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ROBERT S. MANN, *Editor*

A New Journalism in a
New Far East

by

WALTER WILLIAMS

*Dean of the School of Journalism,
University of Missouri*



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The traveler from America, if he be at all interested in journalism, will find new and different types of journalism in the Far East. It will be a different type from that in America or elsewhere, and it will differ materially from the journalism that he may have found in the Far East a generation or less ago. It differs from the journalism of the Far East of a decade ago as the Far East of today differs from the Far East of a decade ago.

Should he travel upon a steamship of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha Line from San Francisco or Seattle to the Orient, he will find in the reading room of the steamship files of Japanese newspapers in a language probably entirely unknown to him. The first of the new newspapers to claim his attention is likely to be the Nippu Jiji of Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, U. S. A. This newspaper, published in the Japanese language with a section in English, is issued under the admirable editorship of Y. Soga, and represents typically the Japanese newspaper transplanted to American soil.

The traveler will also find, as on the Atlantic Ocean vessels, a ship newspaper. On the Japanese ships, however, on the Pacific, the ship newspaper is partly in Japanese and partly in English. As the Atlantic ship newspaper is issued in co-operation with some American or English journal, the Pacific Ocean newspaper is issued in co-operation with the Jiji Shimpō of Tokyo, a conservative newspaper of the Japanese capital.

As he goes farther into the Orient, he finds the same news transmission inventions in use that are to be found elsewhere in the world, and the journalism as enterprising in the employment of these inventions as in the countries where the press is much older. He will find these inventions in use in Japan and China and the Philippine Islands, where the observations here presented were recorded.

The new journalism in the new Far East divides itself into three groups. The first and most important, if not the most numerous, is the genuine newspaper, whose purpose is to record, comment upon, and interpret the news. Second is a larger group of newspapers that are less concerned with news and fair comment than with propaganda, more or less disguised, in behalf of some individual cause or interest. The third group, also unfortunately large, is composed of scandal sheets, fly-by-night publications existing mainly by blackmail or by appeal to the baser passions. These correspond to the "gutter" newspapers of Europe and America.

The line of demarkation between these various groups is not always easily determinable, and, as elsewhere, some publications have in them suggestions of all groups.

Another division, one that does not exist to such an important extent elsewhere than in the Far East, is a division into the vernacular and the foreign language newspapers. In Japan are important newspapers published in the English language, although of course the greatest newspapers in Japan are in the Japanese language. In China there are also influential and important journals in the English language, although again the native language, or the vernacular, furnishes the larger and more important publications. In the Philippines, there are newspapers in English, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, and various Filipino dialects.

THE JOURNALISM OF JAPAN

Even the most well-informed men and women are amazed at the development of the journalism of Japan and at its present position of popularity and influence. If there is a country anywhere of which it may be truthfully said that everybody reads the newspapers, that country surely is Japan. Baron Tanaka, the genial premier, said to the writer in a recent interview: "I must read the newspapers—because everybody else reads them. How else would I know what everybody else was thinking about?" This "everybody" means literally everybody, banker, day laborer, statesman, professional man, business man, farmer, townspeople, all classes and conditions. This is the first and most striking fact about the new journalism of Japan. Everyone reads the newspapers. Nor do they merely glance at the headlines or pore over the pictures and the comic strips. The headlines are not ordinarily glaring. They do not dominate the first page or any other page of the compact Japanese journal. They attract more often as a caption or label attracts and do not tell the whole story or any considerable part thereof. One must read the article under the headline to find the news—and the Japanese do so read. As for illustrations, they are not over-conspicuous, though frequently and appropriately used. The comic strip is comparatively non-existent.

But why this widespread reading of newspapers in Japan? The curiosity of the Japanese? Yes, that's a reason. The newspaper gratifies curiosity. The character and content of the newspapers? Yes, the newspapers of Japan are attractively written, well presented typographically, and abound in exhibitions of genuine newspaper enterprise. The majority of them are surprisingly worth reading. Perhaps a better reason for the large amount of newspaper reading in Japan is that the Japanese like to read and that the growth of literacy enables them to gratify the liking. More than ten million students are enrolled in the schools of Japan, and the percentage of literacy is 91.

"There is scarcely a town of any size anywhere in the empire without its local journal," writes J. Ingram Bryan, Cambridge University extension lecturer, one of the most thoughtful of the historians of Japan, "and the larger centers of population usually have a number of newspapers in proportion to the commercial and industrial interests of the place. The number of daily and weekly sheets dealing with finance, commerce, naval and military matters, science, literature, or religion is large, to say nothing of the usual monthly magazines and reviews covering a great variety of themes. There are also illustrated comic papers; and papers for women and children, some of which attain a high standard of merit, but many of them, like some of the dailies, are filled with shameless scandal and gossip.

"But on the whole it may be said that the Japanese press has kept pace with the general progress of the country. Up to the time of the war with China the vernacular press of Japan was anything but prosperous; its readers were confined chiefly to the more intellectual classes. But with the rapid spread of elementary education, and the growing activity of social, industrial and commercial enterprise, and increased interest in public affairs generally, even the poorest Japanese is today a regular reader of the daily press. Thus the rapid expansion of newspaper interest has taken place within the present generation; and the dailies are constantly improving, certainly in the enterprise they display in news-gathering, if not in the character and accuracy of their contents. Journals that twenty-five years ago were profitless ventures are now enjoying a large and lucrative circulation, and exercising a corresponding influence. It is probable that the daily paper in Japan has wider and more effective influence than in any other country, for in no other country is it

depended upon to the same degree as the source of knowledge and opinion by the vast majority of the population."

In this nation of omnivorous readers books are plentiful. More than 18,000 volumes were published in the last year and, in addition, the importation of books from other countries and in other languages reaches into the millions of dollars. But in Japan as in other countries the newspaper, daily and weekly, and the monthly magazine, of which there are many, constitute the bulk of the reading matter. There are 1200 daily newspapers in Japan and nearly 3000 weekly and monthly journals. The total circulation of the dailies approximates 10,000,000—one to every six persons, men, women, and children. The very skies rain newspapers.

"The Japanese possess a natural instinct for journalism, both in their inherent love of gossip of every description, and in their picturesque way of putting things; while the service of the journal is usually pushed to the utmost by all connected with its issue. In politics and international affairs the influence of the vernacular press is singularly powerful, as officialdom well understands; and the profession of journalism is not infrequently the preliminary to a political career. It attracts many brilliant intellects, including university graduates and leading statesmen, though the pecuniary rewards are meager, even from a native point of view, while the social status of the journalist is hardly on a par with that of leading newspaper men in Europe. The Japanese press is now beginning to elicit the service of women, whose talents are marked even in dealing with politics as well as social affairs." (J. Ingram Bryan).

"The Japanese government still clings to an old-fashioned idea of censorship. Fortunately, it is equally true"—I quote here and elsewhere from K. K. Kawakami, distinguished Japanese publicist—"that the censorship is more of a formality than a reality. Its absurdity and futility are obvious when we remember that by the time the censor returns a verdict on the contents of a newspaper or a periodical most, if not all, copies of such a publication have already been delivered to its readers. A great annoyance to the publishers, the censorship is, nevertheless, no small joke among them. As a matter of fact, the censor, except in times of war, is not vigilant. And in times of peace his attention is directed mostly to items affecting public morals. If a newspaper is inclined to indulge in 'realism' in describing, let us say, a matrimonial scandal or a sexual crime, the censor is likely to take notice and employ the 'black brush,' equivalent to our blue pencil. Newspapers addicted to this sort of offense are earmarked, so to speak, and are especially watched by the censor. On the other hand, the exercise of his authority over respectable publications is only nominal. In fact, newspapers and periodicals which observe the common dictates of decency and public morality seldom suffer from the brush of the censor. It is seldom that news items or comments of a political nature are suppressed by the authorities."

The new journalism in Japan, as in China and the Philippines, is fortunate in its knowledge of the journalism of other countries, because so many of the journalists understand and read English and other foreign languages. Probably no American newspaper has upon its regular editorial staff anyone able to read the Japanese or Chinese newspapers. On the other hand, metropolitan newspapers in Japan and in China employ more than one editorial writer well versed in foreign languages and especially in English.

Most Japanese newspapers have been influenced first by the British journalism and more recently by American journalism. They differ materially, however, in the arrangement of the news and editorial comment, and in the general make-up of the newspaper. Specialization of each page is characteristic of most Japanese

journals. The first page, for example, may contain book reviews, editorials, advertisements, and dramatic criticism. Political and economic subjects may be treated on the second page, social news on the third page, and thus through the eight or ten pages of the newspaper. The marginal space between the pages, left blank in all western newspapers, is filled with less important news, and sometimes late news reaching the office after the regular forms have been closed. As a rule, the first page, which in American newspapers is generally filled with the most important articles, is regarded in Japan as least important, and sometimes is purely ornamental.

About one-half of the ten million circulation is claimed by ten of the larger newspapers published in Tokyo and Osaka. The Big Four, rivals in every way, are published by the Osaka Asahi Company and the Osaka Mainichi Company. The latter publishes the Tokyo Nichi Nichi and the Osaka Mainichi. The Mainichi has a circulation of 1,300,000 copies daily and the Nichi Nichi 800,000. The Asahi, recently moved into a magnificent building in Tokyo, publishes the Osaka Asahi and the Tokyo Asahi with a combined circulation of 2,000,000 copies. No such circulation has been attained by any other newspaper in the world, if we except a half-dozen issued at the great metropolises. Indeed only two dailies in Paris and one in London claim so large a circulation. Six other of the greater dailies are in Tokyo and may be fairly grouped together: the Jiji, the Hochi, the Chugai Shogyo, the Kokumin, the Yomiuri, the Yorodzu—and the labor journal, the Maiyu, which though not of the largest group is important as champion of the laboring man.

Modern journalism in Japan has produced many great figures or, with more truth may it be stated, great figures in Japan have produced modern journalism. The Jiji, for years one of the best known abroad of all Japanese newspapers, was founded by the late Yukichi Fukuzawa, who also founded Keio University, one of the leading universities of the Orient. To Fukuzawa journalism was an instrument for education and progress and he made the Jiji an important factor in political, civic, and commercial affairs. The Kokumin has long been directed by the veteran, Ichizo Tokutomi, journalist, essayist, historian, whose brilliant style, fine scholarship, and prodigious memory are largely employed today in historical writing. A group of followers of the late Count Okuma, "the Grand Old Man" of Japan, founded the Hochi to promote the Okuma policies. It is significant that Okuma founded the great Waseda University as the Keio University has been founded by Fukuzawa. Journalism and academic education have gone hand in hand in Japan. The venerable H. Motoyama, president of the Mainichi, has made of that newspaper company a tremendous force by a vigorous, progressive policy, the product of his own personality assisted by an unusually able staff of associates. Rynhei Murayami, the president of the Asahi, has built a great organization and made his newspapers distinctive and influential. He is among the most influential journalists in Japan and has gathered a staff worthy of the Asahi's reputation. The list lengthens so that even to mention by name the greater figures in Japanese journalism is impossible. Certainly no paragraph about personalities, however, should omit the amiable and eminent service of M. Zumota, who has so effectively and truthfully interpreted Japan to other peoples; Count Y. Soyeda, distinguished and scholarly leader; K. Sugimura, brilliant, versatile writer; S. Takaisha, editor with vision; H. Shimoruwa, able leader and director, and H. Mitsunaga, the wise and enterprising head of the Nippon Dempo, a leading news-service organization; Viscount H. Kiyoura; Dr. M. Ohta, youthful, enterprising director of the Hochi; K. Yanada of the Chugai Shogyo; M. Ito of the Jiji; I. Furuwo of Rengo; K. Yukuda, of the Nichi Nichi; T. Ogata of the Asahi; G. Dati; S. Uyeda; Dr. Miyake; Y. Iwanaga; Count A.

Kobayame; G. Kido; M. Hasagawa, M. Kono; S. Shiba; and many others who are doing distinguished service in different fields.

The income of the Japanese newspaper is derived, as the income of the newspaper in other lands, from the sale of printed copies or circulation, and from the sale of space in the newspaper for advertising. In the United States the income from advertising far surpasses the income from circulation. In Japan the income from the two sources is about equal. The subscription rate is about 35 to 50 cents a month. The advertising rate varies, of course, considerably, as the circulation of the newspapers, which forms the basis of the advertising rate, varies. A full-page advertisement in the larger newspapers costs \$1500 or more.

The difficulties of publication, due to the peculiarities of the Japanese characters, have been surmounted with surprising success. Despite the numerous characters used, effort has been made, though not as yet successfully, to construct a type-setting machine similar to those employed where the alphabet makes such machines possible. The latest improvements in printing machinery are to be found in the larger offices. The Mainichi buildings and the buildings of the Asahi are the very latest word in every way. Journalistic work has all the advantages of the best physical equipment and accommodations.

Enterprise in news gathering is shown to an unusual degree by the Japanese press. The Associated Press of Japan serves a number of Japanese newspapers and has news communication with Reuter's in England and the American Associated Press. The Nippon Dempo Tsushan has a large organization covering well the domestic field and has connection with the United Press Associations of the United States for foreign news. There are other and smaller news agencies, and the larger journals have special correspondents at important news centers and to cover important news events. Every means of news transmission is employed, airplane, hydroplane, telegraph, telephone, radio, carrier pigeons.

Suyeo Nakano, in a special article in the Trans-Pacific (Tokyo) writes of the Japanese news enterprise:

"The leading metropolitan papers are now ahead of the government as to important foreign affairs. More than thirty years ago newspapers in this country had to rely upon the government on every foreign and domestic event. Reuter's service to China was reproduced by certain Japanese journals formerly. They did not enter into a formal contract with the British news bureau until about thirty years ago.

"Viscount Keigo Kiyoura, formerly chief of the Police Bureau in the Home Office and subsequently president of the Privy Council and minister president, established the Tokyo Tsushinsha or News Agency for the distribution of official announcements, bulletins and statements. All newspapers in Tokyo detailed their messengers to the Tokyo Tsushinsha to receive copy regularly. The Tokyo Tsushinsha still exists as a news and advertising agency, but not as the unique organ it was more than thirty years ago.

"Next to Reuter's service, Havas agency service was introduced into Japan through the courtesy of the French legation here. The French legation gave it to Capt. F. Brinkley, the editor of the Japan Mail. Capt. Brinkley distributed copies of Havas dispatches translated into English to a limited number of Japanese papers.

"Reuter's telegrams as originally distributed to Japanese papers in their skeleton form greatly perplexed Japanese journalists. They could not understand almost all the technical terms in connection with the Boer War. A leading Tokyo paper editorially referred to winter in the South African front, but it was summer there. The Derby race also proved quite strange to the Japanese press men. They ulti-

mately asked Mr. M. Zumoto to translate the telegrams into Japanese. But now a number of Japanese journalists in Tokyo can handle telegrams very intelligibly. Some of them claim to be better versed in them than newly arrived foreign journalists.

"Cable rates still remain high between Europe and Japan and between America and Japan. But important events in Europe and America are now fairly well covered in leading Tokyo and Osaka dailies with their own special dispatches, besides Rengo and Nippon Dempo services. Proceedings in China are also very well represented in Japanese papers."

The national circulation of the newspapers lends to their influence. Tokyo and Osaka newspapers are delivered daily in every part of the Empire. In some cases supplements are carried giving the local news of the community in which it is to be distributed. The "extra" is a feature of Japanese journalism that is unique. It contains only the special news for which it is printed and is not an entire newspaper "made over." This "extra" or "gogai" may therefore only be a small sheet, scarcely larger than a visiting card, or it may be a full page in size. The newsboys—in the peculiar garb, wearing the insignia of their newspapers, ringing bells and crying aloud—constitute one of the street sights and sounds that make vivid impressions upon the visitor.

Any consideration, however brief, of the journalism of Japan would be incomplete without some mention of the English press. Among the fine activities of the Osaka Mainichi is an English edition, an eight-page daily newspaper. The Japan Chronicle, now the Kobe Chronicle, has long been distinguished by the virility of its editorial comments, usually critical in character. The Japan Times at Tokyo has in the past been semiofficial in character, but recently is more independent. The leading English daily newspaper of Japan—and indeed of Asia—is the Japan Advertiser, published at Tokyo by B. W. Fleisher, an American of broad vision, sympathetic understanding, and courageous idealism. It is a noteworthy example of constructive journalism. The increasing use of the English language in commerce and diplomacy adds a new value to the English language newspapers. Although they can never compete in circulation or importance with the newspapers published in the vernacular, they are important factors in the recording and creating of public opinion.

The Japanese press is placing larger emphasis upon news than editorials. It has long been a force in the democratic nation of Japan, but this force is more effectively exerted today through the news columns than on the editorial pages. There is no dearth of vigorous, powerful writers in the Japanese press, and their influence has increased notably in the last few years. Journalism, always a fascinating occupation in Japan, has taken high rank among the occupations. No longer is the journalist employed at starvation wages and relegated to an inferior social status. He is coming into his own, in financial return, in social standing and in influence upon the life of his country. In no nation has journalism developed more rapidly in the last twenty years than in Japan. It today is the dominating power in the Empire. Never politically partisan newspapers, the great journals of the present are independent in politics, and, as a rule, progressive in the best sense in editorial and business policy. He who would know the Japan of tomorrow should peruse carefully the Japanese newspapers of today.

THE JOURNALISM OF CHINA

The journalism of China reflects that vast and troubled country. Its origin is involved in obscurity. Its beginnings antedate any authentic record. Its progress along western lines of news gathering and news presentation has been slow and difficult and its independence has been constantly challenged. Its present, however, despite factional strife and a largely illiterate constituency, is full of promise.

Four periods constitute the history of the Chinese press, as described by Don D. Patterson and Y. P. Wang, two recent students of the journalism of China. If this somewhat arbitrary division be followed, the periods may be described as, first, the period of the official gazette; second, the period of foreign influence; third, the rise of the native press; fourth, the present period of the modern native press.

The first period, beginning with the spoken newspaper of the days before the Christian era, continued until about 1850. It was the period of official news issued in bulletin form. Movable type was probably invented in China during this period. The Peking Gazette, or *Ti Chan*, is the most famous newspaper of this first period. The Gazette is frequently referred to as the world's oldest newspaper, its history covering over 1100 years. Some years ago it passed out of existence. According to Y. P. Wang of the *Shun Pao*, Shanghai, careful and studious writer, the Peking Gazette antedated by several centuries the first journals published in Venice. With leaves loosely stuck together in a cover of imperial yellow, which distinguished the publication as the official organ of the government, the Gazette served to give information to the officials of the government rather than to the people. The Gazette also was generally read and discussed by educated persons in the cities and tended to keep them more acquainted with the characters and proceedings of their rulers. In the provinces, many persons found employment by copying and abridging the Gazette for readers who could not afford to purchase the complete edition.

In the second period, the period of foreign influence, British newspapers were established in Hong Kong, Canton, Shanghai, and elsewhere. From feeble beginnings they grew, in some instances, to newspapers of considerable circulation and much influence. The most important of these newspapers, the *North China Herald*, weekly, was established in 1850. In 1864 it became a daily, the *North China Daily News*, with the *Herald* as its weekly edition. It has maintained its primacy through able editorship and sound business management, unsurpassed in older British communities, and is the leading British journal of China. American, French, and other foreign newspapers were established later. The Chinese native press has felt the influence of this foreign language journalism and owes much to it.

The third period of Chinese journalistic history witnessed the real beginnings of a native press. The Sino-Japanese War of 1895, the uprising of 1900, the improvement in postal communication, the embryonic revolution—all stimulated a desire for news. Preceding the revolution and in many instances since that time there were established propaganda organs for faction or individual, nearly all having short life. These journals, however, created a demand for others of a better type. The Chinese press was gradually finding itself.

In the fourth or present period, there are probably a thousand newspapers of all kinds and varieties published, where thirty years ago there were scarcely two score. Among the leading Chinese newspapers are:

SHANGHAI: *Shun Pao*, *Sin Wan Pao*, *The China Times*, *The Eastern Times*, *The Republican Daily News*, *The Central Daily News*, and *China Courier* (in English).

NANKING: *King Pao*.

TIENTSIN: The Social Welfare, Yung Pao, and Ta Kung Pao.
 PEIPING: The Social Welfare, and Shun Tien Shih Pao.
 MUKDEN: Tung Sheng Kung Pao, and Shengking Times.
 DAIREN: Tai Tung Daily News.
 CANTON: 72 Guilds Commercial News.

Of these newspapers, the Republican Daily News and the Central Daily News at Shanghai are organs of the Kuo Min Tang party; the Shun Tien Shih Pao at Peiping, the Shengking Times at Mukden, and the Tai Tung Daily News at Dairen are Japanese. The Commercial News at Canton is a commercial newspaper, and the others are general newspapers.

The "Political Handbook of the World," published in America for the Council on Foreign Relations, thus lists the most important publications in China as of Jan. 1, 1928:

Chen Pao	Independent
Contemporary Review	Independent
North China Standard	Japanese Registered
Peking Leader	American Registered
Shun Tien Shih Pao	Independent (Japanese Registered)
Central Daily (Hankow)	Kuomintang
Hankow Herald (Hankow)	American Registered
Min Kuo Jih Pao (Hankow)	Kuomintang
China Courier (Shanghai)	Independent
China Times (Shanghai)	Independent
Eastern Miscellany (Shanghai)	Independent
Eastern Times (Shanghai)	Independent
Min Kuo Jih Pao (Shanghai)	Kuomintang (Official organ)
North China Daily News (Shanghai)	British organ
Shanghai Times (Shanghai)	British
Shun Pao (Shanghai)	Independent
Sin Wan Pao (Shanghai)	Independent (American Registered)
China Weekly Review (Shanghai) (weekly)	American Registered
Far Eastern Review (Shanghai) (monthly)	American Registered
North China Star (Tientsin)	American Registered
Peking and Tientsin Times (Tientsin)	British organ
Yi Shih Pao (Tientsin)	Independent (American Registered)

All parties and groups publish occasionally small papers to represent their particular viewpoints. In Peking alone there are seventy such newspapers and many more news agencies. Although most of the above-named papers are listed as independent, those under Chinese ownership are subject to strict official supervision.

The oldest daily Chinese newspaper of continuous publication in Shanghai is the Shun Pao, first issued in 1872. After various vicissitudes it passed into the ownership of Sze Liang-zay in 1911. Its editor, L. Cheng, gave this fine statement of the newspaper editor's work:

"My idea of a newspaper in the first ten years was to supply what the public wanted. My idea for the last ten years has been to supply what the public ought to have.

"No, self-conceit is not poisonous to a journalist. He is a guide of the public and is guided by public opinion. Over against self-conceit, self-abasement is dangerous to a journalist. He can sacrifice everything but his freedom of expression.

"Power is a public property. He who is in power is the one who is in the trust of the public. If power is exercised for self-interest, it can never last long.

"It is the duty of a journal to interpret public opinion. Though a journalist may not possibly carry out everything advocated by him without public support, his words must not be contradictory to his actions."

The Sin Wan Pao, the second oldest daily Chinese newspaper in Shanghai, thus announced its policy:

"The unwavering policy of this paper has been to advocate and maintain an intelligent public opinion in China. It has aided every cause which has had for its aim intellectual, moral, commercial, or industrial progress. It has attempted to discourage all extreme measures, and, while keeping in advance of existing public opinion, has not allowed itself to go so far as to be out of touch with existing conditions. In its desire to lead public opinion it has realized that leadership can only be effective when it is in direct contact with those who are being led. We have contented ourselves with real progress in actual conditions, and have left others the equally worthy task of presenting ideals which seemed to us unattainable.

"This newspaper has never been under the domination or control of any individual outside of its own editorial management, nor of any political party. It has never allowed itself to become an organ for the glorification or persecution of any individual, and has kept itself free to give praise or offer criticism as seemed to its management necessary in the interests of China. It has never tried to make heroes of those who agreed with its policy, nor traitors of those who disagreed."

The third oldest of the Shanghai Chinese dailies is the Shih Pao, or Eastern Times, a popular newspaper appealing to the student reader. It announced:

"At the present time most Chinese officials and politicians, ignorant of the situation of the world and going on easily with their corruptive habits and conservative ideas, are so behind the times that they seem as if they were living in the Dark Ages. Some bold and sanguine people who have very little knowledge of the history of western nations and also of the particular condition of their own country are too fond of making unnecessary changes according to what they call 'modern methods' to pay due regard to whether or not such changes will be a step toward social and political improvements; this kind of people, I think, will do more harm to China than good. Still, there is another kind of people who are neither conservative nor radical, but desirous to improve the people in a logical or systematic way. They fail, however, to accomplish what they desire, because they are in lack of sound knowledge and reasoning and cannot analyze what they are going to do. I believe the editors of the daily papers and periodicals now in China belong to one or other of the three classes of men just mentioned.

"But China needs a guide of the right kind at her critical moment. She needs a guide to the right path. In view of this, we start the Eastern Times, in which all things relating to science, art, literature, etc., that are beneficial to her are to be introduced at large, and the political and social affairs, both national and international, are to be discussed in a fair way. Besides, we shall print up-to-date and first-hand news and accurate and reliable reports on local and provincial conditions.

"We shall do our best to keep pace with the leading newspapers of the world and we hope that we shall be able to do our task successfully well. May China some day occupy a unique position among the nations of the world! May the Eastern Times also have a high position among the world press! 'Union is strength.' We need co-operation of our people."

The Shun Pao, the Sin Wan Pao, and the Shih Pao are probably the three best examples of modern native daily newspapers in China. The Shun Pao represents the old, conservative, and intellectual type of newspaper, the Shih Pao represents the liberal type, and the Sin Wan Pao represents a middle type, neither liberal nor conservative. All of them are, however, independent, self-supporting, and non-partisan newspapers.

Other native daily newspapers that strive to maintain their existence in large cities such as Shanghai, Tientsin, Peiping, Canton, and Hankow are numerous. In Shanghai, besides the three large and successful dailies we have described above, there are ten others; in Tientsin there are twelve or thirteen; in Peiping there are more than seventy; in Canton there are thirty or forty; in Hankow there are fourteen or fifteen; and in other large cities of the twenty-one provinces of China there are altogether about six or seven hundred dailies. Of these hundreds of dailies only a fraction possess any real influence. Scores of papers are printed in the interests of political factions and of individuals and for a brief time.

To quote again from Y. P. Wang:

"Though the future of the native press is bright, the development of the work is of a pioneering nature, and will have many difficulties to be confronted. Two main difficulties, which are probably the root of all others, are political uncertainty and the prejudiced feeling of the public toward journalism. Political chaos and the uncurbed authority of the various provincial governors continuously hinder the progress of the press. Controlled and made dependent by the government which subsidizes it, the native press remains in a rut. And then the public feeling that the journalist is only a make-believe scholar, one not to be taken with any degree of seriousness, is still deep in the mind of many conservative people. Until the native press shakes off the yoke of the government, until it proves itself to the public to be a noble and public service, the native press will never hold its proper place in universal newspaperdom.

"To meet these two fundamental difficulties, and to bring to China a press of real public service, many improvements are necessary. As space does not allow the discussion of them in detail, mention may be made of four of the most important:

"1. The means of communication should be improved. Every effort should be made in getting a cheaper cable and telegraph rate. Long-distance telephone lines which are non-existing in China should be introduced. An adequate means of communication will not only lighten the burden of heavy expense in getting news from other parts of the country, but also encourage the establishment of more country newspapers, which would be otherwise impossible.

"2. All existing native newspapers in China should be organized into associations. By coming together, a united force will not only improve the newspaper business as a whole through conventions but also build a foundation upon which freedom of the press can be definitely protected. The newspaper associations will further make it possible to form syndicates on a co-operative basis, which have been proved successful in Western countries.

"3. The news-gathering policy of the native press should be improved. Instead of printing merely what a cable company or a news agency sends in, native reporters should be educated to go out and pick up the happenings of the day. Human interest stories must take the place of politics, which has been very largely dominant in native newspapers. News sense and judgment that divides gossip and rumors from fact and accuracy of statement must be given due recognition. Constructive advice rather than destructive criticism should be the editorial policy, for petty partisanship kills a paper and general condemnation lowers its dignity.

"4. An efficient and trustworthy international news agency should be formed. Such an agency would be jointly supported by the press of China and other nations. In this way the press in China could get accurate information from Western countries and the press of foreign countries would have authentic reports from China."

China, in changing from an absolute monarchy to a republic, from an ancient civilization to a modern democracy, offers native journalism an unparalleled op-

portunity for public service and unselfish guidance. The steady hand and the wise counsel of a patriotic native journalism is badly needed to assist in the stupendous task of turning the disordered, unsettled, and conservative nation into a prosperous, peaceful, and democratic republic.

Among the interferences with the development of a free, independent, and influential press in China are censorship, subsidy, and slime. Let brief mention be made of the last cause—slime. In most Chinese cities, as in cities in other countries, there are found fly-by-night blackmailing sheets, small in size, vulgar or obscene in content. They will disappear in China, as they disappear or become minimized in other countries, by the growth and progress of the press.

The other causes, however, interfering with the independence and value of the Chinese press—censorship and subsidy, irresponsibility and dishonesty—are more important and more dangerous. The subsidy is paid by political parties or factional leaders in various forms, to maintain newspapers and periodicals in advocacy of factional and personal interests. Sometimes the subsidy takes the form of advertising, sometimes the employment of editors or publishers as clerks, sometimes the payment of money direct to the newspaper. Censorship is exercised by direct governmental or international control. The National government is no more blameless in this regard than other governments in China and elsewhere. Heavy penalties are exacted for criticism to which the government officials object, and confiscation and physical punishment have often followed the publication of disagreeable criticism or comment. The result has been in numerous instances to put under the protection of non-Chinese governments, in cities protected by extraterritoriality, Chinese and foreign language newspapers, and to send to them the criticisms of the Chinese government and its officers and policies. This has given a freer expression of the critical opinion in the treaty ports than in the native Chinese cities.

Among the ways of censorship is that exercised at various times by large advertisers who, by threat of withdrawal of advertising or by placing advertising with newspapers of their own faith, control the editorial and news policies of the journals. A notably shameful illustration is that of a large corporation, perhaps the largest advertiser in China, which under the terms of its advertising contract withdrew its advertising from any newspaper which printed anything inimical to British or other foreign interest, as that interest was interpreted by the advertiser. The form of the advertising contract has been recently changed.

Advertising, though occasionally used as a big club, has not as yet become as large a source of revenue for Chinese newspapers as in the newspapers of other countries in the Far East. Modern advertising, however, is commencing to assume large importance in the making of the Chinese press. The Shanghai Sin Wan Pao and the Shanghai Shun Pao each have approximately a million dollars annual revenue from advertising. In the Chinese papers, more space is devoted to tobacco and drug advertising, according to a study made by Kinglu S. Chen. The British American Tobacco Company and the Manyang Bros. Tobacco Company, the leading foreign and Chinese tobacco companies in China, both advertise extensively. Hardly a newspaper is issued in China that does not have an advertisement from one or both of these large corporations. Immediately after the "May 30 affair" in Shanghai, the Chinese Newspapers Association passed a resolution not to print any British advertisements in their papers. For more than a year, B. A. T. advertisements, being British, disappeared from all Chinese papers. Later, however, the decision was disregarded and today, with the exception of the Republican Daily News and the Central Daily News, official organs of the National government, all Chinese dailies print B. A. T. and other British advertisements again.

The advertising columns of the Chinese newspapers resemble in exaggerated fashion the earlier newspapers of England, containing as they do freakish advertising and drug advertising in great variety. Honesty in advertising does not characterize the majority of Chinese newspapers. There is no advertisement censorship, and all too frequently vile and dishonest advertisements appear side by side with honest and good ones. In the advertising columns of the Chinese press, there is a marked resemblance to the press of other countries, including the United States and Great Britain of a quarter of a century ago. The nominal advertising rates of the different Chinese papers are almost identical, according to Kinglu S. Chen the rates being \$1.40 Mexican, about 70 cents American, for one vertical, small-pica line of 80 characters in front pages and about half that amount on other pages. These rates are subject to different discounts, ranging from 5 per cent to 60 per cent.

Progressive and independent Chinese journalists are the most vigorous critics of the Chinese press. The China Critic, a Chinese edited and owned magazine, says:

"The press in China may be divided into Chinese and foreign. The former is supine in policy, voicing the views of those in power; and the latter is nothing but propaganda. Both have nothing to offer either for the improvement of the municipalities in which they are published or for the reconstruction of China. The attitude of the foreign press toward any issue between China and the countries whose interests they serve is invariably characterized by irrational criticism and hostility. The Chinese press, to quote the annual report of the Shanghai Municipal Council, 'seldom publishes constructive editorials which may help readers to form an enlightened opinion on national or foreign affairs.' In general their policy seems to be to endeavor to influence people by adding suggestive comments to reports of national importance.

"What the Chinese press needs, it seems to us, is freedom of speech and what the foreign press needs is more discretion and less bias. The one rests with the authorities and the other with the editors themselves. As the foreign newspapers, in most instances, have discredited themselves by their hostile policy toward China, we shall not dwell upon them at length. Our real interest lies in the Chinese press. Its faults are more of omission than of commission, and we believe that the moment freedom of speech is enjoyed the Chinese press may be relied on for the crystallization of public opinion as well as for its direction."

"The comment in the China Critic then states," says the China Weekly Review, "that while newspapers in the United States guarantee the goods and services advertised in their columns, the newspapers in China print 'fraudulent and salacious advertising' and since 'readers in the interior of the country unfortunately have implicit faith in the printed word, these questionable advertisers play upon their psychology.' This advertising in the opinion of the writer of the article in the Critic should be discontinued. Then continuing he recommends a reduction in the space devoted to 'society scandals and criminal stories which cater to a morbid taste of the crowd and even cultivate such a taste.' Finally he suggests better pay for members of the editorial staffs, declaring that 'there was a time when the editors looked to the papers not for their living but for a chance to make a living from other sources.' This evil is disappearing but the general intelligence level of most of the editors 'is indeed very low'; hence in order to attract better educated and more responsible editors and writers the papers should pay fair compensation and not 'subsistence wages'."

The China Weekly Review further comments:

"Aside from three or four newspapers in Shanghai and possibly one or two in Tientsin there are very few newspapers in the Chinese language owned and edited

by Chinese which have any particular standing as newspapers; that is, newspapers depending upon advertising and subscriptions for their upkeep. Most of the papers are the organs of officials or cliques which use them for ulterior purposes. There is nothing peculiar about this situation for it is a state through which the press of every country has passed in its history. The unfortunate part of the situation is that China is emerging into a modern world but is handicapped by a press which generally occupies a position of medievalism. The fault for this state of affairs does not rest entirely with the Chinese, for there are many high-minded Chinese newspaper men who realize their sad state but have been helpless to make improvements owing to the mis-government through which the country has passed since the revolution of 1911. For example three years ago Gen. Chang Chung-chang, the bandit-tupan of Shantung Province, executed three newspaper editors because they printed criticism of his administration. This left only one editor of standing in the province and he immediately sold his paper to a foreigner—for obvious reasons! Then in addition to his troubles with his own officials, the Chinese editor has had to put up with the worst forms of competition by foreign propaganda organs. The Japanese, for example, publish several newspapers in China in the Chinese language, which to all outward appearances are Chinese newspapers—with the important exception that they take advantage of the protection afforded by extraterritoriality to conduct all kinds of underhanded propaganda campaigns against Chinese officials whom they do not like; witness the recent campaign against Dr. C. T. Wang because of his action in terminating the old unilateral Sino-Japanese Commercial Treaty originally negotiated in 1866 but which the Japanese are still trying to put over on the National government in this modern day of 1928.”

The foreign-language press in China is a most important factor. The most influential are doubtless the newspapers and periodicals printed in the English language, some representing British interests and others representing American interests. The Shanghai Evening News, recently reorganized under the direction of Carl Crow, is the best representative of the American daily. There are in addition newspapers in Japanese, French, and other languages. Many of these foreign-language newspapers have found it difficult to appreciate that the China of 1928 is different from the China of twenty years ago. A growing national spirit has not always been accurately and sympathetically interpreted by the foreign language newspapers. The difficulty of such interpretation is conceded. Moreover, much of the progress in China is a “paper progress” rather than an actual change in conditions. The most virile of the liberal-minded foreign-language newspapers in China is doubtless The China Weekly Review of Shanghai, edited by J. B. Powell, who has stoutly maintained the finest traditions of journalism during troublous and difficult days of the Chinese revolution.

The Review sets out in editorial comment the view of the liberal journalists in China and of the more independent Chinese journalists, in its issue of Oct. 13, 1928:

“The Shuntien Shih Pao is a Japanese owned and edited newspaper published in the Chinese language in Peiping. Due to the protection which this paper has enjoyed by reason of extraterritoriality, that is, protection against pressure by the officials of the Chinese government, the editor has for long considered himself free to attack the Chinese people, their government, and institutions. During the progress of the Tsinan incident in Shantung last spring the Shuntien Shih Pao went to great extremes in placing the blame for the whole trouble upon the Chinese. The paper has constantly opposed the Nationalists and, serving as a sort of organ for the Japanese legation in Peiping, has conducted propaganda against the union of Manchuria with the Nationalist government. It has also opposed the establishment

of the national capital at Nanking. A few weeks ago the Chinese in Peiping declared a boycott against the Shuntien Shih Pao and since that time have practically prevented the distribution of the paper. On Oct. 4 the Japanese minister in Peiping, Mr. Yoshizawa, sent a circular letter to the other members of the diplomatic corps in which he alleged that the Chinese action in boycotting his newspaper constituted a violation of the resolution adopted at the Washington Conference wherein China agreed to maintain the efficiency of the Chinese postal service in exchange for the Powers' agreement to withdraw their postal agencies from Chinese soil. The Japanese minister alleged that the Chinese postal employes had connived at and assisted the boycott against the Japanese newspaper. Whether this allegation is correct we cannot say, but the Japanese minister should be credited with extreme optimism if he imagines the other ministers will support him in his proposal; or even if they did support him, that the Chinese government would pay any attention to the protest.

"From the standpoint of the Chinese people and their government, the case of the Shuntien Shih Pao, the Japanese newspaper in Peiping, is but another instance of abuse of privileges by foreign newspapers published on Chinese soil. During the spring of 1927 the Central China Post, a British newspaper in Hankow, was forced to suspend publication owing to a strike of Chinese printers who refused to 'set up' the abusive editorials attacking the Chinese which were appearing in the paper, and several months ago the Nationalist government at Nanking denied mail privileges to the North China Daily News, the official British paper in Shanghai, for the same reasons. Most of these newspapers are either owned or controlled by die-hard foreign interests which have always looked upon China as a potential colony and upon the Chinese people as an inferior race of human beings incapable of self-government. No country in the world would permit a foreign press of this character to function within its boundaries, but here in China where extraterritoriality prevails, these newspapers have exceeded common decency and legitimate journalism and have gone to extents which would be labeled seditious in any other country. Imagine, for example, the Japanese attempting to publish a newspaper in San Francisco which attacked the American Government as the Shuntien Shih Pao has been attacking the Chinese government; or on the other hand imagine how long the British government and people would put up with an American newspaper in London which attacked the British government and English institutions as the British North China Daily News has been doing here in Shanghai in respect to the Chinese. It simply couldn't be done; but here in China it is done and the Chinese thus far have been helpless to protect themselves even though these newspapers have seriously handicapped the Chinese in their work of unifying the country. The Chinese do not object to legitimate constructive criticism, but they are becoming exceedingly impatient at foreign newspaper attacks and propagandas the obvious purpose of which is to block the Chinese people and their government in the realization of what they consider their legitimate aspirations in the spheres of governmental, social, and economic reforms. This whole fabric of foreign intrigue and propaganda in China will break down with the passing of extraterritoriality, but until that time comes the Chinese are likely to use other methods such as the boycott, strikes, and denial of mail privileges to protect themselves against a menace which can be regulated by laws in other lands!"

Dr. John C. Ferguson, formerly adviser to the chief executive of China and (then) president of the Sin Wan Pao, wrote in the special anniversary number of that paper celebrating its first thirty years:

"One of the greatest difficulties during these years has been the lack of a body of men who had been trained in newspaper work."

Vernon Nash, in charge of the courses in journalism at Yenching University, Peiping, writes:

"The certainty of employment (due to the ever-growing demand for newspaper workers) and the unique opportunity for high public service inherent in journalism (which has an extraordinary appeal to the now intensely nationalistic students) mean that large numbers of the most promising of Chinese young people will turn eagerly to a school of journalism which is able to offer them adequate and proper training for the profession."

Even the most casual consideration of the journalism of China under the changing conditions in that country will show a remarkable growth in the enterprise and influence of the Chinese press. A much larger growth may be anticipated in the near future. There is an increasing constituency for the newspapers, due to the rapidly enlarging literacy of the Chinese people. There is a more substantial revolution occasioned by the growth of advertising and of subscription receipts, enabling the Chinese press to become financially independent. There is also noticeable a growing sense of responsibility and professional spirit among Chinese journalists, a recognition of the value of the educated journalist and the obligation resting upon him. All these factors are most hopeful for a powerful and enlightened free press in China. If to these are added the influence which will undoubtedly be exerted by graduates of professional schools of journalism, such as the one at Yenching University in Peiping and instruction in journalism at Shanghai College, St. John's University, and elsewhere, there is abundant cause for optimism in any discussion of Chinese journalism.

The new journalism in China in the process of construction is even now a most potent factor in the making of the new China. The future of the great nation is largely in the hands of the educated, courageous, and high-minded young journalists of China.

THE JOURNALISM OF THE PHILIPPINES

The history of the Philippine press has been presented in an excellent volume by Carson Taylor, publisher of the Manila Daily Bulletin, issued in 1927. Mr. Taylor traces the history of the Philippine press from the first newspaper published in 1811 in Spanish, containing news of political conditions in Europe, to the Philippine journalism of today. He notes that the twelve daily newspapers of Manila, the chief city of the island, have a combined circulation of about 70,000 and that the combined circulation of all newspapers in the island probably does not exceed 300,000. Within the brief period since the publication of Mr. Taylor's brochure the circulation has considerably increased.

The Philippines show the same journalistic history as other countries: first, the official organ, then the political press period, and then the coming of the real newspaper. The Bulletin, under Mr. Taylor's ownership, well and ably directed by Roy C. Bennett, has become a sound business enterprise and a newspaper of wide influence. The Philippines Herald, an excellent Filipino daily published in the English language, after financial and political difficulties, has come to be one of the most important newspapers of the Orient. The so-called T. V. T. Group, of which Alejandro Roces is the owner, consisting of the Taliba, published in Tagalog, with a greater circulation in the provinces than any other daily; the Vanguardia, an afternoon daily in Spanish; and the Tribune, a morning daily in English, has possibly a greater influence on Filipino public opinion than any other group of Filipino publications. La Opinion, published in Spanish, is the most recently established daily newspaper, and is competing with success for Spanish readers. A remarkable weekly periodical, Li Way Way, has a circulation of nearly 100,000 with a content limited to the publication of short stories in Tagalog.

The new building of the T. V. T. Group, with its modern equipment, equal to any found elsewhere in the world, the new equipment of the Philippines Herald, the added news services of other Philippine newspapers, are evidence that newspaper publishing in Manila and the other centers of the Philippine Islands is to be one of the largest business fields. The newspaper circulation increases rapidly. Philippine journalism is already a power in influencing public opinion, and promises to be even more so with this increase in circulation, with the financial independence of the newspapers and with enlightened, courageous, and public-spirited journalists.

A JOURNALISM IN TRANSITION

The Far East is in a ferment, a transition period that shifts old standards and is erecting new ones. The journalism of the Far East shows the effect of the ferment—is a product of the transition period. Of the intellectual, social, economic revolution in the Far East, journalism is a creator, a prophet, and a slave. The industrializing and democratizing of Japan, the growing literacy and enlarging economic and political independence of China, the urge for self-expression, for racial and international equality all through the Orient, are transforming into a new press the older journalism while the transformed press aids in creating an environment which enlarges and makes more rapid the transformation.

The New Journalism is by and for a new Far East, and in any reckoning of the world's destiny must be taken seriously into account. As the Pan-Pacific area is the most important theater of action in mankind's immediate future, so the journalism of the Pan-Pacific area will play the leading part upon the Far East stage.

The tendency of the new journalism in the new Far East, despite notable and conspicuous examples to the contrary, is toward a better press, more independent, more accurate, more honest, more sympathetic, better informed, more responsible, with higher standards more courageously maintained.

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Edited by

ROBERT S. MANN

Professor of Journalism

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