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DIE
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EIN VORTRAG

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1909

Bibliotheek
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1907. Preis:

Abdr. a. d.
Naturw.
Bd., Nr. 44,

Die Fragen nach den Grenzen der Erkenntnis.

Ein Vortrag. 1908. Preis: 80 Pf.

Die Gesellschaftsordnung und ihre natürlichen Grundlagen.

Entwurf einer Sozial-Anthropologie zum Gebrauch für alle Gebildeten, die sich mit sozialen Fragen befassen. Von **Otto Ammon** (Karlsruhe). Mit 6 Textfiguren. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. 1896. Preis: 3 Mark 50 Pf., geb. 4 Mark 50 Pf.

Aus den Tiefen des Weltmeeres.

Schilderungen von der deutschen Tiefsee-Expedition. Von Dr. **Carl Chun**, Prof. in Leipzig, Leiter der Expedition. Mit 6 Chromolithographien, 3 Karten, 8 Heliogravüren, 32 als Tafeln gedruckten Vollbildern und 482 Textabbildungen. Zweite umgearbeitete und stark vermehrte Auflage. 1903. Preis: 18 Mark, geb. 20 Mark.

Deutsche Rundschau, 28. Jahrg., Dezember 1901:

. . . Bilder wie in diesem dadurch zum Prachtwerke erhobenen Quartbande kenne ich zum Teil aus keinem einzigen früheren Reisewerk, auch den kostspieligsten nicht. . . . Auch die zoologischen Bilder, unter anderem eine Tafel mit seltsamen Tiefseefischen mit teleoskopartig vorspringenden Augen, die in den natürlichen Farben und dem echten Silberglanz ausgeführt sind, sind allerersten Ranges.

Von den Antillen zum fernen Westen.

Reiseskizzen eines Naturforschers. Von Dr. **Franz Doflein** (jetzt a. o. Prof. der Zoologie) in München. Mit 83 Textabbildungen. 1900. Preis: 5 Mark, geb. 6 Mark 50 Pf.

Volkswirtschaft und Kunst.

Von Dr. **Carl Kindermann**, Prof. der Nationalökonomie an der Universität Heidelberg. 1903. Preis: 1 Mark.

Palaeontologie und Deszendenzlehre.

Vortrag gehalten in der allgemeinen Sitzung der naturwissenschaftlichen Hauptgruppe der Versammlung deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte in Hamburg am 26. Sept. 1901. Von **Ernst Koken**, Prof. der Geologie und Palaeontologie in Tübingen. Mit 6 Figuren im Text. 1902. Preis: 1 Mark.

Cp. 281-3
XLII 549

AN OUTLINE OF THE JAPANESE PRESS

By Jiro Hayasaka
Formerly Editorial Writer
The Kokumin Shimbun

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May, 1938

Printed in Japan
At the Kenkyusha Press

PERPUSTAKAAN NASIONAL



An old news-sheet representing the Battle of Osaka of May, 1615, in which Iyéyasu Tokugawa won a signal victory over Hideyori Toyotomi.

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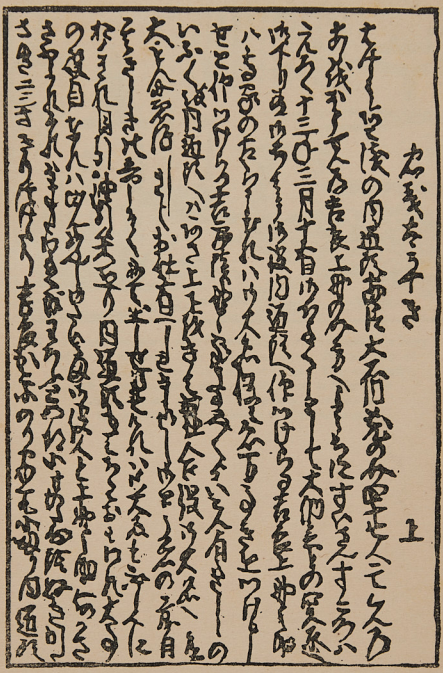

Another news-sheet reporting the vendetta of the forty-seven *ronin*, December 14, 1701.

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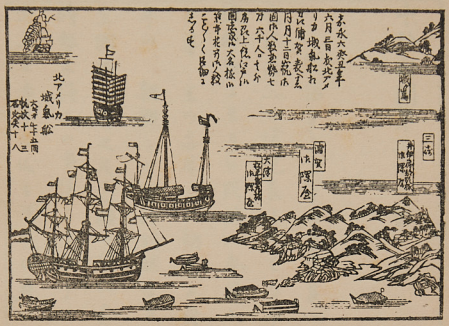

A wood cut print issued when "Black Ships" under Commodore Perry paid a visit to Uraga. The explanation says: On the night of June 3, 1853, American ships came to Uraga. They measured each 75 *ken* (one *ken* is approximately 6 feet) in length and had 13 sails and 18 guns. The guards called out on the occasion consisted altogether of 76,000 men.

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中外新聞第三十一號　　慶應四年閏四月廿九日

紀藩より官軍の參謀某へ呈せし書

當正月三日伏見表より於ての事件は全く不計も奉閣　逆鱗錦旗輝動より至りし段誠以奉恐入り至極に存じ候えより於□□も尊　王の志厚く　朝廷へ對し奉り反心毛頭存じ候ケ條の　朝覲より實行判然いたし候へく加之政權奉還上は只管　皇國保全有之度志願の外二念無に存じ會桑以下の者共も時勢不得止の事情より臣子の至誠難默止赤心より出候事卿通激より渉りし候も可有に候へ共是以て衷對　朝廷毛頭

A page from the *Chugai Shimbun*, No. 31, April 27, 1868. It contains part of the petition presented by the Kii clan to the Imperial army and reads roughly: The Fushimi incident of January 3 took place in spite of the earnest desire to the contrary of the Shogun, who is a staunch loyalist and has no mind to rise against the Emperor. Only his retainers sometimes mistake his intention and act irregularly.

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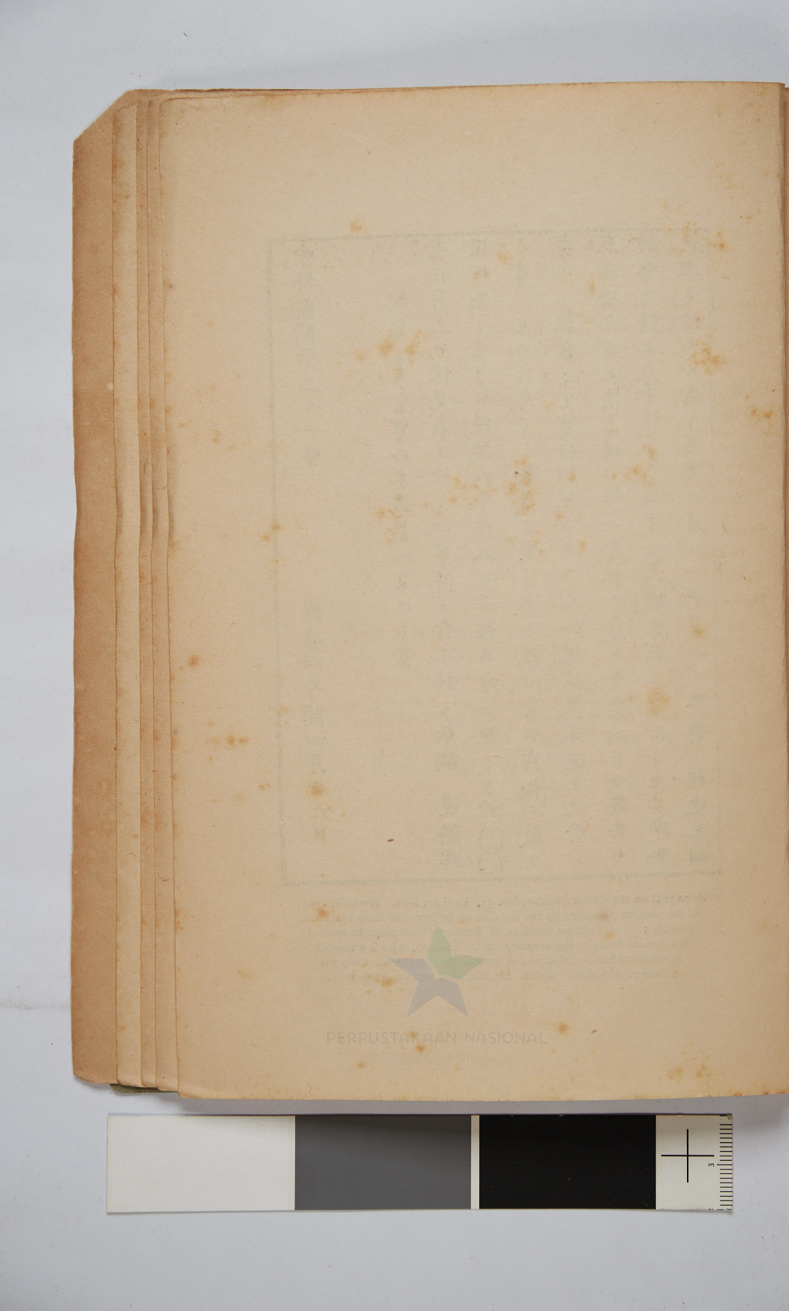

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AN OUTLINE OF THE JAPANESE PRESS

THE GROWTH OF THE NEWSPAPER IN JAPAN

Before proceeding to deal with the Japanese press of today, it would be well first of all, both as a matter of order and interest, to trace the development of the newspaper from its earliest beginnings here. Like other branches of industry in Japan, the newspaper industry has achieved a remarkable development both in size and quality in a very brief period of time. For although starting so much later than the great countries in Europe and America, the Japanese have devoted such great energies to this new line of industry that the position they have built up is by no means unworthy of comparison with them.

Pioneer Newspapers in Japan

The Japanese newspaper had its beginning in the "yomiuri," or news-sheet, which was printed from a block and sold in the streets by a vendor who attracted the interest of his patrons by reading its contents aloud. The "yomiuri" came into vogue late in the seventeenth century, that is, in the early days of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It consisted of only one sheet of news or a leaflet, and was very much like the "flugblatt" of medieval Europe. Although so far from being like a modern newspaper, the "yomiuri" was the pioneer of the newspaper in Japan.

During the Bunkyu era (1861–1864), which represents the last stage of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the so-called Bunkyu newspaper appeared. Although it was no more than a translation from foreign newspapers, yet it was the first newspaper to assume a modern form. It emanated from the Institute of Foreign Languages, which, inaugurated by the Tokugawa Shogunate, translated into Japanese the Dutch and Chinese newspapers which were published by the missionaries at Hongkong, Ningpo and Shanghai. The translations were engraved on blocks, and from these the Japanese newspapers were printed. There were nine different kinds of these newspapers and they had a wide circulation among the more progressive Japanese, who were doing all they could

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to elevate the standard of culture in Japan by breaking down the centuries-old seclusion and adopting Western culture.

By this time there were a number of foreign residents in Yokohama, and they also played an important rôle both in the development of the Japanese press and in introducing Occidental culture into Japan by publishing Japanese newspapers containing translations from the newspapers of Europe and America.

One of these was the *Kaigai Shimbun* (Foreign News), which was published by Joseph Hiko, interpreter for the American Consulate at Yokohama. Hiko was a Japanese sailor, but, having been shipwrecked in the Pacific and saved by an American vessel, he had become a naturalized American. His paper was issued monthly and was printed from blocks. Another paper was the *Bankoku Shimbun* (International News), which was published by an English missionary named Bailey. Finally, there was the *Shimbun* (News) published by an Englishman called Scott. In addition to these Japanese newspapers, the foreign residents in Yokohama had several newspapers in English or some other foreign language.

The first foreign paper to be published in Japan was the *Shipping List and Advertiser*, an English weekly started by an Englishman named Hansard at Nagasaki in 1861. When, in December of the same year, Mr. Hansard removed his offices to Yokohama, he transformed his paper, the *Shipping List and Advertiser*, into the *Japan Herald*. Later, many other foreign newspapers began to appear, which directly and indirectly served to stimulate the development of the Japanese press. A list of them appears below :

(1) *The Japanese Commercial News*, an English weekly started by a Portuguese named F. da Roza in 1863.
(2) *The Japan Times*.[1] This was started in September, 1865, by an English banker, Rickerby, who purchased the *Japanese Commercial News* mentioned below and renamed it.
(3) *The Japan Gazette*, started in 1867 by an Englishman named Black.
(4) *The Japan Mail*, started by Captain Brinkley.
(5) *The Japan Express*, started by an American in 1862.
(6) *L'Echo du Japon*, which a Frenchman started in 1866.

Besides these, several foreign magazines were started during the Bunkyu era, including the *Japan Punch* and the *Tobayé*, respectively an English and a French monthly humourous paper.

1 This is different, though the title is the same, from the *Japan Times*, established in 1897 by Mr. Zumoto and now edited by Dr. Ashida.

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Japanese professors at the Institute of Foreign Languages also issued various news-letters, styled the *Yokohama Shimbun* (Yokohama News), the *Nihon Koyeki Shimbun* (Commercial News), and the *Nihon Shimbun* (Japan News), which consisted of translations into Japanese of items from the foreign newspapers published in Yokohama. This bears eloquent testimony to the far-reaching influence exerted by foreign newspapers on the development of the Japanese press.

The First Daily Paper

Then came the Restoration of the Emperor in 1868, which spelt the wholesale collapse of the feudal system and the restoration of Imperial rule. This great change brought a speedy victory for those who were advocating the immediate opening of Japan to foreign trade and her joining the comity of nations by abandoning her time-worn policy of seclusion. Japan was now launched upon a new career as a modern state by means of this unprecedented reform or restoration.

During the period of national storm and stress in which this great change was effected, the Japanese press made a spectacular development, deriving its driving force from its functioning as a medium for discussion and debate rather than as one for gathering and disseminating news.

The appearance of daily papers occupies an important place in the newspaper annals of the early part of the Meiji era. The first daily newspaper to appear in Japan was the *Yokohama Mainichi Shimbun* (Yokohama Daily News), whose first issue came out in December, 1870. This was not only the first daily newspaper to appear in Japan, but was the first to be printed from lead type, thus assuming the style of modern newspapers though in a primitive way. It is interesting to note that the first newspaper of Japan was published in Yokohama where the foreign colony had already been supporting many newspapers. But, in any case, the fact remains that only 68 years have passed since the first primitive daily newspaper made its appearance in Japan.

It was in 1872 that three daily papers appeared in Tokyo, namely the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*, the *Yubin Hochi Shimbun* and the *Nisshin Shinjishi*. The first two are still in circulation, though the *Yubin Hochi Shimbun* is now known as the *Hochi Shimbun*, while the third, the *Nisshin Shinjishi*, published by Mr. Black, proprietor and editor of the *Japan Herald*, was discontinued in 1875.

The present *Yomiuri Shimbun* was started in 1874, while the *Asahi Shimbun* was started in 1879 and the *Jiji Shimpo* in 1882 by which time

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bright prospects for the development of newspapers were fully assured.

From Political Organs to Independent Newspapers

The story of newspaper development in Japan may be divided into the three stages (1) of individual management, (2) of management as organs of political parties and (3) of management by business corporations, thus following a course, although much abbreviated in time, very much like the newspapers of other countries.

The three dailies mentioned above and other big newspapers which later appeared were first managed by one or several individuals, but increased circulation and the consequent enlargement of technical installations rendered small scale management impossible. Partly, therefore, to overcome the difficulty of management and partly to suit the taste of those individuals who were running the newspapers, the general tendency was to make newspapers the organs of political parties. During the ten years from about 1879, almost all the newspapers in Japan were organs of one or the other of the political parties.

The agitation, however, for democracy and personal rights which had been going on with increasing popular support soon provoked official interference. The Government started to suppress not only the popular campaign and all political associations, but also it invoked the press regulations of 1869 and brought vigorous pressure to bear on the press, with the result that all newspapers which had been the organs of political parties were swept out of existence. It was indeed a reign of terror for the press.

The redeeming feature, however, of these oppressive measures against the press was that they imparted a powerful stimulus to the newspapers for rejuvenation. Hitherto the newspapers had been functioning as organs of political parties, but with official oppression as their turning point, they completely changed their business policy and began to make strenuous efforts for becoming a medium for gathering and disseminating news among the people as an independent and impartial institution. This reversal of business policy was also traceable partly to the poor business result following the management of newspapers as the organs of political parties.

The *Tokyo Nihon Shimbun* started in 1889 and the *Kokumin Shimbun* started by Mr. Soho Tokutomi in 1890 were representative of the papers which were managed along the lines of the new tendency. They had no party affiliations and pursued an independent business policy. Profit-making, however, was not the guiding principle of their business policy,

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which deprecated sensationalim. The proprietors and editors of those papers were inspired by the ambition to guide the people with their lofty, independent views. Credit is due to them for laying a firm foundation for Japanese newspapers on the basis of independence and impartiality.

Japan effected a remarkable development through the wars with China (1894–5) and later with Russia (1904–5). No less remarkable was the development of the Japanese press, but the *Manchoho*, which was the most popular paper during the war with China, had a circulation of only 50,000. During the subsequent twenty years, the circulation of all newspapers in Japan so increased that during the latter stage of the Meiji era or early in the twentieth century the leading papers had the following circulations :

Name of paper	Circulation
Osaka Asahi Shimbun	350,000
Osaka Mainichi Shimbun	300,000
Hochi Shimbun	200,000
Manchoho	150,000
Kokumin Shimbun	150,000
Yamato Shimbun	150,000
Tokyo Asahi Shimbun	80,000

The Rapid Development of Newspapers

There is a great centralization of newspapers in this country in contradistinction to the United States, where there is no such thing as a central or local paper. In this country the newspapers have developed almost entirely with Tokyo and Osaka as the two centres, the former as political and the latter as industrial pivot.

The *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* and the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* which have been and are dominating Western Japan with Osaka as their base of operations have extended their activities to Tokyo where they have organized chains of their own newspapers. The *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* organized the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* in Tokyo, while the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* started the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun* in Tokyo. Those four papers, together with a few other leading newspapers in Tokyo, are now dominating the newspaper world of Japan.

The phenomenal development of industry and commerce in Japan during the World War resulted in increasing remarkably the advertisement revenue for the four big papers mentioned above as well as the other papers. Investments in newspapers were also stimulated, so that the newspapers found themselves with suddenly swollen funds. Conse-

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quently, most newspapers which had hitherto been run by individuals were incorporated and managed as corporate businesses, which new system of management was so successful that some newspapers paid dividends as high as 20 per cent. per annum. Thus the newspaper business has become one of the most important lines of modern industry in Japan. The latest tendency is for the formation of trusts or chains of newspapers for rationalizing this branch of industry.

Some idea of the phenomenal development of the Japanese press may be obtained by going through the subjoined figures of the capital and claimed circulations of the leading newspapers in Tokyo and Osaka. In this connection, mention must be made of the fact that there is no institution in Japan like the American Audit Bureau of Circulation which certifies the circulations of newspapers. Consequently the net paid circulations of all papers are not known exactly.

Name of paper	Organization	Capital	Circulation
Hochi Shimbun (Tokyo)	Incorporated	¥1,100,000	230,000
Chugai Shogyo Shimpo (Tokyo)	,,	2,000,000	200,000
Yomiuri Shimbun (Tokyo)	Private management	—	950,000
Miyako Shimbun (Tokyo)	Incorporated	3,000,000	80,000
Kokumin Shimbun (Tokyo)	,,	3,000,000	100,000
Tokyo Asahi Shimbun (Tokyo) / Osaka Asahi Shimbun (Osaka)	,,	6,000,000	850,000 / 1,200,000
Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun (Tokyo) / Osaka Mainichi Shimbun (Osaka)	,,	10,000,000	800,000 / 1,000,000

The circulation in the above table is computed mainly on the basis of the figures in January, 1938. In view of the drive for subscriptions customarily conducted by the Japanese newspapers in December, the circulation in January cannot be expected to hold all the year round. On the contrary, 10 to 20 per cent. decrease usually occurs later, especially in the so-called off-season, May to July, though there may be exceptions under special circumstances, such as when the paper is vigorously growing, when a war breaks out, etc.

The number of newspapers registered as such according to the law at the end of October, 1937, totals 7,728 with details as below:

Description	Number of newspapers
Dailies	1,214
Weeklies	601

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Description	Number of newspapers
Tri-monthlies	1,045
Bi-monthlies	776
Monthlies	3,679

In addition, there are 5,426 newspapers which do not deal with political topics and consequently are not required to place deposits with the Government. When these are added, the total number of newspapers in Japan proper will foot up 13,154.

There are also a large number of Japanese newspapers in the South Sea mandated islands, Manchoukuo and China as well as in the colonies, including Korea, Formosa, Saghalien and the Kwantung Leased Territory. This will show that Japan is quite as enthusiastic in the pursuit of cultural undertakings as in other lines of industrial achievement.

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A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE LEADING NEWSPAPERS

The Osaka Asahi and the Tokyo Asahi

The *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* and the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* represent one of the two big chains of newspapers in Japan, the other being the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* and the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*. The Asahi chain of newspapers was founded by the late Ryuhei Murayama who started his career as a fancy goods dealer. On January 25, 1879, when Mr. Takashi Kimura, a fellow merchant, started the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*, Mr. Murayama co-operated with him and became its publisher.

At first, however, Mr. Murayama did not take an active part in the management of the paper, being a mere adviser. The paper did not flourish, and the business result was so unsatisfactory that Mr. Kimura gave up his position as president of the paper in January, 1881, when Mr. Murayama succeeded him and undertook the active management of the paper. With the late Mr. Riichi Uyeno, Mr. Murayama organized an anonymous association, of which he became chairman of the board of management. The association was capitalized at 30,000 yen, of which Mr. Murayama subscribed 20,000 yen and Mr. Uyeno, 10,000 yen.

Its Growth under Murayama. About that time, most newspapers were organs of one or the other of the political parties but Mr. Murayama made it his business policy to have no political affiliations. His policy was to build up his paper into an independent and impartial organ for gathering and disseminating straight news. The editorial policy of the paper was, therefore, reshaped in accordance with this aim.

The telegraph service had not been long established in Japan and very few of the people made use of it except in such urgent cases as the death of their friends or relations. Strange as it may sound, the newspapers also did not take kindly to the telegraph service. Mr. Murayama, however, made a new departure and spent lavishly in gathering news by telegraph with the result that his paper soon established for itself an indisputable reputation. In October, 1881, soon after he had undertaken the management of the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*, he made a feature of publishing the full text of the Imperial Edict on the occasion of the inauguration of the Diet, the text having been wired to his paper in Osaka from Tokyo. It proved a big hit, further enhancing the reputation of his paper.

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It was in 1888 that Mr. Murayama extended his activity to Tokyo by purchasing the *Mezamashi Shimbun*, managed by the late Mr. Toru Hoshi, leader of the Liberal Party. Mr. Murayama renamed the *Mezamashi Shimbun* the *Tokyo Asahi* on June 1 the same year and did everything in his power to odvertise his paper among Tokyo citizens. At that time, the only transport facility worth the name in Tokyo was the omnibus, though the jinrikisha was in vogue. Mr. Murayama conceived the novel idea of purchasing the omnibus service for a definite period to place it free at the disposal of Tokyo citizens. Needless to say that it proved a great hit, resulting in a remarkable increase in the circulation of his paper.

The first supplement of the *Tokyo Asahi*, when started on June 1, was a picture of H.I.M. the Emperor. No newspaper in Japan had hitherto tried such a supplement. Therefore, it appealed strongly to the popular imagination.

In November, 1890, the *Asahi Shimbun* was the first newspaper in Japan to have a rotary press installed, which had been imported from France.

It was also the *Asahi Shimbun* that started the use of duplicate Chinese and Japanese characters in one type in January, 1902. There was a strong opinion on the part of the management of the *Asahi Shimbun* that they should take out a patent on the dual type, but Mr. Murayama rejected the proposal on the ground that an invention, so useful to the development of the press in Japan, ought not to be monopolized by a single newspaper.

The Asahi and Aviation. Special mention must be made of the important rôle played by the *Asahi Shimbun* in the development of aviation in Japan.

On March 21, 1911, the *Asahi Shimbun* gave an aviation exhibition in the parade ground at Osaka, by inviting the American flier Marrs, while, on April 1, a similar exhibition was given by the paper at the Meguro race course in Tokyo.

In June, 1912, the paper also gave an aviation exhibition off Nishinomiya near Osaka, by inviting the flier Atwater, an expert in hydroplanes. This was the first time a hydroplane had been flown in Japan.

The flight from Naruo to Kyoto *via* Osaka by the Japanese flier Koha Takeishi in May, 1913, and an aviation exhibition in Osaka in December, 1915, were also held under the auspices of the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*.

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A series of aviation exhibitions by the American plier, Art Smith, at Tokyo, Osaka, Hiroshima, Nagoya, Kanazawa, Sendai, Sapporo and six other cities were given by the *Asahi* from April 8 to June 16, 1919.

On October 22, 1919, the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* seized the occasion of transporting newspapers by air for the first time in Japan by taking advantage of the first air mail flight between Osaka and Tokyo. In January, 1923, the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* and the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* inaugurated a regular air service between Osaka and Tokyo with their own aeroplanes.

The Asahi chain of papers sponsored a goodwill flight to Europe in 1925. The flight was started in July, 1925, and finished in October the same year, covering a distance of 16,000 kilometres and establishing a record in Japanese aviation.

The Asahi chain of papers attempted a second goodwill flight to Europe in April, 1937, with an aeroplane which was manufactured with all Japanese materials. The *Kamikazé*, or Divine Wind, as the *Asahi* monoplane was called, hopped off from Tachikawa aerodrome near Tokyo early on April 6 and reached London on April 10, taking the southern route. The *Kamikazé* had thus covered a distance of 15,357 kilometres in 94 hours 17 minutes 56 seconds, creating a world record.

Aeroplanes are now used by many newspapers for transporting manuscripts and photographs, but it is the Asahi chain of newspapers that has the credit of first using the aeroplane for that purpose. They established their air transport department as early as 1927 by purchasing several Dornier machines. Also the Asahi chain of papers was the first to invent and use a portable telephoto apparatus, whose exclusive rights they enjoyed fully for twelve months until quite recently.

Equipment and Editorial Policy. The president of the Asahi chain of newspapers is Mr. Seiichi Uyeno and the chairman of the board of directors is Mr. Nagataka Murayama. The papers have branch offices at Nagoya and Kyushu with business offices in various important centres throughout the country. The two branch offices are equipped with rotary presses to print and publish newspapers the same as those published in Osaka and Tokyo, in order to save the time of transportation from Tokyo and Osaka to Nagoya and Kyushu. This has brought serious pressure to bear on the provincial papers which have to compete with this powerful chain of newspapers in gathering and publishing news. Shortly after the outbreak of the China incident, the Asahi chain of papers made a remarkable advance into North China where they started the regular issue of extra editions.

KON. BAT. GENOOTSCHAP VAN K. EN W.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE LEADING NEWSPAPERS

The *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* and the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* are together equipped with 53 rotary presses and enjoy estimatedly a joint circulation exceeding 2,000,000. In addition to newspapers, the Asahi chain of papers is publishing over a dozen periodicals, including photographically reduced editions of the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* and the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, the *Weekly Asahi*, the *Eiga to Engei* (Kinema and Theatre), the *Asahigraph*, the *Asahicamera*, the *Kodomo Asahi* (Children's Asahi), the *Asahi Sports*, the *Overseas Edition* of the *Asahigraph*, the *Fujin Asahi* (Women's Asahi), the *Asahi Year Book*, the *Japan Photographic Annual*, *Present Day Japan* in English (annual), and the *Asahi Economic Annual*, all of which are enjoying large circulations. Books are also published by the Asahi chain from time to time.

The editorial policy of the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* and the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* has been consistently liberal, fighting for freedom and democracy. In 1916 when the Terauchi Cabinet was formed, the *Osaka Asahi* vigorously attacked the Cabinet for its alleged assistance to Tuan Chih-jui of China and also for cases of alleged maladministration at home. During the Hara Cabinet which succeeded to the Terauchi Administration in September, 1918, the *Osaka Asahi* came into trouble with the government authorities for using careless language in connection with the Imperial family. The paper was threatened with suppression by the authorities. As a sequel to the trouble, Mr. Ryuhei Murayama, resigned his presidency of the paper, while Mr. Sosen Torii, chief editor, Mr. Ikuo Ohyama (who later became professor of the Waseda University and chairman of the executive committee of the Proletarian Party) and several other editors resigned from the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*. This incident marks the revival of official interference in the press which had apparently been in abeyance since late in the nineteenth century. Later, the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* and the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* engaged Dr. Sakuzo Yoshino, former professor of the Imperial University of Tokyo, who was the leader of democracy in Japan, as editor; but a slip of the pen made by Dr. Yoshino had a sequel in an bomb outrage against the residence of Mr. Ryuhei Murayama and also in an assault on the editor himself.

Despite such troubles, the Asahi chain of newspapers succeeded in establishing a firm hold on the intelligent classes of Japan through their liberal editorial policy and their improved news gathering system and the popularization of financial news.

Recent Tendency. It must be noted, however, that certain sections of the public denounced the liberal editorial policy of the Asahi group

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of papers which they declared was irreconcilable with that nationalism which had been in the ascendant since the outbreak of the Manchurian incident in 1931. On February 26, 1936, when the now well-known incident occurred, the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* offices were attacked by a party of insurgent officers, who occupied the building for a time.

When the Hirota Cabinet was being formed to deal with the aftermath of the incident, Mr. Koki Hirota, premier designate, offered a portfolio to Mr. Hiroshi Shimomura, vice-president of the *Asahi*, but this offer aroused a storm of popular resentment. Consequently, Mr. Hirota dropped his idea, while Mr. Shimomura resigned the vice-presidency of the *Asahi*. Mr. Shimomura, later, however, was nominated as member of the House of Peers in recognition of his many years' services to the cause of journalism.

With the incident of February 26, 1936, marking the turning-point in Japanese journalism and with the nationalistic tendency further heightened by the outbreak of the China incident in 1937, the Asahi group of papers have made a new departure in their editorial policy and are now heartily co-operating in the successful execution of the various national policies which aim at placing Japan on a war footing.

The Osaka Mainichi and the Tokyo Nichinichi

The Mainichi chain of newspapers which comprises the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* and the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun* is one of the two largest chains of newspapers in Japan, the other being the Asahi group. The *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun* was started in 1872, but it was merged and managed by the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* as from 1906.

The predecessor of the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* was the *Osaka Nippo*, which was started in 1876 in Osaka. In 1888, it was rechristened the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun*, and was at one time presided over by the late Mr. Takashi (Kei) Hara, the first statesman in Japan to form a party cabinet, and also by the late Mr. Eitaro Komatsubara, another well-known statesman.

The Asahi and the Mainichi. It was the late Mr. Hikoichi Motoyama, however, who as president of the paper succeeded in making it a big and influential paper on the lines of the *Osaka Asahi*.

In March, 1883, Mr. Motoyama joined the *Jiji Shimpo*, managed by the late Yukichi Fukuzawa, the great educator and economist, as managing editor. Later he became business manager. In 1886, Mr. Motoyama left the *Jiji Shimpo* to join the staff of the Fujita Firm, and then in 1889 he became adviser to the *Osaka Mainichi* after reaching

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an understanding with the management of the Fujita Firm. Mr. Motoyama took an active part in the management of the *Osaka Mainichi* with such satisfactory results that he was elected its president in 1903.

Mr. Murayama, president of the Asahi group, attached preponderating importance to the gathering of authentic news, but Mr. Motoyama, president of the *Osaka Mainichi*, who started as a business man out and out and also could not conveniently follow the footsteps of the *Asahi*, naturally resorted to sensationalism with the result that his newspapers acquired something of the character of the " yellow press ." The editing of his paper was gay, the printing was clear and its news was rather up to date than accurate. With these as the features of his papers, Mr. Motoyama has succeeded in making the *Osaka Mainichi* and the *Tokyo Nichinichi* what they are at present. Now that, however, the *Osaka Mainichi* and the *Tokyo Nichinichi* are well established as rivals of the two *Asahi's*, a great deal of toning down of their features has taken place. But in a general manner the *Asahi* may be regarded as a newspaper of the British style intended to be read and the *Mainichi* as a newspaper of the American style for glancing at. The Asahi chain of papers has a news review department, which reviews items of news published in the papers either at the request of readers or voluntarily, and makes corrections if necessary. The Mainichi group of papers has no such department.

The Asahi group has long pursued a liberal editorial policy, but the Mainichi chain has advanced with the times, swimming with the stream, so to speak, with commercialism as the predominant note of its papers. Sometimes the Mainichi group makes a splendid scoop, but it is often lacking in consistency and dignified editing. The *Tokyo Asahi* may be called a newspaper of quality, and the *Tokyo Nichinichi* a paper of quantity.

The *Osaka Mainichi* always regards the *Osaka Asahi* as a rival to be fought. This fighting spirit animates all the staff and employees of the *Osaka Mainichi*. When the *Osaka Asahi* established branch offices at Nagoya and Kokura, the *Osaka Mainichi* followed suit. When the *Osaka Asahi* installed additional rotary presses, the *Osaka Mainichi* followed the example immediately. It is needless to say that the *Osaka Asahi* in turn also regards the *Osaka Mainichi* as a serious rival, but the spirit of rivalry is naturally more pronounced in the *Osaka Mainichi*.

In this connection, a few instances may be cited. The Asahi chain has for more than ten years been organizing an annual baseball meet for the secondary schools throughout the country, thus exercising a

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great influence on the baseball games here. This scheme of the *Asahi* was devised to meet the national tennis tournament organized by the Mainichi group for secondary schools. The Mainichi group, however, curbed the *Asahi's* efforts in giving the annual baseball series, by successfully organizing a baseball tournament for secondary schools, the victors in which are sent to the United States to play American students teams at the expense of the Mainichi group. Not content with this success, the Mainichi chain of papers organized a baseball series for various towns throughout Japan. Again with the outbreak of the China incident, the Asahi chain of newspapers started a drive for contributions to the fund for manufacturing warplanes and placing them at the disposal of the Army and Navy. The drive was so successful that about 6,300,000 yen was contributed to the fund within six months. The Mainichi group of newspapers also launched a campaign for contributing to the army consolation fund, and this campaign was also successful.

Equipment and Other Publications. The president of the Mainichi group of newspapers is Mr. Shintaro Okumura and the chief editor Shingoro Takaishi, while the chairman of the board of directors is Dr. Minoru Oka. The technical installations of the *Osaka Mainichi* and the *Tokyo Nichinichi* are almost the same as those of the *Osaka Asahi* and the *Tokyo Asahi*, including 52 super-speed rotary presses.

In addition to the Japanese editions, the *Osaka Mainichi* and the *Tokyo Nichinichi* publish English editions of the *Osaka Mainichi* and the *Tokyo Nichinichi*. Besides this, they publish such periodicals as the *Sunday Mainichi*, the *Economist*, the *Tonichi Shogakusei Shimbun* (School Children's Newspaper), the *Mainichi Year Book*, the *Home Life*, the *Shashin Tokuho* (Pictorial News), the *Shinko Fujin* (Rising Women) and the *Tonichi Jikyoku Joho* (Current News). It also publishes annually *Japan Today and Tomorrow* in English.

The Yomiuri Shimbun (*Tokyo*)

The *Yomiuri Shimbun* is one of the oldest newspapers in Japan, its first issue appearing in November, 1874. The paper is under the private management of Mr. Matsutaro Shoriki, who was at one time one of the high officials of the Metropolitan Police Board.

It is indeed due to the strenuous and untiring efforts of Mr. Shoriki extending over more than ten years that the *Yomiuri Shimbun* has come to rank next only to the Asahi and the Mainichi groups of newspapers, though the paper's present brilliant position has been won quite recently. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* remained an unimportant newspaper until

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seven or eight years ago, being subscribed by citizens of Tokyo together with, or rather as supplementary paper to, the *Asahi* or the *Nichinichi*. Its main appeal to the citizens then consisted in its literary and women's columns.

Its Emergence from Obscurity. The emergence of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* from its comparative obscurity into fame came simultaneously with, though not necessarily caused by, its engagement of an American professional baseball team to come over to Japan for playing Japanese teams, and all subscribers of the paper were given special privileges in obtaining admission to the baseball games. This proved a great success, and spurred thereby, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* carried out a series of bold plans for attracting readers, such as the photographing of the sea bed and an exploration into the crater of the active volcano Mihara Yama, which all proved hits. The paper also successfully organized tournaments of Japanese chess and *go*. It reserved columns for suggestive novels, amusements and for giving personal advice to its readers. Opinions as to the wisdom of the policy pursued by Mr. Shoriki are far from being at one, but the fact is undeniable that the *Yomiuri Shimbun* has by that means succeeded in increasing its circulation by leaps and bounds as an interesting paper.

The freedom and unconventionalism of the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, which makes naught of the charge of sensationalism and others of a similar character, are its invaluable asset, and defy not only the *Asahi* which pursues a dignified, sometimes even scholarly, editorial policy, but also the *Nichinichi* which does not hesitate to pursue commercialism.

Mr. Shoriki, president of the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, is sometimes called the Japanese Hearst. This may or may not be true when the reality is considered, but the appearance certainly tends to call forth the epithet. As already stated, the paper had a limited circulation when he undertook to manage it. In about ten years, however, the circulation increased from the original 70,000 to 200,000 and then to 300,000. Now its circulation is estimated at about 1,000,000. Especially in the city of Tokyo, the *Yomiuri* claims to have a decidedly larger circulation than the *Tokyo Asahi* or the *Nichinichi*.

The Yomiuri's Characteristics. In this connection, credit must be given to the *Yomiuri Shimbun* for starting an 8-page evening edition and shortly after the outbreak of the China incident for splitting it into two evening editions of 4 pages each to catch up with the fast incoming news. Like the British newspapers, the Japanese papers usually come out with advertisements on the first page, but the *Yomiuri* has made a

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new departure and put important news items on the first page just like American newspapers.

The *Yomiuri Shimbun* evidently has a character of its own and exercises a magnetic influence on its readers, who usually become its fanatical supporters, taking at face value all what the paper says about itself, including an extension of the technical installations, a scheme for building a new office, the engagement of such and such able editors, and the outdistancing of the *Tokyo Nichinichi* in the drive for subscribers.

Believing, however, that the *Yomiuri Shimbun* has surpassed the *Tokyo Asahi* or the *Tokyo Nichinichi* in circulation, it is not still regarded by some as a first class newspaper. It is not yet long since the *Yomiuri* has ceased to be taken by a large number of subscribers together with, or as supplementary to, the *Asahi* or the *Nichinichi*. Besides, it is not yet at par with the *Asahi* or the *Nichinichi* in such important matters as news gathering facilities, staff correspondents stationed abroad, foreign cables, and the accuracy or dignified handling of news, as well as in technical installations, including exclusive wires and aeroplanes for its own use. The *Yomiuri*, however, is held in high esteem by literary circles because it has long been regarded as a literary newspaper.

In short, the *Yomiuri* is a readable and interesting newspaper, though it is open to occasional criticism for degenerating into a mixture of a newspaper and a semi-magazine. More time and money are still required for the *Yomiuri* to become a really first class paper both in name and substance.

The Hochi Shimbun (*Tokyo*)

The *Hochi Shimbun* has a long history. At one time it was a very influential paper as the organ of the political party which has now come to be called the Minseito. Many editors of the paper later became famous statesmen, including Mr. Fumio Yano, Mr. Yukio Ozaki, who was Minister of Justice and who has been returned to the Diet for the past fifty years by one and the same constituency, and the late Mr. Tsuyoshi Inukai, the Premier who was assassinated in May, 1932. The paper has vigorously advocated freedom and constitutional government and has come into trouble with the authorities, who suspended or banned it on more than one occasion.

The *Hochi Shimbun* was started in 1872 under the name of the *Yubin Hochi Shimbun* (Mail News). It was published five times a month, printed from blocks. The following year it became a daily paper. In 1889, it started its evening edition. In 1901, it tried coloured print-

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ing with great success, while it inaugurated provincial editions in 1903. It introduced the photogravure in 1904. In these and other ways the paper made substantial contributions to the progress of the press.

The present president of the *Hochi Shimbun* is Mr. Seiji Noma, the "magazine king," who publishes nine popular monthlies.

It was in June, 1930, that Mr. Noma assumed the presidency of the *Hochi Shimbun*. Immediately after he became its president, he sponsored a transpacific flight in the name of the *Hochi Shimbun*, but the bold and praiseworthy plan failed with the loss of several planes.

Mr. Noma had achieved wonderful success as a magazine publisher, but his career as the publisher of a newspaper did not make an auspicious beginning. Thus far the secret of his success in the management of magazines has not apparently helped him much in managing the *Hochi Shimbun*, which has not become much prosperous under him.

Be that as it may, the Kohdansha which publishes all his nine magazines is as prosperous as ever. Therefore, it may be predicted safely that, so long as Mr. Noma presides over the paper, the *Hochi Shimbun* will never share the sad fate of the *Jiji Shimpo* which recently had ceased publication. Not only that, but even an opinion is being advanced in circles which ought to be well-informed in these matters that since he has now taken over the absolute control of the paper, he will most undoubtedly succeed in recovering the paper's old fame.

The Chugai Shogyo, the Miyako and the Kokumin

The Chugai. The predecessor of the *Chugai Shogyo Shimpo*, which is a leading commercial daily, was the *Chugai Bukka Shimpo* started in 1876 as a weekly. In June, 1885, it became a daily, and in 1889 was renamed the *Chugai Shogyo Shimpo*. It enjoys a unique position in the Japanese press as a commercial daily, but there is no denying the fact that the financial columns of the *Tokyo Asahi* and the *Miyako Shimbun* often threaten to encroach on the spheres of the *Chugai*. It must be remembered that the paper is backed by the Mitsui business organization, which fact constitutes its strength. Mr. Tokichi Tanaka, formerly Ambassador to the Soviet Union, is the president of the *Chugai Shogyo Shimpo*.

The Miyako. The *Miyako Shimbun* was started in September, 1886. It possesses a strong, traditional hold on the gay quarters. So by way of catering for them it has come to attach special importance to theatrical news. But since it also devotes great attention to financial and commercial news as well as to the radio broadcast service, the paper is now appealing to the general public. It is, however, in the gay quarters,

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restaurants, barbers' shops and stock-brokers' offices that it enjoys its most stable circulation. In 1937 it inaugurated its evening edition. The *Miyako Shimbun* pursues a very steady business policy, and certainly pays its way very well.

The Kokumin. The *Kokumin Shimbun* was first managed by Mr. Iichiro (Soho) Tokutomi, the veteran journalist, critic and historian, who is the elder brother of the late well-known novelist Roka Tokutomi, but some years ago it was transferred to a leading businessman, Mr. Kaichiro Nezu. It then got into financial difficulties owing to unsatisfactory business results, and since then, it has not regained its former prosperity. It is now managed by the *Shin Aichi*, a leading provincial paper with its headquarters at Nagoya. As the *Kokumin Shimbun* has changed hands many times, so also has its editorial staff changed, but all these means have failed to add to its prosperity or popularity.

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PROVINCIAL PAPERS, THE DOMEI AND THE LATEST TREND

Provincial Papers

In describing the provincial papers, first and foremost, our attention is naturally claimed by the *Fukuoka Nichinichi Shimbun* of Fukuoka City in Kyushu. Its circulation is estimated at something between 100,000 and 200,000, probably 150,000, and it can stand comparison with the *Hochi Shimbun* or the *Miyako Shimbun* of Tokyo. Its editing is dignified like that of a big paper, its printing is clear and its staff members are quite efficient. It is at once progressive and enterprising, as it is constantly competing with the *Osaka Asahi* and the *Osaka Mainichi* which have set up branch offices in Northern Kyushu.

It is also in possession of rich resources, as it has its headquarters at Fukuoka, a prospering city in Northern Kyushu. The name of the *Kyushu Nippo* may be mentioned as the rival of the *Fukuoka Nichinichi*, but it is not a powerful one.

Another provincial newspaper which has successfully withstood the onslaught of the *Osaka Asahi* and the *Osaka Mainichi* is the *Shin Aichi* of Nagoya, with an estimated circulation of 200,000. It was first generally believed that the *Shin Aichi* would fall an easy prey to the combined attack of the two powerful Osaka papers, but contrary to the expectation it has sustained no serious damage. Not only that, but it has been successfully strengthening its position, mainly thanks to the support extended by the local readers who are mostly conservative and are not easily led to read papers other than what their fathers have read. Another reason for the success of the *Shin Aichi* is geographical advantages which it enjoys. Nagoya lies on the highway of the Tokaido and thus the paper possesses every facility for gathering news and, moreover, it has for its market the vast hinterland of the City of Nayoya, including a part of the Hokurikudo. The *Nayoya Shimbun* is the local rival of the *Shin Aichi*, but not a strong one.

Another provincial paper which maintains its position thanks to favourable geographical advantages is the *Kahoku Shimpo* of Sendai, with an estimated circulation of 40,000. The paper enjoys a wide circulation in the northeastern provinces of Japan, which districts are proverbially limited in their purchasing power. The meagerness of the resources of this part of Japan has curiously enough contributed

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to a large extent to the prosperity of the paper, for that is the very reason why the Asahi and the Mainichi chains of newspapers hesitate in starting a large-scale drive for subscribers there, thus saving the *Kahoku Shimpo* a great deal of trouble and expenses in competing with these papers.

The *Kahoku Shimpo* owes what it is now to Mr. Kenjiro Ichiriki who sacrificed his own personal comfort and convenience in managing his paper. At one time, such was the financial straits in which his paper found itself that he had to sell all the *tatami* or floor mats in his house to obtain the wherewithal to purchase the next day's newsprint for his paper. Now the paper is jointly managed by his two sons, Jiro and Goro, and has attained a prosperity which allows the paper to have one spare rotary press, together with a stock of type. These are stored in a separate building on the opposite bank of the river, so as to carry on the printing of the newspaper in case of emergency. No rival paper exists of the *Kahoku Shimpo* either in Sendai or in the neighbourhood, which is another factor in making Mr. Ichiriki's paper a success.

The most favourably situated among the provisional papers, however, is probably the *Hokkai Times* which has its headquarters at Sapporo, the capital of Hokkaido. This paper enjoys a decidedly advantageous geographical position, because all Tokyo newspapers are two days later with news compared with it, when they reach Sapporo. The paper issues seven editions catering to the requirements of the readers in various parts of Hokkaido. Its circulation is estimated at about 100,000. There is the *Otaru Shimbun* at Otaru near Sapporo, but it is not a rival of the *Hokkai Times*.

Other leading newspapers in the provinces include the *Manshu Nichinichi Shimbun* at Dairen, the *Keijo Nippo* at Keijo, the capital of Korea, and the *Taihoku Nichinichi Shimbun* at Taihoku, the capital of Formosa. Free from the competition with the Asahi and the Mainichi chains of newspapers, those provincial papers have usually special connections with the provincial governments and are developing on their own lines.

Foreign Newspapers

The foreign newspapers in Japan have a unique history and mission, though their circulations are as a matter of fact quite limited. They can also rightfully claim special mention in that they have been the pioneers of the Japanese press.

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Naturally the subscribers of the foreign newspapers are foreign residents, government officials or businessmen interested in foreign affairs, sections of the intelligent classes and students. The European and American residents in Japan number about 20,000, consisting of possibly about 7,000 families at the rate of three members to one family. Therefore, the circulation of a most successful foreign paper in Japan might, at the most, reach to 7,000 to 8,000, while a second class one might attain a circulation between 3,000 and 4,000. The *International Annual*, published by the *Editor and Publisher* of New York, estimates the circulation of the *Japan Advertiser* at 2,500 and that of the *Osaka Mainichi* and *Tokyo Nichinichi* (English edition) at 30,000, which number includes that of Japanese subscribers.

The *Japan Chronicle* of Kobe is a British managed paper. It was started in 1889, by merging the *Hyogo Evening News*. The famous writer Lafcadio Hearn at one time was connected with it. The paper has come into trouble with the Japanese authorities on several occasions for its morbid indulgence in anti-Japonism.

The *Japan Times and Mail* is a Japanese owned and managed newspaper in Tokyo. The paper was started on March 22, 1897, by Mr. Motosada Zumoto, who had as patrons the late Prince Hirobumi Itoh and the late Viscount Eiichi Shibusawa. The *Japan Mail* had existed long before, being organized and managed by Captain Brinkley. On his death, the paper was merged with the *Japan Times* under the title of the *Japan Times and Mail*. The present president of the paper is Mr. Hitoshi Ashida, an M.P.

The *Japan Advertiser* is an American managed paper in Tokyo. It was started in Yokohama in November, 1890, but the following year, the paper transferred its head offices to Tokyo. It is owned and managed by Mr. B. W. Fleisher, an American journalist. It issues an Osaka edition to compete with the *Japan Chronicle*.

The *Osaka Mainichi and Tokyo Nichinichi* (English edition) enjoys the largest circulation among the foreign newspapers in Japan, but the majority of their readers are students.

The Domei Tsushinsha (*Domei News Agency*)

Japan for some time had two big news agencies, one the Shimbun Rengosha and the other the Nippon Dempo Tsushinsha which competed keenly with each other. The rivalry between them did more harm than good, to say nothing of a huge waste of money in paying high telegram charges in covering one and the same news break not only at

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home but also abroad. Consequently, the Domei Tsushinsha (Domei News Agency), a public service corporation, was organized on November 7, 1935, as a national news agency by amalgamating the Shimbun Rengosha and the Nippon Dempo Tsushinsha.

The Domei Tsushinsha is a joint co-ordinated organ for 194 newspapers in Japan and the Broadcasting Corporation of Japan. The Domei, as announced in its prospectus, is an autonomous, joint organ for its members, including all important newspapers in Japan and the Broadcasting Corporation of Japan, and gathers news both home and foreign, and distributes it among its members as national news agency. It is not an official news agency under government control.

Before the merger of the two news agencies the bulk of foreign news appearing in the Japanese newspapers had been gathered and sent by foreign correspondents or foreign news agencies except for what came from the correspondents of some big newspapers. News breaks in Japan had also been covered by foreign correspondents or foreign news agencies for their own countries, though the Shimbun Rengosha made two news broadcasts in morse every day for Europe, and the Broadcasting Corporation of Japan made several news broadcasts for abroad. In other words, Japan had no autonomy in gathering and sending news. To make matters worse, the two news agencies before the merger indulged in a useless or rather harmful rivalry, as was said before, and this fact helped to no small extent in weakening Japan's position in regard to gathering and distributing accurate news. This was especially the case with the news connected with the Manchurian incident. Thus the organization of the Domei News Agency was hailed by all as meeting a long-felt need and was supported by the absolute majority of important newspapers throughout the country. It is granted privileges regarding the use of wireless facilities as a public service corporation.

With substantial financial support given by its member papers and the Broadcasting Corporation of Japan, the Domei is now striving hard to establish autonomy in gathering and sending news by stationing staff correspondents of its own at various important centres throughout the world, including London, Paris, Geneva, Rome, Vienna, Warsaw, Moscow, Singapore, Hongkong, Shanghai, Peking and other cities in China, New York, Washington, San Francisco, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and others.

In regard to the news broadcast service, the Domei has now two wireless stations at its disposal by special arrangement with the Japan

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Wireless Telegraph Company, through which it is broadcasting news in Japanese and English every hour daily.

Following the organization of the Domei Tsushinsha in Japan, the Manshu Koho Kyokai (Manchuria Press Association) was organized at Hsinking, the capital of Manchoukuo, in 1935. It was an association of all the newspapers and news agencies in Manchoukuo. The Manshu Tsushinsha (Manchuria News Agency), or the Kokutsu, was one of the members of the association. In July, 1937, however, the Kokutsu became an independent organization and allied itself with the Domei.

Since the outbreak of the China incident in July, 1937, the Domei and the Kokutsu have been co-operating in covering the news breaks in China. With the five provinces of North China, Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, Suiyuan and Chahar occupied by the Japanese forces, the Domei set up a North China bureau at Peking which was staffed with editors specially selected and sent from the head offices in Tokyo. The Domei also has stationed correspondents at important cities along the Peking-Hankow, the Shantung, the Peking-Suiyuan and the Peking-Shanhaikwan railways.

The Domei's expenditure totalled 4,000,000 yen in 1937, but its budget for 1938 is estimated at 6,000,000 yen, an increase of 50 per cent., which is accounted for by a remarkable increase in its ordinary and commercial news business and also by the increase in the number of its staff correspondents abroad.

The Latest Trend

Since the Manchurian incident, especially since the outbreak of the present hostilities between Japan and China, conditions, political, economic and what not, in this country have greatly changed. It is natural that the press should also be influenced by the change and be run in accordance with the spirit of the times. The birth of the Domei Tsushinsha, the organization of the Koho Kyokai in Manchoukuo, the organization of the Information Committee, the enforcement of the law controlling seditious literature, the organization of the Cabinet Information Bureau and the invocation of Article 27 of the Press Law (governing the control of information regarding military secrets) have not only circumscribed the freedom of the press in giving information, but evidently are manifestations of the Government's intentions to mobilize the press for the good of the country.

The times being such, it is but natural that the editorial policy of the newspapers should have come, consciously or unconsciously, to

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produce newspapers which appeal more to feelings and tastes than to the intellect. This means that the newspapers have lost, though perhaps temporarily, their rôle of leadership, but gained, or would gain, as commercial enterprises. So instead of competing in gathering accurate news quickly, the newspapers are devoting their attention to the columns for home life, radio service, tastes, amusements, industry, literature and sports, and also to the provincial or local editions, so as to ensure a variety of their own. It is for the same purpose that they are mobilizing outside critics and writers.

Consequently the technique of editing or make-up has come to count more than before. First and foremost, attention is naturally claimed by photographs, on which the newspapers are spending a large amount of money. In other words, the newspapers are showing a strong tendency of changing from papers to be read to those for looking at.

To make up for a scarcity of news, or a variety thereof, the newspapers also are organizing various undertakings to attract the attention of, or to keep, the readers. A salient and successful case in point is the goodwill flight to Europe, sponsored by the Asahi chain of newspapers last year. Also in summer, the newspapers usually invite their readers to bathing-grounds of their own, while in winter they invite their readers to their own skiing slopes. Kinemas, exhibitions, pilgrimages to popular shrines and what not, also hold important places in the programmes of newspapers for attracting readers. In such undertakings, the *Yomiuri* has been most active and most successful.

The Success of Official Journalism

The spirit of the times was carried forward a step further when with the development of the China situation the Government has successfully launched upon a journalistic career. The *Shuho* (Weekly), the *Shashin Shuho* (Photographic Weekly) and the *Zaisei* (Finances) are representative magazines published by the Government. The *Shuho*, a supplement of the *Official Gazette*, is edited and published by the Information Bureau of the Cabinet. It is sold at 5 sen a copy. Official weekly though it is, the *Shuho* is far from being ideally edited, but in circulation it is so successful that it is now estimated at 350,000. Its cheap price and authenticity evidently account for the success of the *Shuho*. The weekly's rationalized salesmanship has also done a great deal for building up its great circulation. The weekly is sold systematically and efficiently through the bookstores and news stands

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where the *Official Gazette* is on sale. A similar sales campaign is adopted for all other official magazines, which, therefore, are conducted on a paying basis. The *Shashin Shuho* which is only three months old at the present writing (April, 1938) is claimed to boast of a circulation of 150,000 copies. Again, a series of pamphlets edited and published fron time to time by the Press Bureau of the War Office are enjoying each a circulation of between 100,000 and 400,000. The *Tsuwamono* (Warrior), a monthly published by the same bureau, is also enjoying an estimated circulation of 200,000.

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DIFFICULT DAYS FOR NEWSPAPERS

Dearth of Newsprint

War usually increases the circulation of newspapers remarkably in this country, as in others, but at the same time it makes their management very difficult due to an increase in the cost of production, difficulty in canvassing for advertisements, etc.

It was shortly before the outbreak of the North China incident on July 7, 1937, that the leading newspapers in Tokyo and Osaka came into agreement for increasing their subscription rates by 20 per cent., which new rates came into force on July 1. The reason for the changed rate as given out by the *Tokyo Nichinichi* was :

> The world is now suffering from a dearth of pulp, the raw material of newsprint. Since September, 1936, the price of pulp has increased by 86.3 per cent., while the price of newsprint has increased by 46.6 per cent. since September, 1936.

The soaring price of paper, bad enough in itself, however, was not the only misfortune which the newspapers had to encounter. To make the matter still worse, the Oji Paper Manufacturing Company, Ltd., which is practically monopolizing the paper industry in Japan, enforced a limitation of the supply of newsprint to the newspapers, immediately following the increase in the price.

Prior to June 25, 1936, when the contracts were revised and renewed, the Oji Paper Manufacturing Company had notified the Asahi and the Mainichi chains of newspapers of an increase in the price of newsprint from yen 3.70 to yen 4.70 per ream, and also of a limitation of the supply of newsprint with a view to overcoming the shortage of newsprint which they estimated at 350,000 reams. Consequently, the leading newspapers were obliged to reduce the number of pages to 16, including both the morning and evening editions.

To cope with the new, difficult situation, caused by the dearth of newsprint and an increase in the subscription rates, the newspapers adopted a 14-column per page system instead of one of 13-columns so as to insert as much reading and advertising matter as possible by way of making up for the reduction in the number of pages. The change was effected by the papers in Tokyo and Osaka in August, 1936, and by the provincial papers in September. The *Miyako Shimbun*

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and the *Maiyu Shimbun* in Tokyo, and the *Nagoya Shimbun*, the *Kobe Shimbun*, the *Otaru Shimbun* and some other papers in the provinces, persisted, and few of them still persist, in using the old 7-point type, but all other papers founded new type to meet the new situation.

The adoption of smaller type as the result of the enforcement of a 14-column per page system came in for a storm of criticism, not only from the readers who complained of the danger to their eyesight, but from the advertisers who regarded the increase of one column per page as a corresponding increase in the advertisement tariff. The Asahi and the Mainichi groups of newspapers and the other leading papers have succeeded in persuading the advertisers to accept the change, but most of the provincial papers have not yet succeeded, with the result that some papers are being boycotted by advertisers and some are suffering from a shortage of advertising matter.

It is hardly necessary to metnion that the advertisers are bound to insert their advertisements in the newspapers, and therefore they usually accept an increase in the advertisement rates, unless it is unreasonable. When that happens, however, advertisers are inclined to concentrate their advertisements in the leading papers, even if the tariff is comparatively high and to suspend their advertisements in the minor papers, thus adding to the difficulty of the smaller newspapers.

Smaller papers also suffer when there is an increase in the subscription rates, for these papers are usually taken by the subscribers as supplementary to the leading papers. Accordingly they are not in a position to increase their subscriptions at a rate similar to that of the major papers. Besides there is the danger that subscribers may stop taking the minor papers when the subscription rates are raised by the leading newspapers.

Newspaper Finances

The circulation of a newspaper does not necessarily constitute a sole barometre of its prosperity, because the regular subscription fees and prices paid by casual readers together are far from being sufficient to cover the expenses for producing a newspaper, and sometimes indeed are insufficient to cover even the cost of the newsprint.

Most of the first and second class newspapers in Japan issue both morning and evening editions which are delivered to the subscribers every morning and evening. This is an important factor in making newspaper management twice as expensive as in Europe and America. It is true that wages in Japan are remarkably low, compared with Europe

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and America, and it is juvenile labour that is mostly employed in delivering newspapers to the subscribers. Therefore, the cost of delivery per copy is as low as about 15 sen per month. Nevertheless, this means that the head offices of a newspaper receive only about 80 sen per copy per month even if it is sold at yen 1.20, the fixed subscription rate.

Moreover, subscribers may not necessarily be punctual in sending in their fees and also the sales agents of newspapers may fall into arrears in their payment to the newspaper companies. To make the situation more difficult, the newspaper head offices must pay for all propaganda or publicity activities. They must also bear the expenses for delivery, for these are paid neither by the reader nor by the sales agent. It is, therefore, no wonder that the revenue from the subscription fees and prices paid by casual readers are not sufficient to cover the expenses of newspaper production.

And yet the fact stands that the Asahi and the Mainichi chains of newspapers continue to pay dividends as high as 8 or 10 per cent. per annum and to give their staffs and employees a bonus as liberal as that granted by many successful business corporations. This is entirely due to the big revenue derived from advertisements. So far as the leading newspapers in Japan are concerned, therefore, the newspaper business is a profit-making undertaking with the advertisement space offered as merchandise, as was remarked by Karl Bucher, the German economist.

Naturally it is the newspaper with a large circulation which attracts most advertisers. This is the reason why the managers of newspapers are putting all their energies into increasing the circulation of their papers. The drive for subscriptions is growing more and more vigorous and thorough-going in Japan. Not content with the conventional issue of supplements or the addition of back numbers of magazines as free gifts, some enterprising newspapers have even gone the length of presenting their subscribers with various kitchen utensils.

It is the usual practice of the managers of newspapers to make it appear to their readers that their papers are enjoying a larger circulation than is actually the case, while at the same time they are doing their best to increase the circulation. This is prompted by the desire to attract the prospective advertisers. It is for this reason that the accurate figures of the circulation of Japanese newspapers are always kept a secret. There is no such institution as the Audit Bureau of Circulation, and therefore the circulation of newspapers in Japan is whatever

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circulation is claimed by the papers themselves or one estimated with such circulation as a basis.

According to the *Shimbun Soran* for 1937, compiled by the Nippon Dempo Tsushinsha, an advertising agency, the average advertisement lineage in 105 newspapers in Japan in 1936 totalled 2,448,000, the largest advertisement lineage being 7,611,000, while the smallest was 615,000. The *Osaka Mainichi* topped the list with 7,611,000 lines, followed by the *Osaka Asahi* with 7,574,000 lines, and the *Tokyo Nichinichi* with 7,318,000 lines. The other papers in Tokyo and Osaka in the order of their advertisement lineage were as follows: the *Yomiuri* with 7,017,000 lines, the *Tokyo Asahi* with 6,973,000 lines, the *Hochi* with 5,555,000 lines, the *Miyako* with 3,904,000 lines, the *Chugai Shogyo* with 3,859,000 lines, and the *Kokumin* with 2,919,000 lines. Among the provincial papers, the *Manshu Nichinichi* headed the list with 5,347,000 lines, followed by the *Nagoya Shimbun* with 5,050,000 lines, the *Shin Aichi* with 4,618,000 lines, the *Hokkai Times* with 4,431,000 lines, the *Keijo Nippo* with 4,042,000 lines, the *Fukuoka Nichinichi* with 4,026,000 lines and the *Otaru Shimbun* with 3,807,000 lines. In this connection, it must be remembered, however, that, though the advertisement tariff is officially announced as somewhere near 1.70 yen on the average per line of fifteen characters, yet as a matter of actual fact, it differs greatly according to the newspapers. It is also a well known practice that large discounts are made to big advertisements. Indeed, advertisements are run on the basis of letting shoulder the price by those who can within the stated limit. It is the usual saying that advertisements paying the full rate or near it are those announcing deaths and the want ads. Consequently the largest advertisement lineage does not necessarily mean the largest advertisement revenue.

Two Regrettable Events

The campaign for increased circulation is being fought hottest in Tokyo where there are so many newspapers. The drive has been most vigorous in the past four or five yeras since the *Yomiuri* resumed the offensive under the presidency of Mr. Matsutaro Shoriki. It had two important sequels, which nobody could have anticipated.

One was an assault on Mr. Shoriki allegedly by an agent of the circulation manager of a rival newspaper early in 1935. The other was the failure in 1936 of the *Jiji Shimpo* after a long history of sixty years.

One spring morning in 1935, Mr. Shoriki went to his office as usual. When he was entering the hall, he was attacked by a ruffian,

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who cut him in the left shoulder with a sword. The assailant was immediately arrested, and the preliminary judicial enquiry made it clear that the assault had been committed for a monetary consideration which he had received from the circulation manager of a certain newspaper, a rival of the *Yomiuri*. Whether the revelation was true or not remains undecided, because the circulation manager in question disappeared and was later found dead evidently by hanging himself in a mountain cave near Atami. Be that as it may, it is no exaggeration to say that in the final analysis the disastrous competition between the newspapers in Tokyo for increased circulations was responsible for this assault and the suicide of the circulation manager of the rival newspaper.

The failure of the *Jiji Shimpo* was not so sensational a topic as the assault on Mr. Shoriki, but it had more far-reaching effects on society.

The *Jiji Shimpo* was started in 1881 by the late Mr. Yukichi Fukuzawa, the great educationist who founded the Keio Gijuku, the predecessor of the present Keio University. Backed by leading businessmen who had graduated from the Keio University, the paper enjoyed strong confidence among financial circles, and especially popular were its financial columns. The *Jiji Shimpo* was generally regarded as the "*Times* of Japan," and possessed the appropriate dignity and influence.

The paper, however, was outdistanced in the drive for increased circulation. For about ten years, it continued to sustain loss after loss every year. The cumulative debts became so enormous that its financial supporters were compelled to withhold further assistance. Thus the paper was liquidated in December, 1936. The *Jiji Annual*, the most comprehensive one of its kind, which had been compiled by the *Jiji Shimpo*, has been transferred to the Domei News Agency which is now publishing it.

The Leading Newspapers Also in Difficulty

As mentioned elsewhere, the sudden rise in the price of newsprint, and the limitation of its supply by the paper manufacturers has brought on a crisis for the small and middle newspapers. It is hardly necessary to mention that the leading newspapers have also been greatly affected, though not to the same extent. They are now facing a turning point in their circulation policy. It is true, as was said in the foregoing paragraphs, that the leading newspapers have succeeded in raising the subscription rates by 20 per cent. and also in increasing the revenue from advertisements by adopting the 14-column per page system. But the cut in the number of pages from 20 to 16, with the morning and

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evening editions included, has resulted in a marked reduction of the advertisement space, causing the newspapers so much loss in selling the space to the advertisers.

The supply of newsprint was not limited at all in the past. Nor was its price so high as now. So, in the past, an increase in the number of pages in a newspaper for inserting advertisements used to result in netting so much profit. The situation, however, has entirely changed, now that the number of pages in a newspaper, with the morning and evening editions included, has been compelled to a reduction of from 20 pages to 16. The leading papers in Osaka have been, and are being, obliged to leave advertisements amounting to 2 pages uncarried every day owing to a shortage of space since September, 1937, thus causing so much loss to the newspapers and so much dissatisfaction to the advertisers.

In order to make good this loss in the revenue from advertisements, there is no alternative left to the newspapers but to effect a decided increase in the advertisement tariff, but this is very difficult, or wellnigh impossible, of realization in view of the virtual increase already made in the form of a 14-column page. The difficulty of the leading newspapers, therefore, will remain unsolved, and this situation will continue to obtain so long as the price of newsprint is high, its supply limited and the advertisement rate cannot be increased.

Hitherto it has been customary with the newspapers, as was stated in foregoing paragraphs, to increase their circulation in order to attract advertisements. Now this manoeuvre involves printing more copies of newspapers than usually taken by subscribers and giving them away gratis usually for the period of one month as samples to prospective subscribers. This means a burden upon newspaper publishers. With the supply of newsprint limited and its price increased, however, any such policy has come to leave a very narrow margin to be profitably undertaken, for the management has now to pay far greater consideration to the net profit than heretofore. Thus the customary policy of attracting advertisers by an increased circulation has now to be profitably dropped, with the result, if any, of tending to reduce the advertisement tariff. Thus the dearth of newsprint has not only reduced the revenue of newspapers, but has confronted their circulation and advertisement policies with a serious dilemma.

To add to the difficulty of the situation, the development of the Sino-Japanese hostilities has greatly increased the cost of producing newspapers by the necessity of covering the news quickly and

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efficiently. No wonder, then, that even the leading newspapers are now experiencing considerable difficulty in carrying on.

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DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE JAPANESE AND THE FOREIGN PRESS

As already mentioned in the above, the newspapers in Japan have gone through the same process of development as the European or the American newspapers. A closer survey, however, will reveal a marked difference between the Japanese and the foreign press, mostly due to a difference in national characteristics and circumstances.

Troublesome Chinese Characters

The low standard of efficiency in the newspaper printing offices in Japan is a serious disadvantage which the Japanese press has to cope with. It is entirely due to the Chinese characters, quite unfit for newspapers which attach more importance to speedy printing than to anything else.

It is true that the number of Chinese characters in ordinary use is limited to below 1,300 and that in a large number of cases the Japanese *hiragana* is used instead of Chinese characters, but the handicap involved is still very serious, compared with the European or the American newspapers which use an alphabet of 26 letters.

Just compare the number of pages and the number of words in the Japanese and the foreign newspapers. The *New York Times* contain 54 pages, while the leading newspapers of Japan have each only 12 pages. Besides the *New York Times* has a wordage five times as great per page as the Japanese newspapers. Therefore, the former is twenty-five times as large as the latter in quantity. And yet the *New York Times* is produced with a staff similar to that of the Japanese newspapers and in almost the same time as is required for Japanese newspapers. This alone shows most eloquently how unfit the Chinese characters are for newspaper making.

Further, it is impossible to make newspapers in Japan with the Chinese characters limited to 1,300, because names of Japanese and Chinese persons or places must be printed in Chinese characters. Since the outbreak of the China incident, the occasions for printing the Chinese proper names in Chinese characters have greatly increased, necessitating a large stock of Chinese characters on the part of the Japanese newspapers. The struggle which compositors experience in picking up the right type is a picture entirely peculiar to Japan and China.

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The Chinese characters are proving a serious disadvanatge not only to newspaper making in Japan, but to the primary and secondary grade of education, unfavourably affecting the cultural development of the nation. That, however, is neither here nor there, for there is no possibility of the problem being fundamentally settled for a long time to come.

If it were not for the handicap of the Chinese characters, the Japanese newspapers would be as efficient as the European or the American ones, because they are very efficient in composition, make-up and printing. Besides, super-speed rotary presses are now successfully manufactured in Japan, while printing and photography are also efficiently and clearly done in Japan.

Provincial Editions

One of the unique features of the Japanese newspapers is their provincial editions. The larger the newspaper, the more provincial editions has it in this country. For instance, large newspapers issue provincial editions for twenty or more prefectures. This is not limited to the morning issue, but on the contrary is extended to the evening issue. And for the readers in Tokyo, the newspapers issue special editions quite apart from the general ones.

The burden, both mental and material, thus imposed on the newspapers is simply enormous. Suppose a newspaper issue 20 provincial editions, it will require (1) 20 branch offices in the provinces, (2) over 100 special reporters, (3) an editorial staff of over 20, (4) a staff of over 10 handling telephone traffic, (5) a staff of over 10 proof readers, (6) over 30 type-pickers, (7) over 30 compositors, (8) over 20 printers, (9) over 20 office and messenger boys and (10) several rotary presses. The staff, employees and expenses involved would be enough to run at least one independent newspaper in foreign countries.

In Japan, however, the situation is such that no central newspapers can obtain any circulation worth mentioning in the prefectures without the provincial editions. No wonder, therefore, that it has become almost one of the *sine qua non* qualifications of a large newspaper to have a large number of provincial editions. For this state of affairs provincial readers are also responsible, for most of them care only for the columns in central newspapers that contain information about their own prefectures.

A Score of Editions Daily

It is a salient feature of the Japanese newspapers that they have

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both morning and evening issues. Another feature is the large number of editions they go through every morning and evening. Some newspapers issue two evening editions, while the evening edition for the city is different from that intended for the provinces.

Most newspapers go through half a dozen editions of their morning issue. The first morning edition actually goes to the press before the previous evening edition for the city does. This apparently anomalous operation is necessitated because of the desire on the part of the management of a newspaper to deliver the morning edition to distant readers such as live in Hakkaido at least not much later than local papers. And the last morning edition is usually printed at one or two o'clock in the morning. When it is remembered that the *London Times* daily prints only two editions, credit is due to the Japanese newspapers for taking so much pains to cater for the requirements of their readers. The Japanese newspapers, however, are bearing so much more expense, while their staffs and employees are forced to work proportionately harder.

Another point of note is that Japanese newspapers are printed continuously throughout the year except for the three days which are appointed as press holidays. Except for the three press holidays and between 4 and 10 in the morning every day, the rotary presses of the newspapers are always in operation throughout the year; while the staffs and employees of the newspapers are working the whole time usually by three shifts.

Extras are also liberally issued by Japanese newspapers. Big newspapers in Britain or the United States seldom issue extras, but newspapers in Japan have a strong partiality for them, which they do not hesitate to issue to report the death of a State Minister, the arrest of a notorious murderer, an *exposé* of a scandal and so forth. Sometimes they issue a series of extras or an extra containing photographs only. When provincial editions and extras are considered together, some Japanese newspapers are going through on the average a score of editions daily.

Extras and Casual Workers

Now that the radio service has been improved and extended with extra news broadcast from time to time, the usefulness of newspaper extras has considerably decreased, but none the less our newspapers are issuing extras as frequently as ever.

The management of the newspapers fully knows it is quite inutile

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to issue those extras, which will be delivered to their readers long after the same news has been broadcast by the radio station, but they cannot abandon the practice, because the readers think that the frequent issue of extras is the hall mark of a big newspaper.

Newspapers in this country have issued extras two or four pages long almost daily in the past seven years since the outbreak of the Manchurian incident, on such matters as the incident itself, its development, the discussion of the incident by the League of Nations, Japan's withdrawal from the League, and the outbreak of the China incident and its development.

Such a keen competition in the issue of extras has proved disastrous for newspapers with limited resources. This is one reason why the *Jiji Shimpo* has collapsed. Again it is one of the reasons why the difference in circulation between the leading newspapers such as the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* and the lesser papers such as the *Hochi*, the *Kokumin*, and the *Chugai Shogyo* has become so great.

Newspaper extras are usually delivered to the subscribers by the newspapers' own delivery boys, besides what are sold by newsvendors, who are mostly casual workers. A keen competition sometimes occurs between newspapers for attracting as many casual workers as possible when they issue extras. When some big news is likely to break, casual workers throng Yurakucho, the Fleet Street of Tokyo. Once "Extra out!" is shouted from a newspaper office, they rush to the door and buy extras at the rate of 5 sen per hundred copies. Running through the streets with bells tingling, they sell extras at the rate of 2 or 3 sen per copy. Naturally, they can do a good business. But woe to the newspaper which should be two or three minutes late in issuing the extra! Because there would not be one casual worker available as a newsvendor, and the whole lot of extras printed would be unmarketable.

Serial Stories and the Mobilization of Writers

Another unique feature of the Japanese press is serial stories which play an important rôle in popularizing the papers. Popular Japanese writers usually write serial stories or novels for newspapers, which pay them handsomely. The publication of serial stories in newspapers is no new thing, but nowadays newspapers are paying the writers about 30 yen for one days' instalment while about a dozen years ago they paid only 3 or 4 yen. The newspapers also pay the artists 10 to 20 yen for the illustration of a single day's instalment of serial stories.

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As some readers are interested mainly in the provincial columns of a newspaper, others subscribe to newspapers solely for reading serial stories. If the chosen writer proves unpopular with the readers, it is but natural that the circulation should fall off markedly. This category of subscribers is comparatively important to newspapers, because they will keep on taking the newspaper so long as their favourite story appears in the paper for six or twelve months.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that popular writers or critics have exclusive contracts with newspapers, though the practice has been in vogue only three or four years. The star novelist Mr. Yuzo Yamamoto has exclusive contracts with the *Asahi*, while another star novelist Mr. Kan Kikuchi has similar contracts with the *Nichinichi*. Such noted critics as Messrs. Nyozekan Hasegawa, Tsunego Baba, etc. write only for the *Yomiuri*. All big newspapers are now competing with each other in concluding exclusive contracts with popular writers or critics, prompted by the desire to show off their influence and also to add variety to their columns. Sometimes popular novelists such as Masao Kumé, Riichi Yokomitsu and Eiji Yoshikawa are engaged by a newspaper to write their impressions of such matters as the Olympic Games, North China incident and parliamentary proceedings. It is needless to say that those popular writers or critics are each paid by the newspapers a salary equal to the combined pay of a score of efficient reporters.

Free Delivery

The Japanese newspapers are delivered free to the subscribers through their own exclusive delivery offices. Needless to say that the exclusive delivery office forms also an outpost of a newspaper in its drive for subscription.

A leading newspaper has about 150 of such outposts in Tokyo, while its outposts in the provinces total several thousands, as it sets up an outpost at any town or village with a population of 10,000 or 20,000.

There are two kinds of exclusive delivery offices, one being managed by the newspaper itself, while the other is run by an individual. The latter category of exclusive delivery offices is usually subsidized by the newspaper, but the running expenses are borne by the individual manager, who also takes all profits from the delivery office. In carrying on a large scale campaign for subscription, the exclusive delivery office under the direct control of a newspaper is the more convenient,

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and, therefore, most of the leading newspapers prefer to have exclusive delivery offices under their own management.

The exclusive delivery office has salesmen and delivery boys of its own. Sometimes the delivery boy acts also as salesman. Anyhow, the exclusive delivery office must be on the offensive throughout the year so as to get new subscribers. Consequently, it resorts to various measures for attracting new subscribers, such as, for instance, a cut in the subscription rate or a free gift of, say, kitchen utensils as mentioned elsewhere.

The salesman is given 30 sen for each new subscriber whom he has succeeded in obtaining in addition to the regular commission of 20 sen per month so long as the subscription continues. This is an inducement to the salesman; and if the delivery boy acts as salesman, he gets such extra pay besides his regular pay.

In addition to the exclusive delivery offices, there are newspaper agencies which handle all newspapers. Since almost all big newspapers have their own exclusive delivery offices, the activities of such newspaper agencies are limited, handling as they do the second and third class newspapers. Also a mere fraction of newspaper circulation is accounted for by the news stands or newsvendors in the streets or railway stations.

Public Service Activities

The activities of newspapers in Japan are not limited to the selling of newspapers only. Most Japanese newspapers have a planning department which works out plans for various undertakings, mostly in the nature of public services, though they will indirectly add to the publicity of the newspapers concerned. This planning department occupies an important place in the newspaper office.

The Asahi chain of newspapers has made substantial contributions to the development of aviation in Japan, while all other newspapers in Japan are also conducting public service undertakings.

The Fuminkyokai, an association sponsored by the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* for encouraging better farm crops, and the travelling clinic maintained by the same paper, are undertakings to meet the enterprises conducted by the Asahi group of newspapers for promoting the physical standard of the younger generation, for extending sympathy to the destitute at the year end, for encouraging inventions and scientic researches and for encouraging sports. But all of them are rendering a useful service to the public.

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The Asahi and the Mainichi chains of newspapers also rendered splendid service to the public by successfully organizing the drives for contributions to the funds in aid of the sufferers of the terrible earthquake and fire of Tokyo in 1923; the famine in the northeastern provinces of Japan; the flood in North China; as well as to the funds for constructing aeroplanes and donating them to the Army and Navy and also for comforting the sick and wounded soldiers. Those undertakings may result in giving publicity for the Asahi and the Mainichi groups of newspapers, but there is no denying the fact that they have been undertaken in the interest of public good and welfare.

The baseball tournament for the secondary schools, organized by the Asahi chain of newspapers, the baseball series for towns throughout the country, organised by the Mainichi group of newspapers, and the professional baseball teams organized by the *Yomiuri*, the *Shin Aichi* and the *Nagoya Shimbun* may be publicity stunts, after all, for those newspapers, but, nevertheless, they have gone a long way in encouraging and popularizing baseball in this country.

The second and third class newspapers as well as the provincial newspapers are not in a position to organize undertakings on a scale as large as those carried out by the Asahi and the Mainichi chains of newspapers, but all of them are conducting enterprises in their own way so as to attract the attention of, and retain, their readers.

Considered in this light, the newspapers in Japan are conducting those public service undertakings which are usually sponsored by Chambers of Commerce in Europe or America. Certainly, the Japanese newspapers are far ahead of Occidental papers in giving substantial services to the public as well as to their readers.

Strong Points of the Japanese Press

The features of the Japanese press, so far enumerated, apparently constitute on the whole a list of its defects and weaknesses, compared with the Occidental newspapers. But it must be observed that there are not a few points in which the Japanese newspapers are superior to the Occidental ones.

In the quality of newsprint, make-up, printing and photography, the Japanese newspapers are superior to the first class papers in Germany, France, Italy and other Occidental countries.

Again quite a number of Japanese journalists can compare favourably with those of the first class newspapers in England or the United States in training, intelligence and character. Incidentally, it is reas-

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suring to see a large number of students, fresh from colleges with good records, offering their services to the newspapers. They are usually subjected to a rigid examination with the result that only one in a hundred applicants is accepted for the editorial staff.

Newspapers in England or the United States are usually edited in deference to the advertisers with the result that the independence of the press is apt to be threatened by plutocracy. But Japanese journalists seldom meet such an unpleasant experience as that of prostituting their pen for the sake of their advertisers, who in their turn never expect such a thing of the journalists as a rule. This must be specially mentioned to the credit of Japanese businessmen, whose merchandise "made in Japan" has now established a reputation in the foreign market for its cheaper price and better quality.

It must be also observed that the Japanese press never yields to the influence of political parties, but on the contrary is always ready to lead them, though the present political parties of Japan are in themselves not influential enough to give much guidance to the nation. Even in those good old days when the political parties were at the zenith of influence, most Japanese leading newspapers were independent and critical enough to lead rather than follow the political parties.

The Japanese press today would appear to the casual observer to be kowtowing to authority, but nothing is farther from the truth. Japan is now bending all her energies and resources to the conduct of protracted hostilities against China, and, therefore, the press is only doing its bit, by striving its hardest to proceed along the lines of national policies. It is no exaggeration to say that the Japanese press has succeeded in maintaining its present independent position, without being unduly affected by plutocracy or governmental authority.

The Japanese press has indeed many defects and weaknesses, but this particular inherent superiority should be duly appreciated by the senior Occidental press.

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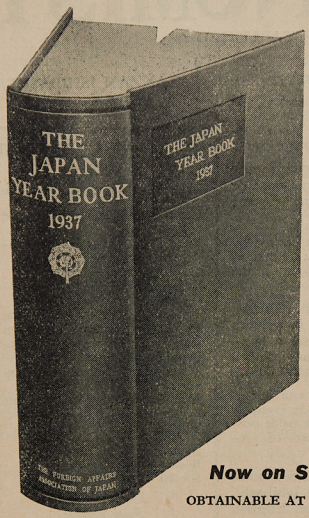

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