「C23」的保存作為提升基隆文化
與自然遺產價值的可能性

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摘要

本文探討「C23」(台灣基隆港西岸二、三號碼頭倉庫) 當前議題，相關議題於2014年2
月至3月間曾吸引當地媒體關注。西二、三號碼頭倉庫原先預計於2月份拆除，興建大型建
物以吸引中國觀光客，然而民間立即發起抗議活動阻止。民間認爲，西二、三號碼頭倉庫
即使不具建築代表意義，亦有其歷史價值，且基隆市迄今已拆除過多代表性古蹟。支持與
反對雙方都理解對方的主張，但他們對城市的樣貌有不同看法。主張拆除者以工程觀點看
待本案，注重實用與效率。反對拆除者則希望保存基隆的文化和歷史，力主倉庫轉型為重
要文化景點。

有些「C23」運動的支持者(包含筆者)認爲，西二、三號倉庫是基隆港發展為現代都市
碩果僅存的見證者，很適合做為基隆歷史博物館的預定地，成為基隆的文化地標，就像古
根漢之於畢爾包。博物館中可陳列考古國際合作計畫發掘出來的文物，這些文物歷史可溯
及西元前3000年之久。

關鍵字：沒有歷史的歷史都市、基隆歷史博物館、遺產的保護與展示、博物館作為地方認
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The possibilities of using the “c23” warehouses
to increase the value of the Cultural Heritage
of Jilong (Taiwan)

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Abstract

In this chapter we want to discuss the current issue of the “c23”¹ that attracted Taiwan
media attention especially during the months of February and March (2014). These two
warehouses where scheduled to be demolished in February 2014 in order to level an area to
create a big complex to harbor facilities and to attract tourism, including overseas tourists;

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but a civil action suddenly emerged to prevent its destruction, based on the opinion that they have a historical value (regardless if the buildings have or not an architectonically representative value), and on the fact that too many old representative buildings of Jilong have been already destroyed, for one reason or another. Even if both sides can understand each other’s opinions, they represent different understanding of what a city should be; those planning to destroy the warehouses represent the engineering concepts of pragmatism, efficiency and development; those defending the warehouses consider that it is the moment to think more of the cultural and historical value of their city, and they advocate for the transformation of the warehouses into a serious cultural complex.

The author of this article sides with those of the second opinion, because he considers Jilong a “historical city without history”. Consequently, he defends the idea that the “c23” warehouses belong to those few remaining buildings with a historical value that should be preserved, because they are one of the few remaining eyewitnesses of the history of the harbor that generated the modern city. He concludes that a history museum in Jilong is needed as the first tool to recover the identity of this historical city. He adds that the “c23” is the ideal place for this museum, and finally he presents the theoretical steps for the creation of a Jilong city history museum that could become a cultural landmark of the city following successful city development models based on culture, like the Guggenheim impact in the Spanish city of Bilbao. Among the items to be hosted in the museum can be included the archeological ones that were recently found at the entrance of the harbor, thanks to an ongoing international archeological cooperation project, that had traced the history of the city to more than 3500 years BP.

Keywords: Historical Cities Without History, Jilong City History Museum, Defense of the Cultural Heritage, Museums as Providers of Local Identity

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“c23” comes from “晉二三倉庫”, meaning the 2nd and 3rd western warehouses in the harbor of Jilong.
1. Historical cities without history

We consider “historical cities without history” those where their citizens do not know too much about the history of their city, maybe because that history is too short, or because they haven’t had qualified chronicler or institutions to keep records and to promote local culture, or there was a lack of user-friendly spaces designed for local history and culture appreciation. In other words, they are poorly listed in a Heritage Health Index. Consequently, these citizens were not taught on how to value their own heritage. This might be especially serious for cities with a relevant past of events hardly known by their citizens, or an urban past hidden or buried under modern streets or buildings. This is serious because, even if it is possible to live with this kind of amnesia, it is difficult for its citizens to love, respect and be proud of the city in order to project it into the future in a balanced way.

This article will try to explore ways of facing this historical amnesia in the case of Jilong, and particularly how Jilong life has evolved around its harbor, being the western area a relevant place of recent transformation, that is threatening the western 2&3 warehouses (西二三倉庫), the only remaining eyewitness of the creation and development of modern Jilong. Nowadays, when modern buildings are designed on top of this relics, it is the last chance to think about the convenience of converting these two warehouses into a special City Cultural Equipment, comprising a dynamic Futuristic Art Performance Center, or a Creative-Cultural Park, but particularly a Museum of Jilong City History (the main topic of this article), that can become one of the landmarks of the city, to make their citizens aware of their own heritage and a tool to project the city into the future.

The collective memory of Jilong in most of its educated citizens can be related to a succession of episodes summarized in the following paragraph: “In the 17th century some Spanish colonizers came to Heping Island; they established the fort San Salvador and they probably abused the natives. Later the Dutch came and did the same; finally the Chinese arrived and traded with the natives. The city was growing slowly during the Qing dynasty, and it had a flourishing coal mine activity recorded by Commodore Perry in 1853, on his way to Japan (the coal exploitation activity lasted few decades and some of the railways and tunnels for the mines exploitation still can be seen). Ten years later, concretely in 1863, the Qing declared Jilong as an open port and more Chinese came and developed the city (a couple of years after Tamsui port). At the end of the 19th century the French occupied that city for more than a year, in the so-called Sino-French War (1884-1885). Dead French soldiers were buried in a cemetery that still is preserved. Then, Liu Mingchuan succeeded in
expelling the French and built a series of forts around the city to protect it. In 1895 came the Japanese, and transformed the city, making the modern harbor and many official houses, like the Train Station and the Post Office, etc., that no longer exist, because the harbor was a main target of the American air raids, which destroyed the main buildings. The Americans helped in recovering the city from the Japanese and in rebuilding it. Finally, most of the Guomindang soldiers who came to Taiwan entered through that port. Then Jilong became a strategic city in the defense of Taiwan against a possible attack from communist China, making Heping Island a specialized “fortress” to face this attack.”

But Jilong’s history is much more than this short sequence of events, referring to more or less ten places, which only few of them remain (the mines, the cemetery, the Liu Mingchuan series of forts, the modern military defenses in Heping Island …). Besides, this narrative only covers a span of time of around 100 years (1853-1955). Yes, Jilong is one of these historical cities where its history is not so evident, but its big natural bay (converted later into a prominent harbor) has been one of the northern gates of Taiwan, creating a continuous human flow that had lasted 3000 years, since the Neolithic. Nothing can be seen from those early periods. And for the historical times, which in Taiwan started in the 17th century when started dealing with colonial or semi-colonial issues, it is also difficult to find museographic materials inviting people to inquire for those times, even though a Jilong Museum was created in Dashawan (大沙灣) during the Japanese times to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the colony; but nowadays nothing is left, only a collection of four post cards showing the external view of a magnificent building and some relevant materials kept for exhibit. In fact, the older collected materials in Jilong presently displayed in a public exhibit room are those of the WWII years, located in the premises of the Yang Ming Ocean Culture & Art Museum. So, in Jilong, and probably the same can be said for Taiwan, there was not the need of a transformation of colonial museums into post-colonial ones, a challenge that faced most of the South East Asia countries during post-colonial years.

2. Jilong fighting for recovering its visual history

In fact, a small but dignified Jilong history city exhibit hall depending from the City Government, officially called The Keelung History Museum (基隆市史蹟館), exists in the

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2 They have been published recently in 鞠曉鵬、洪曉純主編(2015: 36-37).

3 This issue was analyzed in the book edited by Fiona Kerlogue (2004). Performing objects: Museums, Material Culture and Performance in Southeast Asia. London: The Horniman Museum and Gardens
slopes of a hill, near the Jilong City Council. The museum presents orderly and with some detail the evolution of the city, but its off-centered location makes that few visitors approach to that place to observe no original materials, but models of former buildings. Even worse is that this unique attempt to display the history of Jilong is scheduled to disappear, because there is a plan to substitute it by a Museum of Chinese calligraphy. This repeats the fatum of Jilong. For example, twenty years ago there was a small cultural center established, or sponsored, by the City Government in a Japanese house in the area of Dashawan, but now the house remains abandoned. Dashawan is a clear example of the cultural neglect in Jilong. In a tourist Japanese map of the 1930’s one can clearly read in a banner pointing that area that that place is rich in history. In fact, at least two Japanese excavations took place there in 1943 and 1945\(^6\), but it is impossible to find the whereabouts of those unearthed materials\(^5\), not to mention any present thing giving a clue of the old past of that area. Nevertheless, it should be said that a recent excavation made by a team from the Chinese University of Technology offered some reference to the Liu Mingchuan times of a structure in an area limited to the public, and produced a very thorough report\(^6\).

More examples of this sad story can be mentioned, but the relevant and new thing—because it seems a turning point—is that when it was announced that the number 2 and 3 western warehouses of the harbor were to be demolished within a plan of remodeling of the harbor, civic groups went to action (probably for the first time in the history of Jilong) in defending their visual history, creating a commotion in cultural circles of the city. The “c23” issue was something new in the harbor-city of Jilong, accustomed to be managed by engineers and businessmen with the criteria of “harbor-centricity”. The following is the sequence of events of the “c23 Movement” issue narrated in a rough manner, after gathering information from different sources\(^7\).

The background of the issue started on April 20\(^{th}\), 2012 when the Executive Yuan

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\(^4\) Both of them have been recently reported with detail in 魏榮鴻, 洪曉純主编 (2013: 31-47).

\(^5\) Nevertheless, something might be traced out from the recently published a catalog of materials kept in the National Taiwan Museum, which includes artifacts found in Dashawan: 苏福军 (2013). 「國立臺灣博物館考古學藏圖徵—日治時期遺物收集者之脈絡分析」(An Analysis of National Taiwan Museum’s Archaeological Collection during the Japanese Colonial Era — Relevant Contents of the Collectors of Artifacts) 《國立臺灣博物館學刊》 66(2): 1-46. This catalog can be consulted here: http://www.mtn.gov.tw/upload/education/book/20131020/000128766-9d55-4df7-87a6-6d7c2737146.pdf

\(^6\) The report was published in December 2010: 閆亞寧, 潘顯華, 呂達貴, 彭復國, 彭素秋, 張耀政, 程乃齊, 《基隆市歷史建築大沙灣石造結構調查研究》, 中國科技大學, 基隆市文化局, pp. 98.

\(^7\) Their veracity is no more like the one provided by oral information and newspapers clips, but we consider the flow of the narrative valid enough to get an idea of what happened from the spring of 2014. We presume that some details will need to be polished, and we request to be excused from the unavoidable mistakes.
approved West Coast Harbor building Construction Plan, including the New Harbor Building” (新海港大樓) that will be located on pier C4, the total project was amounting to NT$6 billion, and the Passenger Terminal (客運大樓), with terminals for cruises service, in piers C5 & C6. The project is expected to be completed by December 2018 (starting officially on January 2012). On the other hand, piers C2 & C3 — related also with the New Harbor Building—are combined with the project of Jilong Train Station renewal plan. A model with the design of the new buildings was displayed during some months in the hall of the train station until the spring of 2014 to inform the citizens about the imminent execution of the plans.

In the spring of 2014, existing warehouse of pier 2 was still under use, mainly as passenger terminal; and, since warehouse of pier 3 was empty, it was scheduled for demolition on February 10th, 2014. Then, the night before demolition social opposition started to network to stop the destruction of the building. In a spontaneous fashion this civic protest raised up considering that this building had a historical value and it should be preserved. The night of 9 February 2014 Mr. Chang Zhi-hao (張之豪), a PhD student on politics, social activist and lizhang (里長) candidate, proposed through social networks to protest on the following day at 10 am in the place of demolition, without knowing who will attend. To this improvised group joined artists like the painter Wang Chie (王傑), the singer Mia (張典), the Civic Alliance Big Fire (人民火大聯盟), a political activist group, social leaders like Ms Kuo (郭娟靜) and even political prominent figures⁹. The movement even called the attention of the Minister of Culture, Long Yingtai (龍應台), who went to Jilong on February 16th to host a meeting followed by an inspection tour with Mr. Wei Zhen (魏震), the Chief Engineer of the Construction Management (港務公司工程司), to deal with this issue. She supported the cancellation of the immediate demolition, saying that “the warehouses belong 100% to the historical relics of the city” (百分之百是市定古蹟).

As a result the “c23 Action Coalition” (c23行動聯盟) was formed and started to deal with representatives of the government and of the Harbor Company (港務公司). The leader of the coalition Chang Zhi-hau said: “The warehouses are still in good condition and they should be seen as living antiques; and I hope the warehouses could be used as a space for the cultural and creative industry, for holding exhibitions or hosting a museum on

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⁸ But it seems that until now no one has made a bid for this OT case.

⁹ Among them we can mention the Jilong City Council Speaker Huang Ching-tai (黃景泰), the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) Deputy Secretary-General Lin You-chang (林右昌), the People First Party (PFP) candidate for Jilong mayor Wu Wun-ming (吳武明) and Jilong City Councilor Shi Shyh-ming (施世明).
immigration, becoming a new cultural landmark in the city.\textsuperscript{10}

He also defended that the treatment to both warehouses should be the same, in reference to the possible plans of the Port Authority to sacrifice one of them. The main activity of the Coalition was the organization of a Conference for the days 29-30 of March to study the value of the Western warehouses 2 and 3 under different points of view: history, architecture, literature, sociology, etc. The conference was well attended in the City Council auditorium\textsuperscript{11} and the issue got more serious and professional. Other different meetings were held during summer; and on July 9th, 2014, the Committee for the Designation of Historic Buildings and Monuments with a Cultural Landscape Value (古蹟歷史建築聚落暨文化景觀審議委員會) classified the C23 as building with historical value, but under the lowest level, meaning that even if a protection was granted, some demolition still can be allowed. On the other hand, negotiations between the local government and the Harbor Company 港務公司 reached the agreement that the C2 will be preserved and the C3 will be torn down, but part of the C3 will be rebuilt in the future on the area close to C4 (using the C3 area plus the empty one of the previous C4) to construct the original planned modern Terminal.

The details of these agreements and negotiations of the quantity of the contribution that the Harbor Authority should pay to the municipal government are difficult to follow by one outsider (like the one writing this article). Neither it is clear if both parties are in the middle of a bargaining process, or if the situation has a clear future\textsuperscript{12}. But, whatever the solution might be, the question in point for this article is if there is to be kept a relevant cultural place in this historical area, or not.

As for the future destination of the C2 and the remaining part of C3—in case the contribution problem is solved—it seems that the Harbor Company hasn’t decided anything yet. People speculate that the possibilities under consideration are, first, a project for a museum or arts performing center. A second possibility for the museum project might be the

\textsuperscript{10}http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2014/04/15/1800068354
\textsuperscript{11}Near ten speakers discussed the issue in different sessions in front of an audience of 100 persons.
\textsuperscript{12}According to the news (http://www.ccdn.com.tw/2014040877/news/dfsh/7002000054064134245288.htm), the Ilan City Council has agreed to reduce the contribution from NT$800 million to NT$400 million. But sources of the Harbor Company do not talk about this figure, they mentioned to the author of this article that the process is in a deadlock. They said that since the Ilan City Government thinks the land has been classified as Second Category Port Land (able to use for profit), the Municipal Government request from the owner (The Harbor Company) a contribution of money and land amounting a total of NT$600 millions and a piece of land of 34/51 square meters. The Company of the Harbor considered the request is unacceptable, and the situation resulted in a deadlock.

During the final revision of this article, hope was restored again in the spring of 2015 (we don’t know if related or not with the political change in the Municipal Government). The fact, is that the new Director of the Bureau of Culture was very happy when transmitting to the author of this article the news of the C23 were going to be preserved entirely. Besides, it was scheduled for 28 June 2015 a big gathering of Ilan cultural related institutions, sponsored by the Municipality, to come with ideas to discuss on the future of the C23.
present Municipal Offices (located in another nearby Japanese Historical Building) after transferring the staff of these offices to the C3 warehouse.

There are other complementary projects under consideration, for example, the conversion of an area of abandoned storehouses in Ba-du (八堵, very near Jilong) to be converted into a Creative and Cultural Park, similar to the Huashan 1914 Creative Park (華山1914文化創意產業園區) or the Sungshan Creative Park (松山文創園區), both in Taipei. This place in Wu-du has problems of clarifying property rights, but the Heritage Committee of the Municipality of Jilong (文資審議委員會) is confident to solve them, and had thought on placing there a “Building Materials Bank Warehouse” (建材銀行倉庫), a kind of place to storage the antiquities of Jilong, attached to them might be a museum. The area can became a cultural hub since it is rumored to include other proposals like an area for “artist in residence”, and even a university extension.

But if the three possibilities are really under discussion, the question is which location should be the best for a real cultural center hosting a dynamic museum of city history that can project culturally the city into the future: an urban centric place (projects 1 and 2), or a peripheral one (project 3)?

3. Is the c23 the ideal location for a singular museum in Jilong?

The location, of course, is one of the main keys for the success of a museum. A museum located in a “backyard” area will always be a second level institution. Even if this statement is obvious we want to emphasize here this idea, with a personal example related to the new discovered archeological Jilong relics, to conclude that possible projects 1 and 2 seem to meet better conditions than possible project 3. The author of this chapter had been involved during years 2011 and 2012 with an international archeological team in Heping Island, excavating at the entrance of the Jilong harbor, to study the Spanish presence in Taiwan in the 17th century and the prehistoric and historical environment of this place, since it can be traced to the Neolithic. As a result, a collection of 100 items coming from the excavation (most of them pottery shards, stone and bone tools, coins, etc.) were displayed in the Keelung City Indigenous Hall (基隆原住民文化會館) from 15 December 2013 to 15 May 2014. The number of visitors was around 3,000 and most of them concentrated at the end of January 2014, after the first semester school exams, and still within the academic calendar of the high schools, a moment suitable for school tours to museums. This number might not
be considered very high mainly because—even if it has the attractiveness of a close location to the place of excavation—in relation with Jilong city it has a peripheral situation for common citizens, because is not very much visible.

A second exhibition of the same materials took place in the Yang Ming Oceanic Culture and Art Museum (陽明海洋文化藝術館), located at the bottom of the harbor, near the train station and the passenger ships terminal. The exhibition went from May 29 to August 31 2014, with more than 13,000 visitors\(^\text{13}\), that is four times more visitors in a fewer number of days than the previous one. This figure was higher not only for the reputed management of this museum, and for the summer school vacation that attracted students to the programs organized by the museum, but most probably because of the location in a central, historical and tourist area of Jilong, just beside the location of the Western 2 and 3 warehouses. This is the same place where some moths earlier (from the end of December 2013 to the end of January 2014) the Dutch artist Florentijn Hofman attracted thousands of visitors to show his Yellow Duck, or where the Spanish galleon Andalucía, coming from the Shanghai EXPO on its way to Manila, gathered hundreds of visitors on September 2010.

It is worth to mention than a third exhibition of these archeological items happened in the Vessel Traffic Control (VTC) of the Jilong Harbor organized by the Harbor Company from 1 September to 3 November 2014. This can be considered a peripheral location, even more because the only access is through a ferry in a tourist package managed by a travel agency that includes, besides the visit to the VTC, the entrance to a nearby prominent light house. The number of visitors was not high, especially because the tour only took place 2 times during the weekend, if weather was favorable. Besides, the direct contact with the archeological artifacts was fast and quite superficial, but as a tourist experiment it was successful, because the tour offers more than content, the enchantment of the old times in an apparently exploratory vessel tour. In fact, these museographic ideas have more than twenty years of circulation, but still remain valid:

"Today the ‘post-tourist’ expects something tailored to its own individual needs or wants. At one level the tourist experience is always unique to the individual as the context of reception is always potentially unique. However what in fact has happened, most obviously in the context of heritage leisure, is a form of surface-style inflation. As with nearly all modern forms of consumption, the emphasis during the 1980s and into the 1990s was on the manipulation of image. The product

\(^{13}\) We must say that this figure refers to all the visitors of the museum in that period, recorded at the entrance. It is assumed that they visited also the exhibition located in the fourth floor. The difficult part to assess is whether or not the exhibition was a motivation to visit the museum on those days.
themselves are not radically different, it is only their marketing surfaces which have been ‘(post-)modernized’ (Walsh, 1992: 121-122)

It can be said that a fourth exhibition in the Shisanhang Museum (Pali) is scheduled from 3 March to 31 May 2015. The place is certainly remarkable, but far from Jilong, then it will be interesting to see the attendance by the general audience. Besides, for the first time, a formal catalog-book of the exhibition will be available to consult during the visit (鮑曉鶴、洪曉純, 2015).

Although it is not obvious, we can assume that, if the circumstances allow it, the best place to locate a city history museum is in the historical area of the city, and—if possible—located in a historical, but adapted and modernized, building. Certainly, the remaining question is if the “c23” compound buildings meet or not the requirement of architectural historicity, something different to architectural value, which—as it is commonly accepted—is difficult to find in those buildings.

4. Are the 2&3 western warehouses heritage buildings?

Regarding the location, we think the “c23” fits its historicity, because it is located in the area destined for communication in the 19th century, which was one of the early (re-)urbanized areas of the pre-Japanese period, similar to other ones like Heping Island, Dashawan and the Qing city. From there the railway terminal was very accessible, and goods easily were exported and also imported, having an urban communication and transportation identity. And regarding the building itself, we think that also meets historicity and we are going to explain why.

If an existing building pretends to have a historical value, it has to claim to be a protagonist in relevant episodes of the history of the city it belongs, or to be representative of the quotidian life of the community it was serving. We think the warehouses number 2 and 3 meet these two conditions. They were the firsts to be created in Jilong harbor and, through the direct connection to the initial railway system of Taiwan, they played an active role in the communication of Taipei and the whole Taiwan with China and Japan, and consequently in the initial development of the island.

Additionally, since they were the terminal for passengers, especially the number 2, the migration flow to Taiwan passed through them, because they were located very near the train station. During the Japanese colonial period Taiwan businessmen make use of Jilong harbor,
and also many Taiwanese students traveled from there to different countries, especially Japan. Along the WWII, Jilong harbor was one of the main scenarios of the battle between Americans and Japanese; and the American bombings affected very much the cultural landscape of the city, destroying emblematic Japanese buildings; on the other hand, the Americans forced indirectly the creation of an original system of shelters against aerial attacks, that two decades ago still were quite visible in the city.

Another historical event that took place in 1945, was that part of the harbor close to the eastern warehouses 2 and 3 experienced the arrival of the American marines. This was followed by the nationalist authorities that arrived in Taiwan from China to carry on the Taiwan's retrocession, which was followed by the repatriation of the defeat Japanese soldiers and the increasing mainlander immigration. Two years later, in 1947, the first troops of Guomindang soldiers arrived also in Jilong to suppress the protest that followed the 228 incident.

In early fifties the harbor and the c23 warehouses experienced one the main cultural episodes of the Civil War in China that determined the future museographic life of Taiwan, the transferring of the National Palace Museum treasures to Taiwan by the Yang Ming transportation ships. The details of this episode, usually unknown by the thousands of visitors to the National Palace Museum, are well narrated in the Yang Ming Oceanic Culture and Art Museum, located in one of the few surviving representative Japanese buildings, very near the two warehouses. These episodes coincided with the arrival of the Nationalist Government to Taiwan, accompanied by 2-4 million people (soldiers, dependents, etc.)

A new military episode took place in the “c23” warehouses in 1954, after the defect to freedom by anti-Communists soldiers in the Korean War. These were the 14,000 prisoners from the People’s Volunteer Army who defected to Taiwan at the end of February 1954. Most of them had been Guomindang soldiers that became prisoners of the communists during the Civil War. Soon later another military, and not very well known by the public of Taiwan, event happened in the “c23” warehouses between February 9-14, 1955; it is the retreat of the ROC military forces from Dachen (大陳) Islands (Zhejiang), accompanied by the welcoming of the Dachen residents that moved to Taiwan. The Nationalists forces of more than 4,000 military personnel retreated from Dachen Islands, with the help of the U. S. Seventh Fleet, bringing along more than 10,000 residents of those islands. This episode was very well recorded by CNA photographer Chin Bing-yen, which photographs were recently exhibited in the CKS Memorial Hall. Summarizing, we can say that the “c23” compounds meets the definition given by the UNESCO about heritage, at the opening of its website:
“Heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future
generations. Our cultural and natural heritage are both irreplaceable sources of life and
inspiration.”\textsuperscript{15}

Jilong is in the process of recovering its history, but does the city need history
consciousness to help the projection of the city into the future? Is it better to become just a
modern city like Baltimore\textsuperscript{16}? Can it become a global thinking city without acting locally?
The Spanish northern city of Bilbao is an example of modern development, placing culture
in a pivotal role, within a city of long historical tradition. But, can be the “Bilbao effect” be
reproduced in Jilong? When we mention the “Bilbao effect” we are referring to the process
by which the peripheral and industrial city of Bilbao (with a fiord along the city, hosting
shipyards, like in Jilong), which at the end of the 90’s was in a critical situation of
sustainability, was transformed into a global city, thanks to its improvement of the standard
of life, urban planning and a modern cultural activity. One of the crystallizers of this
transformation was the creation of the Guggenheim Museum, granted by the Guggenheim
Foundation to Bilbao, and designed by the international acclaimed architect Frank Gehry.
The impact of the museum on the rebirth city, was immediately acknowledge by the
international press in articles like “The Miracle in Bilbao” (in the Magazine of The New York
Times, 1997), or in “The Bilbao Effect” (Forbes, 2002) or “Bilbao, 10 Years Later” (The New

Can an emblematic cultural building change the city? The formula might work for one
city like Bilbao but not necessarily can be extended to other ones, because even if an
emblematic building might be necessary for the change, it is not its direct cause, or at least
it is not the only one. Bilbao was “a historical city with history”, with tradition, and cultural
institutions and preserved quarters that made the inhabitants of that city proud of it. The
Guggenheim came to verify what was already in their collective conscience. But this is what
Jilong precisely lacks, and this is a condition sine qua non to make successful a building able
to transform the city from within. But we can be sure that if the New Harbor Building\textsuperscript{17} (新海
港大樓) and the Passenger Terminal (客運大樓) plans, do not incorporate a Museum of

\textsuperscript{14} “Islands, Wharves, New Hometown”. Exhibition, from 17 June to 16 July, in the CKS Memorial Hall.
\textsuperscript{15} http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/
\textsuperscript{16} Far from being a rhetorical question, this idea was used as slogan for the Central Government, maybe under the pressure of the coming municipal
elections (that precisely lost the KMT, after many years governing Jilong). In November 1998, 2013, Premier Jiang Yi-hua accompanied by the Minister
of Transportation, Yen Ming, surprised the people of Jilong in a press conference by announcing a grand plan, which will relocate military docks on
the east side to make way for a new tourist attraction, with the idea of changing the city in 10 years, by turning Jilong city into “Taiwan’s Baltimore”,
the American sea port known for its freight services capacity as well as tourist attractions. See John Liu, “Gov’t to turn Keelung into Baltimore of
Taiwan”, The China Post, 20 November 2014, p. 16.
History to trace the past of the city, and hosted in one of its historical relics (namely, the “c23” warehouses), as well as an Exhibition and Art Performance Centers to project the creativity of its citizens toward the future, the city will miss a real opportunity in setting the bases for a balance growth and global and holistic definition.

5. Conclusion

It is a common understanding that the natural and cultural heritage collected by museum comprise exclusive artifacts already appraised as having specific value or meaning, but it is more and more accepted that in exploring the nature of cultural heritage, the emphasis on historic sites and architecture as embodied by the ‘world heritage’ concept is not adequate, because they should include also the ‘intangibles’ ones, like oral tradition, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festival events. But in some historical cities like Jilong, as well as in many cities of Taiwan, the opposite situation might happen: that the “intangible” values of art and culture are more visible that the “tangible” ones, and they have already their own museum of exhibition room. These cities, as it happen with Jilong, are still in the stage of collecting their historical materials. Also, for the local “Jilongrens” the statement of Perin might be a kind of irony when talking about being selective in the visits to the museums: “Visitors who are not selective are ‘overwhelmed’” (Perin, 1992: 208). Yes, to change in Jilong these ironies into realities the first step that should be done before trying to cope with the modern trends is to create a museum, and better a city history museum.

If a special museum is going to be created in Jilong, the cultural and, particularly the historical features, cannot be avoided in a city that lacks its own historical understanding. Jilong is a city that needs to believe in itself, and to develop a sense of “city pride” which is quite absent among the “Jilongrens”. It is commonly accepted that “museums are major apparatuses in the creation of national identities” (Hooper- Greenhill, 2000: 25), and of course, this can apply also to “local identities”. Are the c23 buildings the best location for a museum? Can the c23 preservation increase the value of the Cultural and Natural Heritage of Jilong? We had tried to address this issue in this chapter, and the answer to both questions we had given is yes.

Why the city hasn’t thought before on this kind of museum? Is it because there are enough museums in Jilong? The answer is no. A simple consultation in Wikipedia shows that Jilong is proportionally speaking one of the cities in Taiwan with less museographic infrastructure, not because of its population of 300,000 citizens, but because of its historical
background. Wikipedia only mentions two museums, the National Museum of Marine Science and Technology and the Yang Ming Oceanic Culture and Art Museum (missing two other ones: the Aboriginal Hall of Jilong and the exhibit room of the municipality, the so-called The Keelung History Museum), but even the four of them represent very little. But still the engineers and businessmen of Jilong running the city can ask themselves what the purpose of a museum is? Or continue asking if there are not enough museums in Jilong? A good answer to this question was given by Stephen Weil, when he asked himself the following question: when will there finally be enough museums? And he replied to himself with a millenary ring: “(We will have enough museums) when human kind has so mastered time that it no longer takes any toll, when the young are content to accept without change the world they will inherit from their elders, when artists ask nothing more than the opportunity to duplicate the works of their predecessors, when everybody believes that anything useful has already been invented and when the last restless migrant has settled on the last frontier, certain in the knowledge that no place better might lie beyond.” (Weil, 1990: 6)

Now we can ask ourselves the same question: when will Jilong have enough museums, or being more specific, when Jilong will not need any more a city history museum? Paraphrasing the words of Weil we can answer saying: Jilong will have enough museums when they have enough content that visitors need to be selective, when the young people form Jilong are proud of their clean, practical, beautiful and friendly city; when the middle class citizens do not aim any more to be part of New Taipei City; when the history of Jilong is taught to the students of the city as a normal part of their curriculum; when the different layers of the historical occupation can be easily recognized in a walk around the city; when the arrival of yellow pop art made of rubber is no longer a big event; when local artists do not need to visit the Mediterranean Sea to look for inspiration because beauty can be found in the fishing wharfs of Jilong; when the Amis living in Heping Island do not need to repaint again their walls with graffiti to mark their own territory. Then, when this might happened, the future generations can be satisfied, even they can close down the still non-existing history museum of Jilong.

**Annex: How to create a Jilong History Museum**

**Initial work**

In order to start a museum of Jilong's history, first the persons and institutions working already in fields close to such a project should be identified. For example, the scholars from
the Department of Maritime Culture in the National Ocean University can start providing specific courses of local history, and direct master thesis on those topics. Secondly, the City Government should develop projects of publications; there are many ways, either supporting ongoing ones (to mention a case, SMC Publishing house has published recently the memoirs of Coubert, the French admiral in charge of the 19th century French invasion of Jilong), or expanding its own collection, or reprinting existing books in an accessible manner for the general public, and particularly study the possibility of publishing existing dissertations 17.

Also some books could collect dispersed materials, or abridge or compile pamphlets collections in a formal book, like the monographs published by Zhang Kun-chen on the 19th century fortresses of Jilong. Many other possibilities can come, for example creating an award on thesis related to the history of Jilong, to encourage university graduate students from Jilong, or people actively involved in cultural affairs 18, to research on their own city. All this work additionally will help in identifying the future most suitable managers for the maintenance and development of a Center of Jilong Studies.

Preparative work

A new step forward is to create a Centre of Jilong Studies, with the mission of collecting old photographs, maps, dispersed materials published about Jilong History, and particularly all the materials issued by the Jilong Harbor. This center can cooperate, or even held, archeological excavations, especially in Heping Island and Dashawan, the older settlements of Jilong. Even this center can work for the initiate of underwater excavation at the entrance of the harbor of Jilong, where, for example in 1641 the Dutch flagship of the Dutch fleet was sunken there, in the first attempt of conquering Spanish fortress San Salvador. The center can offer also to Jilong citizens regular conferences, exhibitions, etc., based on those materials, in order to create the necessary awareness of the city historical position on the history of Taiwan.

The Cultural Bureau of the municipality should work actively work in relation with this Center of Jilong Studies to develop the Cultural Landscape of the city, as a consequence it can be drafted some tours, like around the fortresses of the Liu Mingchuan era, or to work in

17 For example, there are two excellent dissertations on the history of the harbor: unknown to the common Jilongers: 呂月娥 (2006), 《日治時期基隆港口都市形成過程之研究》(Evolution of the Jilong Port during the Japanese times). 未出版碩士論文。桃園：中原大學。張勇譚 (2006), 《從大雞籠社到雙連礁》(From Qiminsha, San Salvador to the Liu Liao Island). 國立台北藝術大學。

18 Among the Jilong Grassroots cultural organizations we can mention: 基隆市野鳥協會、八斗子觀光促進會、雞籠文史協進會、基隆市臺灣文化協進會、基隆市文化記憶保存協進會、基隆小英之友會、基隆青年陣線、人民火大聯盟、基隆辦公室、基隆市里港曙光發展協會、中國科技大學文化資產研究中心、王僑廟口畫。
the recovery of the Dashawan quarter, with special focus in the French Cemetery; or to identify and protect the urban remains of Jilong in the Qing period, they even can propose the conversion of the old Japanese fishing port in front of Heping Island into a “Mediterranean fishing harbor”, etc. This implies a growing involvement of Jilong Municipality in cultural affairs, which will end in the creation of some positions for scholars with expertise in archaeology, archive management, and heritage preservation. This is an endeavor that nowadays can sounds utopic, but, if successful, can set up a model to be followed by other cities of Taiwan.

**Actual work of creation of a museum on Jilong History**

We suggested the c23 as the ideal venue. The development of this venue or anywhere should be carried out according to the common understanding of modern philosophy of museums. Now we just want to emphasize few ideas. The first one is to escape the Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT) modality—quite popular nowadays for the development of government cultural projects—, because a Museum is not a centre to be managed under business approach. There are two main BOT cultural venues around Jilong. In the opinion of this author, one of them, within an especial natural landscape, works well because addresses leisure activities; but the other one, namely a museum, it seems to have more focus in the administrative than content management.

Finally a museum should be very dynamic if it aims to reach excellence. To know the target public is very important, especially in an industrial city like Jilong, not accustomed to heritage cultural events. As David Dean said: “Building a reliable, comprehensive profile of the community will assist in determining target audiences, their needs, and their expectations” (Dean, 1994: 20). He mentions that the method to gather information should be one of close examination, focusing on existing demographic and psychographic analyses; interviewing individuals, civic groups and leaders; and listening to groups from various communities segments. Nevertheless, a history museum in Jilong is, more than a challenge aiming to attract a prospective public, a quest of “conquering” audiences, in a process that never reaches an end. And this process will be better achieved by museographers, artists and communicators, than by BOT managers, because the audience should have an active part in the life of the museums, in tune with the tendencies stated by Richard Sandell in 2007: “The last twenty-five years have seen a radical re-conceptualization of museum-audience relation... Audience—traditionally imagined as passive recipients of media ‘effects’—are now widely understood as themselves participating in the production process, constructing
messages as part of the communication circuit” (Sandell, 2007:10). This implies to avoid the repetition of those cases that can be observed in Taiwan society of granting the direction of museums to people with a unrelated professional background, but justified by external professional reasons. Only real professionals, with proven expertise, can make a museum with an impact in the city.

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![Figure 1 The 2nd and 3rd western warehouses in the harbor of Jilong](image-url)