China with a Camera* (1898). In the companionship of Dr. James L. Maxwell, Thomson explored the villages of the Pepohuans, the "native tribesmen" (civilized savages) who still resided in Formosa. In this volume, racial type is as much a concern as are other curiosities, such as plants, landscapes, street scenes, and customs. Descriptions such as "I obtained some good types of the aboriginal tribes in this quarter, and managed also to photograph the scenery" and "[Pepohoans] are extremely primitive in their habits too, practising no art save the tilling of the soil, and that in its rudest form" echo the tone of most European travel writings produced in the nineteenth century, and they also provided a framework for the gaze of other missionaries who arrived later (Thomson 1898: 106-308).

In the photographic archival collection coded as "Formosa," several of the pictures were taken by either John Thomson or Dr. James Maxwell, a son of James L. Maxwell, around 1906.[5] In one of these photographs, captioned "missionary en route," shows missionaries and coolies crossing a river; the attribution of the photograph to John Thomson has been crossed out and the name "Dr. James Maxwell" written in. Such confusion is not exclusive to this photo (see Figure 1 and Figure 2). The ambiguity of authorship points to a shared way of seeing and similar interests among different people in their social networks. More of this can be seen in the book co-authored by Maxwell and W. Hamilton Jefferys, *Diseases of China* (1910), in which various patients were portrayed. [6]

To illustrate the dissimilar manifestations of disease to those in Western societies, and to provide a concise account of the special diseases Western doctors would meet with in their practice in the Chinese Empire, Maxwell had to rely on photographic illustrations of diseases among the Chinese. In addition, with growing popular interest in curious expeditions and the desire to spread the Gospels, Maxwell had accompanied others on several interior explorations before he traveled with Thomson. Interestingly, in Maxwell's private photographic albums, photographs

5 Evidence for the attribution of 1906 is that some of the photographs captured the devastation of a major earthquake that occurred that year in Tainan, Formosa. By that point, British medical missionaries had been practicing in Taiwan for nearly three decades. The Japanese colonial government was about to launch its large-scale geographic survey

6 A score of photographic images are presented in James L. Maxwell and W. Hamilton Jefferys, *Diseases of China* (London: John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, 1910). From these images, one can see their compatibility with the approach of racial anthropology. However, they are in certain ways different in terms of the social and cultural concerns in the photographs.

(Figure 3) similar to those taken by Thomson are presented. These racial type displays include local people's portraits in profile, in costume and with decorations, and even the custom of foot-binding. Far from unique to the Maxwells, photographic recording was widely practiced by other missionaries for diverse purposes.

Figure 1

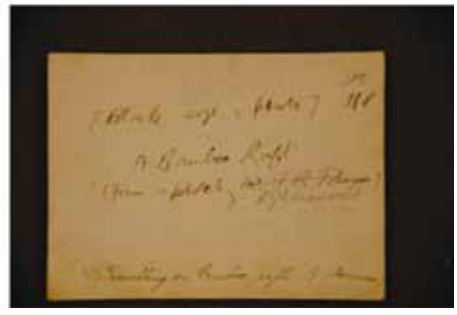

Figure 2

Figure 3 Maxwell's photographic work looks much like John Thomson's way of documenting China. Both captured not only racial classification but also the social and cultural life of the local people. This album was compiled from the late 1870s to the early 1900s.

The Missionary Gaze in the History of Medicine

In Taiwan, historical research into Western missionary medicine and Japanese colonial medicine began to emerge in the late 1990s, and it both identified and gave

rise to additional problems. Scholars who investigate Western missionary medicine had been accustomed to relying on theories that supported European imperialist science and colonial/tropical medicine. The focus on body colonization ignores the fact that British medical missionaries practiced medicine in a non-British colony. It also neglects the mutual transformation of medical knowledge at the social and cultural level, and the benevolent nature of the deeds carried out by this eccentric community (Arnold 1993; Harrison 2002; Hardiman 2006).

Researchers, moreover, often outline a discrete chronology, dividing the history of medicine in Formosa/Taiwan into Western missionary medicine and Japanese colonial medicine.[7] There is certainly evidence that the Japanese colonial government strategically dominated medical education and the market of medical services from late 1920s (Liu 2009), but histories that draw a hard and fast line often ignore what missionary medicine did and how it functioned during Japanese colonial times, and the likelihood that these two paradigms might have been rivals as well as complementing each other. In addition, for the purpose of spreading the Gospels, history written by church officials, e.g., in church news and other publications, tends to stress the heroic stories of great Christians and carry too much religious prejudice and mythologizing. To eliminate this bias, historians should more often consult local mission archives and other kinds of materials less frequently referenced in works on missionary medicine in East Asia. [8]

Analysis of Photographs

Material Culture through Photography

The history of science and technology has long drawn on the testimony of images to reconstruct the ways in which the scientific has been designed, crafted, and

7 Such a distinction was made by Dr. Tsung-Ming Tu (1893-1986), the first Doctor of Medical Sciences (equivalent to a PhD) of Taiwan. Historians of medicine have mostly adopted this framework. Tu himself also eagerly took part in making that history, which will be addressed later.

8 In the field of East Asian Studies, Tani Barlow uses the term "colonial modernity" to replace the traditional imperialist modernisation theories, re-assessing the term 'modernity' as it had been embodied in East Asian historical experiences. She focuses on the interactivity in the process of modernisation between the coloniser and the colonised, the superior and the inferior, the civilised and the primitive. With regard to modern medicine in colonial Taiwan, colonial modernity is also a better way to think about the complex relationships among Western missionaries, the Japanese colonial state, and the local people. However, this approach is difficult to apply in the case of British missionary medicine in Formosa, since its "modernity" was exercised in a territory colonised by another strand of knowledge force, namely the Japanese. See Tani E. Barlow, *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

applied. In the history of medicine, images are also central to the identification of body morphology, deformity, herbs, pathogens and so on. For example, with the assistance of microscopic imaging, the protozoan of malaria, *Plasmodium,* was identified and the mechanics of disease spread subsequently comprehended in the 1880s (Li 2007). But missionary doctors of the same period had not adapted photography to technical medical purposes; instead, they were mostly amateur photographers. With their cameras, they captured a unique material culture that belonged not only to the missionaries themselves, but also encompassed several interchange relationships with the Japanese colonizers and the local people.

Certain objects, for instance, represented the European view of their own distinctness and their imagination of the tropics; these often carried characteristics of bigotry. For example, during one photo elicitation session with Dr. Landsborough, the topee stood at the center of associated issues.[9] In Figure 4, a British female missionary stands next to a Formosan girl in the traditional Japanese clothing, the kimono. The missionary wears the light-weight hat designed to shade the wearer's head from the sun. Among missionaries, the topee was also called a sun hat, or sun helmet. In many other pictures, it is obvious that only British missionaries wear topees. According to Landsborough, children of his time were often reminded by their parents to put on topees before going out for fear they might acquire "cerebral malaria." Although the riddle of malaria was solved at the end of the nineteenth century, the grip of the idea of miasma on the imagination of British medical missionaries had not been lessened. Clarifying what he meant by "cerebral malaria,"[10] which is today an actual disease collectively involving the clinical manifestations of Plasmodium falciparum malaria that induce changes in mental status and coma, this term in earlier usage denoted a certain precarious physical state caused by warm weather.

One group of photographs shot around the same time show a mountain resort built for the purpose of avoiding the heat. From late 1890s, British missionaries began to take monthly retreats from work in the mountains of Formosa. In Figure 6, the resort was built by missionaries themselves in the Tai-tun Soa^{n}（大屯山） area near the capital Taihoku (current Taipei). The resort had a thatch-style roof, which maintained a lower temperature indoors. Some photographs show a special architectural feature, a veranda, an open pillared gallery, generally roofed, built around the central structure of a building. In Figure 8, missionaries are having their afternoon

9 From this paragraph onward, much of the descriptions of photographs are of Landsborough's own words. Specific expressions are emphasised with quotation marks.

10 This expression might refer to sunstroke in modern British society.

tea in the common area in Tainan Hospital. In Figure 9, local children were invited by Dr. Landsborough III to "tea-and-cake" on the veranda of his own house before participating in Sunday school at Changhua Church. A veranda was meant to create a cooler and more ventilated space. From the SOAS archive, one photograph (Figure 10) shows the newly built Tainan Hospital with its veranda in 1906. On the back of the photograph, Dr. James Maxwell II jotted details of the hospital layout in pencil (Figure 11). Both British architectural designs and the behavior of avoiding the heat may be said to derive from the Victorian theory of body acclimatization (Harrison 2002). Although in the twentieth century, the crisis of degeneration was perceived to have lessened due to the development of deeper knowledge such as anatomical pathology, the imagination implicating the tropics remained vivid among this community. The use of topees and stays at mountain resorts had become habits among missionaries. According to Landsborough IV, both had been inherited from the British colonial experience in India and persisted despite new medical knowledge that contradicted their utility.

The use of materials, however, is not fixed or predetermined, as objects are by nature exchangeable. With the development of commoditization of objects, material culture became more fluid. Therefore, some photographs in the collection, such as church congregations and weddings, also demonstrate such cultural exchanges among communities. In Figure 12, Reverend Se-Tsu Yu^{n}（楊世註）wears a Western suit as well as a pair of white gloves at a Sunday gathering. Next to Reverend Yu^{n} is Mrs Yu^{n} in traditional Taiwanese clothing. Wearing white gloves on a formal occasion belongs to Japanese culture, so this image represents a admixture of three different cultures. In fact, by the 1930s, church converts were already accustomed to Western ways of doing things; nevertheless, they were not fully Westernized. In Figure 13, a Western wedding is held at Changhua Church. In the background, the curtain is decorated with cut gold Romanized Taiwanese language, very Chinese in manner. The groom in this shot also wears a pair of white gloves, another instance of a mixed cultural representation. In recent years, scholars have employed the term "hybridity" to illustrate this phenomenon or the dynamics through which cultures represent one another in the colonies (Bhabha 1994; Young 1995). These photographs, then, give an exemplary visual account of hybridity. Apart from the obvious representations, deeper connotations can be explored. For example, that over the course of our photo elicitation sessions, Landsborough IV pointed out the sequential development of topees in Formosa: From the 1950s, topees were not only worn by medical missionaries but also by local people, since they had gradually become a symbol of Westernization as well as a sort of fashion. In Figure 14, also a photograph in Landsborough's collection, a Taiwanese boy wearing a topee was captured by the

camera, though the intended subject of the photo was an idolatry subject, Chhit-Ya（七爺）.

Figure 4 female missionary wearing topee and Formosan woman in Japanese kimono.

Figure 5 A group of British medical missionaries wearing topees.

Figure 6 Summer resort built in Tai-tun Soan

Figure 7 Women missionaries and local people at the summer resort in Tai-tun Soan

Figure 8 Missionaries on the veranda at Tainan Hospital.

Figure 9 Children offered tea and cake at the Sunday school by Dr. and Mrs. Landsborough III, not long after Dr. and Mrs. Landsborough's marriage.

Figure 10 New Tainan Hospital

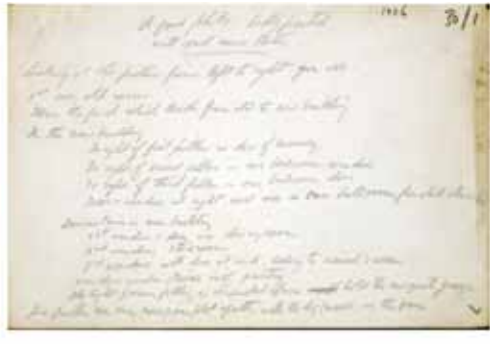

Figure 11 Handwritten notes by Dr. J. Maxwell II

Figure 12 Revd Se-Tsu Yun and his wife

Figure 13 Wedding in the church in 1920s

Figure 14 Chhit-ya, the God of the Dead. Note the boy wearing topee.

Viewing the Other(s) and the Otherness Within

The Other is an issue of fairly recent concern among cultural historians. There is no doubt that missionary medicine is by nature an experience of cross-cultural encounters, and that photography is a means of capturing images of the non-self. Therefore, photographic collections made by medical missionaries, including Landsboroughs, are narratives of Others per se.

In most of the historical accounts of xeno-culture, images mainly play a supporting role that is meant to enhance what is described in the "text" proper. According to Burke (2001), a classic example of this "stereotyping process" is the representation of the so-called monstrous races, imagined by the ancient Greeks as existing in faraway places such as India, Ethopia, or Cathay. In the mid-nineteenth century, with the advancement of transportation and new imaging technologies such as engraving and photography, images increasingly played this role. However, had it not been for John Thomson's textual narration, the stereotypes conveyed in his four photographic volumes of *Illustrations of China and its People* (1874) would not have been so firmly formed. To understand the racial types in Landsborough's collection, it might be worthwhile to look at the captions written on the backs of the photographs or in the albums, since it is through these that the message intended from each image was stablized.

In the Landsborough collection, the portraits, customs, and rituals of "savages" make up a large proportion of the content. Similar to photographs produced by other missionaries, Landsborogh's savages were of special interest as subjects due to their distinctive physical characteristics and ways of living. In precolonial times, diverse terms such as "natives," "barbarians," "aborigines," and "savages" were employed by travelers, photographers and missionaries (Thomson 1898). In Landsborough's collection, the labels "aborigines," and especially "savages," stand out as the major terms indicating the indigenous community. Many of the captions not only applaud colorful indigenous culture, but also point out the uncivilized characteristics of the group. For example, Figure 15 is captioned "A fine old savage warrior." Figure 16 illustrates "A savage 'look out.'" Figure 17, which appeared in a range of publications, describes a man from the Tsou tribe as a "mountain savage" with the reminder to "notice bow, arrows & his sharp knife in its sheath." Figure 19, a photograph taken in Bu-Sia in 1931, is inscribed: "[The] savage girls are dressed mostly in red (not pink) and white – though some blue might be used. If the further hills could be coloured to give distance, it would be good." This photograph was shot with the intention of studying racial type; however, a note added beneath the main text, notes the photographer's empathy at the

fact that this place was "where the dreadful massacre took place last October (1930)."[11] (See Figure 20.)

Carrying out the evangelical task of spreading the Gospels, missionaries depicted as Others those who belonged to groups that were not Christian. For example, one photograph was originally captioned "A group of aboriginal men," to which was added, "before they heard of Christianity" (Figure 21, Figure 22). This means that if these aboriginal men were successfully converted to Christians, they would become members of God believers and then would no longer be seen as Others. In many of the photographs of church congregations, the mixture of material cultural previously described indicates cohesion among Christians, including missionaries and first-generation converts. Examples of such shots include important church events, weddings, and funerals.

A more private album records the school life of David Landsborough IV. From 1919 to 1928, Landsborough IV studied at China Inland Mission (CIM) Boys' School in Chefoo, Shandong, before attending his medical course at University of London.[12] Easy accessible by ferry and sitting at a higher latitude, Chefoo was considered the most comfortable place for Western missionaries to reside. David Landsborough IV's parents intended to let him become a medical missionary, too. He was sent to Chefoo and received a complete British secondary education there. Chefoo School was a key part of the China Inland Mission agency. In this album, the photographs reveal a purely British scene, showing the school's classes and especially sports teams. According to Landsborough IV, the curriculum was designed for the schoolboys to connect their higher education in Britain especially for entrance into universities such as Oxford and Cambridge. Figure 23 and Figure 24 show boat teams, cricket teams, and other sport activities. Figure 25 features a caption that indicates the school was meant to produce "junior Oxfords." These clues suggest that the school curriculum was designed within the framework of body degeneration theories that created anxiety among missionaries.

If the Chefoo School education suggested a crisis among the Westerners in China, Landsborough IV, as a second-generation missionary, remembered regretfully that they were not encouraged to interact with local children (Liu, et al. 2007). Issues of identity began to vary among the descendants of missionaries. In fact, the Landsborough's collection photographs reveal vivid dynamics between Landsborough

11 Wushe (Bu-Sia) Incident, the biggest and the last rebellion against Japanese colonial forces in Taiwan, resulted in the massacre of the Taiwanese aborigine group, Sedek, in October 1930.

12 Located on the southern coast of the Bohai Sea and the eastern coast of the Laizhou Bay, the fishing port city Chefoo borders the cities of Qingdao and Weihai to the southwest and east, respectively.

IV and local children. At a later time, Landsborough family travel photographs further show interaction between the missionaries and non-Christian communities (see Figure 26). Comparing accounts produced by the third and the fourth generations of the Landsboroughs, the two generations seem to represent dissimilar identities. For example, in the chapter describing the Landsborough's babysitter, "Mrs. Clean," written by Marjorie Landsborough, a photograph shows Mrs. Clean carrying baby David Landsborough IV on her back, in a distinctive and traditionally local way (see Figure 27) (M. Lansborough 1922). In a photograph shot in 1959, Dr. Jean Landsborough, wife to David Landsborough IV, is carrying their daughter exactly the same way (see Figure 28).

Another example is a loose photograph, taken in the 1920s, which was later widely distributed in the field of Taiwanese photography, which shows a Formosan girl cutting the leaves off a sugar cane (see Figure 29 and Figure 30). Rice, sugarcane, salt, and other tropical crops and distinctly local commodities were often important subjects in the early missionaries' photographic practice. These were objects that were not familiar at home. However, in due course, after they had been dwelling on the island, these objects also became a natural part of their way of living. In Figure 31, a snapshot taken in the 1950s, missionaries are chewing sugarcane sections, just as local people would do. The activities revealed by the snapshots were now less performative but more descriptive of the missionaries' daily life. In Figure 32, children of Landsborough IV are drying rice on the ground the same way local farmers did. Like Gyan Prakash's (1995) opinion, the liminal site of mixture and crossings produced by the exercise of the power, in a broad sense, is where boundaries between the occidental and the oriental, colonizer and the colonized, or the civilized and the primitive, should be redrawn.

Nowadays, many works done on medical missionaries, and the early accounts written by them in the early twentieth century in Taiwan, are criticized by most historians for being ethnocentric at their first encounters with the local culture. Still there was no single attitude in their perceptions of the Other. [13] Many missionaries' memoirs in fact describe how they developed a strong identity with the local culture (Mackay 1895; M. Lansborough 1924). In the Landsboroughs' case, both Landsborough II and Landsborough IV felt closely identified with Formosa. Their houses in the England have even been named "Formosa" (see Figure 33).

13 For example, see the second chapter of Daiwei Fu, *The New Body of Asia: Gender, Medicine and Modern Taiwan* (Taipei: Chun-Huse, 2005), in which he describes the missionary George Leslie Mackay's strategy of body discipline on "the barbaric, superstitions and non-hygienic."

Figure 15 "A fine old savage warrior"

Figure 16 "A savage look-out"

Figure 17 "A mountain savage"

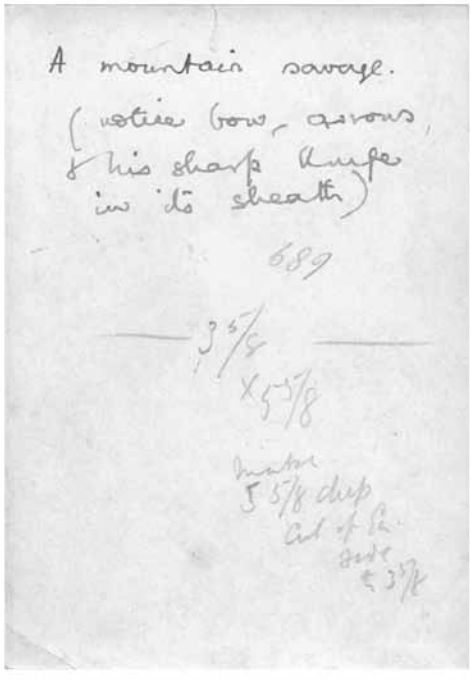

Figure 18 caption and measurement

Figure 19 Aboriginal school in Bu-Sia.

Figure 20

Figure21 "A group of aboriginal men 'before they had heard of Christianity.'"

Figure 22

Figure 23 Boat team of Chefoo School.

Figure 24 Football team of Chefoo School.

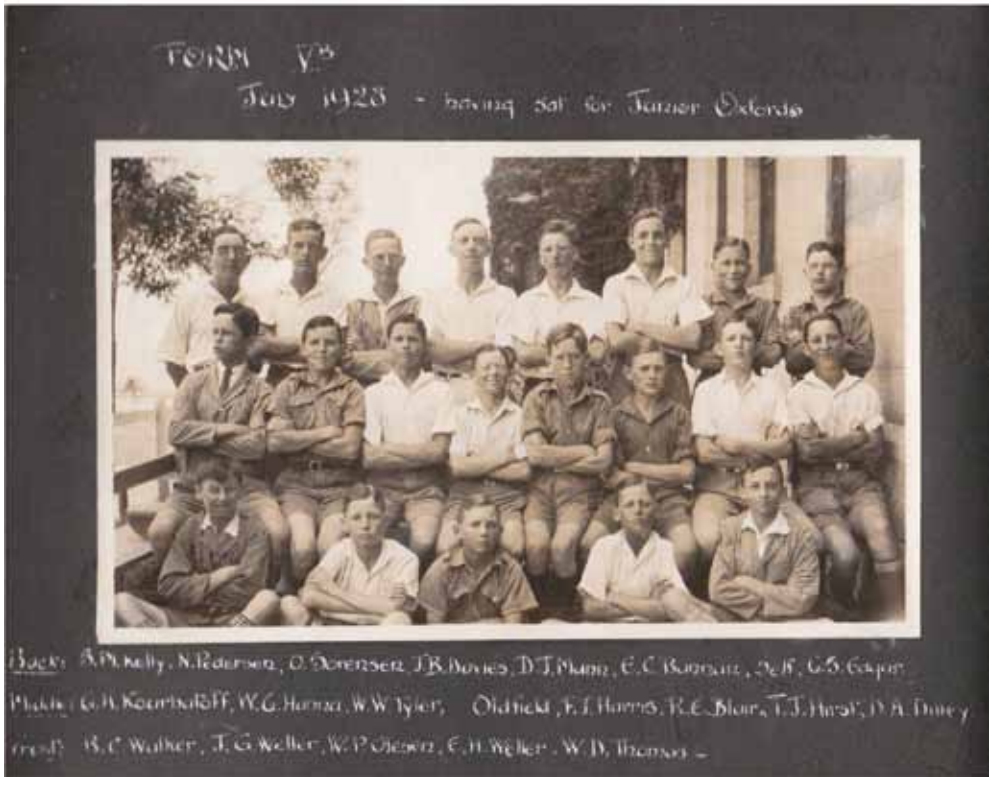

Figure 25 "Junior Oxfords"

Figure 26 Landsboroughs' travel in Lake Candiduis (current Sun-Moon Lake).

Figure 27 "Mrs. Clean" carrying little Landsborough IV on her back.

Figure 28 Dr. (Mrs.) Jean Landsborough IV carrying her daughter on her back.

Figure 29 Girl processing sugarcane.

Figure 30

Figure 31 Medical missionaries enjoying sugarcane the local way.

Figure 32 Landsborough IV's sons learning to dry rice.

Figure 33 Landsboroughs' House in Redhill after their retirement

Photographs in Missionary Communications and Publications

In the context of medical missionaries' cross-cultural and social experiences, photography stands out as a focal medium for communicating knowledge and so it was also important in their print publications. The practice of photography, I argue, had at least three functions. It was a medium of correspondence among missionaries; a form of teaching material for children at home, which would encourage them to become future medical missionaries; and finally, it was a propaganda tool by which to promote Christianity among local people. In the early twentieth century, missionaries on Formosa were unique for their ability to practice photography. It was not necessarily because they were richer; many other factors conspired to help them obtain cameras and film and the means to develop the film. Usually, negatives were most often sent back to their home countries to be developed, although there were also labs that could do it in China's treaty ports and in big cities in Japan.

Unsurprisingly, copies of Landsborough's photographs appear in other archives. For example, Figure 34, in which Dr. and Mrs. Landsborough III and their assistants pose in front of Changhua Hospital, also appears in Maxwell's photographic album. Apart from this, missionaries commonly exchanged their photographs not only as gifts among families on special occasions, such as Christmas, they also exchanged them to document the progress and the development of their missionary work.

These exchanges demonstrate the cohesiveness of the missionary communities and also point to networks among different social groups. For example, in Landsborough's collection, a portrait of Pei-Huo Tsai（蔡培火）, along with calligraphy inscribed by Mr. Tsai himself in 1959, reveals networking among Westerners and upper-middle-class local gentry (see Figure 35). In the 1920s, Tsai had devoted himself to several campaigns of resistance to the Japanese colonial government so his appearance here suggests a certain friction as well between the Christians and the Japanese colonials.

But in reality, the rivalry between missionary and Japanese colonial medicine stimulated their cooperation. In the 1930s, the Japanese government began to allow native medical practitioners to sit for the examination to become *Han-De I*（限地醫）, a kind of doctor entitled to practice in only rural areas.[14] Before that regulation was established, medical missionaries had already been providing medical services in remote towns and villages; under the new regulation, many local practitioners trained

14 Also known as *genji i or otsusho ishi* (B-class doctor with a limited practice). Before the colonial government raised enough manpower to provide adequate medical services in colonial Taiwan, these doctors played an important role as enforcers of various hygiene regulations in rural society (Liu 2009).

in the missionary institutions became *Han-De I.* Photographs showing a missionary "en route" often depict the scene on the way to provide services in the countryside (see Figure 36 and Figure 37). These visual accounts also emphasize the special means of transportation missionaries used in their early years in Taiwan. These modes of transportation were recorded in Marjorie Landsborough's first book, written for children in England (see Figure 38 and Figure 39).

Although the relationship between missionaries and the Japanese was distant, sometimes they shared similar ways of seeing. The most prominent example is the emergence in the late *Meiji*（明治）and early *Showa*（昭和) periods of postcard booklets ("travel brochures") whose photographs showed scenic places and subjects; they grew popular among the Japanese and missionaries alike in the 1920s. From the beginning of the twentieth century, Formosa served as an untamed wildness, through which Japanese colonizers could express their desire to conquer, as well as an exotic south at which artists could marvel (Liao 2007; Wantabe 2007). With the institutionalization of travel culture, ways of seeing Formosa became homogenized through mass-produced images of this kind. In the 1920s, travel in Formosa had become a popular activity for educational, cultural, and leisure purposes（Liao 2007）. To some extent, we can say that missionaries and Japanese colonizers shared a similar view of Taiwan. On the other hand, missionaries, as a middle-class community, must have adjusted to the framework presented by the Japanese—adopting their perspective, even though not sharing the same mind. Figure 40 and Figure 41 show a Japanese-produced postcard of "Aborigines, Formosa," signed by David Landsborough III and addressed to Thomas Carter on 5 December 1940. Figure 42 and Figure 43 show another Japanese postcard, purchased and captioned by an unknown hand around the same period. [15] Not addressed to anyone, it notes "Savages on Lake Candiduis. I have not yet seen them." However, the word "savages" has been replaced by "aborigines" in a different hand and the latter sentence is crossed out. This captures viewers' changing perception toward the subject over time. Additionally, missionaries and churches also produced their own "travel brochures." Figure 44 shows postcards of Dr. James Maxwell's new hospital and staff. Figure 45 shows a travel brochure published by an English Presbyterian Church.

Missionaries, of course, communicated with the public at home by publishing journals and series of books. Among these publications, images played a central role since they provided deeper information than words. For example, an outline of

15 According to the filename of the photographs in the archive, it probably belonged to Dr.. Carruthers, another Scottish medical missionary.

Formosa imposed on a map of England appeared in a children's magazine to better illustrate the place where the missionaries were working (Carruthers, et al. 1917). Apart from maps, photographs provided even better illustration. On the back of the photograph of the sugarcane processing girl in Figure 30, with the penciled lines drawn for the purpose of measurement, the inscription reads, "girl in blue coat and white trousers. Sugar cane is ripe so please colour higher brown. Green leaves." This hand-written caption is intended to communicate with a book editor. This photograph later appeared in *The Face of Taiwan* (Hsiung Shi Fine Arts, 1991), published by a fine art publisher.

Many of Landsborough's photographs appeared in publications, especially Marjorie Landsborough's three-volume series *In Beautiful Formosa* (1922), *Stories from Formosa* (1924), and *More Stories from Formosa* (1932). *In Beautiful Formosa* describes the author's first impressions of the island as a newly arrived woman missionary. Her descriptions of architecture, street scenes, nature, means of transportation, and folklore are detailed and vivid. Since the book was intended to target children readers in Britain, it emphasized the visual element: *Being a Personally-Conducted Tour of Boys and Girls to View the People, the Scenery, and the Work of the Missionaries in Strange and Lovely Places* (M. Landsborough 1922). Two years later, in her second book, with advanced skills in the local language, the author was able to introduce stories of the people they had met on the island. That book also introduces local legends such as the stories of Matsu and Gao Hong (M. Landsborough 1924). The former is the Taoist goddess of the sea who protects fishermen and sailors, and is revered as their matron saint; the latter is a figure established by the Japanese government to exemplify how Han Chinese exerted a civilizing influence on Taiwanese aborigines through heroic personal sacrifice. Figure 17 was used to illustrate this story. In the third book, *More Stories from Formosa,* chapters tell the life stories of successful religious converts, including one who would become the most celebrated individual among Taiwanese Christians and whose story has remained influential in the history of missionary medical education.

Figure 34 Photograph sent by Dr. Landsborough III, in James L. Maxwell I's photographic album.

Figure 35 Local gentry, Pei-Huo Tsai

Figure 36 Missionary en route

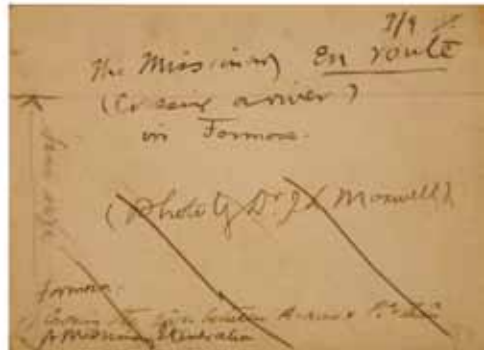

Figure 37

Figure 38 Missionaries on a trolley.

Figure 39 Missionaries on the boat.

Figure 40 Postcard purchased by Dr. Landsborough III.

Figure 41

Figure 42 '"Savages" Aborigines on Lake Candiduis. I have not yet seen them.'

Figure 43

Figure 44 Dr. James L. Maxwell II and staff in front of Tainan Hospital.

Figure 45 Postcard Travel Brochure produced by a British church.

Crafting a Paradigm with Images: "A Skin Graft with Love"

Among the parables employed by missionary hospitals and churches for the purpose of preaching, the first skin-graft procedure in Taiwan, performed by Dr. David Landsborough III in 1928, is probably the most prominent. The printed version of this sketch, "A Skin Graft with Love," first appeared in Marjorie Landsborough's *More Stories from Formosa*. It was written for Christian children in England, to introduce missionary work in the Far East. However, it later became not only a spiritual icon of the Tainan hospital, but also a legend in church history and set a paradigm for missionary medical education in Taiwan. Images played a significant role in the process through which an introductory sketch was transformed into a legend.

From the available sources, mostly produced by Changhua Christian Hospital, the whole sketch can be summarized as follows:

Kim Yao Chiu（周金耀）was a local schoolboy from a rural town in the Changhua area. In 1928, when he was 13 years old, he was injured in an accidental fall. The wound was originally only a mild abrasion. Unfortunately, four or five days later, the wounded area became swollen with accompanying discharge. His stepfather dressed the wound with hair oil and certain herbs. However, the condition was not helped. Later, they sought help from a Taoist priest who practiced magic on illnesses. But the wound only worsened. After twenty-one days, Chiu's stepfather carried him to a Chinese doctor in town. The doctor applied some powder medicine on the wound, but it was still in vain. This is the synopsis of the story before they met Dr. Lan.[16]

Instead of going to a public doctor, the father and son managed to visit the "Lan Clinic" recommended by a person they met on the road.[17] Dr. Landsborough, the founder of the hospital, was away visiting his children, who were studying in Chefoo, China. A nurse, Miss Isabel Elliott, later celebrated as the pioneer of nursing practice and education in Taiwan, mixed a tub of disinfectant liquid in which the boy could soak his leg. Three days later, a debridement procedure was performed. Three months later, Dr. Landsborough III came back to Changhua and began to take care of Chiu. Mrs. Landsborough, also a missionary appointed by the Presbyterian Church of England Women's Missionary Association, began to teach Chiu the romanized

16 Dr. Lan, the abbreviated appellation of Dr. Landsborough, commonly used by the local people in Changhua area. The biography written by his wife, Marjorie Landsborough, was also entitled 'Dr. Lan.'

17 Around 1900, the colonial government began to strengthen medical organisations and institutions, including establishing Taihoku Hospital and the public doctor system. (Fan 2005) In the 1920s, seeing a public doctor was already a common help-seeking pathway.

Taiwanese language, and from the booklet Questions and Answers in the True Way. In addition, she taught him singing and knitting, to distract him from the pain caused by his wound.

Unfortunately, Chiu's wound went from bad to worse. With an erosion the lesion measured Taiwanese meter (about 30 centimeters), his caretakers worried that it would result in an amputation if there were signs of periostitis or osteomyelitis (Tu 1962). Learning about Chiu's worsened situation, Mrs. Landsborough discussed the possible treatments with Dr. Landsborough. The following description comes from Tu Tsung-Ming's（杜聰明）, who wrote the hospital's history:

> *Dr. Landsborough replied, "There is a kind of skin graft transplantation procedure documented in the medical book, which could possibly be the only hope to cure the symptom. However, it is still merely a theory."*
>
> *Dr. Landsborough thought that Chiu's body was too weak to withstand his own other skin being grafted. If he took the skin from Chiu's stepfather, it would take time for him to recover, leaving the boy without someone to care for him. If he took the skin from Mrs. Elliot, the recovery period would infringe on her busy tasks, without anybody being available to take over.*
>
> *At a loss, Mrs. Landsborough was suddenly was inspired. She realized, 'It was because of love that Jesus let himself be crucified on the cross. He sacrificed his life for us. We couldn't return a diminutive portion out of His great love.' She then suggested that she donate her own skin to Kim-Yao. Since it was the last alternative available, Dr. Landsborough agreed to his wife's proposal.* (Tu 1962)

Still, the graft was not immediately successful, and Dr. Landsborough performed two additional procedures, one and four months after the first procedure, using Kim Yao Chiu's own skin for the later grafts. Chiu did eventually recover, and in 1929, encouraged and funded by Dr. and Mrs. Landsborough, Kim Yao Chiu entered Chang-Jung School in Taiwan. After graduation, he devoted himself to a missionary career, continuing his studies at the Taiwan Theology College. Later, he went on to become a renowned pastor in the Taiwan Presbyterian Church.

According to the hospital museum's staff, the surgical notes from these procedures were already missing by the end of World War II. Of the textual documentation available, the source closest to that time, was Dr. Tsungming Tu's record (1962). In this description, the surgical procedure was recounted by Dr.

Chen-Hui Su（蘇振輝）who claimed to have assisted at the surgical table.[18] Other miraculous narratives of the surgery exist, but this is probably the most reliable description. According to Tsungming Tu, Dr. Chen-Hui Su described the surgery during his visit to Changhua Christian Hospital on 2 February 1941. Tu also described his reflections after reading the account in More Stories from Formosa (M. Landsborough 1932).

The significance of this historical sketch does not lie in its factuality, but the conduit through which its meaning has been constructed. To be able to restore the scenario of the operation room, one has to depend not only on the descriptive accounts but also memoirs and oral histories. However, it is undeniable that the operation was the first skin-graft attempt in Taiwan, that Marjorie Landsborough did contribute her own skin, and that the sketch introduced an influential paradigm to the history of missionary medicine. In this process of paradigm-making, most striking are the methods of using images (not only photography) to visualize either factual or fictional memory accounts among all actors involved.

Figure 46 shows the portrait of the young Rev. Kim-Yao Chiu. In the photograph, Chiu is lying in a chair with his wounded right leg displayed; according to Marjorie Landsborough, the gauze had been removed specifically for the photograph. (M. Landsborough 1932) Standing behind Chiu is the only nurse in Changhua Hospital at the time, Mrs. Elliot, who has prepared a tub of antiseptic liquid to avert further necrotization due to the wound's previous "superstitious treatment" (CCH Museum 2000). For its publication in More Stories from Formosa, a portrait of Chiu in his

18 It was reported: *Dr. Landsborough performed general anaesthesia on Chiu with chloroform. And then he debrided the necrotized tissue on his right leg. Mrs. Landsborough lay on another surgical table right next to Chiu's. Dr. Landsborough took five 1*2 inch skins, and he transplanted them onto Chiu's wound. The compound was covered by metal Gauze. Four days later, the transplanted skin became blood-cookie-like plaques. And then they finally fell off. Later, Dr. Landsborough suspected that the area of the grafts were too large. One month later, he took a minimal amount of skin from Chiu's own left leg and seated them on the surface of the main wound. Four months later, the second procedure was undertaken. Chiu's wounds recovered in one year.* (Tu 1962) In fact, in the textbook that Dr. Landsborough consulted, the text largely overlaps the two procedures. The textbook was The Operations of Surgery (Jacobson), Sixth Edition, published by Guy's Hospital in London, 1915 (Jacobson, et al. 1915) In the relevant chapter, three types of procedures are described, two of which tally with the content of Tu's description. The first procedure was Thiersch's method, which was developed in the year 1871. And the second was the Swiss doctor, Jaques-Louis Reverdin's method. In the textbook, Thiersch's method was described in great detail, and Reverdin's method was considered to be 'inferior' to the former. Neither of them refers to any concept of autograft or allograft, and the idea of rejection was not developed until the 1940s. It was natural for Dr. Landsborough to adopt Thiersch's method, although it failed in the end. But obviously it was not the first case ever. The hospital did over-interpret this achievement.

secondary school days was imposed in the upper-left corner of the photo. It is clear that the image was modified with to improve the clarity of contours and contrast. This photograph was used in Marjorie Landsborough's book and has been archived in one of Landsborough's photo albums as shown in Figure 47.

To communicate better with readers, early photographers often modified negatives before developing them. Some even modified photographs that had already been developed. Figure 48 shows "Christian women at Katanga in Formosa," one of whose faces has been painted.[19] In the 1920s, adding hand-applied colors to photographs in the postcard industry became hugely popular. Many colorful travel brochures were products of this special technique. That is to say, by the 1920s, photography studios in Japanese Formosa were already widely employing these hand-coloring techniques to modify images. Since it was intended to be published, it is understandable that the photograph of Chiu received more extensive attention in its production. Technically speaking, it makes no difference whether Chiu sat for a photograph or a painting to produce this unique portraiture. It shows the nurse who took care of him standing behind and looking downward at the wounded boy (M. Landsborough 1932). This scene was created to contrast with the description of how the boy first received treatment from Taoist and Chinese practitioners, but in vain (CCH Museum 2000). The point is clearly to compare the effects of the scientific and the superstitious, the advanced and the uncivilized. With its limited evidence, this image creates a space for its readers and the wider public to imagine.

Not until after the Second World War was this story publicized in Taiwan. Dr. Tsung-Ming Tu acted as its most important promoter. Tu received his Doctor of Medical Sciences degree from Kyoto Imperial University in 1922. He became the first Taiwanese professor in Japan's pre-1945 imperial university system. In 1954, he founded Kaohsiung Medical College (now Kaohsiung Medical University) and became its first president. To create a spiritual icon for his educational mission, Tu recalled the story of "A Skin Graft with Love," related by Dr. Chen Hui Su, when he visited Changhua Hospital in on 2 February 1941.[20] Touched by the sacrifice of the missionaries, he began to mention the story every time he gave a speech. Additionally, according to Dr. Su's account, he asked artist Shih-Chiao Lee（李石樵）, to visualize

19 According to the handwriting, one can recognize that the writing was probably added by James Maxwell.

20 Dr. Chen-Hui Su graduated from Taihoku Imperial University in 1930, two years after the surgical procedure took place. Although evidence shows that before 1930, Western hospitals were allowed to train their doctors, Su's role in the year 1928 is still unclear. Hospital personnel believe that he joined the hospital after 1930. He later became the president of the hospital, and then a local politician. A historical appraisal of Dr. Tsung-Ming Tu and Dr. Chen-Hui Su awaits further study.

the scene in the operating room. The resulting oil painting is exhibited in the foyer of the medical school Tu founded, and its theme became the ethos of the school. Figure 49 shows another illustration of the story, painted by Dr. Cheng-Kuo Ke（柯成國）, former vice-president of Kaohsiung Medical University Hospital. From Figure 50, one of many similar photographs in Landsborough's collection, taken in 1964 upon Marjorie Landsborough's retirement, we can see that Rev. Chiu and the Landsboroughs maintained a close relationship over the next half-century.

This story of Taiwan's first skin-graft has indeed moved a number of individuals and mobilized them to pursue a career as medical missionaries or in related work. While David Landsborough III's work contributed to the field of plastic surgery in Taiwan, publication of the Chiu story and reproductions of the dramatic surgery in photographs or other art media have revealed its hidden political significance. Since the 1970s, more paintings and sculptures of the story have done by other artists and physicians. The sense of awe or, to use Walter Benjamin's word "aura," this story continues to carry has somewhat diminished due to the mechanical reproduction of its iconic moment (Benjamin 1999). Nevertheless, through the making and remaking of this image, the "skin-graft with love" now ranks as an exemplar of missionary medicine that has been collectively embraced over time.

If we look back at photograph Figure 46, concentrating on the portraiture, and contrast the positions of the nurse and the ill boy in the composition of in the photograph, we might well ponder the contrast between the scientific and the uncivilized, and the factor of mythmaking in this case study.[21] In the second book of the Formosa series, the story is told by the skin donor, Marjorie Landsborough, who expresses her sympathy for local people who still believe in Matsu, the goddess who protects fishermen. Interestingly, in the hospital's official documents and the account by Tsung-Ming Tu, the successful surgeon Landsborough III was then sainted as a Changhua Matsu by the local people. Furthermore, Figure 51 shows a Landsboroughs' day out at a famous tourist spot, and is captioned: "The new Buddha in Changhua hills." This portrait, produced in the 1960s, indicates the transformation and localization of identity among medical missionaries.

21 With regards to the claim that photographers are mythologists, see Roland Barthes, *La Chambre Claire : Note Sur La Photographie* (Paris: Cahiers du cinâema ; Gallimard, 1980) 192 , [1] leaf of plates.

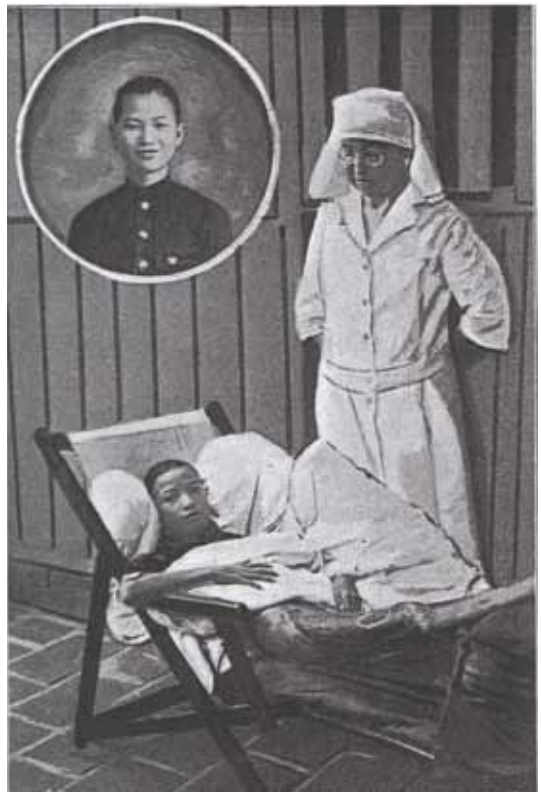

Figure 46 The legendary story "A Skin-graft with Love"

Figure 47 "Skin-graft with Love" photograph in Landsborough IV's photographic album.

Figure 48 Repaired photograph by John Thomson.

Figure 49 "Skin-graft with Love" oil painting by Dr. Cheng-kuo Ke.

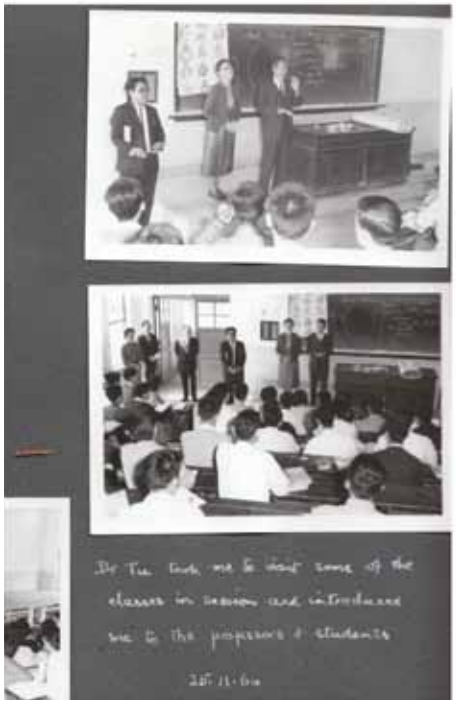

Figure 50 Dr. Tsung-Ming Tu invited Mrs. Landsborough III to give a speech on "Skin-graft with Love" in 1964.

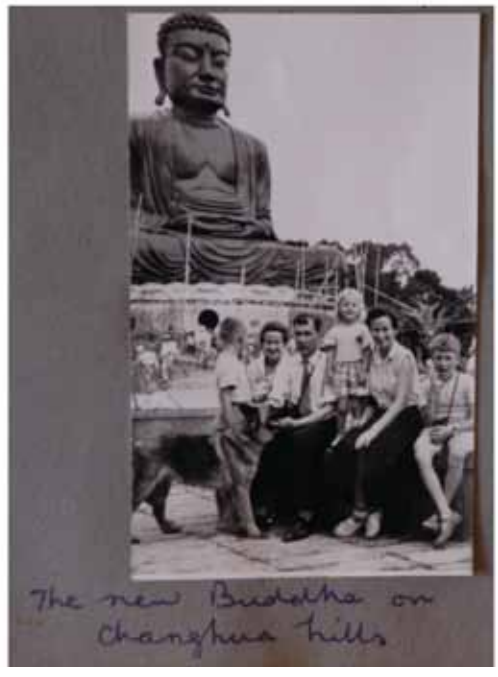

Figure 51 Landsborough IV's family day out to the Buddha statue in Changhua

Historiography Reoriented by Studying Photographs

By using photographs to trace the history of missionary medicine, one can see the physical evidence behind the textual accounts. But one can also miss out meanings presented by the images themselves, even if captions are provided on the back of the photographs. Photography may be a helpful means to revisit the history of missionary medicine because missionaries had access to the technology in non-Western contexts. For example, in The Face of Taiwan (Hsiung-Shih Fine Arts Editors 1991), one of the earliest and most important photographic accounts of colonial Taiwan, the publisher admits that early visual accounts of the island were mostly produced by foreign missionaries. In fact, the photograph on the cover of this book is from Dr. Landsborough's collection.

Images played a significant role in early Western travel writing about the tropics and the Orient. Not only did they illustrate those texts, but they also communicated the imperialist or colonial viewpoint in terms of how subjects were framed (Stepan 2001). Beyond this, historians developed theories to describe the gap between the West and the East at first encounter, separating the scientific, advanced, the civilized West from the superstitious, backward and the untamed East (Adas 1990). When

writing about missionary medicine in Formosa, historians have employed this way of seeing as their theoretical framework. For example, in a recent study of George Leslie MacKay, the Taiwanese historian Daiwei Fu (2005) examined how medical missionaries looked down on the "barbarians" in the first instance, and then managed to "civilize" the barbaric land by body disciplines.

Historians also take up the discourse of body acclimatization to tease out Westerners' imagination about the tropics. In Landsborough's collection, the albums documenting Dr. Landsborough IV's school life in 1920s Chefoo that show school sports teams could reasonably fit into the theory of body acclimatization; that is, their importance arises from the perspective of "fear of the tropics" or "anxiety of degeneration." However, according to Landsborough himself, the metaphor of "junior Oxfords," like the curriculum of the Chefoo school, was intended to help schoolboys connect to their higher education at home, since many of them were not to become missionaries. In the following paragraphs, I will retreat from theories and instead further explore the Landsborough's collection from three perspectives: the hybridity of material culture therein, alternatives to the imperial gaze and the colonial gaze that emerge from the genealogy of the Landsboroughs, and the multiple pathways to stabilize the meanings of photographs.

Historical Contexts that Gave Rise to a Hybrid Culture

Earlier in this paper, I noted the characteristics of mixture and hybridity in the material culture presented in Landsborough's photographic collection—for example, the changed customs around the topee. But there are hidden politics behind such direct visual representations. To understand what produced this hybrid culture, it is worth examining the historical context, including interethnic, medical-political and other kinds of relationships. Relationships here refer to the complex bonds between different social communities, namely, the medical missionaries, Japanese colonizers and the local people. Apart from racial issues, these relationships involved the dynamics between different social classes.

The production, purchase, and exchange of postcards demonstrates the intricate connections between medical missionaries and Japanese colonizers. Such interpersonal networks fit what Vokes (2010) terms a "social archive." For example, scenic photographs of Lake Candiduis taken by European medical missionaries and the postcards produced by Japanese were similarly composed. Beyond this, missionaries, including the Landsboroughs, also purchased postcard booklets the Japanese produced. From the messages on the postcards it can be seen that missionaries described the aboriginal people as "savages," a direct translation of the Japanese banjin（番人）. Figure 45 shows a travel brochure published by the British

church and printed at a local studio. Some of its photographs demonstrate that medical missionaries no longer undertook explorations of the interior, but followed routes designed by the Japanese authorities. Like Figure 52, a photograph taken by Landsborough IV during his trip to Lake Candiduis in the early 1950s, pictures taken with aboriginal people in costume were meant to be souvenirs. It further demonstrates the culture of exhibition via tourism left behind by the Japanese colonial government. These examples reveal that while their economic privilege allowed medical missionaries to practice photography, the formation of a leisure class on Taiwan brought these two different cultural groups to similar ways of seeing. Therefore, not only the material culture in the photographs exhibits the quality of hybridity; the photos also point to an overlapping visual culture.

In writings about knowledge transformations, historians usually describe the ways knowledge is transferred and exchanged between cultural elites. Although photography belonged to the missionaries, who could be considered an elite group, what they captured on film included diverse classes of people and activities. In addition, if we look at the historical development of photography and the advancement of photographic techniques after the 1940s, formal portraits were gradually replaced by the immediacy of snapshots. In Landsborough's collection, one can sense a kind of localization in the daily life shots of medical missionaries. One can see in them the dynamics not only between cultural elites but also between classes, genders, and other social groups in a much broader context. For instance, the local boy in the topee in a photograph intended to capture the Chhit-ya idol in Figure 14 is serendipity. In Figure 53, local ironsmiths are making medical equipment such as surgical tables. In Figure 54, an old patient waits outside the dispensary window, a scene that was the new fee; of Westernization. In terms of "external narratives," while medical missionaries took pictures of their patients, some patients also gave their photos to the doctors, and these became an important part of the collection. These photographs are material evidence of networking not only between doctors and patients, but also between cultures and across social hierarchies. Recently, scholars have employed "sense of place" to denote the pathway through which knowledge spreads among different social groups, particularly from the knowledge receivers' point of view (Yang 2000). Photographs can provide convincing evidence of material culture and spatial politics, but this point cannot be properly argued unless one traces such evidence from the perspectives of the knowledge receivers.

In Landsborough's collection, material culture is not the only marker of culture hybridity. Complex social and cultural contexts that may be traced by consulting other primary and secondary accounts gave rise to the mixture of cultures, transformations of knowledge, and religious conversions. All manner of photographic subjects, from

material objects to groups of people, should be seen as agents of modernity that helped negotiate the enterprise of missionary medicine. Apart from this, one should understand the nature of missionary medicine by looking at what missionaries did, regardless what preconceived notions might suggest.

As for the case study "A Skin-Graft with Love," the historical scenario of the story can also be restored by looking into multifaceted social and cultural contexts. In Landsborough IV's oral history account, historians came to the preliminary conclusion that the story may have only been a rumor (Liu, et al. 2001). According to Landsborough IV, he still vividly recalls the shock at seeing the scars on his mother's legs when he returned to Taiwan for Christmas in 1928. According to Landsborough IV himself, there might be several explanations why Chiu's father did not seek help from a Japanese physician. First of all, according to the hospital's official documentation, the father and son had happened to meet a person on the street, who directed them to the Landsborough Hospital at the West Gate. Second, Japanese public hospitals were further away (Liu, et al. 2007). Third, instead of seeking aid from the Japanese public medical system, it was easier for the father and son to obtain free services from missionary doctors, because they regularly budgeted to accommodate poor patients. Through in-depth investigation into historical materials, including visual representations, the story regains some representational significance beyond merely being a model of "myth-making" or "rumor spreading."

Figure 52 The exhibition culture within tourism in Formosa was initially developed by the Japanese.

Figure 53 Local ironsmiths and Dr. Landsborough IV.

Figure 54 Taiwanese new taste for Western medicine.

From Natural Historians to Medical Missionaries

When studying photographs from colonial and imperial times, it is easy to categorize them as the product of a colonial or imperialist gaze. In this study, most of the images date from the 1920s to the 1940s, matching the development of Japanese colonialism and the expansion of Western knowledge in East Asia. The "way of seeing" behind these photographs grew out of four generations' practice of natural history and natural theology, a point that is often neglected by historians of medicine. As argued by Alex Mackay (2007), this neglect might be due to the fact that most medical historians are secular, and also because missionary archives are under-consulted. In the case of the Landsboroughs, a look at their genealogy helps clarify how their knowledge of natural history, or life sciences in a broader sense, was transformed in practice over the past two centuries. In the Landsboroughs' case, natural theology was the central ideology permeating their ways of seeing, as they shifted from natural historians to medical missionaries.

Natural history has been at the very heart of the life sciences since the second half of the eighteenth century, and has become a vital part of Western culture. Despite the influence of Darwinian evolutionary theories, many natural historians continued to tie natural history to theology. David Landsborough I and II were two of these. For example, David Landsborough II's *Arran: its topography, natural history, and antiquities* (1875), which was an expanded version of *Arran: a poem* written by his father (1828), did not change its attitude towards God in the world, even after Darwin's sensational publication appeared in 1859.

The colonial period, it is argued, coincided with a literacy explosion of sorts in the metropolis and a post-Enlightenment 都 *Sprit of enquiry*・(Mackey 2007). However, the belief that the world could be studied through the scientific collation of information can be dated far earlier than the period when colonial officers began to collect records that were thought important to comprehending the world. The

relationship between European political power and colonial archives of knowledge is indeed complex. Such principles of knowing were already current in the seventeenth century, even before the notion of Empire had taken root, as in the training of *curiosi,* literally, curious people, referring to aristocrats and aspiring gentlemen, including religious and medical people (Whitaker 1996). These civilizing forces emphasized a certain way of studying human culture, which became prevalent later in the nineteenth century. The belief in the early modern period that 'matters of fact' were more worth pursuing than was correct reasoning continued into the modern era. Having had the privilege of receiving an education in natural philosophy in the universities, many physicians continued to contribute to the domain of natural history (Cook 1996). When Landsborough III was serving his mission in Formosa, he studied the landscape and natural resources of the island. Evidence shows that he tried to send certain shell fossils back to his father on one of his journeys. Influenced by his parents, who constantly reminded him of the importance of seeing places other than Changhua, Landsborough IV remarked that Taiwan was 展onderful! [· a good introduction to natural history.· Describing himself as an amateur, he had indeed inherited the habits and the mindset of his family's previous generations.

Therefore, the theological principle that justifies the value of natural historians and medical missionaries should not be neglected in the Landsboroughs' case. "Fear God and fight" is the Landsborough family motto. The first Landsborough wrote that

> *nature must be read as one of God's books which is purposely written for the revelation of himself. [...] It is a most high and noble part of holiness, to search after, behold, admire, and love the Creator in all his works.*

While *beauty* is seen as the unique condition given from God, accounts such as *picturesque* and *sublime* were used not only to describe the wonders of the tropics. (Arnold 1996) but also mystical perceptions in the missionaries' religious life. Marjorie Landsborough also used the word wonderful to describe her experiences in Formosa, and this word was frequently employed in the first Landsborough book on Arran. One can even draw analogies between the books written by David Landsborough I and Marjorie Landsborough in terms of their chapter arrangement, visual representation, and language use. This is another perspective from which the Landsboroughs' way of seeing nature can be analyzed.

Stabilizing Meanings through Multiple Pathways

Anthropologists select, categorize, label, and then display the photographic images they collect in the field to stabilize the meaning of those images. It would not

be fair to say that the formation of Dr. David Landsborough's photographic collection adheres to the anthropological approach. Rather, I regard this private collection as an "archive," and the circulation network among missionaries for such photos further represents their "social archive." In this case, the act of "archiving" carries multiple meanings. First of all, because this archive is a private collection, rather than something found in a library, it cannot be regarded as ordinary archival material, the significance of which is firmly established. For example, some of the subjects in the collection have been categorized, while others have not. Some of them are simply captioned "extremely miscellaneous." Although one might be able to learn about the images by photo elicitation or by reading their captions, the information does not yet form a mature meaning structure. Secondly, this collection represents many purposes—in terms of documenting its subjects and even the process of collecting. For example, the photographs do not come from a single source. Some of them were used in publications, and some of them were kept solely for personal appreciation. More importantly, there was no single, pre-considered audience.

It is nearly impossible to get at reliably stable meanings for these photographs. By consulting other visual materials produced by similar social communities around the same period of time and reviewing contemporary theories associated with the practice of photography, one is more likely to succeed at approximating their central meanings. However the techniques, culture, and theories of photography change over time. To get at a more thoroughgoing grasp of this collection, it is important to trace the relationships between the history of documentation, the history of visual culture and its practice, and the changing historiography of photography.

Moreover, in relation to the process of photo elicitation, the issue of ownership of these images comes into sharp focus. Apart from the family's agreement to allow me to reproduce the images by scanning and photographing, the question of whether or not the reproduced images can be used for purposes other than academic research, such as public exhibitions or publications, remains unsolved. Besides this, David Landsborough IV had also been considering whether he should return the images to where they were taken. This is because he assumed that, apart from documentation of his family's private life, the images include important accounts of early missionary and medical work in local history. This points to the heated debate under way about issues of cultural repatriation.

Another issue, similar to the question of the ownership, but less frequently addressed, is authorship. In Landsborough's case, the collection is, in fact, a collaborative work. If we put it in an art historical context, one would have to deal with the central issue of connoisseurship—a technical term that encompasses the range of practices by which one tries to establish the status of a work of art or a social

artefact. Connoisseurs try to discern a particular object's date, its material structure, its provenance or history of ownership, its maker, and so forth. In the case of the Landsborough collection, most medical missionaries of the time can be seen as a group of connoisseurs. Although there were exceptions, they tended to share a similar angle of seeing, appreciating, and judging things, not only within the framework of scientific knowledge, but also through cameras focused on the aesthetics at the intersection of different cultures. In other words, these photographs demonstrate the unique vision and connoisseurship of this special social community.

From raw images to photographs, from loose photos to albums, from captions to publications, stabilizing the meanings of photographs is a complex procedure. Established theories hold that it is impossible for researchers not to view the images subjectively. Considering or categorizing an image as representing an imperial or colonial gaze does not necessarily make it so. Instead, this might be the researcher's own projection. For example, with the "Skin-Graft" story, the formation of meanings in the photograph of the wounded boy, other pictorial representations, and the enterprise of mythmaking around the story were a collaboration of various individuals and communities over an extended period of time. By looking at the social biography of the Landsborough collection rather than interpreting a single photograph, one can easily refute theories that presume the key to meaning lies with the camera's owners.

Walter Benjamin has noted that photographs have now become one of the standard types of evidence for historical occurrences. With their political significance often disguised, they demand a specific kind of approach, one that avoids free-floating interpretation. Indeed, as these photographs stir the viewer, he feels challenged by them in a new way. The issues they evoke require subtle and self-reflective consideration. Furthermore, inasmuch as photography can be seen as a form of social production among medical missionaries, its practice should be taken as an element of missionary medicine from the mid-nineteenth century onward. To acquire a more comprehensive account of missionary medicine, especially with the swift development of its visual culture and representation theories, collaborative work by scholars from a number of disciplines will be required.

Conclusions

Anthropologists today generally accept the use of visual media in the anthropological process. As photography has become one of the most productive media in anthropology inquiry, image sharing and collaboration, as well as the use of photography in establishing social relations in the field are already widespread. However, some argue that anthropologists have not persuasively communicated the

anthropological perspective to a public that has become more globally and visually communicative (El Guindi 1998).

According to Christopher Pinney (1992), there has been a historical confluence of the parallel yet intersecting and mutually supporting histories of anthropology and photography in a complex matrix of mechanical inscription, desire, power, authority, and agency. That is to say, only by regarding photographs and the practice of photography, and the content beyond the lens to be equally the subjects of analysis can the anthropological and historical significance of photographs be simultaneously revealed. To this end, through the concept of social archives, scholars such as Elizabeth Edwards (2011) are taking a brand new approach, looking at the uneasy history of photography in anthropological practice as a series of cross-cultural interactions, agencies and reengagements in order to optimize the interpretation of histories manifested in photographs.

In this paper, I regard Landsborough's private collection as a photographic social archive among missionaries that has been documented for multiple purposes. This study attempts to analyze the content of the photographs from the following aspects: the direct and visible material culture in the photographs, viewing Others from comparative perspectives, and the use of photographs (and other images) in communication and publication by medical missionaries. First, this study discovers the admixture and hybridity of material culture in colonial Taiwan, and the transformation and localization of missionaries' identities. Second, by examining the renowned story, "A Skin-Graft with Love," in the church history in Taiwan, this study describes the process by which a model narrative was constructed through the exploitation of photography and other forms of imagery. In addition, this study considers its basic findings in broader historical contexts: the hybridity of material culture in the meeting of British and Japanese colonial habits with local folk culture, and the culture of seeing among the Landsboroughs as derived from the family's career as natural historians from the 1850s. I argue that the analysis of these photographs must recognize their wider social, cultural, and even religious context.

Employing new theories of visual anthropology, scholars have now begun to re-examine photographs taken by missionaries. For example, Swiss missionary Carl Passavant's West African excursion photos are being reassessed (Schneider 2005). Shao-li Lu (2005) examined viewing practices in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule and illustrated how Taiwan was exhibited in the official visual accounts of institutionalized travel programs. Current studies on European medical missionaries in colonial Formosa, however, rarely explore the relationship between British missionaries and the Japanese authorities. Medical and church historians often assume competing positions, and in the rivalry between their approaches, history itself often

loses its balance and complexity. Echoing Elizabeth Edwards' argument, this set of photographic collections provides a space of contested histories rather than that of lost or disappearing histories. Cases like Landsborough's photographic collection help researchers reconsider the nature of missionary medicine. While scholars have proposed dialectical approaches toward the history of missionaries, visual accounts provide alternative evidence that supports the idea of missionary medicine as an independent field of knowledge, which should be examined in the broader theoretical framework of colonial modernity and should require its own unique methodology.

Lastly, this paper addresses the process by which meanings were recorded and stabilized in the Landsborough photographic collection. Pinney (1992) asserts that as appropriate for a post-disciplinary practice, key elements within visual culture emerge not only from art history, but also from a broader repertoire that includes historiographic concerns and work within what might be amalgamated into the history of culture, cultural theory, or the history of ideas. Through the multiple pathways informed by various disciplines, other than basic captioning and categorizing, many factors remain to be thrashed out. These fall beyond the scope of this study. Issues such as researcher bias and cherry-picking strategies influenced by theories require further long-term and self-reflective investigation. Furthermore, one can also take this photography as not only evidence of historical occurrence, but also a by-product of missionary medicine. In that case, the social biography of Dr. David Landsborough's photographic collection reveals not only his ongoing family history but also the intertwined history of medicine, missionaries, and photography.

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PCE/TAIWAN/FORMOSA/PHOTO/BOX2
PCE/TAIWAN/FORMOSA/PHOTO/BOX4

University of Birmingham

James Lidaw Maxwell and James Preston Maxwell personal archives
DA26/2/2/3
DA26/2/3/2
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Scottish National Portrait Gallerty
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傳道者的凝視：
蘭大弼醫師照片蒐藏的社會傳記與其檔案化

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本論文以視覺人類學的照片引談法以及歷史人類學的相片研究理論，分析醫療宣教者蘭大弼醫師（*1914~2009*）所蒐藏之家族相簿。將傳教士的照片蒐藏視為一宗歷史檔案，分析其社會傳記的特性，以及其置身於更大社會檔案脈絡中所具有的意義，企圖提供臺灣的醫療傳道史另一種研究材料選擇。配合宣教史檔案中的其他相片、相本以及圖像材料，分析照片內容所蘊涵的內外部敘事以及其社會文化脈絡，企圖以社會傳記的方式呈現醫療傳道在傳統帝國殖民史之外面貌。

首先，本文簡介了歷史學及人類學界藉由照片研究物質文化的成果，並申論晚近視覺人類學者發展出相片「社會傳記」分析的特色及優點，接著分析蘭大弼醫師四代、跨兩世紀的家族相片收藏。藉由傳統視覺詮釋、照片引談法所得致的口述歷史內容、社會文化脈絡的梳理，以及照片做為一種技術史以與實踐的分析，本文認為分析對象體現了其身置年代裏包含大英帝國、日本殖民以及地方文化，至少三種元素的競爭或揉合。傳教士的認同也在其中呈現了界域性，歷經一連串的轉變以及本土化。這種混雜的特性足以挑戰當前殖民醫學書寫所呈現的二元對立基調。

此外，藉由分析發生於一九二八年「切膚之愛」的故事，作者分析傳道醫療典範如何藉由各種形式的視覺技術和特性建構而成，以及此典範的塑造在多層次殖民脈絡與醫療市場中的歷史含義。文末則著重於此批照片的社會傳記與歷史檔案意義，除了運用現有的視覺人類學理論之外，考察了蘭氏家族四代的職業傳承，論證此分析對象再現了傳教士做為一個特別的知識社群，他們嗜好的攝影、蒐藏及交換所再現的日常生活實作、儀式與社交網絡。此外，本文也討論了此新興研究觸及的倫理與文物歸返等問題。

關鍵詞：照片引談法、社會傳記、社會檔案、傳道醫療、物質文化