The ‘Social Life’ of industrial ruins: a case study of Hashima Island

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DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed and has been cited and referenced.

Signed by candidate

ABSTRATION

The inscription of a strange-looking industrial site- coalmine on Hashima- on the World Heritage Site has proved to be the most publicly contested debate of heritage making work between Japan and Korea

The debate about this place brings up poignant questions with regard to not only the significance of this heritage, but also the subsequent use of this island. The failure of reconciliation between countries especially, but also of reparation, restitution since the end of the Second World War and the issues of identity and memory have been brought to the fore.

This paper seeks to challenge the dominant modes of heritage making and, in so doing, offer an analysis of influences from political, social and economic factors or an improved understanding of the dynamics of capitalistic production expansion. The origin and transformation of tradition is invoked in attempts to explain the pervasiveness and power of historical temporality and continuity. A critical approach to canonisation is employed whereby the choice of heritage resources is done in a more limited and cogent manner. It is argued that currently heritage-making functions as both value distribution and intentional perception for a people in a nation. Above all, the social life of those living in industrial ruins is positioned in the new perspective that as heritage resources they cannot be separated from capitalistic production and world history.

Following from this, it is said that the temporality and spatiality of ruins need a political, social and economic debate in which the myths of the nation are forged, transmitted, negotiated and reconstructed constantly. Through employing these ideas, one can relate the thematic approach of heritage selection to commodification, collective memory, capitalism and nationalism in a theoretical and analytical way.

Keyworld: **Hashima Island, World Heritage Site, thematic Apprach, capitalistic Identity.**

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CG	Computer Graphic
ICOMOS	International Council on Monumental and Sites
KBS	Korea Broadcasting System
NHK	Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai
PBS	Public Broadcasting System
TICCIH	International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage
The Consortium	The Consortium for the Promotion of the Modern Industrial Heritage in Kyushu and Yamaguchi to Inscription on the World Heritage
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHS	World Heritage Site

LIST OF FIGURES

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem statement

Hashima Island is one of the 505 uninhabited islands in Nagasaki Prefecture and is situated 17.5 km south-west of the Nagasaki peninsula. It forms a stark contrast with the verdant peaks of nearby islands as here there are only clusters of unpopulated high-rise buildings pressing up against a man-made sea wall, a battered shrine at the top of a steep rock cliff, and not a single tree in sight. As testament to this, a movie shot there in 1949 was entitled *The Greenless Island*. According to Burke-Gaffney (1996, p. 2), the island is nothing more than a rim of coal slag packed around bare rock with little indigenous vegetation (Burke-Gaffney1996, p.41). The island is also commonly called 'Battleship Island' because its appearance is similar to that of the battleship Tosa at sea.

The island was well-known for coal mining during the industrialisation of Japan when the whole island was developed into a coal mine facility by Mitsubishi Heavies Industry. Mitsubishi bought the island from the government in 1890 and began its project to extract coal from undersea mines. There once were many industrial facilities and residential buildings on this small island when between 2,700 and 2 800 people on average lived there. At the height of its prosperity in 1945, there were 5,300 residents. At 835 people per hectare, this was said to be the highest density ever recorded in the world. Workers and families lived in high-rise apartments and the only house on the island belonged to the manager (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p. 40). The entire workforce resided within the island's 6.3 hectare confines, living in this first high-rise housing project in the country (Rowsdower 2011, p. 7). In 1916 a reinforced concrete apartment block was built on the island, which was the first sizable concrete building in Japan. This was followed by other high-rise buildings.

In effect, Mitsubishi owned the island and everything on it, and ran it as a benevolent dictatorship. There was job security for workers as well as free housing, electricity and water but residents had to take turns to clean and maintain public facilities (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p.41). Owing to the geographical isolation, the community was completely dependent on the outside world for food, clothing and other staples. Even fresh water had to be carried to the island until pipes along the sea floor connected it to mainland reservoirs in 1957 (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p. 41).

Figure 1: Hashima Island in the late nineteenth century, prior to the major reclamations from the sea

(Source: courtesy Nagasaki Prefectural Library**)**

Figure 2: The battleship 'Tosa'(1922)

(Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/>)

Figure 3: Hashima Island, front view, looking like the battleship

(Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/>)

In 1974 Mitsubishi closed the plant down because oil had taken the place of coal as an energy resource, and then the island's only inhabitants became some legendary cats that could not be caught (Burke-Gaffney1996, p. 33). In 2008, some decades after its abandonment, the island drew renewed attention as it was nominated as an UNESCO modern industrial heritage site. Consequently, the Nagasaki Municipal Government started to restore the island's structures long battered by years of typhoons and waves (Kawamoto, 2009). In 2009, Hashima was tentatively placed on the list of World Heritage Sites. In other words, the Japanese government recommended the listing of the 28 individual component parts with UNESCO under the title *The Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution*. These sites included old coal mines, steel works, shipyards and other industrial facilities (Koehler, 2013).

The nominated properties are then a 'serial nomination' representing a group of 11 sites located in eight areas. As an entity it represents the first successful transfer of

industrialization from the West to a non-Western nation from the 1850s to 1910. The site of Takashima coal mine consists of two component parts: Takashima coal mine and Hashima coal mine (Okada 2014), According to the convention on *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Sites* (2012), serial component parts should be connected with regard to cultural, social or functional aspects such as landscape, ecology, evolution or habitat (see section 137).

When considering the character of serial sites, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) is assigned to evaluate proposed world heritage properties by using thematic studies. This approach is taken to avoid fragmentation and to improve coherence among component parts (see section 137). It primarily depends upon a process of classification that historians do not usually employ – theme.. Although theme seems important, historians normally devote themselves to establishing a building or site by telling a rich, evocative and complex story about it; not by classifying it under a perceived theme (Davison 2008). Nevertheless it can be argued that thematic treatment can be conceptually and practically of service to heritage-making as long as it is not taken too seriously or adhered to too rigidly. For example, provided a coherent story and significance in history are included, and an unbalanced concentration or duplication and endless antique collecting are less emphasised.

The Japanese government has suggested that the theme is an exceptional example of the first historical transfer, adoption and adaptation of industrialization from the West to a non-Western nation (global value)**.** Thus in the case of 'serial nomination', it is significant to select sites which have a suitable 'storyline' to meet criteria for nomination and which are manageable and coherent. However, in this dissertation this approach will be strongly refuted and the study will provide answers to research questions that demonstrate how

capitalistic production ('commodity-making') infiltrates into heritage making and the past is re-written for seemly continuous social transformation in the present.

The map below (Figure 4) illustrates the historical contribution of places on the candidate list in terms of geopolitical formation when the area is considered for WHS selection. Hashima, near Nagasaki city, is positioned to be ascribed to meaning and significance in context this dissertation. Tradition – historical exchanges between the East and West - already existed in the region before 19th century. This foundational experience enabled Japan to perform the Meiji Revolution voluntarily.

Figure 4: Modern industrial heritage route map, showing Nagasaki city

(Source: <http://www.kyuyama.jp/e/kyushuyamaguchi/map.html>)

Hashima Island is a contested historical place, both in terms of a proposed industrial heritage site and because of the different views of the Japanese and Korean states about the island. This contestation around history and heritage is the result of Hashima being important in three periods of rapid, national and historical transformations: the Meiji-era

industrialisation/modernisation; the colonial and decolonizing era pre- and post-1945; and the late twentieth century era of economic decline (Lavery, Dixon, Fearnley & Pendleton, 2014, p. 6). The situation is more complicated if one sees there are also different ideas and views of historical occurrences between Japan, America and East Asian countries. For example, among others, the extreme focus on the American victory in the Pacific in the end of the Second World War since 1945 has eclipsed the Asian contribution to history; namely, the defeat of Imperial Japan which helped bring justice for the crimes that had been committed during the war through colonisation by the former imperial Japanese government against other Asian peoples. Nevertheless, the American view has also helped put the war more easily out of mind for Japanese interests (John 2000, p. 27).

In the submission for World Heritage Sites, the 'Proposed Statement of Outstanding Universal Value' made by the Japanese government must be described. The focus on Hashima Island was given to reflect the importance of how the unique interchange of Eastern and Western culture, particularly the openness to Western technology, gave rise to the rapid industrialisation of Japan between 1850 and 1910. This laid the foundation for a global economic power and represents a significant stage in world history and development (Agency of Cultural Affairs of Japan 2009). In this way it can be seen that the identification and preservation of objects and spaces as Japanese heritage takes place through and by virtue of the fact that they fit into the framework of the Japanese experience of modernity (Lavery et al. 2014, p. 6). However, this contrasts with the views of the Korean people in the colonial period pre-1945 who regarded Hashima Island not with pride, but with shame. At the coal mine, which was then called a 'prison island', Koreans were forced to work for 12 hours a day in pits 1, 000 metres under water. A total of 122 Koreans died there, including those who were drowned while trying to escape. In addition, the workers suffered from malnutrition while being forced to work under dangerous and unhygienic conditions (Koehler. 2013).

An insightful documentary film called *Meiji Revolution* about Japanese ordinary workers in the Meiji period portrays what life was like in Hashima. The following is an extract from the film:

> **Peter Coyote (narrator):** Conditions were even more severe in heavy industry sectors like coalmining. The worst of these is Hashima, "Battleship Island". It lies four miles from Nagasaki harbour. Japan's modernisation could cost "ghostly" [nickname for Hashima Island] well. During the Meiji, [period] Battleship Island was a Mitsubishi coal mine. It was surrounded by high wall[s] and meant to keep [the] sea out. The small island is choked with scores [of] dormitories formerly filled with prisoners, outcasts and poor farmers. Their quarters were called "assmall": dark cells that were built to house entire families.
>
> **Mikio Sumiya (Japan Institute of Labours):** It was hell. Many people tried to escape but they could not because it was an island. Records shows that people were caught trying to leave the island. They met horrible ends.
>
> **Peter Coyote (narrator):** Around 1890 newspaper accounts alleged that miners were murdered by bosses when they were caught trying to escape … Battleship Island. Inside coal pits temperature[s] rose to 30 degrees. Men and women worked nearly naked crawling in tunnel[s] too low to allow them to stand. When a cholera epidemic broke out, Mitsubishi burned out all the victims dead or alive.

Figure 5: Japanese prisoners and coalminers in Hashima during the Meiji period

(**Source:** Film documentary on the 'Meiji Revolution')

These two previously unknown stories show that the meaning, experiences and memories associated with the past (including the material past) may be varied and contested. Without giving deep thought to the past, something becomes heritage through cultural and political production. In other words, the past is permeated with contemporary political, social and discursive meanings (Kenny 2011, p. 93). Consequently, South Korea's foreign ministry protested against Tokyo's move, by saying that listing a facility that a neighbouring country associates with pain violates the principles and spirit of being a World Heritage Site (Koehler 2013). To some extent this illustrates that the thematic approach fails to contain diverse voices and other memories in the public interest that contribute to consolidating the selected and universal storyline. In this process, the intervention of political, social and

economic powers is anticipated in selecting a full significance when ascribing meanings to places.

Iwanmoto – Counsellor in the Japanese Cabinet Secretariat – rejected the comment by arguing that post-1910 remains do not contribute to the 'outstanding universal value' of the sites of Japan's Meiji industrial revolution but that the Japanese government wished only to conserve the remains of post-1910 products facilities and post-1910 residential buildings because they hold their own inherent historical value (Iwamoto 2014). This argument is strongly concerned with the ascription of a certain value on material objects. That is to say, people need heritage objects for operative reification.

Han (2012) puts forward the view that places associated with dramatic experiences evoke strong reactions in any given observer. This idea can trigger a chain of intense memories among people when those with different experiences associate them with opposing experiences and meanings. Accordingly, the present generation in Japan and Korea may inherit the legacy that the older generation failed to go further with – that of not achieving a historically proper reconciliation with respect to a social memory. In terms of the dangers of such 'historical amnesia' (John 2000, p. 28) states the following:

> Above all, the pre-occupation with Japan's own misery helps to illuminate the ways in which victim consciousness colours the identities that all groups and peoples build for themselves. Therefore historical amnesia in relation to war crimes has naturally taken particular forms in Japan, but the patterns of remembering and forgetting are most meaningful when seen in the broadly political, social and economic context of public memory and myth-making generally -, issues that have deservedly come to attract great attention in recent years

1.2 Research questions

Generally speaking it can surely be accepted that the people in power can influence the heritage-making process in favour of their political, economic and social interests. The mode of heritage-making is like a mental map or diagram that shows how types of power link together in a systematic manner which can result in a specific form of power apparatus. Far from being neutral, the work of the power apparatus is intended to achieve particular goals: a state of organisation of social life; divorcing issues from politics; the linking of countries and communities to world economies in specific ways and the transformation of local cultures in line with modern global standards and orientations (Escobar1997, p. 503).

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) also notes that the way in which heritage is funded may not only affect the appraisal of the heritage but it may even contribute to the creation of the heritage. Valorisation is the process whereby value is officially assigned to something. This can be done by means of awards or plaques or by assigning values other than economic to something. In a sense therefore all heritages are created (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006, p. 191). To be more specific, uses for potential heritages are foreseen and the interests of different actors in society, politic**s** and economy are often seen to be promoted. These interests are sometimes the motivation for the nomination and selection of certain sites. This can also be seen by the urgency with which certain aspects or segments of culture are treated. These hidden motivations should be identified (Bendix 2009, p. 259) and having examined them, this researcher can say that it is true that the excessive attention to improvement of their 'exchange value', so to speak, or the extension of commoditisation, makes it difficult to make sense of the attempted ascribed meanings that the heritage practitioners made or did properly. It is highly probable, on this point, that heritage is engaged with political, social and economic interests.

The key question of this research then is:

Why was the Hashima coal mine included in the industrial heritage sites selected for the designation as World Heritage sites by the Japanese government?

The above question is broken down and dealt with through a series of sub-questions as follows:

1. What kind of values, among others, are emphasised in the production of heritage?
2. For what/whom does heritage exist?
3. What makes it possible for heritage to become a commodity?
4. How does heritage affect personal and collective memory?
5. What kinds of results in individual life are expected to take place after making heritage and memory a commodity?
6. How can heritage resources be re-assembled?
7. Why are conflicting values and changing authenticity essential in the understanding of nationalism, capitalism and heritage as a commodity?

Karl Polanyi (2001) gives insightful explanations into the realities of ongoing commodity-making in terms of what kind of future we humans face. He points out that a fully self-regulating market economy requires that human beings and the natural environment be turned into commodities. He thinks that the outcome will be destructive outcomes to both society and the environment (Polanyi 2001, p. xxv). In this regard, while this researcher considers these research questions, it is expected that factors that facilitate commodity-making will be somewhat clarified ahead. Furthermore the aim of this dissertation is to gain insight into relevant issues surrounding heritage formation and to address problems in a complex society within or across national boundaries. It is hoped that this then will lead to

an understanding of how the construction of new traditions hinders social change in many different fields. Then one can perhaps learn important clues as to how it can be addressed.

1.3 Methodology

In terms of the discipline of history, if weak stakeholders usually fail to go through compromise or mediate their interests, the 'represented' past or history in favour of the strong may unfavourably bind them with chains and then it might be difficult to change strongly fixed perceptions. Even if perceptions weaken temporally, there is high probability that some strong resilient features will revive among other stakeholders.

Methodologically, the 'detective' approach has brought about transformative changes in the discipline of anthropology. The most obvious is what Marcus and Fishcher (cited in Cheung 2003) elaborate as the internal critiques of anthropology which emerged in the 1960s. These include a shift of interest in anthropological analysis away from behaviour and social structure towards the study of symbols, meanings, and mentality. Consequently, it is now recognised that fieldwork is no longer the exclusive method of ethnographic research but that a broader view of history and politics is becoming more important (Cheung2003, p. 15). This study adopts these ideas as foundational to identify which of the various meanings in the Hashima Island site are taken and incorporated for the official heritage- making project there. In particular, this study will examine typical photographs that have been considered, disseminated and promoted to indicate what was authentic about Hashima Island. A critical review of articles, photographs, video clips and newspapers were an important method of this enquiry. Above all, when it comes to heritage-making for Hashima Island, documentary films are given credit for their contribution to the understanding of historical, political, social and economic background in Japan. In particular, documentary films with different interpretations and emphasis in terms of a series of historical events make one understand why controversies occur and what dominant meanings are ascribed to canonical heritage.

These broad views for research serve to access and identify the values, significance and meanings which ought to be adopted to meet the primary need of the present. Use is also made of the model of heritage-making as (see Figure 8 below). Furthermore interpretation is important for a specific heritage production typical of capitalist production. It is necessary to pay special attention to this point because it makes it possible to identify what authenticity is to be promoted and consumed by the tourism industry since the general perception has been subordinated to it. Today, there are many private and public websites, blogs (including photo books) that hold rare and precious photographs of the historical records which can facilitate our interest. A selection of a few of them were used in this research. However, most of them came from tourist leaflets which Nagasaki city have produced and they have been examined as the research set a target on analysing official interpretations.

Originally the various approaches to this research were drawn up, but interviews with relevant persons fell through because the topic quickly turned into serious political debates on issues between Japan and Korea. The researcher's nationality may have influenced this failure. However, later the researcher was fortunate to have useful feedback from a Japanese national living in Cape Town.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

To facilitate an understanding of this paper, and thus as an introduction to the questions themselves, it will be necessary to examine the historical background that the thematic approach adopts in the process of the heritage site nomination. It is hoped that through this study one can appreciate that there have been various voices and meanings in the past.

2.1 Historical trajectory of the Nagasaki region: Kyushu and Yamauchi

History, that is, the occurrences of the past, fulfils a number of functions, one of which is shaping socio-cultural place identities in order to support particular state structures (Aplin 2002, p.15). At this point, particular moments from history become as if they were part of the present (Riegl 1996, p.77). From the outset that these moments become monuments in their own right it gives them a purpose in history - to keep them perpetually alive and present in the consciousness of future generations (Riegl 1996, p. 77). With these considerations in mind, this chapter will review historical characteristics to understand which primary facts or possibilities for heritage-making have existed in the region. Of course, the purpose of this examination is to elaborate the main features of heritage resources. Then one can understand the purposes of certain state structures.

Historically, the Nagasaki region was a very important area linking the West and Japan. This was done with the permission of local authorities under strict and far-reaching control by the central government. After the arrival of the first Portuguese traders in Japan and the introduction of guns in 1543, the daimyo (feudal lords) in various parts of the country began to welcome the Portuguese ships into their areas to promote trade and in some cases to introduce Christianity (Earn & Burke-Gaffney 1997).

However, experience with the Portuguese missionaries underlined Christianity as a fundamental threat to Japanese society. For instance, the Shimabara Rebellion[1], a Christian uprising near Nagasaki in 1637, increased the central government's fears of the influence of Christianity and the Portuguese. The Tokugawa government finally expelled all Portuguese from Japan in 1639, thus enforcing a policy of national isolation and leaving Dejima Island (off Nagasaki) empty (Earn & Burke-Gaffney 1997). Thereafter, contact with foreigners was cruelly suppressed. Later, local authorities did allow a small community of Dutch nationals to settle on Dejima Island (Smith, 2012, p. 209),where they could trade with carefully selected Japanese. Accordingly, Nagasaki became a small window to the West and enabled Western knowledge to slowly infiltrate into Japan (Smith, 2012, p. 180).

In 1854 the Japanese government signed a trade pact with the United States, and this was followed soon after by trade pacts with Russia, Great Britain and France (Earn & Burke-Gaffney 1997). Eventually the port of Nagasaki with Yokohama and Hakodate were opened to foreign trade, and these rapidly grew to become thriving communities. Customs houses, warehouses, waterfront dockyards and residences in the new foreign settlements rose almost overnight (Smith 2012, p. 239).

Such social challenges and turbulences were enough to provide justification for the struggle of power in the central government. When the 200-year-old peaceful politics of the Tokugawa came to an end, samurais in the region of the Satsuma and Choshu domain took political power. At the end of 1868, in response to military weakness on the part of the shogunate, they started an imperial restoration. In this they were also supported by samurais from other domains (Varley 2000, p. 237). The shogunate and vassals were compelled to submit to the rule of the newly inaugurated young emperor whose regime later came to be

[1] In the wake of the Matsukura clan's construction of a new castle at Shimabar, taxes was drastically raised, which provoked anger from local peasants and ronim (samurai without masters). Religious persecution of the local Catholics exacerbated the discontents, which turned into open revolt in 1637.

known as the 'Meiji' (Smith, 2012, p. 256). After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the new Meiji rulers made use of the national symbols of the emperor to justify their authority across the physical terrain. So although they constituted a radical new government, they took advantage of the old symbols. This meant that the emperor's theoretical absolute powers were exercised in his name by appointed officials (Kelman 2001, p. 34). Accordingly there was continuity of the important institutional and cultural forms (Inkster 2010, p. 291) compared to previous regimes.

The foundations for some of the great fortunes of Japan were laid in the early Meiji period, when the government, after nationalising and developing industries such as shipbuilding, mining, railroads, electricity and silk and cotton mills, then sold them to merchant contractors, who operated them as independent enterprises. This is how the Mitsubishi, Mitsui and Sumitomo fortunes were founded and how the great Zaibatsu organisations were born. These corporations grew rapidly into powerful industrial combines largely because of tight family control, the general economic growth of the country and the demand for consumer goods especially when Japan prospered after the war with China (Smith, 2012, p. 267). Mitsubishi, then one of powerful industrial combines, was the most important Zaibatsu involved in wartime production in Japan. As a private company, it was contracted by the Japanese government to build one of the country's most important warplanes, 'the Zero'[2] ,and it had major manufacturing plants that produced munitions and military vehicles. Mitsubishi owned and maintained shipyards in Nagasaki, Kobe, Yokohama and Shimonoseki, which built 22% of all Japanese naval tonnage from 1941 to 1945, therefore they were the most important part of the company's industrial empire (Palmer 2006, p. 337).

[2] The Zero were long-range fighter aircraft. Hayao Mizaki produced an animation entitled *When the Wind Rises* (2013) which this researcher viewed and noticed that the name of its manufacturer (Mitsubishi Materials) purposefully often appeared on the scene.

One ought to take note of Thomas B. Glover (1838-1911) who worked as manager in the Hashima coal mine. He was one of the major importers of Western technology and the 'Glover garden'[3] tourist attraction in Nagasaki city is named after him. He was also awarded the 'Order of the Rising Sun' by the emperor in 1908 in recognition of his achievements. In 1861 he founded Glover Trading Co. (Guraba-shokei) which traded in ships and weapons with the rebellious clans, Satsuma and Chosu in Kyushu and the Tosa from Shikoku. Strictly speaking, however, as these people were all rebelling against the Togukawa government of the shogunate, Glover was trading illegally - even treasonably - as Britain and the shogunate had signed a peace treaty in 1858 (Gardner 2011).

The challenges that Japan faced then at the national level can be clearly seen in the following discussions which are part of the documentary film *Meiji Revolution*.

> **Peter Coyote (narrator):** Government modernised too fast and tried to do everything themselves. The state built factories, boats and warships. It suddenly ran out money. At this point the Japanese government came up with one of the best solutions of all time. It decided to subcontract these constructions to the private sector. This is how Zaibatsu came about. At Nagasaki harbour, Mitsubishi was one of the private companies to form the kind of close relationship with the government that continues to lead to prosperity. In the 1880s Mitsubishi was just a small shipping company in a primitive industry. The government wanted Japan to build its own modern ships but did not want to pay for the construction. The government solution was to subsidise companies like Mitsubishi until it could pay for the new ships.

[3] It was occupied by his family and on business. It comprises Victorian style buildings and gardens. Mitsubishi Heavy Industries donated the buildings to the City of Nagasaki in 1957. It is one of the best ten attractive destinations given on the internet site of Nagasaki city.

> **Kuniko Inoguchi (Sophia University, Tokyo):** Bureaucracies tried to co-opt the business sector. They tamed the companies and then used them in [the] national interest.
>
> **Frank Gibney (author *The pacific century*):** This is [an] early version of what in the US [is] called the military-industrial complex. Their achievements were national ones but their properties were private properties. That was exactly the case in America. The achievement of Lockheed, General Dynamics and North America Rockwell are national achievements but any profits they made were private profits. That is exactly what the Japanese pioneered in 1880s.

The leaders of the Meiji Revolution were mostly samurais from the domains of Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa and Hizen. Therefore from the beginning, the Satsuma (from the island of Kyushu) and the Choshu men formed a separate clique because these two domains had been important during the overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate. They also dominated the new government (Varley 2000, p. 244) and so these oligarchs were able to retain firm control of the Japanese executive after the opening of the first Diet in 1890. Party members in the House of Representatives soon found that they could not participate significantly in the important decisions of Japan. The oligarchs formed an extra-legal body known as the Genre of Elders, consisting at first entirely of the highest Satsuma and Choshu leaders in government. It was they who selected the prime ministers and continued to dominate the affairs of state (Varley 2000, p. 246).

Much of the country's industry and commerce was also controlled by a small number of financial combines or Zaibatsu, whose managing families were associated through marriage and other ties with leading members of the Japanese bureaucracy and political parties (Varley 2000, p. 274). On the other hand, many of the samurais became entrepreneurs and capitalists and had little contact with townsfolk and commoners. Although there were selective adoptions into noble families, this was unlike what happened in Europe during the Industrial Revolution and eighteenth century Europe (Inkster 2010, p. 293).

At the national level the proposed statement of Outstanding Universal Value (Agency of Cultural Affairs of Japan 2009) says that after clashes with Western naval forces during the bombardments of Shimonoseki and Kagoshima, Japan earnestly began an active importation of technology from Britain and the Netherlands by making use of the Nagasaki area. This led to the construction of the Nagasaki iron works and the Shuseikan industrial complex in Kagasaki as well as Western-style shipyards in Nagasaki and coal mines using steam engines in Hashima Island and Mike mine; and it is these sites that have been nominated as World Heritage Sites. In terms of Japan's argument for the necessity of keeping her national security intact against outside threats, it can be said that a political and economic transformation were a natural step.

The history of Mitsubishi and Glover's contribution to Mitsubishi's development through his friendship with company founders (http://www.mitsubishi, com/e/history/series/Thomas) is portrayed as follows. Glover forged friendships with Mitsubishi founders Yataro Iwasaki and Yataro's brother, Yanosuke, the organisation's second president. The eldest Iwasaki represented the Tosa clan in Nagasaki and he was in the market for ships and armaments for his clan and Glover was the premier broker of those items in Nagasaki. In addition, Yataro turned frequently to his foreign friend for support and advice as Mitsubishi grew. Glover's knowledge and understanding of international business was invaluable to Mitsubishi, where he was an advisor for 40 years[4] (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Glover (seated second from the left) befriended Mitsubishi leaders, including Yanosuke Iwasaki (on Glover's left)

[4] The pamphlet of Nagasaki city mentions that he helped members of Satsuma clan to study in Britain. One such person was Ito Hirobumi who studied at University of London and wrote the first Japanese Constitution.

(**Source:** Mitsubishi Archive on-line<http://www.mitsubishi, com/e/history/series/Thomas>**)**

In terms of the old caste system the samurais were at the top of the social order as if by divine right, and they later also managed the new businesses. This legacy remains to this day, as the former upper classes do in Britain.(Gardner 2011).

It is clear from the above developments that Nagasaki included Kyushu and Yamauchi as a kind of place identity was used to construct state structures. Overall, at the national level this developmentbears testimony to a stable change and continuity over time and makes it possible to select candidate sites in response to the criteria of successful series nomination for the WHS. On the other hand, at the regional level in the East Asia imperial ruins or legacy category (namely, railways, coalmines, production facilities, buildings and so on)some local significance and meanings are lost as they are incorporated into world history and civilization development that Japan seeks to retain.

2.2 History of Hashima coal mine and modernisation

Hashima coalmine is located on Hashima Island 2km southwest of Takashima Island. The Takashima coal mine and the Hashima coal mine actually extract coal from the same coal seam (Iwamoto2014). Takashima Island was part of the feudal domain of the Fukahori family, a branch of the Nabeshima clan of the present-day Saga Prefecture. When they saw what profits were to be made from the coal trade, the Fukahori family usurped the management rights, assigned the roles of subcontractors and labourers to the islanders, and coal became one of the pillars of the local economy (Burke-Gaffney1996), p. 34). When industrialization developed with the invention of the steam engine coal became important as fuel for steam machines. It was then that Hashima's coal made a great contribution to Japan's modernisation. As it was close to Nagasaki port, and the only door to the West for two centuries, the island could easily introduce Western technologies when Japan opened up. The full-scale development of coal mining began in 1870 and by 1890 the Mitsubishi conglomerate began full-scale extraction (Shimbun 2014). Mitsubishi then started to tap the coal resources under the seabed, successfully sinking a 119 metre-long vertical shaft in 1895 and still another shaft in 1898. The company also utilised the slag from the mine to carry out a series of land reclamations, thereby creating flat space for industrial facilities and dormitories (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p. 35).

Experience gained during the operation of the Takashima coalfield, including Takashima and Hashima, laid the foundation of modern coal mining in Japan. Subsequently this knowledge spread to Miik and elsewhere in Japan and Asia. When studying the Takashima and Hashima coal mines, it is possible to see the chronological development of industry and technology (Iwamoto 2014). However it does depend upon one's point of view which would exclude someone else's.

In the 1890s, the workers and inhabitants of Hashima Island were mostly convicts sentenced to terms of hard labour. It was not until after the Korean War (1950-1953) when Japan's industries flourished that the community on Hashima thrived (Flagg 2014, p.54). For this reason, memories of post-1945 are pivotal in interpreting the burgeoning economy of the region and the privileged prosperity for the individuals in the island. The stories, pictures and ruins in public and private sectors are primary concerned with this period but the social history of pre-1945 does not constitute any of the public memories on Hashima Island.

After the world market crashed in 1923 and more dramatically again in 1930, Japan abandoned its unproductive policy of cooperation with the Western powers and started to act independently and forcefully in foreign affairs (Varley 2000, p 296). In May 1932 a group of young naval offices assassinated the prime minister, and with dramatic swiftness the era of democratic-party governments came to an end in Japan. The two major parties continued to win Diet elections until they were dissolved in 1940 in the name of national unity, but military men or those who cooperated with them became prime ministers from 1932 onwards. In Japan this era is regarded as the era of Fascism that led to the Pacific War (Varley 2000, p. 299).

From 1937 there was extensive conscription in Japan during the war between China and Japan. In order to fight the war Japan needed all its human and material resources. Of course military troops were important but it was also important that there were workers who could help produce munitions and fuel and so in 1938 Japan enacted a martial law concerning the mobilisation of human resources and material. This also meant that, until its defeat in 1945, the government had the power to force the colonised Korean people to work whereever it was necessary to address the shortage of labour (Yun 2012, p. 16). At first the Japanese government used deception to recruit labour, but by 1940 it openly compelled people into labour. There were full-scale forced labour roundups, euphemistically labelled 'conscription',

which to a large extent replaced voluntary labour. This labour policy was perceived as kidnapping by most Koreans who did not wish to collaborate with the Japanese authorities (Palmer 2006, p. 338). By the same token, the inflow of Korean people into Hashima Island continued to increase after 1937. The number reached a peak in 1945 (Yun, 2012, p. 16) while Hashima's annual coal production reached a peak of 410 000 tons in 1941. But it was an achievement that exacted a heavy toll in human suffering. While Japanese youth disappeared onto the battlefields of China, Southeast Asia and the Pacific, the Japanese government forcibly recruited large numbers of Korean and Chinese nationals to fill the empty places in its factories and mines and many of these men perished as a result of the harsh conditions and starvation (Burke-Gaffney1996, p. 38).

Between 1925 and 1945 a total of 800 Koreans were sent to Hashima Island and forced to work 12 hours a day in tunnels up to 1000 metres under the sea. The hard labour killed 122 of them. A survey report states that of the 92 deaths of the Koreans over 17, twenty-eight (30%) were due to disease (such as pneumonia and asthma), thirteen (14%) to injury (such as contusion and fracture), and seventeen (18.5%) either suffocated or were crushed to death after being buried by accident (Yoo, 2014).

The following testimonies from a KBS documentary film (*Conversation with the Past*, 2010) by former workers plainly show these were truths:

> **Japanese former worker:** Ordinary people in Japan avoided approaching Hashima because it was known as "Hell Island". During the Meiji Restoration, criminals worked there. Korean miners worked one kilometre underground where it was the most dangerous **(KBS, 2010).**

> **Korean former worker 1:** I am sure that this place (Hashima coal mine) was the infernal region for us. A person only could leave here as a corpse or by becoming deformed (**KBS, 2010).**

> **Korean former worker 2):** Mosquitoes attacked us every day in dormitory. We suffered cramps after work because of malnutrition. The cruel realities were worse than death. We would kill ourselves if we had to stay there for more than a year. We just ate food and worked there. We never got any salary there. They gave me 10 yen when I left there for Korea **(KBS, 2010).**

> **Japanese local historian 1:** If a miner asked for sick leave, the manager wondered if he was slow and lazy and questioned where the pain was located. He beat the affected part until the miner accepted going back to work **(KBS, 2010).**

Although Koreans and Japanese worked together, with some Koreans performing basic manual labour and others skilled work, there were separate living quarters for the Koreans. Koreans lived and worked under brutal conditions, with company police punishing any violations of the rules with beatings, sometimes using a metal bar. Koreans were confined to dormitory facilities when not on their jobs and were only allowed two holidays a month - if permission was granted - and then their leader was required to follow them (Palmer 2006, p. 340). There was also a rigid hierarchy of social classes with regard to the allocation of apartments. Unmarried miners and employees of subcontracting companies occupied the old one-room apartments; married Mitsubishi workers and their families were allocated apartments with two six-mattress rooms but shared toilets, kitchens and baths; high-ranking office personnel and teachers were given two-bedroom apartments with kitchens and flush toilets. The manager of Mitsubishi Hashima Coal Mine could reside in the only private, wood-constructed residence on the island - a house located symbolically at the summit of Hashima's original rock (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p. 40).

Furthermore, companies never gave employees cash when it was wage day. They deducted most of the money from workers' wage by listing items in the statement of salary. This manipulation could add to the internal reserves of the company (KBS, 2010: Japanese local historian 2). This allegation was verified when a major 1993 NHK television documentary

tracked the trajectory of this money and found that it had been diverted through Japanese government agencies into secret bank accounts (Palmer2006, p. 339). If considered in terms of Japan's modern history it is obvious that Japan's success and prosperity was in part built on aggression, exploitation, militarism, employer system fascism, and discrimination. Consequently, it can be said that the history of the Korean and Chinese labourers in the Hashima mines were part of the dark side of Japan's prosperity (Yoo 2014).

According to McManamon (2000, p.17) one is apt to call history 'communion', but it actually is heritage. The distinction is vital. History explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time; like in this case where heritage clarifies the past so as to infuse them with present purposes (Myers 2004, p. 463).

CHAPTER 3: THE JAPANESE STATE AND THE INVENTION OF TRADITION

This chapter will explore for whom and what heritage making has been constructed. Continuity cannot be possible without strengthening or replacing dominant tradition. Meanwhile nationhood, in other words, secularized social order, changes the way it looks through traditions. Unique industrialization in Japan enabled the country to strengthen its historical nationhood.

According to Jokilehto (2006, p. 7):

> Culture in itself involves both continuity and change, and traditional handing down of know-how and skills would often mean some change while at the same time building up and keeping its cultural identity. In extreme cases, such change could lead to the falsification or even extinction of cultural traditions. It may be thus not be by chance that traditions and betrayal have the same origin. The question is whether a tradition has kept the essence established through continuity in time and what the rate of change and the limits tolerable is without losing its values..

3. 1 Japanese Culture: Zen Buddhism

According to Edward Said (cited in Abu-Lughod 1991, p.144), race and culture are often considered to be one and it is accepted that people from the East and the West are very different, almost as if this difference is inborn. In the twentieth century, cultural differences - not race - have become the basic subject of Oriental scholarship and basic differences in development, economic performance, government, character, and so forth are attributed to this disparity (Abu-Lughod 1991, p. 144). Such simple cultural generalizations are very powerful and continue to affect our way of thinking and people continue to believe in them even if they are no longer necessary (Sen 2004, p. 8). In addition, such discourse is placed in the vortex of heritage-making and is dominated by the state. Accordingly discussions about making culture more governable and creating self-reflexive governmental systems are present in all the analysed documentsof the UNESCO Convention text. This can be seen in

the definition of stakeholders and their positions; affirming the positions of states and international instruments and practices for the use of power over culture. There are attempts to improve public sector strategic and management capacities in cultural public sector institutions through professional and international cultural exchanges and the sharing of best practices (Pyykkonen 2012, p. 549).

World heritage lies at the centre of such a dispute. It is not only a type of 'universalising grammar' that changes local perceptions and realities but also a translocal, transnational project. This discourse entails categorisation and selection. This has the effect of mapping the world and selecting sites for conservation in terms of immutable categories such as civilisation, culture and tradition which are indeed the key paradigms reflected in UNESCO's pronouncements and conventions Askew (2010, p. 29). Experts actively produce and negotiate these regimes of value, thus mediating the authenticity of specific objects (Johnes 2010, p. 182). Japan is not exception to this trend. Having culture as a core value without considering process and temporality is equal to culture being the mysterious commodity form in its relationship to value and exchange. This critique turns into economic wellbeing replacing political accountability, attaching cultural essence to the realisation of successful performance as a natural partnership. Accordingly, in these terms, it is important to represent a reified past and its identity with the present in a dimension of figuring the now as a temporally marked presentation or a showing of itself (Harootunian 2009, p. 108). When the presentation is properly under the way, traditions of culture are very rarely thought of as heritage unless there is uncertainty, risk, a perception of threat, or the need to compete for attention with other interests that are seen to be detrimental to them (Harrison 2013, p. 20). When civilisation, culture and tradition in a nation state do not correspond to the 'universalizing grammar' set by UNESCO, it may turn out as not having them from the point of view of heritage experts and inspectors dispatched from the West. As a result, the heritage concept is problematic and mixed up with the politics of empowerment not only

when it is used to mask and defuse social differences, but also when it is used to highlight invented traditions and selected values. This is the case in two respects: firstly by emphasising intergenerational and family ties of property and belief, and secondly as the heritage concept enforces continuity of the past (Kaufman 1998, p. 64).

Japan accepted a type of modernity and Westernisation from the Meiji era through to the early 1920s. But by the late 1930s, Japan considered uncontaminated culture to be more important and in urgent need of protection because cultural purity was perceived as being lost. Therefore many felt justified in using militant forms of political and cultural action to preserve Japan against the threat of external pollution (Cornyetz 2009, p.337).

Kawabata saw his art as springing from the native literary tradition rather than from the essentially Western ideas of Neoperceptism. He speaks for example of 'haikyo' and 'waka'- those arts of suggestion and evocation, reversal and juxtaposition, so typical of the East (Varley 2000, p. 299). When Kawabata accepted his Nobel Prize, Zen Buddhism in particular signified something quite different from what it had before the twentieth century and had become the favoured vessel for aesthetic-ontic constellation. With Japan's modernity, the meaning of Zen shifted from an institutionalized religious practice by a dominant aristocratic military minority to a subjectively individual, yet culturally communal, ontology available to the masses and linked to nationalism (Cornyetz 2009, p.333). To be specific, the tea ceremony, monochrome painting and landscape gardening came to be regarded as part of the distinctive 'Zen culture' of Muro-machi Japan. All the arts of the middle and late medieval age were governed by aesthetic tastes - such as simplicity, restraint and a liking for the weathered, imperfect and austere. These are not exclusively Zen in origin, but are associated with the Zen attitude (Varley 2000, p.139).

In practice Japanese Zen establishments, both the Five Mountain and the Rinka, owe much of their success to the strict discipline of their monks and their teaching of traditional virtues,

especially loyalty to one lord. While warriors, court officials and merchants disliked and criticised Zen monks for this (Belford 2009, p. 31), Japan successfully drew its cultural essence from Zen Buddhism corresponding to the demand of modernity , the tea ceremony, monochrome painting and landscape gardening.

3.2 Nationhood: secularized social order

According to Anderson(1991, p. 81), the eighteenth century in Europe was not only the dawn of the age of nationalism but the dusk of religious modes of thought. The century of the Enlightenment, of rationalist secularism, brought with it its own modern darkness. With the ebbing of religious belief, something else was sought to provide a feeling of continuity and few things are better suited to this end than an idea of nation. So nationalism was born. To this end, it was sometimes necessary to invent a united and collective past either by semi-fiction or by forgery (Labadi, S. (2007, p. 161). The concern with sincerity is a product of the breakdown of feudalism, with its taken-for-granted, cosmically defined social order. This breakdown brought about social mobility and urbanisation and meant that people were no longer quite sure where they belonged, what the future held for them, or who their neighbours were (Johnes 2010, p. 187). This chaotic disarray occurred in conjunction with a new assemblage of symbols, meanings and mentality. It was then that something secular emerged as a primary value replacing spiritual, cosmic and religious values - social mobility and urbanisation which ran counter to religion.

According to Anderson (1991, p. 9), regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in practice, the nation should be always seen as a deep ‘horizontal’ comradeship regardless of all classes. It may be said with safety that in Japan there were attempts to take charge of all aspects of economic, political and cultural life and to unite ‘the masses’ in an attitude of reverence for one quasi-divine figure (in this case, the emperor) (Tansman, 2009,

p. 15). In the words of Varley (2000, p. 297) 'Japan became a sacred land, ruled by a godlike emperor'. Its citizens were the members of a great family headed by him and they were expected to serve the state with loyalty and not to ask questions.

Japan is well-known for its religious diversity. It is easy to see all kinds of shrines everywhere. The shrines are local and their objects of worship range from natural phenomena and deified heroes, to local spirits. How to unify this diversity and thus produce a national sentiment was a problem for 'State Shinto'. The solution was to give all the shrines a patriotic meaning through a focus on the emperor (Hardacre, 2006, p.124). The term State Shinto describes the state's financial support of and selective ideological appropriation of Shinto in the modern period, from the beginning of the Meiji period (1868-1912) until it was dissolved by the Allied Occupation with the 'Shinto Directive'[5] of 1945. However, the issue of the state's endorsement of and the prime minister's engagement in religious practices at Shinto shrines has remained a subject of great political controversy until only recently (Hardacre 2006, p. 117).

After end of the Cold War, Japan was forced to experience a wider and more complicated view of itself in the world. Despite the relevant neglect of its war-memory and repression of its neighbours, Japan was assigned to address its own political and economic agenda in Asia (Gluck 2006, p. 580). However, to follow Fukuzwa Yukichi's famous formulation, unfortunately Japanese behaviour seems always to result in the pattern of 'Escape from Asia. Enter Europe'. On the other hand, Japanese identity cannot be mentioned without a focus on the Emperor (Nezar 2001, p. 2). Nationhood needs to be associated with a separate and independent entity based on a united and collective past and something almost equivalent to a religious and cosmic social order. Therefore, there was on-going recognition of the

[5] Allied Occupation stopped any involvement from government with respect to Shinto.

superiority of Japan because it was a land uncontaminated by foreign powers and where there was unquestionable loyalty to the emperor.

3.3 The invention of tradition

I am strongly sure that when material objects or distinctive behaviours should be selected for heritage making, continuity is important criteria corresponding to power relations. In this point heritage making may function as reflecting dramatic change. However this case rarely happens to us.

An excerpt from a summary of the submission for Nomination to the World Heritage List (2015) from the Office of the Consortium for the Promotion of the Modern Industrial Heritage in Kyushu and Yamaguchi reads as follows:

> Many nations depend on heritage preservation, the invention of tradition, and the rewriting of history as forms of self-definition. Indeed the events of the last decade have created a dramatically altered global order that requires a new understanding of the role of tradition and heritage in making of social space and the shaping of cityform.From the middle of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, Japan achieved rapid industrialization. This successful industrialization was achieved in just a little over 50 years without colonization and on Japan's own terms. The nominated property is testimony to this unique phase in world history.
>
> According to General Principles and Strategic Framework for Conservation and Management, Glover House and Office is not listed as a candidate for nomination, is listed and addressed as part of whole management plan together with Nagasaki Shipyard and Takashima coal mine, being considered as city landscape (Excerpt from the Summary of Nomination to the UNESCO World Heritage List, 2015).

In fact it has been long time since political leaders launched this kind of pre-emptive action over history. After the unification of Japan (1603) following a chaotic civil war, the Tokugawa was determined to prevent the kind of social upheaval that had made possible the careers of men like Dosan and Hideyoshi.[6] Therefore, he instituted a rigid status system among warriors. This system prescribed rules for all manner of things, including style of residence, type of clothing, from of transportation, size of retinue, value of gifts given and received, and even in the case of daimyos, seating positions at the shogun's court in Edo Castle. This was intended to lock all samurai into place on a social hierarchy so that no one could leave his place (Varley 2000, p. 169). However, this tradition was destined to lose its resilience when the Tokugawa regime was in overall crisis, in particular during full-scale contact with the West – which began with the United States. This was to facilitate the end of its regime.

At the very beginning of the Meiji period, the cry of 'Expel the barbarians!' was a short-lived one. Meiji leaders may have continued to harbour personal animosities toward the West, particularly for forcing Japan to accede to unequal treaties but they were, by and large, pragmatic men who respected the material superiority of the West and wished to follow their example by undertaking modernisation (Varley 2000, p. 169). They had by then realised that Japan could not attain the mission without modernising itself, but th leaders had to shelve other plans for the time being. The Reformers, also samurai, took the West as their model and there was much talk of enlightenment (Dower et al., p. 11). This new government was intent on improving the economy of the country and building up its military strength. Foreign experts in transportation, defence, agriculture and industry were employed and their progressive methods carefully studied and adopted. Social reform was considered important and compulsory education was introduced by the end of the Meiji period; attendance in schools stood at 99% (Smith, 2012, p. 259). Hundreds of trade

[6] They all grew to one of the highest daimyos (military generals) from the lowest classes.

associations were also established under government auspices after 1883. The intention was to control product quality but they soon emerged as regional technological extension centres (Inkster 2010, p.302). However, the Meiji government in its critical education policy, decided to introduce a social ideology derived mainly from the Shino-Confucian concepts ('traditional') that had evolved as a new orthodoxy of thought in the late Tokugawa period. This closed its earlier flirtation with the ideals of Western liberalism and democracy. Morality was once again to be based on hierarchical virtues like loyalty and filial piety. The ultimate object of devotion for all Japanese citizens was to be the throne (Varley 2000, p. 246). In the Meiji constitution of 1889, the centrality of the emperor to the nation and state is still made clear. The emperor is not only the ruler, but the symbol of continuity stretching back beyond the modern nation-state to the time of the world's creation (Kelman 2001, p. 34).

The new leaders of Japan were attracted - in the face of the reckless, unsettling modernisation - to traditional (in fact largely newly invented) national values. These included the ideas of Yamato dasmahii (Japanese soul or spirit) and datsua (literally escape from Asia; the Meiji era policy of Westernisation that drew on a sense of ethnic superiority not shared by other Asians - in the same way British Imperialists believed none shared theirs). This was a dangerous incendiary cocktail which could be manipulated and which was to be ignited by twentieth century militarists (Gardner2011).

The fact that the Meiji state emerged as an imperialist power was conjured up by a catchphrase from the mid-1880s. People were called upon to discard backward traditions under the rubric 'throwing off Asia' and forcing Japan's Asian neighbours to do the same if they proved incapable of modernising on their own (Dower et al, 2012, p. 11). The writing of new stories (traditions) may be invested with evocative and future-oriented messages. The types of relations among industry, government and people were codified as

'traditional' and were accepted as 'cultural'. In effect, according to Hobshawn (2000, p. 3) such traditions are often invented during a time of great change when old traditions are no longer applicable or when they have become inflexible. People feel safer if they think they are following 'invented tradition' (Hobsbawn 2000, p. 3).

Accordingly, some see culture as a set of material objects and distinctive behaviours. When this interpretation of culture is inserted into developmental thinking, it promotes the orientation of culturally distinctive products and services on the market (Racliffe 2006, p. 234). There are many actors involved in such culture, many of them differently positioned in power relations, political economies, and social reproduction (Racliffe 2006, p. 16). Tradition can be seen as something which is invented to serve the interests of certain people (Bendix 2009, p. 254).Invented tradition is taken to mean a set of practices normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seeks to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition. This automatically implies continuity with the past. Of course, people seeking to enforce these traditions select only suitable incidents or aspects of the past (Hobsbawn 2000, p. 1).

According to Hutton (cited in Barthel-Boundier & Min Hui 2007, p. 4) there is an interaction between repetition and recollection that is key to any consideration of the relationship between history and memory. He defines repetition as continuing to allow images of the past to shape our present understanding in unreflective ways. These memories are like habits of mind that are readily associated with collective memories. Recollections, by contrast, involve the conscious, selective reconstruction of the past (Barthel-Boundier& Min Hui. 2007, p. 4). At this point, the study of colonial ruination affords much insight and shows how new traditions are saturated with continuity and momentum for the benefit of the present. Therefore identifying the ruins of empire serves less to emphasise the artefacts of empire as dead matter or remnants of a defunct regime

than to attend to their re-appropriations and strategic and active positioning within the politics of the present (Stoler 2008, p. 196).

The Japanese government participated in the international fairs of Vienna in 1873 and of Philadelphia in 1876 and then felt the need for a trade show of its own. The emphasis was on industry, as the promoters of the fairs hoped to show that Japan's craftsmen and industrial designers could produce Western-style goods as well as traditional Japanese items (Smith 2012, p. 273). By 1910 Japan was being mentioned as the 'England of the East' and this was celebrated in a magnificent exhibition in London: the Japan/British Exhibition, which attracted eight million visitors in three months and gave Japan the opportunity to show off its national treasures and also the exhibits from its colonies. This followed a long tradition of exhibitions in Britain where its colonies had their own pavilions (Smith 2012, p. 217). The exhibition on Korea included a display of porcelain, metalwork, armour, and bows and arrows, as well as agricultural products and implements that Japan introduced into Korea. The exhibition also coincided with the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty in 1910, which confirmed Japanese rule in Korea.

Figure 7:The entrance gate of the Korean Section (1910, British-Japan Exhibition).

(Source: Library, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew)

As an example of rationalisations made by empires during that period, the official report (*The Official Report: Japan British Exhibition*, 1910) on the Exhibition emphasised the good work Japan had done for Korea as follows:

> She has awakened Korea out of her long sleep, and improved her country and the condition of her people. She has built roads, established industries, and introduced improved agricultural methods (*The Official Report: Japan British Exhibition*1910, p. 288).

When one looks at the political and cultural context of the Japan-British exhibition, it is clear that the agricultural models were intended as more than curiosities. Instead, they were symbolic of a technologically modern, expanding empire, in a way that British visitors would recognise as typical of the British Empire**.**

The Japanese Government provided the following arguments to prove that they meet the criteria set out in the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (WHC, 08/01. January 2008).

> Japan did some trial and error experimentation which led to the importation of western technology. The following factors were significant in attaining the skills needed for the rapid and successful modernisation: cooperation between clan leaders and elite, Japan-based foreign entrepreneurs in the application of this technology to local circumstances; knowledge transfer from foreign commissioning engineers in key imports; and the overseas, and local, training of Japanese specialists (Agency of Cultural Affairs of Japan 2009).

Nation formation in Japan meant catching up with the West while remaining independent of the colonial powers. The Meiji oligarchs were able to define modernity in a way that helped to make their position synonymous with the strength of the nation while being seen as the facilitators of progress (Kelman2001, p. 35). What is interesting about the national narratives is that they are often one-sided, often chronological and have a sense of a fixed, static, historical truth, about them. It is as if the perceived development from the past to today is

natural, and that the present-day is an inevitable culmination of this process. In fact this is an illusion (Wollentz 2014, p. 10). Following the higher agenda, ordinary people were physically and psychologically forced to be mobilised and assigned to their tasks. These tasks were in the interests of transformation. They might think that they could die at the battlefield for national interest and the national collapse would be identical to an individual one. The main purpose of celebrating traditions is to make certain groups such as nations, ethnic groups, or classes feel superior to other such social units. Therefore traditions and heritage are given an ancient, even timeless aura, even though they are actually often fairly recent and conscious creations (Cox & Bruman 2009, p. 4).

In the nomination dossier for the promotion of the modern industrial heritage in Kyushu and Yamaguchi for world heritage status (2015) the Japanese government claimed that the natural transformation from the past to the present came into being as follows:

> In the course of the industrialization a distinct form of industrial culture was developed and survives to this day. The moulding of the industrialization of a nation by a cultural tradition, and the survival of that tradition after modernization adds to the human experience of a major in world history. Companies founded this period still retain the industrial cultural traditions that echo those of Japan itself, an exceptional testimony to the strength of a cultural tradition in the face of unprecedented social, technological and economic change (The Office of the Consortium for the Promotion of the Modern Industrial Heritage in Kyushu and Yamaguchi to inscription on the World Heritage, 2015).

Enough has been said to demonstrate that culture and tradition were never born without important engagement with political, economic, and social aspects and that they are always in the interest of present needs during times of great transformation. It is not an overstatement to say that modernity does not destroy ‘tradition’ but reproduces it with developmental thinking. It is suffice to say that heritage needs tradition.

CHAPTER 4: MAKING HERITAGE A COMMODITY

A few of heritage objects and memories are destined to be selected and be assembled with others. Social, relational patterns are ascribed to heritage objects and memories corresponding to a thematic approach. Every value is treated as a commodity but never equally.

> Authentic ruins, at least those that existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, seem to have no place in late capitalism's culture of commodity and memory. Commodities in general do not age well. They become obsolete and are thrown out or recycled (Huyssen 2010, p. 19).

4.1 The challenged heritage-making model

According to Shepherd (2008, p. 122) heritage is usually associated with deep archives of memory and practices. In this concept, heritage involves essential or core identities and modes of being that should be preserved and commemorated (Shepherd 2008, p. 122). An example is ethnographic maps that display the spatial distribution of peoples, tribes and cultures. Space itself becomes a kind of neutral grid on which 'cultural difference, historical memory and social organisation are written or carved' (Gupta & Ferguson 1992, p. 7). Indeed it is important to create a class of things that can be viewed as the greatest expressions, or highpoints of culture. This task leads, in turn, to narratives about the set of values that are seen to be the most worthy of preservation. In this sense, the heritage list is rather like a list of the best literary or art works. The list is also compiled by experts who are sanctioned by the state (Harrison 2009, p. 15) because new nation-states fought for legitimacy during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During the struggle, people began to speak of national heritage as that body of folk memory and political ideas on which the new regimes founded their identity (Davison 2008, p. 31).

According to this historical interpretation, heritage is one of the few areas of national life in which it is possible to speak of the common good without provoking suspicion of party interests. The notions of ancestry and posterity can be discussed without unexpected embarrassment or arousing suspicion (Samel 2008, p. 276). There must be a process of selection and display, and meaning must be ascribed to the objects concerned. As Dicks (cited in Watson & Waterton, 2010) puts it, heritage is part of a growing new culture of display in which a variety of different sites are transformed into tourist attractions (Watson & Waterton, 2010). According to George (2010, p. 299):

> Current uses retain this original reference to loss. Nostalgia should not be equated with bereavement or the loss of a loved person, however; it is better defined as the sense of having lost an entire socio-historical context and the identification that accompany it, and the related desire to re-experience that social past.

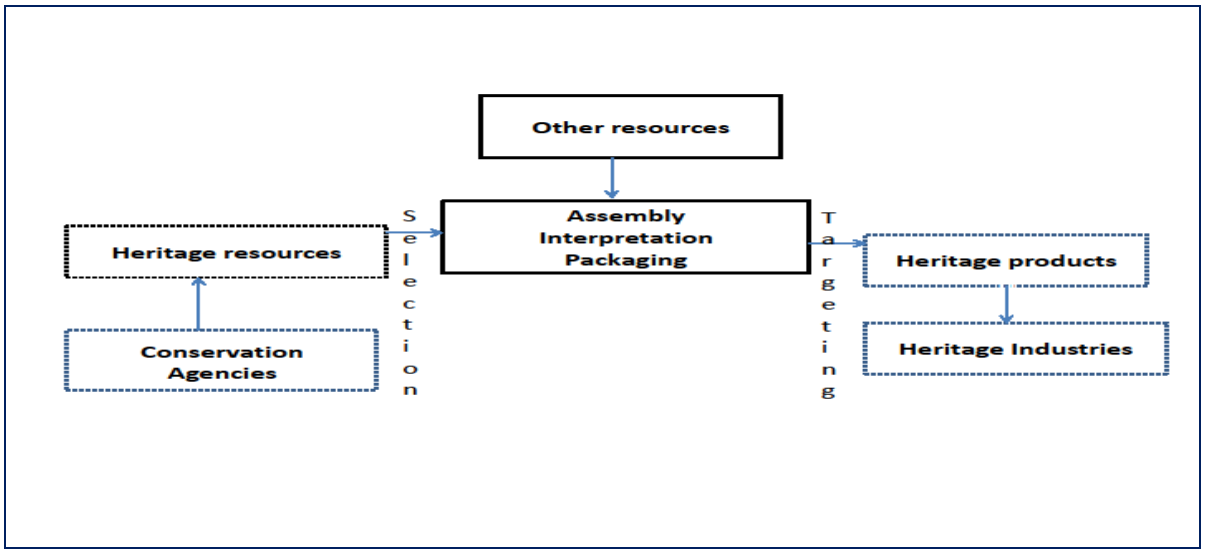
In Japan it has been claimed that cultural properties should be used for development and it is not possible to protect cultural properties in the long term without an economically and socially viable community. At the same time the rhetoric about various benefits from culture has assumed increasing significance. Kakluchi (2014, p. 8) has asserted that it is desirable to find ways to further link social and economic values with cultural values. That is to say, heritage preservation is not a special aspect of society solely for the sake of culture but rather an integral part of community development (Kakluchi 2014, p. 10). This is one of the ways in which a nation slowly constructs for itself a sort of collective social memory. Just as individuals and families construct their identities in part by telling stories about incidents which took place in their pasts, so nations construct identities by selecting high points and memorable achievements, incorporating them into an unfolding national story (Harrison (2008, p. 179). Therefore the purpose of preserving some relics from the

past is not merely to preserve but to use the memories in the present: its use determines (and in that sense creates) resource rather than being a subsequent action for something already preserved (Ashworth 2011, p. 10). During the process all kinds of extra meanings are likely to be conferred on objects and they become symbols of complex intercultural and interpersonal political circumstances (Meyers 2004, p. 204). Actually what is important to recognise here is that there is not really any formal change in the nature of the object itself (although with time, there might be some change relating to the way in which it becomes managed as a piece of official heritage). From this point, this study will argue that whether something is recognised as official or unofficial, heritage is simply a matter of definition. There is not really any real difference in the intrinsic quality of the object, place or practice (Harrison 2013, p. 18).

For such reasons, heritage itself is a dynamic process which involves competition over whose version will be accepted. This selection has moral and legal implications (Harrison 2013, p. 8). Naturally this is accompanied by the potential for conflicts because some memories will be excluded from being named during the process (Bendix 2009, p. 253).

A close reading of texts reveals that heritage resources must be assembled for integral community development. In this overall perspective, their uses are determined in accordance with 'social' demand and collective social memory is subsequently mediated to correspond to new tradition. To understand that framework in regard to a series of events, one needs to consider the relationship between resources and destinations (see Figure 8).

Figure 8: A model of heritage production



(**Source:** Turbridge & Ashworth, 1996)

The model in Figure 8 above is an industrial resemblance in that there is an assumption of an industrial or assembly resource-product-consumption system, strongly influenced by marketing science in its description of the nature of a set of relationships. The important point for producers is that not only are different materials combined to create a product and that (but also equally) quite different products for quite different markets can be created from the same raw materials by varying the interpretation process (Turnbridge & Ashworth 1996). Heavy emphasis is given in this volume to the indirect consequences of such ways of social life. Heritage is seen as an important element in the marketing of places, not only to attract tourists but also to help in the recreation of the identities of cities and regions which see new, post-industrial futures and compete for foreign investment and the location of business enterprises or even government or supra-government agencies (for instance, European Union institutions). In this context, heritage sites particularly world heritage sites play multiple roles: they are extremely effective symbols of cultural vibrancy that help to create a certain image of a place or region, while also functioning as economic development resources for tourism and the attraction of business investment (Labadi & Long 2010, p. 8).

As a result, culture is valuable because it can be turned into a commodity which benefits socio-economic development (Pyykkonen 2012, p. 555).

In this sense, modern interpretation practice that uses a thematic approach needs to be on target with the choice of certain themes for sites and how these are nuanced. Scholars should be involved to draw out the specifics of sites but the conversion of scholarly details into more engaging approaches does not solve the problem of who the user of interpretation is likely to be (Mackeller & West 2010,p. 176). Unfortunately this debate has attracted little attention as an object of critical thinking because much of the discussion around recent culture and development treats culture as an important commodity, in other words, as a resource (Racliffe 2006, p. 233). Although values are subjective and exposed to changes in time and the particular cultural, intellectual, historical and psychological frames of reference held by specific groups (Labadi 2007, p. 148) heritage experts tend to employ an anthropological understanding of culture as embracing both values and objects (or places). This point of the view has taken on renewed importance in the past few years. It has been suggested that heritage is valued in a myriad of different ways, by a myriad different people and institutions with different world-views and epistemologies.

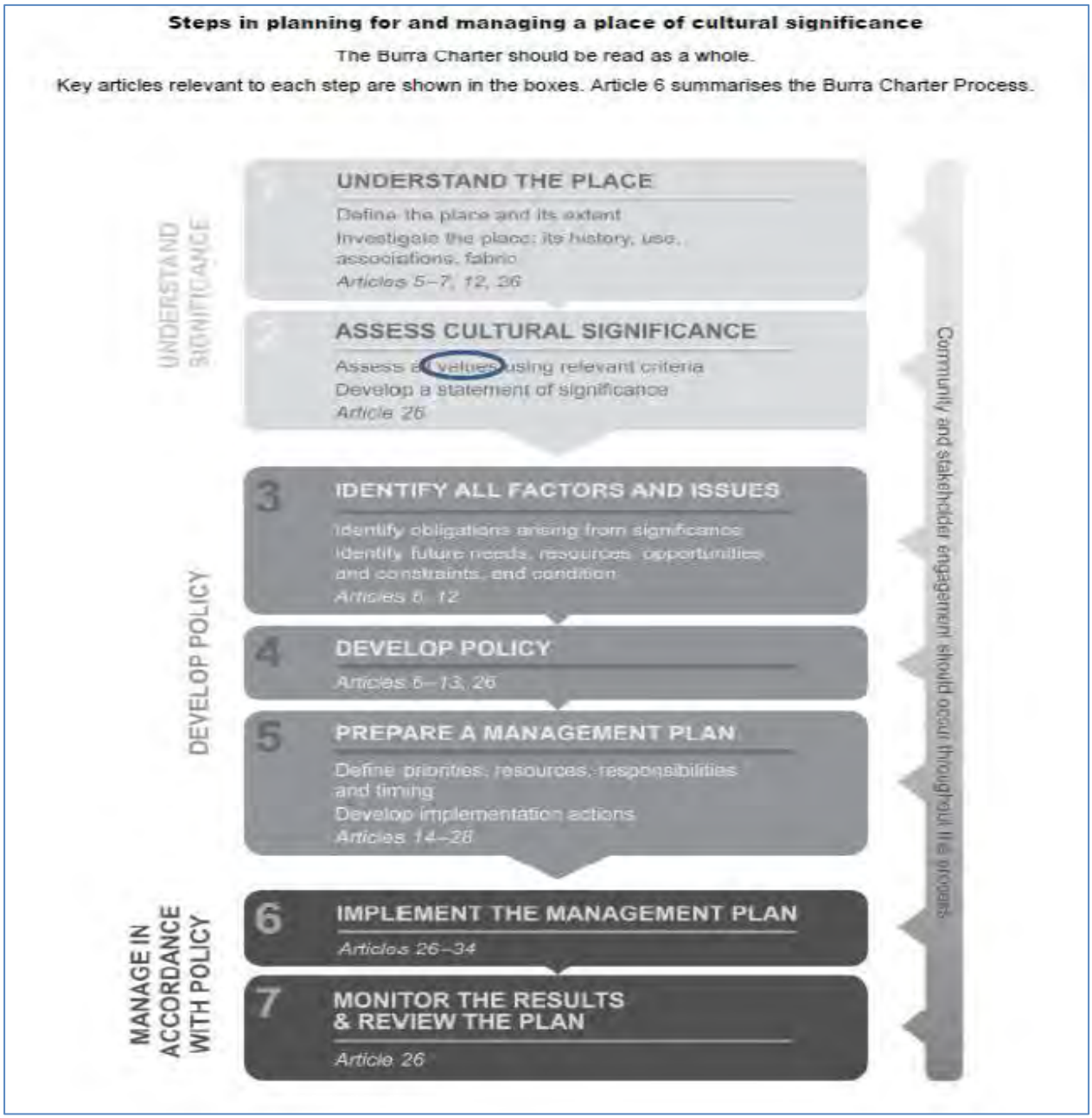
Values-centred theory unavoidably leads practitioners to inquire and consult widely when performing research on place and formulating plans for them. Nevertheless participation – acknowledged widely as important for contemporary preservation practice is part and parcel of the values-centred model for preservation (Mason 2006, p. 31). It is not unreasonable to postulate that the rest of the experts are reduced to passive spectatorship of the final aesthetic product. In addition, total restoration seems to reproduce an architectural notion of design as a process restricted to professionals (Otero-Pailo, Gaiger & West 2010, p. 75). Accordingly, as Mason (2006, p. 31) affirms,

> [t]he phenomenological experiences of those humans from the past who walked, exploited and gave meaning to that space that is, who did all those things that made that space a place for them are gone. The architectural remains then have lost their previous functions and meanings, their human aspects, but new ones await them thanks to the work of professional academics. Now there is this historical moment for this context from this.

Despite this critique, the dominant focus of heritage experts seems to admit that the production of heritage decision-making is a process entirely based on cultural values. 'The internationally recognized Burra Charter' recommends that heritage be evaluated according to the criteria of aesthetic, historic, scientific and social significance (Wain 2011, p. 5). The charter provides considerable insight into policies and practices. Before working out this aspect of epistemology, the discipline's very distinguished Pearson and Sullivan (1995, p. 168) accept that there is no such thing as an objective assessment of significance and a true interpretation of the past. We only tend to behave and believe so. Only

> [g]ood interpretive practice prescribes that all significance elements of the place are available and perceptible to visitors. This does not mean that it is necessary to stress all elements equally but it does mean that a balance must be struck between the use of historic themes on a regional basis and the particular significance of the place (Pearson & Sullivan 1995, p. 296).

Figure 9: Diagram outline of the value-centred conservation process advocated by Australia's ICOMOS.



According to an interview and field survey on Hashima conducted by Goth, Mori, Sakamoto and Kojima (2003, p. 61), the following values constitute its significance.

> 1. The oldest reinforced concrete building was built in 1916. That is more than 90 years ago. And it has been not touched for more than 30 years since 1974. To comprehend this natural deterioration of reinforced concrete, it will be a big clue to consider what the present buildings will be in 90 years later from now in different aspects such as sea wind effect **(Scientific value).**

2.Hashima has been preserved as an entity, including employer's residence, commercial facilities and entertainment. The island is a unique mining heritage **(Historic value).**

The Consortium for the Promotion of the Modern Industrial Heritage in Kyushu and Yamaguchi (The Consortium)[7] based its claim for outstanding Universal Value on the criteria described in sections (ii) and (iv).[8]

When the focus is on the physical authenticity of heritage objects (as in the case of Hashima Island), new meanings and values can be ascribed to them (Cesari 2010, p. 307). Meanwhile, the data on location and archaeology are situated within stand-alone meaning that can be separated from other aspects of significance for a place (Byrne 2008, p. 159). Generally speaking, places are converted from being a memory into being an historical record and artefact. This may not be the case for the inhabitants of those communities close to those sites for whom the heritage may mean something different altogether (Uzzell 1998, p. 3). An actual object or item becomes detached from the total network of social relations in which aperson's specific form of access to a specific item in the surrounding world is generally embedded (v. Binsbergen 2005, p. 37). Indeed heritage functions as a product to be bought and sold in a market place; it has become a commodity.

[7] It is composed of relevant local government (8 prefecture and 11 cities) and observers (4 cities). It is available to current processes and documents of conferences, related data and papers are available on its internet site.

[8] '(ii) exhibit an important interchange of human values over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design…
(iv) be an outstanding example of a type of buildings, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates a significant stage(s) in human history (Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 2012:20)'.
The heritages can be reviewed mainly for their scientific value at <http://www.kyuyama.jp/e/action/a02.html>.

Actually it is more accurate to say that it is the experience of the heritage site that is the commodity which is marketed (Aplin 2002, p. 56). Notably, heritage objects can become symbols or icons for a community and possibly one section of the community at the expense of others. Furthermore, they may help people form mental maps of a series of areas to get their bearings and feel at home (Aplin 2002, p. 122).

For all the reasons mentioned previously, this researcher is convinced that the specific and general mode of its production tends to make heritage all around the world relatively similar, with the focus being economic. It is important to remember that the list of values is not meant to be an all-inclusive or exhaustive list but instead represents the typical kinds of values that experts have commonly encountered in association with historic places (Wells 2010, p. 3). This mode is shaped by a capitalist and nationalist worldview associated with both colonial and bourgeois hegemonies; heritage becomes a matter of civilisation and distinction. This mode also leads to a modernist conceptualisation of the past as a dead thing separated from us by the break of modernity; as a commodity with owners and therefore non-owners. It also belongs to a specialised scientific discipline and becomes a domain monopolised by the state (Cesari 2010, p. 309). This is affirmed by Julia (2010, p. 196) who states:

> In effect this shift from an eschatological predetermination to an open space of possibility inaugurated a new approach to the temporalization of events and the practice of writing history. History is no longer the collecting of knowledge but becomes the charting of progress, the destruction of development, advancement and evolution of time.

As the case of Hashima coal mine, Zen Buddhism and Nationhood as tradition can be confirmed and associated with the successful achievement of modernisation and industrialization in the East-Asian region without colonisation being mentioned. Because the main emphasis is on scientific and historic value, one is not conscious of the destructive power which comes from these things. That is to say that the use of partial aesthetics of

historical actualities should be taken warning. For example, a usual task of conservation is to turn warehouse walls into townscape: derricks and cranes into obelisks; and alleys into picturesque lanes. It is said that backward objects are changed into visually appealing objects and subjects of study are changed into objects of desire. In this way, the 'dark satanic mills' alter when they are exhibited as historical monuments or reassembled in picturesque settings (Samel, 2008, p. 285). This approach makes the decisions of the custodians easier; they can side-step difficult distinctions between high and low, or popular and elite forms (Davison 2008, p. 32). Heritage, therefore, needs tourism, just as it needs political support. It is this that creates many of the contradictions that have led to the critiques of the heritage industry relating to issues of authenticity, historical accuracy and access (Harrison 2009, p. 20).

The truth is that values can be neither protected nor preserved. In the context of heritage, values are a vaguely shared set of intangible concepts that simply emerge from and exist in the communal public consciousness. Any attempts to institutionalise or freeze them permanently are in fact impossible in the long term. Even if it were possible, it would be tantamount to social engineering or even ideological propaganda of a single opinion at a moment in time (Araoz 2011, p. 58). Barbara Appelbaum (cited in Wain 2011, p.7) points out those conservationists have a responsibility to stakeholders other than the owner. This idea is based on the notion that the objects we treat have value to people other than the legal owner. They have a duty to speak on behalf of people who have no voice in the decision-making process and who may value very different aspects of the heritage in question.

With the prospect of a new project, the MitsubishiCompany, through its development wing has been able to acquire public funding to help with expenses such as waste removal and building infrastructure. Moreover the project promises a large tourist trade, with great economic potential for the company and the city (Cameron 2000, p. 71) Watts (2006, p. 49) recalls Karl Polanyi stating that the markets cannot create social order; but indeed they can

colonise and ultimately destroy it. Certainly the market has destroyed the social character of three foundational but fictitious commodities (land, labour and money). Abrams (cited in Cameron 2000, p.70) reminds us what some harsh minds have to say about the naiveté of social scientists involved in heritage work. He refers to them as 'cultural repair workers' who through a general recasting of the public sphere in the name of heritage, hope to salve the wounds inflicted on the region " by capital flight, wire-brushing the rusted belt for tourism promotion and reuniting the frayed and unraveling strands of our contemporary experience."

4.2 Dominant context: contribution to the thematic approach

Kirshenblatt-Gimblatt (1998, p. 390) has offered a refreshing new insight into seeing how perceptions of context are constructed and changed over time by the heritage-making process:

> Objects are set in context by means of other objects, there is usually a classification or schematic arrangement of some kind. This is based on typologies of forms or proposed historical relationships. A theoretical frame of reference is established for the viewer, explanations are offered, historical background is provided, comparisons are made and questions are posed. This sometimes even extends to the circumstances of excavation, collection and conservation of the objects on display.

Appaduri (1986, p. 28) states that consumption is social, relational, and active rather than private or passive. This is evidenced by the argument that historical cooperation between rulers and traders might play a key role in the social regulation of consumer demand long before. As material culture and structure of feeling as well as a specific form of production, culture also cannot be divorced from economics, but this is often contested (Racliffe 2006, p. 228). To a large extent, culture recently switched from being a production-orientated to a

consumption-oriented economy and gained importance in another way. In the other words, consumer goods are elevated and extended as a way of assessing modernity as well as identity (Racliffe 2006, p. 231).

In this respect, the history of Hashima Island reads like a list of the changes in Japan's energy policies from the Meiji period to modern times. For centuries the people living on Takashima, a large island near Hashima, are said to have collected coal from exposed beds and used it as a household fuel. One of Japan's most important industries at the time, salt-making, had relied traditionally on resin-rich pinewood as a fuel to boil seawater but this was becoming depleted. Coal was seen as the ideal alternative to pinewood (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p. 34). From the middle of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, Japan achieved rapid industrialisation that was founded on the key industrial sectors of iron and steel, shipbuilding, and coal mining. Takashima coalmine developed from 1868 onwards and was the first Japanese coalmine to be worked with Western technology and until the late 1880s it produced the most coal in Japan. The steam-powered mine machines were bought into Japan from overseas by Mitsubishi in 1881(Okada 2014).

During the post-war 1960s Japan's economy soared and petroleum replaced coal as the keystone of the national economy. Mitsubishi therefore reduced the work force at Hashima step-by-step but retained the workers and re-assigned them to the other branches of its rich and vast network. The company held a final event in the island gymnasium and officially announced the closing of the mine on January 15, 1975 (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p. 41). Thereafter there were ruins but ruins are not just made by anyone, anytime, or anywhere. Large-scale ruin-making even takes resources and planning. It may be necessary to forcibly remove populations and to assign other habitable space to them (Stoler 2008, p. 200) and this holds particularly true for the new social life of industrial ruins, which remain considerably understudied in comparison to historical, architectural and archaeological research. Precisely speaking in the words of Barndt(2010, p.270):

> The ruins in this article, designed to appear frozen in a state of degeneration, merge with a natural environment of regeneration. As signifiers of a specific historical time and economic regime, these residual traces of Fordist industrial past are embedded in natural cycles of birth and death, growth and decay. Romantic concepts of regeneration meet contemporary discourses of economic and national transformation, asking us to decipher the cultural logic of this eclectic mix.

Hashima is a ghostly place, made all the more so when one views the old photographs taken when it was inhabited (O'Hagain 2014 p, 4). Why does this kind of fascination occur? According to Belford (2009, p.30), industrial landscapes appear to become more highly valued when they are not only old and firmly post-industrial but also when described as 'tired old men' reminiscing about the good and old days: sagging and wilting objects of affection. Finally we can put some of them to rest and create heritage landscapes around them because the objects removed from their original social context and without their original meaning become socially and culturally placeless. It can be assigned to a new and different meaning by local photographers in such a way that the meanings become socially and culturally placeless. It can be assigned to a different meaning in the future and be assessed according to new standards; for example, economic or global standards (v. Binsbergen 2005, p. 46). As Dean MacCannell (cited in Giovine 2009, p.65) famously pointed out, a site, like a tourist attraction, comprises 'person-place-marker' where a marker can be a representation of something, that is to say, a 'copy'. This representation can exist completely apart from the site itself. It is like a copy, and copies can circulate quickly and efficiently across the world (Giovine 2009, p. 65). Moreover this process is not part of individual strategies in competitive situations but can be institutionalised in various ways that remove or protect objects from the relevant social contexts (Appadurai 1986, p. 25). Without a commodity construct the object is incorporated in the life-world as classified and incorporated in a network of local social relations. Unhappily it is given a meaning which is specific in time and place, and part of many, or most, other local meanings (v. Binsbergen

2005, p. 47). This is confirmed by John (2007) who states: 'It is clear by now that conserving a ruin is a cultural activity. It is a cultural activity because it has to do with cultural objects and with our sense of the time past'.

While the Japanese government decided to adopt such themes as part of the successful achievement of social transformation from an agricultural society to industrial, it needs typologies of forms in material ruins and historical relationships with the importation of Western technologies in the background. Therefore, scientific significance and historical similarity between Europe and Japan make a new context possible for a new Japan.

4.3 Alternative context: untold meanings in interpretations

For the 'historical materialist', the sudden, shock of being in the present provides a vital anchor point in the fluid and indeterminate historical interpretation. The image or object is plucked out of history's stream and is examined as a dialectical image. Dialectical images are themselves allegorical, a modern form of emblems, in which the past and the present exist simultaneously, their juxtaposition providing a critical tension (Stead 2003, p. 56). Ellen (2009, p. 130) writing on Benjamin starts with:

> [P]hotographic and mass-reproduced forms hover between diverse social and cultural projects. They may be easily co-opted by rightist and fascist enterprises that offer simulated, dangerous compensations for the loss of the authentic aura under the conditions of alienated modernity.

An insightful documentary film (*Meiji Revolution*, one of Pacific Century Collections) by PBS portrays the relevance of the Meiji period to social transformation. It soon becomes apparent whose attitudes and language occupy a dominant position in the politics of interpretation from the following extracts in the documentary:

Peter Coyote (narrator): The speed of Meiji transformation was breath-taking. In Europe [the] industrial revolution took 150 years. Japan went from rice paddies to factories in less than forty. Fifteen years after Perry gave the shogun [a] toy train, the Japanese had built real a real railway from Tokyo to Yokohama. Progress was so fast but cost was high. In textile mill[s], girls as young as 11 years old worked 12 to 19 hours a day and in stifling sweatshop[s].

Carl Gluck (Columbia University): This was what happened when a society did this, moving from agriculture to industry. It was [a] costly and miserable transition.

Frank Gibney (author "the pacific century"): The question was whether Japan was to lead Asian Renaissance against Western Colonialism or join the colonialist club, Japan made its choice while the Korea Hermit kingdom kept [to] itself.

Carl Gluck: A modern time is tough. It is not same things to work in factories and work in paddy field. It is not the same things to live in a city and in a little village. It eliminated [the] older agriculture village.

Frank Gibney: It was the Meiji heroes that revolutionised Japan. In this sense the Japanese remade [their] own character. It was really the first time in history [that a] non-Western nation, an Asian nation, had modernised itself by its own efforts. This was a tremendous achievement. It was a transformation. It was a catalyst that set forces in motion. There were economic forces, political forces and cultural forces that are still working among us today.

Peter Coyote (narrator): However, nationalism inspired by [the] Meiji would lead to a war in Pacific.

Hashima has naturally attracted the curiosity of tourists and the attention of photographers, sociologists, filmmakers and others. The abandoned city even provided inspiration for the James Bond Film, *Skyfall* (2012) and another 'H-Project' (2013). Various Japanese tour

companies offer tours of the island, although getting there is difficult because of rough and unpredictable seas. When tourists are on the island, the terrain is so dangerous that observers are only permitted to view the ruins from behind fences (Flagg 2014, p. 46).

A viewer of heritage sites in Hashima is thus not encouraged to enter into any kind of social relationship with the objects, places or buildings represented although the images are very real and natural. A paradox is set up between the natural reproductions of items of heritage themselves and their de-contexualised, unnatural setting: the lack of people or virtually anything other than the sites of heritage themselves. They have become somehow artificial, sanitized and unreal (Watson & Waterton 2010, p. 91).

By juxtaposing these images with the historical images demonstrating the former residents' economic stability and optimism, the contemporary photographers establish a poignant reference to the failure of a thriving society. In their photographs of the abandoned island, Marchand and Meffre use images of objects (items that represent former human presence) to establish a feeling of melancholia (Flagg 1014, p. 54). As Flagg (2014, p. 54) puts it:

> Nostalgia may be universal but it is accentuated in rapidly changing, highly mobile social situations. On the other hand the tourist and cultural industries have successfully tapped into wellsprings of nostalgia, as having social movements from the left and the right that reject the present.

When one views the photos, individual psychological responses are levelled down; the emotional responses to them are stereotypical. This is because the photographer has already decided for the viewer how to respond to the shocking photos, and as such, it becomes a question of mass culture (Kudryashov 2011). There is an imbalance in written histories where the vast majority of people's stories have not been recorded. This is regularly reflected in photographs of strange personal items displayed out of any context of activity or behaviour other than the haste or neglect in which they were discarded (Rowsdower 2011, p.

3). Such objects are often and on purpose put and found in abandoned buildings on the island. Heritage as 'cultural capital' becomes symbolic capital when master narratives, images and monuments are used in the construction of, for instance, national or urban identity (ancestry, community/fellowship) and the branding of products, places and people. Bourdieu's (cited in Guttormsen & Fageraas 2011, p.449) concept of capital is used for analysing power mechanisms as well as relationships between various socially constituted heritage facts and spheres of activity at heritage sites (Guttormsen & Fageraas 2011, p. 449). Thus space has been reclaimed in a way that does not conform to the experience of space that was characteristic of the era of high modernity. It is this that forces one to re-think fundamentally the politics of community, solidarity, identity and cultural difference (Gupta, & Ferguson 1992, p. 10). Like other types of demand, heritage may be inherently dynamic and respond directly and constantly to the evolving needs of society at any given time (Araoz2011, p. 58). In other words, heritage objects which one consumes and accepts naturally are deeply embedded in social relations depending on the use of the past. Whenever there is need of old social relationship change, heritage is at the centre of the debate in the present.

All that remains of the extinct mining society at Hashima are many towering apartment structures, and belongings left behind by vacating workers and residents. In their writing, Machand and Meffre profess an interest in the relationship between the architecture and the culture of labour that once existed on the tiny, densely-populated island, but their photographs reveal much more personal detail of the residents by way of the private artefacts of their daily life that remain there. As a result these images are striking in their simplicity but also poetic. One can see them as symbols of the people who lived there, but they do not really tell us much about them (Kudryashov 2011). For Barndt (2010, p. 279) it is:

> [t]he spectacle of recreation in historical industrial settings [that] sidelines the workings of Fordism itself. The relationship between realities and present myths that this site envisions is loose and imaginative; to the degree that historical consciousness plays into the visitor's outdoor activities and it is characterized by postmodern play and fun. The site tends to pacify history rather than mining it for criticism and reflection.

What follows is one of the less pleasant aspects of life on Hashima Island. Tsuneishi (2014) explains that as there was no flush toilet system in their towering apartment, plopping toilets were installed at each floor connected via sewage pipes. Without water with which to flush, the system could not deal adequately with the excrement collected within the pipes. Consequently the lower it (excrement) reached, the worse the smell and noises were.

Figure 10: Miners

(**Source:** Hashima guide map of Nagasaki city)

After the passage of time, many workers there are remembered as strong and well-built labourers who laid foundation to advance Japan in the hi-technology manufacturing sector. People in the present easily accept such an interpretation corresponding to their contemporary requirements.

Between 1943 and 1945 the death rate especially of Korean workers on Hashima increased greatly, and this indicates that with the war approaching an end, the increase of the production of coal was ruthlessly in demand, and in the process the mainly Korean workers were subjected to dangerous work and then discarded. Some of survivors testified that the work was so hard that they even considered maiming themselves to get themselves off the island (Yoo 2014). The atomic bomb over Nagasaki hit the windows on Hashima's

apartment blocks. Subsequently Japan surrendered to the Allied forces in August 1945. A total of about 1 300 labourers had died on the island, some in underground accidents, others of illness related to exhaustion and malnutrition. Others passed away by jumping over the sea wall and trying in vain to swim to the mainland for a quicker, less gruesome death (Burke-Gaffney1996, p. 39).

Japan's interest in Hashima as an historic marker of industrial prowess is certainly legitimate, but it also illustrates how complex historic conservation agendas are. It is natural that Hashima's captivating ruins should attract the attention of citizens and tourists alike, but the official story does not fully reflect and include the suffering of its most vulnerable former inhabitants in the records (Rowsdower, 2011, p. 9).

CHAPTER 5: MODERNIZING THE RUINS AND THEIR CONTEMPORARY MANAGEMENT

In fact heritage resources including memories and values have been resembled to defined new concept of Japan and Nagasaki. Meanwhile emphasis on exchange proves that truthfulness or uniqueness relates to network of relationship between objects, people and places. However everyone does not have equal access to realise or instil its value there.

> The idea of decay, erosion and a return to nature, so central to the eighteenth-century imaginary of ruins is eliminated when Roman ruins are sanitized and used as mise-en-scene for open-air opera performances; when ruins of medieval castles or dilapidated estates from later centuries are transformed into conference sites, hotels or vacation rentals; when industrial ruins are made over into cultural centres; or when a museum like the Tate museum installs itself in a former power plant on the south bank of the Thames (Huyssen 2010. P. 18).

5. 1 Contemporary ruins rebirth: value circulation and authenticity

In Speer's 'theory of ruin value' (cited in Stead 2003, p.1), the aesthetic fragmentation he imagines in the future ruins of his buildings is belied by their continuing 'ideological totality'. Conversely in the context of Benjamin's philosophy of history the ruin provides an emblem, not only of the melancholic worldview presented in Baroque tragic drama but of allegory as a critical tool for historical materialism (Stead 2003, p. 1). Both allegories and ruins can be defined as symptoms of epistemological uncertainty and the collapse of time. For Benjamin, allegorical readings emerge with secularisation; it changed the old religious certainties like salvation (Barndt 2010, p. 271).

In Japan the role of amusement parks for families came to an end because the Japanese have fewer children and the rides in the parks became old. It was also because children got used to more

stimulating playthings and were no longer excited by the rides at amusement parks (Arita 2010). In the euphoric days of the economic miracle it was even suggested that the twentieth century would be a 'Japanese century'. However, that turned out to be a distant dream, as Japan enters the new century with more problems than prospects (Varley 2000, p. 351). Some ruins have recently taken on a posthumous role as they turn into popular sightseeing spots. Hashima Island, better known as Gunkanjima in the Nagasaki Prefecture, has become the most famous of these (Arita 2010). However, an obsession with ruins cannot be mere sentiment or nostalgia (Dillon 2012).

Hashima was abandoned in 1974, within days after mining ceased and, since then, access has been highly restricted. The fact that its abandoned high rise buildings are still littered with personal items left over from the mass departure has attracted attention from both covert and permitted photographers and filmmakers (Rowsdower 2011, p. 7). According to Speer, images in the same way as speech and writing undertake a significant role in legitimising and promoting this particular way of seeing. As part of the process, visual imagery directly contributes to a mystification of heritage, and a particular version of heritage is successfully peddled as the heritage (Watson & Waterton 2010, p. 89). It is interesting how buildings from classical antiquity that have decayed over time have retained a capacity to impress and generate feelings of awe over the centuries. They act as bridges of tradition as they retain sufficient shape and qualities and although they have fallen into ruin they seem able to speak (Macdonald 2006, p. 113) In England, the classical appreciation for, and inspiration from the glory inherent in the image of romantic ruins has been replaced by a celebration of the decline inherent in industrial ruins (Rowsdower 2011, p. 4). The interpretation of its industrial past with its associated deplorable living and working conditions has typically been the subject of an interpretation which has sought to make one feel good about humankind's progress over the years (Uzzell1998, p. 11). This is a curious and increasingly capitalist identity; focused on industrial production and global exportation. Industrial landscapes, therefore, formed an important part of the iconography of the new English identity. By the end of the eigthteenth century, these English industrial landscapes were already famous throughout Europe and North

America and were emulated around the world (Belford 2009, p. 30). Here, the foundational sacrifice together with some degree of loyalty to the spirit of the age is considered as authentic culture.

Benjamin (cited in Harrison et al. 2008, p.4) tried to account for the special qualities of authenticity which are attributed to a work of art by using the term 'aura'. For him aura describes the series associations that surround an object or work of art, and which is perceived as spiralling outward from it. He stressed that if one believes in aura, one invests an object with the ability to look at us in return (Harrison et al. 2008, p. 4). According to Jones (2010, p. 183), authenticity is linked to some other modern practices such as categorisation; the production of order and purification. Yet the experience and negotiation of authenticity also relates to networks of relationships between objects, people and places (Johnes, 2010, p. 183). Therefore, the experience of authenticity does not come from the date, origin, setting, and design or material fabric of the object (Labadi 2007, p. 194).

Appaduri (1986, p. 44) also stresses that whenever there were discontinuities in the knowledge necessary to the movement of commodities, issues of authenticity and expertise enter the picture. For example, there is an increasingly ironic dialogue between the need for ever-shifting criteria of authenticity and the economic motives. Important here is that authenticity is always defined in the present. It is not the 'pastness' or 'givenness' that defines something as traditional rather tradition is an arbitrary symbolic designation; an assigned meaning rather than an objective quality. If authenticity means anything here, it is authentically remade (Cox & Bruman 2009, p.7). Therefore, to decode the process of authenticity properly, one must divest objects of many relationships that intrude into our thoughts and correspond to a number of different viewpoints. This means one ought to distance oneself from any group that establishes a relationship with the object and considers it from a certain viewpoint. However one can succeed in doing so only by adopting the attitude of another group, perhaps like that of physicists if one claims to focus one's attention on

certain abstract properties of matter, or like that of artists if one concentrates on line and shading of figures and landscapes (Halbwachs, 1980, p.7).

Ruins are often enchanted, desolate spaces, large-scale monumental structures abandoned and overgrown. They provide a glimpse of what has vanished from the past and has long decayed (Stoler 2008, p. 194). According to Dillon (2012), the ideas ruins evoke in us are grand. Everything comes to nothing. Everything perishes. Everything passes. Only the world remains. Only time endures. This sense of having lived on too late, of having survived the demolition of past dreams of the future, is what gives the ruin its specific frisson, and it still animates art and writing. But it is historically bound up with more pressing worries about the fate of one's own civilization (Dillon 2012). On the other hand, the relief and design of structures appear more clearly when content (which is the living energy of meaning) is neutralised, somewhat like the architecture of an uninhabited or deserted city, reduced to its skeletons by some catastrophe of nature or art, a city no longer inhabited, not simply left behind but haunted by meaning and culture. This state of being haunted, which keeps the city from returning to nature, is perhaps in itself a kind of language (Kudryashov 2011). Accordingly the Hashima we know now is certainly not the Hashima that it once was. It is two different places that share a piece of rock in common (University of Sheffield Undergraduate Research Project, 2013).

As stated earlier, Marchand and Meffre have documented the abandoned island city of Hashima by taking photographs. Five thousand people once lived in the labyrinthine streets of the tiny island, many working in the coal mine whose excavated slag formed the foundations of the densely packed town that grew upwards. In 1974 the mine closed and within six months, the last resident returned to the mainland, leaving behind deserted shops including a barber, a bank, a bathhouse, schools, a shrine and several shops and restaurants (O'Hagan 2014). Meanwhile the planting of gardens in 1963 was a sign of the former resident's first hard-won taste of leisure (see Figure 11 and Figure 12 below). Using soil from the mainland they made gardens on the rooftops and enjoyed the unknown pleasure of home-grown vegetables and flowers. It was around this same

time that electronic rice cookers, refrigerators and television sets became standard appliances in the island's apartments (Flagg 2014, p. 45).

Figure 11: Children carrying soil up to a rooftop, and rooftop vegetable garden

(Source: Hashima guide map of Nagasaki city)

Figure 12: Hashima households boasted the highest adoption rate of electronic devices in the prefecture

(Source: Hashima Guide Map of Nagasaki city, mid-1950s to mid-1960s)

Symbols have been considered important and classified with truth, beauty and moral good since the time of Aristotle. Classical symbolism seeks to transcend time and history, thereby displacing the anguish of life with images of stabilised harmony and eternal perfection (Stead 2003, p. 4). Heritage here is a political concept in that the state appropriates things and feelings that are perhaps traditionally regarded as personal. In addition, psychological or spiritual factors as well as private or material ownership can be involved. Heritage can also be used to reinforce the standing and

power of a group, by helping to more closely align the group's self-image with the national image (Aplin 2002, p. 6). For Adolf (1995, p. 233) it was by,

> [a]ttributing Japan's remarkable economic growth largely to uniquely Japanese cultural traits [that] encourage[d] workers to accept other forms of discipline associated with traditions and this acceptance in itself can shape the work force into something more closely resembling the ideal worker advocated by management.

Salaries of miners compared to manual workers were higher than those on the mainland and there was free housing, water and electricity. Furthermore the miners and their families had what few others in the country were able to afford - the very latest in electronic devices, TVs, refrigerators and washing machines (Gotoh et al. 2003, p. 58). One can see glimpses of the lives of the people in what they left behind; an old TV set, a rusting child's bicycle and these haunt the now empty place for tourist's to see. Although one can become increasingly fascinated by what is left behind; ruins, objects, crumbling facades and empty shells, the beautifully decayed surface of things, it is the people that left who are the real context for these photographs. Without that human context, the objects are just bleakly and romantically beautiful, visually seductive things with a newly constructed context (O' Hagan 2004).

The belief is that 'in looking old', objects are endowed with a cultural value and guarantee of provenance. Thus the scars of time are the signs of life, proof of authentic heritage, and the ability to project cultural value into the present (Watson & Waterton 2010, p. 88). Unfortunately the traditional care of heritage by the communities is also recognised, but scientific-based conservation principles and such as those of conservation professionals are seen as being more important (Poulios 2014, p. 20). Although intangible values such as the user or social values are also taken into account, they are seen as part of the preservation of tangible remains.

Hashima Island is a resurrected ruin and a part of the UNESCO cultural heritage project which is designed to harvest the economic value and capitalise on the attraction of partially restored people and things. Figuratively speaking, such restorations disperse and redistribute people. They become vital to national development and produce new inequalities (Stoler 2008, p. 198). Culture (heritage) and development refers to the fact that culture is not something ancient but reworked and reproduced, around and through development, just as development (as political economy and as planned intervention) is embedded in imaginaries of the people (particularly what is considered to be desirable in social relations) (Racliffe 2006, p. 17). According to Rowsdower's critique (2011, p.5), one cannot avoid the claim that industrialism is a kind of folly and the monuments of production and distribution are ultimately self-destructing amid the final excesses of capitalism. In their detail, artefacts of the brutal recent past challenge one's notions of historic significance by defying the definitions and lists of cultural heritage sites. Not only can they pose the question about the aesthetics and usefulness of the derelict buildings, but they can also call into question our conceptions of the future by evoking uncertainty and inevitability from modernity with no regard to prestige.

In the Proposed Statement of Outstanding Universal Value, 'authenticity' is emphasised by stating that a particular site is preserved in good condition and the various attributes such as form and design and ample documentation have survived since the beginning of the operation, making it possible to conduct a comparative analysis of their original form and nature and any subsequent alternations (Agency of Cultural Affairs of Japan 2009).

> Each component part also has mechanisms in place to control deterioration and keep sites free from the adverse effects of development. They have been variously affected by continued use, re-use or lengthy periods of abandonment, and their physical integrity varies between well preserved and fragmentary, the

> latter being sufficiently intact to be able to represent the former whole (The Consortium: Summary of Nomination to the World Heritage List).

According to Iwamoto (2014) Nagasaki city regulates the activities at the Hashima coal mine which might contribute to the property's value and this policy is very important in relation to World Heritage values. The following undertaking has been made: Nagasaki city will not engage in any restoration or full-scale disassembly or repair whatsoever. Also research on the causes and rate of decay in the aggressive marine environment is ongoing and the research will inform the conservation measures being developed within the context of the conservation management plan. Recently on August 19, 2014 Nagasaki University Graduate School of Engineering infrastructure Longer Life Centre announced that it has completed a 'warship island three-dimensional Computer Graphic (CG)', which is a project commissioned by Nagasaki City. As a three-dimensional CG is based on the actual measurement, concrete deterioration and erosion by seawater can also be calculated, this technology makes it possible to accurately record the deterioration process of large-scale historic structures (see<http://www. Nagasaki-u.ac.jp/ja/about/info/news/news1586.html>).

This emphasis and description reminds one of Speer's theory of ruin value, namely, that the value of a ruin should be designed to avoid the affirmation of a specific time, place or individual in favour of a generation and nostalgic temporality. These are precisely the traces of the present that Benjamin refers to in his characterization of the destructive character that destroys while it rejuvenates in clearing away the traces of our own age (Stead 2003, p. 57). During its 84-year career under Mitsubishi, the island produced about 16.5 million tons of coal. The miners tunnelled deep into the sea bed, the builders carefully used every precious square metre of island property and the islanders tried hard to lead a comfortable and dignified life. But few, if any, realised that the mine would be closed (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p. 44). Owing to passage of time, Japan can begin new phase regarding heritage making. In other world these ruins made by the people on the island can only be assigned to reminder to

old residents who enjoyed a lost quality of life. New aura and authenticity emerge before people.

Although, when the children seen in Figure 11 grew up, they might have at least enjoyed the benefit of the Japanese economic miracle. However children in contemporary Japan, who cannot remember the real lives in the photos, are positioned to face new harsh challenges. There is little chance to enter an economically secure social location for many young Japanese today. They have fallen into a fundamental realignment and re-organisation of what is called a 'human capital development system'. This means individuals have to develop their skills and abilities irrelevant to the schools and workplace. This institutional transformation has produced new economic and employment problems of youth, as well as psychological problems. Instead, it can be said that they should develop their sense of identity and their ability to trust society. These problems can be said to even expand into vital inner problems for Japanese society (Brinton 2011, p. xvii). Since transience and awareness of the impermanence of all things has remained a major theme in Japanese literature and culture, it is hardly surprising that some sections of the populace feel a fascination with buildings, railroads and roads left abandoned to sink into oblivion. These lost worlds in their midst are only rarely officially called cultural assets in the way old temples or shrines are. However, so many websites and books are now focusing on ruins and abandoned roads and railways that a new term has been coined '*haikyo* boom', meaning ruins boom (Brinton2011). The city of Nagasaki lifted the ban to land on Hashima Island in April 2009. Since then, up to May, about 70 000 people have visited the island according to Tsutoma Yonehara, the city official promoting tourism. He further explained that rising revenues from ruins are not restricted to Warship Island. Some abandoned buildings have become rental studios for photo sessions in recent years and there are benefits to ruins, which some people are using to make money (Arita 2010).

One can see here that political, social and economic factors have moved centre stage. That is why heritage is promoted. However, in terms of who has the dominant position in this case, will be addressed in the next section.

5.2 Modernity expanding through industrial ruins

Modernity has prescribed a new aesthetic structure for ruins (heritage resources). In the context of rapid urbanism and industrialization, encounters with ruins and other landscapes offer the possibility of 'another modernity'. Earlier romanticist ideals ensured that notions of the sublime and myth superseded the empirically based rationality that stemmed from the Renaissance (Winter 2012, p. 6). Therefore,

> Landscapes can be culturally produced artefacts; as second nature they invite us to appreciate them aesthetically. As Dorrian and Rose suggest, the operation of landscape can been seen in terms of a screen between a material potentiality and a subject making meaning, feeling and fantasy from it (Barndt 2010, p. 271).

According to David Lowenthal (cited in Gamboni 2001, p.6) material relics are seen as symbols of power and icons of identity and can be tied to capitalism. While recognising the benefits of material preservation like that of buildings, he emphasises its costs, contradictions, and problems. For instance, the segregation of the past and the stress caused by the fact that a material relic can be claimed by many different groups for their interests. For him, even if they are meant metaphorically the terms 'cultural property' and 'cultural heritage' imply 'ownership', suggesting that collective memory is supported primarily by physical possessions (Gamboni, 2001, p. 6). At this point, the persons concerned who own the objects can manipulate them in their favour. Things do not simply fall into ruin or vanish but become a way of reminding people of the past (Stoler 2008, p. 205). The profession of (industrial) archaeology has relevance to a way through which a nation can reflect on the politics of remembering but it is also important that archaeologists should examine the

politics of erasure and forgetting (Harrison 2008, p. 179). Therefore, one should not be looking at industrial landscapes only through filters given by the dominant schools of landscape or industrial archaeology; this aspect of heritage is clearly founded on the idea that things make it possible to be classified as heritage only if there is some risk of losing them. When there is potential or real threat to heritage such as destruction, loss or decay, heritage becomes linked historically and politically with the conservation movement (Harrison et al. 2008, p. 12). Rather, we should be inquiring into the motivations of those who created those industrial landscapes and used them to express their identity (Belford 2009, p. 21).

The preservation and renovation of buildings has become a subject of debate in Japan in recent times. This is why the Japanese no longer destroy their architectural patrimony. They now debate the possibilities of the re-use of buildings even for different purposes. This kind of narrative unfolded only after the events that burst the 1980s bubble economy were at their height (Scaroni 2012, p.133). The authorities concerned have begun to identify modern buildings and abandoned industrial areas as cultural heritage, and named some of these complexes in the preservation lists (Scaroni 2012, p.135. It is should be noted that heritage is not only to be protected but also to be used to create new culture (Kakluchi 2014, p. 8).

When buildings were primarily engaged as use value, one could only see exchange value and never recognise its use value. That is to say, the labour employed in the conversion was individual and alienated, an unnatural labour, given over to creating commodities for exchange rather than use (Cosgrove 1998, p. 232). This is reflected in the living quarters of Hashima where each apartment consisted simply of a single six-tatami-mat (9.9 sq. metres) room with a window, door and small vestibule more like a monk's cell. Bathing, cooking and toilet facilities were communal (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p. 38). In 1960 about 5 300 people lived on the island with about 30 reinforced concrete buildings. There was also a

school and hospital built from the Taisho era (1912- 1926) to the Showa era (1926-1989) (Shimbun 2014).

One can recognise the heart-breaking signs of traces – or use value left at the scene when capitalistic production on Hashima Island suddenly stopped. But this authenticity is often replaced by a new exchange value when there is a demand for new capitalistic production, and when heritage professionals and industrial archaeologists need to intervene in the construction of this new exchange value. In particular, heritage objects play an important role in authenticating the past (or a past) by making use of their visual presence, framed as exhibits in museums or preserved as buildings, monuments or landscapes with all the paraphernalia on display (which is now standard practice for visitor management assumed at heritage sites) (Watson& Waterton 2010, p.89). Furthermore the authorised heritage discourse removes heritage objects, places and practices from their historical context and encourages people to view them as symbols of the national character, of a particular period of history or of a particular building type. In doing so, they are stripped of their particular meanings and given a series of newly created associations (Smith 2006, p. 29). For people, the cultural significance of some monuments becomes even clearer if one tries to imagine, say, a Tomb of the Unknown Marxist or a Cenotaph for Fallen Liberals. The fact is that neither Marxism nor Liberalism is much concerned with death and immortality. In this sense, it would seem that nationalism has something in common with religion (Anderson 1991, p. 10). To a greater extent, constructed ideas of tradition and nationhood also often help create a timeless and permanent sense of national identity - evidence which seems to lie in the age of the objects displayed (Watson & Waterton 2010, p. 86).

According to Benjamin (cited in Stead 2003, p. 56), the past is constructed by the present and must therefore be read in and through that present. Different interpretations of history thus result from on-going modes of perception brought about by the effects of new

technology the production of images (Stead 2003, p. 56). New configurations of distant social orders will be designed to continually produce nostalgia for what has been lost; this is done in the interests of actualising the dissolution of time itself rather than seeking to find modes of relating past, present, and future in politically distinct ways (Harootunian, 2009, p.108).

Japanese political and business elites exercise tremendous power over archaeology. They influence the kinds of research archaeologists do; the way they structure and organise their work; and the use of archaeological results in the public realm particularly the use of archaeology to define Japanese national identity (Fawcett 2000, p. 244). The trend in post-industrial societies, including Japan, is that the concept of heritage is often treated in a pseudo-religious way (Cox & Bruman 2009, p. 3).

For Japan, in earlier times there was the notion of Kokutai (the national body) in which the Japanese people were seen as a family linked to the emperor in a paternalistic bond. After the Second World War, a reformatting of the ideological system was used to create a sense of cohesion and homogeneity among the Japanese people and deny internal social conflict. Now the Japanese people are seen as having descended from the original Japanese, who created the roots of the Japanese nation. Since one of the tasks of a government is seen as the responsibility to instil appropriate attitudes in its citizens, the state has, through its power to preserve and represent culture, assumed the responsibility for educating citizenry and one of the tasks of such culture in Japan is to incorporate people (Ashworth 2011, p. 11). The mere fact that modern Japan is so far removed from its past creates conditions for a self-conscious making of heritage, more so if the people feel threatened by an assumption of constant progress. However, the challenge now becomes that the real aspects of the cultural environment are separated according to the aesthetic and political criteria for evaluating heritage (Cox & Bruman 2009, p. 3). Heritage becomes identifiable here as the purposeful

designation of a part of the past which one selects in the present for contemporary purposes. In other words, something trapped in the past is now seen as a sustainable resource requiring responsible management (Cox & Bruman 2009, p. 3). As a result, the ruins appear spatial and the built space temporal. An imaginary of ruins becomes central to any theory of modernity that wants to be more than the triumphalism of progress and democratisation or longing for a past power of greatness. Although, as against the optimism of Enlightenment thought, the modern imaginary of ruins remains conscious of the dark side of modernity as the inevitable devastation of time become visible in the ruins (Huyssen 2006, p. 13). Nevertheless the modern imaginary fails to understand new social relations of production because they could not accept society as 'organic'. No resolution is open to be pursued in the social order; it has to be found in a natural, moral order which harmonised the individual soul with unspoiled external nature (Cosgrove, 1998, p. 231).

Recently there have been many changes in Japan. Heavy manual labour has disappeared and there are now fewer jobs. Industrial archaeology is largely concerned with what has disappeared like the forerunners of the Industrial Revolution- windmills and canals in particular (Samel 2008, p. 284). However, by opening derelict buildings to the public it is likely to make more people interested in those sites, but only if the sites' social and historical significance is made clear (e.g. by contextualising sites by their position within broader networks of industrialism) (Rowsdower 2011, p. 9). This is where the historical failure of reconciliation and resolution between Japan and Korea is betrayed: by the stories of the histories of enforced labourers. The heritage conflict is deeply embedded within nationalism, capitalism and commodity-making. As a consequence it always becomes a product of what the social, economic and political issues of the day bring to mind.

At the time of their construction the multi-story concrete apartment buildings in Hashima were seen as a great step forward for many urban dwellers in Japan. Although these more modern apartment homes were actually modest, the Japanese viewed them as a step in the

right direction in following the example of the United States (Varley 2000, p. 331). Therefore, the representations of such ruins in picture books, films and exhibits are signs of the nostalgia for the monuments of an industrial architecture of a past age that was tied to a public culture of industrial labour. It has also been suggested that the intense concern with such ruins is a subset of the current privileging an emphasis on memory and trauma (Huyssen 2006, p. 8). Modernity in Japan was developed in terms of historical temporality through which capitalism used lived experience and the mediated forms through which a specific history remains by the continuous historicity of existence, in other words, capitalist experiences remain a part of the continuity of history. Through these mediated forms, one can see the rhetoric of representation; there is the ambiguity which capitalism produced and continually marked in Japan's modernity to the present (Harootunian 2009, p.107). John (2000, p.29) has explained this phenomenon further:

> When the Japanese searched through their national history for precedents relevant to their new circumstances for the roots of a native democracy, examples of principled resistance to militarism or indigenous formulations of repentance and atonement, the examples they came up with were naturally specific to their past. What they were doing, however, was what all people do in moments of traumatic change; they were finding inventing, if need be something familiar to grab.

In the Hashima tourism programme run by the city of Nagasaki, no mention at all is made of the life Korean and Chinese workers during wartime. The guidebook and other materials describe the history of Hashima from only 1945 onwards but any other interpretation about Hashima before that period is entirely missing (Yoo, 2014).

Figure 13: People on Hashima Island watching waves from a typhoon

(Source: Hashima Guide Map of Nagasaki)

This shows that with the passage of time, the truth of the past can be seen as a threat to the present, if there is a desire to impose the values of the present on the past (Harrison 2013, p. 26). On this point one can understand how heritage-making and the emphasis on modernity can be encountered. Julia (2010, p. 194) has reasoned that:

> Modernity promotes the growth of disciplinary power and surveillance, the fragmentation of the subject and the capacity for destruction on a scale never before possible and the creation of new ways of subjugating people and controlling society. As Geoff Eley points out, historians have only recently engaged in being interested in articulating modernity's dark side, the nexus of knowledge and power, culture and catastrophe that comprises the dialectic of modernity.

Accordingly it can be argued that people with weak relevance who cannot recognise realities and say their voices in Hashima are positioned to experience romanticised aura whenever they see residents in photos, who does not seem to possess individual personality or feeling, watching common occurrence and direction.

5.3 Re-mapping the concepts of Japan and Nagasaki by new heritage making: political, economic and social

According to UNESCO, managing cultural world heritage sites for serial properties should regularly review and reinforce where feasible the coordinating mechanisms to increase the cohesion and effectiveness of its management as a world heritage property, and respond to changes that affect its component parts. (UNESCO/ICCROM/ICOMOS/IUCN. 2013, p. 62).

To analyse Japanese heritage sites, it is necessary to recognise both the juxtaposition and interconnection of two levels of analysis: national and local. On the national level there is pressure towards the centralisation of power and the homogenisation of identity, but the local component can either play a supporting role in the expression of national character or emphasise particular local identities in opposition to a homogenised nationhood (Saburo& Minzoku-Mura 2009, cited in Cox & Bruman, p. 60). Therefore, Japan has always believed that it is important for each country to preserve its individual culture in the course of development (Cox & Bruman 2009, p.1). This argument is intimately bound up with the case of Hashima Island and its analysis.

There is a telling passage on the internet site of the consortium:

> The Industrialization of Japan comprises not only her history but also global significance. Inscriptions at the World Heritage have large economic effect (sic). More important is that World Heritage should reflect the identity of local community. On the other hand Kyushu and Yamaguchi are the sites that characterise Japanese modernization (http://www.kyuyama.jp/e/action/a02.html).

Of particular note here is that Japan's industrialization is seen to be achieved by a unique process of Western technology transfer that was not controlled by Western colonial and economic powers, but by Japan herself. In other words, Japanese firms rapidly adopted, adapted and improved this technology. This was possible because of their traditional socio-

economic base and shows what opportunities existed for non-Western countries, but also what the challenges were (Oita 2013, p. 11).

Also according to this narrative, Japan can escape the narrow boundary of its Asian neighbours and join the membership of Europe's glorious history. Or as Julia (2010, p. 202) puts it:

> As a part of a grand narrative that unfolds geographically, Japan is simply accorded a place inside of world history or treated as an imperial space extendable by ship and thus to be subsumed into the progress of civilization.

In the process of heritage-making, the heritage objects may both represent and distort the social relations that produced them. Interpretation and visitor management play an important role in this and it can be said that the objects often take on a second social life. To explore this other life, one can start from the proposition that these inherent and aesthetic values can be deconstructed to reveal deeper cultural meanings about the groups and societies for whom these objects, places and buildings are important (Watson & Waterton 2010, p. 86). In effect, the nation is grouped into imagined communities, and during this process emphasis is put on the material legacy of glorious pasts (Winter 2012, p. 2). Nationalism is used as a way to transmit a national identity across time and space with characteristics that are in fact specific to the period in which they manifest themselves. It operates like a photograph or museum piece; capturing people, places and ideas at a fixed moment and displaying them as evidence of an enduring culture and identity. The ability of leaders to control the past and to re-write history and invent tradition greatly increases the role of nationhood as a basis for identity (Kelman 2001, p. 32). Since old buildings are part of the nation's cultural fabric and are seen as symbols of an enduring national past and national identity they are classified, preserved, conserved and interpreted as aesthetic objects and there is usually one way of interpreting their significance (Watson & Waterton 2010, p. 88). The war-related sites in this case study, perhaps more than other places, play

the role of evoking potent memories loaded with both horror and honour although there is often controversial debate over what should be remembered and protected, and what should be forgotten. However, networks of selected places begin to reconnect social memory on an urban scale when related places with complex histories are organised in a thematic way to better reach urban audiences (Han 2012, p. 496). As a result, there is primary refocus on the connective tissue that continues to bind human potential to degraded environments and degraded personhoods to the material refuse of imperial projects (Stoler, 2008, p. 193). The truth is that if we do not properly forget our histories – and do not make reconciliation we must then refocus on what binds people to degraded environments. For Battleship Island the possibility of becoming a museum in itself, like most of the other haikyo, are left to abandonment and the pure worshipping of scholars and ruin tourists. For instance, it has been said that since nature is reclaiming these incredible and silent structures (see Figure 14 below), it demonstrates once again that the natural cycle of life, death and rebirth, which is at the heart of Buddhist religion, can be seen to play an important role in Japan, the land of impermanence (Kudryashov 2011). This authenticity has been a prominent subject of discussion for tourists. The value and significance of a heritage site is expected to be confirmed by heritage experts and will be convincingly expounded at the 39th Session of the Committee of UNESCO in 2015. George (2010, p. 316) addresses this aspect when writing on colonial melancholy and Fordist nostalgia as follows:

> By preserving many of the ruins in a half-decayed state or by letting them dissolve back into the earth, we acknowledge the pastness of the colonial state. Fordism has generated collective nostalgia because it was the launching pad for countless working class people into middle-class life. Nonetheless many people currently in the socioeconomic middle experience the neoliberal and hypercompetitive present as a regression compared to the Fordist era of solidarity within the working class and across classes. Yet most of them also recognize that the labour movement will never be as culturally and politically central as it was in during the Fordist era.

Figure 14: Ruins on Hashima Island that are being reclaimed by nature

The interesting aspect of Benjamin's concept (cited in Stead 2003, p.84) in this context is that he does not consider the aesthetic aspect of 'age' important. He sees old objects as bearers of traces of the past and feels that if one becomes too romantic, one obscures historical truth. Newly discovered abandoned places are constantly photographed and the results are shared via websites, Facebook, Instagram and Twitter. Initially it is not hard to see why many of the images on these sites exert such a hold on the collective imagination for people as the adjectives most often used to describe them – nostalgic, romantic, and haunting – suggest, there is something paradoxically beautiful, not to say seductive, about decaying buildings, particularly ones that were once baroquely magnificent (O'Hagan 2014). If one sometimes look at one's own life through the same lens as one looks at paintings; the painting becomes standard. The same thing happens with exhibits in museums or in open air displays outside. The museum effect works both ways: not only do ordinary things take on a second social life and become special when placed in museum settings, but also the museum

experience itself becomes a model for experiencing life outside its walls (Kirishenblatt-Gimblatt 1998, p. 412).

Heritage is being integrated and linked closely with community development and its protection is being carried out not only by government but also by various local stakeholders. Owing to structural changes in the economy and production, industries are also paying increased attention to the importance of using culture for the creation of economic value, or to be specific, exchange value. Beyond question, more emphasis is being placed on promoting cultural tourism and local traditional industries with a view to facilitating economic development and local sustainability. This clearly indicates that cultural properties are closely integrated with local daily life and need to be protected for development and sustainability (Kakluchi 2014, p. 8). Culture as an institution appears to offer templates or examples for the regulation of social groups when it meets with modernity (Racliffe, S.A. 2006). Spaces have always been hierarchically[9] interconnected, rather than disconnected. Therefore cultural and social change is not a matter of cultural contact but one of rethinking differences through connection. One can, therefore, see that the identity of a place (community or locality) is the result of interaction and of involvement in system of hierarchically organised spaces (Gupta & Ferguson 1992, p.8).

Some anthropologists tend to become the nostalgic champions of authenticity as the opposite of commodity-making: they see each object has meaning in its own domestic setting. However, they rarely recognise that taking it out of 'this cocoon' can only lead to the destruction of value of local meaning and of local communities (v. Binsbergen 2005, p.48). To a large extent most social formations tend to detach people from space by emphasising

[9] The term 'significance' is used in heritage conservation to mean the degree to which a place possesses a certain valued attribute, and is often used synonymously with the term 'value'. The degree and type of value of a place will be different for various groups and individuals. All places are not equally significant or important and consequently are not equally worthy of conservation and management (Pearson & Sullivan, 1995:17).

'characteristics' other than 'residence' (Halbwachs1980). In Benjamin's words (cited in Verdesio 2010, o.34), 'ruin becomes an equivalent of death in the realm of the inorganic'. Therefore, a predominance of the inorganic typical of ruins urgently needs the architecture; the product of human action. Finally, human beings remain only through the persistence of the material objects built by themselves (Verdesio 2010, p. 346). In effect, this means that commodity-making works itself into ruination and heritage-making lends its credit to commodity-making. Heritage has gradually come to be considered an important component of a high-quality lifestyle as well as a precious resource through cultural tourism and the creation of high value-added products (Kakluchi 2014, p. 1).

One can lose sight of the fact that to conserve the fabric of society, the significance and value of it is paradoxically equivalent to cutting off their continuity. Nishi and Hozumi (1996) claim to re-map 'Nagasaki-ness' by filtering the city's heritage resources. They assert that the city's attractiveness and cultural differences came into being with themes such as foreign trade and that from the start, the city has been known for its exotic flavour, borrowed from its European and Chinese influences.

The tourism information website for Nagasaki city suggests that Shisei Kirmura's idea; the four three best places among the top seven sites are those that contribute to the theme of 'overseas exchange', 'samurai life' and 'Bugyosho' (a local agency of the central government in the Edo period). This theme also has been adopted for permanent exhibition by the Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture. Shisei Kimura identified in her research that the branding and the commodity-making of Hashima Island have been dramatically promoted by the municipal merger in 2005 when Nagasaki city absorbed Takashima town[10].

[10] She argues this conclusion, titled 'Branding of an Industrial Heritage and Practice of Local people: The case study of Hashima' in the World Congress of Sociology, 19 July 2014, Yokohama, Japan.

At the 2014 International Conference of Industrial Heritage held in Tokyo, Iwanmoto made it clear that the remains of the post-1910 production facilities and post-1910 residential buildings do not contribute to 'Outstanding Universal Value'. However, they will be protected under the Law for Protection of Cultural Properties and Conservation to conserve the value of the continued history of coal mining on the island after 1940 (Iwanmoto, 2014). Cultural engineering is obviously at work here again. Symbols of the post-1910 past have been selected to ascribe value to relics from the Meiji Revolution. The oldest reinforced concrete building built was in 1916 but the value for the World Heritage Site is based on the history before 1910.

The symbolism is hard to ignore. The tight-knit Hashima community was a miniature version of Japanese society and straddled a land mass that apart from the lack of water and greenery, mimicked the entire archipelago. According to Burke-Gaffney (1996, p. 43), the island's present forlorn state is a lesson to contemporary Japan about what happens to a country that exhausts its own resources and depends solely on foreign trade. To this Cox & Bruman (2009) have added that a powerful criticism directed at heritage is when it is regarded as a political vehicle for national culture and as a form of commodity for a de-politicised nostalgia masquerading as tradition:

> Spatializing culture as core value, without considering process and temporality, risk[s] making culture look like the mysterious commodity form and its relationship to value add exchange. We know that this critique vanished in the post-war desire to substitute economic wellbeing for political responsibility, which insisted on cementing cultural essence to the realization of successful performance as a natural coupling (Cox & Bruman, 2009).

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The recent re-arrangement of global political economy led manufacturing sectors in Japan to get ready for post-industrial society. Meanwhile Hashima coal mine exposed its hidden histories to the public. It is an ironic reality that seemly economic activities for the benefit and well-being of society have systematically unsettled that society's memory and perceptions. And they might even keep old perceptions over time by following tradition.

While Japan can be considered to have succeeded in its modernisation and industrialization policies without colonial control, the nation's heritage-makers have so far neglected to recognise the total achievements of the Meiji Revolution by refusing to make a judgement of their worth and what those era's politicians and bureaucrats did in this period to demolish the old stagnant culture. Instead, while selected sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution have been mapped, surveyed and recorded to register in the World Heritage Sites of UNESCO, only the thematic approach has been used with a focus on the successful industrial transformation from the West to East pre-1910. In so doing, this selection sets aside other issues around the historical/technological value through the use of 'expert language'. But as Righini (2009, p. 93) correctly asserts: 'This sculptural pre-occupation with the machine aesthetic became too self-conscious and was unable to deal with real issues of context'.

In the process, Hashima coal mine, as one of industrial sites, is positioned hierarchically as one link to facilitate identity-making at the national level. At a local level, it receives a new authenticity as a tourist destination. In other words, it helps the Japanese to realise what it means to be Japanese by becoming an economic asset. These two functions have certainly prolonged the life of the island beyond the point where its production ceased.

While it remains as a very important fact to re-assemble the context of commodity-making during the production period of the island, this depends on the powers of the stakeholder. In the meantime, one need not take the allocation of themes seriously under the name of social wellbeing, local-branding and society as a whole. In fact, if one considers the de-contextualisation and value-making that has taken place it is advisable to keep one's perception intact until the issues of memory are seriously addressed.

When the power of the present stakeholders, as discussed in this case study, is weak and of little legitimacy, commodity–making can be easy to do. Ironically, as has been pointed out, while the period pre-1910 might have been considered as the only criteria for the selection of heritage sites symbolic of Japanese industrialization, it is actually the history of Hashima Island post-1945 that really interests the tourists.

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Personal Communication

Personal communication with Stephen Townsend, Cape Town (23 April 2015).

Personal communication with Erika Nagasaki, Kagoshima (27 April 2015).

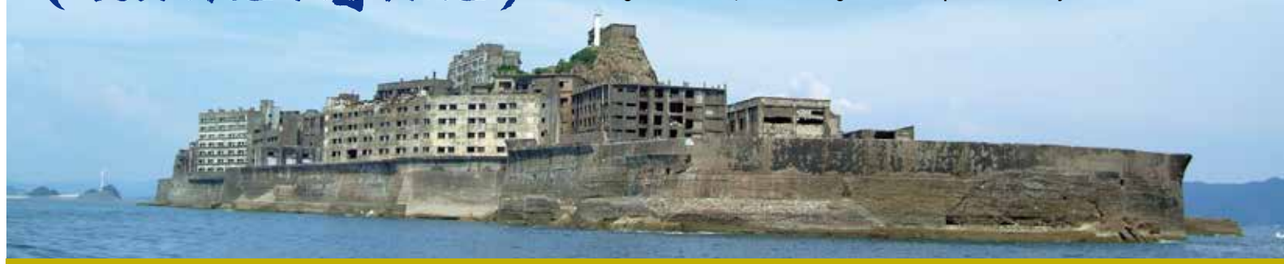
Personal communication with Nick Shepherd, Cape Town (19 May 2015).

Hashima (Gunkanjima)

【端島(軍艦島)】

Hashima (Gunkanjima)

Hashima lies around 4.5km west of the Nagasaki peninsula, 2.5km southwest of the Mitsubishi Mining Company's main coalmine on the island of Takashima, and 19km southwest of Nagasaki harbor. It is a tiny island with a seabed coalmine. It measures 480m north to south and 160m east to west, with a circumference of 1,200m and an area of 63,000m². The island is surrounded by a sea wall, and has multi-storey reinforced concrete apartments, giving it the appearance of the warship Tosa. For this reason it has become known as "Gunkanjima"(Battleship Island).
After the mine was closed, the island was deserted and fell silent for many years. On January 5 2009, however, Hashima was included as part of a tentative list of modern industrial heritage sites in Kyūshū and Yamaguchi that are being considered for World Heritage status. Thus, the island begins a new chapter in its history.



Now, the island begins a new chapter in its history…

Hashima Safety Protocols

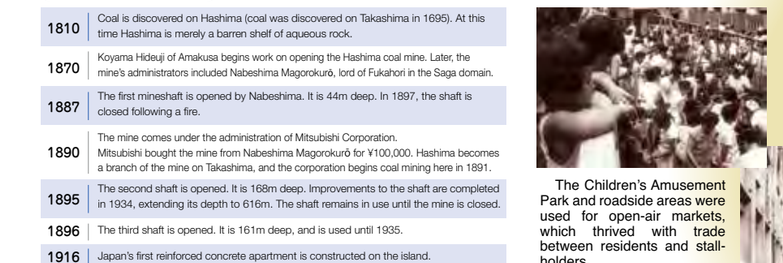
1. Do not leave the designated observation area.
2. Do not do any of the following things in the observation facilities:
(1) Dangerous actions such as climbing fences
(2) Actions which dirty the facilities
(3) Drinking alcohol (including on the boat)
(4) Smoking
(5) Cause annoyance to other people.
3. Follow the instructions of the safety guide and other staff.
4. Wear appropriate clothing and footwear that allows for safe use of the observation facilities:
5. Do not drop litter.
6. People who cannot walk unaided, such as young children or people with disabilities, must by accompanied by a guardian or caretaker.
◆Depending on the weather and sea conditions, it may not be possible to use the observation facilities. In the event that the facilities are unusable, facility usage fees will be refunded.
◆For reasons of safety, intoxicated individuals are restricted from using the observation facilities.
◆Elementary school students and young children must have a letter of consent from their parent or guardian.

Entry Fees

◆Costs of boat travel to the island must be paid separately.

	Individuals	Groups (over 15 people)
Standard (above 12 years)	¥300	¥240
Elementary School Students	¥150	¥120

2013.2(20,000)



Contact Details

Nagasaki City Call Center (Ajisai Call) (TEL 095-825-5175)

For General Tourism Information Contact

Nagasaki Tourist Information Center (TEL 095-823-3631)

Life on the Island

On Hashima, in addition to schools, hospitals and shops, there were also leisure facilities such as a cinema and pachinko hall. However, there was no space to grow trees, and so the PTA and other groups cooperated to carry soil onto the roofs of the apartment buildings and grow flowers and vegetables there. These are thought to have been Japan's first rooftop vegetable gardens. The inhabitants must have wanted to add a little greenery to this barren island, and create a space where they could relax and feel secure. This scheme was unique to Hashima.

The Children's Amusement Park and roadside areas were used for open-air markets, which thrived with trade between residents and stall-holders.

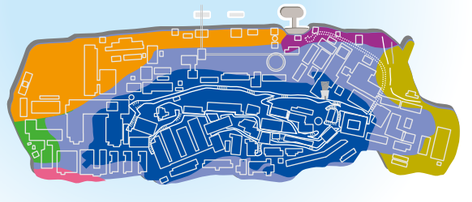
Hashima often suffered damage from large waves. The power of the waves that battered the island during typhoons is unimaginable. However, for the islanders who grew accustomed to the typhoons, watching the great waves from the rooftops became a popular pastime.

Hashima Timeline

1810	Coal is discovered on Hashima (coal was discovered on Takashima in 1695). At this time Hashima is merely a barren shelf of aqueous rock.
1870	Koyama Hideuji of Amakusa begins work on opening the Hashima coal mine. Later, the mine's administrators included Nabeshima Magorokurō, lord of Fukahori in the Saga domain.
1887	The first mineshaft is opened by Nabeshima. It is 44m deep. In 1897, the shaft is closed following a fire.
1890	The mine comes under the administration of Mitsubishi Corporation. Mitsubishi bought the mine from Nabeshima Magorokurō for ¥100,000. Hashima becomes a branch of the mine on Takashima, and the corporation begins coal mining here in 1891.
1895	The second shaft is opened. It is 168m deep. Improvements to the shaft are completed in 1934, extending its depth to 616m. The shaft remains in use until the mine is closed.
1896	The third shaft is opened. It is 161m deep, and is used until 1935.
1916	Japan's first reinforced concrete apartment is constructed on the island.
1925	The fourth shaft is opened. It is 353m deep, and is mostly used for ventilation. It is also used as a substitute for the second shaft when the latter is inaccessible. The fourth shaft remains in use until the mind is closed.
1934	Building work is completed on Hashima Elementary School.
1941	The mine produces its highest recorded yearly output of coal, at 11,100 tons.
1945	The ship *Hakuju-maru* is struck by a torpedo and sinks whilst being loaded with coal.
1955	The districts of Takahama-mura Hashima and Takashima-machi are consolidated to form Takashima-machi Hashima.
1965	Excavation of the new shaft at Mitsuse begins. The shaft remains in use until the mine is closed.
1974	Hashima coal mine is closed on January 15 of this year. On April 20 of the same year the island becomes uninhabited. It remains in this state until the present day.

Island Expansion

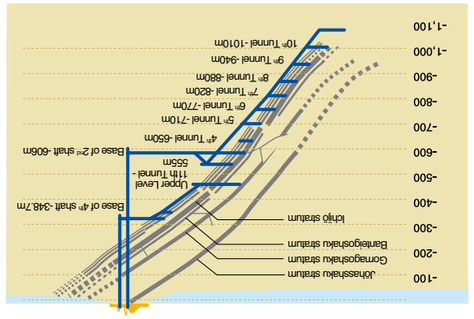
Originally, Hashima was just a small, barren shelf of aqueous rock. However, as mining methods continued to develop, the island was expanded. Embankments were constructed six times through land reclamation, until the island reached its present size and shape. Originally, Hashima was only a third of its current size.



c.1910

c.1959

Hashima Seabed Coal Mine Cross-section



Former excavation site

Nakanoshima

Hashima (Gunkanjima)

Area of cross-section

4th shaft

2nd shaft

Mitsuse excavation site

Mitsuse auxiliary mineshaft

Mitsuse main mineshaft

0 100 300 600 1,100 (m)

Hashima main mineshaft

Hashima auxiliary mineshaft

Diagram of Hashima Seabed Coalmine

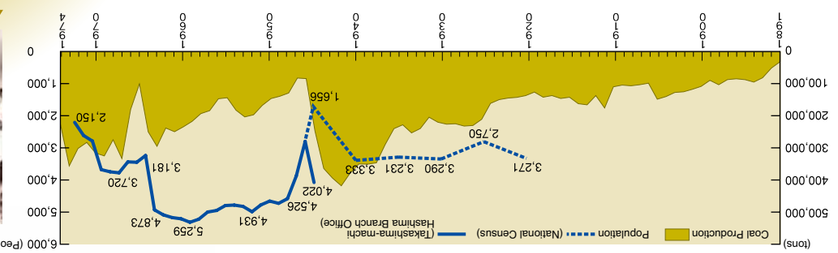
Work in the Coalmine

Between 1891 and 1974, around 15.7 million tons of coal was excavated by the "men of the pit." Mining the seabed coal reserves of Hashima took the miners to points over 1,000m below sea level. After making the grueling journey down the steep slopes of the shafts, they worked in terrible conditions, braving temperatures of 30°C and humidity of 95%, not to mention the ever-present danger of gas explosions. In the mine, an often-exchanged greeting was "Goanzen ni" (literally, "safely"). By this, the miners meant "take care not to have an accident."

◀ Carrying coal waste out of the mine.

▲ Pushing a tully loaded 'coal tub' to the main mining cart tracks.

Change in Island Population and Coal Production



▲ Rooftop vegetable garden

▲ Children carrying soil up to a rooftop

Layout of Buildings at Time of Mine Closure

Around half these buildings remain.

Employee Housing | Miners' Housing | Mine Buildings | Other Buildings

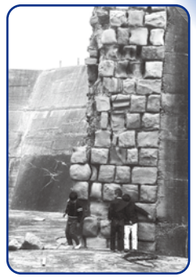
Observation Facilities (Observation Areas, Route)
◆ Leaving these designated areas is forbidden.

This brick building was the nerve center of the mine. In the General Office building, there was a large communal bath area for the miners. The bathtub is said to have always been pitch black. Around the office there were once many other buildings, but now most of them have collapsed.

General Office

Amakawa Sea Wall

As the island was expanded in the Meiji Period (1868-1912), sea walls were also built. Stone walls of this type - held together with an adhesive called "Amakawa"- were widely constructed. To this day these retaining walls survive all over the island, contributing to Hashima's unique scenery.



The swimming pool was moved here in 1958 from in front of the school, after it was damaged in a typhoon. The 25 meter long pool and attached children's pool used sea water until a year or two before the mine was closed. There was however another pool at the kindergarten on the roof of Building No. 65, which used tap water since its construction in 1952.

Swimming Pool

No. 30 and No. 31 Apartment Buildings

The No. 30 Apartment, constructed in 1916, was formerly known as 'Glover House.' It is Japan's oldest 7-storey reinforced concrete apartment building, and served as housing for Hashima's miners. The courtyard has stairwell corridors and steps, and the basement contained a shop. A communal bath was located in the basement of the No. 31 Building, and the first floor had a post office and barbershop.

Selected coal was transferred to the storage facility via this conveyor belt, where it was kept before being loaded onto coal-carrying ships. The braces of the conveyor belt survive today.

Coal Storage Conveyor Belt

Completed in 1958, this hospital was built to protect the health of the mine workers, who risked their lives in the pit, and their families living on the island. For the people on Hashima, the existence of this hospital was undoubtedly reassuring.

Hashima Hospital and Quarantine Ward

Hashima School

In 1893, the Mitsubishi Corporation established a standard elementary school on the reef. In 1921, the school came under the management of the town, and the building was moved to approximately the school's current location. The building that survives today was constructed in 1958, with the first four floors serving as an elementary school, floors 5 and 7 serving as a junior high school, and floor six housing an auditorium, library and music room. In 1970 a gymnasium and lunch hall were added, along with the island's only elevator, which was used to transport school meals.

Lifelines

Securing supplies of electricity and water was a compelling problem for Hashima. Originally, electricity was provided using a generator on the island, but as the population grew the amount of electricity produced proved insufficient. Therefore, in 1918, undersea electricity cables were laid from Takashima.

Drinking water was originally provided by distilling seawater, but it was later brought to the island in water supply ships. This water was stored in an elevated water tank and distributed to communal water hydrants in several areas on the island. In 1957, an undersea water supply pipe was laid between Hashima and the town of Sanwa-machi on the opposite shore. This led to the lifting of water rations on the island. However, with the exception of the senior employees' residences (Building No. 3), baths were not installed in homes and public baths were used instead. Boiled seawater was used for baths; fresh water was used only for drinking.

Before the introduction of propane gas in the mid-1950s, coal furnaces were used on the island, which is why the apartment buildings have chimneys.

▲「Hashima households boasted the highest adoption rate of electronic devices in the prefecture (Mid 1950s to Mid 1960s).」

Remains of Jetty at Entrance to Second Mineshaft

Today, the mine facilities - including the principal second mineshaft – are mostly in ruins. However, the steps leading to the jetty that provided access the second mineshaft have survived.

Hashima Shrine

This shrine was a spiritual cornerstone for the miners who risked their lives working in the pit. On April 3 every year, great celebrations took place all over the island to mark the shrine's Yamagami Festival. Before the main altar there was once a worshipper's hall, but it has collapsed. Today only a small shrine remains.

List of Buildings

Building Name	Date of Construction	Type / No. of Floors	Living spaces	Use
No. 1	1936	Wooden / 1 Floor	—	Shrine
No. 2	1950	RC / 3 Floors	9	Employee housing
No. 3	1959	RC / 4 Floors	20	Employee housing (for management, with baths)
No. 5	1950	Wooden / 2 Floors	1	Mine manager's residence
No. 6	1936	Wooden / 2 Floors	—	Employee dormitories
No. 7	1953	Wooden / 2 Floors	—	Employee clubhouse
No. 8	1919	RC, Wooden / 3 Floors	4	Communal bath (1st floor) / Employee housing
No. 12	1925	Wood / 3 Floors	3	Employee housing
No. 13	1967	RC / 4 Floors	12	Town housing (for teaching staff)
No. 14	1941	RC / 5 Floors	15	Employee housing (central housing)
No. 16	1918	RC / 9 Floors	66	Employee housing
No. 17	1918	RC / 9 Floors	54	Employee housing
No. 18	1918	RC / 9 Floors	50	Employee housing
No. 19	1918	RC / 9 Floors	45	Employee housing
No. 20	1918	RC / 7 Floors	26	Employee housing
No. 21	1954	RC / 5 Floors	15	Police dispatch post (1st floor) / Miners' housing
No. 22	1953	RC / 5 Floors	12	Senior citizens' club (1st floor) / Town Hall (2nd floor) / 'Kamome-sō' town housing (for civil servants)
No. 23	1921	Wooden / 2 Floors	6	Housing (1st floor) / Senpukuji Temple (2nd floor)
No. 25	1931	RC / 5 Floors	6	Lodgings (1st & 2nd floors) / Employee housing
No. 26	1966	Prefab / 2 Floors	8	Subcontracted employee housing
No. 30	1916	RC / 7 Floors	140	Former miners' housing (subcontracted housing)
No. 31	1957	RC / 6 Floors	51	Communal bath (basement) / post office (1st floor) / Miners' housing
No. 39	1964	RC / 3 Floors	—	Community center
No. 48	1955	RC / 5 Floors	20	Miners' housing (Pachinko hall etc. in basement)
No. 50	1927	Steel Frame / 2 Floors	—	Shōwakan' Cinema
No. 51	1961	RC / 8 Floors	40	Miners' housing
No. 56	1939	RC / 3 Floors	6	Employee housing
No. 57	1939	RC / 4 Floors	8	Shop (1st floor) / Miners' housing
No. 59	1953	RC / 5 Floors	17	Shop (basement) / Miners' housing
No. 60	1953	RC / 5 Floors	17	Shop (basement) / Miners' housing
No. 61	1953	RC / 5 Floors	17	Communal bath (basement) / Miners' housing
No. 65	1945	RC / 9 Floors	317	Miners' housing / Rooftop kindergarten
No. 66	1940	RC / 4 Floors	—	Miners' training camp (Keimei-ryō)
No. 67	1950	RC / 4 Floors	48	Miners' training camp (single dorms)
No. 68	1958	RC / 2 Floors	—	Quarantine ward
No. 69	1958	RC / 4 Floors	—	Hashima hospital
No. 70	1958	RC / 7 Floors	—	Hashima school
No. 71	1970	RC / 2 Floors	—	Gymnasium

RC: Reinforced Concrete

Glover Garden: More Fun than Ever

Glover Garden is available for parties, weddings and a wide variety of other events. A wedding or party at these historic facilities in this prime location is sure to make a lasting impression.

Multi-Purpose Use of Facilities (Private Hire)

Days Available for Hire	Any days when the park is not open at night.
Times Available for Use	18:30–21:30
Cost	¥100,000
Application Period	Applications are accepted up to one year in advance, counting from the start of the month. *Nagasaki citizens may only book up to 6 months in advance.
Application Procedure	A completed application form for permission to use Glover Garden should be submitted along with a written proposal no later than two weeks before the planned date of hire.

Retro Photography Studio

(former house of the President of the Nagasaki District Court)

Period clothing is available for rental to help you create the right mood.

(¥500 for 30 minutes)
Choose your favorite outfit from a wide selection of clothing and enjoy a stroll though the garden or take a photo to remember the day. (* Please bring your own camera.)

Jiyu-Tei Coffee Shop

(second floor of the former Jiyu-Tei restaurant)

This stylish coffee shop offers a splendid view of the port. We recommend the Dutch coffee, a drink conceived of by the Dutch who played such an important part in Nagasaki's history. Don't miss out on this rich, fragrant beverage, made with cold water drop by drop over 24 hours.

Glover Garden Shop

(Nagasaki Traditional Performing Arts Museum exit)

Once you've finished your stroll, pick up the perfect memento of your visit at the exit (1st floor, Nagasaki Traditional Performing Arts Museum). You'll find on sale here a great variety of original merchandise including goods imported from Britain, a country with particularly strong ties to Nagasaki's past. From postcards to key holders and treats, this is the place to look for Glover Garden souvenirs.

Visitors in wheel chairs can also enjoy taking a stroll through the garden. We have worked to make the entire garden barrier-free, with wheelchair lifts and slopes, and multipurpose toilet facilities with wheelchair access. Don't hesitate to take advantage of the motorized wheelchairs we have available free of charge. The Garden has also set aside special parking for the disabled.

*A four-leaf clover is illustrated on the cover. Try to find it.(Hint! Follow the cat's eyeshot line)

Glover Garden

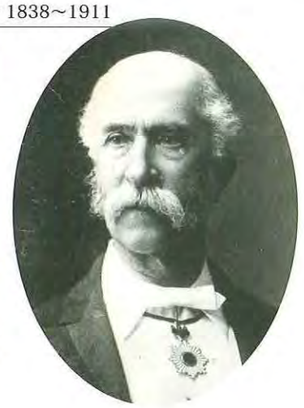
Opening hours: 8:00 to 18:00
(PLEASE NOTE: Entrance gate closes 20 minutes before closure of the park)
29 April (Thu) - 5 May (Wed) 08:00 - 21:30 17 July (Sat) - 9 October (Sat) 08:00 - 21:30
Entry Fees:Standard: ¥600 High school student: ¥300
Elementary/Junior High School Student: ¥180
8-1 Minami-Yamatemachi, Nagasaki City, Nagasaki Prefecture, 850-0931, Japan
Phone: +81-95-822-8223; Fax: +81-95-823-3359
URL: http://www.glover-garden.jp/

GLOVER GARDEN NAGASAKI

Thomas Blake Glover

Thomas Blake Glover 1838~1911

Through shipbuilding, coal mining and the tea trade, Glover contributed greatly to the modernization of Japan. He is known as the father of Japanese beer, and the Kirin Beer logo shares Glover's famous moustache.



Born in Scotland, Glover came to Nagasaki in 1859 at the age of 21, when the ports of Japan were opened. In Nagasaki he established the Glover Trading Company. Glover was generous in his support of young people, and in the tumultuous final years of the Edo Shogunate, he secretly supported royalist revolutionaries and assisted in sending members of the Satsuma clan to study in Britain. After the Meiji Restoration, Glover was a business leader and made great contributions towards the introduction of modern technologies to Japan.
Because of his brown eyes and red face, Glover earned the nickname 'Red Demon' from the workers in his the coal mine. However Glover was bold and warmhearted, and showed great affection for his employees. He never forgot to buy souvenirs for his workers' children.
Glover was also kind towards his family, and made a happy household together with his Japanese wife Tsuru. He lived a harmonious life in Japan until he passed away in 1911, aged 73. He is buried in Sakamoto International Cemetery along with Tsuru, their son Tomisaburo Kuraba and his wife.

Contributing to Japanese Industry and Ushering in a New Era
The People of the Nagasaki Foreign Settlement

Robert Neill Walker

Robert Neill Walker 1851~1941

Modernized Japan's shipping industry, cold drink pioneer.

Born in Britain, Walker established Walker & Co. in Nagasaki in 1898. He left an important legacy in the Japanese shipping industry and later established the first beverage manufacturer in Japan. He was active as one of the most influential men in the business world of the Nagasaki foreign settlement.
Walker loved Japan so much, he went so far as to name two of his bever-ages "Banzai Cider" and "Banzai Lemonade". In his later years, he moved to Canada, transferring control of his business and his home to his son Robert Walker, Jr. Two generations of Walkers lived in Nagasaki for over 70 years.

<Establishment of Kirin Beer's predecessor>Robert Neill Walker's older brother Wilson Walker founded the Japan Brewery Company with Glover. This company was the predecessor of the current Kirin Brewery Company, Ltd.

Yanosuke Iwasaki

Yanosuke Iwasaki 1851~1908

The man who built up the Mitsubishi organization as the second president of Mitsubishi.

The younger brother of Mitsubishi founder Yataro Iwasaki, Yanosuke Iwasaki is the man building up the Mitsubishi organization second president of Mitsubishi. His older brother Yataro and Glover were deeply connected in Nagasaki. After Yataro's detath, Yanosuke continued the friendship over the course of his own life, inviting Glover into Mitsubishi as a consultant. There still exists a photograph of Yanosuke Iwasaki and Glover together at the former Steele Memorial Academy.

William Alt

William Alt 1840~1905

Through his business, William Alt introduced the world to Japanese tea.

Born in Britain, William Alt came to Japan when the ports were opened. He soon moved to Nagasaki, where he established the Alt Trading Company. In partnership with the Nagasaki businesswoman Kei Oura, he bought up and exported tea from all around Kyushu. With the huge profits he made from the tea manufacturing industry, Alt had the Alt Residence constructed in 1865. Although it is a very Westernstyle building, it was in fact designed by Hide Koyama, who was also the architect of Oura Cathedral.In her memoirs, Alt' s wife Elizabeth wrote: "Nagasaki is a truly beautiful place. I know of no place more beautiful."

<Alt's Business Partner, Kei Oura>Kei Oura was Alt's partner in the tea manufacturing and selling business. Kei was the daughter of Nagasaki's foremost oil trading family, but when she was aged 16 a huge fire destroyed her family's business and they fell upon hard times. However, She entered into the tea trade when she was 25, and managed to restore her family's fortunes. She is known as one of the three great women of Nagasaki.

Tomisaburo Kuraba

Thomas Albert Glover 1870~1945

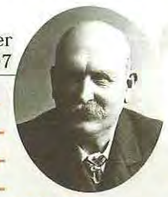
First introduce trawling into Japan, produced the monumental epic the Glover Atlas and contributed to the modernization of Nagasaki as a fishery prefecture.

Thomas Blake Glover's son Tomisaburo Kuraba joined Holme, Ringer & Co., introduced stream trawlers and greatly contributed to promoting the fisheries industry in Japan. Seeing the enormous fish caught in trawl nets, Tomisaburo invested his own funds to complete the Glover Atlas, counted among the four great fish atlases of Japan. Born of mixed ancestry, Tomisaburo created a social group for foreigners, the Naigai Club, and poured his energy into establishing the Unzen Golf Course which is Japan's first public course.

Frederick Ringer

Frederick Ringer 1838~1907

Engaged in foreign trade throughout his life, re reigned over Nagasaki's economic world in Meiji era.



Born in Britain, Ringer came to Japan in around 1864, working at Glover & Co. and then establishing Holme, Ringer & Co. in 1868 together with another Englishman, Holme. He established the Naigai Club for the local community to meet with residents of the foreign settlement and was active in a wide range of activities including construction of Nagasaki waterworks, international trade, agency, tea manufacture, milling, and electric power generation. The Nagasaki Hotel, which he built on Oura Kaigan Dori street (next to the former HSBC Nagasaki branch) in 1898, gained prominence as one of the top hotels in Asia at the time.

GLOVER GARDEN GUIDE MAP

GLOVER GARDEN NAGASAKI

Welcome to GLOVER GARDEN

A B C D E F G H I J K L M

Discover

Surprises and mysteries! Seek out wonders at Glover Garden.

A Public Water Tap from the Meiji Era

The water service of Nagasaki city was founded in 1891 (Meiji 24). In those days, most tap water was supplied via public taps provided on the streets, with the city's water officer turing on the water in the mornings and turning it off in the evenings.

B Border of foreign settlement

Keep an eye out for the many stone markers which originally marked the boundary of the foreign settlement, next to the No. 2 Gate Entrance, and Stock-Anchors used by Mitsubishi.

C Takashima-style Cannon

This old Japan made cannon is said to be produced by a gunsmith Seizo Nogawa under the supervision of Nagasaki-born gun designer, artillery tactician Syuhan Takashima.

D Gate of the Freemasons' Lodge (assembly place)

This was used as the gate pillar stone for the entrace of a residence owned by British family lived in Nagasaki. On this pillar stone, the mark of the Freemasons (stoneworker), a group with British origins, is carved.

E Japan's Oldest Asphalt Road

Sloping down to the right from the statue of Tamaki Miura are the remains of a road. This is thought to be the oldest asphalt road in Japan, which was built by Thomas Glover's son Tomisaburo kuraba. It seems there was also once a tennis court nearby. The Glover and Ringer families are said to have enjoyed playing tennis on a court they had cut into the slope of Minami-Yamate.

F Storehouse Cut Into a Natural Cliff

This storehouse is cut into a natural cliff located behind the Former Alt Residence. The interior of the storehouse is surprisingly spacious, with a breadth of 3m and a depth of 9m. The storehouse normally maintains a temperature of around 20℃, which in the hot climate of Nagasaki made it very luxurious possession. Wine was stored here, and it was likely guests were brought here to be entertained.

G Statues of Tamaki Miura and Puccini

The opera Madame Butterfly set in Nagasaki, which is counted among one of the three great operas of the world. On the Glover Garden grounds, you'll find statues of the creator of that opera, Giacomo Puccini, and of Tamaki Miura, who became world-fa-us for her role as Madame Butterfly.

H The Mirror You Can't See Yourself In

The mysterious mirror in the former Glover House. The majority of people who stand in front of this mirror can't even see their faces. The mirror must have actually not been installed to show people, but rather illuminate the room.

I Ryoma Sakamoto in a secret room?

A windowless secret room is hidden in the ceiling in the hallway to the bedroom used by Glover's wife Tsuru. Glover backed groups looking to overthrow the Shogunate such as those in the Satsuma and Choshu Domains, breaking state prohibitions to smuggle Satsuma youth into Britain on his own ship and selling large quantities of weapons to Choshu. These revolutionaries surely must have come and gone from the Glover House, partaking in many secret talks.

J Were konnyaku bricks hard? Soft?

The bricks used for the kitchen floor of the former Glover House were thinner than regular bricks, with a shape just like that of konnyaku, a gelatin-like food used in Japanese cooking. Thanks to the fact that these bricks are piled on top of each another, they are apparently quite strong.

K The image of Guardian Lion-dog used for Kirin Beer Label

Glover started a beer company called the Japan Brewery Company. It is said that the charming stone guardian lion-dog sitting next to the greenhouse at the former Glover House was the model for the picture of the Kirin, used on the label. And maybe the Kirin's moustache was based on Glover's....

L Dining Hall Gong Used When Ships Left Port

The gong used when the ferry to the Takashima mines left port was for some reason set up in the dining hall of the former Glover House. Of course, it was also used as a signal that dinner was ready.

M 300-Year-Old Sago Palm

This sago palm is located in the garden of the Former Glover Residence. The lord of Satsuma Province is believed to have given this tree to Glover as thanks for Glover's efforts to aid the Satsuma Clan through shipbuilding and negotiation. The tree is believed to be 300 years old, making it one of the oldest sago palms in Japan.

LEGEND

Legend of Heart Stone

As the story goes, touching a heart-shaped paved stone will make your dreams of love come true, while good things will come if you find both stones. One of these stones is below the direction indicator in the garden at the former Glover House. And the other-- next to the rest house!

After travelling to Nagasaki from distant Scotland, Thomas Blake Glover built a house on the hill in Minami-Yamate in 1863. Nagasaki then was vibrant with the energy of people looking toward a new dawn for Japan.
Here were the merchants from across the seas, pursuing dreams of fortune; the revolutionaries seeking an end to the Shogunate; and the youth of Japan eager to study the West. Today, over a century later, the memories of Glover's life in those days here remain, untouched, along with the homes of the merchants who lived in Nagasaki and loved the city. Take a stroll through the good old days.

① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩

Look

So much to see, historic scenes brimming with romance

①Former Mitsubishi No.2 Dock House

The "dock house" was once a facility where ship crews could rest while their ship was at shipyard for repairs. In this typical Western-style building constructed in 1896, eight pillars above and below the veranda provide support. Take a moment on this veranda to enjoy the amazing view of Nagasaki.

②Front Gate Guardhouse of the Former Nagasaki Commercial College

From the Meiji period (1868-1912) to the early part of the Showa period (1926-1989), the state-run Nagasaki Commercial College was an important educational institution in the field of Japanese economics. This is the school's original guard house, which was moved here from its former location and restored. The guardhouse features a blend of Japanese and Western design, with modern ornamentation appearing alongside traditional paper screen doors.

③Former Nagasaki District Court President's Official Residence

This was the official residence of the president of Nagasaki District Court, constructed in 1883 in Uwa-machi. It is Nagasaki's only surviving government building that was constructed in a Western style outside of the foreign settlement area. As such, it is a very valuable building. The interiors were designed by Japanese, and as well as board-lined Western-style rooms there is a living room with a tatami mat floor.

④Former Walker House

The residence of British businessman Robert Neill Walker's second son, this house was built just next to the Oura Catholic Church in the middle of the Meiji era. Japanese taste is reflected in details such as the Japanese-style eaves protruding from the roof.

⑤Former Ringer House (A Nationally Designated Important Cultural Property)

A bungalow-style house encompassed by a veranda on three sides, built at the beginning of the Meiji era. The stone veranda floor is granite brought over from Vladivostok, while Amakusa stone was used for the pillars supporting the veranda roof. Wood and stone find harmony together in this remarkable wooden-framed stone building.

⑥Former Alt Residence (A Nationally Designated Important Cultural Property)

The Former Alt Residence is the largest stone-built Western-style house remaining in Nagasaki. It was designed and constructed by Koyama Hide, who also worked on the Former Glover Residence and Oura Cathedral. The Former Alt Residence is a wonderfully ornate building, with a gable-roofed porch jutting out towards the harbor and a wide veranda supported by pillars made from Amakusa pottery stone.

⑦Former Steele Memorial School

This mission school was built in the hills of Higashi-Yamate in 1887. Its first floor has a photograph of the Glover family and "Glover encyclopedia" which is one of Japan's four major encyclopedias of fish. The second floor has an exhibition of Ken Tagawa's wood-block prints of the Western-style houses of Nagasaki.

⑧Former "Jiyu-Tei" Restaurant

The Jiyu-Tei opened around the end of the Edo period in front of Irabayashi Shrine as Japan's first Western-style restaurant. The restaurant's founder, Jokichi Kusano, studied under one of Dejima's Dutch residents, where he was said to have perfected his cooking skills. Currently, the second floor is a coffee shop.

⑨Former Glover House (A Nationally Designated Important Cultural Property)

The oldest Western-style wooden building in Japan, built in 1863. The clover-shaped architecture, with no formal main entrance, brings to mind a bungalow from some southern country. Inside the house, a variety of artifacts are on display, including Glover's favorite walking stick, adorned with a sculpture of a dog, and portraits of Glover and his wife Tsuru.

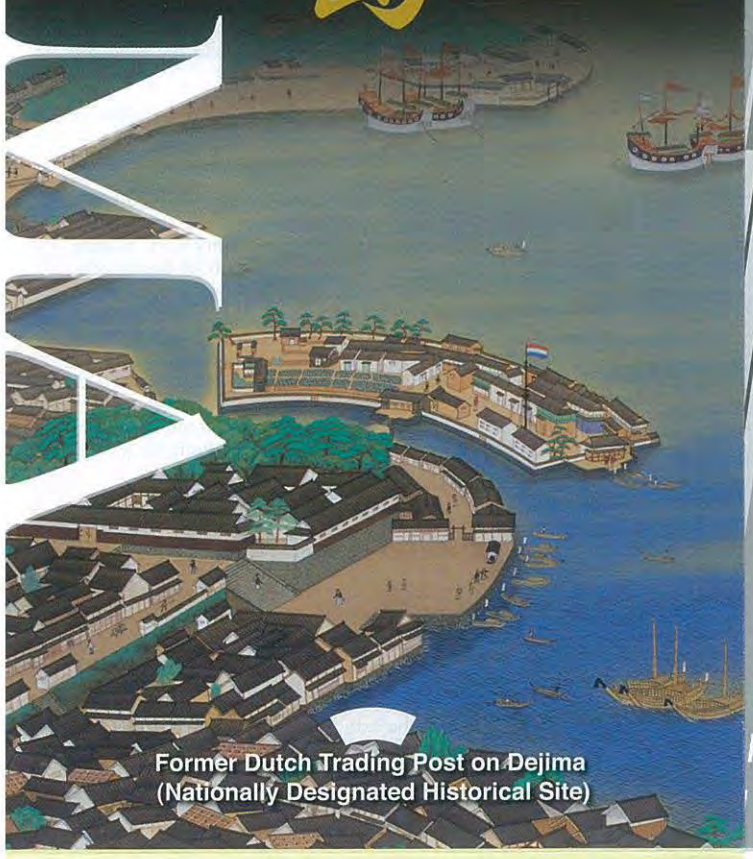
⑩Nagasaki Traditional Performing Arts Museum

Here you'll find on display the white and red dragons from the dragon dance performed during the Nagasaki Kunchi Festival, as well as kasaboko, the elegantly decorated umbrella-like objects used to guide the dances performed by each neighborhood, in addition to other exhibits. You'll also have a chance to watch videos of the Nagasaki Kunchi Festival.

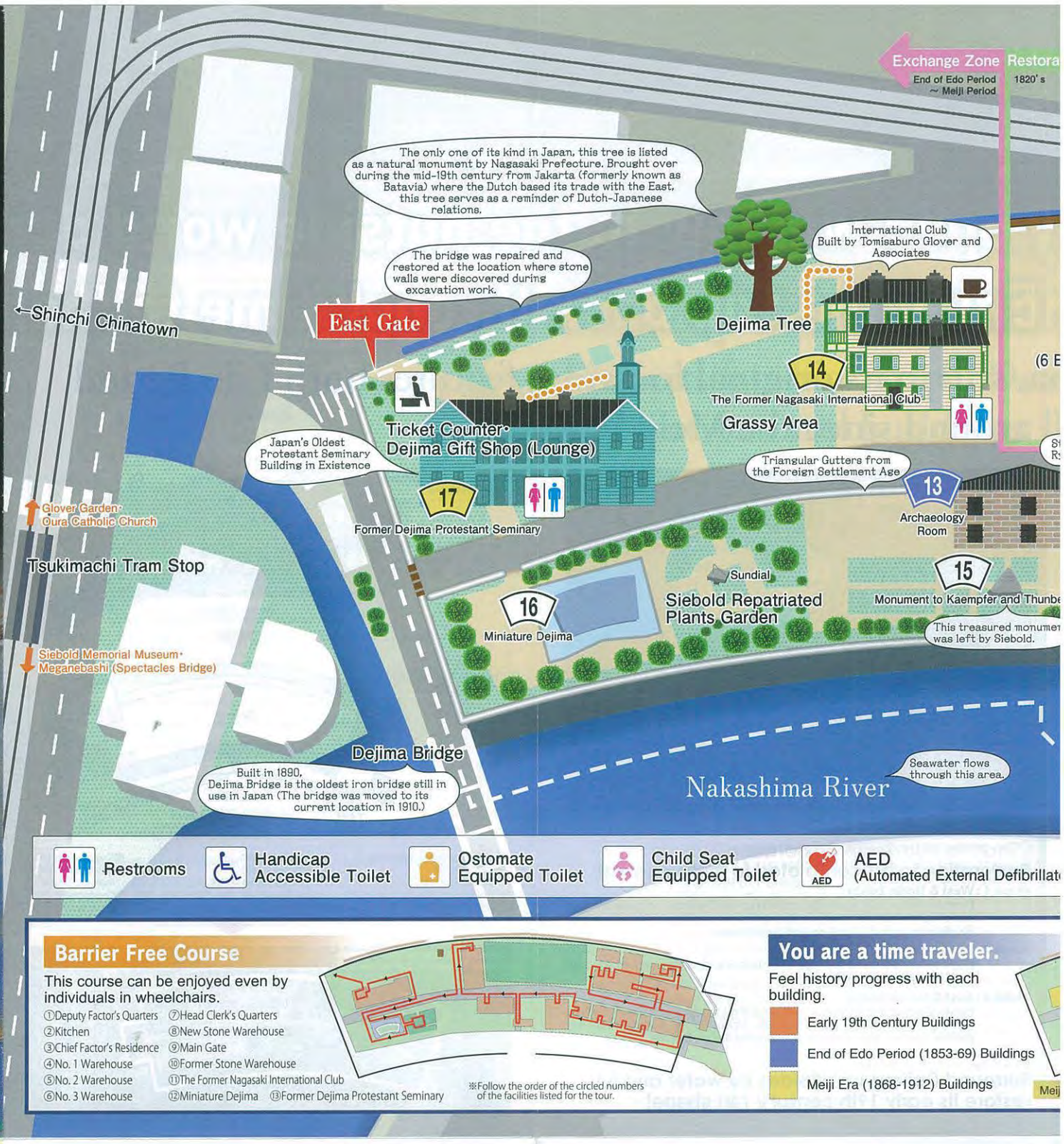
DEJIMA

Reborn 出島

この地は今も昔も変わらぬ場所にある。
歴史を積み重ねた「出島」へ。



Former Dutch Trading Post on Dejima
(Nationally Designated Historical Site)



Dejima International Club Restaurant

Enjoy Traditional Nagasaki Cuisine

Boasting a unique combination of Japanese, Chinese, and Western flavors, come enjoy the taste of Nagasaki cuisine in a place where history has been made since 1903!

[Entrées]

- Nagasaki Special Turkish Rice (Pictured below on the left)・・¥800
- Hamburger w/ Tomato Sauce Turkish Rice・・・・ ¥800
- *Kakuni* (Steamed Pork) Turkish Rice・・・・・・・・ ¥1,200
- Portuguese Lunch: Picado Soup, Whale Cutlet, and Salad (Pictured below on the right)・・・・・・・ ¥1,200

- Whale Cutlet Only・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・ ¥600
- Nagasaki Salad ・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・ ¥500
- Beef Curry w/ Homegrown Seasonal Vegetables (inc. Salad) ・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・ ¥700
- Picado Soup w/ Homegrown Seasonal Vegetables ・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・ ¥400
- *Kakuni* Steamed Pork Bun ・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・ ¥400

[Dessert]

- Castella・・・・・・・・・・・・・・ ¥300
- Nagasaki Milk Shake・・・ ¥500

[Drinks]

- Coffee (Hot/Cold) ・・・・・ ¥350
- Tea (Lemon Tea) ・・・・・・ ¥350
- Soft Drinks・・・・・・・ ⟨each⟩¥200
- *Ramune* ・・・・・・・・・・・・・ ¥350 (Lemonade Soda Pop)

※Hours of Operation: 10:30~15:00 (Last Order: 14:45)
※Hours of Operation and menu may vary depending on the season.

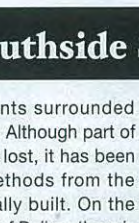
The Former Nagasaki International Club

Built in the British-style architecture of its time in 1903 by British merchant Frederick Ringer, the Nagasaki International Club was used as a place where foreigners living in Nagasaki could interact with local Japanese citizens.

This two-story wooden building features a Japanese tile roof and wood flooring and was the last to be owned by a foreigner in Dejima. Because of its age, it has undergone many large-scale repairs.

15 Monument to Kaempfer and Thunberg

This monument was built by the Dutch East India Company physician Siebold during his stay in Japan to honor the great achievements of his two predecessors Kaempfer and Thunberg.



Kaempfer (left) (1651-1716)
Thunberg (right) (1743-1828)

Portrait of Thunberg (section)
Nagasaki University Library Economics Department Collection

16 Miniature Dejima

This 1/15 scale model of Dejima was made in 1976 by using the "Nagasaki Dejima-no-zu" that was drawn in 1820 by Kawahara Keiga. It is said that there was an amusement area including billards here as well as a herb garden that Siebold planted nearby.

17 Former Dejima Protestant Seminary

Built **1878** | Original Building w／**Renovations**

Built in 1878, this building remains as the oldest former Protestant seminary in all of Japan.

■Exhibits:

1st Floor : Ticket Counter, Dejima Gift Shop, Lounge
2nd Floor : Library (information about Dejima), meeting rooms (free for those with annual passes)

18 Southside Stone Embankments

Stone embankments surrounded Dejima on all sides. Although part of the stone wall was lost, it has been restored using methods from the time it was originally built. On the road located south of Dejima there is a line that shows how far the walls extended in 1867.

Smartphones in Dejima!

Easy to connect to and use, your smartphone can provide you with even more information about Dejima (Available in English).

http://www1.city.nagasaki.nagasaki.jp/dejima2/

10 Head Clerk's Quarters

Built **Early 19th Century** | **Restoration** Completed in 2006

This building was the home of the Dutch head clerk who was responsible for taking notes in ledgers and other official records.

■On Exhibit:
Learn about rangaku, which was the study of Western academia and culture that came into Japan through Dejima, in this building.

11 New Stone Warehouse (Dejima Theater)

Built **1865** | **Restoration** Completed in 2006

This building is a restoration of the stone warehouse built here in 1865.

Come enjoy a film on Dejima through the eyes of a Japanese Dutch interpreter. English audio is also available.

12 Main Gate

Built **Early 19th Century** | **Restoration** Completed in 1989

During the Edo period, this main gate awaited those who crossed the bridge from Edo-machi on the opposite shore. Guards were responsible for overseeing people going in and out here.

Due to river widening construction of the Nakashima River during the Meiji Period, the inner wall of Dejima was moved back to its current location.

13 Former Stone Warehouse (Archeology Center)

Built **b/w 1853-1860** | **Restoration** Completed in 1990

It became known that this building was used as a warehouse for overseas exports after many Japanese ceramics were unearthed at this location.

■On Exhibit:
1st Floor : Relics unearthed from Dejima
2nd Floor : Information on Repair and Restoration of Stone Embankments

14 The Former Nagasaki International Club

Built **1903** | Original Building w/ **Renovations**

This building was built in 1903 as a place where foreigners living in Nagasaki could interact with Japanese people.

■On Exhibit:
1st Floor : Restaurant w/ Nagasaki Cuisine, Dejima Game Room and Exhibit
2nd Floor : Exhibits related to Foreign Settlement Age

The Size of Dejima

Dejima is around 70m long on the east and west side, 190m on the north side, and has a 563m perimeter. With an area of 15,000 m², it is around 1/3 the size of Tokyo Dome and around the same size as the Nippon Budokan (martial arts center).

Access from JR Nagasaki Station

By Streetcar	From Nagasaki Station take the No.1 streetcar bound for Shokakuji-shita. Get off at Dejima (1 min. walk from stop).
By Bus	From Nagasaki Ekimae Minamiguchi bus stop take the bus bound for Shinchi Terminal (新地ターミナル行き). Get off at Shinchi Terminal (5 min. walk from stop).
By Car	Dejima is a 6 min. drive from JR Nagasaki Station. (1 min. drive from Nagasaki Expressway [Interchange and Nagasaki Dejima Road]) ※Park your car at one of the commercial parking garages in the area.

Admission

	Individuals	Groups (More than 15 people)
Adults	¥500	¥400
High School Students	¥200	¥120
Elementary/Middle School Students	¥100	¥60

※Individuals who present a physical, rehabilitation, or mental disability handbook at admission are provided a 50% discount. One caretaker is also eligible for this discount.

Hours of Operation

8:00～18:00

- Open year round. Baby strollers and wheelchairs are available for loan.
- Admission ends 20 minutes before closing.
- Admission times may be extended depending on the season.

※Guided tours of Dejima are provided on Saturday, Sunday and holidays. Please inquire at the information desk for more details.

Inquiries／Dejima Information Desk

6-1 Dejima-machi, Nagasaki 850-0862 TEL/FAX 095-821-7200

「H24.6 10,000」

STAMP

5 Deputy Factor's Quarters

Built **Early 19th Century** | **Restoration** Completed in 2000

This was the residence of the Dutch East India Company Deputy Factor, second in command on Dejima.

■On Exhibit:
1st Floor : Information Desk, Museum Shop
2nd Floor : Planning and Exhibition Rooms

6 First Ship Captain's Quarters

Built **Early 19th Century** | **Restoration** Completed in 2000

This building accommodated Dutch ship captains during their stay and also was the living quarters of other Dutch company officers.

■On Exhibit:
1st Floor : Former Warehouse
2nd Floor : Captain's Quarters Reproduction (e.g. table, bed)

7 No. I Warehouse

Built **Early 19th Century** | **Restoration** Completed in 2000

This warehouse mainly was used to store sugar, however sometimes various other imported goods were stored here as well.

■On Exhibit: Both the 1st and 2nd floors of this building showcase the restoration process of Dejima. Stones from building foundations unearthed during excavation are also on display.

8 No. 2 Warehouse (Trade Museum)

Built **Early 19th Century** | **Restoration** Completed in 2000

This warehouse was used to store sappan wood, the main ingredient in dye.

■On Exhibit:
Trade and Cultural Exchange Exhibits

9 No. 3 Warehouse

Built **Early 19th Century** | **Restoration** Completed in 2006

This warehouse was used to store imported sugar and goods for personal trade.

■On Exhibit:
Recreation of Warehouse w/ Imported Goods

1 Sea Gate

Built **Early 19th Century** | **Restoration** Completed in 2006

Located on the west side of Dejima, the Sea Gate was used to receive and send goods. Just outside the gate was an open space for handling goods and a landing pier for small cargo vessels.

This gate is located nearby the Dejima Streetcar stop on the west side of the museum.

2 Chief Factor's Residence

Built **Early 19th Century** | **Restoration** Completed in 2006

This residence, Dejima's most noteworthy, served as the living quarters for the Chief Factor as well as a place to entertain guests.

■On Exhibit:
1st Floor : Exhibits on Life in Dejima and its history
2nd Floor : Reproduction of Chief Factor's Daily Life

3 Japanese Officials' Office

Built **Early 19th Century** | **Restoration** Completed in 2006

This building housed Dejima's Japanese officials. It was also the workspace for treasurers and the guardroom for patrols.

■On Exhibit:
Easy to understand information about the jobs of Dejima's Japanese officials.

4 Kitchen

Built **Early 19th Century** | **Restoration** Completed in 2000

Meals for the Dutch officials on Dejima were prepared here. Dutch officials ate on the 2nd floor of the Chief Factor's Residence.

■On Exhibit:
The scene of food being cooked for the Christmas celebration the Dutch referred to as the Winter Solstice is reproduced here.

Shops in Dejima

Original Dejima Souvenirs and Information available here!

Located on the 1st floor of the Deputy Factor' s Quarters, the Dejima Shop carries original Dejima goods such as cloths, glass products, postcards, tea, and books. The Former Dejima Protestant Seminary has Nagasaki-related souvenirs and miscellaneous Chinese goods.

※Karakami Postcard Sets

Karakami (Printed Paper)

Originally brought over from China during the Heian period (794-1185), karakami, beautiful Japanese paper made from block print patterns, has been used for walls and sliding doors in Japan since the Muromachi period (1333-1573).

Karakami Postcard Set (3) ¥420
Karakami Card (w/ envelope) ¥420
Karakami Mini-Card (w/ mini envelope) ¥315

Gold-lacquered Card Case w/ Dejima Map

Nagasaki's traditional handicrafts have been well known since ancient times. Techniques using tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl work were especially highly valued. The layout of Dejima on this small lacquered case boldly commemorates the style and technique of Nagasaki's handicrafts.

¥840

Coffee

- ◆Legend of Ryoma Coffee (top-left)···· ¥525
  Produced by Contemporary Master Craftsman of Western Cuisine
- ◆Dejima Coffee Set (top-middle)····· ¥473
  Original blend of Guatemalan, Colombian, and Indonesian coffee
- ◆Nagasaki Suko Coffee (top-right)···· ¥1575
  Features coffee beans grown and harvested here in Nagasaki.
- ◆Dutch Chief Factor Coffee (bottom-left)· ¥500
  Mandheling Beans and Mocha Blend
- ◆Nagasaki Coffee *Kahikan* Set (bottom-right)· ¥525
  Made from mild Colombia coffee beans (instant coffee bags)

Kompura Jugs

During the Edo period, these *kompura* jugs were used to hold Japanese soy sauce and sake and were exported overseas. *Kompura*, meaning broker in Portuguese, got their name because the exports were conducted by Nagasaki *kompura* via the Dutch trading post.

- ◆Kompura Jug (middle)····· ¥3,150
- ◆Kompura Flower Vase (left)····· ¥1,365
- ◆Kompura Soy Sauce Pourer (right)· ¥1,890

Product Inquiries | **Nagasaki International Tourism Convention Association**
Nagasaki Dejima Wharf 2F 1-1 Dejima-machi, Nagasaki TEL 095-823-7423

Dejima : Japan's on of national isolation

With its fan-like shape, Deji restorations and buildings st

Origin of Dejima

In 1636, in order to stop the spread of Christianity by the Portuguese, this 15,000 square-meter artificial island called Dejima was constructed by the people of Nagasaki on order of the Edo Shogunate and the Portuguese were interned here. In 1639 when Portuguese ships were banned from Japan by the National Isolation Edict, Dejima became uninhabited for a short time. However in 1641, the Dutch East India Company Trading Post in Hirado was moved to Dejima. Until the end of Japan's period of isolation in 1859, Dejima played a large role in the modernization of Japan for 218 years.

"Nagasaki Shoyakuba Ezu Shoshu (Dejima-zu)" Nagasaki Museum of Culture and History Collection

"Orandajin Tomegane" Nagasaki Museum of Culture and History Collection

Construction of Dejima

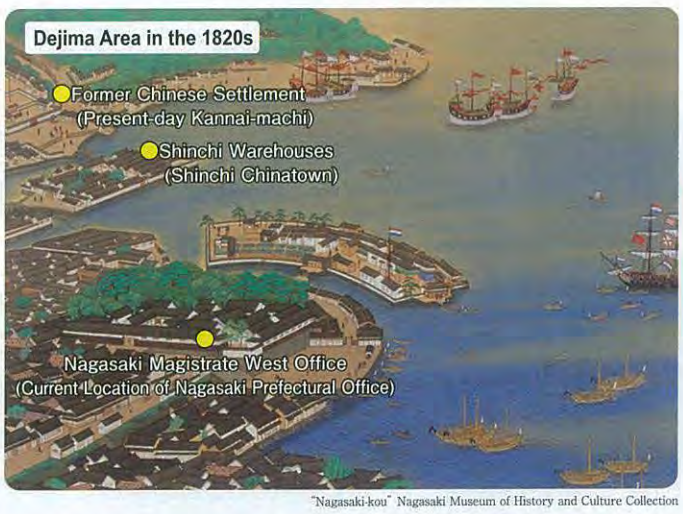
Twenty five of Nagasaki's merchants, called the Merchants of Dejima, co-funded Dejima's construction. The island was also referred to by two other names. Because the island was built from land reclaimed from the ocean, it was called Tsukishima (The Constructed Island). It was also called Ogijima (The Fan Island) because of its shape. Nevertheless, the concept, architect, source of labor, construction, and technology regarding the construction of Dejima are still surrounded in mystery today.

Restoration and Maintenance of Dejima

Although it played a large role in the modernization of Japan, reclamation of the land surrounding Dejima continued through the Meiji Era (1868~). In 1904, Dejima lost its original shape of a fan floating in the ocean with the completion of Phase II of Harbor Improvement Construction. Dejima is a valuable historical heritage site for not only Japanese but also world history, and people from all over the world are eagerly awaiting its further restoration.

Muro-machi Period	1570	**Nagasaki Port opened for trade.**
	1571	First Portuguese ship enters Nagasaki Harbor.
Azuchi-Momoyama Period	1580	Omura Sumitada cedes jurisdiction of Nagasaki and Mogi to the Society of Jesus.
	1588	Hideyoshi takes direct control of Nagasaki, Mogi, and Urakami from the Jesuits.
Edo Period	1603	Tokugawa Ieyasu establishes Shogunate in Edo.
	1609	Dutch East India Company opens trading post in Hirado.
	1612	Shogunate issues decree forbidding Christian proselytizing on Shogunate lands.
	1634	**Construction begins on Dejima.**
	1636	Dejima construction completed. Portuguese interned in Dejima.
	1637	Shimabara Rebellion (until 1638).
	1639	Arrival of Portuguese ships banned.
		Portuguese in Dejima expelled from Japan.
	1641	Dutch East India Company Trading Post moved from Hirado to Nagasaki.
	1690	Dutch East India Company physician E. Kaempfer arrives in Nagasaki.
	1775	Dutch East India Company physician C. Thunberg arrives in Nagasaki.
	1798	Great Fire in Dejima. (Most buildings burn down including Chief Factor's Quarters).
	1804	Russian envoy N.P. Rezanov visits Nagasaki requesting trade relations.
	1808	Nagasaki Harbor Incident (HMS Phaeton).
	1809	Chief Factor's Quarters rebuilt.
	1823	Dutch East India Company physician Siebold comes to Nagasaki
	1828	The Siebold Incident
	1854	Japan-America Treaty of Peace and Amity signed.
	1855	Japan-Netherlands Treaty of Peace and Amity signed.
	1858	Japan-America Treaty of Amity and Commerce singed
	1859	Nagasaki, Kanagawa, and Hakodate ports opened.
		Dutch East India Company Trading Post at Dejima closed. Dutch Consulate opened.
	1861	Land reclaimed on side of Dejima's Water Gate to build breakwater.
	1866	Dejima is incorporated into Foreign Settlement.
	1867	Land reclaimed on south side of Dejima for promenade.
Meiji Period	1888	North side of Dejima lost with construction to reroute the Nakashima River.
	1904	Land reclaimed on south side of Dejima for Harbor Improvement Construction.
Taisho Period	1922	Dejima is designated as a National Historic Site.
Showa Period	1954	Restoration Project Groundbreaking Ceremony
	1980	Former Dejima Protestant Seminary is refurbished and restored.
Heisei Period	1989	Main Gate restored (commemorative event for 100th anniversary of Nagasaki City).
	1996	Start of full-scale restoration work.
	2000	Five buildings including Deputy Factor's Quarters completed.
		Part of the stone walls on the south and west sides of Dejima repaired and restored.
	2006	Five buildings completed including Chief Factor's Quarters.
		Stone walls on south side of Dejima repaired and restored.

"Kanyou Nagasaki Kyoryu Zukan" (Pictures included in chronology) Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture Collection



"Nagasaki-kou" Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture Collection

Dejima was built at the tip of the cape of Nagasaki in order to prohibit the spread of Christianity by isolating foreigners from local Japanese residents. After the arrival of Portuguese ships was banned in 1641, the Dutch East India Company Trading Post in Hirado was moved to Dejima. From this time onward, Dejima was the only open window to the outside world during Japan's period of isolation and many goods, knowledge, and culture were brought in through Dejima.

After Japan was opened to the outside world in 1859, the sea surrounding Dejima was gradually reclaimed, and even the north side of Dejima was removed during construction to reroute the Nakashima River.

In 1904, Dejima lost its distinctive fan-shaped appearance and became part of the mainland during Phase II of harbor improvement construction.

Excavation is being conducted to rediscover the extent of its fan-shape. The surrounding stone embankments have been excavated, and repair and restoration work is ongoing.

Mysteries of Dejima

Learning about the mystery surrounding Dejima can make it even more fun!

出島の謎

Question #1 Why is Dejima fan-shaped?

How did Dejima end up in the shape of a fan? The following are a few of the theories.

❶The Shogun at the time, Tokugawa Iemitsu, was asked by one of his retainers, "What shape should the island in Nagasaki Harbor be?" The Shogun took out his fan and said, "Make it into this shape."

❷Earth and sand were brought to the mouth of Nakashima River to build the foundation of the island. The side facing land was built in an arch matching the shoreline and the side facing the harbor got its fan shape because they wanted to make the reclaimed area as wide as possible.

❸The shape of the fan was adopted because a curving wall facing the sea is effective in reducing the impact of high waves.

❹The fan shape was considered best to monitor the island from the Nagasaki Magistrate's Office on the adjacent hill.

Question #2 How much did it cost to build Dejima?

Dejima was funded through investments from 25 of the most powerful Nagasaki merchants. At the present day currency rate, Dejima cost around 400 million yen to build!

Question #3 What kind of people lived on Dejima?

Two Dutch ships usually sailed together to Nagasaki. When ships were anchored here, many officials stayed on Dejima, but after the ships departed, only around 15 people remained on the island. Among them were the Chief Factor and his second in command the Deputy Factor, a cargo manager, between one and three clerks responsible for keeping accounts, a few assistants for the Chief Factor, a physician, cooks and carpenters, and several servants responsible for taking care of the Dutch officials.

Nagasaki Magistrate's Office oversaw Dejima, and many Japanese people from a variety of occupations worked there. It was, however, the Japanese Dutch interpreters and the head clerk who did the paperwork for Dejima that played the largest role here. It is said that there were also more than 100 other Japanese people working on the island including merchants who provided the Dutch with daily necessities, firemen, guards, and cooks.

"Shohin Kenkyu no zu (Toranka no maki)" Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture Collection

"Nagasaki Dejima no zu" Nagasaki University Library Economics Department Collection

Entertainment on Dejima

Learn about the many different forms of entertainment that spread throughout Japan from Dejima!

Badminton

"Kanyo Nagasaki Kyoryu Zukan" Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture Collection

Try it for yourself on the lawn in front of The Former International Club!

In the Komo Zatsuwa, a Japanese text featuring the customs of the Dutch living on Dejima and other anecdotal stories, there is a picture depicting a game very similar to badminton being played outdoors with racquets and shuttlecocks. The picture in this book shows that badminton was being played on Dejima even before its popularization in Europe.

Billiards

"Tokan Rankan Emaki" (Tamatsuki-zu) Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture Collection

Come try it inside the Former Nagasaki International Club!

Dutch ships usually arrived in Nagasaki in August or early September and stayed for about two months, usually departing by September 20th. As a result, the residents of Dejima had little to do from June to October and occupied themselves with various activities, one of which was billiards. It is said that a billiard table had already been placed on the island by 1764, and a billiards parlor is depicted in Kawahara Keiga's illustration "Tokan Rankan Emaki."

Beer

It is said that beer was brought into Japan by a Dutch ship after Japan's period of isolation because Dutch people enjoyed beer more than wine. The first commercial production of beer in Japan started in 1869.

Clover

Clover was first introduced to Nagasaki around 1845 and was used to prevent medical instruments and glass objects shipped in boxes on the Dutch ships from breaking during transit.

Coffee

Dutch ships brought coffee to Japan in the early 17th century. Japanese people at first shunned the drink as bitter, but by the time of Siebold's visit to Nagasaki in 1823, there seem to have been quite a number of coffee lovers among the Japanese population. In the early Meiji Period, coffee shops began to appear in Nagasaki.

Various Other Foods

- Potatoes
- Parsley
- Cabbage
- Tomatoes
- Chocolate

Others

- Paint
- Piano
- Bricks

Life in Dejima Love, Work, and Scandals

Learn about the drama of life on Dejima for Dutch officials!

Crime!?

The Fake Dutch Captain

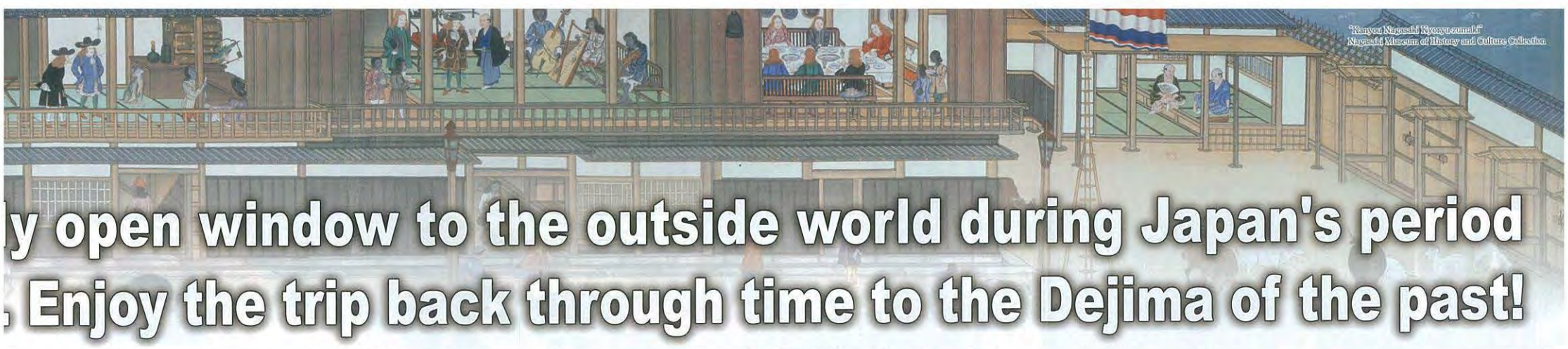
"Nagasaki Meisho-zue" (Wreckage of Dutch Ship in Kibachi Bay) Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture Collection

On July 16, 1800 when Willem Wardenaar, the new Chief Factor, arrived at Dejima, the foreign ship the Eliza of New York was already in Nagasaki Harbor. Doeff, who had arrived with Wardenaar, was surprised to find that the ship's captain was Stewart, the missing captain of the Eliza of New York commissioned two years ago by the Governor General of the Dutch East India Company.

Soon after the ship arrived in Dejima two years ago, the Eliza of New York faced harsh wind and rain and sunk off of Takaboku Island. After being salvaged and repaired, it set sail for Batavia, but that was the last heard from them. Stewart claimed that the year before he had lost the ship in a storm. Using funds from a friend, he had procured another ship and trading goods, and that he had come back to Dejima to sell the cargo and recover the costs of his ship from the second accident. An investigation revealed that Stewart was lying about the second storm and that his "new" ship was in fact the Eliza of New York, repainted and renamed. The cargo was confiscated and sold as contraband by the Chief Factor of Dejima and the funds went to pay for the original expenses of salvaging and repairing the ship.

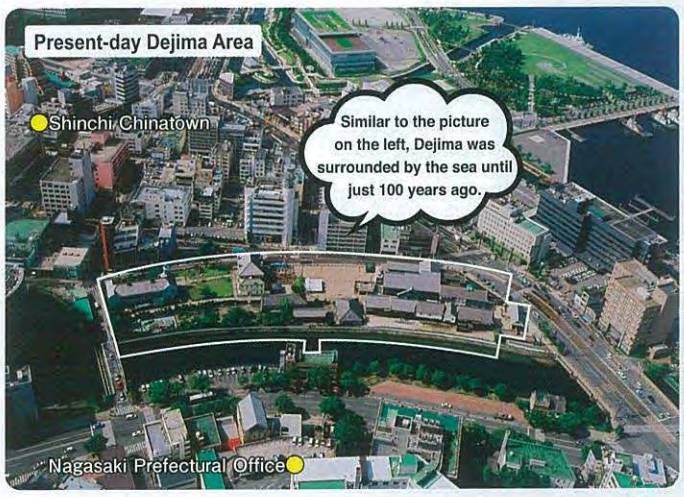
Stewart was sent to Batavia for investigation, but he escaped custody. He managed to obtain yet another ship and returned to Dejima to try to sell its cargo in 1803. Needless to say, nobody paid him any mind.

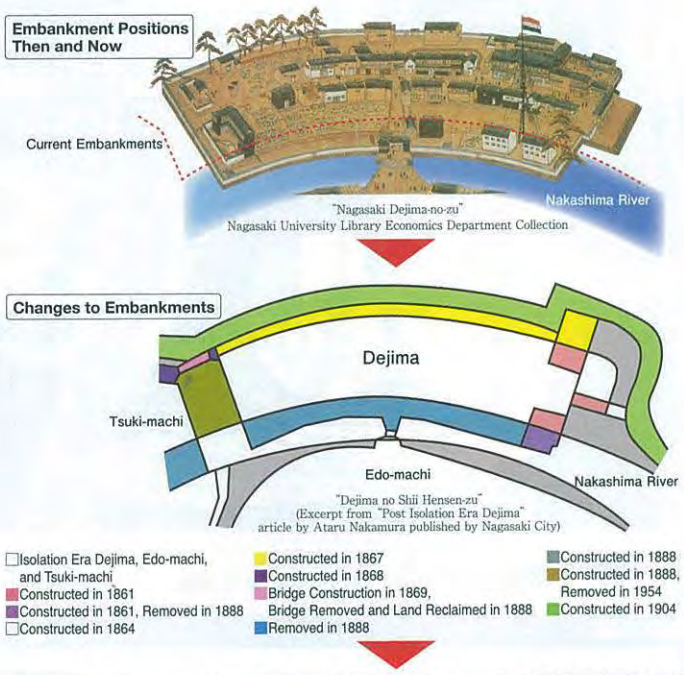
This and other interesting stories are included in a book entitled "Life of Dejima" available for sale in the souvenir shop.



ly open window to the outside world during Japan's period
. Enjoy the trip back through time to the Dejima of the past!

na, still in its original location, features both Edo Period ll around since the Meiji Period.





Aerial Photograph of Present-day Dejima

【Short to Mid-Term Restoration Plans】

Restoration to be completed in three phases!

Phase 1 : West & North Zones
Restoration of ten buildings including the Dejima's most prominent building the Chief Factor's Quarters as well as the Water Gate. Exhibitions include furniture and furnishings.

Phase 2 : Center Zone
Restoration of nine buildings including warehouses and residences that housed Japanese officials.

Phase 3 : East & South Zones
Restoration of five buildings including the Infirmary and Chief Factor's Cottage. Restoration of the streets, street lights, and furniture will provide visitors with a sense of everyday life on Dejima.

【Long-term Plan】

Surround Dejima on all sides by water and fully restore its early 19th century fan shape!

Dejima Reborn

Excavation and Research

Dejima is currently being restored to its early 19th century appearance. The majority of the discovered remains from excavations are from the period spanning the 18th century to the mid-19th century. The evidence left behind from the fire in 1798 on the west side of Dejima is being used to determine the period of items recovered in continuing excavations.

Restoration and Repair Methods

Stone walls unearthed through excavations undergo many different types of necessary research for restoration. After cleaning the surface of the stones, research is done on its masonry work, quality, marks leftover from processing, the size and more. Then, its overall form, variety, and gradient are identified, and the original location of the stone and its damaged portions are researched.

Afterwards, they are separated into ones that have the required strength for restoration and ones that are damaged foundation stones or do not have the required strength to use, and only the locations with problems are scrapped. Then, after researching the makeup of the foundation stone and backfill method and learning how the walls were constructed, restoration using the same materials from the past is performed.

Previous Research and Future Plans

The Dutch East India Company Trading Post on Dejima was designed as a national historic site in 1922. Efforts were made to transfer ownership to the government of the land in 1951 and development work was undertaken. Full-scale excavation work has been ongoing since 1996. So far, the remains of buildings from the late 18th to late 19th century and the stone embankments from when Dejima was first constructed until the end of the Edo period have been unearthed. Further excavations along with the restoration work are planned to continue.

Books about Dejima

Want to learn more? Many books are available for purchase with detailed insight on Dejima.

Dejima

Learn about life on Dejima and the individuals who lived and worked in Dejima.

¥800
Edited and published by the Nagasaki City Board of Education

Reborn : Dutch East India Trading Post on Dejima

The 10 buildings on the west side of Dejima restored in April 2000 and October 2006 are introduced in detail in this book.

¥300
Published by the Nagasaki City Board of Education
Edited by the Dejima Restoration Committee

Life on Dejima

What was life on Dejima like?
Learn about the history of Dejima and its surprisingly unknown stories.

¥200
Published by Nagasaki City
Supervised by the Dejima Restoration Office
Edited and published by the Nagasaki City Board of Education

Dejima's Place in World History

Made for Middle and High School students, this book introduces information not only about the Dutch people who lived on Dejima but also about the diplomatic, economic, and cultural relationships with Portugal, Spain, England, America, and Russia from the end of 16th century until Japan's period of isolation came to an end.

¥1,500
Published by Nagasaki Buneisha
Written by Yoshiko Morioka

Bauduin Album

This photo album featuring the town and people in Nagasaki at the end of the Edo period has made its way back to Japan after Siebold brought it back to the Netherlands.

¥2,940
Published by Nagasaki Buneisha

Medicine in Dejima

During the late 19th century, many Dutch pharmacists practiced and taught medicine to the Japanese people in Dejima, establishing Japan's modern day pharmaceutical science. With over 400 years of Japan-Dutch relations, this book introduces this history.

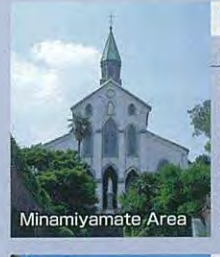
¥1,400
Edited by the Pharmaceutical Science Department of Nagasaki University

◎The majority of these books are available only in Japanese.

1 Glover Garden

Western Houses (late 18th century)

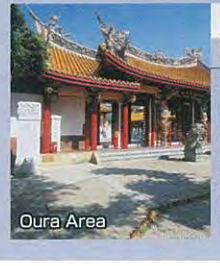
■8-1 Minamiyamate-machi, Nagasaki
☎095-822-8223
■[Cost] Adults ¥600, High School Students ¥300, Elem./Middle School Students ¥180
■Hours of Operation: 8:00~18:00
※May change with season
(Admission ends 20 min before closing).
■Open All Year
■Access from Nagasaki Station:
Take the streetcar bound for Shokakuji-shita to Tsuki-machi (6 min). Transfer at Tsuki-machi to streetcar bound for Ishibashi to Oura Tenshudo-shita (5 min). 7 min. walk from stop to destination.



2 Oura Catholic Church

Japan's Oldest Gothic-style Church

■5-3 Minamiyamate-machi, Nagasaki
☎095-823-2628
■[Cost] Adults ¥300, Middle/High School Students ¥250, Elem. School Students ¥200
■Hours of Operation: 8:00~18:00
(Admission ends 15 min before closing)
■Open All Year
■Access from Nagasaki Station:
Take the streetcar bound for Shokakuji-shita to Tsuki-machi (6 min). Transfer at Tsuki-machi to streetcar bound for Ishibashi to Oura Tenshudo-shita (5 min). 5 min. walk from stop to destination.



3 Confucius Shrine

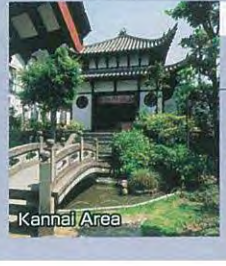
Explore this authentic Chinese shrine.

■10-36 Oura-machi, Nagasaki
☎095-824-4022
■[Cost] Adults ¥600, High School Students ¥400, Elem./Middle School Students ¥300
■Hours of Operation: 8:30~17:30
(Admission ends 30 min before closing)
■Open All Year
■Access from Nagasaki Station:
Take the streetcar bound for Shokakuji-shita to Tsuki-machi (6 min). Transfer at Tsuki-machi to streetcar bound for Ishibashi to Oura Tenshudo-shita (5 min). 3 min. walk from stop to destination.

4 Hollander Slope

Enjoy a stroll on this old-style stone pavement slope.

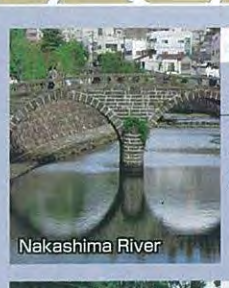
■Higashiyamate-machi, Nagasaki
■Access from Nagasaki Station:
Take the streetcar bound for Shokakuji-shita to Tsuki-machi (6 min). Transfer at Tsuki-machi to streetcar bound for Ishibashi to Shimin Byouin-mae (2 min).
4 min. walk from stop to destination.



5 Former Chinese Settlement

Come to Kannai-machi and see its four temples!

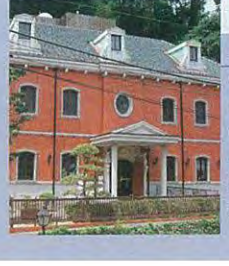
■Kannai-machi, Nagasaki
☎095-829-1272
(Urban Revitalization Promotion Office)
■Access from Nagasaki Station:
Take the streetcar bound for Shokakuji-shita to Tsuki-machi (6 min). 8 min. walk to destination.



6 Meganebashi (Spectacles Bridge)

Japan's oldest stone arch bridge!

■Uono-machi, Nagasaki
■Access from Nagasaki Station:
Take the streetcar bound for Hotarujaya to Koukaido-mae (4 min). 5 min walk from stop to destination.



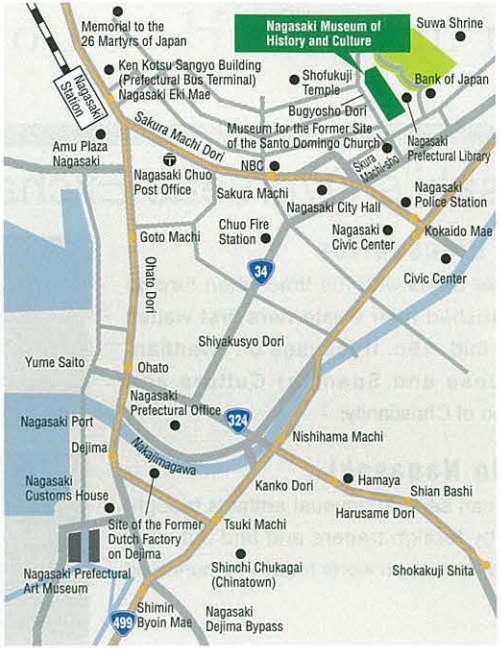
7 Siebold Memorial Museum

Enjoy the history surrounding Siebold!

■2-7-40 Narutaki, Nagasaki
☎095-823-0707
■[Cost] Adults ¥100,
Elem./Middle School Students ¥50
■Hours of Operation: 9:00~17:00
(Admission ends 30 min before closing)
■Closed: Every Monday (some exceptions), Dec. 29 to Jan 3
■Access from Nagasaki Station:
Take the streetcar bound for Hotarujaya to Shinnakagawa-machi (10 min). 7 min walk from stop to destination.

A chance to encounter a golden age of history of Nagasaki

The Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture is one of the few museums in Japan with the theme of "Overseas Exchange".
The museum holds approx. 48,000 precious collections including historical documents and arts & crafts that tell the story of Nagasaki developed as the sole window opened to foreign countries during the period of national isolation.
In addition, part of Nagasaki Magistrate's Office called Bugyosho (a local agency of the central government in the Edo period) was faithfully reconstructed based on histrical materials, allowing visitors to understand the life of samurai warriors in those days.
Historical materials are displayed in an enjoyable and new manner.
Come and spend meaningful time encountering the history and culture of Nagasaki.



■Access

●By Public Transportation

- 5 minutes walk from Sakura Machi Tram Station
- 7 minutes walk from Kokaido Mae Tram Station
- 3 minutes walk from Sakura Machi Koen-mae Bus Stop
- 15 minutes walk from the Ran-Ran Bus Shiyakusyo-Mae Bus Stop

●By Car

30 minutes by car from the Nagasaki Highway Tarami Interchange via Nagasaki By-pass(Nishiyama Tunnel)toward Suwa Shrine

■Admission Fee(Permanent Exhibition)

	Individual	Group(15 or more)
Adults	¥500	¥400
High School Students	¥250	¥200
Elementary and Junior High School Students	¥250	¥200

※Supplementary fee for Special Exhibitions

■Opening Hours ／ 8:30～19:00
■Closed Third Tuesday of the month(or next day when Tuesday in holiday)
■Parking for 62 cars and 5 buses

長崎歴史文化博物館
Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture
TEL095-818-8366 FAX 095-818-8407
1-1-1 Tateyama Nagasaki Shi 850-0007
http://www.nmhc.jp

長崎歴史文化博物館
Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture

Information Guide

Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture

History and Culture Exhibition Zone

Permanent Exhibition Featuring Nagasaki's Overseas Exchange

Exchange with the Netherlands

Nagasaki was the only window open to the West in the Edo period(17c-19c). Exchange with the Netherlands introduced Japan western language, medicine, astronomy and physics, and therefore Dutch Studies known as Rangaku in Japanese had its birth in Nagasaki. The exhibition shows how it started and developed.

Exchange with China

Exchanges between China and Japan have a long history. Chinese merchants and monks introduced Japan various Chinese cultures such as arts, music, foods, architecture, etc.

Exchange with Korea

This corner introduces Hoshu Amenomori and other messengers who were active in promoting exchange with the Korean Peninsular via the island of Tsushima.

Age of Discoveries

This corner deals with the time when foreign trade flourished after westerners first visited Japan in mid. 16c. It focuses on "Nanban" (Portuguese and Spanish) Culture and introduction of Christianity.

Trade in Nagasaki

Here you can see the unusual artifacts brought to Japan by foreign traders and find out what they would have been worth today in a hands-on display.

Nagasaki-Trade city

Nagasaki flourished due to the profitable trade with China and the Netherlands. The city of Nagasaki grew with the population of 60,000 in the latter of 17c. This corner introduces rich merchants lives and cultures.

Modernization of Japan and Nagasaki

This corner shows the role Nagasaki played in postrestoration Japan on the stage of diplomacy, as well as being at the forefront of modern medicine, printing ship building and industrial technology.

Arts of Nagasaki

Many artworks produced in Nagasaki influeuced by western and Chinese style art are on display.

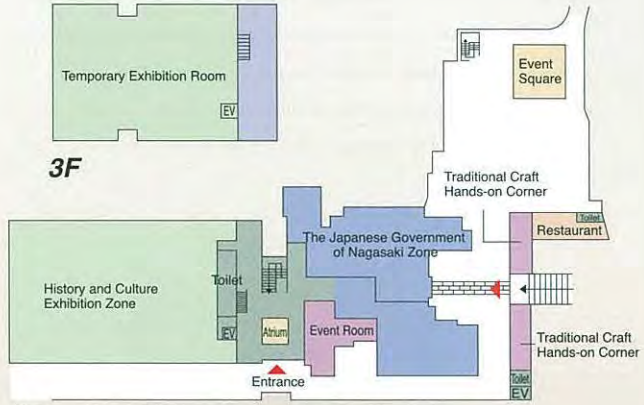
Crafts of Nagasaki

Porcelain, lacquer ware, blue shell craft, glassware tortoise shell craft and a variety of other Nagasaki crafts are on display.

Museum Restaurant Ginrei

Established in 1930 it is one of Nagasaki's oldest western style restaurants. Surrounded by antique furniture, you can enjoy everything from traditional Nagasaki cuisine to a full dinner menu.

Floorplan



Museum Shop

The Museum Shop is located to the next to the entrance hall on the first floor. Here you can buy our unique museum goods, books, traditional artifacts and products with the theme of overseas exchange history.