AMERICAN IDEAS IN THE CHINESE PRESS

BY

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To

My Adviser

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獻給

海德先生

馬大任

"The press is the only tocsin of a nation."

Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)

"When a country is well-governed, poverty and a mean condition are things to be ashamed of. When a country is ill-governed, riches and honor are things to be ashamed of."

--Confucius, 552-479 B.C.

CONTENTS

American Ideas in the Chinese Press

CHAPTER I Introduction

The influence of American ideas on the Chinese press has been great. It is by far the greatest among all foreign influences and, as time goes on, will be even greater than it is now.

Although the British seemed to have been more active than the Americans in the beginning of the modern Chinese press, yet later on, because of the friendly policy of the United States towards China and the increasing relationship between the two countries, Americans gradually surpassed the British in popularity among the Chinese journalists. The Chinese sentiments against Japan since 1931 indirectly helped popularize American ideas. After Pearl Harbor, the journalists of the United States and China came into very close and intimate relations with each other never seen before.

By now, the Chinese press is using many news dispatches released by the Associated Press, United Press, International News Service, and United States Information Service. The Chinese feature articles in newspapers and magazines contain a large proportion of translations from the American periodicals. All except a very few of the professors and lecturers in the Chinese schools of journalism have received education in this country. Most of the government press relations offices are headed by the returned

students from the United States. And the leading newspapers are published, edited, and managed chiefly by Chinese graduates of American schools of journalism.

In the following chapters, I am trying to give a brief account of the American ideas in the Chinese press which, I hope, will be of some use to American students in their study of the international relationship between the United States and China.

CHAPTER II

The Beginning of Chinese-American Relations

Chinese-American relations began with the arrival of the little 360-ton vessel, the Empress of China, at Canton on August 28, 1784. With the backing of Robert Morris, financier of the Revolution, and the New York firm of Daniel Parker & Company, the vessel which first hoisted the American ensign in Chinese waters had made a long and tedious voyage of six months around the Cape of Good Hope and through the Indian Ocean under the captainship of John Green before she came into the Canton anchorage already crowded with foreign ships and gave them a thirteen-gun salute. Armed with an official sea letter given by Congress, Captain Green made a successful deal with the Chinese, unloaded the goods carefully selected to meet the demands of the Canton market, such as fur, raw cotton, ginseng, etc., and brought back to America cotton goods, silks, chinaware, and tea.

The Empress of China opened a new commerce for Americans in the China trade. Within a year of her return to the United States, five ships sailed for Canton. By 1789, there were fifteen American vessels trading with China, and it was estimated the next year that something like one-seventh of America's imports was derived from this thriving commerce.

After the Anglo-Chinese War (1840-42), the American Congress, seeking to obtain an equal footing with any other

nation in the China trade, sent a commissioner to the Chinese government to negotiate a trade treaty. Caleb Cushing, a lawyer from Newburyport, Massachusetts, who had close associations with the China trade, was chosen for the post. He embarked on his mission at the end of July, 1843, and took with him a varied collection of scientific objects so as to impress upon Chinese officials the wonders of western civilization. There were, among other things, a pair of six-shooters, models of a steam excavator, and steam vessel, a daguerreotype apparatus, a telescope and barometer, and the Encyclopedia Americana. The treaty which established political and commercial relations between the United States and China was signed by the commissioners of both countries on July 3, 1844.

So much for the traders.

In the cultural influences which flowed from the United States to China, the role of traders was not as significant as that of the missionaries. The former had few personal associations except with hong merchants and factory servants. They very seldom learned the Chinese language. The American Protestant missionaries, however, became the medium for the transmission of western culture in all its many manifestations. As early as 1834, one of them was instructed by his home board not only to employ his medical

skill in relieving the afflictions of the people, but to be ready to give them western arts and sciences.

The first American missionaries to China, David Abeel and Elijah C. Bridgman, reached Canton in 1830. They had been given passage in one of the ships of David W. C. Olyphant, a merchant from New York, whose zeal for missionary enterprise earned for his factory the name of Zion's Corner. Within a few years the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Presbyterians, the Baptists and the Episcopalians had sent additional men to this foreign field. In close cooperation with English missionaries, they were busily engaged in translating the Bible into Chinese, distributing tracts among the natives, establishing schools and preaching the gospel. Among these pioneers were Samuel Wells Williams, W.A.P. Martin, Peter Parker, and Issachar J. Roberts.

After the trade treaty, the missionaries extended their activities to the new treaty ports and under the protection assured through treaty provisions they began to expand their work. By 1860, some eighty-eight American Protestant workers had arrived in China. They organized a Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge; set up printing presses with the aid of the American Bible Society to publish Bibles, religious literature and tracts; and started not only schools but also a number of colleges.

By spreading western ideas to the people through the

press and the schools, the missionaries along with other Americans were preparing the ground for the rise of the modern Chinese press as well as the modernization of the whole country. Americans were among the first foreigners to publish newspapers and magazines in China. American schools were the first in China which gave journalistic education to Chinese students.

CHAPTER III

Americans in the Beginning of the Chinese Modern Press

The earliest newspaper in the English language published in China, the Canton Register, was founded in 1827 by W. W. Wood, a gentleman adventurer of Philadelphia. He himself wrote most of the news, set the type, and printed the paper on a hand press lent by a British merchant, Alexander Matheson. He soon relinquished the paper to James Matheson who later was mistaken for the founder of the paper by some students of Chinese journalism.

The Chinese Courier and Canton Gazette, published in 1831, contained European and American news as well. It was merged with the Register in 1833.

One of the most important English periodicals in the beginning of China's modern press was The Chinese Repository published in Canton in 1832 by an American missionary, Elijah Coleman Bridgman. David W. C. Olyphant guaranteed the magazine against loss and built an office for the press which his home church donated to the Canton mission. Samuel Wells Williams, who came to superintend the press, shared the editorial work and contributed a great deal of geographical, botanical and other matters, and once wrote the entire contents of one number during the later years when in sole charge. James Granger Bridgman edited the magazine for a few months, 1847-48, while both E.C.Bridgman and Williams was away from Canton.

The object of the Repository was to give the most authentic and valuable information respecting China and adjacent countries and the editors made a monumental work in the often exasperating task of trying to unfold a closed empire. The Repository received a good response from its readers. The first three volumes had to be reprinted in full. The circulation for some years was around one thousand. After the first Anglo-Chinese war, however, the popularity of the Repository fell. During its last seven years its deficit was covered by other revenue of the printing office. In 1851, its last year, there were only some 300 subscribers, at $3.

The twenty volumes of the Repository, comprising some 12,000 pages, are an extraordinary compedium of information concerning China and the Chinese, particularly valuable as a final critical view of the old empire on the eve of radical transition. The list of contributors is virtually a list of the British and American scholars of that time in China, including Caleb Cushing, the first American Commissioner appointed to China to make a trade treaty.

Following the Repository, a number of periodicals were founded in Canton, Shanghai, and Hongkong mainly by the British. Feeling the need of an American organ, the American community issued the Shanghai News-Letter. Its first number appeared on October 16, 1867. It was a monthly till 1871

when it was passed into the hands of Hugh Lang who united it with the Shanghai Budget and Weekly Courier, retaining the title of News-Letter instead of Courier.

At Ningpo, Chekiang, Daniel Jerome Macgowan, an American Baptist physician began in 1854 a semi-monthly, later monthly, Chung Wai Hsin Pao 中外新報, that is, Sino-foreign News. This was primarily a newspaper, generally four leaves, at 10 cash a copy, with extracts from the Peking Gazettes and other news departmentalized by localities, as Ningpo, Shanghai, Kuangtung, Japan. After Macgowan left Ningpo the paper was continued until 1861 by Elias B. Inslee.

Perhaps the most notable missionary editor was Young John Allen, of Georgia, who came to Shanghai in 1860 under the Southern Methodist Board of America. In the course of 47 years, and in addition to other labors, he conducted a variety of Chinese papers and magazines and a translation service. Scarcely had he learned the Chinese language when, in consequence of the civil war in America, his board ceased to remit. He served the Chinese government authorities at Shanghai continuously 1864-1881 as teacher and translator, and concurrently 1867-1871 edited the Chinese issue of "The North China Daily News and Herald." All this while he also worked to keep intact the beginning his mission had made at Shanghai. As one means to this end he began in 1868 at his own expense the Chiao-hui Hsin Pao 教會新報, a weekly miscellany of religion, science and news, with commercial

advertising. Subscription and advertising returns more than covered the mechanical costs, and the annual subscription of $1 was reduced to 50 cents for the second year. The paper was well received by Protestant missionaries and through their purchases was distributed to virtually all the China coast ports and some interior cities. The average circulation during the first year was 700 weekly.

Allen recognized the wider possibilities of a secular paper. He regarded western science and material progress as causes for propagation along with the Christian religion. He steadily increased the proportion of news, news of China and the world. In 1875 he secularized the paper and changed the Chinese title to Wan-kuo Kung Pao 萬國公報, with an English title "The Globe Magazine." He enlarged the news section, doubled the size of the weekly issues, and changed the subscription rate back to $1. He described his magazine as a periodical "devoted to the extension of knowledge relating to geography, history, civilization, politics, religion, science, art, industry, and general progress of western countries". Regular contributors of the magazine were A. Williamson, C. W. Mateer, T. Richard, Wm. Muirhead, J. Edkins, Dr. J. Dudgeon, G.John, A. P. Parker, and E. Faber.

In 1876 the circulation was 1800 weekly, and among the subscribers were some wealthy merchants, officials and members of the gentry. The paper had made a distinct

impression among Chinese, and had some notable Chinese contributors, including even a Chinese lady. It was suspended in 1883 and resumed in 1889, as a monthly instead of weekly. The Chinese title remained the same, but the English changed to "A Review of the Times". Allen was editing again but the business management was in the hands of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese, later renamed the Christian literature Society. When the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1894, the circulation doubled in the first year and quadrupled in the second year. Li Hung-chang, the Chinese general, gave Allen the use of his telegraphic war dispatches, which the latter put together and made a complete account of the Sino-Japanese war from them.

Timothy Richard, who had close relationship with reform leaders, took charge of the paper when Allen was away on furlough in 1898. In course of the reform outburst of that year a complete file of the paper was ordered on behalf of the emperor Kuang-hsu, and there was even a proposal made to the throne to adopt the paper as an official organ. The circulation in 1898 was 1800 monthly. The anti-foreign boycott of 1902 reduced it. The magazine ended in 1907, a few months after Allen's death, and was replaced by a weekly.

One of the earliest juvenile magazines was published at Canton by John Glasgow Kerr, American Presbyterian medical missionary, called Hsiao-Hai Yueh Pao, 小孩月報

The Child Monthly, but, after a few numbers, was taken over to Shanghai by J.M.W. Farnham, another American Presbyterian missionary, and was quite a success.

Kerr also introduced in 1880 "The Medical News", Hsi-I Hsin Pao 西醫新報, literally News of Western Medicine. This was in connection with the Anglo-American Hospital, where Dr. Sun Yat-sen took employment and so acquired an interest in medicine which led to his becoming a physician.

Before this, Kerr had published a Canton Hsin Pao 廣州新報, weekly of religious and general news, 1865-71, at 21 cents annual subscription.

J. M. W. Farnham conducted "The Child Monthly" from 1875 to 1915. Circulation reached 4,500 monthly, mostly in bulk subscriptions taken by missionaries for distribution to children in their Sunday Schools. The demand for Farnham's first issue had been so great that it was reprinted. The rate for ten annual subscriptions was $1.50, later $1. The paper was generally eight sheets, and contained Biblical stories, simple instructive articles, small fiction and hymns, with copperplate illustrations. In later years most of the content was composed by Chinese members of the staff of the Religious Tract Society, organized in 1878.

Farnham also introduced a Tu-hua Hsin Pao 圖畫新報 1880-1913, primarily a pictorial, distinguished for fine copperplate engravings. This reached a circulation of 3,000

monthly, at $2 for ten subscriptions. With the pictures, there were educational articles on geography, astronomy and the like, and some news.

Farnham's Sheng-shu Hsin Pao 聖書新報, "The Bible News", distributed gratis, from 1871 to 1874, was one of the first periodicals published in the colloquial language.

A successful church organ was begun at Foochow in 1874 by N. J. Plumb, an American Methodist, entitled Hsun-shan Shih-che 向山使者, i. e., Mount Sion Messenger, later Min-sheng Hui Pao, Fukien Provincial Church or the Fukien Church Advocate, as it was generally known in English. This was designed as an undenominational Protestant organ, and included a good deal of general news translated from the foreign press or taken from the new Chinese newspapers at Shanghai. It was distributed to coast cities and to Formosa and inland as far as Hankow. The rate was 12 cents a year. This paper was the parent of "The Advocate", Hsing Hua Pao 興華報, joint organ of the American Methodist Missions, North and South, later published in Shanghai.

Americans were also active in publishing scientific periodicals. W. A. P. Martin, American Presbyterian missionary, who became president of the Tung Wen Kuan 同文館, the imperial college instituted for training diplomatic officials, was one of the three editors of the best early scientific periodical "The Peking Magazine", Chung-hsi Wen-chien Lu. The magazine became well-known because of

its articles on river control in connection with floods then occurring in China.

After the suspension of the Peking Magazine, another scientific periodical I-Chih Hsin Pao 益智新報 was published (1876-1878) under the Religious Tract Society and edited by Young J. Allen. The magazine was sometimes called the Chinese Leisure Hour, apparently because modeled after the English periodical of that title. It was regarded as a scientific affiliate of the Wan Kuo Kung Pao.

From 1873 to 1898, the translations of foreign news made at the Translation Bureau of the Arsenal in Shanghai were printed in a regular serial entitled Hsi-kuo Chin-shih Hui-pien 西國近事彙編 . This was circulated to all the higher officials in China. The translations were made at first by Carl T. Kreyer, American Baptist ex-missionary, and later by Allen and John Fryer who became afterwards the first Agassiz professor of Oriental languages at the University of California.

Fryer was also responsible for the publication of another early scientific periodical, Ko-chih Hui-pien 格致彙編 , from 1876 to 1881. He began the magazine as a general scientific journal, but soon turned more to manufacturers. He followed Allen's example in the matter of advertising, and obtained a large number of advertisements from foreign importers of Shanghai and even from British manufacturers of mechanical and technical equipment. The

price a copy was 50 cash, and the annual subscription at first $1, reduced at the fourth number to 50 cents, and returned in the second year to $1. The circulation went as high as 4,000 monthly, and the magazine was resumed in 1890.

In 1875 J. P. Roberts and John Morne, the first two editors of the Shanghai News-Letter, founded a new weekly journal, the Commonwealth, which died after an existence of six weeks.

The North China Star, published in Tientsin in 1918, was once the only American-owned newspaper in the field of foreign press in China, though a part of its ownership was Chinese.

The China Press was founded by three American, Thomas F. Millard, Carl Crow, and B. W. Fleisher and followed most closely the American style of makeup and news gathering. It was first of Chinese-American ownership but later was passed into the hands of British interests. However, its editorial direction and news activities were for a long time still American.

These periodicals wielded a large influence on the new Chinese press. In fact, the new Chinese began as a conjunction of the old official gazette press and the Western journalism of the nineteenth century. The Western journalism came to China in two forms, missionary organs of propaganda printed in Chinese and foreign-language papers published in the growing foreign communities. The new

Chinese press began with translations from the foreign press and then produced the native papers patterned more or less after the foreign periodicals.

CHAPTER IV

The Influence of Early American Periodicals on China

The first Chinese high official who realized the importance of the foreign newspapers in the nineteenth century was Lin Tse-hsu. With the aid of one of his followers, Wei Yuan, he got some translations from the earliest foreign newspapers within and without China.

In July, 1839, Commissioner Lin sent a request to the American missionary physician, Peter Parker, for a translation of the rules of war in Vattel's Law of Nations. The translation was later included in Volume 83 of Hai-kuo Tu-chih 海國圖志, Illustrated Cyclopedia of the Overseas Nations.

The Hai-kuo Tu-chih, the first comprehensive collection of western knowledge, was suggested by Lin in 1841 and accomplished by Wei in 1852. It contains a considerable amount of material translated from the English-language periodicals and the publications of missionaries. There is a section, in Volume 94, on the American Press, duly accredited to Bridgman's book on the United States, Mei-li-ko Ho-sheng-kuo Chih-lueh 美理哥合省國志畧, published at Canton in 1838 by the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge. The American press is described as follows:

"There are more than 1,000 newspapers of all varieties in America, originated from European records of world events.

They are printed on large size paper, 5 x 3 feet, and on both sides. There are weeklies, dailies, semi-monthlies, etc. Their circulations range from 20,000 down to 500, their subscription rates from $1 to $12. They contain shipping schedules, market quotations, realty, rentals, official and military affairs, 'everything under the sun'. In monthly magazines, there are official matter, astronomy, medicine, music, labor, law, education, and inspirational writings. They have some 200 or 300 quarterlies and 300 or 400 annuals. There are also publications like the (Chinese) Imperial Calendars, giving solar, lunar and eclipse tables, data on agriculture, arts, crafts and trade, world censuses, but no lucky and unlucky days to choose and beware."

Volume 81 and 82 are taken from the Chinese Repository which is called here "The Macao Monthly". The Repository matter is arranged in four categories: China in general, tea, the Opium Prohibition, and the military force used against China. There is plenty of frank translation, as for instance on the inferiority of the Chinese navy, or on officialdom: "At present Chinese officials are all ignorant of the foreign governments, and do not try to learn." The part on tea is translated from S. Wells William's Description of the Tea Plant. Though there are a few errors, the translation on the whole is accurate.

The Hai-kuo Tu-chih carried this notice and extensive use of foreign journalism to the attention of a considerable

number of officials and scholars. But it had virtually no effect at the time. Lin and Wei were much ahead of their fellow officials, not to mention their countrymen in general. It was a generation before the next similar effort, and two generations before there was any considerable acceptance of the thesis of the book, that Chinese should learn something of the world and should use foreigners' inventions and contrivances to compete with foreigners.

The early Chinese returning students from the United States were also the early newspaper publishers in China.

Yung Wing, the first Chinese returned student, founded the Huei Pao 滙報 on May 3, 1874, in Shanghai. Kwang Chi-chao, another returned student, founded the Kwang Pao 廣報, on May 23, 1886, in Canton.

Wu Ting-fang, who had a long and popular career as the Chinese minister at Washington, was also one of the earliest Chinese returned students from America. He collaborated with Wang Tao, one of the most famous pioneer journalists in China, to found the Tsun Wan Yat Po 循環日報, in Hongkong in 1874. The paper was commonly called in English "The Universal Circulating Herald", but this is incorrectly literal. The Chinese title signifies the slow but sure evolution of natural law, something of the idea that the mills of the gods grind slow but exceeding fine. Because of the long life and high prestige of the paper, it is generally recognized as one of the most important newspapers in the modern Chinese press.

Wang Tao, returning from his travels to many places in the world and lecturing at Oxford, wrote in his Man Yu Sui Lu 漫遊隨錄 , meaning "travel narratives", a comment on foreigners and the foreign press in China:

> "The Chinese should establish foreign-language newspapers to convert the foreigners. The foreigners have established daily papers at the treaty ports. The capital stock is owned entirely by Westerners. The editors usually have resided long in China, and are conversant with conditions in the interior. Their general tendency is to praise the foreigners and to belittle the Chinese, to the extent of utter falsification, representing black as white, and confusing right and wrong. The Western readers generally know only their own foreign languages, and receive as true whatever their papers say. In international issues, the words that first reach the ears exert the greatest influence. The readers are biased from the beginning, and so it is difficult for China to argue. If we were in a position to guide opinion, and could set forth carefully the history of each particular issue, then the rights of the case might be manifested. Then how could the foreigners play their tricks?"

In starting the Tsun Wan Yat Po, Wang Tao was assisted by Huang Sheng (or Wong Shing) 黃勝 who went to America in 1847 to be educated at Monson, Massachusetts, and returned to China in 1848.

Throughout his life Wu Ting-fang was an advocate of the modern public press and an active supporter and contributor. When he was schooling at Hongkong, he spent much of his spare time translating news from the foreign press. He did this from a sense of the need of world intelligence among his Chinese fellows, and not as a means of self-support.

Both Wang Tao and Wu Ting-fang seem to have cooperated with Chen Ai-ting 陳藹亭 in founding the Wah Tze Yah Pao 華字日報, another Chinese daily in Hongkong, in 1872. Though perhaps not quite the success that the Tsun Wan Yat Po was, this paper became the oldest Chinese modern newspaper in publication since the expiration of the Chung Ngoi San Po 中外新報 in 1919. Chen Ai-ting was later appointed an attache to the Chinese legation at Washington, and then consul-general at Havana.

Two other high officials who were interested in the press were Li Hung-chang and Chang Chih-tung, both once governors of Canton.

At Tientsin a daily called Shih Pao 時報, was published from 1886 to 1891. Li Hung-chang was said to be a supporter of the paper. He personally invited Timothy Richard in 1890 to become the editor.

Li was one of the earliest Chinese diplomats. He keenly prized newspaper publicity. He had early learned its usefulness in his diplomatic maneuvers and often contrived

to turn to his own ends not only the Chinese and foreign press in China but also, through the foreign correspondents, the press of Europe and America. He kept a close eye on the foreign press, and his faithful American secretary, Pethick, had a regular assignment to find and translate items relating to China generally, or to Li Hung-chang personally.

The Shih Pao was something of a class newspaper and was represented to foreign advertisers as having an extensive circulation among high Chinese officials. Richard welcomed the editorial post as a pulpit to preach reform and progress to a large circle of highly placed Chinese in and about the imperial court. He was an educator and reform advocate, rather than a news editor. His editorials had much to do with reform in general, recommending Western institutions, railways, the telegraph, liberal education in the arts and sciences, and measures to save the empire from an impending doom which most Chinese at that time did not even apprehend. Many of the editorials were reprinted by Chinese progresivists, however, and widely circulated.

The largest daily newspaper now in China is Sin Wan Pao 新聞報 of Shanghai. It was founded in 1893 by a group of Chinese merchant capitalists. Soon after its beginning, according to George A. Stuart, a part of the ownership was taken without publicity by Sheng Hsuan-huai 盛宣懷 who was industrial agent to Li Hung-chang. On the other hand, Timothy Richard related that the Sin Wan Pao was

believed to be partly financed by Chang Chih-tung, and quotes Li Hung-chang as saying that he thought the paper "disgraceful". The publishing company included some foreign interests, and a British manager was appointed, for extra-territorial safeguard. But this seems to have caused more harm than good. The British nominal manager had financial troubles in connection with his own business, and apparently involved the Sin Wan Pao company as well. In bankruptcy proceedings in the American court at Shanghai the paper passed to Buchheister & Company. In 1900 a controlling interest was bought by John C. Ferguson, American ex-missionary, educator, and adviser to viceroys. And the paper was then under the protection of the law of the State of Delaware. In 1929 Ferguson sold his share to a group of Chinese bankers. The paper, like most American papers, emphasizes advertisements and business news and is circulated chiefly among merchants.

Chang Chih-tung was one of the early officials advocating reform and the new press. He contributed a fund of Tls. 1,500 (silver) to the reformers' publishing office in Shanghai which published the Chiang Hsueh Pao 強學報 in 1896. When he was viceroy at Wuchang, he sponsored a commercial journal, Shang-wu Pao 商務報, in 1901. Later, he established the Hupeh Kuan-pao 湖北官報 as an official organ of the provincial government. This organ became noted

throughout the empire for its literary excellence. Himself a nice stylist, Chang demanded from his writers and editors a high level of composition.

There were more officials and scholars active in the early period of the Chinese modern press but, since they had no direct connection with Americans or American ideas, they are excluded from this brief account.

CHAPTER V

Americans and the Chinese Press in Ex-Foreign Settlements

Before I go to American ideas in the present Chinese press, I should like to mention with gratitude the American role in the former foreign settlements in China.

As a result of unequal treaties, there were several areas in treaty ports of China under the jurisdiction of foreign laws called "foreign settlements" or "foreign concessions". The most well-known foreign settlement was the International Settlement in Shanghai which, next to Hongkong, was the birth place of most of the early Chinese periodicals. The evil existence of foreign settlements, however, did not yield all evils. The press freedom enjoyed by both Chinese and foreign newspapers in the International Settlement for one was more or less a good thing to the development of the modern press. Of course, such a press freedom was by no means safe or stable. Whenever the Chinese press contradicted the imperialistic interests of foreign authorities, attempts were made by the latter to restrain the freedom. However, because of the American interests in Shanghai and the existence of American newspapers there, the Americans, differing from other foreigners in China, had always advocated a free press in the foreign settlements and, therefore, a close ally of the Chinese press.

The struggle between the Shanghai Municipal Council and the Chinese press came to an open fight in 1919 when the Chinese students and merchants in Shanghai struck to protect against the high treason of some pro-Japanese officials and the Japanese occupation of Shantung province. The Chinese press of Shanghai took up the campaign first by eliminating all Japanese advertisements from their pages and later by printing materials dealing with the boycott of Japanese goods. Many printing shops printed posters and circulars which the Chinese students pasted on store fronts and electric poles throughout the city. Fearing that the success of the Chinese movement might eventually affect other imperialistic interests in the city, the Municipal Council decided to establish its control over printed matter by a wholesale licensing by-law, which it proposed to the Shanghai taxpayers for ratification. The proposal read as follows:

> "The ommission to provide for the licensing of the press and of printing establishments, etc., must be considered serious. That the council should be vested with every power necessary to the preservation of peace and good order within the Settlement was amply demonstrated in the recent students' unrest which ultimately extended to the merchant and laboring classes of the Chinese community. In particular, it is essential that

> the council should have full power of immediate action, without recourse to any other authority, to prevent the publication of any printed matter of a character calculated to incite to a breach of the peace. Accordingly the Council will submit the Consular Body's text of By-law for the taxpayer's approval, with the following words inserted in By-law XXXIV between the word "goats" and "to sell", viz., 'or carry on the business of a printer, lithographer, or engraver, or print or publish any newspaper or periodical.'"

Immediately after the announcement of the intention of the Municipal Council to license the press and printing office, the American Chamber of Commerce of China sent a letter to the Chairman of the Council voicing its opposition to the proposal in a form which was given to the Chinese and foreign newspapers of the city for publication. The letter says:

> "This proposed regulation is contrary to American principles and is one which Americans cannot support. To this end we call your attention to Article I, under the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States of America .... Americans feel that the right of freedom of speech and a free press are safeguards of their liberty, and they cannot do other than oppose attempts to deprive themselves as well as the Chinese of these rights. The operation of this law would create

> an intolerable situation in Shanghai, since it would transfer to the Municipal Council and especially the Municipal Police, full authority to regulate and suppress any American publication which the Municipal Police might consider had violated regulations."

Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, then American Minister to China, on receiving the letter, remarked that "it is hoped that the proposed by-law will be withdrawn before the taxpayers vote or it will be voted down by the latter. . . Should it come up for Consular approval, there will be only one course of action possible, that is, rejection, as far as American action is concerned."

Having met opposition from different quarters, the Municipal Council brought forth a new and revised proposal in which "no person shall carry on the business of a printer, lithographer, or engraver, or print or publish any newspaper or other printed matter containing public news intelligence or occurrences within such limits without a license first obtained from the Council." The proposal was carried at the meeting of taxpayers by 269 to 159. When the meeting first assembled there was no quorum, but the lack was soon supplied by 138 voters of one nationality, Japanese, in favor of the press-muzzling ordinance.

However the proposal was eventually dropped when it failed to meet the approval of the Consular Bodies. Since

1919, several attempts have been made by the Municipal Council to carry it through, but each time it met with the better opposition of public opinion. The fight for a free press in Shanghai was a success. And the success was owing mostly to the sense of justice and love of freedom on the part of the American people.

CHAPTER VI

Americans and the Independent Press in China

The history of the modern Chinese press is a history of struggle for independence - for both financial and political independence.

Some of the early periodicals were published for the purpose of making profit, while the rest for promoting a cause. But it was often impossible to distinguish whether a publisher published in order to promote a cuase or promoted a cause in order to publish profitably. There was not a clear trend indicating the gradual development of the independent press in China as there was in the United States. I am trying here to divide the development into three periods, in which three different American ideas were dominating one after another. The first period, before 1900, the Chinese press learned from the early missionary journalists the basic knowledge of newspaper management. The second period, from 1900 to 1911, inspired by the reform crusade of some American journalists, most of the Chinese newspapers were organs of revolutionary or reform parties. The third period, after the revolution of 1911, the Chinese press became a better follower of the American independent press.

Before the turn of the century, the independent daily newspapers were already solidly established in a small

way in Hongkong and Shanghai. Some of the older papers in fact were passing, in the usual course of newspaper evolution, from individual undertaking to institution, and from institution to investment property. Under the stimulating influences of the time most of the declining properties were rescued and renewed in vitality by new managements. The chief newspapers, like the Shun Pao and Sin Wan Pao in Shanghai, developed superior news services and gradually ceased to be dependent upon either the foreign press or the old official gazette press, the two sources upon which the new press generally drew for the bulk of its news. They also developed commercial and financial departments.

The period between 1900 and 1911 can be called a period of revolutionary press. Almost all the new dailies begun during this period were partisan organs of political crusades. The revolutionary ideas occupied so much interest of the readers that no paper or magazine could hold attention unless in more or less accord with the new temper of the time. The non-partisan papers had to present some revolutionary ideas in order to secure their circulations.

After 1911 some of the former party organs, like the Shih Pao, settled into steady careers as independent papers. The Ta Kung Pao at Tientsin became involved in post-revolutionary politics and was suspended for some months

and then revived on a steady basis. The relation of the independent press to political affairs in general was reversed after the revolution. During the revolutionary decade the newspapers had to join the popular cause in order to gain a profitable circulation. After the revolution, and especially during the second decade of the republican era, newspapers had to refrain from political criticism in order to remain in publication. An exception at Shanghai was The China Times, Shih-shih Hsin Pao 時事新報, founded in 1907, which continued with sustained identity through numerous changes of ownership and management, and in later years was conspicuous for exposing errors and abuses of petty tyrants when other and larger newspapers followed a safe policy of silence.

Under the shifting militarist regimes political criticism was as hazardous as under the imperialists, martyrdom of editors occurred quite as frequently, and foreign connections for protective purpose became a recourse for independent newspapers as it had been for revolutionary papers before. Foreign missionaries sometimes lent their names in purely fictitious technical proprietorship for the good of the cause of free press and enlighted leadership, and others did the same service for a fee, and papers would be registered at foreign consulates as foreign properties

and thus obtain extra-territorial status. The French registered more papers than the British or Americans, though the American Minister Paul Reinsch openly favored the arrangement. The practice began to fall into disfavor in 1926 under the nationwide agitation against all extra-territorial privileges. But the same arrangement was made again between some Chinese newspapers and Americans when the Japanese troops occupied Shanghai in 1937.

The biggest independent newspapers in China are Ta Kung Pao 大公報, Hsin Ming Pao 新民報, World Daily 世界日報, and Hu Wen-hu's chain papers.

Ta Kung Pao or L'Impartial was founded in Tientsin on June 17th, 1902, by Ying Lien-chih 英斂之, a Catholic convert, reformer, Manchu bannerman, and subsequently organizer of a large orphanage and founder of the Catholic University in Peiping. The paper changed hands several times before it was acquired by the present management in 1926. Awarded by the Missouri School of Journalism a medal on April 18, 1941, for "distinguished service and continued publication despite terrific hardships", the paper is now a chain of four editions, Shanghai, Tientsin, Chungking, and Hongkong, with a total circulation of about 120,000.

Hsin Ming Pao is owned by Chen Ming-teh 陳銘德. It is a chain of eight editions in Nanking, Shanghai, Peiping,

Chungking and Chengtu (some places have evening and morning editions). The total circulation is between 110,000 and 120,000. The paper is famous for its local news, human interest stories, and sensationalism. Its evening editions are often more popular than its morning ones.

The World Daily is owned and edited by Cheng She-wu 成舍吾 . The total circulation of the two editions, Peiping and Chungking, is around 40,000 or more.

Hu Wen-hu is a millionaire merchant in Singapore. He owns four papers, one in Hongkong, one in Singapore, Kuang Hua Daily 光華日報 in Amoy, and Sin Hua Daily 星華日報 in Swatow.

CHAPTER VII

The Rise of American Influence on the Chinese Press since 1931

The occupation of Manchuria by Japanese in 1931 affected the Chinese press in two ways. The first was the sudden increasing demand for news by the Chinese general public in the moment of national crisis and the second was the extensive adoption of new American ideas in all editorial, business, and mechanical fields of the press.

The early Chinese newspapers had much in common with the old Anglo-American mission periodicals out of which modern Chinese journalism has risen. Important news was on the inside pages. News was classified according to origin rather than importance. Advertisements were placed indiscriminately. Headlines were mere labels. And there was no attempt to achieve a distinctive news style.

In the years of intense news interest which began with the occupation of Mukden by Japanese troops on September 18, 1931, Chinese editors were forced to adopt the more convenient American makeup and switch over to terse news treatment and informative headlines.

Most leading Chinese newspapers now display their important news on the front page. Headlines are written according to definite schedules and conform to American

standards of typography and style. The old label head inherited from early British missionary-editors has been crowded out.

News stories are more vividly and economically written than used to be the case. Many more human interest stories are presented now than before. Inside pages are more or less departmentalized. One can find pages of national news, world affairs, financial and commercial notes, sports, features, and editorials.

Lining up with the nationwide boycott against Japanese goods, the Chinese publishers no longer bought newsprint and printing presses from Japan but turned to the United States and Canada for equipment and materials.

When American devices in printing and editing have not been followed to the letter, one often finds clever Chinese adaptations to suit local needs. For instance, the news-lead so sacred to Americans becomes in China a meaty subheadline which because of the terse and economical character of the Chinese language is able to tell the whole story in an icredibly brief outline.

After the people's interest in newspapers had been aroused, it did not decrease with the gradual relief of the tension of the political crisis. Many people had formed the reading habit and went on demanding news and more news.

Many people who had not read newspapers before now read. Such a circumstance, somewhat as in the United States after the first World War, gave opportunity to the growth of tabloids, pictorials, and plain language newspapers.

(1) Tabloids

There were tabloids in China before 1911. They were small papers published in the afternoon and contained stories and fiction. The news was mostly reprinted excerpts from the standard morning papers, and so served a large public willing to wait a few hours to get the news more cheaply. Chinese call tabloids "Hsiao Pao", 小報, meaning "small paper".

The flourishing of tabloids around 1931 was spectacular. Between 1928 and 1932, literally hundreds of these tabloids, consisting of single small sheets, were published. The reading public found their big cities deluged with cheap "mosquito sheets" selling at low prices and chronicling the latest scandal, divorce, crime, and other tasty news.

The rise of Chinese tabloids was explained by Lin Yutang in his "A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China" as a revolt against big newspapers which failed to satisfy the desire of the Chinese readers to know more inside news with interesting, human details. Describing the tabloids in China, Dr. Lin said:

> "The chief characteristics of the mosquito press, as that of particular insect, are: firstly, they bite; secondly, they swarm about; thirdly, they are hard to catch; fourthly, they don't mind little accidents, (being less important financial investments); and fifthly, they try to make an extremely annoying humming noise. But let this be said on behalf of the mosquito papers; in the dead silence of the big dailies respecting the most important happenings of the day, even the weak humming of mosquitoes is, to the Chinese people, a welcome relief."

The tabloid press of China got the name of "mosquito newspapers" because of the malicious, impish, stinging character of the news they printed. It was as irritating as a swarm of mosquitoes in summertime.

In Shanghai alone, there were no less than thirty "mosquito newspapers" in 1932. They were divided into dailies, two-day, and three-day publications.

Since tabloids could not afford to subscribe to the regular news services and to engage correspondents in other cities, they found it profitable to establish indirect connections with the bigger papers which allowed them to make use of the news left over by the censorship. Therefore, they gained great popularity in spite of their frequent disregard of all standards of truth and propriety.

Some tabloids were licentious. Some subsisted on blackmail. From 1932 on, weeklies and other periodicals seemed to have largely taken their place and become the most popular reading of the public. Some of the better and more responsible mosquito papers still survive and a few at least seem to be steadily improving in quality. In 1935, there appeared the Lih Pao 立報, which although small and a tabloid in format, strictly speaking does not belong to the "mosquito" battalion, but makes an attempt to give the most important political and social news of the day at a price low enough to suit the purse of the common man.

During the last World War, Hsin Ming Wan Pao became the most popular tabloid in Free China. It had two editions, Chungking and Chengtu. The evening edition in the wartime capital of Chungking had a circulation of more than 30,000, undoubtedly the largest of all evening papers in Free China. Since the end of the war, the paper has been expanded into a chain of eight papers, all tabloids except the morning edition in Shanghai. The paper is privately owned, independent, and neutral in political inclination. It emphasizes local coverage, having a capable group of reporters. It presents news in a terse, condensed, and lively way. It advocates human interest and sensationalism, sensationalism of rather high grade.

Shanghai and some other big cities are the places where tabloids of sensational type are flourishing. In small cities tabloids are often the only or leading publications and, therefore, as dignified as official bulletins, without sensationalism.

(2) Pictorial Press

Pictorials grow under the same circumstance as tabloids. But, while tabloids met the censorship of the government as well as public opinion since 1932 and declined more or less, pictorials were spared and went on growing.

Illustrations had been used by early missionary newspapers and official and unofficial publications but no great success have the pioneer publishers gained in their attempts to publish pictorial periodicals.

Perhaps the first pictorial magazine in China was Ying-huan Hua-pao"瀛寰畫報, that is, "Wide World Illustrated News", an illustrated news monthly published by Ch'ien Hsin-po 錢昕伯, an editor of Shun Pao, in 1877.

In 1884, a better pictorial was published by Frederick Major, founder of Shun Pao, who owned a studio. This was a pictorial review called Tien-shih Chai Hua-pao 點石齋畫報. It was issued at intervals of ten days and each issue contained generally eight sheets, bound in

red. It included also some fiction and light belles-lettres, but was primarily pictorial. Some of the drawings were of a high grade, done by artists of considerable reputation, as for instance Wu Yu 吳友, whose studio name was Yu Ju 友如. The pictures were line drawings done with the Chinese brush, and had explanatory texts written in the white spaces. They were reproduced by lithography, a method adapted to printing both calligraphy and drawings. Frequently this pictorial would serialize a longer work in several numbers bearing a special subtitle, such as the Man-yu Sui-lu by Wang Tao and some other reports of his travels. A large proportion of the contents of the pictorial, however, throughout its long career, consisted of illustrated news items, ranging from the great events of the time in China and abroad to fabulous and morbid sensations. Many of the foreign scenes were obviously drawn from photographs in foreign newspapers and magazines, others apparently from imagination, all quaintly grotesque to Western eyes as Western drawings of Chinese scenes are to Chinese eyes. Among foreign subjects were Langley's aircraft, the Mersey railway tunnel, a submarine, the wedding of Grover Cleveland and Miss Folsom, Ulysses Grant dying in his chair, Lord Salisbury waiting on Queen Victoria, the Czarevith visiting a t emple, the Silver Lady at the Chicago World's Fair, cockfights and bicycle and horse races--usually with some special news point--and

the pyramids, Sphinx and Colossus of Rhodes. The Franco-Chinese hostilities, coming when the paper was begun, were depicted in pictures of the naval battles, one showing Admiral Courbet directing his fleet in action, and finally the scene of the signing of the peace protocol. There were many views of Shanghai events, including surgical operations in the foreign hospitals. Scenes of floods and famines and of opium dens seemed to serve the dual role of sensational journalism and reform crusading. As an example of morbid sensationalism, there was a picture of an act of suicide by decapitation, in which the unhappy but canny self-slayer attached a balloon to his head before cutting his neck, to carry his head away so that his remains might not be identified.

Later pictorials modelled more or less after the Tien-shih Chai Hua-pao. In 1888, Tzu-lin Hua-pao 詞林畫報, that is, Pictorial of the Grove of Belles-Lettres, was published but lasted only through a few issues.

These lithographed pictorials stand, in the development of the modern Chinese press, between the old pictorial Hsin-wen-chih 新聞紙 hundreds of years ago and the modern illustrated magazines and newspaper supplements since 1930, some of which are done by rotogravure and often in colors.

The boom of pictorials since the thirties can be clearly shown by the figures in a statistics made by a

magazine called Life of the Masses in January, 1936. These are statistics of the books published in one month between December 12, 1935, and January 12, 1936:

Fine Arts	19
Education	15
History and Geography	15
Juvenile Literature	13
Natural Science	13
Economics	13
Fiction	10
Political Science and Foreign Affairs	9
Prose	9
Applied Arts	8
Poetry	8
Literary History and Criticism	7
Sociology	7
Law	6
Philosophy	4
General	3
Drama	3
Military Science	3
Philology	3
Medicine and Hygiene	2
Biography	2
Total	172

These figures show that pictorial publications are the most popular ones. These publications include pictorials and movie magazines which are the most popular magazines in China.

The typical pictorial of China is the Young Companion 良友 containing most beautiful pictures with English and Chinese captions, showing Chinese paintings, modern and old, beautiful landscapes of China, pictures of current events,

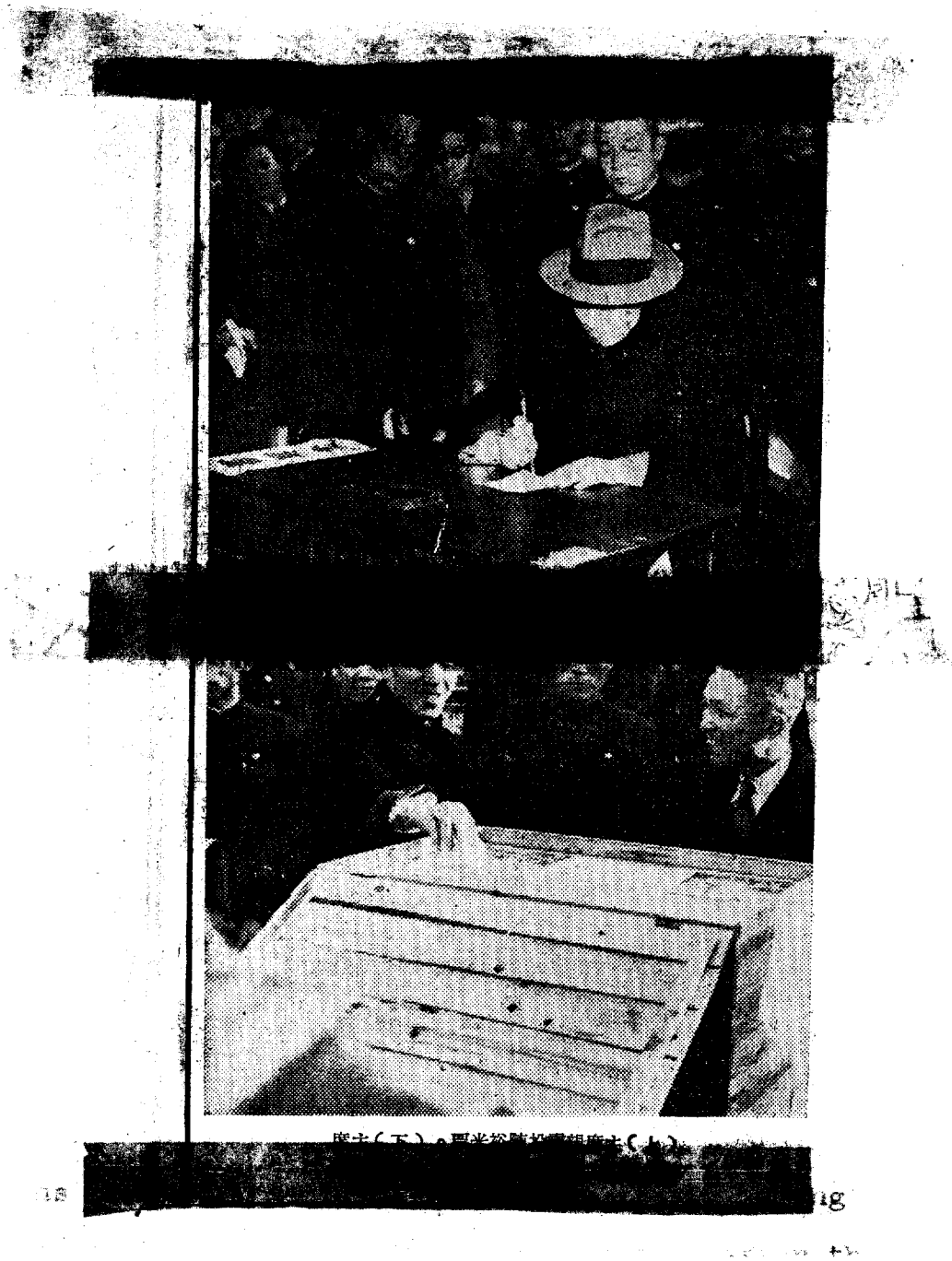
pictures of some of the old Chinese industries and manufacturing processes like the making of Chinese ink-cakes, the Szechuan salt wells, a few naked women with abnormally thick hips and some pictures of movie stars, Chinese and Western, and occasionally designs of women's dresses.

Many art magazines are constantly playing upon the nude motive and they can very well do so, having for their aim the study of human anatomy, the promotion of health and the introducation of Western civilization. In this connection I may mention the magazine The Esthete 唯美 , consisting of absolutely nothing besides nude pictures and the Shih-tai Manhua 時代漫畫 Modern Cartoons, the Chinese counterpart of the American Ballyhoo with cartoons and sketches in the style of Soglov and Covarrubias. While by no means innocent of obscene pictorials, China, however, has not yet achieved the profusion of nudist illustration and "art model" magazines existing in the United States and Europe.

The China Science Society, a strictly learned society, publishes the Science Pictorial 科學畫報 the Chinese equivalent of Scientific American.

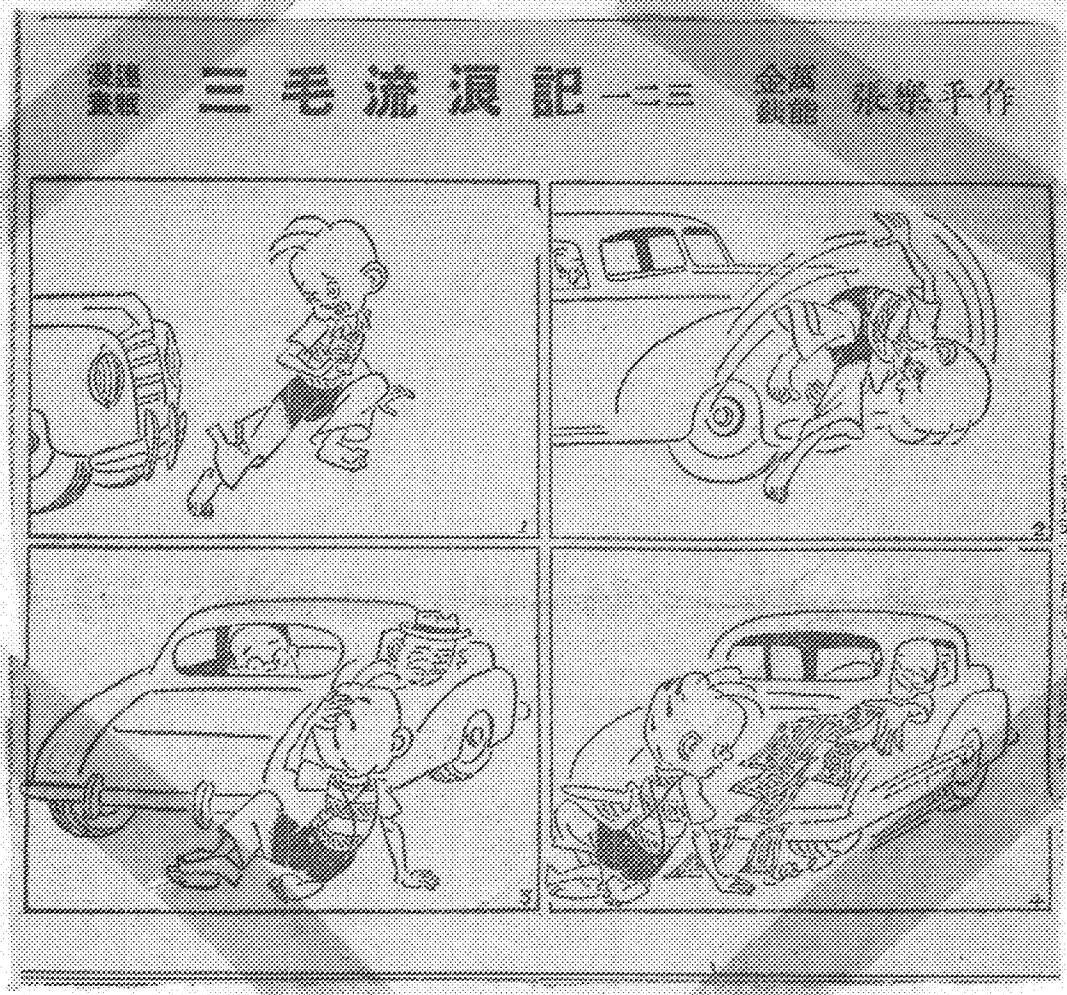
Two things which help the popularization of pictorials in China are the high percentage of illiteracy among the population and the literary style of news stories which is hard to read even for a graduate of public schools.

To lighten the pages and also to enlighten the poorly educated readers, many newspapers have made good use of pictures they can get and put them into much valued spaces of the post-war pages. The following are a few samples of pictures in the Chinese press.



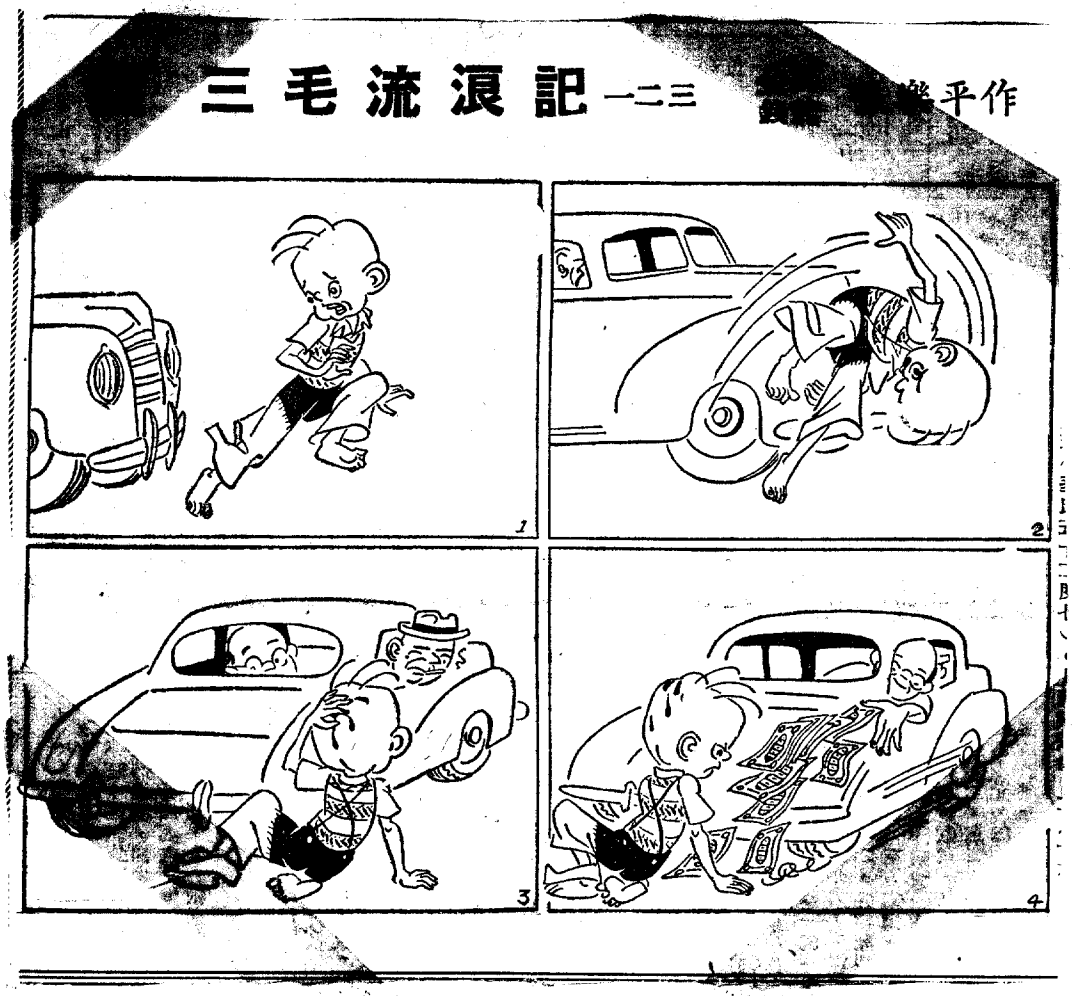
Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek wrote his vote (above) and cast it himself smilingly (below). From Shun Pao in Shanghai, Nov. 24, 1947.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek wrote his vote (above) and cast it himself smilingly (below). From Shun Pao in Shanghai, Nov. 24, 1947.



Almight Gold--which pays everything.
From Ta Kung Pao in Shanghai.

This serial cartoon story entitled The Story of Tramp Shan Mao (three hair) drawn by Chang Lo-ping is published regularly in Ta Kung Pao in Shanghai. The cartoons are so appealing and plausible that a young reader wrote to the paper's editor and told the latter that he was willing to support the tramp to go to school. The story certainly helps a lot in building up the circulation of the paper. And the social value of the cartoons promotes the pretige of Ta Kung Pao.



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Many big newspapers in China also publish political cartoons. Most of these cartoons are reprinted from foreign publications, British, French, American, Russian, and others. The following are some reprints from American newspapers.

Henry Wallace in the eye of American conservatives. Democrats and Republicans have almost all the votes (apples). The only one left for Wallace is leftist's tickets.

From Ta Kung Pao, Feb. 18, 1948.
Reprinted from Chicago Daily News.

The Mourning India

After the assassination of Gandhi, the Indian sage, by his fellow countryman.

From Ta Kung Pao, 1948.

Reprinted from The Hartford Courant, of the United States of America.

Between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

This is Chicago Daily News' protest against Soviet Union.

The Russian hand with a log is attempting to break American egg, the world peace.

From Ta Kung Pao, Feb. 20, 1948.

Reprinted from Chicago Daily News.

The high cost of printing and the shortage of paper affect seriously the publication of pictorials, as well as other magazines, in China. Many pictorials cannot survive the war. Others are more poorly printed than they used to be. Because of China's skyrocketing inflation, American pictorials which are much better printed and edited are sold at lower prices than the native poor pictorials in China. Under such a circumstance, it is particularly interesting to see that one of the best pictorials China has ever produced has recently come into life and, soon after its birth, set up an office in San Francisco to build up circulation in the United States. This is The China Life, a monthly pictorial published in 1946. The contents of the magazine are very much like that of the Young Companion but emphasize the Chinese arts. The title of the pictorial shows its ambition to be the Life Magazine of China.

(3) Plain Language Newspaper

The third child of sensationalism is the plain language newspapers.

Paihua 白話 , plain language, or conversational style, or vernacular style, has been used hundres of years ago as language of popular novels, but it was much despised by men of letters and was never used in common writing until the literary revolution of 1917 which was led by Dr. Hu Shih 胡適 , a favorite student of John Dewey at Harvard.

Before 1917, paihua was used in various degrees in the missionary and revolutionary organs and was the distinguished characteristic of a considerable number of periodicals designed for general progressive propaganda among the less educated people. In May of 1898, a woman editor-publisher, Miss Chiu Yu-fang 裘毓芳 published a Wusih Pai-hua Pao 無錫白話報 at Wusih, Kiangsu. This is probably the first paihua periodical in China.

In June of 1901, the Hangchow Pai-hua Pao was begun, containing news and general educational matter, and continued on a ten-day schedule for some two years. In October of the same year the Soochow Pai-hua Pao appeared in that conservative literary center of China, Soochow of Kiangsu province. There followed a Yangtse River Pai-hua Pao 揚子江白話報, and later at Peking the Ching

Hua Pao 京話報 , and many others. This use of the vulgate in serious prints eventually led to the literary revolution.

Important periodicals of the literary revolution, or the Renaissance Movement as many scholars call it, are La Jeunesse 新青年 , a monthly originally edited by Chen Tuhsiu 陳獨秀 , founder of the Chinese Communist Party, and published in Shanghai in 1915, and The Renaissance 新潮 , published in Peiping in 1919 by students of the Peking National University.

Since 1917, more and more periodicals have been using pai-hua and the old literary style has declined to the state of almost entire uselessness to periodicals. But paihua did not come into popularity without struggle. There were, and still are, some stubborn scholars opposing fiercely the use of the vernacular language. The editor of Hsuehheng magazine Wu Mi for one is an opponent of literary revolutionists.

The evolution of the journalistic style in China is condensed by Lin Yutang as follows:

"Liang Chi-chao 梁啓超 may be said to be the first emancipating influence in the history of Chinese prose, loosening up the rigid sentence structure of the classical language and transforming it into a free and flexible medium for the expression of contemporary ideas through a liberal importation of western terms. Yen Fu 嚴復 , one of the

early students returned from the United States, and Chiayin School of Chang Hsingyen 章行嚴 may be said to have struck closely to the classical style, maintaining its linguistic precision of form, but managing at the same time to infuse into it a modern content. The style of the Creative Society, (a society organized by a group of outstanding Chinese writers,) tended to be "romantic" and sentimental, while the Yusse School developed a familiar conversational style, subtle in manner and quiet in tone, often relieved by flashes of humor."

Lin Yutang himself is mainly responsible for the introduction of American sense of humor to the Chinese press through some literary magazines, especially the Hsi Fun (West Wind) 西風 , a humorous monthly.

Although paihua seems to have cleared out the classical language in the field of magazines, it is not as successful in the newspapers. Because the classical language is generally more condensed than the vernacular, some papers still use it in editorials and certain news stories. However, the journalistic classical language is no longer as classical as the old classical. It is more or less a mixture of the vernacular and the classical languages. In long features and translations from foreign literature, paihua is generally the language for all newspapers, including the high class ones. A pai hua presentation is much more vivid than the classical. And translation in paihua is much easier and clearer.

CHAPTER VIII

American Ideas on the Mechanicl Side of the Chinese Press

Almost without exception the new daily papers in China used foreign printing equipment. The size of these papers, and later the quantity of production, necessitated foreign printing presses and these in turn required metallic type and newsprint paper. China had been using presses of other countries before 1931 but, since then, the United States has been the main supplier of printing equipment.

Metallic typography was known and used in China in native forms during the 19th century, but had not supplanted wooden type or the wood block because the wood outlasted soft type metals under the Chinese method of brushing ink over the type face. The slanting strokes of the ink brush wore down metal reliefs more rapidly than grained wood reliefs. Pressure inking by means of rollers was the essential difference in Western technique. For half a century foreigners, mostly missionaries, experimented with punches and matrices to improve the manufacture of Chinese metal type. In 1860, William Gamble, an Irish-American missionary in charge of the Presbyterian Mission Press in Shanghai, adapted the then new electrotype process to the casting of metal matrices for Chinese type.

What is probably more important, Gamble is also credited with introducing the standard modern Chinese font in which the type are arranged according to the Kang Hsi Dictionary. Before his time most movable type was cut from wood, and his orderly case of font was welcome by a printing world where there were almost as many case systems as there were printers.

Before the war, two-thirds of the printing ink was imported from abroad, of which seventy per cent came from the United States. And most of the home made ink was made from dy color and varnish imported from America.

China use to get newsprint from Canada and the Scandinavian countries before the war. But now she is turning to America for newsprint. The recovery of Formosa and Manchuria helps the newsprint production of China a great deal, though China will still have to import 30,000 to 50,000 tons of newsprint annually in the next few years.

Today modern American high-speed presses roar in the plants of many Chinese dailies. Chinese publishers and students of journalism are keeping a close eye on the new development of the printing method in this country. The Central Daily News of Nanking, published by Ma Hsin-yeh, a graduate of Missouri School of Journalism, has recently purchased a press from the United States. The Chinese

Journalism Quarterly once introduced to China Davidson Dual Duplicates, a small high-speed rolling press, produced by Davidson Manufacturing Corporation in Chicago, as a press for community papers and tabloids.

Expensive color processes and modern photo-engraving have been installed. Editors and publishers of big Chinese dailies are awaiting the day when a slug-casting system can be adapted to the complex Chinese alphabet and eliminate the dead time now consumed by hand-setting. Since a touch-system Chinese typewriter had recently been invented by Chung-chu Kwei, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., it might not be long before the slug-casting device would be applied to Chinese type-setting.

CHAPTER IX

American Ideas in the Business Management of Chinese Newspapers

The early Chinese newspapers in the 19th century, like the old official gazette and hsin wen chih, were mainly a literary work, not a business. Editors and publishers, being men of letters, were too aloft to touch any commercial business. The traditional contemptuous attitude towards merchants and the essential character of Chinese newspapers as partisan organs or educational institutions made the business department of a newspaper office a place for nobody except the poorly educated or even non-educated people. However, in the course of evolution, Chinese publishers gradually realized the importance of newspaper management. Their realization was due mostly to American ideas brought back by returned students or found in the American press in China.

(1) Newspaper Organization

The newspaper organization in China is almost exactly the same as that in the United States except a few varieties of individual newspapers. Most of the big newspapers have been departmentalized into five sections, namely, executive, editorial, advertisement, circulation, and mechanical sections. The following is a brief chart of the organization of the Central Daily News in Nanking, the largest daily in the national capital of China.

ORGANIZATION CHART OF CENTRAL DAILY NEWS
NANKING, CHINA

Board of Directors

Publisher

Business Manager	Editor in Chief ------	Editorial Committee
Job Printing Manager	Managing Editor Assistant Managing Editor	Editorial Writers
Advertising Manager	City Editor Copy Readers Reporters	Secretary
Circulation Manager	Makeup Editor Proof Readers	Treasurer Cashiers Book-keepers
Mechanical Superintendent Composing Room	Telegram and Cable Editor	
Press Room	Feature Editor	
Engraving Room	Supplement Editors	
	Reference Room	
	Special Correspondents	

Employee's Welfare Committee

The paper was formerly a party organ but has now been transformed into a commercial company with some high party officers as directors. The publisher is elected by the board of directors. The paper has set up a number of offices in key cities of China as distribution centers. These offices are usually taken care of by its correspondents or string correspondents. The Employee's Welfare Committee has the function of looking after employee's health, living conditions, recreation, education, etc. The Editorial

Committee is composed of several high executives of the paper, including publisher, editor-in-chief, managing editors, business manager, and some editorial writers. The paper has a staff of over three hundred persons, excluding carriers and newsboys. Almost none except the wartime Communist newspaper in Chungking has its own carriers. Most cities have carriers unions which handle the local delivery of all newspapers. Carriers have, therefore, no salary but get a commission of 15 to 40 per cent on all sales made. The rate of commission of high class papers is low, while that of low class is high.

(2) Circulation Promotion

Most of the popular methods used in the United States to promote circulation have been also popular in China. Carrier contest, subscription contest, gift-giving, discount, rate reduction, bonus, and even lottery have been used by many publishers. Junion merchant plan, which, I presume, is still new in this country, has been introduced to Chinese publishers by the Journalism Quarterly, a magazine published by Journalism Society of the Central Political Science Institute.

Gift-giving is the most popular method in China. There are two kinds of gift-giving, direct and indirect. In direct gift-giving, the subscribers receive gifts directly from the newspaper office. In indirect gift-giving, the paper usually cooperates with a merchant who wants to have his merchandise advertised and therefore asks the paper to issue coupons with which the reader can buy something at a discount or get it

free. The Shun Pao had a large scale promotion program in its seventy-fifth anniversary by cooperating with many big department stores in Shanghai and giving a large amount of gifts through coupons.

Since some methods of subscription contest used to degenerate the prestige of the paper, some publishers try to reduce the "cheapening effect" of the contest by putting into it something of educational value or of intelligent interst.

In June, 1947, the Central Daily News in Nanking held a contest in which the reader who guessed right the number of cars passing by the newspaper office with a certain period of time was awarded $300,000 Chinese dollars. Guessing tickets were printed in the paper. Guessers had to buy a copy of paper if they wanted to join the contest, and the circulation boomed.

Such a circulation promoted by contest may not be stable. In order to secure a large number of long-term subscribers, many publishers give discount to long-term subscription and others do some services for the reader. An extraordinary and also new method was used by Wen Hui Pao in Shanghai in 1946, that is, selling stocks to readers. The reader who bought the stock of the paper received not only the paper regularly but also some other books or magazines and, by the end of a year, a dividend. This method proved to be a great success because, apart from the long-term

subscribers the paper got, it established between the paper and the reader a closer relationship than ordinary subscribership.

Perhaps the best way to promote circulation in China is to reduce the subscription rate. In comparison with American rates, the Chinese newspapers are far too expensive. Most readers cannot afford to buy them. Those who can use to make best use of the paper by lending it to his friends or relatives afterwards or putting it on some public place. This is a good practice but affects circulations seriously. In a time like the present in China when inflation is marching on every day, there seems no possibility of reducing the cost of paper, no end of such a practice, and, therefore, little hope that circulations can be increased rapidly. Publisher Ma Hsin-yeh of Central Daily News in Nanking has been earnestly advocating the reduction of newspaper price to benefit poor readers. He has a tough job in hand.

* * * * * * * * * *

According to the estimate of Hsu Hsao-yen, former Vice-Minister of Information, the total circulation of Chinese newspapers is around 2,000,000. The largest paper, Sin Wen Pao in Shanghai, has a circulation of about 200,000. The average circulation is around 2,000. These are all estimated circulations since China has no audit bureau of circulation. I presume the total circulation is underestimated because many small papers in the interior are often

published without registering themselves in the Ministry of Information or reporting to the Ministry their circulations. But circulations of papers in large cities are often over-estimated because of the rationing of newsprint. Some journalists, like Ma Hsin-yeh, have been suggesting to audit circulations but no step has been taken yet to form ABC in China.

The Shun Pao of Shanghai once issued monthly circulation statements certified by a public chartered accountant. The following is one of the statements submitted by Lowe, Bingham, and Mathews of Shanghai, chartered accountants:

"In accordance with the request contained in your letter of 29th ultimo we have made thorough investigation of the daily circulation of your newspaper, taking as a basis for this purpose the month of April, 1923.

"We beg to submit the following report thereon:

Total number of copies printed	1,397,725
Sold by local agencies	396,512
Sold by local office	313
Sold by outport agencies	825,806
Sold to direct subscribers (outport and foreign)	186,673
Free and complimentary copies	5,406
Undistributed and office copies	3,009
Total	1,397,725

"After deducting 'undistributed and office copies' from the total printed, we arrive at a net circulation of 1,294,716 for the month (30 days) or an average daily circulation of 46,490, which we have pleasure in certifying as being correct and in accordance with the books

and other records of the Shun Pao (Chinese Daily News), Shanghai.

Signed the accountants."

Although Chinese publishers used to exaggerate their circulations, the exaggeration can more or less be justified by the fact that the actual number of readers, in proportion to circulations, is much larger in China than in any other countries. While the average American daily will claim from three to five readers a copy, the Chinese publisher might without any breach of faith claim as a minimum twelve to fifteen.

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(3) Advertising

Newspaper advertising in China is of foreign origin. In the old days the Chinese merchants and manufacturers deponded upon personal credit more than anything else for selling their products. The westerners were the pioneers who first made use of newspaper advertising in China.

J. W. Sanger, once American Trade Commissioner to China, pointed out in his "Advertising Methods in Japan, China, and the Philippines" in 1921:

"Before the war the Germans and Japanese were the most aggressive advertisers in China. Indeed, the Germans continued their general publicity efforts (despite the fact that they had no goods to sell) until 1917, when the Chinese Government ordered them stopped; the Japanese were extremely active with both newspaper and postal advertising until the

boycott of May, 1919, closed all Chinese publication channels to them. The British have never done much advertising to the Chinese customers, and the French have done even less.

"American advertising until very recently was largely limited to the efforts of a few houses with active sales organizations in the field, which were supported by customer advertising; during 1919 and 1920 a considerable number of new American advertisers began modest campaigns on a 'try-out' basis."

The British-American Tobacco Company was once one of the greatest advertisers in China with an annual promotion expenditure of $1,800,000 (Mexican dollars), of which about ten per cent was spent in newspaper advertising.

The earlier newspapers which, like the Shun Pao, were designed to earn profits did solicit advertisements but got modest returns from Chinese merchants. For years the mainstays of the daily advertising columns were the large foreign businesses, the shipping and insurance companies at first, and later the tobacco, oil, liquor and patent medicine companies. Advertising rates long remained a matter of bargaining. The published rates often exhibited more or less uniformity, as a matter of "face", no publisher admitting that his space was worth less than the best. There was no organized scale of values, and in keeping with the Chinese conception of the fitness of things, the greater and therefore richer advertisers were expected to pay correspondingly higher rates. Medical advertising, covering quack doctors and venerealists, philters

and patent medicines became the largest classification. Advertising agencies began to develop and system gradually entered. By 1930 patent medicine advertisements had begun to lose the lead.

Before the war the average newspaper contained about 20 to 40 per cent of advertisements, including national, local, and classified advertisements. The post-war shortage of newsprint seriously affects the advertisement promotion. Publishers are often in a dilemma whether to give more of the valuable regulated space to advertising or to important news.

Chinese merchants have now taken over foreigners' place in advertising. Except in the foreign press in China, we can hardly see any advertisement of foreign advertisers in Chinese newspapers. The only foreign country still actively advertising in the Chinese press is the United States, which through her Chinese agencies advertises motion pictures, medicines, books and periodicals, shipping companies, banks and insurance companies, etc.

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Although more attention has been given to the business side of newspapers by some American-trained Chinese journalists, so far, China has published only a few books dealing with newspaper management. The only books I know of are Liu Cho-ming's "A Brief Account of Newspaper Management" and Chang Wen-fu's "Newspaper Enterprise and Management". Both Liu and Chang are Missouri graduates and former professors of Journalism Department of Central Political Science Institute.

Liu is now publisher of Central Daily News in Chungking. Chang is general manager of Sin Wen Pao of Shanghai. Liu's book is based mostly upon American books of journalism written by Frank Thayer, Grant M. Hyde, B. O. Brown, Van Benthuysen, and others.

Chang's books was published only recently. It is a 255-page book on American and British way of managing newspapers. It advocates "Business First" and tries to correct the traditional contemptuous attitude towards the business staff of a newspaper office.

Chinese business managers are learning from their fellow workers in the United States.

CHAPTER X

American Journalists in China

Apart from Chinese journalism students returning from the United States, the major introducers of American ideas to the Chinese press are American journalists in China. They introduce American ideas to China by teaching in journalism schools, publishing American newspapers, reporting for American newspapers or news agencies, and helping improve the Chinese press.

In this chapter, I am trying to pick out some of the most significant achievements of American journalists in China.

(1) Journalistic Education

Most Chinese journalism professors are American-educated students. Most textbooks used in Chinese schools of journalism are American books or their translations. Many Chinese journalism schools have close relationship with American schools. China owes a great deal of her success in journalistic education to the cooperation and assistance of the United States.

China realized the importance of journalistic education as early as 1911. During that year the National Association for the Advancement of the Press proposed the establishment of a school of journalism. In 1920 the National Press Association drew up a constitution of the University of Journalism. As both associations were short-lived, they failed to materialize their plans.

In 1918 students of the National Peking University formed a Society of Journalism which marked the beginning of the study of journalism in China. In 1920 the first department of journalism was established in the College of Arts of St. John's University in Shanghai. Maurice Votaw, now advisor to Chinese Government Information Office, who is a Missouri graduate, was once head of the department.

In 1923 a department of journalism was founded in the Peking Ping Ming University and another one in the Peking Min Kuo University was established the next year.

In Shanghai, the Nan Fang University started a journalism department in 1925. Later, the Kuang Hua University and the Fu Tan University also had journalism schools. The Fu Tan School of Journalism is still one of the best journalism schools in China.

The Journalism Department of the Central Political Institute (now National Political Science University) in Nanking was founded in 1933. Professor Ma Hsing-yeh, a graduate of Missouri, is the founder and, since then, the head of the department.

Perhaps the two Chinese schools of journalism most closely related with American schools are the School of Journalism of the Yenching University in Peiping and the Post-Graduate School of Journalism in Chungking.

(a) Yenching School of Journalism

The Yenching University is the largest of the Western-endowed universities in China. It is maintained on an inter-denominational basis by a group of American and British mission boards. The project for the establishment of the department of journalism was conceived at the 1922 annual meeting of the Council of Higher Education of the Chinese Christian Association. The department was formally inaugurated in 1924 with Mr. Roswell S. Britton, Ph. D. of Columbia University, as head and Mr. Vernon Nash, M.J. of Missouri, as professor. Owing to financial difficulties it was temporarily suspended in 1927 when Mr. Nash, who succeeded Mr. Britton as head of the department, returned to the United States to launch a fund drive.*

With donations amounting to $50,000 U. S. dollars from Missouri School of Journalism and other individuals and organizations, a school of journalism of Yenching University was established in 1939 under the joint auspices of the university and the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri. Professor Vernon Nash was the first director of the school.

More than eighty per cent of the donations was given by American publishers or people related with newspapers. Among the contributors were Walter A. Strong of Chicago Daily

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* The Chinese Year Book, 1943.

News, R. P. Scripps of the E. W. Scripps Company, W. T. Dewart of New York Sun, Adolph Ochs of New York Times, James Wright Brown of Editor and Publisher, George B. Dealery of Dalla Morning News, and Dean Walter Williams of Missouri School of Journalism.

Mr. Strong said concerning the project for establishing a school of journalism in China in a letter to friends:

"In my opinion there is no greater opportunity for effective educational work requiring so little money and having such large possibilities of return. No one can t ell how important to the United States the future development of China will be."

Dean Williams considered the offering to Chinese students of an opportunity for comprehensive training for the profession of journalism "one of the really great challenges for constructive, far-reaching effort in our time."*

In associating itself with the Yenching University in the development of the School of Journalism, the University of Missouri has its major contribution in the giving of advice and guidance in academic and administrative lines. Exchange professorships, visiting lectureships, scholarships, and reciprocal graduate fellowships have also been arranged.

The library of the Yenching School of Journalism was given chiefly by Dr. James Melvin Lee, head of the department

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* Editor & Publisher, March 23, 1929.

of journalism of New York University. Dr. Lee offered a large number of books on journalism, of which he had duplicates in his library.*

Under the supervision of its professors, students of Yenching School of Journalism published a tablois-size weekly newspaper called "Yenching News" with both Chinese and English editions.

The school was closed for a time after the Pearl Harbor and was continued in Chengtu in 1942. It returned to Peking after the Japanese surrender. It remains the most Americanized school of journalism in China.

(b) Post-Graduate School of Journalism

The highest educational institution of journalism China has ever had is the Post-Graduate School of Journalism of the Central Political Institute established in Chungking between March, 1943 and August, 1945. The idea of establishing such a school was initiated at a farewell dinner on the eve of Madame Chiang Kai-shek's departure for the United States in the fall of 1942 when she discussed with the Generalissimo and Dr. Hollington K. Tong (B.Litt., Columbia University School of Journalism, 1913), Vice Minister of Information, the status of journalism in China. These three people deplored the lack of trained journalists in the country and sought ways and means of improving journalism in line with the highest

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* Editor & Publisher, March 23, 1929.

principles of the profession as practiced by China's democratic allies. At this informal meeting it was decided that a program of journalistic training, American style, should be instituted in wartime China. Dr. Tong was commissioned to set up a school in Chungking to train selected Chinese students in the most modern professional methods.

As Madame Chiang's press relations chief in the United States during 1942-43, Dr. Tong sought advice and help in accomplishing the mission from his Columbia School of Journalism classmate, Dean Carl W. Ackerman, of Columbia School of Journalism. On March 18, 1943, after consultation and with the approval of Madame Chiang, Dr. Tong invited Dean Ackerman to cooperate in the establishment of a Chinese Graduate School of Journalism in Chungking. This school was to be set up in accordance with a plan outlined by Dean Ackerman to Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University in 1943 and approved by Dr. Tong. The letter stated that the Chinese Post-Graduate School of Journalism was to be a separate educational institution in Chungking under the direction of the faculty and the Chinese Ministry of Information.*

The project was financed by anonymous contributions.

The new school was "to prepare Chinese journalists for services to the government in Chinese embassies and

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* Report of the Dean of the Graduate School of Journalism on the Chinese Post-Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University Press, October, 1945.

legations throughout the world, to the ministers of state, the commanding generals in the field, and to establish, publish, and edit daily newspapers in the provinces."

Urging President Butler's approval of the project, Dean Ackerman concluded his letter by saying: "This new school may well have a profound influence on the future of journalism in Asia."

Upon approval of the project by President Butler, Harold L. Cross, general counsel for the New York Herald Tribune and Professor of Journalism at Columbia, was chosen the first Dean of the Chungking School. Columbia graduates selected as assistant professors were Richard T. Baker, assistant editor of World Outlook, a Methodist monthly; Anthony F. J. Dralle, managing editor of The Evening Tribune, Hornell, N. Y., and Floyd D. Rodgers, Jr., news editor and program director of radio station WIS, Columbia, S. C. The party set sail for China in July, 1943 and the Chinese Post-Graduate School of Journalism opened on October 11, 1943.

When the first academic year of the School ended, Professor Cross left for home and was succeeded by Rodney Gilbert, editorial writer of the New York Herald Tribune and professor at the Columbia School of Journalism. He is an expert in Chinese affairs by virtue of his many years of residence in China. The original American faculty of four was increased to six for the second year with the addition of Robert V. Ackerman, picture editor of the Courier-Journal,

Louisville, Ky., and Steffan Andrews, Washington correspondent for the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

The establishment of the School was a gesture of particular significance because it opened in the inner sanctum of China's propaganda machine. American citizens teaching journalism as it is practiced in a democracy were placed in the closest liaison with the highest opinion-forming body in China--the Ministry of Information. Such a peculiar relationship between the School and the Kuomintang naturally attracted some antagonistic criticism which often found fault with the one-party regime in China. Against this criticism the faculty, as it began teaching, justified itself by a straightforward declaration: it was in China to teach the best traditions of American freedom of the press and the best American newspaper practices based on those traditions. Students were taught that the best propaganda was the truth, that the only legitimate censorship was that imposed in time of war for purposes of military security. Not only did the American faculty refuse to condone Kuomintang propaganda and censorship, it was often actively opposed to it. Thus, the faculty remained on solid ground, free and able to criticize propaganda and censorship at the fountainhead within the Kuomintang and gave the Chinese students a real good sample of the dignity of freedom of the press.

In looking back to the accomplishments of the two years' operation of the school, that the American journalist

mission was successful can be seen in the achievements chalked up in helping the State Department's cultural cooperation program in China, in breaking down the hesitancy of Chinese officialdom to give out information and news, in spreading the gospel of freedom of the press, in teaching the responsibilities of men and women engaged in journalistic enterprises, and in training young Chinese to follow American methods in collecting and disseminating news through newspapers and by radio.

The American faculty also played a part in promotion of good will and friendliness between Chinese and Americans. During his year as Dean, Professor Cross spoke on the journalism of America at university assemblies; he was a guest speaker at meetings of the Chungking Rotary Club and the bar association, and he went daily for two weeks to give a summary of the day's news to government officials attending the Central Training Corps camp near Chungking, which was an educational institution for high officers and officials, military, civilian, and partisan.

Other members of the faculty were called upon from time to time to speak to student groups, and during the second year made good will trips to universities in Chungking, Chengtu, and Kunming. Moreover, faculty rooms at the Press Hotel were usually filled with visitors who, while sipping tea, would tell about China and asked about the United States. Those visitors were not only students and professors, but also men and women from other walks of life.

The work of the School was divided between the classroom and the newspaper office and composing room. The American faculty members conducted courses in news reporting, writing, and editing, in radio broadcasting, editorial writing, feature writing, newspaper law, public relations, the use of pictures in newspapers, the history of American journalism, and the growth of a free press in England and the United States.

From time to time, American correspondents were invited to speak to the students and thus give them an opportunity of learning how the correspondents did their jobs. Among the guest lecturers were Brooks Atkinson of the New York Times, Specer Moosa of The Associated Press, George Alexanderson, The New York Times photographer detailed by the State Department to work with the International Department of the Ministry of Information.

The fifty-seven graduates of the Post-Graduate School of Journalism are now working for the Chinese Government Information Office, reporting or editing some leading newspapers in China, pursuing advanced studies in the United States, or doing other work related with journalism.

Some of the students of the second class have already broken into American journalism with feature stories they wrote during their school year. Five such stories appeared in the Sunday sections of the New York Herald Tribune during September and October of 1945. Some were also sent for publication to the Atlanta Constitution.

The School publication, The Chungking Reporter, was an eight-page tabloid newspaper published weekly and had a circulation of 2,500 copies in July, 1945. Circulation was limited to that figure because of the high cost of newsprint and other materials. Of the total circulation, 100 copies were complimentary and the other 2,400 were paid for. Complimentary copies were sent to government offices and embassies. The mass of the circulation went to the general public and to Americans and universities in Chungking, Chengtu, and Kuomintang.

All the work on the editorial side of The Chungking Reporter was done by the students under the supervision of their American instructors. The students rotated from week to week in the various positions, so that all had an opportunity to serve as reporters, editorial writers, feature writers, rewrite men, copyreaders, and editors.

A business office for the School publication was also set up to give the students actual practice on that side of newspaper work.

When Dean Ackerman visited the School on his round-the-world trip in 1945, he promoted the first three instructors, Richard Baker, Anthony Dralle, and Floyd Rodgers, jr., to the rank of associate professor and Baker was appointed Acting Dean of the School.

The success of the School was shown in the large registration for admission to the third class, which was

supposed to open in the fall of 1945 but was never opened because of the suspension of the School in August of that year. Reasons for its suspension were the unexpected early surrender of the Japanese troops, the movement of government offices, and difficulties in getting faculty members and more funds.

(2) American Periodicals in China

The two most popular American periodical publications in China are the China Weekly Review and the Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury.

The China Weekly Review was founded by Thomas Millard in 1917 in Shanghai. J. B. Powell, a graduate of Missouri School of Journalism, purchased the periodical from Millard in 1919. The policy of the magazine has always been to uphold the Open Door policy in China, oppose foreign intervention in Chinese politics, and favor a strong China as the best guarantee of Far Eastern peace and order.

Mr. Powell, who was also correspondent of the Chicago Tribune and the Manchester Guardian, was one of veteran American journalists whom we might call "China expers". He was also a very good newspaperman, much beloved and respected by his Chinese fellow workers. In advocating consistently the established policy of the American Government toward China, he did not forget the international justice and

and equality among nations. During China's Northern Expedition period, 1925-7, when the revolutionary forces required the abolishment of unequal treaties, Powell supported treaty revision in spite of the dislike of American merchants and diplomats. He believed treaty revision to be unavoidable and therefore favored timely concessions to the swelling Chinese national sentiment in respect to both general provisions of the treaties and relations of foreigners and Chinese in Shanghai. He was outspoken in criticizing extraordinary measures deemed necessary by the local foreign authorities for protection of the International Settlement. That was enough to damn him in the opinion of those who wanted the old treaty status held at any cost and who thought the right solution of China's troubles was foreign intervention. A number of anonymous letters attacking him appeared in the leading British newspaper in Shanghai. Some writers intimated that he should be deported from the International Settlement and The China Weekly Review suppressed.

The attempt to intimidate Powell was embodied in his being forced to resign from the American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai. The annual meeting of the Chamber was on April 26, 1927. It happens that Powell, more than any other person, was responsible for the existence and present consequence of that Chamber. For years he acted as its secretary without pay. Also without pay, he spent a

year in Washington, working for the adoption of the China Trade Act, a law desired by American business men in China. When the Chamber could afford a paid secretary, Powell retired, but he continued active in its work. Powell attended the meeting of April 26 as a member of the Chamber. He did not know what was to be done concerning him. That, however, was already known to people outside of the Chamber. The British newspaper that had published those attacks on Powell had been apprized of what was to happen and had sent a reporter. After some regular business was disposed of, a member introduced a resolution declaring that the views expressed in the China Weekly Review were in direct opposition to the opinions and views of the Chamber and requesting Powell to resign from the Chamber. Powell was surprised, but he defended his course and refused to resign. The resolution then was adopted on a vote.*

Membership in the Chamber was of little practical value to a newspaper, and that action was taken with intent to stigmatize Powell and to brand him as "anti-foreign" in his activities and sympathies. The proceeding carried a local implication that The Review was subsidized by Red political groups in China, although no such accusations were made. That would be libel. Following that action of the Chamber, some firms withdrew advertising from The Review

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*Asia magazine, November, 1927.

and others gave intimations that, when their contracts expired, they would not be renewed unless The Review changed its policy. Powell refused to alter the policy of The Review and continued to advocate the established policy of the American Government which was then depreciated by American business organizations in China and by some important officials of U. S. government there.* By such consistency and sense of justice, Powell won the respect of Chinese newspapermen and the people.

Long before it became the fashion, the militant weekly took side against the invading Japanese. When they tried to silence him with bribes and threats, Powell sneered at them and lined his pressroom door with steel. The day after Pearl Harbor, the Japanese shut up his shop, and later clapped Editor Powell into filthy, ice-cold Bridgehouse Prison. Before he got out, starvation had cut his weight in half, and ganrene had turned his feet into shapeless lumps.

John Benjamin Powell lived to bear witness against his tormentors at the war-crimes trials in Tokyo, but not to see China again. He died at 60 in Washington, D. C., in February of 1947.*

His son, John William Powell, took over the paper. "Bill" Powell had been working with American Office of War Information during the war and, since the end of the war,

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* Adia, November, 1927
* Time magazine, March 24, 1947

running the paper for his father. When he returned to Shanghai, he found the paper plant and office were largely destroyed, the inflation was serious, and the cost of the paper was high. To make ends meet the young Powell started a translation service for the United States businessmen and correspondents, and a newsletter called Monthly Report. He also began up-dating Who's Who in China.

Less conservative than J. B., who underestimated Chinese Communists as mere bandits, J. W. Powell tries to steer a middle course between Communists and Kuomintang. The circulation of the weekly in 1947 reached 7,500. The bulk of circulation was limited so because of the inflation and high cost of newsprint.

The biggest American daily newspaper in China is The Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury. It was launched by American residents in Shanghai in 1928. They organized the American Newspaper Company and purchased the old Shanghai Evening Post, which was started by Eugene Chen, once Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, in 1918 under the name Shanghai Gazette. In 1931 this paper merged with the Shanghai Mercury, a British daily started in 1879. The Mercury had been the organ of Japanese interests in Shanghai for some time. Both the old Evening Post and the Mercury had changed hands many times. But at last these two evening papers were merged and became the most progressive and liberal daily in Shanghai.

T. O. Thackrey, formerly with the Scripps-Howard chain, became the first editor of the Evening Post and Mercury. He was succeeded by Randall Gould, who had been head of the Far Eastern branch of the United States. This paper has close connection with the United States.*

During the period of Northern Expedition of Chinese revolutionary forces in 1927, Randall Gould has as glorious a story as J. B. Powell had in his fighting against any restraint on the press freedom by government. In that critical moment of revolution, Ferdinand L. Mayer, counsellor of American Legation in Peking, suggested to Gould that incoming despatches should not be sent out before being referred to the legation. Mr. Gould refused to accept the suggestion and said that he could not submit to censorship. Later, Gould reported the story of warlord Chang Cho-lin's raid on Russian Embassy with previously obtained warrant of the Diplomatic Corps (of course, excluding Russians). The American Legation took a rather prominent part in making the raid possible. That sensational event was profusely reported by all foreign correspondents in Peking. Mr. Gould, for the United States, interviewed the Russian Charge d'Affaires and reported also his side of the story.*

Coincidently, two American newspaper writers, Mrs. Mildred Mitchell and Mr. Wilbur Burton, were arrested

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* Journalism Quarterly, Vol. XVII, September, 1940.
* Asia magazine, November, 1927.

by Chang Cho-lin's police and confined incommunicado at their hotel outside the Legation Quarter. The two were considered by the American Legation as pro-revolution writers. Following the wishes of the American Legation, foreign correspondents in Peking were indifferent about the incident. Mr. Gould, however, managed to get in touch with the prisoners and reported the story to the United Press. Thus, he gave it wide publicity and forced the American Legation to move.

At that time, it was a custom for press correspondents to be received at the American Legation every day to get news from the Counsellor. By reporting stories which were not liked by the legation, Mr. Gould made himself persona non grata to the legation. He was excluded from the daily press conferences. Mr. Gould made a report to his head office about being debarred from the American Legation. The head office took the matter up at Washington, and the Department of State asked an explanation of the legation. Mr. J. V. A. MacMurray, then Minister to Peking, explained that a reason was that Mr. Gould was suffering from a nervous breakdown to extent of being unfit for work and that he showed an "unsympathetic" attitude toward the legation. On learning of that statement, Mr. Gould had himself examined by three of the foremost foreign physicians

in Peking, who pronounced him normal. After the matter had dragged along for three months, the Department of State instructed the legation to lift the ban and receive Mr. Gould.*

The Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury moved to Chungking after Pearl Harbor and was published as a weekly there. It returned to Shanghai after the end of the war.

Besides the Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury and China Weekly Review, there are some other American periodicals published by the United States Information Office.

The most popular American periodicals in China now are Reader's Digest and Time Magazine. Next to them are Coronet, Saturday Evening Post, Collier's, etc. Among the movie magazines, Photoplay is the best-seller. Pic is declining. Fortune has not been seen for many months except by its subscribers. Atlantic, Esquire, McCormick, Vogue, and Home Companion are still popular. In the Ta Hua Book Store in Shanghai which is a center of magazines, we can find more than one hundred American magazines of all varieties. Inflation is the greatest obstacle to the popularity of American magazines in China. Only a few people can afford to buy them. The ever-changing exchange rate between Chinese currency and U.S. dollars makes foreign subscription in China impossible. In March, a copy of Holiday cost 400,000 Chinese dollars. So did the Esquire. The prices are soaring every day.*

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* Asia magazine, November, 1927.
* Ta Kung Pao of Shanghai, March, 1948.

(3) American Correspondents in China

More than 500 foreign correspondents, representing newspapers, magazines, radio systems, press associations, as well as free-lance writers, visited China during the war. Most of them were American correspondents. A number of leading American newspapers, press associations and other press organizations have maintained offices or correspondents in China either regularly or at frequent intervals. They are as follows:

Associated Press of America,
United Press,
New York Times,
Baltimore Sun,
New York Post,
Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury(American edition),
Time and Life magazines,
Newsweek,
Liberty magazine,
Harper's magazine,
North American Newspaper Alliance,
Yank magazine,
News of the Day(M-G-M newsreel),
American Broadcasting Company,
Mutual Broadcasting System,
Religious News Service,
Cleveland Plain Dealer,
International News Service,
World Report,
Acme,
Chicago Sun,
Chicago Tribune,
New York Herald Tribune,
Journalism Quarterly,
etc.

To cover news in China is a difficult job. The foreign correspondents in China have always complained of that.

In an essay entitled "Work of the Foreign Newspaper Correspondent in China" written by One of Them which is supposed to be the pen-name of one of American correspondents in China, published in China Weekly Review, October 10, 1928, the author wrote:

"A newspaper reporter in China is faced with difficulties on all sides. He deals with a difficult subject, there are no established sources of news, hardly two persons view the same incident in the same light, there are critics on all sides ready to condemn a reporter as having turned a propagandist, and so on, and difficulties by the score could be enumerated."

By "no established sources of news", the writer means particularly that there was no reliable and established source for government news. Such a difficulty, however, no longer exists. During World War II, the International Department of Chinese Ministry of Information was functioning as a public relations office with the specific purpose of helping the foreign press. Press conferences usually presided over by one high ranking member of cabinet or another were arranged every week by the contact section of the department. Greensheets which were daily bulletins with translations of important editorials, feature stories, and news were prepared by the writing section of the department and were distributed free among the foreign correspondents.

The Central News Agency which was the official news association in China issued both Chinese and English news releases every day.

Since the end of the war, the Chinese Government Information Office has been established to continue the service of Ministry of Information for the foreign press. Central News Agency goes on issuing English releases and is competing with AP, UP, Reuters, French Press Agency, Tass, and USIS in China. Under the direction of the Government Information Office, press departments have been set up in all state ministries, provincial governments, municipal governments, and other civilian or military units. Everywhere he goes, a foreign correspondent can find a press relations office to help him just as he does in the United States.

So far as critics are concerned, Mr. One of Them's statement is still true to a certain extent but not all. He said:

"In China there are two clearcut groups which are quick to condemn a correspondent as guilty of writing other than the facts. On one side are the Chinese and a portion of the foreign community, these folks being generally pro-Chinese and anxious to have all affairs presented with a sympathetic ear to their interests. On the other side is the group commonly known as the die-hards, an ambiguous term but come to mean everyone who does not favor wholesale

relinquishment of privileges of foreigners in China. These folks would have a correspondent write perpetually of the hard lot of the foreigner in China and how he deserves the unqualified support of his government in maintaining for him in China privileges which have no real justification but which have existed so long that they have come to be looked upon as rights and not privileges."

Since the abolishment of the unequal treaties in China in 1943, the influence of die-hards, like the British journalist, H. G. W. Woodhead, has been declining. The origin of die-hards is the imperialistic interest of foreign countries in China. The only country which still has a great deal of her interests in China after the war is the United States. There will be no die-hards if the American interests in China are not imperialistic.

On the other side, having survived the eight years of resistance war against Japan, the Chinese are confident of themselves and are no longer afraid of foreign encroachment. The Chinese Government does not call for sympathy or help of foreign countries as it did in 1931. If it calls, it calls for international justice and cooperation. Ever since the days of General Stilwell the American correspondents have been critical about the Chinese government, but the latter has done little to counter the Americans. On the contrary, the Chinese Government has often looked upon the criticism of the foreign press, especially the American

press, as guidance of improvement in its administration.

The difficulties of American correspondents in China now come mostly from their own inexperience in coverage of Chinese news and the ignorance of the Chinese situation on the part of their home offices. Almost all American correspondents depend upon Chinese translators for news sources and Chinese translators may be good translators but often not good journalists. Therefore, the American correspondents are likely to miss some news which may not be missed if they know the Chinese language.

The home offices' ignorance of Chinese situation can be shown in the following story:

"On May 30, 1925, one of the Shanghai correspondents for an important newspaper happened to be walking along Nanking Road and was therefore 'on the spot' when the Shanghai police (under the command of the British police chief) fired into a mob composed of Chinese students and laborers, killing and wounding about twenty. The correspondent realized that this was a 'big story', and immediately he sent his newspaper a cable that cost in the neighborhood of six hundred dollars. But he was not surprised to receive from his editor a cabled reprimand and, from the managing editor, on the next mail, a letter apparently written in considerable heat. The managing editor did not 'consider the killing of six Chinamen to be worth a cable costing six hundred dollars.' The correspondent's face was saved,

however, for within a week the managing editor had realized the importance of the so-called 'Nanking Road Incident' and was demanding more cables, some of them running much higher than six hundred dollars or even a thousand dollars."*

Another trouble the correspondents have with their home offices is differences of facts among various reports by different correspondents. Of course, no two correspondents will see the same incident exactly in the same light. Such differences are expected and desired. But, when reports from various sources begin to show marked differences in statement of fact, then is when each correspondent begins to hear from his home office asking explanations why his dispatches differ so radically from the others. If he can prove his version, all the better for him and he might receive a two dollars a week increase in salary some time on the strength of it. If not, a sharp call down is the outcome, usually accompanied by instructions in no uncertain terms to wake up to what is going on and not again make his paper "lose face" by printing something which is not borne out by fact or reports from other sources. If the incident is one of many similar ones the correspondent will do well to begin packing his trunk for a trip home, or begin looking about for a change of mode of earning his living.

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* Asia magazine, May, 1927, The American Correspondent in China, written by J. B. Powell.

As a whole, the American correspondents are doing a good job in China. They win the admiration of Chinese journalists not only by their ability and hardwork, but also by their fearlessness in fighting against the Japanese oppression in Shanghai before Pearl Harbor. After the evacuation of Chinese troops from the city of Shanghai, the International Settlement was still a center of activities of Chinese patriotic journalists and foreign correspondents. In defiance of intimidation and violence of the Hapanese and the puppets they sought to maintain the freedom of the press.

Having assassinated some Chinese journalists, the Nanking puppet government ordered in July, 1940, the deportation of the following foreign journalists:

C. V. Starr, publisher of the Shanghaie Evening Post & Mercury, American.

Randall Gould, editor of the same paper and correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, American.

J. B. Powell, editor and publisher of China Weekly Review, American.

Hal P. Mills, publisher of the Hua Mei Wan Pao, American.

Norman F. Allman, member of the Shanghai Municipal Council and a director of the American registered Shun Pao, American.

Carroll D. Alcott, well-known American radio commentator, American.

J. A. E. Sander-Bates, publisher of the Morning Leader, British.

They were charged with "cooperating with traitors and distributing rumors and improper statements." The puppets especially singled out J. B. Powell as a "propagator of communist theories" and Carroll D. Alcott as "Chungking's leading radio mouthpiece." These seven journalists simply ignored the puppet's order and even refused special police protection as asked for by U. S. Acting Consul-General, Richard Butrick, for the Americans. C. V. Starr and Randall Gould issued a joint rejoinder in the Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury on July 17, 1940, asserting their right as American citizens under the protection of American law "to print uncensored news and write fearless and hardhitting editorials," and declaring it was their privilege to decide upon matters of editorial policy. They said that "as long as freedom of speech prevails in Shanghai, we will not yield to violence or coercion."*

Such a spirit, I suppose, is the most valuable thing that the American journalists ever gave to their fellow workers in China. In the following chapter I am going to tell the freedom-of-the-press movement in China as inspired by American journalists.

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* Chinese Year Book, 1943.

CHAPTER XI

Americans and the Press Freedom in China

In spite of the strong communistic influence now existing in China, the press freedom movement there is moving definitely towards the free press of American style, not Russian.

The press freedom was given for the first time in the Chinese history by the Provisional Constitution which was adopted in 1911 after the establishment of the Republic of China. The freedom greatly accelerated the growth of the press. During the first years of the republic, 500 papers were published all over the country, with Peiping claiming one-fifth of the number.

The press received its first severe blow in 1914, when Yuan Shih-kai, the first president of the republic, aspiring to be an emperor, clamped down on Kuomintang papers and those papers known for their revolutionary leanings. Press regulations were promulgated in that year, subjecting mail, telegrams, as well as final proofs of newspapers to censorship. There were cases in which journalists were imprisoned. As a result, among the papers published in big cities, only twenty survived in Peiping, five in Shanghai, and two in Hankow.

After 1927 there was a nationwide persecution of the communistic press. Later, the Chinese communists limited

their journalistic activities to foreign settlements and the small area in South Kiangsi under their control.

The Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931 greatly intensified the conflict between the Chinese government and the press. The sentiment of the whole nation was anti-Japanese. So was the press. But the government, under the Japanese pressure, would not like the press to go too far, so that the Japanese might find some trouble with it. The censoring of anti-Japanese material from newspapers and periodicals aroused great resentment among the press.

Then the Sino-Japanese war broke out eventually. The communists joined with Kuomintang in that national resistance war. The Program of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction which was adopted by the Kuomintang Extra-ordinary Party National Congress on April 1, 1938, became the basic national policy during the war. The freedom of the press was mentioned in the 26th item, Chapter VI Mass Movement, which read:

"The freedom of speech, the freedom of the press, and the freedom of assembly shall be fully protected by law, in the course of the war, provided they do not contravene the Three People's Principles which are the nation's highest principles, and provided they are within the scope of laws and ordinances."*

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* China Handbook, 1947.

During the period of anti-Japanese war, American journalists, correspondents and journalism professors, played a significant part in advocating the freedom of the press in Free China. Lectures on the press freedom were given by Professor Cross at the Post-Graduate School of Journalism in the academic year of 1943-44 and were followed by Professor Gilbert the next year. One of the tangible results of these lectures was the postponement of the enforcement date of China's journalist act caused by students' publication of the act in the school paper, The Chungking Reporter. The act was considered worth-while for its provisions covering the qualifications of men and women in journalism, but it also fixed penalties on newspapers and journalists for any adverse criticism of the government or the Kuomintang. The act had been drawn up a few years before, but was not finally enacted until the spring of 1945. It was to be enforced as of July 1, 1945. An announcement of the enforcement date appeared in a small item in one of the Chinese-language newspapers. One of the student reporters followed up that item, and, after much scurrying about and questioning of government officials, wrote a story for the School newspaper. His story was submitted for censorship at 4 a.m. of a publication day. The censor had to be aroused from sleep, and so he was not entirely awake when he passed the story for publication. The Chungking Reporter's story caught the attention of foreign correspondents, and their

efforts to file copy about the act eventually resulted in postponement of the enforcement date until the act could be revised to remove the objectionable features. The act, up to now, has not been revised yet. The following is the page of the paper which reveals the act.

重 慶 The 新 聞
Chungking Reporter

Vol. II. No. 15. Chungking, China — June 14, 1945 — $30 Per Copy

Chinese Forces Drive On Kweilin In 2-Prong Attack; U.S. Bombers, Fighters Blasting Japan In Daily Raids

UNCIO Nears End Of Work On Charter

After three weeks of proposing, debating, discussing and voting, the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco is expected to settle remaining problems and complete its task of drafting a world security charter within a few days.

The UNCIO Commission on General Assembly adopted without dissension the report of its committee on Economic and Social Cooperation. The report will be presented by the commission to a plenary session for routine approval and will form the World Charter's Chapter IX on the Economic Council. According to the report, the function of the council is much larger than was proposed at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. The council aims not only to facilitate solutions of international economic, social, and humanitarian problems, but also to promote higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress; cooperation in international cultural and educational fields; and universal respect for the observance of human rights and fundamental freedom for all without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex.

After the Big Five had taken nineteen days to reach common views and a common interpretation of the Yalta voting formula, they refused to retreat from their stand on the veto issue despite strong opposition from little nations under the generalship of Australian Minister Herbert V. Evatt. Dr. Wellington Koo of the Chinese delegation spoke up for the Big Five at Monday afternoon's session of the Committee on Security Council's Structure and Procedure.

(Continued on Page 8)

City's Price Index Is Up 1,433 Times

The retail price index for May in Chungking was 1,433 times that of June in 1937, Dr. P.H. Chang, the Government spokesman, revealed at yesterday's press conference.

The rise of the gold price is due to the fact that gold has become commodity itself. People who have funds are "buying and hoarding gold rather than goods", Dr. Chang said.

Rain Peps Up City, Mercury Skids 10°

A heavy downpour of rain and a violent gust of wind pepped up Chungking residents this week after the weariness of the heat last Sunday night. The mercury dropped more than 10 degrees.

Farmers still were hopeful that more rain would come for their autumn harvests. A night's rain seemed not enough for the long scorched ground.

Gold Price Boost Increases Activity On Money Market

Activity on the open money market has increased steadily since the official price of gold was raised on June 8 from $35,000 to $50,000 a tael.

The open market price for gold jumped that day to $120,000 a tael, but it receded to $105,000 yesterday on a report that the government will pay out large amounts of gold on long-due futures.

The exchange rate for U. S. dollars went up to $1,350 CN for $1 U. S. on June 11. It dropped to 1,180 on June 12 and to 1,150 yesterday because of the approach of the Dragon Boat Festival, a debt-paying day. Dealers believe the rate will rise again after June 15.

Aussies Push Ahead In Borneo Against Light Jap Opposition

Australian troops which invaded North Borneo Sunday against light Japanese opposition have pushed rapidly inland for more than two miles toward the town of Brunei from four bridgeheads on Brunei Bay. Other elements of the Australian Ninth Division have seized an airfield and a town on Labuan island in the Bay.

Supplies for the Aussie troops, some 15,000 strong, are pouring ashore from 200 ships. The Australians suffered only one casualty on this latest Pacific "D-Day" as the Japanese pulled their main forces back into the hills under the air and naval bombardment which preceded the landings.

General Douglas McArthur, who landed with the troops, hailed the new invasion as another great strategic victory over the Japanese and predicted intensified Allied air strikes from Borneo fields against 1,500 miles of the Jap-held Asiatic mainland between Singapore and Shanghai.

Japs Refuse To Surrender

Annihilation of the estimated 10,000 to 15,000 Japanese on Okinawa entered its final phase this week after the garrison had refused surrender terms offered by Lieutenant-General Simon Bolivar Buckner, commander of U. S. forces on the island. It was the first time in the Pacific war that a surrender ultimatum had been given the Japanese.

U.S. forces on Okinawa are fighting their way across the Yaejudake escarpment, last Japanese stronghold on the island. American planes are now using Naha airfield, best in the Ryukus, and Allied ships are unloading supplies in Naha harbor.

Since the Okinawa campaign began the Japanese have suffered more than 67,000 casualties.

Restrictions Put On Newsmen Under New Journalist Law

Newspapermen in China will be banned from writing anything against the interest of the nation and state when a new journalist code promulgated by the Ministries of Social Affairs and Interior goes into effect July 1.

Although they will be privileged to enjoy speech freedom within the restriction of the law, the newspapermen must join press associations which will be directed and supervised by local administrative organizations of social affairs.

Newspapermen must get their certifications within three months after the enforcement of the law, otherwise they will be dismissed from journalistic work, according to the law.

Article 12 of the law provides that in addition to encouraging research work and promoting good character the press associations should adopt resolutions which will help propagate San Min Chu I and national policies. Any decision of the press associations which goes beyond government orders will be null and void.

Graduates from departments of journalism, education, sociology, law, economics or political science of any college or university are qualified to be newspapermen, according to the law. So are those graduated from middle schools with two more years of journalistic experience and those with more than three years.

Newspapermen who have infringed Article 21 of the publication law, found guilty of blackmail or cheating, deprived of citizenship, dismissed from the press association or have no home, will not be granted a journalistic certification.

Furious Battles Rage For Liuchow

Chinese troops cooperating with local militia have recaptured the important southern Chekiang coastal towns of Pingyang and Juian, and are now driving on the port of Wenchow 15 miles to the north. Pingyang, 15 miles south of Juian, fell to Chinese forces on Saturday. Juian was recaptured early yesterday morning.

Chinese troops this week drove to within nine miles of the great air and rail communications center of Kweilin in South China, broke into the outskirts of Liuchow in their continuing drive to completely break the Japanese hold on their north-south communications line between Korea and Indo-China, fought see-saw battles for the Kweichow-Kwangsi railroad town of Ishan and continued to mop up Japanese stragglers in the east coast province of Fukien.

Kweilin, former site of an important 14th Airforce base in northern Kwangsi, is the goal of a two-pronged Chinese attack. When last reported, Chinese forces were nine miles northwest and twelve miles west of the city.

Fierce fighting continues in the outskirts of Liuchow, 175 miles southwest of Kweilin on the main China-Indo-China road and rail route, after Chinese units pierced Japanese defenses outside the city in a surprise attack early this week. Still farther to the southwest in Kwangsi province, Chinese troops driving from recaptured Nanning toward Indo-China this week took the towns of Mingkiangfu and Nitgmin on the highway from Nanning to the border town of Langchow.

Jap War Plants Left In Ruins

Shuttling daily from their bases on Iwo Jima, Okinawa and in the Mariannas, American fighters and Superfortresses gave the Japanese no rest in their home islands this week.

Industrial targets in the Tokyo-Yokohama area were blasted twice in 24 hours by Mustang-escorted fleets of hundreds of B-29s. At least 820 direct hits on the Hitachi Engine works at Sukagawa were scored in one of the raids. Superfortresses were this week reported to have destroyed or

(Continued on Page 8)

Typical front page make-up of School's student newspaper. The "Journalist Law" story shown here caused such a furor that the measure was never promulgated by the government.

The Committee on World Freedom of Information of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, represented by Wilbur S. Forrest, assistant editor of New York Herald Tribune, Ralph E. McGill, editor of Atlanta Constitution, and Dean Carl W. Ackerman, Columbia University School of Journalism, visited China in the spring of 1945. The party was heartily welcomed by the Chinese press.

Before the arrival of the committee, the Chinese National Press Association, inspired by the free press movement of the United States, adopted and issued a declaration on freedom of the press at its third annual meeting on November 20, 1944, which began as follows:

"At this time when complete victory in the war for freedom is in sight and when world peace is awaiting re-establishment, our ally, the United States of America, in line with her spirit of liberty, equality, and progress, has taken the lead in promoting the freedom of the press. It is hoped that all unreasonable restrictions, monopolies and discriminations may be eliminated by international agreement so that there may be free access to news sources, free flow of news traffic and removal of news barriers in order to realize the three basic demands--freedom in news gathering, freedom in news transmission and freedom in receiving and publication of news."

The conclusion of the declaration said:

"To achieve this goal, this association proposes that

the United States of America, which initiated this movement for the freedom of the press, convene at the earliest possible date a world news conference to draw up a charter for the freedom of the press for general observance and to create from this conference a permanent world news machinery to deal in the best possible way with all future problems which may arise and to extend this movement to all parts of the world so that peace may be permanently secured."*

When the three-man party arrived in Chungking, they were enthusiastically accepted by the people as well as the high officials in the government. They had a long talk with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. They debated press freedom from all angles with members of Chinese National Press Association. Mr. McGill spoke for nearly three hours at an assembly of about one thousand students, educators, and journalists. Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, then Minister of Information, disclosed to the party that the Supreme National Defense Council, highest executive body in wartime China, was studying the ways and means of establishing a more liberal press censorship in wartime. In all probability, he said, censorship would be abolished in the greater part of China, if not the whole of China, after the war.

Premier T. V. Soong declared that democracy and censorship could not exist together and promised that

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* China Handbook, 1947.

censorship would be abolished after the war if he were still in the cabinet.

Dean Ackerman received a special compliment from Dr. Wang Shih-chien who declared that Ackerman's work in journalistic education (indicating the Post-Graduate School of Journalism in Chungking) had an important bearing on the freedom-of-the-press movement.

In his later student forum, McGill declared reaction to the movement was generally favorable in all the places the committee had visited. Wide publicity was given to the message which the committee issued. "Chinese newspapers' support of the freedom-of-the-press movement", it said, "is indeed admirable and their opinions can be compared favorably with the views of the American Society of Newspaper Editors."

Dean Ackerman spoke of the educational needs and said freedom of the press "means more than freedom of newspapers." "It includes," he said, "freedom of radio, periodicals, and textbooks, freedom for the circulation of scientific and technical information, freedom for the people to learn the things which have been limited because of wartime restrictions." "China," he concluded," must not only be the base for operations to defeat Japan, China must be the base for the establishment of a free press in Asia."*

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* Editor & Publisher, April 14, 1945, China Salutes Mission for Press Freedom, written by Jerry Walker.

The three-man committee left Chungking with three points in mind as representing the conviction of China's newspapermen. They are:

1. The movement for a freer flow of news will be of benefit to the government.

2. The press should seek to raise its ethical standards.

3. The press should not be made a profit-making institution.

These three points perhaps are derived from T. T. Hsiao's letter to the committee. Hsiao is the head of the Central News Agency and also chairman of Chinese National Press Association. In that letter, he said:

"It is our firm conviction that (1) the free flow of news between nations will benefit not only the press, the people, but also the various government subscribing to this policy; (2) the success of this movement will, to a large extent, depend on the determined and continued efforts by the press to improve the ethical standards of the profession; and (3) the press should never be made a primarily profit-making enterprise but should become a great cultural force serving the peoples of all nations."*

The Chinese newspaperment think that a high level of journalistic ethics is the first prerequisite to the freedom of the press. Early in 1942, before the freedom-of-the-press

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* China Handbook, 1947.

movement flourished, Professor Ma Hsing-yeh drafted a Creed of Chinese Journalists as an ethical standard of newspapermen. Part of the creed has also been used in one of China's proposals to the recent Geneva World Press Conference held in March and April, 1948. The creed reads:

1. We firmly believe that China's independence and world peace are our basic interests which transcend everything else in importance and that we will not work for the interests of an individual, a class, a clique, or a region or write anything that may hamper the progress of the nation as a whole.

2. We firmly believe that the people's rights in the government shall be fully established; that we must strive to develop the mind and virtues of the people, guide them in their views and give expression to their sentiment; and that we will make known China's national policy and fulfill our responsibility, toward the government as an organ of public opinion.

3. We firmly believe that betterment of the people's livelihood and promotion of their welfare are matters of great urgency, and that to that effect we will go to the masses, find out their sufferings, teach them principles of production and reconstruction, encourage them to participate in social services, and provide reading matter to villages, factories, schools, and border regions.

4. We firmly believe that accuracy is the pre-requisite of news-reporting and that a careless choice of word or a false quotation, whether it be deliberate exaggeration or a slip, is inexcusable; and that clear observation, speedy news-gathering, and plain description are indespensable elements of news reporting.

5. We firmly believe that in commenting on current events justice and fairness shall be our first consideration; that we should discern good from evil or right from wrong all out of a pure motive, as the result of calm and careful consideration, and on basis of solid and unimpeachable evidence; and that we should be kind, considerate, and tolerant towards others while being brave and independent in maintaining our stand.

6. We firmly believe that in the publication of supplementary pages, photos and pictures we shall aim at the wholesome education of our readers, the elevation of their taste of arts; and that all writings advocating obscenity, lawlessness, fantasticism, brutality, dissipation and degeneration shall be excluded.

7. We firmly believe that newspapers shall be responsible for the advertisements they publish, whether they are true or false or whether the readers will be benefited or harmed thereby; and that the newspapers shall not think of mercenary gains at the expense of the interests

of their readers, good customs and the reputation of the papers concerned.

8. We firmly believe that journalism is a sacred profession, that newspaper works should have a high moral standing, with positive conscientious objection to bribery, extortion, cringe, exploitation of the unfortunate, seeking revenge for personal grudge, and exposing others' private affairs.

9. We firmly believe that we should be discreet and orderly in our own mode of living, reducing to the minimum our material requirements and getting rid of any bad habits; and that in order that our will may not be shaken by poverty, our belief violated by power and wealth, and our dignity cowed by force, we should cut ourselves from all private relations that menace the maintenance of our professional integrity.

10. We firmly believe that as journalism plays a leading role in public affairs, newspaper workers should have full understanding and comprehensive knowledge of things concerning the public; and that in order to catch up with the march of time we should keep on improving ourselves through study.

11. We firmly believe that as journalistic work is most strenuous we need a healthy body and a sound mind; and that we should train ourselves to be painstaking, optimistic and progressive, strong-willed, and immensely sympathetic.

12. We firmly believe that as journalism is our life-long work, we will devote the time and energy of our whole life to it; and that determine to work for the development of journalism in China and the benefit of the people and the country, we will under no circumstances flinch from difficulty or leave our posts in our continuous efforts to fulfill our duties.*

While drafting this creed, Professor Ma had for his reference the seven "Canons of Journalism" which were proposed at the first meeting of American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1922 and were adopted by the Society in its second meeting, 1923. These canons dealt with the responsibility of the newspaper, with freedom of the press, and with journalistic independence, fair play, sincerity, truthfulness, accuracy, impartiality, and decency. Being a Missouri graduate, he had also Dr. Walter Williams' journalist creed in his mind when he wrote the creed for Chinese journalists.

In regard to the profit of newspaper business, all Chinese journalists believe that a newspaper should not be profit-making, although some of the leading newspapers in China are now quite profitable enterprises. Mr. Hu Lin, business manager and moving spirit of Ta Kung Pao, the leading newspaper in China, once expressed his ideals of a newspaper as follows:

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* On the Freedom of the Press, by Ma Hsing-yeh, published by the Central Daily News in Nanking, 1948.

"The publishers of Chinese papers during the pre-revolutionary period (i.e., before 1911) were mostly literary men with revolutionary ideals and enthusiasm. What they were interested in was the cause of the revolution. They considered it beneath their dignity to try to make their papers pay their way. The result was that few revolutionary papers of that period still survive. The swing of the pendulum came after the establishment of the Republic, when businessmen became interested in newspaper publishing. Some papers in Shanghai began to make money and this brought with it a new conception of journalism, as a business enterprise. I do not deny that journalism has a business side, for if a newspaper wants to be financially independent it must develop its advertising and circulation, and financial independence is a prerequisite to editorial independence and integrity.

"But if the business side is over-emphasized journalism will degenerate into a handmaid of predatory business and fail in its higher mission of public service. We wanted to make Ta Kung Pao pay its way and bring some profit, and we have succeeded in some measure, but we have no wish to run the paper as a purely commercial proposition and sacrifice our larger object of service. We feel that those who engage in newspaper work should have something higher and nobler than the mere object of making money,

because if one is only interested in making money one should stay out of newspaper work. We strive to make Ta Kung Pao a national paper devoted to the best interest of China."

This statement was made many years ago. Since then, the paper has never changed its policy based upon the idea and, by now, it has established itself as the best paper in the nation as Dr. Hu wished.

One year after the Committee on World Freedom of Information of American Society of Newspaper Editors made its round-the-world trip, the Editor & Publisher magazine published a Report on World Press Freedom based on the observation of AP, UP, and INS correspondents all over the world. Information about China was probably supplied by Spencer Moosa of AP, Walter G. Rundle of UP, and Larry Meier of INS. The report says:

"The last vestiges of official censorship--except in the Russian occupied zones--were lifted March 8, 1946, and Chinese officials have gone far to make good on some of the promises of press freedom they voiced to the ASNE Committee a year ago. Freedom of access to sources is still short of anticipated goals. No one except a designated correspondent of the government-sponsored Central News Agency was permitted to cover the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, and even that correspondent was ordered to withold certain information. Similarly, Premier T. V. Soong

has turned away all foreign correspondents at a press conference, barring even the non-Chinese representatives of Chinese-owned newspapers. The government licenses all papers, but China isn't yet a party to the International Copyright agreement and there is nothing to stop a Chinese editor from picking up anything he wants to publish--including Blondie--without redress. Standard newsprint has brought $710 (U.S.) a ton."*

Professor Ma Hsing-yeh agreed that it was not wise to exclude other reporters from the party meeting, although the meeting was supposed to be a closed-door meeting. But, he said the premier's discrimination against foreign correspondents was a complete mistake. The Chinese Government's licensing of newspapers is somewhat like the registration of newspapers in the continental European countries. It is merely a procedure, like the birth registration in the United States, he said. The mere procedure of registration cannot be regarded as a breach of the press freedom if there is no such breach in the regulations of registrations and in the enforcement of such regulations.

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* Editor & Publisher, April 13, 1946.

CHAPTER XII

Conclusion

There will be no end to the prevailing of American ideas in the Chinese press.

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Approved by: Grant M. Hyde

Professor of Journalism

Date: June 1, 1948