The Forgetting of a Hero: The Antarctic Explorer Shirase Nobu

Brendan Neil McInnes

B.A. (Hons.) University of New England

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

of the University of New England

October 2009

Acknowledgements

I am deeply indebted to a great number of people whose generosity and goodwill have made this project possible. Firstly, I would like to thank the many librarians who have assisted me in the collection of data and resources that were spread far and wide. Mayumi Shinozaki at the Asian Collections, National Library of Australia, and the librarians at the Dixson Library, University of New England are deserving of special thanks. In addition, I am indebted to Jane Britten, Local History Librarian, Woollahra Library Local History Centre, for her assistance researching details of Shirase's stay in Sydney. I must also thank a number of museum curators who have generously assisted me, including Geir Kløver, Direktør of the Frammuseet in Oslo, Colin Macgregor, Manager of Materials Conservation at the Australian Museum, and Kerry McCarthy and Jane Macknight, Curators of Pictorial Collections at the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch. Others to whom I owe deep thanks include the late Mr. Hiraiwa Yukio for his assistance locating texts no longer in publication, Mrs. Adachi Miyuki for her assistance in obtaining copies of Shirase's earlier writings, and Mr. Seki Yōji for help in searching for newspaper reports of the Shirase expedition.

I must also acknowledge my gratitude to Mrs. Hojo Tomoko for her patient assistance with interpreting Japanese texts of the Meiji era, and Elizabeth Lindsay for sharing with me her unpublished research into the Scott and Cook expeditions, as well as for countless fruitful discussions of all matters Antarctic. Professor Greg Horsley has been a constant source of encouragement and scholarly advice.

I thank Dr. Ayako Hotta-Lister for informative correspondence regarding the Japan-British Exposition, and Anne Edgeworth for allowing me to view the Edgeworth David papers at the National Library of Australia.

Finally, I am deeply grateful to my supervisor Associate Professor Hugh de Ferranti, without whose unstinting support and endless patience this project could not have been completed.

ii

Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the life and times of Lieutenant Shirase Nobu, in order to identify some of the factors responsible for the fact that his is a name that was once famous throughout Japan and yet is now almost entirely forgotten. For some explorers, fame has endured, and the glory that was theirs in their own time has lasted long after their deaths. For others, however, it has been an ephemeral status that soon faded. It is argued in this thesis that heroes are a product of the historical *milieu* in which they lived, as much as they are a product of their own deeds, and that changes in society can eclipse heroic status even within the lifetime of the hero.

The historical period known as the Heroic Era of Antarctic exploration, which occurred from the end of the nineteenth century into the first decades of the twentieth, has become a topic of growing fascination for layperson and scholar alike. Despite this interest, Shirase Nobu, a Heroic Era Antarctic explorer once celebrated in Japan and whose name was known around the world, was forgotten even in his homeland almost as soon as his expedition was over, and his story still remains largely unknown even in that country.

Although Shirase's story is a fascinating one, it is not the purpose of this thesis to rehabilitate a forgotten Japanese historical figure. Nor does this thesis investigate the "waves and troughs" in Shirase's fame over the past century, or attempt to explain why they have occurred, or are now occurring. Instead, this thesis is restricted to an investigation of factors that made Shirase famous, and, more specifically, the factors that swiftly put an end to that fame.

At the same time, it is hoped that this thesis may function as a first stage in integrating into the wider field of Antarctic historical studies an event which has to date largely been ignored, and thereby serve as one small step towards giving the East a more eloquent role on the Anglo-centric stage of Antarctic exploratory history as it now exists.

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification.

I certify that any help received in preparing this thesis, and all sources used, have been acknowledged in this thesis.



BRENDAN N. MCINNES

Table of Contents

Introductio	n	1
Chapter 1:	The Heroic Era and the Voyage of the Kainan Maru	
1.1	Defining the Heroic Era	4
1.2	The Heroic Events of a Heroic Era	10
1.3	The Kainan Maru Expedition of 1910-1912 and Shirase's	
	Post-Expedition Life	20
1.4	Shirase's Post-Expedition Fame and Subsequent Obscurity	39
1.5	Extant Research on Shirase and the Kainan Maru Expedition	47
Chapter 2:	The Edwardian Hero	
2.1	Introduction	55
2.2	The North-West Passage	57
2.3	Developments in the Print Media	60
2.4	Social Unrest in Edwardian Britain	62
2.5	Conclusion	80
Chapter 3:	Meiji-Taishō Japan and Heroic Status	
3.1	Introduction	81
3.2	From Bureaucracy to Democracy	83
3.3	The Rise of Literacy	89
3.4	Industrialisation	91

3.5	Growing Social Unrest and the Treaty of Portsmouth	93
3.6	The Shifting Values of Meiji-Taishō Youth Culture	101
3.7	The Growth of Individualism	107
3.8	The Dominance of the Hanmon Seinen	114
3.9	Japan and World War I	122
3.10	Post-World War I Youth Culture	128
3.11	Conclusion – The Implications for Shirase's Heroic Status	131

Chapter 4: The Mediation of Fame: Count Ōkuma and the Japan-British Exhibition

4.1	Introduction	140
4.2	The Mediation of Heroic Status	141
4.3	Count Ōkuma as Mediator	147
4.4	The Character of Count Ōkuma	155
4.5	The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910	160
	4.5.1 The Exhibition becomes a Scandal	162
	4.5.2 Political Obfuscation	169
4.6	The Disadvantages of Ōkuma's Mediation of the Kainan Maru	
	Expedition	183
4.7	Ōkuma's Rejection of Shirase's Failure	189
4.8	Conclusion	193

Chapter 5:	Literary and Cinematographic Factors: The Implications	
	for Enduring Heroic Status	
5.1	Introduction	196
5.2	Securing Enduring Fame through Writing	197
5.3	Securing Enduring Fame through Film	221
5.4	The Place of Nankyoku tanken in the Literature	
	of late-Meiji – Taishō Japan	227
	5.4.1 The Importance of Success	228
	5.4.2 Shirase and Youth Literature	237
	5.4.3 The Rise of <i>Shizenshugi</i> , and the Emergence of	f
	the Shishōsetsu	282
	5.4.4 Implications of the New Literature for Shirase	293
5.5	The Place of Nippon nankyoku tanken in Film	
	in late-Meiji – Taishō Japan	299
5.6	Conclusion	308
Conclusion	ı	311
Works Cite	d	320