

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

*Politely Adversarial: Perceptions of Japan in  
New Zealand Print Media, 1895-1942.*

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the  
degree of

Master of Arts

in

History

At Massey University, Albany, New Zealand.

Aaron James Bowie

2014

## **Abstract**

This thesis focuses on how New Zealanders viewed Japan from the turn of the twentieth century to the outbreak of war in the Pacific Theatre in 1941. The research is based primarily on newspaper articles, editorials and letters to the editor. The goals of this research are to ascertain the self-perceptions of New Zealanders based upon how they viewed a significant foreign power in the Pacific, replete with the general vernacular used to describe the Japanese and the racial and political attitudes that such vernacular represented. Existing scholarship tends to focus on New Zealand's official diplomacy with Japan, and this thesis aims to add to this by providing a social history of New Zealand's racial attitudes narrated by civilian New Zealanders in their own voices.

The three focus questions of the thesis are: How far did New Zealanders' attitudes to Japan vary from region to region? How far did racial ideologies impact New Zealanders' views of Japan? And how closely were New Zealand's perceptions of Japan in line with those of New Zealand's First and Second World War allies, as expressed in print media? While New Zealanders' written perspectives on Japan may have also been influenced by genders of those who wrote them, a focused consideration of the influence of gender on such perspectives is beyond the scope of this thesis due to the often anonymous nature of contributions to newspaper letters to the editor.

The main body of the thesis consists of a prologue and five chapters which progress in chronological sequence. The first chapter covers the turn of the twentieth century. The second chapter focuses on New Zealand's reaction to the Russo-Japanese War and the Annexation of Korea to 1910. The third chapter focuses on the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in effect to 1921. The fourth chapter covers the ending of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the cooling of relations to 1931. The fifth chapter covers New Zealand's reaction to deepening Japanese

militarism in China. The sixth and final chapter focuses on the attitudes of New Zealanders toward Japan at the outset of the Second World War.

## Contents

Abstract		i
Contents		iii
Acknowledgements		iv
List of Illustrations		v
Introduction		vii
Chapter One	<i>Islands Apart: New Zealand and Japan at the Turn of the Twentieth Century</i>	1
Chapter Two	<i>A New Sun Rises: The Russo-Japanese War in the New Zealand Consciousness</i>	16
Chapter Three	<i>A Polite Commitment: The Anglo-Japanese Alliance in Effect</i>	36
Chapter Four	<i>Breaking Ties: The Ending of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Invasion of Manchuria</i>	76
Chapter Five	<i>The Lines are Drawn: New Zealand and Japan in the Makings of World War</i>	94
Chapter Six	<i>The Pacific at War: New Zealand and Japan as Enemies</i>	111
Conclusion		129
Bibliography		137

## Acknowledgements

I am greatly indebted to my supervisor, Dr. Adam Claasen, without whose careful and considered guidance this thesis would never have reached fruition. Adam's wealth of knowledge of the time period, as well as his attention to detail and knack for evaluating the worth of each source were the foundations upon which I was able to build a purposeful analysis. Adam, thank you for your patience, your insight, and your flair for identifying quotation marks in the wrong font.

Thank you to Dr Geoff Watson, director of studies at Massey University, for your generous assistance with all things administrative. The MA students' research seminar was a highlight of the course.

Thank you to all of the staff at the Massey University libraries. Your efficiency and service made extramural study a breeze.

Thank you to my colleagues, past and present, at Waiuku College and Macleans College. It meant a lot to be able to bounce ideas off of you and get your perspectives on my research. No doubt you were tired of hearing about my thesis at end-of-term dinner parties, but you always put on a welcoming face.

Thank you to my old friend and fellow enthusiast of Asian history, Markus Bell, for your generous gift of time and insight with regards to proof-reading and editing this thesis' final draft. Your linguistic and scholarly expertise regarding the Northeast Asian region in general has long been an inspiration.

And lastly, to my long-suffering wife, Samantha: thank you for putting up with the late nights I spent hunched over a keyboard or buried in a book when I should have been giving you the attention you deserve. Your support and love mean everything to me.

## List of Illustrations

Figure 1:	Far Eastern Hemisphere. E.F. Hiscocks. 1904.	xxix
Figure 2:	‘Welcoming Chinese Miners.’ <i>Dunedin Punch</i> . 1865.	6
Figure 3:	‘Still They Come!’ John Collis Bloomfield. 1905.	6
Figure 4:	Poll Tax Certificate. 1904.	7
Figure 5:	Yellow Peril. <i>New Zealand Free Lance</i> . 1908.	20
Figure 6:	‘Eastern Monroe Doctrine’. <i>Washington Post</i> . July 24. 1905.	29
Figure 7:	Togo Visits Rozhdestvensky in Hospital. 1905.	37
Figure 8:	The Battleship <i>Iwate</i> Visits Wellington. 1916.	41
Figure 9:	The Companies of the <i>Iwate</i> and <i>Azuma</i> visit Rotorua with the Hons. G.W. Russell, A.M. Myers and a Maori Guide. 1916.	42
Figure 10:	Japanese Sailors from the <i>Iwate</i> and <i>Azuma</i> demonstrate Sumo Wrestling Techniques. Wellington. 1916.	49
Figure 11:	“India! Now is the Time to Rise!” <i>Osaka Puck</i> , February 1942.	70
Figure 12:	‘People of the Southern Region’. <i>Osaka Puck</i> , December 1942.	72
Figure 13:	Japanese Sailors Entertain Wellingtonians with Martial Arts. <i>Evening Post</i> . 1932.	91
Figure 14:	The New Zealand University Rugby Football Team Tours Japan. 18 March, 1936.	92
Figure 15:	The Japanese Minister of Education Meets The New Zealand University Rugby Football Team. 1936.	93
Figure 16:	Now What in Blazes am I Going to Use for Jews? <i>PM Magazine</i> . October 20. 1941.	102
Figure 17:	Don't let them carve THOSE faces on our mountains. <i>PM Magazine</i> . December 12, 1941.	109

Figure 18:	How Tough Are the Japanese? <i>New York Times</i> . 1943.	116
Figure 19:	Japanese Propaganda Leaflet for Australian Troops.	119
Figure 20:	Japanese Propaganda Leaflet for Australian Troops.	120
Figure 21:	Me? Oh, I'm the Climax of the Act. <i>PM Magazine</i> . May 13. 1942.	125
Figure 22:	Chinese Warships Visit Auckland Harbour. <i>Xinhua News</i> . October 11 2013.	135
Figure 23:	Overseas Chinese Welcome Chinese People's Liberation Army Navy Ships at Auckland Harbour. <i>Xinhua News</i> . October 11 2013.	136