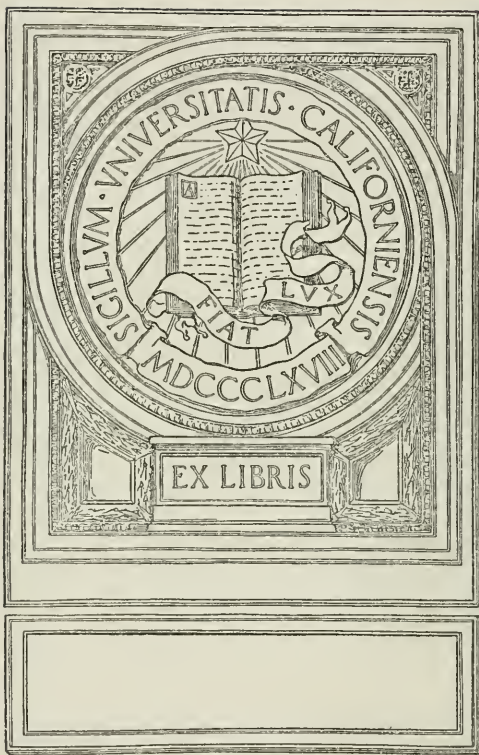


THE PRESS CONGRESS  
OF THE WORLD  
IN HAWAII



Foreword by President  
HARDING  
(one of his few)

with photographs of  
deley







WARREN G. HARDING,  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
*The Honorary President of the Congress.*

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# THE PRESS CONGRESS OF THE WORLD IN HAWAII

*With Foreword By*  
WARREN G. HARDING  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS

*Edited By*  
WALTER WILLIAMS  
DEAN OF THE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI,  
COLUMBIA, MISSOURI, U. S. A., PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS

COLUMBIA, MISSOURI, U. S. A.  
E. W. STEPHENS PUBLISHING COMPANY.  
1922





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1922

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# I.

## FOREWORD.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 12, 1921

I believe that the Press Congress of the World, recently held in Honolulu, marked a real advance toward a proper mutuality of understanding and unification of efforts among the representatives of the world's press. It is perhaps more than merely a coincidence that within a few weeks following that Congress, which was held at the cross roads of the Pacific, that a great International Conference in Washington should have devised a progressive and promising program for the settlement of those problems in a way which seems to give new assurance of the maintenance of peace in that region.

The excellent results accomplished at Honolulu have been followed by equally fortunate ones, in the attitude of the representatives of the Press during the Conference in Washington. There will hardly be a serious dissent from the proposition that the Washington Conference owes much of its achievement to the fact that there was so excellent a disposition and attitude toward it on the part of the press.

These things justify us in the hope that a larger and more effective part of leadership is likely to be taken by the press in the development of public opinion regarding the problems that concern the world and the world's governments. In this view, one can hardly doubt that Dr. Williams is doing a commendable service in presenting his book on the "Press Congress of the World in Hawaii," and I hope it may have the consideration which its merits will doubtless deserve.

WARREN G. HARDING.



## II.

# INTRODUCTION.

The Press Congress of the World, which held its first sessions in Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, United States of America, in October-November, 1921, had its preliminary organization at the Pan-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco in July, 1915. Representatives of the world's press had been asked by the Exposition to meet in an International Press Congress, July 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10, of that year. At this meeting it was unanimously decided, upon resolution offered by Robert Bell, of New Zealand, to effect a permanent organization. The following constitution was adopted:

### ARTICLE I—*Name.*

This organization shall be known as the Press Congress of the World.

### ARTICLE II—*Object.*

Its object shall be to advance by conference, discussion and united effort the cause of journalism in every honorable way. The sessions of the Congress are to be open to the consideration of all questions directly affecting the press, but discussions of religion, politics and governmental policies will not be permitted.

### ARTICLE III—*Membership.*

Workers in every department of journalism, in every country, who are engaged in promoting the highest standards and largest welfare of the press, are eligible to membership.

### ARTICLE IV—*Officers.*

The officers, who, with the exception of the honorary president to be chosen by the Executive Committee, shall be elected at each session of the Congress, shall be

An honorary president,

A president,

Two vice-presidents from each country holding membership,

A secretary-treasurer,

An Executive Committee consisting of the president and secretary-treasurer and five additional members chosen from the vice-presidents.

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Vacancies shall be filled by the Executive Committee upon recommendation of the countries affected.

### ARTICLE V—*Meetings.*

The times and places of meetings shall be determined by the Executive Committee.

### ARTICLE VI—*Amendments.*

This constitution may be amended at any meeting under provisions to be established by the Executive Committee.

The following officers were chosen and, in addition, vice presidents from all the countries represented:

President: Walter Williams, Dean of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, U. S. A.

Secretary-Treasurer: A. R. Ford, Secretary of the Dominion Press Gallery, Ottawa, Canada.

Among those who addressed the organization sessions at San Francisco were:

James A. Barr, Director of Congresses at the Exposition, at whose suggestion the International Press Congress was held; Charles C. Moore, President, Pan-Pacific International Exposition; John Clyde Oswald, editor of the American Printer, New York; Mark Cohen of the Evening Star, Dunedin, New Zealand; K. Sugimura, foreign editor, Asahi Shimbun, Tokyo, Japan; Aaron Watson, of the London Times; Enrique Lievano, of the United States of Colombia; V. R. Beteta, Diario de Centro America, Guatemala City, Guatemala, who served as president of the International Press Congress; William Jennings Bryan, editor of the Commoner, Lincoln, Nebraska, former Secretary of State; Harvey Ingham, of the Register and Leader, Des Moines, Iowa; M. H. deYoung, of the San Francisco Chronicle; Robert Bell of the Guardian, Ashburton, New Zealand; Edgar B. Piper, of the Portland Oregonian; Captain J. W. Niesigh, of Sydney, Australia; S. D. Scott, of the News Advertiser, Vancouver, British Columbia; G. E. Uehara, of the State, Tokyo; Norman E. Mack, of the Times, Buffalo, New York; Kee Owyang, of China; James A. Buchanan, El Mundo, Havana; Mirza Ali Khuli Khan, of Teheran, Persia; Alfred G. Andersen, of the Danish Press Council, Copenhagen; K. D. Shastri, of the Nawa-jiwan, Benares, India; Dr. H. Schoop, of the Association de la

Presse Suisse, Berne, Switzerland; C. Vassardakis, of Greece; Ernesto Nelson, La Nacion, Buenos Aires, Argentina; Geo. E. Hosmer, President, National Editorial Association of the United States; H. C. Hotaling, the Enterprise, Mapleton, Minnesota; Peter C. Macfarlane, of New York City; Percy Andrae, of Chicago; Friend W. Richardson, of California; Chester H. Rowell, of California; Lee J. Rountree, Vice President of the National Editorial Association of the United States; A. B. McPherson, of Santa Cruz, California; J. C. Morrison, of Morris, Minnesota; John H. Perry, of Seattle, Washington; James Schermerhorn, the Times, Detroit, Michigan; Fred J. Wilson, of San Francisco; Henry F. Urban, American Correspondent of the Hamburger Fremdenblatt; Merle Thorpe, of Seattle, Washington; Colvin B. Brown, of San Francisco; Dr. Talcott Williams, Director of the Pulitzer School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York; Dr. Fred Newton Scott, of the University of Michigan; Hugh Mercer Blain, Louisiana State University; M. M. Fogg, University of Nebraska; Homer Mooney, State Journal, Reno, Nevada; Charles W. Price, of the Electrical Review, New York; Ralph E. Fox, of the Indicator, Chicago; B. B. Herbert, founder of the National Editorial Association, of Chicago; Lee Sum Ling, of Peking, China; Wm. McCullough, of New Zealand; Geo. D. Pappageorge, of Greece; H. C. Khakeebi, of Java; A. R. Gardner, of Kennewick, Washington; Joseph Mesru, of India, and A. R. Ford, of Canada.

A number of papers were read by title.

This volume contains the stenographic report of the proceedings of the sessions of the Press Congress of the World held in Honolulu, October 11 to November 1, 1921; a report of the Pan-Pacific Press Conference organized at Honolulu; an account of the history and resources of the Territory of Hawaii and of the hospitality of its government and people; messages to the Congress from journalists throughout the world; and, in the appendix, the revised constitution adopted by the Congress, the list of delegates and guests present at Honolulu, together with a number of papers upon journalism in various countries written for but not read during the Congress sessions. Much of the matter contained in the chapter upon "Hawaii and Its Hospitality," is taken from the columns of two of the daily newspapers

of Honolulu, the Star-Bulletin and the Advertiser. The photograph of the opening session of the Congress in the Moana Hotel is used through the courtesy of the Nippu Jiji of Honolulu.

The Foreword is by the Honorable Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, who is Honorary President of the Press Congress. President Harding's address to the Congress was read by the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii, the Honorable Wallace R. Farrington, who laid aside his duties as vice president and general business manager of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, to serve the Territory of Hawaii, under President Harding's appointment, as Chief Executive.

Except as noted in the stenographic report of the proceedings, all addresses delivered, papers read and discussions taking place, are reported in full, save that announcements local and temporary in character are omitted.

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WALTER WILLIAMS,

DEAN OF THE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI,  
COLUMBIA, MISSOURI, U. S. A.,

*The President of the Congress.*

### III.

## HAWAII AND ITS HOSPITALITY.

The unsurpassed hospitality of the people of the Territory of Hawaii was shown to the delegates of the Press Congress of the World in many ways. Entertainments of all kinds, military and naval reviews, automobile rides, visits to industries, luncheons, dinners, teas and receptions, excursions around the islands, gave to the visitors opportunity for acquaintanceship with the marvelous beauty and resources of the islands and with the charm of its hospitable people.

From comments written by delegates and visitors this chapter, outlining the attractiveness of the days in Hawaii and some of the features of the entertainment, has been prepared. To it is added a description of Hawaii taken from the beautiful souvenir volume presented to the delegates. The chapter is from many pens, all of which combined cannot do justice to the gracious hospitality of the beautiful Islands of the Pacific and the never failing cordiality of their people.

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The delegation to the Press Congress from the mainland of the United States of America reached Honolulu at daybreak on the morning of October 10, 1921, on the Matson Navigation Company's liner *Matsonia*, after six delightful days on a tranquil ocean. It was accompanied by the delegates from Great Britain, Cuba, Central America, Canada, Greece and Norway. Other delegates arrived at Honolulu at different times from Japan, China, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, and elsewhere, to the total number of two hundred. There were one hundred and eight newspaper men and women in the party arriving from the American mainland on October 10 and Honolulu extended to them a typical Hawaiian welcome.

It was a day such as those who live in distant lands often conjure up when thoughts turn to long winter months with their snow and icy winds. For several hours before daybreak the

delegates were up and about, eager to catch the first glimpse of the Mokapu light which guides the big steamers and sailing ships along the southern coast of Oahu, around famous Diamond Head, and thence into Honolulu harbor. Dawn broke over the city revealing a veritable jungle of vivid green foliage, over which towered great palm trees, and with low-lying mountains, tinged with browns and purples in the faint half-light, as a background. But with the sun there came to view the Honolulu waterfront with its modern steel and concrete wharves, and then the city proper with its great business blocks, its clanging street cars, and men and women hurrying to their work in offices, shops and factories.

To some it may have been a disappointment—a disappointment in that a modern American city had come into view when, perhaps, something a little more tropical had been looked forward to. Story books to the contrary, there were no grass-skirted girls dancing the hula-hula on the beach; there were no grass houses along the shore; there were no hordes of native men and women, clothed in little else than what nature gave them at birth, singing weird chants as they paddled about the liner in outrigger canoes.

Just off Diamond Head the *Matsonia* was met by two Eagle boats which convoyed her to a point outside the harbor, where four submarines did “stunts” for the newcomers. Two seaplanes, shooting here and there in the morning sunlight like silver darts, circled and recircled over the big steamer as it neared the harbor. A launch bearing members of the reception committee, pretty girls with armfuls of “leis” or flower wreaths, musicians and newspaper men met the *Matsonia* as it came to an anchorage within the harbor. As the launch came within hailing distance official and unofficial greetings were shouted back and forth.

“Aloha! Aloha Oe!”

“Same to you!”

“How was the trip down?”

“Just bully!”

Acquaintanceships were formed even before the reception committee went aboard the liner.

Accompanying the reception committee’s launch were three

big outrigger canoes, which later "towed" the Matsonia into her dock, the towlines being long streamers of ribbon. Duke P. Kahanamoku, champion sprint swimmer of the world who represented America at the Olympic Games at Stockholm and Antwerp, went out in one of the canoes, boarded the launch and dived overboard. Coming up alongside the Matsonia, he shook the water from his long black hair and shouted to the delegates:

"Right over here, now."

Every time a big ship comes into Honolulu the "kids" along the waterfront swim out and accompany her in, diving for the pennies and dimes which travelers throw overboard. And here, then, was the "Duke" getting a world of fun out of a sport he had indulged in when, as a youngster, he had used Honolulu harbor to train for the championships which were to be his in later years.

Coin after coin was flung into the water by the laughing delegates, and less than a minute later Duke had a mouthful of dimes, quarters and nickels.

"Who is he?" came a woman's voice from the starboard rail.

"That's the Duke."

"Duke of what?"

"Duke Kahanamoku."

Whereupon the delegates applauded the introduction and a battery of cameras opened fire. Then George ("Dad") Center, famous trainer of famous Hawaiian swimmers, dived in, and soon he, too, had a mouthful of coins. This gave the other paddlers an idea, and they quickly got into the water to show that they were just as good at the money-making business as the champion.

Then an orchestra from the Hawaiian Band—a band that has become famous the world over—played "Aloha Oe," swinging a little later into a jazzy hula-hula melody that set every foot on the Matsonia's deck tapping. Singing boys and girls, representing the Hawaiian Civic Club, gave a number of Hawaiian songs which were greatly enjoyed by the visitors. There were also songs by a double quartet of Hawaiian Band boys.

After the port doctor had finished his work and the yellow flag had been hauled down, the reception committee and others went aboard, and there followed a welcome and exchange of

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greetings and handshakings that will long be remembered by those who took part. Miss Josephine Hopkins, Miss Gerd Hiorth, Miss Ethel Marston and Miss Margaret Neely, pretty Honolulu girls, placed about the shoulders of each delegate a Hawaiian wreath, symbolic of the city's welcome to the visitors.

Thousands of persons thronged Pier fifteen as the *Matsonia* pulled into the dock. Lining the edge of the shed was a typical racial group composed of children from the Honolulu public schools wearing the native costumes of the lands of their forbears, and carrying the flags of those nations. It was a strikingly impressive sight, and furnished a bit of local color of the kind that newspaper men and women especially appreciate. The little group was applauded time and again. A Korean group in national costume was the center of much attention. The *Matsonia* docked amidst a roar of whistles, applause and music. The Hawaiian Band played old-time Hawaiian melodies. Among the members of the reception committee who met the delegates at the harbor entrance were Col. Riley H. Allen, editor of *The Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, who, while with the Red Cross during and after the World War, steered the famous Child Ship around the world, giving back little, lonely children into mother arms that had ached through long, hopeless months to hold them; Lorrin A. Thurston; Worth O. Aiken, representing the island of Maui; Gerrit P. Wilder, Alexander Hume Ford, George T. Armitage, secretary of the Hawaii Tourist Bureau, and Raymond C. Brown, now secretary of Hawaii, and at that time secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu.

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Hawaii's official "Aloha" to the delegates was extended by Governor Wallace R. Farrington in the following statement:

"In the light of developing world events, the assembling of the Press Congress of the World at this time and place seems like the fulfilment of an inspiration.

"As a preliminary to the international conference in Washington, it is appropriate that the journalists and publishers, the interpreters and distributors of the world's news, should gather at the crossroads of the Pacific where many of the problems to be studied at the Congress of Nations concentrate and pass in review.

"The 'White Light' of accurate and honestly-balanced publicity will go far toward paving the way to clearer understanding and intelligent conclusions.

"In Hawaii the delegates can study the results of the union of races bordering on the Pacific. They can determine what measure of success has attended the adjustment of ideals and ambitions of the Occident and of the Orient. They can tell the world what Hawaii has demonstrated as possible through toleration and an earnest desire to find a common meeting-ground and working basis.

"The territory of Hawaii is gratified and greatly honored to be the host of the delegates who, through making new acquaintances, securing new points of view and reaching a friendly understanding among themselves, will speed the day when all that is best in international friendships thus established can be made use of in enlisting support of practical standards for a permanent peace throughout the world.

"Hawaii extends to the delegates the cordial Aloha that is all our own. This Aloha is peculiar to the Hawaiian Islands, having its source in the friendly character of the native races and spreading its beneficent contagion among all who touch these shores."

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The Hon. John H. Wilson, Mayor of Honolulu, issued the following statement of welcome:

"To the Men and Women Who Represent the Press Congress of the World:

"Honolulu extends the right hand of fellowship. It is peculiarly appropriate that you have gathered this year at the Hub of the Pacific. It is particularly important that you have chosen to deliberate on your records of the past, your activities of the present, and your hopes for the future at this point, around which will revolve within the next few years the wheel of international events, destined to mark the transitory period between a world of divided peoples and a solidified family of the nations of the earth.

"Honolulu claims her place as the cynosure of the eyes of creation for the coming decade. We stand on the dividing line between the peoples of the East and those of the West; be-

tween the Occident and the Orient. We are the frontier on which is met at last the advancing vanguard of the white races and the marching forces of the yellow. With patience and fortitude and strength we are endeavoring to meet the issue before us. In sincerity and truth we are judging man by his head and heart and not by his skin and blood. We are to be the center of the great conflict—peaceful, we pray; sane and final, we trust, and certain, we insist.

“To you who are to give to the waiting eyes and minds of the world the details of the contest, the victories and defeats, the trials and triumphs, Honolulu extends a warmth of welcome such as only Hawaii knows. From the glory of our sunshine, the beauty of our sea, the grandeur of our hills and the brilliance of our flowers, may you find added strength in your holy mission to show men the truth that the truth shall make them free.”

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Press Congress headquarters were established at the Moana Hotel at Waikiki Beach, Honolulu. Here a majority of the delegates were quartered, although some preferred to live at hotels nearer the business district. An information bureau was established at the hotel by the Honolulu Press Club, of which Mrs. John Trenholm Warren is president, which also furnished typewriters, stenographers, pencils, pens, paper, telephones and other things so essential to working newspaper men and women. Here there could be obtained all sorts of literature descriptive of the islands, and files of local and mainland newspapers. Mr. L. W. de Vis-Norton, executive secretary of the Hawaiian Islands committee, also had an office at the hotel, and attended to the registration of the delegates, and the assignment of quarters to them. The Naval Radio office installed telegraphic instruments at the hotel, and an operator was on duty daily to receive press and other messages which the delegates desired to send.

During the morning of their arrival, and during the fore part of the afternoon the delegates were left pretty much to themselves so that they might get “settled” in their new quarters and become acquainted with their new surroundings. But that afternoon, from three-thirty until five-thirty o’clock delegates and residents of Honolulu were guests at a reception given in the throne room at Iolani Palace (the executive building), the only throne



room, by the way, in the United States, by Governor and Mrs. Wallace R. Farrington. In the receiving line with the governor, Mrs. Farrington, and their daughter, Miss Frances Farrington, were Dr. Walter Williams and his daughter, Mrs. John F. Rhodes. Refreshments were served, and the occasion formed a splendid opportunity for hundreds of Honoluluans to get "on speaking terms" with the visitors.

Just before the reception began, Doctor Williams, at the request of Governor Farrington, stopped for a moment to speak to Louis Madeiras, the Portuguese elevator "boy" at the capitol. Louis had expressed a desire to meet and speak briefly with Doctor Williams. After greetings were exchanged, Louis produced a package tied up carefully in white tissue paper. This he presented to Doctor Williams. It proved to be a handsome gavel, manufactured from the native "koa" wood and highly polished as only Hawaiians can polish it. Into the top had been sunk a golden plate bearing the Hawaiian coat-of-arms with the motto of the old monarchy "Ua Mau Ke Ia o Ka Aina I Ka Pono," which means "The life of the land is established in righteousness." Doctor Williams thanked Louis warmly for the gift, and a few days later used the gavel in calling the business sessions of the Press Congress to order.

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The first official function in honor of the visiting delegates was a banquet given at the Moana Hotel on the evening of October 10 by the members of the Hawaiian Islands executive committee. Here, again, many prominent Honoluluans and residents of the outlying islands were given an opportunity to become acquainted with the visitors, and the affair proved to be a joyous demonstration of Hawaiian hospitality to which the delegates responded with many statements of good-will and appreciation. Among the speakers were Governor Farrington, Mayor Wilson, Mrs. John Trenholm Warren and George Denison, then president of the Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu. Those who responded on behalf of the delegates were Col. Edward Frederick Lawson, assisting managing proprietor of the London Daily Telegraph and representative of the British Empire Press Union; Ludvig Saxe of Christiania, Norway, representing the Norsk Presseforbund; Thales Coutoupis, editor of *Nea Ellas*, Athens, represent-

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ing Greece, Agustin Lazo, delegate from Cuba; Frank P. Glass, Sr., of Birmingham, Alabama, representing the United States at large; Mark Cohen, chairman of the New Zealand delegation; Guy Innes of Melbourne, Australia; T. Petrie of the Morning Post, Hongkong, China; Yasutaro Soga, editor of the Daily Nippu Jiji, Honolulu Japanese language newspaper; Gregorio Nieva, delegate from the Philippines; Virgilio Rodriguez Beteta, representing the Press Association of Central America; Oswald Mayrand, editor-in-chief of *La Presse*, Montreal, representing Canada; Hollington K. Tong, one of the members of the splendid delegation that China sent to the Congress, and, lastly, Doctor Williams. Those at the toastmaster's table were Governor and Mrs. Farrington, Maj.-Gen. and Mrs. C. P. Summerall, Admiral and Mrs. Edward Simpson, Mayor and Mrs. John H. Wilson, Delegate and Mrs. Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole, Doctor Williams, Colonel and Mrs. Lawson, Mr. and Mrs. John T. Warren and Mr. and Mrs. Frank P. Glass, Sr.

Hawaiian progress and world peace were the subjects chosen by Governor Farrington for his address to the delegates, during the course of which he gave the visitors some interesting and valuable information concerning the islands. He spoke in part as follows:

"Hawaii is a territory of the United States, an integral part of the United States. It is on the road to statehood, if its own ambitions are to establish its future status.

"Hawaii became part of the United States by its own request. Every law that applies to the states and territories of the mainland of our country applies to Hawaii. We have no separate tariff laws. We bear the same federal tax burdens as the people of the States. The only exceptions thus far made are those having to do with the expenditure of federal funds under general appropriations for roads and schools in which the word territories is specifically eliminated and we are thus definitely left out. Not until recent months has Hawaii ever asked for an exception in its favor, and this is now done only as an emergency relief to avert industrial disaster.

"Hawaii is not an insular possession in the sense of those islands coming under American jurisdiction as a direct result of the Spanish-American war. We do not claim to be better or

worse than others. We seek only to be judged and treated as the facts show us to be.

“New England furnishes the basis of Hawaii’s present day progress. For more than a hundred years therefore in moral, educational, political, industrial, financial and commercial life the Americanism of the United States has been the ground work from which our various efforts at constructive progress have been reared.

“American Christianity saved the native Hawaiians from the degradation and destruction that would have been possible if Americans had followed the easy course of making headway by ruthlessness.

“American education gave Hawaii an educational system to which we cordially invite the special attention of graduates of the little red school houses of the mainland. Our politics have been quite as diversified as you will find in the average American community whose controlling desire is to give every man, woman and child a fair opportunity to enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness within the limits of laws made by their fellow citizens.

“We point also with definite, not hackneyed, pride to the financial, industrial and commercial reinforcement that has been woven into the fabric of romance, summer skies, palm trees and all the other settings that song, story and the romantic journalist tells us tend to make men linger by the wayside and let the rest of the world go by.

“Hawaii’s sugar industry sets a world standard. The crop yields and new programs of cultivation tell the story. A most striking demonstration is the construction by the Honolulu Iron Works of sugar mills not only in Hawaii, but Cuba, the Philippines, Formosa, the contracts having been obtained in competition with the largest construction companies of the world.

“Hawaii’s pineapple industry sets a world standard.

“No stain of jugglery or repudiation is found on the pages of Hawaii’s financial history.

“Hawaii’s industry enabled the establishment of the finest and largest lines of cargo carriers under the American Flag previous to the war.

“Hawaii, with its 275,000 population and area approximating

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that of Connecticut, paid to the federal government last year (1920) taxes of more than \$21,000,000. We bought from the mainland merchandise valued at \$77,739,381. We sold to the mainland products valued at \$177,173,234. The tonnage of ships using our harbors was 6,088,689, the increases demonstrating how rapidly the Pacific is coming to fulfill the prediction of Secretary of State Seward as the center of great world development.

"In April, 1876, when the reciprocity treaty with the United States was passed, we had no pineapple industry. In 1894 our records show 44,903 pieces. That means pineapples. They were exported to the mainland of the United States as fresh fruit. We had no canning industry.

"In 1921 we exported to the mainland of the United States 5,500,000 cases of pineapples.

"In 1894 our sugar crop was 153,000 tons. In 1921 it was 583,000 tons.

"Our customs receipts this year were over \$1,000,000.

"The assessed valuation of property in 1894 was \$35,000,000. In 1921 it was \$286,000,000.

"I presume the business managers of papers can understand this with a keener feeling than the man in the editorial department, but it is something we all have to consider in the development of communities, as well as the development of journalistic enterprises. Hawaii has a just claim to a place in the front rank of those who see and understand the power of the white light of publicity.

"The printing press is found listed in the equipment of the earliest American missionaries. The first newspaper west of the Rocky Mountains was published in Hawaii and the press on which it was printed is now in a Portland (Ore.) museum. King Kamehameha II pulled the first sheet from the first printing press of Hawaii July 7, 1822, so you can see how quickly they acted. On July 7, 1822, the king of Hawaii presided at the issuing of the first paper from the press. This was at the American Mission and the first publicity medium was a book in the Hawaiian language.

"'Lama Hawaii,' interpreted, 'The Hawaiian Luminary or Light of Hawaii,' was the first Hawaiian newspaper published, issued from the press of the Lahainaluna Seminary, February

14, 1837. The first newspaper in the English language was the Sandwich Islands Gazette, that lived in Honolulu from 1836 to 1839.

"The Friend, now vigorous, justly claims to be the oldest English paper in the Pacific. It was first issued in 1834, founded by the Rev. Dr. Damon as an exponent of temperance that had other less fortunate mediums in 'The Cascade and The Fountain of 1844-45. That paper started as far back as 1843 and few have lived to see the proof of the efforts of their friends.

"Of other old-timers the Pacific Commercial Advertiser started as a weekly in 1856 and is now the Honolulu Advertiser. The first paper to start as a daily was the Daily Bulletin of 1882 and in 1893 divided its afternoon field with the Hawaiian Star. In 1912 these dailies were merged into the present afternoon daily The Honolulu Star-Bulletin.

"How journalistic efforts have followed the tide of immigration is an interesting study. Each alien language list of papers has gradually diminished as the population to be served has become merged into the English-speaking and reading citizens of the Islands. The variety of human thought now being served, the bubbling energy that seeks expression within the territory, is indicated by a partial list of the present-day publications. This is rather a long list, but I think you will be interested in it. This list does not include the publications of the high schools, University of Hawaii, church magazines and a number of others too numerous to mention :

"Ke Aloha Aina, Ang Abyan, Chee Yow Shin Bo, The Friend, The Guide, The Hawaii Choho, Hawaii Commercial News, Hawaii Educational Review, The Hawaii Hochi, Hawaii Shinpo, Hawaiian Annual, Hawaiian Forester and Agriculturist, Hawaiian Japanese Annual, Hon Mun Bo, The Honolulu Advertiser, Honolulu Commercial Times, Honolulu Oil News, Honolulu Star-Bulletin, The Hyoron no Hyoron, The Jitsugyo no Hawaii, Ka Hoaloha, Ke Alakai o Hawaii, Korean Advocate of North America and Territory of Hawaii, Korean National Herald, The Labor Review of Hawaii, The Mid-Pacific Magazine, The New Freedom, Nippu Jiji, Nupepa Kuokoa, The Oahu Jiho, O Luso, The Pacific Times, Paradise of the Pacific, The Service, Sun Chung Kwock Bo, Wah Hing Bo, The Daily Post Herald, Hawaii Asahi

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Shimbun, Hawaii Herald, The Hawaii Mainichi, Hilo Daily Tribune, The Hilo Shimpo, Ka Hoku o Hawaii, The Kona Echo, The Kwazan Sha, O Facho, Maui News, The Maui Record, The Maui Shimbun, The Wailuku Times, The Garden Island, Kauai Shimpo.

"You will see that we have quite a variety.

"Journalism is a peculiar human institution. It has its idealists who point the way, and it has the business managers, who, summing up the bread-and-butter conditions, tell these idealists how far they can go without completely wrecking the whole establishment and making the last condition worse than the first.

"And so when we turn to some of the topics you may discuss, the editor, the reporter, the writer or the manager has a rather clear understanding of the task before various other international delegates even, it may be, those meeting at Washington next month.

"Forces of publicity that you represent have a definite responsibility. You dealers in and disseminators of news and ideas know full well that the results of every world congress depend on the manner in which the facts of the deliberations are presented to the reading public. Thus the fate of the world may in a large measure be in the hands of men whose life and training have taught them how much irreparable harm can be done by careless reporting, colored comment and failure to give the readers the main line essentials, on account of the demands made on space for a display story of a dog fight or the decision of editors that only in the sensation of a pimple on the premier's nose is news to be found.

"Wrigley has said 'Make it short and give it to them often.' That is the secret of advertising or propaganda success. It is worth thinking about in a good cause, and deserves watching when used for evil purposes. There can be no question of the power for good of oft-repeated plain truth-telling by the press of the world. You know that consistent accuracy builds up community decency and self-respect. You know how deadly is the poison of misrepresentation.

"The peoples of the world are for peace. No greater or more obvious truth could be uttered than that this is a war-weary world.

“The peace of the world will be beyond fear of disturbance when the press of the world top-line features the news of peace, preaches the gospel of peace, devotes its attention to getting the facts and telling the truth about them and thus demonstrates that preparedness accompanied by self-control will not make us a world of mollycoddles or war lords.

“We talk about the dangers of armies and navies, that possession is a temptation to use them. No more dangerous weapon exists than a well-equipped circulating medium reaching hundreds of thousands of readers. The frightfulness of this weapon is when it is in the hands of foolish ones who don't know it is loaded. One of the matches regularly thrown into the international powder magazine is the falsifying press.

“World peace will be absolutely guaranteed when the press of the world can say to governments and diplomats ‘Give us all the facts and we will tell the truth about them.’

“This world of ours has passed through an orgy of recklessness; it has sounded in wasted life blood the depths of self-sacrifice. We have experienced the extremes of humanities and inhumanities. Certainly we have reached the era for testing the capacities of the really great people for self-control. The press of the world can lead the way.”

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It had been planned to hold the sessions of the Press Congress in the historic old throne room in Iolani Palace, but later it was found that, owing to the large number of delegates, this would be inadvisable, so the banquet hall at the Moana hotel was set aside for this purpose. Iolani Palace was built during the reign of the late King Kalakaua, and took the place of the ancient structure that used to stand where the great banyan tree in the rear of the capitol grounds now rears its lofty branches. The throne room is much as it was in the early days, with its koa and kou wood panelling, its great mirrors in their gilded frames, and the crystal chandeliers originally fitted to burn gas. Around the walls hang priceless oil paintings of many of the monarchs of Hawaii and many of the distinguished men and women who at some time or another had associations with the Hawaiian monarchy.

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The visit by the delegates to the Congress to the Islands of Hawaii and Maui will without doubt remain for many years clearly stamped upon their memories. It was with a great deal of eagerness that they left Honolulu early on the morning of October 12 for the port of Hilo, on the Island of Hawaii, one hundred and ninety miles distant.

An early start was made so the delegates might view by daylight the beauties of the islands of Molokai and Maui, which lie between the islands of Oahu and Hawaii. The day was as perfect a Hawaiian day as could be wished for, cloudless and with a brisk breeze blowing. The sea was as smooth as the proverbial millpond, and those who were so unfortunate as to suffer from seasickness on the voyage from San Francisco to Honolulu found that not even the Molokai channel, rough at times, gave them the least bit of uneasiness.

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While the *Matsonia* was on its way to Hilo, a number of the delegates, meeting in a conference with Doctor Williams, outlined in a preliminary way the plans for the Pan-Pacific Regional Press Conference that was to be established a few days later at Honolulu. To consider the practicability of establishing a Pan-Pacific School of Journalism at Honolulu which would train young men from all Pacific lands in newspaper and magazine work; to act as agency for the interchange of accurate information about the peoples of the Pacific of their problems among newspapers and magazines of the Pacific region, and to take steps necessary to obtain cheaper rates for news matter by radio and cable—these were some of the suggestions of possible fields of endeavor of the proposed regional conference.

The whole proposition of the organization of such a conference, which would be an integral part of the Press Congress of the World, which would hold sessions, say at Honolulu, every two years, and which would be the forerunner of numerous other regional conferences in other parts of the world, was threshed out at some length, and plans were made for a definite presentation of the whole matter on Pan-Pacific Day.

Alexander Hume Ford explained that the matter of forming a Pan-Pacific Press Conference was first taken up a number of years ago. He pointed out that for some time an Hawaiian committee had been actively at work at Honolulu and that in-



itations had been issued to all Pacific countries to send delegates to the initial session. About sixty of the delegates who were attending the Press Congress sessions were eligible to represent their respective countries at the proposed conference, Ford said.

A number of interesting matters concerning the ways in which a regional press conference could be beneficial to the press of the Pacific, were brought out. Lorrin A. Thurston urged action looking toward the breaking down of restrictions that were at that time tying up the sending of news matter by wireless. He pointed out that while the Naval Radio at Honolulu, for example, could send messages to Japan, it was restricted from so doing, being permitted to send material only certain distances, after which it was necessary to relay it, with the result that additional tolls were charged, often making the cost prohibitive.

V. S. McClatchy of the Sacramento (Cal.) Bee expressed the opinion that relief along this line might be obtained if there could be applied the same method used by the United States government in sending press matter by way of the Naval Radio. This present system, Mr. McClatchy said, was being given a trial for a two-year period, and the entire fabric might collapse in 1922 if Congress declined to grant a further continuance of the system. Congress, Mr. McClatchy continued, might be willing to grant a continuance, but that there would undoubtedly be opposition on the part of radio companies and other private interests. He urged the Press Congress to lose no time in beginning a definite campaign for the continuance of this service.

Mr. Thurston presented a strong argument in favor of a wider dissemination of news from lands bordering the Pacific.

"So far as we are concerned," he said, "We do not know that New Zealand exists except to look at a map, or except when a stranger from there arrives at Honolulu. We are fairly well acquainted with Japan, but we know little or nothing about South or Central America, in so far as news from those countries is concerned."

He favored the proposal for the establishment of a central news agency at Honolulu at which news from all Pacific lands could be gathered and then sent out to all of the nations bordering that ocean.

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"All the world knows of Kilauea the Mighty; the Unsurpassed; the greatest of the Lord's workshops; the ever-active and ever-changing Volcano. To this Hilo is again the gateway, and there is a strange fascination about lingering for a day or two within so close a distance of the one thing one has traveled thousands of miles to see.

"Those who have the time do not fail to explore the confines of the great Hawaiian National Park, for within them may be found a veritable education. Visitors will grow acquainted with wonders they have never before dreamed of. They will visit many old craters, some so remote that the very birds will come and perch upon the shoulder of the intruder out of sheer curiosity. They will find broad parklands within which are magnificent trees of strange species; and they will find also spreading areas of prehistoric tree ferns, green and cool and lovely, made for dreaming and rest and quiet thoughts away from the fretful tongues of street-bred people.

"Go also beyond the National Park; go down in your automobile over the lava-ravaged country leading to the South; through the sugar lands and to peaceful, dreamy Waiohinu where Mark Twain once upon a time sojourned and of which he had many tender memories. Go still onward across the savage lava flows, into the deep tropical forests. Even here, in the midst of so much intense beauty of color and foliage, you will be reminded that the Lord is great, for here, in the midst of the forest, you will find the road running between great and high banks of lava which, but a few short months ago, were flaming and twisting and groaning as they ground their relentless way down the mountain side into the distant sea.

"And so you will come to Kona, with its succession of villages so close that one cannot tell where one begins and the other leaves off. Here you are in the very midst of ancient history, and on every side along the sun-drenched and sleepy coast you will find yourself encompassed about with the long-dead past. Give way to the lesson it will bring you, and enter for a while into the lives of the people of these parts, and so learn to return to the world more filled with loving kindness to your fellows.

"After this you may go onward to the highlands of Kohala where the splendid cattle and horses rule the country and roam

the huge slopes of Mauna Kea. North Kohala should claim you for at least a day or two, for here is more ancient history combined with magnificence of scenery leading down to the bluest of seas; and presently you will come to Waipio, of all the great valleys incomparably the greatest and the best. No one could put into words the teachings of Waipio. Go to it; go down the trail into its village and meet its people; learn its legends and visit its waterfalls and its beaches. You will not regret it, for it will prepare you for the splendid journey down the Hamakua coast and back to Hilo.

“Let the visitor who wants to really see and love the Hawaiian Islands turn him away from the streets and get away out into the heart of tropical nature. Let him go to Hawaii where life is still primitive and unspoiled, and let him forget that there is such a thing as time. There are guide books to steer his footsteps everywhere, and even sign posts, though these are unobtrusive; every man he meets is instinctively his friend and will be at his service, for that is the spirit of Hawaii always and the stranger feels himself instantly at home with nature in her kindest mood.”

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The steamer *Matsonia* docked at Hilo, Hawaii, shortly before six o'clock on the evening of October 12, and for many days thereafter the delegates talked of little else than the reception tendered them by the residents of the Crescent City. For hours prior to the hour of docking they had stood at the ship's rail drinking in the beauties of the islands of Molokai and Maui which they had passed en route. And then the reception at Hilo. Typically Hawaiian it was, breathing the very spirit of Aloha and of the famed hospitality of the Big Island.

A committee of fifty persons, headed by Dr. Milton Rice, president of the Hilo Board of Trade, boarded the vessel immediately after it had docked, bringing with it several pretty young women who decked each of the visitors with a lei fashioned from the beautiful crimson lehua, entwined with the fragrant leaves of the maile. There was no formality about the reception. Everyone just shook hands and said “Aloha” and “We're glad to have you with us” and “We're glad to be here,” and the delegates and the city of Hilo were instantly upon the friendliest of terms. Doctor Rice made no address of welcome. He just

said "We are glad you are here, and very glad," and those few words exactly suited the delegates.

At about seven o'clock the delegates left the Matsonia in automobiles furnished by the residents of Hilo and motored to the Hilo Yacht Club where, in an outdoor theater under the palm trees through which the moonlight filtered down, they received their first taste of what might be characterized as "real Hawaii." An elaborate program had been prepared. There was splendid singing by members of the choir of the famous Haili church of Hilo. Then there was presented a series of Hawaiian tableaux in which the participants were prettily costumed. The Rev. Stephen L. Desha, senator from the Big Island, and known throughout the territory as the "silver-tongued orator," announced a dignified version of the far-famed hula-hula dance; and it was indeed dignified, for the young woman who went through the graceful motions of the dance that at one time played such a conspicuous part in the religious rites of old Hawaii, was dressed in a long-flowing "holoku" or Mother Hubbard of white material. She wore no grass skirt such as one sees during the execution of the vulgarized version of this dance on the American stage and in the "movies." There were a number of other symbolic tableaux and dances, and additional singing, after which a Hawaiian quintet played several selections, and the Rev. Mr. Desha recited an ancient bit of Hawaiian poetry which voiced a cordial welcome to the Press Congress delegates.

Following the entertainment the delegates and the Hilo folks spent three hours dancing on the splendid floor of the Yacht Club to music supplied by two Hawaiian orchestras.

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Early the following morning the delegates took a special train at the wharf for a ride along the famous Scenic Railway which skirts the Hamakua Coast. The railway trip, always beautiful, was probably never more so than on that brilliant morning. For a few miles the railway runs through immense fields of sugar cane, the tourist now and then catching glimpses of brilliant coastal scenery. All at once, the train would float out into mid-air over some marvelous gulch, and then stop so the delegates might fill their eyes with the beauty of foam-fringed sapphire sea and green-clad land, or of Mauna Kea's hoary head looming distantly over the treetops. If there is any man in Hawaii who

knows his Hawaii, it is Lorrin Thurston, and he took it upon himself to point out to the delegates the various points of interest along the line. He proved to be a veritable mine of interesting information and he, with R. W. Filler, genial manager of the Hawaii Consolidated Railway, had their hands full, as it were, explaining this and that to the men and women who continually hurled a barrage of questions at them.

Returning to Hilo shortly after noon, the delegates were the guests of the Board of Trade at the Hilo Hotel, where brief speeches were made. Immediately after there was begun the journey to the volcano of Kilauea, that mighty workshop of nature lying far up above the city of Hilo upon the slopes of Mauna Loa. Throughout the thirty miles the delegates were treated to a wealth of semi-tropic foliage, passing through seemingly endless forests of giant tree ferns that flanked the concrete boulevard for miles. As mile after mile flicked by, the delegates noticed a decided change in the temperature, and as higher elevations were reached it became colder. Overcoats were donned, and coat collars were turned up to ward off the cold wind that swept down from the lofty slopes ahead. It was almost dusk when the Volcano House, which rests upon the brink of the great, ages old crater that was once a sea of molten lava, was reached. It was still light enough to see the crater of Kilauea steaming in the distance, and there was time before dinner to visit the sulphur beds and the enormous stream cracks that are but a few steps from the hotel.

Dinner over, warm wraps were donned and the delegates took automobiles for their first visit to the crater, which is reached over a splendidly paved road that leads for seven miles through a beautiful tropical forest. Imagine, if you can, a macadamized road right up to within a hundred yards of the brink of an active volcano—a volcano that oftentimes overflows and spews molten lava over the countryside; a tame volcano, albeit, and one that, in spite of its many fretful moods, has never been known to injure a human person.

## THE VOLCANO OF KILAUEA.

*(Written for the Press Congress Book by Lionel W. de Vis-Norton, secretary of the Hawaii Publicity Commission.)*

Only a few years ago any man who had stated that before long the sky would be barred and streaked with the forms of machines flying in all directions and carrying men at a hundred miles an hour, would not only have been put down as a creature of wild imagination, but would probably have been examined as to his mental condition.

In the same way, a man who can say that he has been to hell and back in an excellent automobile would perhaps be classed as a prevaricator, but the skies today are the highways of flying men, and as for the rest, gentle reader, I have made the trip; have made it unscathed and have returned from it with the greatest reluctance.

It has been well said that the road to hell is paved with good intentions; for my own part, I found it paved with macadam, and superbly laid macadam, too; the broad path that leadeth to destruction led only down a gentle grade and then round a sweeping curve to the brink of hell itself. I got out of my automobile, walked a few yards, and then I had arrived at the end of my journey.

But let me get back to the beginning of my story.

Far away in the uttermost West of all things, just where the setting sun sinks to rest in the sapphire seas, heaven is situated. Heaven is divided into the loveliest fleet of islands that lies moored in any ocean, and it is in the loveliest of all these lovely islands that hell may be found.

And the name of this land is Hawaii; giving its name to all the other islands of the group, yet superbly alone in beauty, in grandeur and in historical antiquity. A land of perennial summer, where the heat does not distress nor the cold make itself felt. A land filled with such pictures of sea and sky and plain and mountain, such magnificence of landscapes, such bright sunshine and tempting breezes, such fragrant foliage, such brilliant colorings in bush and tree, and such dazzling moonlight as may be found in no other land within the human ken.

Conjure up a memory of the most perfect May day that God ever made, when sunshine, soft airs and the fragrance of blossoms and smiling nature combine to fill the heart with thankfulness; conjure up this sort of a day, multiply it by three hundred and sixty-five, and you have an idea of the climate which the whole year round pervades the surroundings of hell.

Hell occupies an area of nearly four and one-half square miles, and no one has yet been able to estimate the depth of it, but the heaven which surrounds it covers 4,000 square miles, and every square foot of every square mile is beautiful. Within its confines you will find great snow-capped mountains; rising to height of 14,000 feet above the sea; hundreds of magnificent waterfalls, set in scenes of rarest beauty; won-

derful stalactite caverns; weird craters; old and recent lava flows; thermal lakes; wild canyons; ancient "heiaus" or temples of native worship; dense tropical forests and restful glades of tree ferns which make the tree ferns of other lands look like pygmies; quaint survivals of primitive native life; the glamor of the orient; the gorgeous coloring of the tropics, and a wealth of greenery and freshness to be found nowhere else in all the world.

But I write not of heaven, but of the other place, and of my visit there. It was on a sunny summer morning that I was borne away from the snug harbor of Honolulu on the journey to heaven, or rather to Hawaii. The steamer was comfortable to the verge of luxury; the chef was an artist, and the smooth seas over which we slid for the rest of the day were most conducive to the sound sleep which marked the hours of the night.

In the roseate glow of a tropical sunrise, next day, we came to Hilo, the chief city of Hawaii, and the gate to Paradise. It is tempting to dwell upon that city and its magnificent setting; one could write much of the gloriously lovely little cocoanut island which guards the harbor entrance, but we are bound for hell direct, and must not linger by the way.

Perhaps it is here I should explain that hell has another name, and that name is Kilauea, the largest and most easily accessible active volcano in the world. This sounds tame enough, but I prefer to give it the name generally conferred upon it by those who first look from its brink into the appalling spectacle beneath.

And now to get on with the tale. The automobile which was to convey me to the verge of hell was in waiting at the wharf at Hilo as I came ashore, and in a few moments we were speeding rapidly over one of the most perfect roads it has been my good fortune to experience. I will say nothing of the drive of thirty miles, though I could fill a volume with rhapsodies about the scenery; suffice it to say that in an hour and a half we suddenly emerged from the dense forest of palms and tree ferns, fifty feet high and more, and found ourselves at the entrance of a modern hotel, built on the very edge of utter devastation and awe-inspiring vastness and ruin. The change is simply astounding. It takes the breath away, and I can well believe that nowhere else may an equally sudden contrast be experienced.

The hotel stands on a wide shelf, actually within the outer wall of the main crater, though apparently upon its very brink. Away to the right soars the gigantic bulk of Mauna Loa, or Long Mountain, nearly fourteen thousand feet high and the largest mountain of its type in the world. It rises in a magnificent sweep, its great flanks deeply scarred with the dark lines of old and recent lava flows, checkered with patches of forest lands and open greensward. As a color study alone, it provides a spectacle unique in the history of mountain countries, and whether seen at daybreak in the cold, clear morning light, or in the rosy glow of the sunset sky, it is always most beautiful. It is perhaps best viewed at the moment when the setting sun dips beneath its mighty crest, for then the

fleecy clouds of steam rising from its still active crater shine like silver in the upward reflected rays, crowning the mountain with a magnificent diadem of jewels; but at all times it dominates the landscape, and ever the eye turns toward it in wonder, tinged with awe.

Directly in front of the hotel, separated only from the brink by a narrow road, lies the main crater of Kilauea, and here the task of description becomes difficult indeed.

Imagine a pit so vast that the further edge may be only dimly discerned; a pit fully five hundred feet deep, with perpendicular walls nearly eight miles around; turn into this pit a raging sea, with dashing breakers, seething whirlpools and confused cross-currents; color it slate gray, and suddenly turn it to stone so that all movement is instantly arrested. Now, in the midst of this solid sea, dig a jagged hole in the center of the world, release the molten masses and the roaring fires which underlie the crust of this globe of ours; let loose a gigantic column of smoke and steam, spouting, bellying and eddying everlastingly into the skies above, you may perhaps gain a faint but a very faint, impression of the main crater of Kilauea and the fire pit "Halemaumau," the "House of Everlasting Fire."

It is immense beyond words; incredible beyond belief; weird beyond description, and awful beyond human awe; and yet, here on the edge of eternity as it well appears, is a modern hotel, whose very garden paths emit sulphurous steam and vapor; a hotel trim, well-kept, with dainty flower beds and feathery tree ferns on the one hand; and Kilauea, grim, repellant, threatening and watchful on the other hand. Hoteldom on the brink of helldom; modern manners and white-clad waiters on the very edge of untold centuries of irresistible power and widespread devastation. What a text for a moralist preacher.

The Road to Hell, or rather the road to Halemaumau, the fire pit, runs from the hotel through the forest for some seven miles, then by easy grades into the bed of the main crater, ending within fifty feet of the actual fire pit, and most people make their acquaintance with the volcano by this means. As for me, the sight of that huge main crater drew me strongly, and I walked across its bed, returning in the late night hour by automobile.

Oh, that walk across the crater! The trail leads down from the garden of the hotel, and from its commencement to its ending at the edge of Halemaumau is but three miles in length, but I venture to say that nowhere in all the world may be found three other miles of such unique and vivid interest. The first quarter of a mile, with its descent of five hundred feet, is somewhat steep, but is easily negotiated either on foot or on horseback, and the bottom is soon reached. Upon setting out from the shore (the simile is irresistible) the traveler finds that the way is smooth and carefully marked with stones placed upon the surface of the lava, so that there is no possibility of straying into dangerous spots.

I do not believe that these danger spots are very many, and indeed it would be difficult to find them, but one remembers that one is now walking across the crater of an active volcano, and that is quite enough to



remove all desire to try experiments in looking for dangerous places. The great sea of lava, which from the hotel, five hundred feet above, looks almost perfectly smooth, is now found to comprise hills and valleys in bewildering confusion and in every imaginable form. One can plainly see how each successive lava flow has poured over its predecessors, solidifying as it poured, so that here are crested breakers arrested in the act of breaking; great clots of foam, lines of ripples or cross-currents; there are enormous bubbles that have turned to stone even as they burst—bubbles sometimes covering an acre or more, with fractured sides and broken roofs, the fragments of which are spread around in every direction. One comes across mounds which have burst at the summit and which one may climb to gaze into the darkness of unknown depths and sense the mystery of strange puffs and wisps of sulphur-laden steam. Here and there are hardy little ferns growing in tiny crevices. Terrific chasms and earthquake cracks are crossed by wooden bridges, and now and again one may find in sheltered cracks the golden spun lava (like glistening cobwebs wet with dew), which is known as "Pele's Hair," and is supposed by the Hawaiian natives to be the farflung tresses of the presiding goddess of the volcano, whose home is in the depths of Halemaumau itself. Onward and upward leads this fascinating trail, and finally it emerges upon the very brink of the great fire pit.

And here one feels the limitations of language, for no words could describe nor brush depict the dread majesty of this terrific pit, roaring and bellowing in inconceivable grandeur. One is positively stunned by the immensity of it all, and one realizes in no uncertain degree the puny part man plays in the great scheme of the creation of the universe in which he lives and moves and has his being.

One stands upon a deeply serrated ledge and looks down with awe-struck eyes upon a seething maelstrom of whirling smoke, which ever and again is violently torn asunder, permitting a fleeting glimpse of flame and red hot waters far beneath. Even amid the awful roaring one may hear titanic splashing and the crash of incandescent rock hurled forth by the forces beneath, to fall back into the tortured abyss from whence it came.

One is fascinated, appalled and amazed as one gazes at this marvelous sight; one grows bolder and creeps to the extreme edge, and presently is rewarded by clearer glimpses, gaining a better idea of the spectacle underlying the streaming column of smoke which ever soars high above one's head and drifts away upon the trade wind to the distant sea.

And so the hours pass away in intense interest; darkness comes on apace, and by slow degrees the "pillar of cloud by day" becomes "the pillar of fire by night," and the fires begin to appear at their grandest. One looks straight down into a lake of molten gold, for all the world like a peep into a gigantic Bessemer convertor. But this lake is in violent motion. Its great waves dash from side to side, and foam into cataracts of fire over the red-hot rocks. Ever and again the whole surface is riven and from its depths arise wondrous fountains of fire, roaring upwards in devilish merriment, and flinging far and wide their awful freight of molten stone.

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The whole aspect changes with bewildering frequency; at one moment there appears a calm lake, glowing as with the light of some glorious sunset; the next—every evil power that Satan possesses is let loose in one roaring inferno, far, far more awful than anything my poor words could ever describe. Fountains and sprays, billows and whirlpools, crashings of tortured rock, cataracts of incredible force, twistings, doublings and writhings until the brain reels and the senses are almost numbed.

For hours and hours I sat on the rim of hell and watched in a numb and nameless wonder; for hours I witnessed the terrific forces at work in the creation of the world; one could only describe it as primal, for it was the beginning of all things, the world in a state of chaos, and yet it was also final, for it was the last stage of our human understanding and the realization of all the terrors of the hell of our childhood's belief. For hours I sat, silent and still, and then, suddenly, I caught sight of an awful, silent eye, one huge watchful orbit of crimson, a hundred feet or more above the molten lake, red-hot, evil, intense and utterly bestial. It was like the glaring eye of some poor wild beast who, after years of hopeless imprisonment, had at last found the way of escape and was waiting there for some passerby, ready to spring forth in one pent-up bombshell of relentless hatred.

My better judgment told me it was only a hole filled with red-hot lava ready to pour into the lake beneath, but though I laughed at it, and even, in my frailty, threw futile stones at it and affected to scorn it, it eventually got hold of me, and drove me away. Twice I returned and tried to forget it was there, but it was of no avail, and so, beaten and ashamed, I turned away and made my way to the road close by, where the automobile was waiting.

And, so, after a rush of twenty minutes over a satin slipper road, I found myself back at the hotel, where the smiling faces of my fellow guests seemed all unreal. I do not think I slept much that night. It is not an easy thing to go to hell and come back in a day, and there was so much to think about. I suppose my main impressions are, now that the first awe has died away, that this earthly hades is as unique as it is incredibly marvelous; that it is ridiculously easy to get to, and that the cost is but trivial.

From San Francisco one may reach it in one week; from Vancouver, B. C., in about a day longer, and from Australia in just two weeks. The volcano of Kilauea is almost unknown, while Honolulu is a household word. It is but fifteen hours by steamer to Hilo at the Gate of Paradise, and every foot of the way after that is interesting right up to the culminating point at the brink of hell. The feeblest person may make the journey; no one has ever been injured, and no fatality is ever likely as far as human eye can see or brain foretell.

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Delegates to the Press Congress, after obtaining their first glimpse of hell (as Mr. Norton describes it), were wholly un-

willing to leave. As the crater on the evening in question was not violently active, and as there was an absence of the strong sulphur fumes which usually are being blown upwards and out over the rim, practically everyone walked a good quarter of the distance around the rim, thus being able to view the floor of the crater from a number of interesting angles. The level of the crater floor at that time was considerably low, but there was sufficient fire play to furnish an awe-inspiring exhibition of nature's pyrotechnics. Now and then a great area of the cooled crust, unable to withstand the terrific heat from beneath, would melt suddenly, and its place would be taken by a lake of brilliantly glowing molten lava which would send up great fountains and geysers of white hot rock. A number of great cracks opened up, sending forth huge jets of steam that sounded for all the world like a thousand locomotives blowing off.

From early evening until midnight the delegates kept their vigil on the rim of the mighty crater, marveling at the sight which was presented as a full moon arose and cast its golden light over the already weird surroundings. The return to the Volcano House was made by automobile.

The following morning the party entered waiting automobiles and visited the crater again, it having been the desire of the general committee that they view the spectacle both at night and by daylight. During the night the volcano had increased somewhat in activity, and the visitors were treated to many new and strange scenes, as well as a splendid view of the surrounding countries.

After about an hour of investigation, the delegates gathered on a smooth place near the rim and heard an interesting and enlightening lecture on Kilauea and its moods and activities by Dr. Thomas A. Jaggar, Jr., the noted volcanologist, who is in charge of the volcano observatory at Kilauea. There was but little concerning Kilauea, and the scientific work that is being done in and about the great crater, that was not explained.

At the conclusion of the lecture, the delegates were taken to the magnificently beautiful fern forest that lies near Kilauea, past many an ancient and dead crater whose steep sides are now densely wooded. The largest of these, "Kilauea Iki," or "Little Kilauea," is more than one thousand feet deep, and its immense

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bottom of lava that cooled centuries ago is to the spectator gazing over the rim as but a mere speck.

The fern forest is truly tropical—dense, cool and with a myriad of strange trees, plants and palms confronting the visitor everywhere. One climbs down and down before the bottom is reached, over a path that passes through a veritable jungle. The sun is blotted out by the dense foliage, and the cool semi-twilight is refreshing indeed after several hours upon the hot edge of the nearby volcano. Here, as Norton might put it, is a tiny tropical paradise within a few steps of hell. Aloft in the trees strange birds of red, orange, green and yellow plumage, flit to and fro emitting strange cries. Along the trail strange fruits grow side by side with the familiar thimbleberry.

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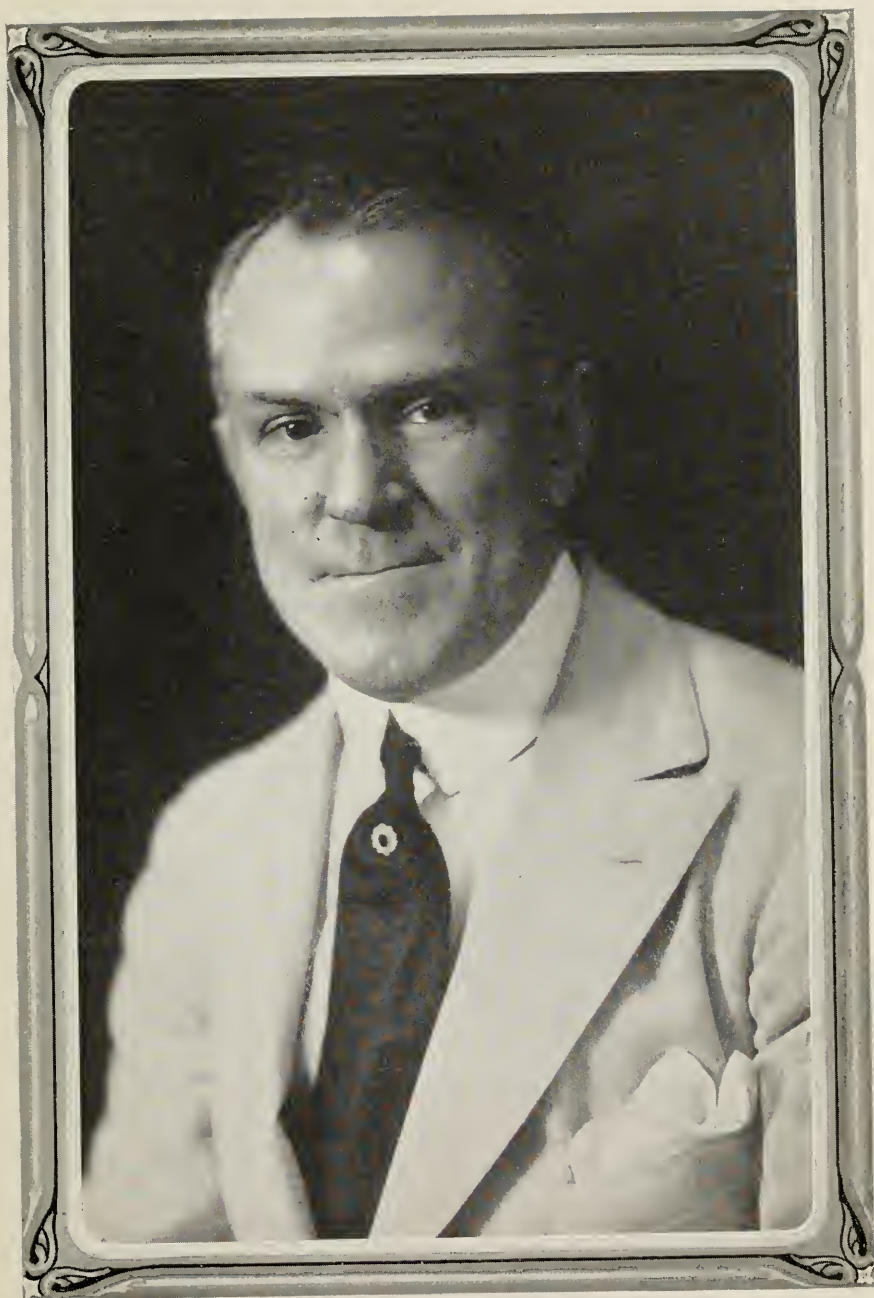
From Hawaii the Press Congress delegates and other guests went, on the *Matsonia*, to Maui Saturday morning, October 15. For two days the Valley Islanders unfolded one by one their own program of entertainment and of trips which allowed the visitors to gain a further idea of the territory's conditions and problems. The visitors saw the Maui county fair; they traveled past Maui's great cane-fields; a party went up to the summit of lofty Haleakala on an unforgettable horseback excursion; there was a luau at the national guard armory at Lahaina; they saw baseball, boxing and swimming.

A number of Honoluluans as well as the big committee of Maui citizens went out on a lighter to meet the *Matsonia* in the harbor and escort the visitors ashore. Joseph H. Gray, editor of the *Maui News*, was chairman of the Maui reception committee. President H. B. Penhallow of the Maui Chamber of Commerce headed a delegation of business men, and Mrs. W. A. Baldwin was chairman of the Maui Women's reception committee.

Mr. Gray spoke briefly to the visitors assembled on the upper deck of the *Matsonia*, giving them a hearty greeting, and Frank P. Glass, Sr., of Birmingham, Ala., U. S. A., responded for the visiting newspapermen.

Mr. Glass said that the Press Congress delegates had come to Maui with eyes open, ears open and wills open, ready to learn sympathetically of the island problems.

The governor of the territory, Wallace R. Farrington, and a former governor, George R. Carter, went out with the Maui Com-



JAMES WRIGHT BROWN,

EDITOR OF THE EDITOR AND PUBLISHER, NEW YORK CITY,  
*The Secretary-Treasurer of the Congress.*



mittee. Mr. Carter came to Maui as one of the judges at the fair. Governor Farrington arrived on the *Claudine* early Saturday morning. His aide, Capt. Henry P. Beckley, had come over the previous Wednesday.

At the fair grounds the visiting party divided. One large party made up for the trip to the summit of the great extinct crater of Haleakala.

One visiting newspaper man, Hugh J. Powell, of Coffeyville, Kansas, U. S. A., after seeing the sun set over the mountains of West Maui, and simultaneously, in the east, across the vast, dark floor of the mighty extinct crater, a full moon rise above the rolling clouds, and then, this morning, the sun rise again, wrote in the Haleakala guest book:

"Here I saw the end of a perfect day and the perfect beginning of another."

Twenty-six members of the Press Congress party made the trip, among them several women. More would have gone but for the fact that accommodations in the rest-house at the top are limited. Those who went by automobile to Olinda, and thence by horseback to the top, came down Sunday declaring they had witnessed scenic beauties never surpassed in grandeur, loveliness, charm, and variety. Their many adjectives were called forth by the rapidity with which the immense seas of clouds on all sides of the lofty old mountain changed in form, and changed in color under the rays of sun or moon; and by the majesty of the panorama unrolled when, as often happened, the clouds were swept away by driving wind, and the lower parts of Maui, or the loftier summits of Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa, on Hawaii, were seen afar in the clear air.

Frank B. Cameron and A. B. Brown of Maui were the official escorts on the trip acting for the Maui committee, W. A. Clark and William Walsh.

The ride down the mountain on the morning of October 16 was made in quick time. At Olinda the party was met by autos and taken to the Matsonia. Mr. Brown answered hundreds of questions about Haleakala and Maui and he and Mr. Cameron were asked to express to the Maui committee the deep appreciation of the Press Congress party for the Haleakala trip. Mr. Cameron was in charge of transportation, meals and sleeping arrangements.

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Only those who realize the difficulties of getting supplies—not only food, but fuel and bedding—to the rest-house for such a large party, can truly appreciate how well the Maui men did it.

Counting guides, the party totalled forty-two. This was more than first expected, and to get the ponies, hurry-up calls were sent out to Maui ranches. As a result, the party's mounts and the cowboy guides were from several ranches, including Haleakala Grove ranch and the Hawaiian Commercial, Paia and Wailuku Sugar Company plantations.

The party rode from Kahului to Olinda in automobiles, and there the ponies were waiting. The ride up the sloping ranges was a beautiful one. The summit was reached just before sunset, and already supper was being cooked by men sent on ahead. Ample supplies of food and bedding had been packed in a day previously.

As the sun set, a full moon arose in the east and shone throughout a long and wonderful evening. The guests were loath to go to bed. After supper they staged an impromptu song-and-dance entertainment in the moonlight.

They were awakened at five o'clock on the morning of October 16, and had just time for breakfast before the sun rose over the crater. The only flaw in perfect weather conditions was a light fog which came up after breakfast, making photography difficult. Otherwise the weather was perfect, with that variety of cloud-play which best sets off the character of Haleakala.

For the visiting journalists and women who did not go to Haleakala, there was provided a full afternoon and evening on October 15. After a lunch at the cafeteria on the fair grounds, they took in the afternoon program at the fair—livestock parade, horse-racing, baseball; had dinner on the Matsonia; and were back in time for the evening program at the fair.

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Maui county's fourth annual fair was undoubtedly the best yet held. Not only is the fair ground at Kahului a model institution in the quality and permanency of its equipment, but the general layout and arrangement of the large exhibition buildings, fine board roadways and ornamental planting is an ob-



ject lesson which other fairs might well pattern after. True to the fair management's broad-minded policy, all the islands were invited to exhibit this year as in the past, with the result that some fine exhibits were brought in. The Parker ranch sent 18 head of very fine Hereford beef cattle. Oahu likewise contributed some choice stock. The poultry exhibit was extensive and the finest yet shown on Maui. The commercial exhibits from Honolulu alone occupied most of one large exhibition building and were a credit to the enterprising business houses which participated. Aside from the extensive and excellent public school exhibits shown in the territorial building of the fair, together with the always interesting home economics exhibits which were received this year, a fine showing was made in the agronomy section, occupying a building forty by one hundred feet. The exhibits of fruits and vegetables in particular were never so extensive as this year. The exhibits of field crops also showed up well. Special emphasis was given to forage crops in general and to the new forage and green manuring crop, the pigeon pea in particular. Grove ranch installed an attractive booth devoted entirely to the pigeon pea, serving hot pigeon pea soup to all visitors.

The several agricultural scientific institutions of the territory made fine educational exhibits in the agronomy building. These included the experiment station of the H. S. P. A., which showed a lot of realistic paintings of standard varieties of sugar cane, as well as actual specimens. The Hawaii (U. S.) experiment station illustrated its various activities in agronomy, agricultural chemistry, horticulture and extension work, in a most attractive manner. The territorial board of agriculture and forestry occupied a central position with its exhibit of forest trees, nursery stock and specimens of sawed logs to show the various grains. The entomological and animal industries exhibits, together with a series of fine photographs, made this an instructive and very entertaining exhibit.

The University of Hawaii occupied a wall and bench space of eight by twenty feet. All the activities of the university were illustrated by a splendid collection of photographs. The college of agriculture showed photographs of its best dairy animals, together with records of their high performance in milk yields,

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which are second to none in the territory. Growing field crops showed the possibilities of diversified agriculture in Hawaii. The central photograph of the university campus, including the university farm together with the series of pictures of the main building and associated buildings, were a revelation to many visitors. Laboratory interiors of chemical, botany and engineering divisions with students at work made another interesting feature. The athletics of the university and a picture of the entire student body, as well as the large incoming freshman class, were amplified by the ingenious photograph showing the substantial growth of the university since its establishment in 1908. A special feature of this exhibit included photographs taken in the art division of ceramics, batiks, wood blocking and embroidery.

An interesting exhibit of chaulmoogra oil and its derivatives as prepared under the direction of Dr. A. L. Dean, president of the University, attracted much attention, and doubtless did much to emphasize the importance of the place the university holds, not only in the territory, but in the world at large.

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In the evening there was a concert by the Coast Artillery Band and at eight o'clock "A Night in Hawaii" was presented under the direction of William K. Hoopii.

Simple in its makeup—just a program of twelve familiar Hawaiian songs, and a tableau portraying some of the kings, queens, princes and princesses of the islands,—yet enacted with a precision that spelled careful attention to details, it made a lasting impression upon the audience that packed the grandstand of the Maui County Fair and Racing Association, with its colorful setting, picturesque costumes, dreamy music and splendid singing. Delegates to the Press Congress who heard the singing and saw the tableau were delighted. They were unstinting in their praise of the sweet voices of the members of the chorus, more than one hundred in number. There was a distinct charm about it—some subtle thing that played upon the heartstrings and held the attention of the listener until the last note had died away.

It was a cosmopolitan chorus, and one in which youth and middle age joined in the business of making song. Probably more than half a dozen races and mixtures of races were rep-

resented among the songsters, yet the Hawaiian predominated. The program was made up of a number of songs that one rarely hears in these days of New York manufactured "popular" compositions, and when "jazz" is striving to inject itself into Hawaiian music.

The singers were for the most part young men and women who are connected with the schools of Maui, either as teachers or students. The women wore white dresses and yellow leis. They were directed by William K. Hoopii, who is an authority on Hawaiian music and who has made for himself a reputation in the organization and training of choruses.

Each song was rendered in a highly pleasing manner and with delightful and perfect harmony. The song program was as follows: "E Hanai Ai," chorus; "Kalakaua Serenade," Mrs. Freudenberg and chorus; "Pulupe Nei Ile," Mr. Hoopii and chorus; "O Oe No Ka I Ike," Miss Namau and chorus; "Laau Hoolulu I Ke Kino," Mrs. Freudenberg and chorus; "Ane Hila," Miss Chan Wa and chorus; "Ua Like No A Like," Mrs. Fuller and Chorus; "Malu I Ke Ao," Mr. Hoopii and chorus; "Mauio No Ka Oi," Mrs. A. Garcia and chorus.

One of the pleasing features of the program was the "Song of the Islands," which was in charge of Mrs. W. H. Field. As the name of each island was mentioned in song, a Hawaiian girl entered bedecked with flowers of leis representing the island. Islands and flowers represented were: Hawaii, lehua; Maui, rose; Oahu, ilima; Kauai, mokihana; Molokai, kuki; Lanai, kanaoha; Kahoolawe, hinahina; Niihau, shells; Molokini, represented by a tiny girl wearing leis of Jobs tears.

Miss Kapoo gave a demonstration of the hula dance in a graceful and clever manner, and her efforts were rewarded by hearty applause.

The first figure in the tableau was the Princess Kaiulani, the part being taken by Mrs. Charles Farden, who was greeted by serenaders. She wore a white silk holoku and a green maile lei. She was followed by Mrs. Kahewa Seong as Queen Liliuokalani. She wore a red silk gown and a yellow feather lei. Queen Emma was represented by Mrs. Mary Chan Wa, who wore a lavender gown and a feather lei. She was greeted with an oli by Mrs. Hauola. The princess Pomaikalani, was represented by Mrs.

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Kaiawe Searle, who wore a light gold gown and feather lei. She was followed by Prince Leleohukee (Samuel Mookini of Lahainaluna school), who was a composer of love songs, a talented musician and a brother of King Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani. Mr. Mookini sang an old Hawaiian ballad, accompanying himself on a guitar. There was also a little girl in a grass skirt, who proved herself to be a clever exponent of the hula dance. Her daintiness and gracefulness instantly won the admiration of the audience, and she responded to two encores. The Princess Pauahi (Bernice Pauahi Bishop), represented by Miss E. Namauu, who wore a black gown with silver stripes was greeted with a song, "Pauahi Lani," sung by Mrs. Freudenberg. After the figures in the tableau had taken their places King Kamehameha I., represented by William Bray, attired in the cloak and helmet costume of the days of early Hawaii, entered, accompanied by two bodyguards, Mr. Oana and Mr. Kalepa, who carried a spear and a tabu stick, respectively. The spear was presented to the king, who then took the position that is so well known to Honoluluans who pass the statue in front of the judiciary building every day.

This was a signal for the singing of Hawaii Pono, and the entire audience stood and joined in the chorus. Just before the opening bars of the "Star Spangled Banner," Uncle Sam, who appeared from some place nearby, stepped onto the platform and clasped hands with King Kamehameha, thus representing the friendship between the Hawaiians and the early missionaries and the final linking of the islands with the United States.

"In all my life," remarked a delegate after it was all over, "I have never heard the 'Star Spangled Banner' sung so well and so perfectly as those Hawaiian people sang it."

J. J. Walsh, between numbers, introduced several speakers, including Governor Wallace R. Farrington, who harked back to his newspaper days with a seat in the press box; General Charles P. Summerall, commanding the Hawaiian department, U. S. A.; Rear Admiral Edward Simpson, commanding the fourteenth naval district, and C. L. Dotson, one of the delegates.

"I am glad to be here and receive a share of the welcome extended by this wonderful island and its wonderful people," said the governor. "I am delighted to be for today a citizen of

Maui and to say with the rest of you, 'Maui no ka oe.' I assure you that this is one of the very best islands in the territory of Hawaii. The only island that comes anywhere near it is the island of Hawaii, but perhaps Oahu is a little bit better. You see, I must stand up for my home town—or rather island.

"I want to express my appreciation of the wonderful cooperation that I have seen evidenced here on the part of the officers and men of the army and navy. I am sure you recognize here evidence of which we have a splendid demonstration every day in the year. The army and the navy are a part of the United States and we should never lose an opportunity to cooperate with them."

The governor thanked those who were taking part in the "Night in Hawaii" program.

"I want those delegates who have come here from abroad to know that these beautiful Hawaiian songs will never grow old," he continued. "They are getting stronger and stronger on your heart strings. And I want to say here that you can't jazz up Hawaiian music, for if you do, you rob it of its character, of that something which carries with it all of the romantic atmosphere of Hawaii.

"You have seen what can be done here. You have seen the products of diversified industry. And I want to compliment the people of Maui on the work they are doing in the development of agriculture. This is something upon which we have got to depend in our community life. There is a tremendous necessity for the development of the small farmer, and along this line I want to say that Maui's name will always be famous for the development of the pigeon pea."

"I have heard," said General Summerall, "that this island belonged to the Baldwins. Well, if it ever did, they lost possession this morning, because this morning possession of it was transferred to the strangers who have entered your beautiful port. You have made us feel that we are not strangers, but that this beautiful land is ours for the time being; and we indeed feel that the spirit of old Hawaii has been transmitted back, not only by the splendid men and women of the Hawaiian race, but by all of the others who dwell here. We all want to come again and, speaking for the army, I am sure that we will come again. We belong to all of the islands and all of the people, and

it is only because of matters of administration and supply that we are placed in Oahu."

Admiral Simpson, who won a reputation among the delegates for a never-absent smile, said that the navy had sent its envoys under the sea, on the sea and in the air over the sea to the Maui fair. Although the navy is on Oahu, he continued, Oahu is not the only island it desires to make friends with. "After tonight I, a new arrival, am more than eager to visit your beautiful island and your cordial, hospitable people again."

Following *The Night in Hawaii* entertainment there were two boxing matches which were well received.

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Sunday morning a sightseeing trip was the big event. Maui hosts were at the wharf with their cars. The route was from Kahului to Pala, thence up to Makwao, past the Maui polo field and the Puunene mill, thence to Wailuku, past Waikapu, by Maalea Bay, and along the road which skirts the sea between Wailuku and Lahaina.

At Lahaina an elaborate native feast was spread for the visitors, which lasted until well along in the afternoon, when they were brought back to the Matsonia for dinner. After dinner they were taken to the swimming tank installed by the Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co. at Puunene, where exhibition swimming and diving were given. Among the well-known swimmers participating were Duke Kahanamoku, champion sprint swimmer of the world; Warren Kealoha, champion backstroke swimmer of the world; Mariechen Wahselau, joint holder of the fifty yard free style title for women; Gay Harris, K. Kelilipio, Helen Moses, Ruth Scudder, Cecily Cunha, Christine Smoot, and divers R. K. Fuller and Clair Tait.

Maui men and women were indefatigable in their efforts to entertain the visiting newspapermen and other guests. When it is considered that the community was simultaneously carrying out the county fair, the success of which taxed the transportation and other resources of the Maui residents, the perfection of the plans for entertainment was all the more commendable.

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Monday the delegates attended regular Congress sessions, in the evening enjoying a band concert at the Moana Hotel. Con-

gress was in session again Tuesday. A "Jamboree luncheon" was given at the Outrigger Club pavilion at noon by the Honolulu Ad Club. There special music and stunts provided amusement.

In the evening at the Moana Hotel Dr. Herbert E. Gregory, professor of geology at Yale University (on leave of absence) and curator of the Bishop Museum at Honolulu, lectured upon the status and functions of the Museum and the exploration of the Pacific now in progress by the Museum in cooperation with a number of mainland institutions. Dr. A. L. Dean, President of the University of Hawaii, delivered a lecture upon "The Conquering of Leprosy by the Use of Chaulmoogra Oil."

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Wednesday noon Mrs. Wallace R. Farrington, wife of Governor Farrington, gave a luncheon for women delegates and women visitors at the Press Congress. Automobiles took the guests to the Country Club where the affair was given. In the evening there was a band concert at the Moana Hotel.

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At eight o'clock on the evening of October 20 delegates to the Press Congress attended a unique entertainment presented by Hawaiian patriotic societies in the War Memorial Park at Waikiki. The "Spirit of Hawaii" revealed the early history and picturesque island life. Feather capes, kahilis, canoes together with much Hawaiian music, hula dancing and the recital of traditions and legends made vivid the colorful life of by-gone days.

The program was called "Kahanu O Hawaii," or "The Breath of Hawaii" and embodied events showing the high degree of civilization attained by the natives before the advent of the missionaries, the loyalty to royal authority and elaborate ceremonies.

"The Landing of the Shipwrecked Spaniards in 1555" showed the traditional arrival of a Spaniard and his sister on the island of Hawaii. Harry F. Davison took the part of the Spaniard, while the Spanish sister was portrayed by Miss Olive Duncan. Samuel Pupuhi acted as the king and the queens were Mrs. Barringer and Mrs. Nauao, with Mrs. David Hoapili as the princess.

The half circled grandstand of spectators were caught fast held by the mystic beauty of the night and the setting of the pageant of modern and ancient Hawaii.

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Soft singing voices, haunting thrumming of music strings, and throbbing color, red, orange, green, yellow—that is what the Press Congress delegates and 2000 other folks glimpsed and heard. Serenading groups opened the program. They stepped out of the night into the circle, troubadoured the audience with the beauty of their voices and sensuous humming of their instruments, and dropped back into darkness. Lights out then—and the amphitheater was in cool darkness. Stars overhead, the beating of the water on the shore, and the dry, pungent smell of palms. Dimmed lights came slowly on, and there on a rock was a slender girl in misty garments, “Ka Hanu o Hawaii,” Breath of Hawaii. She talked of the spirit of Hawaii, old Hawaii, when kings strode the highway and all men were warriors. In swift succession followed tableaux and music picturing various historical events.

The Press Congress delegates will never forget that night, not any more than they can forget a bewildering dream of beauty.

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The morning of October 21 the Press Congress delegates were entertained by a Pan-Pacific pageant in front of the capitol. This colorful event marked the opening of the Pan-Pacific Press Conference.

At Old Mission House that afternoon the delegates enjoyed a delightful tea given by the entertainment committee of the Pan-Pacific Press Conference. At this tea there was singing by the Hawaiian children under the direction of Mrs. Berringer and Mrs. Gittel.

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The biggest and what was probably the best military program ever staged in Hawaii was given at Schofield Barracks on the morning of October 22 for the entertainment of the delegates to the Press Congress of the World.

Nearly every branch of the service which is stationed in Hawaii was represented in the exhibition, which included spectacular display of stunts by the army airmen. Every stunt which has been tried by airmen was exhibited. The air program included an aerial combat, bomb raid, radio communication with a radio hut on the drill field, an attack raid and an exhibition of the military order of passing in review. During the aerial combat the planes went through all the maneuvers which are used in



actual warfare and did the stunts which have been found to be necessary in gaining the advantageous position in such a combat.

The program was started by a review of all the troops of the Hawaiian division, led by Brigadier General Joseph E. Kuhn, commanding officer of the Hawaiian division. The aerial program came next and then the crack First Battalion of the Twenty-seventh Infantry gave an exhibition of close order drill and Butt's manual. A detachment of infantry staged an attack and the program was concluded by firing by the field artillery. This number on the program included the laying down of a rolling barrage, one of the most wonderful sights which can be seen during a military exhibition.

Following the military exhibition, delegates were taken in automobiles to Haleiwa Hotel for luncheon, as guests of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce. There was a slight detour through the pineapple fields to show the methods of planting and cultivating pineapples. Following the luncheon, the visitors returned by automobile to Honolulu on the windward side of the island, coming up the Pali and down the Nuuanu valley.

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On Sunday morning special services were held at the Central Union Church for Press Congress delegates. The Rev. Albert W. Palmer, pastor, preached on "The Perils of Sensationalism."

In the afternoon special street cars were provided to take the guests to Bishop Museum, where there was an exhibit of Hawaiian royal feather capes and cloaks and other relics.

Sunday evening motion pictures of the Press Congress were shown on the lawn of the Moana Hotel.

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All phases of the pineapple cannery industry were revealed on October 24 to delegates to the Press Congress of the World.

The delegates were taken in automobiles first to the plant of the American Can Co., Iwilei, where they were shown the various processes through which a piece of sheet tin goes before it finally emerges in the form of from one to six cans. When running full blast the plant can turn out 100,000 cans an hour, and the average annual outturn has been in the neighborhood of 125,000,000 cans.

Leaving the can factory the delegates passed into the plant

of the Hawaiian Pineapple Co., where they traced the course of pineapples from the time they left the freight cars and were placed in the Ginaca machine, until they emerged canned, cooked, labelled and ready for boxing. Especial interest was taken in the Ginaca machine, which peels, cores and trims the pineapple.

At noon the delegates had luncheon in the company's cafeteria, a big, cool roomy place on the upper floor where substantial meals are furnished the employees for five and ten cents.

Brief addresses were made by J. H. Kessell, delegate from Queensland, Australia, and James Wright Brown, of the Editor and Publisher, New York. Mr. Kessell compared the Queensland government with that of the United States, declaring that the reason the latter was so successful was because it permitted and assisted individual and collective private enterprise. He said that the trip through the can factory and the pineapple cannery had been a revelation, and that the progress of the industry was something he would be sure to tell the people of Australia about.

H. L. Lyon, in charge of research work for the Association of Hawaiian Pineapple Packers, gave an illustrated lecture on pineapple culture, in which he explained in an interesting way some of the obstacles that had to be overcome, scientifically and otherwise.

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A Japanese festival was given at the Pan-Pacific Gardens, Kuakini lane the evening of October 24.

Handsome head dresses which had never been seen in Hawaii and which are worn in Japan only by the elite on festive occasions, were a feature of the entertainment. Mrs. C. Yada, the Misses Fumi and Kiyō Yada and Mrs. Naito of the Japanese consulate, together with other prominent Japanese women, wore these headdresses with beautiful kimonos.

There was geisha dancing and singing in the gardens, which were lighted with myriads of Japanese lanterns. The atmosphere of festive Japan pervaded the artistic plays and stunts of the program. Opportunity was offered to eat Japanese food in true Japanese manner, sitting on cushions at low tables.

This entertainment was given by the Japanese Women's Association, of which Mrs. Yada is president, under the auspices of

the Free Kindergarten and Children's Aid associations. The money raised went toward the building fund for a new kindergarten.

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All delegates to the Press Congress and the friends accompanying them made a special trip to the Oahu sugar plantation on October 25.

The opportunity offered the delegates by the planters was an unusual one, for few persons have the chance to visit a plantation under conditions which insure a thorough acquaintance with plantation work in a day's time. The processes of cultivation and the manufacture of sugar were shown as well as the general condition and the way in which plantation workers live.

Luncheon was served at the home of the manager of the plantation at noon. An illuminating address on conditions in the sugar industry was made by E. Faxon Bishop, president of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association. At 1:30 o'clock the party was taken to some of the pumping plants belonging to the sugar company, then on back to Honolulu.

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Dr. Walter Williams, president of the Press Congress of the World, received a new honorary degree on October 25, that of LL. D., which, as Riley H. Allen, editor of the *Star-Bulletin*, expressed it, means "Doctor of Leis."

Dr. Williams was guest of honor at an informal meeting of the Honolulu Press Club at the Moana Hotel and delivered an address upon education for journalism, dwelling chiefly upon methods employed at the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri, the first school of journalism in the world.

The program, which preceded the address, included the reading of two original poems by Mrs. Adna G. Clarke and a group of songs by Mrs. H. H. Blodgett. Mrs. John T. Warren presented Dr. Williams with a huge blue pencil, symbol of the profession of journalism, and read a clever parody on Kipling's "L'Envoi."

One of Mrs. Clarke's poems dedicated to Dr. Williams, follows:

We'll miss his smile—Press Congress of the World,  
 A paper's parts that all who run may read;  
 The grave ones editorials hot-hurled,  
 The gay ones comic supplements that plead  
 Their little space to sordid cares beguile;  
 We'll miss his smile.

We'll miss his smile—his smile of quiet mirth;  
 His gavel in the room where Congress met  
 To solve the mighty problems of the earth  
 With East and West in mid-Pacific met  
 In conclave on Oahu's jeweled isle;  
 We'll miss his smile.

We'll miss his smile—when on the waters wide  
 His good ship takes her way across day's rim,  
 Aloha's leis returning to the tide  
 Suggesting poignantly the charm of him  
 Whose presence blessed us for so short a while;  
 We'll miss his smile.

After two songs by John Hancock, Mr. Allen spoke briefly regarding the work that has been done by Dr. Williams and the graduates of his school, and then dubbed him "Doctor of Leis," decorating him with a handsome yellow wreath. Members of the executive committee of the club then placed other leis about Dr. Williams' shoulders. The meeting closed with the Press Club yell and the singing of "Aloha Oe."

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Governor and Mrs. Wallace R. Farrington celebrated their silver wedding anniversary October 26, when they were at home to their friends during the afternoon and after 8 o'clock in the evening. Many of the Press Congress delegates paid their respects to Mr. and Mrs. Farrington during the day. Tea was served at the Outrigger Club during the afternoon and provisions were made for the guests to bathe and to use the surf boards and canoes.

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Delegates to the Press Congress on the morning of October 27 looked into Hawaii's "melting pot of races," were impressed by the varied alloy therein, and with hearty applause paid tribute

to the work of the public schools in training children of a score of nationalities for the responsibilities of American citizenship.

It was the first public school demonstration since the opening of the Congress. With the broad playground of the Royal School, shaded by large trees, as a stage, the visitors were treated to a colorful pageant and ceremony in the mingling of children representing lands bordering the Pacific.

If the delegates harbored a desire to inspect at first hand the monster crucible in which Hawaii brings together under one flag and in harmony and contentment nearly a score of races and racial mixtures, that desire was realized on October 27. For there was a real melting pot—a great, black cauldron standing at one side of the out-of-door stage—into which Liberty led her tiny charges, gorgeous in the native costumes of the lands of their forbears, emerging a moment later amidst the fluttering of American flags.

Not before in Honolulu has there been a more striking example of Hawaii's right to the title "melting pot." Led by "Uncle Sam" in the person of Little Joseph Freitas; the spirit of education, represented by Annie Machado, and little Minnie Borges clothed in a gown fashioned from *Star-Bulletins* and *Advertisers*, children representing China, Japan, Korea, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Russia, the Philippines and Hawaii, each garbed in the picturesque native costume of the land of his ancestors, filed up to the edge of the great melting pot, and then climbed in. A moment later they emerged, each carrying an American flag, and were met by the spirit of liberty, represented by Miss E. Kirkpatrick, who took them in charge.

The keynote of the demonstration was struck by "Uncle Sam" who, as the melting pot was receiving the racial units, spoke to the delegates as follows:

"Here she lies—the great melting pot of Hawaii: Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Russian, Filipino and Hawaiian. How shall they all unite to build the Republic of Man and the Kingdom of God? My dream is that as the years go on and the world knows more and more of America, and shall know that she puts human rights above all other rights and that her flag is not only the flag of America, but of humanity!"

And little Miss Borges, clasping tightly her bundle of news-

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papers, turned to the bleachers in which the visiting editors, publishers and newspaper men and women sat, and said:

"I am the Press. I am a powerful force. I govern the world. I work for the uplifting of humanity. It gives me a good opportunity to help my fellow men. It is my duty to serve them well because I love my work and my country. I must see if anything is wrong and try to improve upon it. I am a guiding star, a warning headlight and, above all, the conscience of the world."

The program which was taken part in by pupils from most of the larger city schools, and which was under the general direction of Cyril O. Smith, principal of the Royal school, opened with a demonstration of organized play, following which was a pole drill by six groups of girls, eight in a group, dressed in white middies with red ties. This was a cleverly executed, colorful drill that received warm applause.

A massed chorus, composed of pupils from the Royal school, McKinley High School and the Normal school and occupying bleachers on the edge of the playground, sang "Hawaii Ponoï," the Hawaii national anthem, while everyone stood.

The next event, the flag salute, was a particularly pleasing feature and a striking demonstration of patriotism in the public schools. While everyone stood at attention, the children being formed on the playground, a large American flag was escorted to the foot of the flag by a guard of children, followed by two pupils, one bearing a smaller national flag and the other a Hawaiian flag.

Each of the guard of honor gave a brief recitation of a patriotic nature, and as the flag was run up the pole, the children, at the snappy command of a diminutive Japanese Boy Scout, saluted.

Then came calisthenics and the singing of "Patriot's Prayer" and "National Anthem" by the student chorus.

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Aloha chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution gave a tea on the afternoon of October 27 at the home of the Rev. and Mrs. W. D. Westervelt, Waikiki, honoring the women delegates and wives of the delegates to the Press Congress of the World.

The home was exquisitely decorated with hundreds of beautiful pastel-tinted hibiscus.

A charming and informal musical program was heartily appreciated. Mrs. Charles Hall sang a group of Hawaiian songs. The Kamehameha Girls' glee club also gave several splendid numbers. Mrs. Westervelt gave a piano selection. In all about two hundred guests were assembled. By special invitation of the Aloha chapter, Regent Mrs. Douglass, Dr. Walter Williams and the Rev. Mr. Westervelt were also included.

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High Sheriff William P. Jarrett was heartily applauded by delegates to the Press Congress of the World on the morning of October 28 upon the conclusion of a brief address, delivered in the assembly hall of Oahu prison, in which he outlined the work he and his associates have done to create a model penitentiary.

The delegates inspected the prison from top to bottom, and the inmates did a thriving business selling curios and other articles of handicraft. The visitors were especially pleased with the cleanliness of the place, and with the modern appliances employed, as well as with the working out of the honor system. Tempting odors drew everyone to the kitchen, where roasts and stews were cooking, and the big playground, surrounded by nothing more than a picket fence, elicited exclamations of surprise.

In his address Sheriff Jarrett paid tribute to S. W. Robley of the Prison Aid Society, and to the members of the board of prison commissioners, for their assistance in raising the institution to a high standard.

The Pearl Harbor Athletic Club extended an invitation to the delegates to the Press Congress to attend their regular smoker which was given at the station on the night of October 28.

Following the inspection of the penitentiary the delegates visited the leprosarium where science has demonstrated its ability to arrest leprosy. The delegates were particularly impressed with the scientific work done and delighted with the program of music and tableaux given by the patients in the hospital yard. The charms of the islands of the group as represented by a youngster in costume was another pleasing feature. Then came a figurative illustration of the chaulmoogra oil treatment, dedicated to the United States Public Health Service, and the singing of a song

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dedicated to Dr. Hollman, formerly in charge of the hospital. It was explained that in old Hawaii a melee was always composed of a person who had accomplished some particularly noteworthy feat and that in the composition of the song an ancient custom had been revived. There was handed to Princess Kalaniana'ole, for delivery to Dr. Williams to be presented to President Harding, a letter calling to the attention of the President the work done at the hospital through the chaulmoogra oil treatment.

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"The Yellow Jacket," from the pens of George C. Hazleton and J. Harry Benrimo, which was a great stage success in the spring of 1921, was staged again at Mission Memorial Hall on October 28 under the auspices of the Chinese community, headed by Consul Hsu Shia, for Press Congress delegates and on October 29 for the general public.

The play, although written by Occidentals, is strictly a Chinese drama embodying the true characteristics of Chinese life and philosophy. It deals with a mother's love of youth and hatred of men—vividly portraying the simple humor and deep pathos of the Chinese people, their fancies, whims, joys and sorrows; and aptly bringing forth the conflict of the strength and courage of manhood and the weakness and selfishness of cowardice. A richness of philosophy and a wealth of emotion underlie the play.

As a background for action are displayed the wonderful teak-wood furniture, the generous embroideries and tapestries of old China. Stage representations of the Chinese are shown in all their quaintness. A bamboo pole represents a weeping willow tree from which the hero of the play hangs himself. For a mountain the property man piles up a few chairs, for a river a plank placed over two stools.

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The delegates visited Pearl Harbor Saturday morning October 29 as the guests of Rear Admiral Edward Simpson and the officers and men of the Fourteenth naval district, making the trip from Honolulu on destroyers and Eagle boats.

The delegates were given one thrill after another by the spectacular naval maneuvers exhibited by the boats all of the way to Pearl Harbor. The first stunt was the assumption of a submarine attack and the maneuvers of a vessel in repulsing such an at-



tack. The demonstration was carried out in minute detail and the delegates were given an opportunity of seeing the actual maneuvers of a battleship when attacked by submarines.

Following this the two Eagle boats and one destroyer lined up in formation for escorting a transport. A submarine appeared, supposedly to attack the transport, and one of the destroyers dropped a torpedo.

The delegates were much interested in watching the manner in which a torpedo is launched and in following its course through the water. Two seaplanes gave an exhibition attack on a battleship, having an anchored target to represent the battleship. The seaplanes dropped a number of bombs, all of which registered as hits or within the range which would have damaged a ship.

The destroyers demonstrated the manner of laying down a smoke screen as protection for a transport in eluding an enemy submarine. This was followed by machine gun practice from one seaplane, the target being hung from another plane.

As the party entered Pearl Harbor they were met by four submarines and one seaplane, which escorted them to the dock. The seaplane gave an exhibition of making landings and of hopping off. The guests were then divided into small parties and escorted to points of interest at the station.

They were taken to the huge dry-dock, which was partially filled in order to show the manner in which it was operated. A naval officer guided each party of guests and explained everything of interest. The party was taken to the radio station, hospitals, industrial departments and also visited the submarine base.

Shortly before noon a reception was held in the entertainment hall of Marine Barracks, the reception being followed by a luncheon.

Felicitations were exchanged when the visitors sat down to luncheon in the marine barracks and feasted on good navy "chow." Rear Admiral Edward Simpson told of the pleasure the visit of the newspaper folk had brought to the navy, and explained briefly the desire of the navy to co-operate with the civilian population in every worth-while proposition.

In response, President Williams of the Press Congress thanked the admiral and his officers and men for their reception and ex-

hibitions, voicing the appreciation of all of the delegates. He then called upon Col. Edward Frederick Lawson, assistant managing proprietor of the London Daily Telegraph, who paid tribute to the American navy, stating this was not the first time he had seen demonstrations of its efficiency. On behalf of the delegates, he thanked the navy, as well as the people of all Hawaii, for the courtesies shown the visitors.

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Hawaii's races divided honors on the night of October 29 at the All-Nations' lantern parade, one of the most spectacular of entertainments in honor of the Press Congress.

The three visiting delegates who made up the committee of judges awarded the prizes as follows:

For the best decorated, illuminated auto, first prize, \$250, won by Japanese community float (wisteria arbor); second prize, \$150, won by Fong Inn's; third prize, \$100, won by Oahu Rice Mill Co.

For best marching section, first prize, \$150, won by Koreans; second prize, \$100, won by Chinese; third prize, \$50, won by St. Louis College.

The Filipinos, turning out for the first time, made a fine showing. St. Louis College won a prize largely because of the precision of its marching step, and the "pep" shown by the boys, who made up for the loss of their football game to McKinley High School a few hours before by organized cheering during the parade, which won much applause.

The Korean marching section, winner of the first prize, featured women and girls in Korean costume. The lanterns in this section were also unusually picturesque. The Boy Scouts, Japanese and other marching sections, made very good appearances.

It was estimated that close to 50,000 people saw the parade. From Aala park to the capitol grounds the streets were jammed with people. Thousands were massed at Palace square and in the capitol grounds. The stands erected for invited guests were filled. For half an hour after the parade was over the downtown streets were filled.

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Early Monday morning, October 31, automobiles furnished by the Honolulu Automobile Club, called for the Press Congress

delegates and escorted them to Alexander Field, Punahou, where the R. O. T. C. staged a military tournament.

The program was in four parts—the battle of Alexander Field; exhibition of drills by each school; the assault on Rocky Hill; and the review of troops by Major General Charles P. Summerall, commanding general of the Hawaiian department. A regular army band furnished music while the five hundred student cadets went through their maneuvers. The Oahu College, University of Hawaii, Kamehameha School and the Honolulu Military Academy were represented in the tournament. The University of Hawaii won first place in the tournament.

Following the sham battles came the silent manual, calisthenics, semaphore and mass singing of Kamehameha cadets which brought enthusiastic applause from the spectators. Honolulu Military Academy men were appreciated in their exhibition of manual of arms and Butt's manual, while Punahou cadets demonstrated bayonet training and mass games.

An impressive review before General Summerall concluded the program. An army band led the review, followed by cadet corps from each school bearing its flag and the United States flag.

After the exhibition automobiles took the delegates on a sight seeing tour about Honolulu.

Monday evening the Country Club gave a ball for Press Congress delegates and visitors.

Tuesday, November 1, the Press Congress of the World closed its convention sessions and the delegates began getting ready for the return to their homes.

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In Hawaii the long ocean highways meet, the highways that link the younger countries of modern civilization with lands but now really awaking from the lethargy of ages. Here are parents and grandparents from old Cathay, still speaking the tongue of their ancestors, proudly rejoicing in the English education of their offspring in American public schools and in many private institutions of learning for which Hawaii is noted. The Japanese, while providing instruction for their youth in the language and history of their forbears, encourage them in the acquisition of English and along all lines of practical new-world education.

The casual traveler thinks of the Islands as a group. But the many world-famed attractions of the Hawaiian Islands are by no means concentrated within an area immediately convenient to hurried transients as they disembark at Honolulu. Hawaii is indeed a "string of precious pearls" and each of the five larger islands of the principal eight has its own particular attractions. Delightful climate, beautiful scenery, and wonderful formations are common to all the islands, but each is also renowned for its special features.

Oahu, third island in point of area, is first in importance because Honolulu is headquarters, federal, territorial, international, financial, commercial, trans-oceanic. Politically the City and County of Honolulu embraces all of the Island of Oahu, together with the far outlying islets to the northwest of the eight larger islands of the chain, though the city proper, with a population of about eighty-three thousand, occupies but a comparatively small portion of Oahu on the southwest side.

Hilo, capital city of the largest island, Hawaii, is the Territory's second seaport, a haven of vast possibilities, one hundred and ninety miles, or fifteen hours, from Honolulu by Inter-Island steamer. Hawaii is the only island of the archipelago whose craters are active. Within thirty-one miles of Hilo, by scenic auto highway, earth's most spectacular volcano, Kilauea, is forever in action. Ten thousand feet above Kilauea's lake of living lava, which is itself four thousand feet above sea-level, Mokuaweoweo crater, at the summit of Mauna Loa, occasionally draws attention from constant Kilauea with a mighty exhibition of its own.

There can be few more lovely settings for any city than Hilo is fortunate enough to possess. She nestles along the shores of her sweeping Crescent Bay beneath the slopes of mighty Mauna Kea; her buildings half buried beneath the cataracts of flowers and foliage which appear, from the sea, to be surging over the entire landscape. Ashore, the fine concrete roadways of the busy little city soon give way to macadam, the delight of motorists who will always take their cars where there are good driving surfaces. The Island of Hawaii is not only the playground of many tourists, but is the leading island of the group in point of production, its twenty-five plantations producing, on an annual

average, almost two hundred thousand tons of sugar, while upwards of three million pounds of the highest grade of fine coffee is shipped away each year from historic and lovely Kona. Also, Hawaii is destined to be heard from where men love the fragrant and soothing weed, since the tobacco industry is growing rapidly, and Hawaii tobacco is rapidly establishing a place for itself in the marts of the world.

Wailuku, Kahului and Lahaina are the principal towns of Maui Island. Kahului is the main seaport of the Valley Island. Lahaina, once the seat of royalty in the "days of old," is a noted rendezvous for fishermen. Mount Haleakala (House of the Sun) is Maui's biggest scenic asset. The largest extinct or quiescent volcano in the Pacific, this ten-thousand-foot crater, easily holds second place among the wonders of Hawaii, ranking next to fiery Kilauea.

And yet it is vain to speak of first or second place among the Island's marvels; for their individual characteristics put each in a class by itself. He beholds Creation still at work in the "House of Everlasting Fire," at Kilauea, and then climbs to Haleakala's highest rim to look out upon Maui and other islands, or to gaze down upon a sea of clouds at sunrise, or as the sun declines, is usually at a loss to say which never-to-be-forgotten inspiration has impressed him the more.

Hawaii's summery clime is well indicated by the fact that light summer clothing, except at high elevations, is worn from one year's end to the other. Between sea level and the fourteen-thousand-foot domes of Hawaii Island almost any climate may be found, as between the beaches and the ten-thousand-foot crater-rim of Haleakala, on Maui, and in the four-thousand-foot regions, as at Kilauea volcano, warmer clothing is required for evening wear; but elsewhere there is little to distinguish winter from summer except the change in the duration of daylight and a greater degree of humidity. There are no extremes of heat or cold below the high altitudes.

Most of the world's sports flourish in Hawaii and the Islands afford a wonderful variety of recreation. In the towns there are many and diversified athletic associations. There are country clubs with golf links, polo grounds and good tennis courts; there are race tracks and trap-shooting butts. Hawaiian waters offer ideal conditions for yachting. Pearl Harbor's broad protected

waters attract many small pleasure craft. Surf boat riding, riding the waves on a specially shaped board, is a great sport.

Of the field games baseball is monarch.

In season there is shooting for pheasants, ducks, doves, plover, quail, snipe, curlew, mud-hens and some other birds. There are deer on the Island of Molokai, while on Hawaii, Maui and Kauai the hunter may try his luck with wild boar, wild goats and wild cattle.

Hawaiian swimmers are famous the world over. Island boys and girls have scored victories in the world's Olympic games on numerous occasions.

Island waters teem with game fish of great variety and size and fishing is a great business as well as an interesting sport.

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Very little is known of the ancient Hawaiians except through fragments of history that have been handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation, and which have been pieced together to form legends and the "meles" that are now but rarely chanted.

An offshoot of the mighty Polynesian race that has spread its peoples of many clans and tribes broadcast throughout the countless islands that dot the South Pacific from Hawaii to Easter Island, and from Tahiti westward to New Zealand, Tonga and the Carolines, the Hawaiian branch stands today as the most intelligent, the most enlightened and the most progressive of them all.

Where did they come from? Science has yet to answer the question. One of the two great present-day scientific problems is the origin and migration of the Polynesian race, including the Hawaiian. Learned men who are devoting their lives to the cause of science are now endeavoring to solve the problem.

There are, however, quite a number of highly interesting theories. One is that the Polynesians originally lived along the Asiatic coast and were forced gradually into Pacific Island homes by the pressure of the tribes behind them. They made long journeys in the great double canoes about which history has much to say, and the more adventuresome ones finally reached the islands that now constitute the Hawaiian group, laying the foundation for what was to become a highly civilized and sturdy race.

Then there is the theory of the existence of a great Pacific continent of which Hawaii formed the most northerly portion. Scientists who agree with this theory assert that what are now the Pacific islands were at one time the mountain peaks of this great continent. This affords opportunity for voluminous conjecture and discussion. If such a continent existed during the age of the evolution of man, was it peopled? And are the various Polynesian clans of today but the remnants of a civilization that flourished many thousands of years ago? Or did it exist prior to the age in question, and then sink, leaving only the mountain tops as islands to be peopled by wandering tribes?

Prof. William A. Bryan, formerly with the College of Hawaii, not long ago visited Easter Island, off the coast of Chile, where, he declared, he found indisputable evidence of a Pacific continent. His findings would appear to add weight to the theory that the Polynesian race originated in South America, and that it was from that point that the migrations into the Pacific began. Professor Bryan's evidence was in the form of certain plant life which he found on Easter Island, and which he knew existed also on islands thousands of miles to the West and Southwest.

Scientists are unanimous in the theory that there was a high type of civilization in Hawaii many years before the first historical date, which is 1555, when, histories say, the islands were discovered by Juan Gaetano. They point to the great distance of Hawaii from the more Southerly islands, and from the Asiatic coast and the coast of South America. If the Polynesian branch that later became the Hawaiian race journeyed to these islands in double canoes, as it undoubtedly did, it must have reached that degree of civilization which brought with it some knowledge of navigation, for without this knowledge, scientists say, such voyages never would have been undertaken.

Other evidence lies in the unpleasant but none the less important subject of cannibalism. As far back as history goes, there is no known instance of cannibalism among the Hawaiians. It is true, and history and legend so state, that during the semi-barbaric period or periods prior to the momentous year of 1820, the Hawaiians, upon the orders of their chiefs or high priests, offered human sacrifices to their deities. But there is absolutely nothing to indicate that a "long pig," the term the late Jack London and other writers of fiction liked to use, ever found its way

into their ovens. Today cannibalism is still practised to some extent in the less civilized parts of the Solomons and the New Hebrides, while in the Marquesas, where the custom has long been dead, there are a few old men who still boast of their past prowess in this respect.

Recent scientific exploration in the Marquesas undoubtedly adds weight to the theory concerning the early civilization of the Hawaiians. In that Southern group there have been found wonderful specimens of stone carving—now apparently a lost art—and the still more surprising revelation that these specimens were the work of the ancestors of the present inhabitants. In the opinion of the scientist who made these discoveries—Ralph Linton of the Bishop Museum at Honolulu—these is ample evidence to show that this art was constantly improved upon as generations came and went, and that, when finally abandoned, it had reached a surprising degree of perfectness. And this, coupled with the fact that the Marquesans used these great blocks of stone in their building projects, in much the same way that modern architects employ statuary, goes a long way toward proving that in the Marquesas hundreds of years ago there existed an unusually high degree of civilization, Mr. Linton thinks.

Might it not be so, then, that this civilization crept to the North and to the Northeast until it sank its roots into Hawaiian soil and flourished and increased anew? This, of course, is mere conjecture, but it is easy to imagine that offshoots of the Marquesans journeyed over the Pacific to Hawaii, taking their primitive yet practical civilization with them.

One of the most picturesque of all of the events in Hawaiian history is that attendant upon the arrival at Kealakekua, Island of Hawaii, in 1778 of Captain Cook, the English navigator, who is heralded as the discoverer of the Hawaiian Islands.

The story is that prior to Captain Cook's arrival, the Hawaiian god, Lono, left his people and ascended to heaven, but leaving behind the promise that some day he would return to earth, and that his downward path would lie along a rainbow. When a Hawaiian priest emerged from his temple one sunny morning, he saw in the harbor two queer-looking ships; and, strangely enough, above them against the clouds was a great rainbow. The priest instantly fell upon his knees, proclaiming the return of the god Lono.



And so, when Captain Cook went ashore, for they were his ships that the priest had seen, he was escorted with great dignity to the temple of Lono, where he was worshipped as the original god. But the natives quickly found out that Captain Cook was not a deity, but a human being like themselves, and their worshipping quickly ceased. A year later, in 1779, the natives engaged in a battle with members of the crews of the ships, in which Captain Cook was killed. Kealakekua, where Captain Cook landed, means "The Pathway of the God," and it is here that a monument, still standing, was erected in his memory. It was Captain Cook who gave to Hawaii the name "Sandwich Islands" in honor of the Earl of Sandwich of England, who aided in the financing of his ventures.

Hawaii's latter-day history really begins when Kamehameha I, known as Kamehameha the Great and Kamehameha the Conqueror, and often referred to as "The Napoleon of the Pacific," united all of the windward islands of the group—Oahu, Molokai, Maui, Lanai, Kahoolawe and Hawaii—under one rule, with himself as the supreme sovereign. This was in 1796, three years after the arrival of Captain Vancouver, another English navigator, at Kealakekua. Many and fierce were the battles which Kamehameha and his great army of warriors, each man not less than six feet in height and trained to the minute, waged against the island chiefs and their followers. Thousands of great double canoes, manned by sail and paddle and built especially for the occasion, were used to convey the conquering followers of the great king from island to island. Today, in the Kona district, on the Island of Hawaii, may still be seen the great, broad plain upon which these warriors were trained. And history says that this training was most exact, including even a crude type of military formation and movement.

Having united all of the islands, with the exception of the Island of Kauai, King Kamehameha settled down to the business of ruling. He was a man of great discernment, and withal a wise and good king. While a born ruler and warrior, he was also a statesman and a lawgiver, and the wisdom of all of the law libraries is contained in one of his first decrees: "Let the women and children and old men lie down in safety beside the highway." In 1810 the Island of Kauai was ceded to Kamehameha the Great, thus firmly uniting the entire group under one sovereign—

a union that was never afterwards broken. Explorers and navigators who in later years came to Hawaii learned to respect and admire Kamehameha, and were amazed at the high type of civilization that was flourishing under his wise rule. He died in 1819.

It was during the year that Kamehameha the Great died that the Hawaiians effected upon their own volition the greatest moral change known to history. They destroyed their temples, their idols, their religion. They broke the time-honored "tabu" system which, as an example, forbade the women to eat with the men, forbade the women to eat certain kinds of food, and which regulated the fishing and other industries of those days. It was while they were in this state that the first missionaries arrived from New England in 1820; and the missionaries found the natives easily amenable to accept the Christian faith.

The gigantic task that faced those noble men and women who journeyed from Boston around Cape Horn in the brig *Thaddeus* needs no description here. Their story has been emblazoned upon the pages of history. They found in Hawaii a simple, friendly people who responded eagerly to their teachings. First of all, they had to master the Hawaiian language, and then reduce that language to a written form. These things accomplished, they were in a position to teach the Hawaiians to read and write, and then followed the translation of the Bible into Hawaiian. Schools and churches were established, and within an unusually short time the native people came under the remarkable influence which paved the way to a thoroughly civilized Hawaii.

In all of these noteworthy developments the printing press played a remarkable role. Elisha Loomis, one of the missionaries, brought to Hawaii around the Horn a Ramage press, and in October, 1821, it was set up in a little coral stone house at Honolulu, ready to disseminate the written word among a people who, as yet, had no written language. And just one hundred years later there was held at Honolulu the second gathering of the Press Congress of the World—certainly a fitting celebration of the centenary of the assembling of the first printing press west of the Missouri river. In January, 1822, a Hawaiian chief, clothed in feather helmet, "ahuula" or cloak, and "malo" bore down upon the press lever and the first printed sheet in the whole western hemisphere was pulled from the platen.

Following Kamehameha the Great were eight rulers, four of whom were of the family of Kamehameha. The entire line was as follows:

Kamehameha I, born in 1737, reigned from 1782 to 1819.

Kamehameha II, born in 1797, reigned from 1819 to 1824.

Regency of Kaahumanu and Kalaimoku, 1824 to 1833.

Kamehameha III, born in 1813, reigned from 1833 to 1854.

Kamehameha IV, born in 1834, reigned from 1854 to 1863.

Kamehameha V, born in 1830, reigned from 1863 to 1872.

Lunalilo, born in 1835, reigned from 1873 to 1874.

Kalakaua, born in 1836, reigned from 1874 to 1891.

Liliuokalani, born in 1838, reigned from 1891 to 1893.

Thus the Hawaiian monarchy was one hundred and eleven years old. Queen Lydia Liliuokalani was deposed January 17, 1893, and died November 11, 1917. She was an exceedingly gracious woman and beloved by all who knew her. Following annexation she was paid an annual allowance by the United States government. During the last years of her life she lived with a few old faithful retainers at Washington Place, now the territorial executive mansion, which was built in the forties by her father-in-law, Captain Dominis, a ship-owner in the trading business. She wrote several books and composed the song "Aloha Oe." She was the sister of King Kalakaua, last male sovereign of Hawaii who died at San Francisco in 1891 while on his way back to the islands from a tour of the world.

Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole, last titular representative of the old monarchy, died in January, 1922, at Honolulu. For twenty consecutive years, or ten terms, he had represented Hawaii as its delegate to the Congress of the United States. He was given a royal funeral at which many ancient customs and ceremonies were revived. He was a nephew of King Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani, and a prince by royal proclamation issued when King Kalakaua was on the throne.

The first whaleship arrived at Honolulu the same year the missionaries came, and thereafter for many years the port became a rendezvous for these vessels. In 1827 the first Catholic missionaries arrived, laying the foundation for a work that has since spread Catholicism rather widely throughout the islands, and sent priests and sisters into many notable avenues of en-

deavor, including education and work among the lepers on the island of Molokai.

In 1836 the first English newspaper, the Sandwich Islands Gazette was published at Honolulu, and four years later the first constitution was proclaimed. The monarch in 1842 officially recognized the independence of the United States. Two notable events occurred in 1843, one being the provisional cession of the islands to Great Britain, and the second being the restoration of Hawaii's independence and the Hawaiian flag by Admiral Thomas, then in command of the British fleet in the Pacific. The story of this latter incident is that Lord George Paulet, then in command of the British man-of-war *Carysfoot*, conspired with the British consul at Honolulu in the preparation of spurious royal decrees in which Great Britain ostensibly demanded the immediate cession of the Hawaiian Islands. When information concerning Paulet's activities reached Admiral Thomas, then at Valparaiso, he came immediately to Honolulu, interviewed the king, and repudiated Paulet's actions, at the same time formally restoring the independence of Hawaii and the Hawaiian flag. The restoration was delayed several days, however, as Paulet, among other things, had destroyed every Hawaiian flag, and Admiral Thomas had to have one made aboard his ship.

In 1849 the Hawaiian monarchy concluded its first treaty with the United States, and two years later a protectorate was offered to America. The first Mormon missionaries arrived in 1853, and since then have been exercising a laudable beneficial influence in the islands. Recently a handsome Mormon temple was erected at Laie, Island of Oahu, where the Mormon colony and sugar plantation are located. This is the second Mormon temple to be erected outside of Continental United States, the other being in Canada.

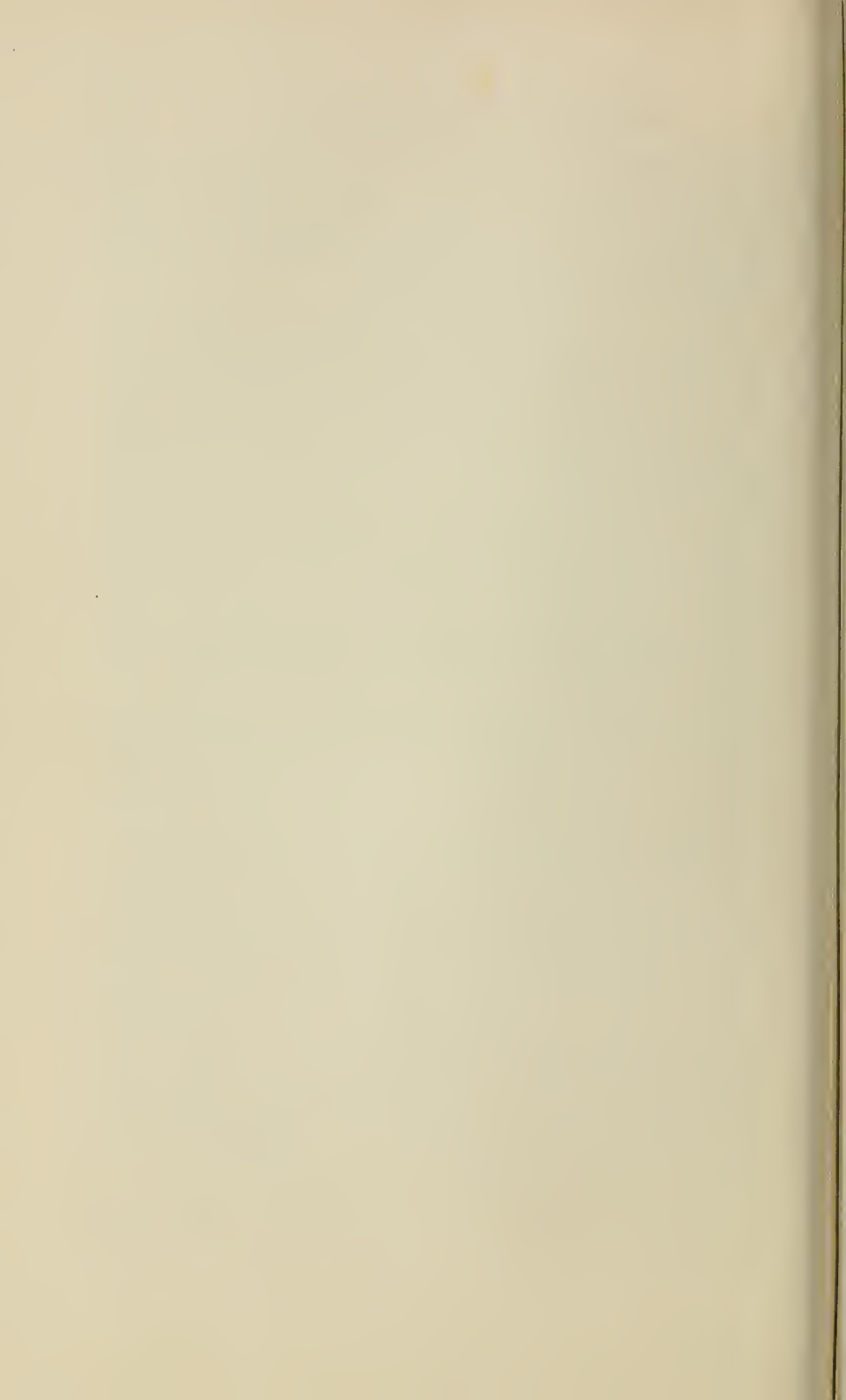
The reciprocity treaty was concluded in 1876. It gave Pearl Harbor, today one of the world's greatest naval stations, into the control of the United States, and the latter admitted Hawaiian sugar free from duty.

William C. Lunalilo, who followed Kamehameha V to the throne, was a grand-nephew of Kamehameha the Great. The Lunalilo Home for aged and destitute Hawaiians at Honolulu was provided for in his will. He was the last of the Kamehamehas,

and the legislature chose as his successor the descendant of two of the great Kona chiefs. This was David Kalakaua. In 1881 King Kalakaua toured the world to gather knowledge concerning the immigration of labor for the sugar plantations, the journey being incident to the reciprocity treaty.

In 1887 a new Hawaiian constitution was proclaimed and two years later came the first of a series of insurrections and revolutions, which eventually led to the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States. This insurrection was led by Robert W. Wilcox, who became Hawaii's first delegate to the American Congress, having been elected upon a Home Rule ticket. King Kalakaua died at San Francisco in 1891, and his body was brought to the Islands aboard an American warship. There were no cables in those days and all Honolulu had gathered at the waterfront to welcome the king upon his return. But their joy was soon turned to mourning when the news spread that the warship bore the dead body of the monarch.

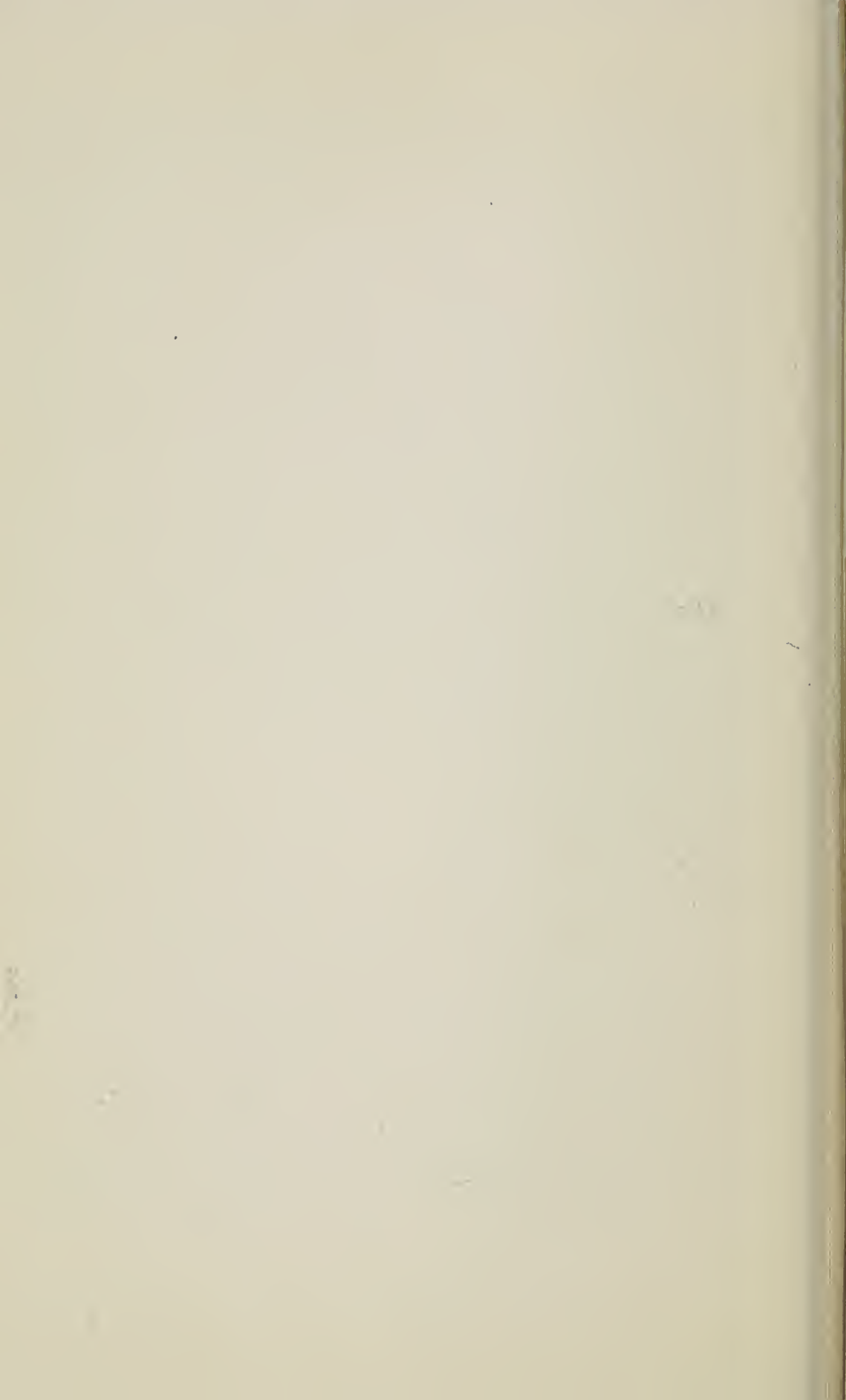
In the same year Liliuokalani was proclaimed queen. She attempted to change the constitution so as to restore the old powers of royalty. In 1893 she was deposed, following a revolution, and for a time was held prisoner in the old royal barracks on Hotel street, Honolulu, now the Army Service Club. A provisional government was established with the Honorable Sanford Ballard Dole, Hawaii's "Grand Old Man," as president. In 1894 the Republic of Hawaii was established, with Judge Dole as president, and in 1895 occurred another insurrection with a view to restoring the queen. This was suppressed, and on August 12, 1898, the Islands were annexed to the United States amidst an impressive ceremony in which the Hawaiian Flag was lowered from the staff on the old Iolani Palace, and the Stars and Stripes hoisted in its place. In 1900 the Islands became a territory of the United States, and a territorial form of government was inaugurated. Gradually but steadily during all of those years Hawaii emerged from isles of isolation to isles of commercial and strategic preeminence, until today its importance as an integral part of the United States is known internationally.





WALLACE R. FARRINGTON,

GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII, U. S. A.,  
*Vice President and General Business Manager, Honolulu Star-Bulletin,  
Chairman, Hawaiian Islands Executive Committee.*





## IV.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONGRESS.

FIRST SESSION.

TUESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 11, 1921

The session was called to order by Walter Williams, President of the Press Congress of the World, who acted as Chairman throughout the session.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the absence of the secretary of the Congress, Mr. A. R. Ford, of the London (Canada) Free Press, I take the liberty of asking Mr. Guy Innes, of Melbourne, Australia, to act as Honorary Secretary.

I present to you the chairman of the local entertainment committee, who has done so much to make possible the attractiveness and service of the sessions of the Congress, Mr. L. A. Thurston.

MR. THURSTON: Mr. Chairman, we have found by experience in the past in connection with some of the functions we have had here that no matter how much we put in print, some of the delegates do not seem certain as to the program, and a number of questions have been asked of me concerning going to the Windward Islands, as to time of departure, etc.

Mr. Thurston here made announcements of various features of the program of entertainment.

He was followed by Mr. L. de Vis Norton, Secretary of the Hawaiian Committee on Entertainment.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now have the report of the temporary committee on credentials, to be presented by Mr. Hollington K. Tong, of China.

MR. TONG: Mr. President, here is a letter which has been prepared by the Committee on Credentials of the Press Congress of the World, and I think it is best for me to read it:

66 *The Press Congress of the World*

Honolulu, T. H.

October 11th, 1921.

*Dr. Walter Williams,*

President Press Congress of the World,  
Honolulu, T. H.

*Dear Sir:*

We, your preliminary committee on credentials of the Press Congress of the World, beg leave to report that we have examined the credentials submitted by the various applicants who did not previously hold credentials for appointments as delegates and have found that the following are entitled to participate in the proceedings of the Press Congress as duly authorized delegates:

Mrs. W. F. Frear,

Mrs. A. G. Clarke, and

Mrs. Emma Livingston Reed, representatives of the League of the American Pen Women.

Mr. Chas. C. Hadley, representative of the Governor of Pennsylvania.

Mr. John F. Ness, representative of the Honolulu Press Club.

The list of delegates whose applications had previously been received and favorably acted upon is herewith appended to the committee's report.

Yours respectfully,

HOLLINGTON K. TONG

Chairman

Secretary, RILEY H. ALLEN.

For list of delegates see Appendix.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the Committee. If there are no objections it will be approved and the Committee will be continued for such further business as may come before it in connection with the credentials of delegates. It is so ordered.

Under the Constitution of the Press Congress of the World, it is the privilege of the Executive Committee of the Congress to select at each meeting of the Congress an Honorary President, who is to be a journalist of the country in which the Congress holds its sessions. Acting upon this constitutional provision, the Executive Committee of the Congress selected as the Honorary President for these sessions being held in Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, U. S. A., a distinguished American journalist,—the editor and publisher of the Marion (Ohio) Star, who, incidentally, is President of the United States of America. (Applause).

His election to the Honorary Presidency of this Congress was presented to him by two distinguished members of the Congress, both former presidents of The American Newspaper Publishers

Association, Mr. H. L. Bridgman, of Brooklyn, and Mr. Frank P. Glass, of Birmingham, and was accepted by President Harding upon the visit of this committee to the White House in Washington. President Harding was unable to attend in person the sessions of the Press Congress, but sent to the Congress by a special messenger some words of introduction to the session. He selected as his representative another distinguished American journalist, who holds by his appointment and to the joy of his friends and to the high credit of this territory the position of Governor of Hawaii. We had the pleasure of hearing him last night in a three-fold capacity. He is the fourth dimension this morning and we hear him in another capacity, showing that he is a square man. I have the very distinguished pleasure of presenting to you at this time to deliver the message of the President of the United States, specially commissioned by him, the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii, journalist and gentleman, the Honorable Wallace R. Farrington.

THE HONORABLE WALLACE R. FARRINGTON,  
GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII: Mr. President, fellow delegates of the Press Congress of the World. One of the details of education which I experienced in connection with assuming the responsibilities of office in this territory, was that it was necessary for a prospective officer to display his credentials in order to assume the office to which he had been appointed. I will therefore read briefly from this preliminary letter from the White House, dated September 10, 1921.

*My dear Governor Farrington:*

I am enclosing a letter herewith which I would like to have you read to the Press Congress of the World, and I would like you to read it in the capacity of my appointed representative.

Very truly yours,  
WARREN G. HARDING.

White House,

Washington, September 10, 1921.

The following is the President's letter:

White House, Washington,  
September 10, 1921.

My dear Governor Farrington:

At one time I dared hope that it might be possible for me to come to Honolulu at the opening of the Press Congress of the World, and say in person some of the things that I think would

be appropriate on so notable an occasion. I find it impossible for me to be away from Washington at that time, and therefore am asking you to extend in my behalf the greeting of our government to the delegates, and to assure them of the great importance we attach to this world gathering of representatives of the press.

I hope the fact that I chance to have been most of my life a newspaper man, will not have distorted my judgment so far as to cause me to overrate the importance of journalism in the present-day world. Not only have the World War, and the events transpiring since the Armistice, impressed us all anew with the use and value of the public press, but they have demonstrated the possible danger which resides in a press too freely employed for mere propaganda. In the overwhelming emergency of the war, propaganda became a well-nigh universal habit; I might almost say a code among journalists. It was, of course, intended to be the propaganda of patriotism, of devout nationalism, of well-intentioned aspiration for the salvation of the best in human society; but it was not always entirely fair, judicial or discreet. On the whole, it served a splendid purpose in the circumstance of war-time; but we newspaper men could indulge ourselves in no more grievous error than to assume that propaganda is the first or even a leading aim of a properly conducted press.

Your own letter, which has just come to hand, concerning the Educational Conference of this summer at Honolulu, suggests to my mind the idea that might well dominate an ideally conducted press. I cannot but feel that the primary purpose of the press, as a social institution, is the opening of men's minds, rather than the closing of them. Propaganda aims primarily at shutting up the mind against other conclusions than those which the propagandist designs to implant. Education, on the contrary, aims to open the mind, to prepare it, to make it receptive, and to urge it to formulate its own conclusions. Propaganda would at last mean intellectual paralysis; education is, when properly employed, intellectual stimulus. It is better that men should think than that they should accept conclusions formulated by other men for them.

We have need in these times that men should think deeply, that they should realize their necessity of settling their own problems.

The world has well-nigh become a great aggregation of democracies. No democracy will rise very far above the level of its average thinking capacity, and no aggregation of democracies will rise very far above the average intellectual abilities of its members. In short, democracy has come to its great trial and the verdict will depend largely on its capacity to make men think. It is not enough to say that other systems, by their very nature, discourage men from thinking, because they aim to provide organizations at the top to do their thinking for them. That may be true, but it is no answer to my proposition, that if democracy is to succeed, it must deserve success by proving that it can inspire the race of common men to serious, continuous, effective consideration of the problems of common men.

In this work of education no single force or influence of which we now know can be expected to exert so great a potency as the press. Perhaps the press never confronted so great an opportunity to demonstrate its adequacy to this task, as now.

You peoples of the Pacific have invited the Press of the World to be your guests, to consider the problems of our time and our race. You are meeting in a day when the world is looking forward to the gathering of the Nations to consider limitation of armament and the maintenance of world peace. If your deliberations shall inspire a larger, a better, a more humane view of the elements which enter into the problem of peace and at least a measurable disarmament; if you can encourage the ideal of a world permanently at peace; then you will have given a vast impetus to the efforts of statesmen who are presently to consider these problems in Washington.

We have heard much in recent years about the problem of the Pacific, whatever that may be. I take it to be merely a phase of the universal problem of the race, of men and nations wherever they are.

It is hard to imagine justifications in this day and age, especially in view of the world's late unhappy experiences, for armed conflict among civilized peoples anywhere and especially among peoples so widely separated as those on opposite borders of the Pacific. They represent different races, social organizations, political systems and modes of thought. Between them and their widely varying systems, there may well be an amicable competition to determine which community possesses the better

and more effective ideas for human advancement. But that there should be conflict; that warfare and controversy should interfere with this worthwhile demonstration of the value of different modes of progress, is almost unthinkable. The Pacific ought to be the seat of a generous, free, open-minded competition between the best ideals of eastern and western life; between the aspirations and endeavors of the oldest and the newest forms of society.

You are meeting at the cross-roads of the Pacific, amid all the glamour and romance and glory which have always surrounded the very name of the South Sea. You have an opportunity to do a work for humanity, and I believe you have met at a peculiarly auspicious time. I could express no greater hope, no more earnest wish for your Congress than that it might prove the precursor of an understanding which in our day, in our very tomorrow, I may say, would insure the peace of the world, the proximate end of the frightful waste of competing armaments and the establishment of peace on earth, good-will toward men.

Very sincerely yours,

WARREN G. HARDING.

Hon. Wallace R. Farrington,  
Executive Chamber,  
Honolulu, H. T.

THE CHAIRMAN: The message of the President of the United States, the Honorary President of this Congress, so well presented by Governor Farrington, will be referred to the proper committee when it is appointed, that the Congress itself may send a greeting back to the President of the United States.

Now may I ask your indulgence when, as your President, I follow the President of the United States?

The Press Congress of the World is an outgrowth of an increasing professional spirit among journalists and of an enlarged desire for closer comradeship and for adequate consideration of common problems. It was organized in San Francisco in 1915, though in previous years the way had been pointed to such an association by international conferences and associations meeting in Switzerland, France, England, the United States and elsewhere.

In the preliminary session, during the Panama-Pacific Inter-

national Exposition in San Francisco, representatives from twenty-eight countries united in effecting an organization.

The Congress Executive Committee selected at that time accepted the invitation of the government of New South Wales to hold the first formal sessions of the new world organization at Sydney. The continuance of the World War deferred the meeting and, other conditions intervening, it was deemed best by the Executive Committee to change the site of the Congress and to accept the cordial invitation promptly extended by Hawaii to hold the first formal sessions in Honolulu.

No more suitable place could have been selected than this beautiful city situated at the cross-roads of the Pacific Ocean—may it ever be, in fact as in name, the Pacific—where are to be found representatives of so many nations harmoniously working out life's problems. Let us not permit the charm of these Islands, of which Honolulu is the capital, "the loveliest fleet of islands anchored in any sea," to divert our minds from the possibilities of the Congress as an instrument of service to the profession to which we hold allegiance. Rather let the charming and historic setting which the gracious and bountiful hospitality of our hosts of Hawaii offers be our stimulant to make of the Congress an organization of permanent usefulness.

The Congress today has members in fifty countries and upon its roll are more than twenty-three hundred representative journalists.

The object of the Congress is set out in its constitution: "To advance by conference, discussion and united effort the cause of journalism in every honorable way." It seeks by interchange of views, by discussions, by correspondence, by acquaintanceship, to enlarge the horizon of its members and to bring to all of them added appreciation of the dignity and the possibility of the profession.

No definite limits are set upon the meetings of the Congress. Whether they shall be held triennially, biennially or occasionally is a matter to be determined by this session of the Congress or by the Executive Committee under its direction. Whatever may be the decision as to the time and place of later sessions, it is suggested that provision be made for regional conferences to be held annually or biennially. With propriety, the first of these regional conferences may well be organized during the sessions

at Honolulu, the Pan-Pacific Conference, a department of the larger world-organization, a department having large opportunity for usefulness. Later, regional conferences may well be formed in other parts of the world.

The Congress should take into consideration provision for its future work, possibly the establishment of central bureaus of information for journalists everywhere, the inauguration of a publication for distribution among its members, and such measures for financing the permanent maintenance of the world organization as may seem most feasible. Permit me to suggest, therefore, the prompt appointment of a special committee looking toward the future organization and activities of the Congress or the reference of the entire question with power to the Executive Committee.

That an interchange of views on problems of wide interest may be undertaken with some definiteness during the present sessions, the Executive Committee has prepared an agenda which proposes the discussion of these questions:

- (a) What preparation is desirable for journalism?
- (b) How far is freedom of the press necessary or desirable and how may this freedom best be attained and safeguarded?
- (c) How best may avenues for news communication throughout the world be established, maintained, and kept open?
- (d) What, if any, are the obligations of journalism in reference to international relations?
- (e) The question of interchange of journalists.

It is not intended of course that the Congress discussions shall be limited to these questions, including, as these discussions may, others of importance. It is suggested, however, that these questions be given primary consideration and that ad interim committees be named to prepare and present at future sessions comprehensive reports upon them.

Because journalism in its product is ephemeral, we are too apt to regard the questions which affect it as of only momentary interest or concern. Quite the opposite is of course true. The principles of journalism endure however the application changes with the generations or however it may vary in different lands. The long look helps to see clearly one's way to the fulfillment of the day's duties. Like the leaves of the tree which is for the healing of the nations, the printed pages rain upon the earth—



let us consider the tree, its soundness, its permanence, and its strength, not merely the fluttering, evanescent leaves.

Journalism, in its final analysis, is a profession of public service, not a business or a trade, though it may involve in newspaper manufacture and sale, the trade of the mechanic and the sagacity of the merchant. It is primarily a profession of public service, and, in this place and presence, it may be suggested, a profession of international service. If journalism be a profession of public service, then those engaged upon it have a common object—the service of the public; and in international, as well as national relations there should be the studious desire to interpret the words of others in the best sense, to avoid whatever widens breaches between nations and peoples and to make the most of whatever tends to narrow the breaches between nations and peoples. To these principles the journalist who wishes best to serve internationally will sedulously conform.

A distinguished British journalist, Lord Burnham, has said that the hospitality of the press should not be denied on any ground of opinion or bias. It should not, he adds, be denied on any ground except that publication would be dangerous to the safety of the people—*salus populi*—which in journalism should be the *suprema lex*. Lord Burnham's happy statement may be—shall I not say should be—carried further. It is not only true that no publication should be made that is dangerous to the safety of the people, but that every publication ought to be made that advances the safety, the health, and the welfare of the people. Evil may be wrought through journalism by the suppression of the good as by the publication of the bad. Journalism should keep open house for every wholesome truth while the doors of its sheltering space are closed to the falsehoods, under whatever specious plea they come, which are destructive of domestic or world welfare and peace.

“There is none ever fear the truth should be heard  
Save those whom the truth would indict.”

The great object of a conscientious journalist, said a speaker at the centenary of the Manchester Guardian, is to make righteousness readable. That is only part of the truth. The great object of the conscientious journalist is to make righteousness more than readable—to make it obtainable and sought.

Any consideration of the world's journalism with a view to its

betterment must take into consideration all its tendencies, good and evil. Some evil tendencies arise from a low estimate of the public's wishes. Even the skillful merchant does not give the public what it wants but stimulates demand, creates new and different and better wants. So journalism that seeks to give the public what it wants will bear in mind the higher needs and opportunities as well as the lower appetites.

Other evil tendencies arise from editorialized news, from lack of personal responsibility, from the cheapness and lowered standard of vulgarian journals. While these suggest tendencies for evil in the world's press today, other, and, I believe, dominating tendencies are toward better things. Never before has the professional spirit of journalism been so manifest, never before has the press recognized itself so generally as a profession of public service. Individual responsibility for a social institution attaches more and more to those who serve in any capacity in journalism.

We come to a Press Congress that we may learn and serve, for every man is a debtor to his profession, as Francis Bacon wrote, "from the which as he seeks to obtain countenance and profit, so ought he of duty by way of amends to be a help and ornament thereto."

Generations before the philosopher of the West, the greatest sage of the East, Confucius, had given rules for the service of a good writer. Let me put them as corollary to the philosophy of Bacon. Confucius wrote that he who would be a good writer, the journalist in his time, should be clear in vision, quick in hearing, genial in expression, respectful in demeanor, true in word, serious in duty, inquiring in doubt, firmly self-controlled in anger, just and fair. Journalists who live by their profession may live for their profession by putting into practice in their own work, accepting full personal responsibility, the Confucian creed. We make better journalism only as we improve journalists.

There is another tendency in the world's journalism unto higher service. More and more it has become the voice of the voiceless, the tribune of the people. Victor Hugo's glowing eloquence uttered the ideal of the journalist who would be mankind's prophet: "The people are silence. I will be the advocate

of this silence. I will speak for the dumb. I will speak of the small to the great, and of the feeble to the strong. I will speak for all the despairing, silent ones. I will interpret this stammering. I will interpret the grunblings, the murmurs, the tumults of crowds, the complaints, ill-pronounced, and all the cries of beasts that through ignorance and other suffering man is forced to utter. I will be the word of the people. I will be the bleeding mouth whence the gag is snatched out. I will say everything."

The journalist who undertakes this high mission will be the daysman who stands between the extremes of society. He will be the keeper of the conscience of King Demos and woe be unto him if he neglect his primary duty to the weak, the friendless, and those who have no helper.

That we may better realize our responsibilities to the world in which we live and to our profession, that we may be the better prepared to meet these responsibilities through our profession to the world in which we live is the high object of this Congress.

We are engaged in a common profession with common faith in its high purpose and in the possibilities of its service toward the welfare of mankind. If we do to the utmost our duty in its behalf, wars would become impossible, the world would be tranquilized and made prosperous unto more abundant living everywhere. Men of good will would take the place of men of hate. It is true and increasingly true, the whole quotation makes the meaning clear, that "beneath the rule of men entirely great, the pen is mightier than the sword."

We would change Fleet Street to a wider avenue, a high road unto human happiness in which all who walk as well as all who ride may have a chance, in which every man and every nation may have a chance, and so far as the written, generous truth and aggressive comradeship can make it so, unto the fullest individual and national self-realization, an equal chance.

The new world journalism is the outcome of a new world spirit. It is the outward and visible sign of an effort at self-expression. This new world spirit is a struggle among the peoples for different relations to the external, a conviction that they should have more to say concerning their own fortunes. Its manifestations are various. Its attitude is critical everywhere

and sometimes openly contemptuous. In some lands it seeks reform, in some it inspires revolt. So journalism is freakish in some places for a time and revolutionary elsewhere. Man is not made for the established order, the new spirit asserts. The established order must be made or remade for man. Civilization is a garment. If it does not fit comfortably, let us change it. So state and church, society and business, school and government, are invaded with interrogations if not with axes by the new world spirit. Of this spirit, at the same time its creature and its creator, its prophet and its slave, is the new world journalism.

One outstanding significant and hopeful fact that any consideration, however slight, of the world's journalism today reveals is that journalists in every land are more and more possessed of the conviction that their profession is to be engaged in primarily for public good, that they are to be, whatever the personal risk, keepers of lighthouses to bring the world's peoples through troubled seas to a safe, peaceful and prosperous harbor. This conviction is wide-spread and growing among journalists. That it exists, and so generally, gives hope and courage to all who recognize the power of journalism in the present transition age. The new journalism will have the public for its client and will accept fee from no lesser source. Its high purpose will be the public welfare, not alone locally or nationally, but the world's welfare. It will recognize that welfare is brought about not by commercial domination or by force of arms, not by the tyranny of a proletariat or an oligarchy, of the educated few or the ignorant many, but by that powerful comradeship of all—that genuine neighborliness—of which journalists themselves often give to their own personal and professional associates the best example.

A league of journalists—keeping open and free the avenues of world communication—and speaking just and fair may do even more to preserve sacred institutions of society, to promote and maintain world peace, to give large life to all, than even the most skillfully balanced league or association of nations. In the last analysis, public opinion rules. Recorded, crystallized, interpreted, expressed by journalism, it is supreme. Ideas, not navies, rule the sea. Ideas, not armies, dominate the land. Let us disarm the typewriters of the jingo press in every land and limitation

of—nay abandonment of—armaments, even without the Washington conference, is an accomplished fact. Without the press' aid, whatever the wise men at Washington may determine, there is no peace; disarmament is an iridescent dream. Increase the avenues of communication between nations and free news sources from the poison of interested propaganda and we thereby help to make a sick world well. Permit these avenues to be clogged, congested and corrupted and the fever of war returns apace. Open the door of the Washington conference and of all conferences that involve international relations to the press of the world and there is great gain thereby. Debate and decide the destinies of people in secret and behind closed doors and, whatever the good decision, its effect is weakened by the suspicion created by the very secrecy. The war dogs are unleashed behind closed doors, not when men talk with frankness at a conference table while the world looks on.

Our meeting in this city suggests that no longer are the nations separate. No longer may they be unconcerned, the one with the welfare of the other, for all nations and all peoples everywhere are bound up in the sure bundle of the world's life. To serve the life of the world and not to do dis-service to those who live next door is the high mission of the journalism of today.

Impossible, you say, the accomplishment of such a mission. Nay, nothing is impossible to those whose hearts are young, whose faith is sure, and who have ever before them the splendid vision of the profession of journalism—journalism, the great, unfinished, fascinating, new adventure.

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THE CHAIRMAN: We have a large number of messages from members of organizations, institutions and individual journalists, which will be considered at a later time and referred to committees as may seem proper, but I crave your indulgence to hear two of these messages at the present time. One is from The Empire Press Union, of the British Empire, and one from the American Newspaper Publishers Association. I will ask the executive secretary of the Congress, Mr. John R. Morris, to read these.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY:

The Empire Press Union,  
71, Fleet Street,  
London, E. C.,  
5th August, 1921.

*Dr. Walter Williams,*  
President,

The Press Congress of the World.

*Dear Mr. President:*

It gives me much pleasure to send to you, by the hand of Col. E. F. Lawson, who represents The Empire Press Union and "The Daily Telegraph," the warm greeting of the members of this organization to delegates to the Press Congress of the World assembled at Honolulu, and to convey the following resolution adopted unanimously by the Council of this Union:—

"On behalf of The Empire Press Union this Council beg to convey through their representative member, Col. E. F. Lawson, D. S. O., M. C., hearty and fraternal greetings to their colleagues in the Press Congress of the World assembled in Conference at Honolulu, and to express cordial and sincere wishes for complete success of this important gathering of representatives of the world's Press, whose deliberations should be attended by most happy results."

May I ask that I associate myself most heartily with this expression of the Union's goodwill towards the important gathering over which you are to preside, and join in wishing for the Congress every success. I feel that the occasion will be one of very great interest to all concerned in the Press, and that such a mobilization of the world's newspaper workers should wield an immense and fruitful influence, not only in the common interests of the newspaper press, but also in improving and securing mutual understanding and sympathy.

I wish it had been possible for me to accept the invitation to attend the Congress. For reasons already explained to you I am not able to be present, but I am glad to take this opportunity of sending a message of fraternal regard to the delegates of the Congress from their colleagues in the Empire Press Union.

Yours very truly,  
BURNHAM  
President.

American Newspaper Publishers Association,  
New York, U. S. A.  
September 27th, 1921.

*Dr. Walter Williams,*  
President, Press Congress of the World,  
Honolulu, T. H.

*My dear Dr. Williams:*

On behalf of the American Newspaper Publishers Association permit me to extend heartiest greetings to the Press Congress of the World. It

is a gathering from which it is impossible for anything but good to come, wherein it will be regarded in some quarters, perhaps, as differing from other congresses which we all respect too highly to mention.

It is really of good omen to the people of all countries that there should be such an international conference of their respective newspaper fraternities as that which you are holding.

The press is, in every civilized land, the supreme vehicle of public opinion, and it is public opinion which ultimately governs. That the press, by which the chief nations are interpreted to one another, should be internationalized in the spirit of fraternal good will is therefore of the highest consequence to men everywhere.

This friendly mingling of editors and publishers from widely separated lands for the purpose of better understanding and increased co-operation is the first step toward the era of worldwide good feeling for which all mankind so deeply yearns. The complete success of your meeting is the earnest wish of the newspapermen of America.

Cordially yours,  
T. R. WILLIAMS,  
President, American Newspaper  
Publishers Association.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes Mr. H. L. Bridgman.

MR. BRIDGMAN: Mr. President, if you will permit me I will offer a few resolutions relating to the conduct of the business of the Congress, and move their adoption. First, that the President be authorized to appoint all standing committees.

Seconded and carried unanimously.

Second, it is ordered that all resolutions except those originating in a committee shall, after having been read to the Convention for its information, be referred to the proper standing Committee of the Congress. I move its adoption.

THE CHAIRMAN: Seconded and carried unanimously.

The Chair will announce later the committees of the Congress covered by Mr. Bridgman's motion.

I now recognize, to present the Congress Agenda, a member of the Executive Committee, Dr. V. R. Beteta, of Guatemala.

DR. BETETA: I will read the Congress Agenda:

- (a) What preparation is desirable for journalism?
- (b) How far is freedom of the press necessary or desirable and how may this freedom best be attained and safeguarded?
- (c) How best may avenues for news communication throughout the world be established, maintained, and kept open?
- (d) What, if any, are the obligations of journalism in reference to international relations?

(c) The question of interchange of journalists.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is not intended to limit discussions but rather to encourage expression of your thought on these topics.

I hold in my hand a gavel presented to the President of the Congress by a crippled Portuguese boy who is now running an elevator in the Governor's official home. His name is Louis Madeiras. He used to sell newspapers on the street here, the Star and the Bulletin, before they became the Star-Bulletin, I understand, and other papers, perhaps the Advertiser. Wishing to do something for the Congress he made out of the island mahogany this gavel which bears upon it the coat of arms of the Territory of Hawaii. In your name and in my own I take this public occasion of expressing your thanks and mine to the crippled Portuguese lad who thus shows his interest in the Press Congress of the World.

I recognize at this time Mr. Hollington K. Tong, of Peking, China, who has a pleasant duty to perform in a presentation to the Congress.

MR. TONG: Mr. President, I have the honor of presenting to you as President of the Press Congress of the World, two small tokens which I have brought over from China, in appreciation of the great part that the Press Congress of the World has played in international life. This memorial arch, engraved with the words "World Opinion" is a tribute to the power of the press and is sent by the Prime Minister of China as an emblem of Peace, which the Press does so much to voice. It is designed as an example of one of the largest of our national arches, and it is hoped that when your eyes rest upon this memorial arch you will be reminded of the Chinese Republic.

This cup, also designed with characteristic Chinese art, bears the words, "The Universal Voice," and like its companion is presented to the Press Congress of the World for the use and possession of its officers. It is sent by the Minister of Finance of the Republic of China, in token of his deep appreciation and with the hope that the World Press will help to smooth out our difficulties. I hand these small tokens to you, Mr. President, with the heartiest wishes for your continued good health and for the prosperity of the Press Congress of the World, which you have done so much to bring to its present standing.



THE CHAIRMAN: These beautiful tokens of appreciation and good will from the Republic of China, I am confident, will be highly valued by this and future Press Congresses, as manifesting the interest of the Prime Minister and people of that country, in which the art of printing, the medium of expression for journalism, had its origin generations ago. The mother of printing thus greets the daughter of printing here between the East and the West. And what Mr. Tong has so felicitously expressed in his presentation I am sure will be recalled by all of us as another evidence in the nature of the erection of spiritual temples, in which we, as the High Priests of journalism enter day by day, seeking to do service there unto all mankind. In your name and for you I accept these tokens of friendship and goodwill from the distinguished Ministers of China, and will place them in possession of the Congress as perpetual reminder if reminder be needed, of the goodwill that should exist between journalists and peoples everywhere.

I again recognize Dr. Beteta, who will read a cablegram from the Mayor of the City of Seville, Spain.

DR. BETETA: Translation of a cablegram received from The Count of Urbina, Mayor of the city of Seville, Spain, Representative there of the King of Spain and President of the Exposition to be held in 1923-24:

Seville, October 10, 1921.

*To President, Press Congress of the World, Honolulu.*

Confirming invitation sent by means of your Delegate to Spain and Latin America, Dr. Virgilio Rodriguez Beteta, the City Council of Seville feels honored to invite the members of the Press Congress of the World, sitting at Honolulu to name Seville as the site of the next meeting of the Congress. I beg this request to be passed to the assemblage in the name of the Council of Seville, so that our invitation may be official in its character.

Mayor, COUNT OF URBINA.

THE CHAIRMAN: It will be referred to the proper committee.

We will have announcements only at certain times except as the Chairman makes announcements and I will make this announcement at the present time: First, there will be no afternoon session of the Congress today. A little later in the morning we will have a ten minute recess before we finally adjourn and

Mr. Aldrich, the photographer, will take motion pictures of this room and the people in it, the films to be for publicity use.

Acting in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Congress a moment ago, I wish to announce that the committees are only partly organized as to membership and will be added to from time to time. I will read them as far as they have been organized. The first named on each committee will be the chairman, and the second the vice chairman.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Col. E. F. Lawson, England, Chairman.  
 F. P. Glass, United States, Vice-chairman.  
 Thales Coutoupis, Greece.  
 K. P. Wang, China.  
 H. L. Bridgman, United States.  
 Oswald Mayrand, Canada.  
 M. Zumoto, Japan.  
 Gregoria Nieva, Philippine Islands.  
 Mrs. Mabel S. Shaw, United States.  
 Agustin Lazo, Cuba.  
 Henry Chung, Korea.  
 W. Easton, New Zealand.  
 Guy Innes, Australia.

COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

K. Sugimura, Japan, Chairman.  
 F. P. Hall, United States, Vice-chairman.  
 Jabin Hsu, China.  
 H. A. Davies, Australia.  
 R. W. Kettle, New Zealand.  
 Agustin Lazo, Cuba.  
 H. U. Bailey, United States.  
 C. H. Fogg, United States.  
 V. S. McClatchy, United States.

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS.

Mark Cohen, New Zealand, Chairman.  
 James Wright Brown, United States, Vice-chairman.  
 Hollington K. Tong, China.  
 K. Sugimura, Japan.  
 Guy Innes, Australia.  
 Col. E. F. Lawson, England.  
 V. R. Beteta, Guatemala.  
 J. P. Herrick, United States.  
 Ludvig Saxe, Norway.  
 Thales Coutoupis, Greece.  
 W. R. Farrington, United States.  
 Mrs. H. J. Allen, United States.

Oswald Mayrand, Canada.  
Gregorio Nieva, Philippine Islands.  
Agustin Lazo, Cuba.

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

W. D. Hornaday, United States, Chairman.  
Riley H. Allen, United States, Vice-chairman.  
C. S. Smith, New Zealand.  
Hollington K. Tong, China.  
John R. Morris, United States.

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

L. A. Thurston, United States, Chairman.  
V. R. Beteta, Guatemala, Vice-chairman.  
S. E. DeRackin, United States.

Mr. DeRackin is the only member of this Press Congress, so far as my memory serves me, who was present at the initial meeting held some dozen years or more ago when it was suggested that this present convention be held.

(After Ten Minutes Recess)

THE CHAIRMAN: The session will reconvene. I will have the Executive Secretary of the Congress read a letter from the Director of the Shun Pao, of Shanghai, China, regarding the next meeting of the Congress.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY:

Shanghai, September 21, 1921.

*My dear Dr. Williams:*

We understand that the Third Press Congress of the World will be held not very long from now, and we therefore wish to extend an invitation to the members of the Congress to hold their next Congress in China. Judging from the trend of world progress and from the position of importance in the family of nations within the next few decades, there will be no other country as fit as China will be, to be the meeting place of the next Press Congress. Moreover China is an old nation, and she has many notable characteristics and original traditions that will be worthwhile for the newspapermen of the world to observe and study. No other country could offer a better and richer field of interest for the members of the Press Congress to digest. We, therefore, sincerely request you to extend an invitation on behalf of the Chinese people to the Congress to hold its next Congress in China.

We further learn that a party of journalists will visit China soon after the close of the Second Congress. Shanghai is the biggest port in the Orient and the "Shun Pao" is the leading newspaper in China, the visiting journalists surely can not afford to miss calling on us. Pleasure will be ours to be at their service whenever they come. Please convey our sentiment of welcome to those who are coming here soon or some time in the future.

With best wishes for the greatest success of the Second Congress.

I am,  
Yours very sincerely,  
SZE LIANG ZAY  
Director.

THE CHAIRMAN: This letter and the invitation will be referred as the others have been to the proper standing committee.

I recognize Mr. Nieva, of the Philippine Islands, who will make a brief statement.

MR. NIEVA: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: As I mentioned last night, Governor General Yeater, on behalf of the Government of my country and the Press of the Philippines, has given me instructions to invite you to meet in Manila on the occasion of the next Press Congress. Manila is now closer to Honolulu and to the United States, with the establishment of the direct route, on which pleasure boats are running and at the same time is as close to both Americas as it is to Europe. With the appointment of Major General Wood as our next Governor General, the Philippines is coming to the front, for Governor General Wood will be a towering figure not only for the Philippines but for the welfare, progress and peace of the whole Far East. We, as well as you, should watch the progress of which he will be the instrument in the Orient. If but for this reason alone, it should be worth while for you to note what is being done in the Philippines in the interest of humanity, that the Far East may assume her proper place on the earth. Allow me therefore to extend to you once more a cordial invitation from the Governor and the Press of my country.

THE CHAIRMAN: The invitation presented by Mr. Nieva will be referred to the proper committee.

Mr. Bridgman has an announcement to make.

MR. BRIDGMAN: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I assume entire personal responsibility for the statement which I am about to make, believing that a frank explanation is due. Recently, as you are all aware, that great newspaper *The New York Times*, celebrated its seventieth birthday and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the management of Mr. Adolph S. Ochs, and in connection with that interesting event published a complete history of the rise, development and progress of that great newspaper. Meeting Mr. Ochs the other day, I suggested to him

that an inscribed copy of this excellent work be presented to the Congress, offering my service as messenger, but Mr. Ochs, with characteristic modesty in which he resembled other great men, appreciating the compliment, declined graciously to accept my offer. Subsequently, however, he placed in my possession three copies of the history, with the request that I place them at the disposal of this Congress, and it gives me much pleasure to perform this honorable commission. I ask you, Mr. President, to accept these books.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair, for the Congress, has pleasure in accepting the gifts through Mr. Bridgman of the three copies of the history of one of the world's greatest newspapers, the *New York Times*. Acceptance and thanks in due course of time will be forwarded to Mr. Ochs.

Mr. Bridgman has kindly offered to place on exhibition for a time at Tiffany's, in New York, and later to place in the safe-keeping of a safe deposit company of which he is vice-president these beautiful tokens of China's good will and friendship, and make them available to the public at such times as the Congress may determine, and in such ways as it sees fit. The suggestion is gratefully received and will be considered by the proper committee, to which it is hereby referred.

MR. JAMES WRIGHT BROWN: I should like to move, Mr. President, that this Congress rise and extend its thanks and appreciation to its Honorary President, President Harding, and to Governor Farrington, for their most welcome and appreciative messages.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the motion of Mr. Brown, what is your pleasure?

MR. HERRICK, New York: I second the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor will make it known by rising.

The motion is carried unanimously.

You will recall that the committees that have been named will meet at the call of the Chairman wherever he wishes and whenever he wishes and take up such matters as may be referred to them, or as they may initiate for themselves. Additions will be made to these committees and the Chairman of the committee will be notified thereof. The list of the committees can be obtained from the secretary of the Congress. There will be no

more formal meetings of the Congress until Monday, October 17, but during the five days of that week we hope to have particularly profitable and effective sessions and we urge you this far in advance to let none of the attractions of Honolulu keep you away from attendance upon these Congress sessions at that time. It may have escaped the attention of some of you that tonight is the four hundred and twenty-ninth anniversary of the discovery of America by the great Genoese navigator, who was financed by Spain, and that those of you who wish to do so and have not already done so may properly commemorate that event by helping others to discover, as Balboa did the Pacific Ocean later, some of the wonders of this part of the world. It is particularly appropriate it seems to me that this first meeting, which is just a hint of what we hope to accomplish, comes on the anniversary of the day when Christopher Columbus was looking out over the Atlantic, seeking to find a new world. May we today be looking out to see a new world in a higher, better and truer sense than even the great Genoese when America was added to the then known world.

The Congress will stand adjourned until ten o'clock Monday morning, October 17.

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SECOND SESSION.

MONDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 17, 1921.

The session was called to order at ten o'clock a. m., President Williams occupying the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have appointed Mr. H. B. Hale as sergeant-at-arms. He possesses both strength and diplomacy.

The Congress sessions will begin each morning hereafter at ten o'clock in this room and each afternoon at two o'clock in this room, today, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. The sessions on Friday will be held elsewhere and due announcement made thereof. The sessions must begin promptly on time in order that we may transact the business for which we are in Honolulu.

The program as heretofore printed and appearing from day to day in the newspapers will be followed, except that the Chairman reserves the right to change the make-up if necessary just before the paper goes to press. The meetings of the Congress are open to the public and a cordial invitation is extended to all who wish to attend at any time.

Before any discussion of any paper is taken up, I beg to call to your attention the provision of the Constitution, stating that "Sessions of the Congress are to be open to the consideration of all questions directly affecting the press, but discussions of religion, politics and governmental policies will not be permitted," and the Chair will feel it his duty to hold strictly to the provision of the Constitution, for we are here to consider journalism and not some other questions that may be interesting but are not within the line of our work.

Under instructions of the Executive Committee there has been named a committee on the organization of a Pan-Pacific Press Conference. I will ask the secretary to read the names of this committee.

THE SECRETARY: As authorized by the Executive Committee, the following committee on the organization of a Pan-Pacific Press Conference is announced:

- Alexander Hume Ford, Chairman.
- Guy Innes, Australia, Vice-chairman.
- F. F. Bunker, United States, Secretary.
- V. S. McClatchy, United States.
- K. Sugimura, Japan.
- Jabin Hsu, China.
- Mark Cohen, New Zealand.
- V. R. Beteta, Latin America.
- Oswald Mayrand, Canada.
- Hin Wong, China.
- Riley H. Allen, United States.
- G. Nieva, Philippine Islands.
- H. H. Cynn, Korea.
- S. E. DeRackin, United States.

THE CHAIRMAN: This committee will have charge of the program planned for Friday of this week.

The Congress has received a number of messages from distant parts of the earth which the secretary will now read.

THE SECRETARY: These, gentlemen, are mostly messages of congratulation and good wishes.

The first is a cablegram from Fred Johnston of the Falkirk Herald, Scotland: "Heartiest greetings sincerest absence apology."

The second is from W. T. Brewster, Irish Independent, Dublin: "Greetings from press of Ireland and heartiest wishes for success."

From B. M. Harvard, "Cordial greetings."

From Kaibyuk Magazine, Korea: "Greetings."

From Toundokyo Magazine, Korea: "Greetings."

From the editor *El Mundo*, Azucarero, New Orleans: "The Louisiana Press Association in annual session authorized me to convey to you the good wishes of all the editors of Louisiana with the hope that your session will be full of intellectual enjoyment and mark an advance in the newspaper status of the whole world."

From A. A. Humme, President of the Dutch Association of Journalists. The Hague: "To the Congress all hail for international brotherhood's sake."

From the Dutch Association: "Best wishes."

From B. W. Fleisher, Japan Advertiser: "Please convey deep regret inability avail myself great privilege to have actively taken part this Congress for such constructive work international journalism more important now than ever and in no sphere more important than in Pacific. Trust I may be of service in any permanent Pan-Pacific organization formed."

From Charles Igglesden, *Kentish Express*, Ashford, Kent, England: "Hearty good wishes from reluctantly absent member."

From the editor of the Fourth Estate, Ernest F. Birmingham: "Much regret my inability to be with you. Please convey to Governor Farrington and members of Congress the Fourth Estate's congratulations and our belief that your meeting will prove historic in strengthening the relations between the press of all nations which although always cordial are not sufficiently coordinated to demonstrate its full power and influence on the world's progress. I am certain that the interchange of thought on the practical problems of newspaper publishing will broaden editorial vision and help materially in framing policies dealing with the momentous questions now before the world's leaders, outstanding among whom is our own President Harding, himself a man of lifelong training in the profession of journalism."

From the Korean Independence News: "Hearty congratulations, best wishes."

From John Clyde Oswald, editor *American Printer*; one of the Vice-Presidents of the Congress: "Fraternal greetings. May your sessions prove interesting and profitable. Deeply regret enforced absence."

From Salvado Canals, Madrid: "Best wishes for the success of your Congress."

THE CHAIRMAN: There are two or three invitations relative to the next meeting of the Congress, that will be presented and read at this time.

THE SECRETARY: I have here the translation of a message from Sig. Urbina, King's representative, Seville, Spain:

The Hispanio-American Exposition Committee requests that Congress be held, according the proposition presented by our official representative, Rodriguez Beteta, here in 1923. We hope a favorable resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: This invitation, together with others presented, will be referred under the Constitution to the Executive Committee for consideration and determination. I now recognize Mr. William Southern, Jr.



MR. SOUTHERN: Mr. President, brother delegates, I bring you greeting from the Missouri Press Association which, at a meeting held in September, extended a very cordial invitation to this Press Congress to hold its next conference in Missouri, in either of our large cities or at Columbia, Missouri, the seat of our university and the home of our president, Dean Williams, who presides there over the Missouri University School of Journalism.

THE CHAIRMAN: This invitation will be referred to the Executive Committee. I will ask the secretary now to read a request from the Naval Communication Service.

THE SECRETARY:

The telegraph companies of the United States to whom we forward press dispatches for further transmission to their destination require that press dispatches in order to enjoy press rates over their lines must contain only items of news and inquiries concerning news. For this reason delegates are requested not to place items of a personal nature in their dispatches. A low price night letter rate is offered by the Radio Corporation of America. The Naval Radio operator on duty will furnish any information regarding this class of message and will accept them for transmission after they have been oked by the hotel clerk:

Naval Communication Service Moana Hotel.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair again states what is doubtless familiar to you all, that discussion is permitted at any time and on any subject raised by the papers presented or subjects that may be created, with the limitations already referred to. This afternoon the general subject for discussion will be Journalistic Education.

This morning we begin our program with an address on the "Freedom of the Press." It comes with appropriateness from a delegate from a land which we have associated in all centuries, even under difficult conditions, with freedom. I have the honor of presenting to you a distinguished journalist of Athens, Greece, a former member of the cabinet of Venizelos, eminent in statecraft as in journalism, Mr. Thales Coutoupis.

MR. THALES COUTOUPIS: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Before I enter into my subject, allow me to tell you something as a prologue to my address.

I come from a country which is far away from here, a country which has been the cradle of freedom of opinion and public expression of thought. Who would have believed in the

ancient times that a day would come when we would be discussing in a new Athenian *AGORA* political and social matters to promote general ideas for the development of mankind? Even in modern times one would scarcely believe that a gathering of such importance could bring men of letters from both hemispheres as it happens now.

I may say that in the expression of opinion for the development of mankind, no other factor can more than the press draw the attention of the people and make universal the matters which are local for many men of religion, statesmen, military men, men of business and also men of letters, by pretending to enlighten by their teaching the whole of mankind.

The press, through its influence and its generality of opinions will succeed more than all universities, parliaments, conferences, books, etc., to bring peoples together and to persuade them that they will be happier if they look at all the different matters from an international rather than from a national point of view. No man can be so active as a newspaper man; no profession makes the mind so acute to catch on to international affairs and take an interest in them. The press is the guide of public opinion not only of one people but of all the peoples of the world.

Of course, the principal aim of this congress is to promote peace. I ought perhaps to touch in my speech upon this subject. It was in my country that first the general idea of an understanding between enemies was discussed in congress. I refer you back to the congress in Delphi, the so-called *AMΦΙΚΤΥΘΝΙΚΑ ΣΥΝΔΕΨΙΑ* in which affairs of peace were discussed and during which any war enterprise was suspended.

Coming from Greece, a country which is unfortunately still at war, I ought to speak for peace. Every Greek is for peace. If there is now war in Asia Minor, this is a war for freedom, for deliverance of a large population in slavery till the occupation of West Asia Minor by the Greek army. I want peace as much as any of you. I expect from the press and from this congress a promotion of the idea of general peace. But in my speech of today I wish to draw your attention to what is wrong in the press; to what is the heel of Achilles, and that is the abuse of the press.

When I decided to come before you, I at first thought of telling you something about the press of Greece, but it occurred to me that it would not be right for me to occupy your time with a subject having perhaps little more than local interest, so I turned to another subject which I have entitled: "The influence of the press upon public opinion and its abuses."

Of course this subject is very comprehensive in scope, really covering a great part of the business of this Congress, nevertheless it seemed to me fitting for me to discuss this theme from my own point of view and that the conclusions, which I might reach, might perhaps constitute a small contribution to the general aims of this meeting.

While I do not intend to trouble you with many facts about the origin of the press which might interest the historian but not this Congress, called as it is to discuss matters of today and tomorrow but not of the distant past, nevertheless, I should like to take this opportunity to say a word about the beginning of journalism, for, as far as I know, nothing has been published about the press of Ancient Greece.

The best authors of works on journalism find the beginning of it, apart from its development in old China, in the Roman *Acta Diurna*, but thinking that even in this branch of human progress the Greeks could not have lagged behind, I succeeded in finding a kind of journalism among the Ancient Greeks. I will give some details in a few lines.

Diuros, the Cretan, the first journalist, published daily news of the progress of the Trojan War. The Ancient Greeks had the *ΑΕΥΚΩΜΑΤΑ*, the white colored planks on which they used to publish the news of the day, public acts, laws, accusations, decision of tribunals, conventions, sales of slaves, or property (Suidas *ΑΕΥΚΩΜΑ* Plato *Laws VI*, 23. Hesychius *ΑΕΥΚΩΜΑΤΑ*. Dion Cassius *Fg.10*. Diogenes Laertius *VI*, 8.) Besides these there were in use by the Ancient Greeks the *ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΔΕΣ*, the royal newspapers of Alexander the Great which are mentioned by Arrianus. These newspapers are called by the German, Wilken, in his "Philologus," Alexander's Hof- und Feld Journale. The Byzantians had also a kind of newspaper, the *ΑΙΤΑΠΙΟΙ*, to communicate news and messages to the people.

Coming now to the modern Greeks, I must note that many years before Greece was freed from Turkish yoke, two newspapers printed in Greek appeared in Vienna, as far back as 1791. Other Greek newspapers have been published in different cities, viz., at Vienna, Corfu, Paris, London, etc. But the remarkable thing is just at the time of the declaration of independence (Greece), a Greek newspaper under the name *Trumpet* was published. Since the independence of Greece many dailies and weeklies have sprung up only to cease publication after a few years. There is today no daily in Greece that is fifty years old. The number of dailies in Athens, in comparison with the population of the capital and of the whole country, is rather large. Most of the dailies, having but a few thousand circulation, scarcely meet expenses. There are, however, five or six dailies which have a net annual profit of one hundred thousand (100,000) to five hundred thousand (500,000) drachmas, i. e. twenty to one hundred thousand dollars. There are also many weekly papers but these are for the most part of a literary character.

The influence of the Greek press upon the people is enormous. Although people speak of it with much contempt, even holding the best papers in apparent disesteem, still they are influenced by the most insignificant of them. Greek people enjoy the discussion of politics. Many papers, abusing the influence which they exert upon the people, appeal to low feelings. This fact gives me the opportunity to call the attention of this convention to a most interesting influence of the press, i. e., the evil which is done by a number of papers, which in order to secure circulation sufficient to keep them alive or to secure a dishonorable profit, greatly diminish their usefulness. There is perhaps no certain method of checking and controlling this vicious influence through legislative or administrative measures. The press must be kept entirely free from interference by parliaments and governments. It is the press's duty to criticise the parliament and the government. In my view of the matter I have come to the conclusion that our only hope of diminishing the evil influence, which the press may and often does exert, can come from the press itself.

A most important and valuable discussion of the evils of the low-minded press grew out of an inquiry made a score of years

ago by the French *Revue Bleue*. The most eminent of the French politicians and publishers, as well as men of letters, took part in the discussion, among others Poincare, Clemenceau, Jaures, Zola, Drumont, Barres, Claretie, etc. Most of these learned men, known in all the world, asserted that the press should promulgate ideas instead of trying to relate crimes, scandals, facts of private life, and making appeal to the passions. According to these men, the press, in adopting methods which are detrimental to the people, abuse the freedom which the law gives to it in all free countries. I am sure that this is true to a certain degree in many countries, but the question is how to remedy the mischief. That the public must condemn this kind of press and pay no attention to the scandals it portrays is a fine idea but it is inadequate entirely to rectify the evil. Public condemnation is not to be expected and consequently reliance upon it is not sufficient. Besides, there are men, who despise any danger to their lives, but who tremble before any article in a newspaper.

In my opinion the remedy must come from three sources; first, from individual leaders, second, from society at large, and, third, from the state.

The indifference of individuals and the silent contempt of society, however, do not necessarily affect circulation. On the other hand, a fine by the court is a positive check. But all these factors become operative when one or more individuals are attacked by newspapers. The law, with rapid decision of the court, and a communique in support of the insulted persons from societies are sufficient to reestablish their standing. But the question is, how to correct the immoral press when society as a whole rather than the individuals as such, is harmed, by the publication of articles, news and chronicles of a nature such that the paper cannot be brought before a court on a charge of libel by due process of law.

In the matters of the issuance of a newspaper this Congress ought perhaps to discuss the question of requiring certain standards of both the editor and the persons who supply the financial backing, regarding guarantee for the integrity, the capacity and the learning of these men. But who should be the judge? A court? I should say that a Council of the Press would be more suitable for this task, which ought to be one of the most impor-

tant duties of all press associations. Its decisions would be the best guide to governmental authorities called on to permit the organization and issuance of a paper.

The press associations ought, of course, to have regulations governing the creation of new newspapers and of determining their responsibility. It is stupid not to hold some one responsible for articles appearing in a paper, when it is realized that these articles, often attacking respectable persons, can be written by criminals or by mere private clerks who expect to benefit by subjecting persons of prominence to attack. The responsibility for everything appearing in a newspaper to the detriment of individuals or of society at large, must remain fixed on the editor and the real proprietor, which also the person writing anonymous mischievous articles of news must share. It is proper that press associations should propose stopping a paper, which is exercising a perverted influence. These associations under such circumstances cannot be accused of exerting their right to control the press, for what a person as an individual cannot or will not do in respect to such newspapers the associations can accomplish without fear.

The question, then, is how to organize the associations in order that they may undertake the task of controlling the so-called "yellow press." I will not enter into details in discussing this matter, for it doubtless will be taken up later by this Congress. But I would like to add that the principle of the absolute liberty of the expression of all opinions would, of course, remain. If this right be respected as it should be, the other right, i. e., that society must also be respected by the press, must likewise be safeguarded.

The press generally and journalism in particular pretends to control human actions in all their forms. Is it not natural that there be another power which shall control journalism and free it from its abuses? Of course this may be accomplished by criticism passed upon one paper by another, but such criticism, it is safe to say, will not succeed in stopping the evil entirely. On the other hand, if such criticism should be made the duty of a court of newspaper men, better results can be expected. Even in parliament, where freedom to support any opinion is permitted, absolute checks have been evolved to eliminate abuse of this

freedom. There is, for example, the regulations and rights of the president of the parliament, who, being elected by the representatives, is authorized to restrain them from going beyond the limits within which freedom of speech can rightly be exercised. In a similar way I should like to see the power exercised by the President of the House of Representatives vested in the hands of a Council of Newspapermen.

Such a council should be created in every county or for any other natural fixed area. In addition it perhaps might render great service in promoting the ideas of a high Court of an International Press Council, an Areopagus of the Press, which might be called upon to pass upon the actions of a local court. This Areopagus could well be composed of persons belonging to the press and to the learned professions who stand in high esteem.

I now desire to say a few words on the second subject of the program.

We speak of the freedom of the press, although in a few countries this freedom is expressed under certain limitations. The freedom of the press is universally recognized, but nevertheless is the press really free? Is this freedom absolute? I believe that it is not. Every daily or weekly paper wants first of all to live. Can all papers live only with the freedom of the press? There is another freedom, the financial one. A paper must be honorable and independent always by publishing the truth. But can all papers by publishing only that which is supposed to be pure and true command a sufficient circulation to be financially independent? The press desired freedom from law and from official administration, but a paper must have also financial freedom and protection from other papers which resort to vicious methods in securing a large circulation. The competition of papers in increasing the size of their publications brings them either to death or to the use of methods which are often questionable. How can these two problems, financial freedom and freedom from questionable practices to win circulation, resorted to by competing papers, be solved?

Large enterprises and great corporations have the means of influencing the policy of a paper by giving to it large advertisements, or by withholding such patronage. Is the control of corporations in respect to such matters possible? The same thing

can be said regarding the advertising of public institutions, governments, counties, communities. All these institutions and agencies can give or withhold advertisements, the decision turning on whether or not the paper is agreeable to the officials. What, then, can be said of the boasted independence of the paper?

The present Greek government gives no advertising matter to the newspapers which support the political party of Venizelos. This financial assistance is exclusively for the royalist press. That means that something like one or two hundred thousand francs yearly are won by every royalist paper and lost by the liberal press. Where is the freedom of the press? Of the Greek liberal papers, which supported Venizelos' policy with respect to the allies, more than half have been put out of business through their loss of advertising from the government, community and business sources. Where, then, is the freedom of the press?

And there is another thing which places the freedom of the press in jeopardy—the concentration of several papers in the hands of one person or one enterprise. When a rich man can buy several of the most important newspapers of a country, how can we speak of the freedom of the press? Should this be allowed? A rich man with a chain of newspapers can do what he pleases without responsibility. Is this not an important subject for discussion?

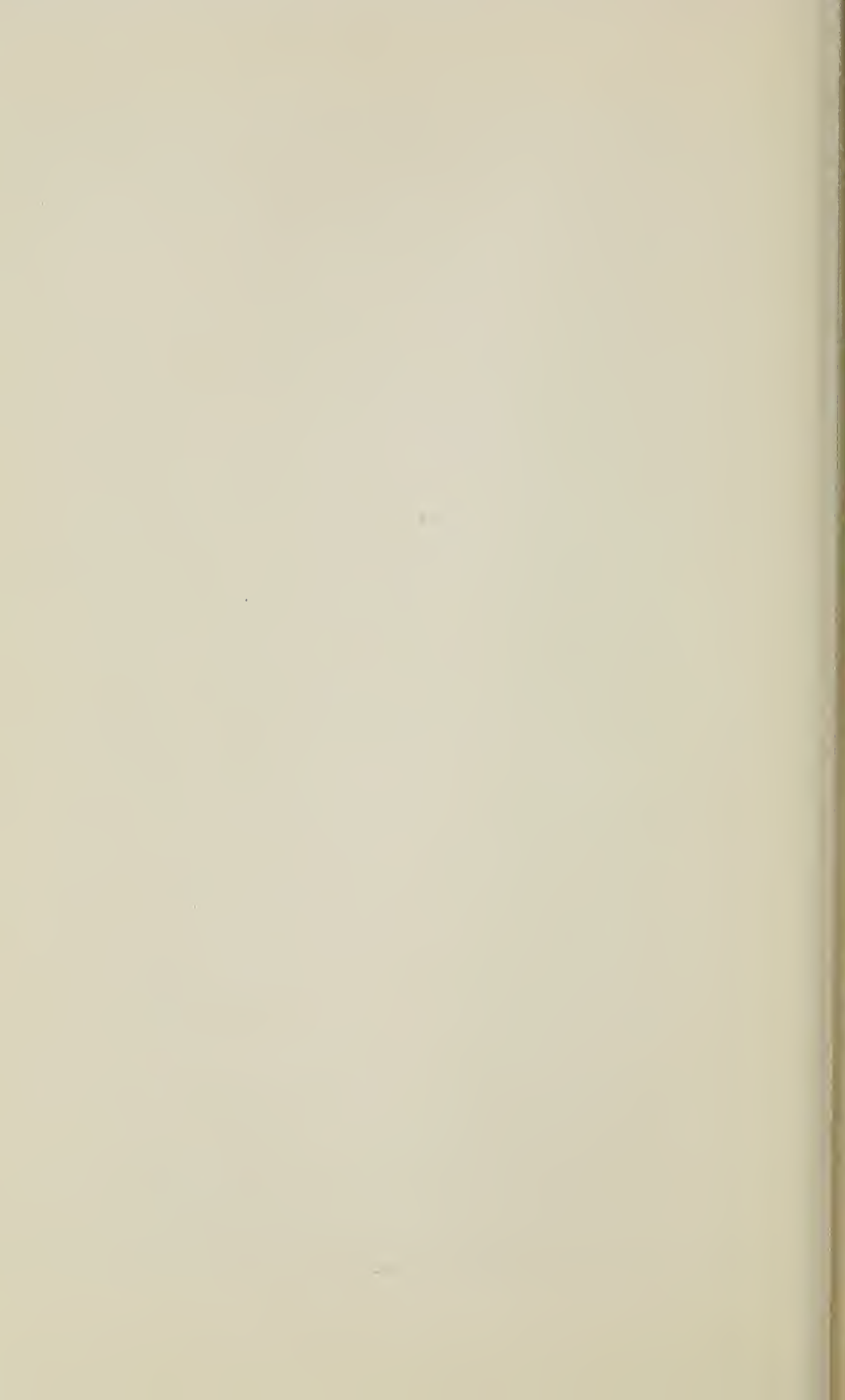
And what about a newspaper the ownership of which passes from one person, having a given policy to another with a totally different policy respecting political and social affairs? The journalists of such a paper must change their opinions and convictions or lose their positions. Will journalism always be a matter of money and only a matter of money, a chattel to be transferred from hand to hand for a sum? And if, through the talent of an editor and because of the high and honorable principles on which a paper has been conducted, it acquires the esteem of the public, is it right that this paper can be transferred to any rich man who thereby has the opportunity of purchasing honor and selling dishonor?

I have touched on different points not because I expect that on all these points resolutions can be passed. I only wish to put down questions which I hope will be largely discussed in a future congress, and it is from these future congresses that I expect





THE OPENING SESSION OF THE CONGRESS, MOANA HOTEL, HONOLULU.



the fruits of the endeavor of our president, Dr. Williams, whose name, I am sure, will be written in history as the name of one of the great pioneers of progress and civilization, although minus any ambition. (Applause.)

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THE CHAIRMAN: The excellent paper that Mr. Coutoupis has read will find consideration later on the Congress program.

I introduce to you as the next speaker Mr. Ludvig Saxe, Secretary of the Norwegian Press Association, of Christiania, Norway, who will speak upon: "Truth and Falsehood in the Press."

MR. SAXE: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Two hundred years ago there was a Norwegian poet by the name of Holberg. I suppose he may have been interviewed by some clever journalist, for in one of his books he says: If you meet a good storymaker he must certainly be a newspaper man! And fifty years ago the great Norwegian poet, Ibsen, wrote his political comedy, "The League of Youth." One of the characters, an editor of a small newspaper, exclaims: "It does not pay to publish a clean newspaper, people want a shady one!"

Well, after this you may conclude that the Norwegian journalists are a bad lot. But I dare say they are not. At any rate the two sentences I have just quoted prove that the question, "Truth and falsehood in the press," is a very old one.

It will probably be admitted that this question is a most interesting, as well as a very delicate one. Before I left my country, one of my friends at home, a journalist, said to me, "I suppose you are not going to tell me that there is any falsehood in my paper, are you?" "Of course not," I said, "not in yours, but certainly in all the other papers!"

Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not want to give any offense to my colleagues here today, but I certainly feel called upon to express some disagreeable things on this occasion.

We may ask: What is the truth?

If several news writers go to report a woman-suffrage meeting or a poultry exposition or another gathering, we would not get exactly the same report from all of them. The fact which is to be described will, to a certain degree, take color from its author. But here we have to be very careful. In the leading articles and in the discussions in the press we may use what de-

sirable colors we want,—indeed, a newspaper without color is a newspaper without a soul, and you would soon drop asleep over it. But the facts always ought to be kept holy.

It must be admitted that all of us are transgressors as to this. I know of an editor who claims that his paper is the only absolutely trustworthy newspaper in his country because it contains nothing but official advertisements! We may be careless and drop too much color into our news. Or we may happen to be a little angry and consequently pour a good splash of black into the pot instead of the white or the blue. As the rainbow, the journalistic language has many shades.

When does the truth end and the falsehood begin? You cannot give any general rule as to this, of course, but every conscientious journalist knows when he is within, and when he is on the wrong side of the border. As a rule it may be all right to keep silent, but an editor may be on the wrong side even if he does not write a single word. If a newspaper decides to be silent about a political scandal for instance, it will indirectly contribute by its very silence to the formation of public opinion. There is a certain country in Europe, there may be several of them, where the editors can be paid to write, and paid to keep things back. Many of the newspapers in that country contain only four pages, and it is truthfully said as a joke that they live by their fifth page, and that means by the things that are not published. These editors can certainly affirm the truth that silence is golden. If I am not silent, I may tell one half of the fact and by cunningly suppressing the other half I shall create an entirely false impression. And furthermore, we have got all the different shades of faking, from the little distortion to the big lie, that sometimes will be found.

We, the makers of the newspapers, are indeed proud of our profession. We know that it is one of the finest in the world, and for that reason we are sorry to see that there is nevertheless something rotten about it. We are all honest in our social lives, when we are talking to our friends. Why are we not always as honest when we are talking to thousands or millions of readers, through our newspapers? Why?

I find there are two causes: the first one is to be found in the system; the other one emanates from the journalist himself.

Let us take one look at the system! We have all of us heard of the so-called "Independent press." It sounds very fine in a speech, but, alas, it is in many cases something of a catch-word. The press is independent only to a certain degree. The press is controlled in some way or other, not only by the proprietor but also by the advertisers and by the reading public. When I say proprietor, we naturally think of a man—a *very* powerful one—but just as often we may as well think of a bank or a trust or a group of financiers, a power which is not seen, but which is, in fact, very much felt. As a rule the opinion of the proprietor and the opinion of the editor harmonize. Should the contrary, however, happen to be the case, the proprietor will tell the editor to write as he wants. Perhaps the proprietor tells the editor to write things which he, the editor, knows to be a falsehood. What is the poor editor in this case going to do? Shall he refuse to write according to the dictates and by so doing risk losing his position? Or shall he yield and obediently write what his conscience tells him to be wrong? Brave and conscientious editors and journalists have sometimes refused to do so, and as a consequence have been turned out. Honor be to them!

Sometimes the proprietor, too, has refused to bend before the financial or industrial powers, and then the advertising has been trimmed down, the bank loans called, and the whole concern put out of existence. If the financial power behind the proprietor would use the newspaper to the benefit of the public, it would be all right. But alas, too often the newspapers are being used to promote the private interests and speculations of these financiers. The public has in all probability confidence in the newspapers, and is on that account getting fooled. It means corruption if a proprietor uses one newspaper in this way, but if a trust controls many newspapers and makes use of all of them with the same intention, it is an outrage against humanity.

It has been said that journalism of today is the business of presenting the news in the interest of the economic privilege, and that it is as unreasonable to expect truth-telling of a capitalistic newspaper as it is to expect asceticism at a cannibal feast. The author of that assertion probably means, that things would be quite different if the press were socialized. I am sorry to say it is my opinion that the cause lies deeper. In a socialistic or

communistic newspaper, owned by a labor party, you may find the same lack of respect for the truth. There, too, the system may require misrepresentations of facts and partial or whole fabrications put into the newspaper, not for the sake of profit, but in order to hurt the adversaries and strengthen the political power of the party.

Another dominating element beside the proprietor is the big advertiser. The modern newspaper could not exist without the advertisements. The business manager, of course, wants to be on good terms with the advertisers and tells the editors to write nothing but nice things about them. If a company orders advertisements for \$1,000 in a newspaper, for instance, do you think that the editor of that newspaper would feel called upon to expose the company, even if he knew that it swindled the public? Likely not. And have you seen a newspaper print things unfavorable to a big department store even if that would have been very well justified? Seldom at any rate.

The third great power outside the editorial offices, which exercises an enormous influence on the newspaper, is the public, the readers. In fact you may ask if it is the editor or the public who is the real leader of the newspaper. I suppose that it very often is the public. You may find great journalists who can really influence and turn the general opinion, but as a rule we may probably say that the journalist forms and fixes the opinion of the public. Every newspaper tries to obtain popularity, and who can tell how many facts have been colored or faked in order to please the thousand-headed monster which is called the public?

The public press is generally the reflection of the public taste. In former days people wanted leading article reflection, and a certain part of the public wants it yet. That is probably the best part of the public. But everyone wants news. The modern way of reporting was started in America. It made the newspapers alive and sensational. Now this form of reporting has carried the world. People cry to get thrilling news every day; the masses seek the newspapers which have got the most captivating headings, and the newspapers have submitted—more or less—to the taste of the masses. If nothing extraordinary happens, the news is colored and peppered. The articles might have been more reliable, but—never mind!

Have I, in your judgment, been too disagreeable to the proprietors, the advertisers or to the public? In that case I am sorry. But now I am coming to ourselves and I shall endeavor to read us a little homily. I heard once the following definition: "A smart reporter is a man who always is on the spot when the devil is at liberty, and who knows how to set the devil free if the season is dull." Well, it is fine to be a quick fellow, but in order to be a good journalist I think it is necessary to have some few other qualities too.

How do we get the news? I do not say that we murder each other in order to get a scoop, but certainly the news is sometimes stolen. A man is interviewed and afterwards he gets surprised by reading in the newspaper the story which the journalist has been able to get out of it. As to the reports from a meeting, we all know that they often are composed and printed before the meeting is held. And by a lucky strike the reporter sometimes writes what really happens. A city, a business, a congress shall be "boosted," and *glorious* descriptions and golden promises are printed in advance—never mind the truth. The press sends out a false report, and in many countries it is very difficult to get it corrected. The correction is not regarded as "good stuff" and consequently it goes into the waste-basket. In that way we may easily spoil a man's reputation without doing what ought to be done in order to restore it. An unhappy woman is going to be divorced, after years of mental suffering. Her person, her home, and her robes are closely described to a laughing public. Never mind her feelings!

We always have to hurry, the competition is great. But do we need for that reason to run away from the truth? People want sensation, that cannot be denied. But what they really are anxious for are thrilling facts not stories. Nobody really wants to be humbugged. But the journalist needs mental balance, because people always try to influence him to write in this or that way, and in no vocation of life, more knowledge, culture and clearness of mind is needed.

If we journalists are not always respected and honored as we want to be, we may blame ourselves for it. If we get the habit of laying it on too thick when we are telling something to our friends they will, after having discovered it, not find us

trustworthy anymore. Well, if we fool the public from time to time how can we expect them to trust us? A falsehood is a falsehood, even if it is printed. The more sensational things the journalist can write the better he is paid and this gives a great temptation to write with a certain disregard of truth. But I suppose it would pay for all of us to be less clever, less smart, and more reliable.

It is difficult for the journalists individually to change this. But the reporter's unions, the press associations, and the press congresses can do a great deal to raise the ethical standard.

I come from a small country myself. We have got no million-editions in Norway, and the fighting in the newspaper world is less than in the greater countries. I willingly admit that we have got a lot to learn as to the technical things in newspaper making and we admire what especially the Americans have done, in this way. But I think I may state that the moral standard of the Norwegian press is a pretty high one. You would not find any Norwegian editor or journalist who could be bribed to write what he knew was false, and if anyone came to an editor and asked him: "What is your price to write so and so?" or "What is your price to support me at the elections?" he would promptly be kicked out. (Applause) And that in spite of the fact that most of the newspapers are small and poor, but their ideals are great.

In a Norwegian newspaper you will not find advertisements or paid paragraphs in the text. All the advertisements are to be found on the advertisement pages and you could never get a paid paragraph in a text column. The newspapers in Norway try to give correct information; they never fake telegrams, but they have got a good cable-service from all the principal countries of the world. Divorces are not mentioned in the press because they are considered as private things; and "my house is my castle." If a newspaper tells something that is not true about a man, the offended one can, with the law in his hand, claim to have it corrected in the next issue and printed with type as big as in the first paragraph.

I really do not think that a newspaper in Norway could live long, if it tried to fool the public, because people are so well informed. Every man and woman reads several newspapers every day, because the papers are cheap and numerous, probably



cheaper and more numerous than in any other country in proportion to the population.

Well, I am not going to tell you that the press in Norway is an ideal one, nor that the journalists are angels. We have got the same problems as in other countries but the ethical standard of the press is probably higher than in several greater countries, perhaps because the conditions are so small. I believe that the press organizations have contributed to this standard of things. There is one "Press Association of Norway" where I have the honor to be the secretary; this association includes both editors-in-chief and subordinate journalists. Another association is formed by the subordinate journalists only. The proprietors have their own association; and there are several others. If an editor thinks that another editor has libeled him or been unfair to him, a complaint is made to the Press Association, where the question is settled.

I believe in press organizations. I think that they ought to be strong in all countries. They will help to raise the moral standard of the newspapers and both the economical, social and ethical standard of the journalist.

I have got the impression that before the great war the press of the world was striving to reach a higher ethical level. In many countries the newspapers tried to understand their adversaries and the verbal abuse was not so common as before. Then the war came and flung most of the newspapers together into two huge camps, and patriotic or chauvinistic tones were heard all over the world for several years. The editors in the different countries got little time—and indeed little opportunity—to ask: "Is it truth or falsehood?" During these terrible years the editors found it more natural to ask: Does it concern friend or foe? Well, it is a great thing to be patriotic but it is sometimes dangerous to the truth.

Of course, there have been newspapers which have kept their brain cool and their judgment clear all the time, but it seems to me that in general the ethical standard of the newspapers of the world has sunk during the war, because the newspapers have been governed by passion, and passion sometimes forgets to respect the truth.

The press is the mightiest means to bring about war or peace. The better the journalists from all countries know each

other, the sharper will they watch that no lies about other nations are inserted, and the more difficult will it become to start a new war. For generally it is the lies that start the wars. Therefore I think that a Press Congress of the World is a splendid thing for the promotion of the truth, of journalistic ethics, and of international understanding.

The moral level of the press must be raised higher than ever. The press is a gigantic force that to a high degree governs the world, its opinions and its activities. To be a servant of this great force is a privilege which we are happy to possess. The press shall work for the uplifting and the enlightening of humanity. But with the greatness of the task follows the greatness of the responsibility. A splendid opportunity to serve our fellow-men is given us; it is our duty to serve them well. Because we love our work and venerate it we must see if anything is wrong and ask how to improve upon it. We cannot in a short while change the conditions of the press, the system, the capitalistic power, the dependence upon the advertisers, the taste of the public. But what we can do is to strengthen the claims to our own respect for the truth.

I need hardly say that I have the greatest confidence in the development of the Press of the world. This magnificent power is not perfect, no human institutions are perfect, but the press has reached a technical stage which is wonderful and it will certainly reach such an ethical level that the press with full right can be what it ought to be, and what it is already to a high degree: a guiding star, a warning headlight, and above all, the conscience of the world. (Applause.)

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THE CHAIRMAN: If there be bitterness in this stimulating paper so forcefully read by Mr. Saxe, I am sure it is the bitterness which is good medicine to us all in journalism.

It was a source of regret to us all that the exigencies of the occasion compelled us to leave the Japanese theater the other evening in Hilo, before the final completion of the program there, and I take this opportunity to express publicly our regret that the sailing of the *Matsonia* took the delegates away from so charming and carefully prepared a program before the final number was completed. (Applause.)

We are now to hear as the closing paper before the final announcements of the morning Mr. K. Sugimura of the Tokyo Asahi Shimbun, one of the great newspapers of Japan.

MR. SUGIMURA: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: The subject of my address is the "Logical Basis of News Value."

What should newspapers print? This is an old question. The word "should" has two meanings in this connection. What have newspapers to print as their proper duty, and what had they better print from the viewpoint of policy? In order to solve this problem, much has been said about "news value." But none has yet clearly established the standard as to how to appraise it. Some contend that news has the greatest news value. But this interpretation has no deeper significance than to say that newspapers are the papers of news. Others say that various features of man's life have the greatest news value. But that is nothing but to say "because newspapers are made by man for man to read."

What should be the standard of judgment of news value? Other things aside, can we not determine it by logic alone? My present paper is a feeble attempt to throw some light, however dim, on this subject.

I start from very simple facts. Newspapers have certain characteristics that are peculiar to them and which nothing else has. Among them two are particularly noticeable. The first is their "daily publication," and the second their "wide and quick circulation." Though there are many different kinds of publications, it is only newspapers that have these two features. Even books and magazines which resemble newspapers do not possess them.

Now it is the most natural and intelligent way to find out peculiarities of things and turn them to the best use. Coal is combustible, and therefore it should be used as fuel. Wheat is edible and nutritious, and therefore it should be used as food stuff. Steam is expansive, and therefore James Watt recommended it as a motor power. Extremely high speed causes elevation, and the Wrights invented the flying machine. Likewise to let newspapers develop most naturally and intelligently is to make the best use of their two characteristics which I have pointed out. I shall examine them one by one.

## 1. Daily Publication.

Man usually takes three meals a day. Each meal ought to be digested before the next one. If luncheon is not digested by the dinner time, it cannot be said a good luncheon. Since newspapers are published daily, they should print what can be digested day by day by readers. If it is not digested by the time of the next issue, the materials will become stale and no good for readers. Monthly magazines contain heavy materials which can be digested in one month. So they are called "magazine" in the sense of the "store houses for preserving materials for a long period." If weekly journals are so edited that materials are gathered in a week ahead of publication and are so printed that they may be read within a week, they may be said to have most truly represented the meaning of weekly.

According to Mr. Kennedy Jones the first difficulty that confronted Sir George Newnes' *'Tit Bits* was that *'Tit Bits* was as readable a week or month after publication. The reading it provided was of a kind that was never new, never old. Such may be good for books, but not for such a weekly paper as *'Tit Bits*. Weekly papers should print what is readable for a week and no longer. Or else there will be no meaning of publishing them week after week, and no reader will want to have their weekly issue. As for daily newspapers, they must let the readers read daily occurrences daily, daily reports, that is latest informations prepared every day. They are what are called news. In that sense, it may be said that there are newspapers and then news, but not that news comes first and then newspapers.

Daily news for daily newspapers. That is the most effective way of expressing the meaning of "daily publication." Carrying the principle further, it will mean hourly news for hourly editions. Daily news cannot be published except through daily newspapers. In the case of weekly or monthly journals, what was news at the time it was gathered, is liable not to be regarded as news at the time of publication. Here lies the news value of news for daily papers.

Now "daily publication" means a "regular repetition." Because newspapers are printed daily, the same process is regularly carried on every day. In other words, every day at a certain hour, newspapers of a regular shape are distributed to

readers. When thus repeated, even trifles become momentous. When they are repeated at a regular hour at a regular place, their impressions upon readers will be deep and great. A hint will gradually become a conviction, and a suggestion prevalence. Therefore one who wants to go slowly but steadily at convincing others will succeed much better by pounding upon their head one portion of his ideas one morning and another portion the next morning, than by printing a large volume in which every detail is exhausted. The editorials in newspapers are illustrations of that point. Their news value springs from that consideration.

"Regular repetition" forms a "habit of reading" on the part of readers. As materials are measured to the degree of daily digestion, the appetite of readers is thereby whetted. As they are supplied daily in a readable quantity, the readers will be able to read them without experiencing any slightest pains. Any other reading matter which can be read at any time as one pleases, is liable not to be read at all. But when it has become one's habit to read newspapers either in the morning at breakfast table or in the evening in the street car on one's way home, one almost involuntarily reads them on account of his reading habit. It is for this reason that a man who never takes hold of a volume of 300 or 400 pages should be pleased to read papers.

There is no newspaper in the world that is so much given to printing serial stories as those of Japan. There appear every day essays, fictions and what are called "Kodan," Story-teller's stories. Noting this an American journalist once said: "The newspaper, as Delane of *The Times* remarked, is a publication, every issue of which is complete in itself. It is not a thing to be completed by serial publications. To print today a continuation of an article of yesterday and expect the readers to remember what was printed yesterday until today is to submerge the meaning of the newspaper." Certainly it is not sensible to publish serially in a newspaper a complicated argument for days, as it will overstrain the power of memory of readers. But if it is a light literature, a daily reading may be enjoyed regardless of whether or not the reader remembers what he reads a day before.

I spoke about "Kodan" just now. "Kodan" is a form of old romantic stories of Japan told by story-tellers. They are stories of martial bravery, love, revenge, etc. These stories are all

familiarly known to the Japanese, and most of them have been already published in book form. As they are all known to the Japanese and written in books, it may appear at first thought a meaningless thing to reprint them in papers. But of all stories in newspapers what most interest Japanese readers is the "Kodan," and the quality of "Kodan" considerably affects the circulation. Are the story-teller's "Kodan" in any way superior to books? No. But works by great romancers, such as the famous Bakin, when reduced into a "Kodan" by story-tellers of low education and cheap taste, are well read and enjoyed by many.

There are two reasons for that. In the first place, a story in book form is tedious to read; whereas, if it is presented to readers in readable quantity little by little, their reading habit is encouraged and directed to it. If my memory serves, Defoe's "Robinson Crusoe" first appeared as a book, and later it was printed serially in papers. The so-called "post-publication" serial of American newspapers is also based on the same principle. In the second place, the readers in many instances do not expect to be *taught* by newspapers about what they do *not* know, but rather want to learn more about things with which they are already familiar. The more familiar the Japanese are with the "Kodan" stories, the greater is their power of arresting the attention of readers. To this point I shall refer more fully later.

## 2. Wide Circulation.

In order to obtain and maintain a wide and effective circulation, it is natural to have to appeal to the public. What then will appeal to the public most?

Before entering into the main discussion of this problem, let me give you a suggestive illustration. Suppose there was a street car collision and a number of people were killed and injured. The accident will be reported in papers either that evening or next morning. Now upon reading those papers, who will take the greatest interest in the accounts? Most certainly those who were aboard the said street car at the time of the accident. Next to them will come the relatives or friends of the dead and injured. This is a fact and not an argument. One may hasten to conclude that those who were in the car know everything about the collision and need not read of it. But that is not the actual fact.

The public want to read in newspapers about what they know. The things in which they are concerned are what they know best. So they want to read about them. If I may be allowed to talk of my personal self, I have been long engaged in the journalistic work. What I read in newspapers with the keenest interest are what I have written, or accounts about myself, or accounts about people whom I know. On the contrary, I take hardly any interest in accounts about things in which I am not concerned at all. Mr. Don Seitz of the New York World gave an advice to men of country papers, "to be particular to print the things about which their constituency is already informed by personal contact." As his reason for the advice, he explained that "nothing is so interesting as to read about an event we have seen wholly or in part," and that "the reader likes to compare the printed report with his own recollection." That condition is not confined to local newspapers alone. It is the case with the newspaper readers in general.

The reader does not want to be instructed by newspapers for the first time about things of which he has had no knowledge. He wants to learn more about things which he already knows. He does not seek first knowledge, experience or information from newspapers. He wants to have his own knowledge, experience and information reproduced, amplified, and sublimated by them. In other words, he wants to have himself third-personified, just as people find some pleasure in looking at their own image in a mirror.

The public make most of the public's own doings, that is, the human life. The fact that one attaches importance to accounts about himself and takes interest in them may be interpreted to mean that man attaches importance to, and takes interest in, accounts about man. Here is where the life has a very important news value. It is in this sense that the young hero of the "Young Reporter" by Mr. Drysdale said: "It's the people I like to write about. I don't want to be one of the glowing sunset writers, all color and no substance." It is in this sense that Professor Bleyer said: "News values are measured by the extent to which news affects directly the lives of the readers, the greater the effect and the larger the number of readers affected, the better the news." It is in this sense that Mr. Scott of the Man-

chester Guardian said the other day: "The second duty of a newspaper is to reflect life,—life in all its multitudinous aspects, art, literature, science, commerce, society, pastimes, religions, everything—and to do this as fully and as fairly as it knows how."

They all meant the same thing. No matter how minutely the sceneries of mountains and waters may be described, it will not have any value as a newspaper story. No matter how scientifically the planetary movements are explained it will have very little news value, unless it has some connection with man's daily life. In short, all news stories must smell human.

In the Japanese newspaper circles, it has been a custom to divide news into two kinds: viz, "Koha" and "Nampa," that is, heavy news and light news. This distinction has undergone some change in significance according to different periods. Formerly the stories on politics, diplomacy, economics, religion and education were regarded as the heavy news; while those on celebrations, weddings, festivals, crimes, amusements, literature, theatres, etc., were regarded as the light news. The circumstances which helped to create this distinction in Japan was that in the early history of journalism there were two kinds of newspapers which were exclusively devoted to heavy news and light news respectively. The former enjoyed a dignified influence as newspapers, though they were not financially successful; while the latter having a large number of subscribers were profitable, though they had no political or social influence. In no time, however, the Japanese journals began to be a conglomeration of the two and to contain both heavy and light news together in one paper. As was the case when there were two classes, so even after the combination was effected, most readers still have had the tendency of enjoying the light news. While scornfully deriding the light news as "Sammen Dane" (meaning "third page stories," as this kind of news was formerly printed on page 3), no one could deny the fact that the light news has attracted far more readers than the heavy news. The reason is this. The stories on politics or economics, that is the heavy news, interest only a class of people who are specially concerned in such subjects. On the other hand, the accounts of robbery, murder, elopement, suicide and kindred events attract the attention of any person. Such accounts have something touching to the hearts



of readers, giving in some way or other an explanation of man or woman. Between the readers and these accounts there is something common to each other. They touch the man's life. In the political matters, not man as man, but man as a member of a nation, is touched. The light news has no national boundary; the news on politics has it.

A few years ago the *Figaro* of Paris exposed the bribery scandal, in which the then War Minister Caillaux was involved, thereby inflicting a crushing blow upon the Ministry. This news was not so interesting to the Japanese as to the French people. One day, however, when Madame Caillaux was reported to have shot dead M. Calmette, Editor of the *Figaro*, the incident attracted a world-wide interest.

Only sixty years have elapsed since modern journalism made its entry into Japan. In the early period, it, in imitation of British journals, laid more stress upon political discussions. A few other light newspapers were scorned down as "petty sheets." Even after the two classes of news were combined in one, this habit of scorning the light news has persisted, so that the journalists who were classed as "Nampa," light news writers, received smaller salaries and their positions ranked lower. The only consolation they got was that their stories were read by a larger number of readers. When later Japan began to imitate the American journalism, in which the light news is treated more cordially, it began to occupy a very important position in Japanese papers. As the result of that, the sphere of the light news has been gradually widened and even the heavy materials have come to be treated by the "light" writers in the style of light news. The distinction between heavy and light was formerly that of the subjects treated, but now it is that of the manner of treatment.

Philosophically speaking, all the efforts of man are to interpret man. Philosophy, science, religion, literature, arts and newspapers are nothing but efforts to interpret man from various angles; only the former from the normal course of things, while the latter rather from departures from it. Humdrum routine will not do for newspapers, nor will monotony of regularity. Though there is that difference, both efforts are alike for explanation of the human life. It is therefore needless to say that the stories relating to life most strongly appeal to the public and have the most of news value.

I admit that there are several other bases of news value than logic. Sociology is one; psychology another. That I have chosen logic does not imply that logic is the sole factor of judging news value. From this logical point of view the long-talked-of definition of the word "news" in a broad sense can be given in a simple way. News can be said to be anything that the newspaper prints with the view of utilizing its daily publication, regular repetition, wide and quick circulation and the reading habit on the part of the reader. The more these characteristics of newspaper are utilized, the more value news matter acquires.

I conclude this paper by thanking you for having kindly listened to my bad English, bad logic and bad everything. (Applause.)

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THE CHAIRMAN: A high standard has been set for the discussions by the three papers read this morning, to which Mr. Sugimura, an excellent journalist himself, has contributed a most excellent paper, with most of which we can agree except the last paragraph.

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MR. NIEVA: I have two amendments to offer to the Constitution and I would like to deliver them to the secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: They will be referred to the Committee on Constitution, of which Mr. Sugimura is Chairman. The Congress will take a recess until two o'clock.

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THIRD SESSION.

MONDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 17, 1921

The meeting was called to order at two o'clock, p. m., President Williams presiding.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will ask the secretary to read some messages received since this morning's session.

THE SECRETARY: The first is from W. T. Brewster, General Manager, Independent Newspapers, Ltd., Dublin, as follows:

I have to apologize for not sooner replying, owing to absence on business, to your very flattering letter of August 20th, notifying me of my election by the Executive Committee as a Vice-President of the Press Congress of the World. I consider the election a very great compliment, not so much to myself personally, as to the Irish Newspaper Society with which I have been connected as Hon. Secretary since its inception in 1907 until this year when health considerations compelled me to resign that post, but I am still connected with the Executive, and I thank both you and your Executive for that compliment.

Your Executive has kept the Irish Newspaper Society constantly ad-

vised as to organization of the Congress, and you must not attribute our silence to any lack of interest in the enterprise, but rather to the exceptional state of public affairs in this country. Last year we were well represented at the Press Conference in Canada, and I had hoped that I myself, or some other of our members, would have been able to participate in your deliberations at Honolulu, not only inherently important in themselves, but so attractive, also, by reason of all the delightful surroundings in which your Congress will be held. But the anxious state of public affairs here render it, I fear, impossible for any of the members of our organization, all of whom hold responsible positions in connection with the principal newspapers in Ireland, to leave this country at present for so long a period as attendance at the Congress would entail. I am sure the activities of the Congress will have an exceedingly valuable and far-reaching effect upon the press of the world, and I regret that under the circumstances to which I have referred all I can do is to thank you, Sir, and your Executive Committee most cordially for all your courtesy, and to wish the Congress, on my own behalf and on that of my confreres of the Irish Press, most heartily a thoroughly successful and enjoyable gathering.

I have also communications from Percy S. Bullen, President of the Association of Foreign Press Correspondents, New York; E. Lansing Ray, President and editor *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*; Robert Bell, *The Lyttleton Times Company*, Christchurch, N. Z.; H. F. Harrington, Chicago; J. D. Graham, Wolverhampton, England; A. Hodoroff, Russian journalist, Moscow.

I have also here some cable messages which I will read:

From Quevedo, Havana: "Corresponding to the invitation received by the *Graffic Press* of Cuba, the association formed by the weekly reviews '*Bohemia*,' '*Mundial*,' '*Muecas*,' and '*Elegancias*' is sending for the use of that Honorable Congress four albums by certificate, via New Orleans. With best wishes for the success of the Congress."

From W. E. Lewis, *The New York Morning Telegraph*: "Warmest wishes for a successful convention. Your purposes should meet with the approval of everybody."

From R. N. Vatchagandy, owner and editor *Sanj Vartaman*: "Congress is epoch making event in world's history. Will prove blessing to unite different nations. Wish heartfelt success."

From Palavicini, Mexico City: "As editor of the greatest Mexican newspaper, '*El Universal*' I send my warm greetings to the Press Congress of the World wishing that the work done be of real benefit to the world's press and to humanity."

From Dr. Svatek, President of *Syndicate of Czechoslovak daily newspapers*: "The *Syndicate of Czechoslovak daily newspapers* wishes best success to your Congress and regrets its inability to attend."

Also a number of other messages of congratulations from:

J. Roland Kay, *International Advertising*, Chicago.

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Sidney Rentell, editor, *Electricity*, London, England.

T. Elmore Lucy, Red Deer, Alberta, Canada.

James A. Barr, *Sierra Educational News*, San Francisco, Cal., U. S. A.

Gerald Gould, associate editor, *Daily Herald*, London, England.

Will H. Mayes, professor of journalism, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, U. S. A.

H. H. Kinyon, associate editor, *The Trans-Pacific*, Tokyo, Japan.

Mrs. R. W. Gough, secretary, Southern California Woman's Press Club, Los Angeles, Cal., U. S. A.

Elizabeth Murray Shepherd, Washington, D. C.

Joe Mitchell Chapple, editor, *National Magazine*, Boston, Massachusetts, U. S. A.

Walter B. Pitkin, professor in Pulitzer School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York.

James Schermerhorn, publisher, *Times*, Detroit, Michigan, U. S. A.

W. G. Conley, manager, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Sydney, Australia,

Harvey Ingham, editor, *Des Moines Register*, Des Moines, Iowa, U. S. A.

Jason Rogers, publisher, *New York Globe*, New York, U. S. A.

Roy G. Watson, president, *Houston Post*, Houston, Texas, U. S. A.

J. A. Muehling, manager, *Union Leader*, Manchester, New Hampshire, U. S. A.

Ernest L. Peterson, *Leader*, Dickinson, North Dakota, U. S. A.

R. L. McKenney, *News*, Macon, Georgia, U. S. A.

Miss Caroline Alden Huling, editor, *Social Progress*, Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have here a parchment bearing the crest of the University of the State of New York, tendering greetings to the Press Congress of the World. Unless directed otherwise, this parchment will be placed in the Archives of the Congress and the message will be read into the book of the Congress:

The University of the State of New York, By resolution of its Board of Regents at a meeting held September 22, 1921, has delegated the Honorable Herbert L. Bridgman, LL. D., one of its Regents, to tender its respectful greetings to the Press Congress of the World in session at Honolulu October 11-25, 1921, and assurance of its earnest hope that the deliberations and transactions of the Congress may not only be fruitful of good to the useful and honorable calling for which it speaks and acts, but may promote that international understanding and co-operation which establish and guarantee the peace and prosperity of the world.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will read a cable message.

THE SECRETARY: This message is from the United Chamber of Commerce, the United Educational Association, and the United Bankers Associations of China:

Pray accept our hearty congratulations for successful holding of second sessions and our appreciation of collective efforts made by pressmen of the world for international good-will. May we have the honor of inviting the Congress to hold the next sessions in China?

THE CHAIRMAN: The invitation will be referred to the Executive Committee to be elected by the Congress.

We come now to the afternoon program. The first speaker is Mr. W. D. Hornaday, professor of journalism in the School of Journalism, University of Texas. I have pleasure in presenting Mr. Hornaday.

MR. HORNADAY: The subject of my paper is "Education for journalism in the United States." Now you will understand of course that in treating this subject I cannot go beyond the preliminary stages of newspaper work. To go into the whole subject after one is in the actual practice of journalism—what education may be needed then—would be too big a subject to deal with in one paper and does not in my mind belong to this paper. I will therefore confine myself to the preliminary stages of newspaper work.

If the theory held today by some editors that "a newspaper reporter is born, not made," is true, there is little need of a discussion of the subject of what part education should play in equipping one for journalism. Fortunately, however, the mass of evidence is against this old-time theory. Perhaps the men who hold to the view that the newspaper instinct—the "nose for news"—must be born in one and cannot be acquired, really mean that one cannot attain an outstanding, distinctive position as a reporter unless possessed of this natural gift. Certainly the theory could not be applied to the hundreds of mediocre, untrained reporters who are employed upon the newspapers of the United States. That these hundreds of young men and women who are doing the bulk of the chronicling of news events from day to day would be rendering better and higher service to their newspapers and the public were they possessed of a journalistic training such as is offered by schools of journalism in connection with other college courses of a cultural nature, there can be no question.

Schools of journalism themselves have disproved the theory that talent for newspaper writing and interest in the work is in-born talent. It may be that the germ must first be in the student

if he is ever to attain success in great measure. An instructor of journalism, if of the right kind, can then develop this germ, can fire the spark that is latent in the student. Instance after instance might be cited of students who were disinterested in journalism when they entered the class many of them perhaps thinking to take the course in order to obtain credit or because it was popular—and soon became enthusiastic, capable students. They had learned to love the work and appreciate its vast possibilities, which are as wide as the world and all that it holds. Success has come to many such students, who in the beginning seemed hopeless. But they would have failed had they been taken on by newspapers as “cub” reporters without their school of journalism training, irrespective of how many other college courses they may have had. For the average newspaper is far from being a hot-house designed to nurture a dormant germ of talent.

In considering the matter of journalistic training one need not go beyond the making of reporters. Editorial writers and newspaper executives are drawn chiefly from the city room. Education primarily directed toward qualifying a student for reportorial work should therefore be the uppermost purpose of schools of journalism. By this is not meant that a variety of other courses, including editorial writing, should not be given. But over and above all of these should be the instruction in newsgathering and reporting. With the proper foundation in this work the student will be equipped for such further advancement as his demonstrated ability may justify when he enters into the active practice of journalism. No longer is there any question as to the important part which schools of journalism are destined to play in the development of journalism along ethical and more or less idealistic lines in the United States. That this new influence is already being beneficially manifested is doubtless true, though as yet in an unconscious way, so far as the public is concerned. It is when former journalism students shall have risen to editorial and executive positions from the rank of reporter, which they perhaps now occupy, that the greater benefits of their college training shall be realized by the public.

Important as this training is, however, schools of journalism cannot hope to be successful unless their courses are so made up

and the instruction so practical and thorough as to meet the demands of managing editors upon whom usually fall the responsibilities of selecting and maintaining the editorial staffs of their respective newspapers to the highest possible standing. It therefore behooves those who are directing the work of these training schools for young men and women to sound and know the views and demands of the newspaper executives. In order that he may know and teach the requirements and demands of managing editors and city editors the instructor of journalism should have had wide practical experience in newspaper work. Unless he has had this experience it is difficult, if not impossible, for him to have that sympathy for and interest in his students which counts so much in arousing their ambition and guiding their efforts.

As a means of arriving at some definite conclusion as to what is being done by the colleges and universities of the United States in training students for journalism I sent a questionnaire to 171 of these institutions that are offering one or more courses in this work. This list of colleges and universities was compiled by Prof. Nelson A. Crawford, secretary of the American Association of Teachers of Journalism and director of journalism of the Kansas State Agricultural College. The questions asked covered a wide range and embraced the number and kind of courses offered; prerequisites; whether or not the school of journalism was operated as a separate administrative unit or in connection with some other branch of the institution; whether or not the actual practice of newsgathering and reporting and editorial writing was taught; and if so what were the methods; were practical newspaper men employed as instructors or lecturers; was the ethics of journalism taught; what percentage of the students had gone into practical journalism; what was the attitude of newspaper editors of that particular territory toward journalistic trained students in the matter of giving them employment; what percentage of journalism students were young men and what percentage young women; what were the number registered for journalism during the past regular session; when were the courses established; how many former students were then employed in practical journalism.

Replies were received from approximately 80 institutions. Not

only all but one of what might be termed the standardized schools of journalism replied to these questions, but in most instances the heads of the schools added interesting comment on the work which is being done under their supervision.

Thus it may be said that practically complete data on the subject of what the schools of journalism are doing in the matter of training young men and women for that profession was obtained. Those schools which did not reply to the questionnaire were all small colleges with only one or two journalism courses and these really not more than English composition. One outstanding fact was brought to light in this survey of the educational field in so far as it relates to teaching journalism, and that is that because of the rapidly growing demand for instruction in newspaper writing a great number of colleges and universities have in recent years established what is termed a journalism course, though this course really has little to do with practical journalism. It seems to have been put in merely to retain or attract students and is of little, if any, real benefit so far as journalism instruction is concerned. In most cases one or two so-called journalism courses are taught by professors of English who have perhaps had no practical newspaper experience, and even in some instances seemingly not in sympathy with newspaper work as it is carried on today by the press of the United States.

In only eight universities of those which made returns to the questionnaire has journalism become so well recognized as to take its position as a separate division. These are Columbia University, University of the State of Washington, University of Wisconsin, University of Missouri, University of Oregon, University of Montana, University of Indiana and Marquette University. In all other cases the teaching of journalism is conducted in connection with other departments and schools of the respective institutions. Most of them are under the administration of the department of English or the department of arts and science, with the department of agriculture and agricultural education, the college of commerce, college of business administration and college of education following in consecutive order.

No uniform admission requirements exist in the different schools. Even those that are giving almost identical journalism



courses differ in prerequisites. Of seventy colleges and universities giving one or more courses, freshman English is among the prerequisites for thirty-seven; English literature for three; two years of college English for ten, advanced composition work for two; ability to use typewriter for one; ability to read French, one; sophomore standing, eight; junior and senior standing and instructor's approval, three; no prerequisites, three. There is a wide difference in the arrangement of the courses of the different larger schools of journalism. This also is true of the curricula themselves.

That journalism can best be taught by practical newspaper men is becoming more and more recognized by educators. This is shown by the fact that such men are rapidly taking the places of English instructors in these schools. The University of Oklahoma lays stress on the fact that it employs as journalism instructors only persons who have had actual newspaper experience. The same may be said of all of the other schools where real journalism is being taught. Besides the actual classroom and laboratory instruction, lectures by working newspaper men are given as part of the regular courses at many of the institutions. This is notably true of the Joseph Medill School of Journalism just established at Northwestern University, Chicago. Schools of journalism that are situated in or adjacent to the larger cities occupy an especially fortunate position in this respect. They are able to draw upon the newspapers almost at will for their lecturers.

There is no longer room for doubt as to the important position which schools of journalism occupy in educational work. As proof of this it may be pointed out that the demand of newspapers for young men and women trained in these schools is greater than the supply. This, of course, applies to those students who obtained their instruction in recognized practical schools of journalism. The University of Kentucky reports that all of its journalism graduates have entered the profession. The same is true of the University of Ohio. The University of Missouri reports 90 per cent; University of Arkansas, 75 per cent, and others ranging from 50 per cent to 70 per cent.

The number of students registered last year in the schools of journalism, colleges and universities ranged from 6 to 375 each.

The largest enrollment for the last regular session was that of Kansas State Agricultural College, 375. Next were: University of Missouri, 365; University of Kentucky, 351; University of Kansas, 318; University of Washington, 269; University of Wisconsin, 237; University of Indiana, 196; University of Iowa, 182 for spring quarter, with a total of between 600 and 700 for the year; De Pauw University, 171; University of Texas, 168; Columbia University, 129. Many others made no report of registration figures.

Practically all colleges have a larger percentage of young men than young women taking journalism. In some of the co-educational institutions, young women predominate, but in all of the larger schools where journalism is taught as a vocation instead of a course in the department of English the men outnumber the women. This was not true, however, during the war period. The average ratio is now about 40 per cent women and 60 per cent men. During the war the demand for women newspaper reporters and workers in other branches of the profession was greatly increased. Many newspapers almost filled their city staffs with women and most of them came from schools of journalism. With the return of young men from the war many of these women employees filtered into other positions, either upon newspapers, magazines or other related work. The interest in journalism on the part of women is very noticeable. Indications are that they will enter in increasing numbers into the newspaper profession. This fact, in connection with the tendency of women to select journalism as a college course of cultural trend accounts for the relative high enrollment of women in these schools.

Splendid service is being rendered by the Woman's National Journalistic Register of Chicago in obtaining employment for women who have received their training for newspaper and magazine work in schools of journalism. The Register is a corporation organized on a non-profit basis. Its manager is Miss Ruby A. Black, who, by the way, is a graduate of the University of Texas and received her journalism education at that institution. She is also instructor in journalism in the University of Wisconsin.

Right here something should be said about the necessity of

some agency being established for obtaining employment for young men who come out of schools of journalism. Not that it is needed just at this time, as I have already explained, as the demand is greater than the supply, but in the future with the establishment of additional schools perhaps there will come the time when such employment agencies could render great service. That has been mentioned in a number of letters which I have received from leading managing editors all over the country.

Education for journalism in connection with colleges and university has the endorsement of newspaper owners and executives with very few exceptions. This recognition has gone to the extent of the endowment of schools of this character at Columbia University by the late Joseph Pulitzer of the New York World and St. Louis Post Dispatch, and more recently by the Chicago Tribune as a department of Northwestern University, to be known as the Joseph Medill School of Journalism, established as a tribute to the memory of Joseph Medill, founder of that newspaper. The School of Journalism at the University of Missouri has been equipped with a modern newspaper building and plant as a gift from Ward A. Neff of Kansas City, Mo., as a memorial to his father, the late Jay H. Neff. By the terms of the will of the late W. J. Murphy, owner of the Minneapolis Tribune, most of his estate is to go to the establishment of a school of journalism in the University of Minnesota at the end of a twenty-year period from his death. This will be in the year 1937. It is expected that the sum which will be available for the purpose will be approximately \$1,000,000.

One of the obstacles in the way of the advancement of journalism teaching in many of the colleges and universities is the lack of financial support on the parts of the legislatures and the administrative officers of these institutions. Practical journalism cannot be successfully taught without adequate facilities for such instruction. These should include if possible a complete and modern daily newspaper plant where laboratory work in the various courses may be given the students. Another thing that has been in the way of making journalism education a part of college courses is the hostile attitude toward such instruction and toward even newspapers themselves by some professors in the cultural and classical departments of these institutions. This

lack of harmony does not work well for the progress of the journalism student. Especially is this true where he is taught on the one hand that modern journalism stands for the highest ideals and ethics and on the other hand by an instructor in another course that the press of the United States is corrupt, that it is owned and controlled by the so-called capitalistic element, that news is distorted, perverted and suppressed, that journalism is a profession which decent, self respecting men can not follow without violating their conscience, and that the press is in other ways an institution of great harm to the welfare of the people. This false idea of the press of the United States is actually taught or at least insinuated by certain required reference reading in some colleges and universities, as well as by lectures and discussions in some courses.

Several causes have contributed to the development of journalism teaching in colleges and universities during the last several years. Since 1875 when Prof. D. R. McAnally, an editorial writer on the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, established a course of journalism in the University of Missouri, the first to be given in any educational institution in the United States, the press has undergone an evolution. In former times reporters on metropolitan newspapers and editors of country press usually came from the composing room. In the days of hand-set printing it was not uncommon for a young man to be graduated from typesetting jobs into that of reporter or local editor, as the case might be. Some of the greatest writers on the New York Tribune and New York Sun during the time of Horace Greeley and Charles A. Dana came from the composing room of those papers. This was more or less true of newspapers all over the country. That also was the period of personal journalism, not only in the editorial columns but in news writing as well.

Even a cursory investigation of the newspapers of twenty to forty years ago will reveal that much irresponsible and loose reporting was indulged in. It was the era of newspaper fakes on the part of reporters and correspondents. Such a thing as ethics in journalism was not given thought or if it ever did come into the mind of the editor or news writer received little consideration. Even the more conservatively inclined newspapers indulged more or less in this orgy of sensationalism. It was along about

this time that the supply of reporters ceased to come from the printing office. This was due chiefly to the general unionizing of the men employed in the mechanical departments and the more or less severing of the former close relation that existed between the composing room and the editorial department.

There began to grow up a demand for college trained men for reporters. For several years some of the larger newspapers drew chiefly upon the high school graduates for their cub reporter supply. It was less than twenty years ago that the theory that practical journalism could be taught in colleges and universities began to be tried out, attention having been attracted to this method by the success which Professor McAnally had attained with the limited facilities at hand in the University of Missouri. In 1910 one course or more of journalism was being taught in each of ten institutions of higher learning in the United States, and during the eleven years since then journalism has been added to the curricula of a great number of colleges and universities throughout the country, and also is being taught to a limited degree in a large number of high schools.

Even the most casual mention of education for journalism in the United States would not be complete without giving due credit to the wonderful work which our worthy President, Dr. Walter Williams, dean of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri, has done along this line. Not only is Dean Williams the father of American schools of journalism, but his advanced and well conceived methods of teaching journalism have spread to distant countries of the world.

In the beginning of journalism teaching the practicability of such training was ridiculed by most of the old time newspaper men. Even the word journalism was a joke to those self-made but none the less efficient workers of the press. To their minds a self-styled journalist was in the same category as a self-styled poet. To anyone who has been much around newspaper offices no further explanation of the old-time attitude of members of the editorial staff toward "journalists" is necessary. Even college graduates had less chance of being employed as cub reporters than boys who came in directly off the street. Gradually, however, there has been brought about a great change in this attitude of the employing class of newspaper executives. Daily newspapers

and country weeklies with very few exceptions now give preference to former students of journalism.

As a means of sounding the views of the daily press on schools of journalism and the training of young men and women for practical newspaper work I recently wrote letters to approximately 100 editors and managing editors of the leading newspapers of the United States, asking especially what kind of education best fits one for journalism.

Taken as a class managing editors of daily newspapers are perhaps best qualified to speak with authority on the subject of educational fitness of reporters. Replies were received to most of these letters. Due to the vacation season, some of the newspaper executives were away and no answer came from them. In many respects it is a remarkable collection of letters. They afford, on the whole, a most interesting group study of journalism so far as standards and demands of editors and managing editors of newspapers are concerned. While there is a wide variety of views held by the managing editors as to educational essentials of reporters there is almost a unanimity of opinion on their part as to the important place which schools of journalism are today filling and the great benefit that may come from this source in the future in the matter of meeting the requirements and helping to improve the standards of the press.

It is plain that so far as managing editors are concerned education for journalism has at least received general favorable recognition. It would seem, however, that there is still much to be done in the way of improving journalism teaching in order to fill to the necessary degree the real requirements of the press. In several instances journalism instructors, especially of the smaller colleges, in voluntary comment in answer to the questionnaire that I sent them, say that a large number of their students take journalism because they find it an interesting course but they do not expect to enter upon newspaper work in any capacity. Other students expect to use it as a stepping stone to some other profession or business. It should not be difficult for the instructor to awaken an intense interest in practical journalism on the part of the student, irrespective of how indifferent the student may be in the beginning of the course. This is particularly true of newsgathering and reporting. If, however, it is found

that the student's interest cannot be aroused in the subject a way is at hand to release him from the pursuit of that branch of study. To my mind students who may be taking journalism with no idea of making it their life vocation should be discouraged from continuing the study. It has been said that instruction in journalism is very useful in all walks of life and will enable those in certain businesses and professions to multiply their usefulness many times. This is doubtless true, but if one is sufficiently interested in journalism to make it useful to him in another business or profession he would be unlikely to forsake newspaper work for something else, except for an advancement into literature. Complaint is made by some managing editors that not infrequently young men and women come to them from schools of journalism seeking positions with too high an expectation of what they should receive in the way of employment. Here is where the instructor can be of great service to the student. It should not be held out to the student that he is a finished product when he leaves the school. He should be impressed with the fact that he can hope for little more consideration than the average cub reporter when he takes his first position and that his salary will be comparatively small in the beginning, and not overly large at any future time. Many young men and women who are splendidly equipped for newspaper work do not enter the profession or vocation because of the low salaries paid. On this subject the head of the School of Journalism of the University of Louisiana writes:

"Until the owners and managers of newspapers lay more stress on clear, concise and accurate reporting of news and are willing to pay adequately for the services of young men and women who are good reporters, we do not expect to see a very large percentage of our students go in for practical newspaper work."

It is significant, too, perhaps, that some of the managing editors express similar views on the subject of better pay for reporters. Doubtless all of them hold this same opinion. Until higher salaries are paid the working newspaper men and the space rates for the free lance and special writers are increased it cannot be hoped that there will be brought into the journalism profession the great number of high class educated men and

women who are so necessary for its future development. Taking newspapers of the United States as a class, their editorial executives and desk-men also are underpaid. Recognition is not accorded by the owners of these properties to the fact that it is upon the news columns, and to a lesser degree perhaps the editorial columns of newspapers, that the circulation, which in turn is the basis for advertising patronage, depends. At least there is no reflection of such recognition in the compensation of those who are employed upon the editorial staffs.

Summed up, it may be suggested that schools of journalism in order to better equip their students for practical newspaper writing should intensify the training to the greatest possible extent, particularly in the newsgathering and reporting course, that laboratory practice along the lines of actual newspaper making should be followed, that the field of newsgathering should, if possible, be extended beyond the campus, that news writing should be of the widest possible scope, both as to subjects and publication. If so situated as to make it possible the student should receive and fill assignments upon daily newspapers other than the college publication. Summer work with college credit upon daily newspapers is not only possible for journalism students, but is being actually done as a regular course by one or more schools of journalism. Students should be encouraged to write news and feature stories for outside newspapers. It often happens that pay derived from this source serves as a great encouragement to the student. Constructive criticism of the work done by his students should be given at all times by the instructor. It is not necessary to dwell upon the fact that practically all schools of journalism are laying great stress on newspaper ethics in the instruction of students. In some instances this is given as a separate course. Accuracy in the collection of news and the writing of same is the principal slogan of these schools.

Adaptation and loyalty are two essential qualities that should be inculcated in the minds of students of journalism. Aptitude in adjusting oneself to the news policies and methods of different newspapers upon which one may be employed, either in a salaried position or as paid contributor is necessary. Newspapers even differ widely in their selection and handling of feature stories and it is here that the advantage of being able to adjust oneself



to varied conditions is helpful. Many newspapers are lacking in loyalty of their reporters and other members of their editorial staffs. No newspaper can be entirely successful that does not enjoy the wholehearted loyalty of its editorial staff. The moment a reporter feels disloyal to the newspaper upon which he is employed he should seek a position elsewhere. He is a broken link in the chain of success of both the newspaper and himself.

Most managing editors and city editors agree on the suggestion that it is easier to train a reporter if taken on the staff at the more impressionable age of seventeen to nineteen years or at the time of finishing high school than if employed at a more advanced age. This being true the question arises whether it would not be well for schools of journalism to lower their prerequisites so as to admit students in certain courses in their freshman year. The only thing perhaps that would stand in the way of this would be the lack of training in English on the part of the student. By taking English along with his first and second year in journalism the student, however, would perhaps be able to make satisfactory progress in journalism; more so, I believe, than is the case with the student who does not begin journalism until his junior year.

One of the greatest needs of newspaper men as a class is a wider knowledge of affairs at home and abroad. As a foundation for journalistic work a classical education is of much value. It is taken for granted that the journalist should know English well. It is pointed out by some managing editors that mathematics is a great balancer. Other managing editors suggest that a knowledge of Greek and Roman mythology, medieval history, economics and foreign trade should by all means be a part of the college study of a student of journalism. In these times a knowledge of world geography and politics is absolutely necessary. Information obtained through study of or personal contact with the resources, commerce and industries of his state, country and the world should be eternally sought both in and out of college by the newspaper man who hopes to obtain advancement and find real pleasure in his work.

Now just a word about those letters I have received from managing editors: An analysis of the letters from newspaper executives who have to do with the work of reporters shows that

they are, with very few exceptions, in hearty accord with the purposes and results that are sought to be accomplished by schools of journalism. It is perhaps significant that of the fifty or more editors and managing editors who replied to my questionnaire only three or four expressed opinions that might be interpreted as opposed to training men and women for journalism outside of newspaper offices. It is interesting to note in this connection that the newspapers upon which these three or four executives are employed are situated remote from standardized schools of journalism. Running through almost all of the replies is the sentiment that the work which the schools of journalism are doing is of a nature that will bring great benefit to the newspapers of the country in the way of improving their standards. Many valuable suggestions are contained in these letters from the leading newspaper men of the country. They are suggestions that are too numerous and lengthy to be embraced in the main body of this paper, but the letters are well worth while being preserved and studied by all persons who may be interested in meeting and solving the problems of journalism training.

The following are the letters referred to:

H. F. Higgins, Managing Editor Tacoma Daily Ledger, Tacoma, Washington—"A day's work is the best recommendation.' Such was the expression of a managing editor when he was asked for a position on his reportorial staff and such seems to be the general attitude of newspaper editorial executives toward journalistic education.

"Results, of course, are what are sought in newspaper work as well as every other line of human endeavor. The editorial executive in whose hands is the hiring of his reporters and sub-editors primarily is not concerned with whether the applicant is a college graduate or not. Results are what he is after.

"However, a newspaper which has to keep changing its reporters in the search for a man or woman who can 'furnish the goods' is losing valuable time and opportunities for stories.

"We have found that a graduate of a school of journalism is not a 'finished' newspaper man, but ordinarily such a graduate is one hundred per cent. better than the average applicant for a cub's position. The graduate knows the rudiments of writing a news story, and, perhaps of more importance, knows news when he sees it.

"We have four or five graduates of schools of journalism on the staff of the Ledger, and one who attended but did not graduate. Two of these are in responsible executive positions, namely, city editor and telegraph editor. The other three are reporters, and to prove that being a graduate of a school of journalism is not an infallible recommendation of efficiency



DELEGATES TO THE PRESS CONGRESS OF THE WORLD AT THE CLIFF HOUSE, SAN FRANCISCO, ON THE EVE OF SAILING FROM THE MAINLAND TO HONOLULU.

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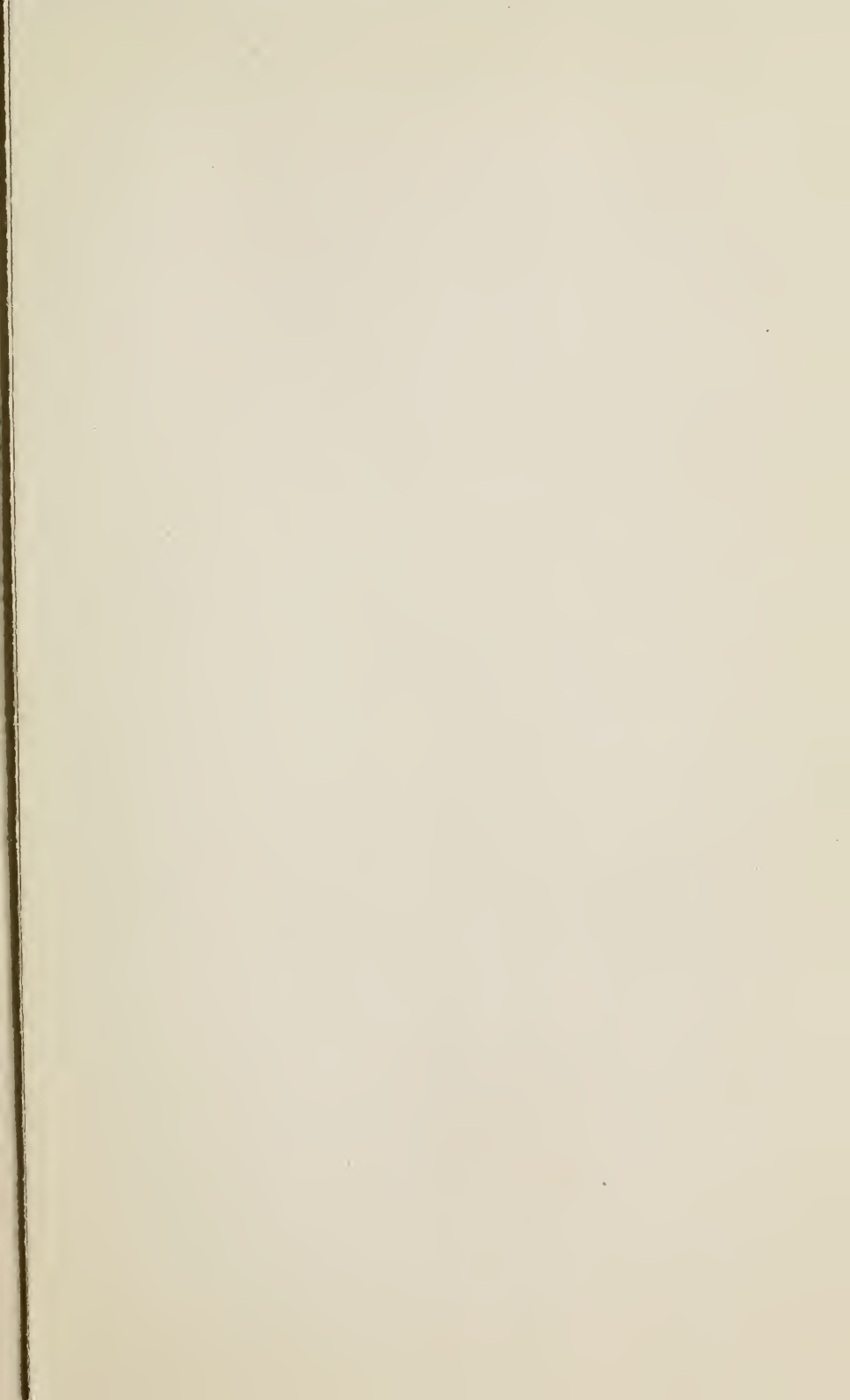
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the reporter who did not graduate is a better man than the other even though he had never seen the inside of a school of journalism.

"Schools of journalism assuredly are needed. They will not make newspaper men if the urge is not in the individual, but if there is any talent, they will bring it out and intensify it and on the other hand, discourage those lacking in talent, which is in itself no small argument in their favor.

"If an applicant for a position on the Ledger can prove that he 'has the goods' he is hired regardless of his journalistic school training. We have found, however, that the school-trained man has the 'jump' on the man without such training. The man who has a general college training is likewise usually better in the long run than one who can offer only high school or grammar school training. But this conclusion is not hard and fast, and we vary from it occasionally."

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C. P. J. Mooney, editor Commercial Appeal, Memphis, Tennessee—"Briefly, I do not care much for schools of journalism when they hold out too many inducements. I think a department of journalism in a university is all right, but this department should be one of history, economics and a study of government.

"My idea is that a newspaper man has a tremendous advantage if first he has had a classical education. By classical I mean a thorough drilling in Latin and Greek, classic mythology, Roman and Greek histories. Along with this should go a close study of English, some mathematics. Mathematics is a great balancer. In a university a young man should specialize in history, economics and a lot of general reading. It is a good thing for every newspaper man to be a specialist in one particular branch of education. It might be art, political economy or again it might be a close study of business, but every boy engaged in newspaper work should know the history of the United States."

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W. C. Jarnagin, managing editor Des Moines Capital, Des Moines, Iowa—"The future of the School of Journalism so far as training newspaper writers is concerned is more or less in doubt unless some means is provided of placing the graduates on newspaper staffs.

"The Des Moines Capital, of which I have been managing editor for some fifteen years, has employed a great many reporters and editorial writers, but so far as I know, only three of them ever attended a school of journalism, and only one ever graduated from a journalistic course.

"I might state that this graduate proved to be a very efficient newspaper woman, and held down a run of considerable importance during the war. Like most other feminine newspaper workers, she married shortly after she had joined our staff and went into another and perhaps more interesting field.

"I have observed in my own family that a journalistic education is of tremendous advantage to a young man or woman who expects to embark in the profession.

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"My son has just completed a course in journalism at West High school in Des Moines, and I know it has been of tremendous practical advantage to him.

"It seems to me that even though the journalistic student has no definite opening in prospect, the course of training he or she receives will still be of immense benefit. Certainly one cannot acquire too much English and history in going through college.

"If a graduate is unable to secure a position on a newspaper staff the short story field is never crowded, and I am certain that the education acquired would be of great assistance along this line.

"I believe the school of journalism has a place to fill, and I am inclined to think that it will develop a better grade of newsgatherers and writers in the future."

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John L. Travis, managing editor *The Seattle Times*, Seattle, Washington—"We have had some experience with graduates of the School of Journalism of the University of Washington. Some of these graduates have done very good work after learning something of the newspaper business under the direction of our city editor.

"As far as I can see, the school of journalism is a course in English composition and it depends on the instructors whether the student receives any practical benefit.

"It is not given to every newspaper man to be able to convey the information he possesses to the members of his staff. When an institution succeeds in getting a real newspaper man who is also a real teacher, they have a combination that they want to hang on to."

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Walter M. Oestreicher, managing editor *Brooklyn Daily Times*, Brooklyn, New York—"So far as I can judge from practical experience, I do not believe that schools of journalism have heightened the standard of our young workers in the field. Too often, they bring settled opinions, based upon mere theories, to their practical newspaper work, and it is exceedingly difficult to direct their minds into the right channels. This does not mean that I deprecate such an education, but I do think that, wherever and whenever it is given, it should be imparted with the reservation that it is merely tentative and subject to many changes.

"So far as a college education goes, it is, of course, of great help to young journalists who aspire to the higher positions, and yet the fact remains that the very best young men with whom I have had to deal came fresh from the high schools.

"Some of the reasons why there seems to be a lack of quality among the young newspaper workers of today are: the low standard set by the city editors; the levelling influences of press associations; the unwillingness of minor executives to rid themselves of merely fair workers to make room for good ones; and lack of financial encouragement. The best young minds needed in the newspaper business are being attracted by other and more remunerative lines of endeavor.



"The first duty of a newspaper manager, therefore, is to employ high class, highly educated and very fastidious executives. They will make the right selection from the obtainable material irrespective of the individual's accidental education, and with a clear eye toward his innate ability."

Randolph Marshall, managing editor Public Ledger, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania—"The essential qualifications for a reporter are: First, the ability to get facts and understand them. Second, the ability to write with such clarity and to invest the report with such interest as to get circulation for his product. The newspaper that is habitually inaccurate may flourish for a time, and a newspaper that is dull may struggle along, but a newspaper that is at once dull and inaccurate is stillborn every day.

"Regarding the getting and assimilation of news. No human being is the possessor of all human knowledge, but the 'general reporter' is called upon to write of every phase of human activity. Consequently, he must depend largely upon specialists for his data. The clearer the reporter's understanding of the information supplied to him by the specialist, the more likelihood of a trustworthy and informative article. The problem is, how to have reporters equipped so that they will be intelligent receivers of specialized information and at the same time be in a better mental position to appraise imposters who pretend to knowledge that they do not have.

"It is true that a reporter may become a specialist in one or two subjects, but a man on general work ordinarily cannot confine his work to matters on which he may be an authority.

"Consequently it is necessary for a good reporter to have a vast amount of general information on a variety of subjects. His own specializations may be disregarded in the phase of his work that we now are considering. They are determined by his inclinations, opportunity and aptitude after he has had experience in actual newspaper work.

"The first necessity in the educational preparation is a background of English and American history and literature, with a reasonable knowledge of ancient history and the Greek and Roman mythologies. That should be, but is not, the common possession of every boy who has gone through the sophomore year. Consequently, in any student course preparatory to newspaper work those branches should be emphasized.

"Every American newspaper man should know the history of the Constitution and its text by heart.

"Schools of journalism have a field of usefulness. But I believe they do not take the most practical advantage of the two or three years during which they can claim the student. They should minimize the instruction in the technical part of newspaper work, and devote the time to the intensive study of a great variety of subjects—civil government, finance, physics, the drama, painting, music, medicine, church and military organization, sociology, etc. I am naming those subjects hastily, as merely indicative of my thought.

"The immediate objection arises that such a course of study necessarily would be superficial. That is exactly the case. But I am proposing to meet

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a newspaper condition in which I see no prospect of change. Flocks of specialists cannot be maintained in the offices to treat specially of every subject that arises. And in fact, that arrangement hardly would be satisfactory. Few are the specialists who write from the popular viewpoint. A successful reporter must have a quick intelligence. Equipped with a broad, even though superficial, understanding, he will not interrupt Edison to ask the difference between an ohm and an ampere or an artist to get the definition of genre. He can guard at all times against the pitfalls dug through entire ignorance. A little knowledge is a dangerous thing only when its possessor proceeds on the belief that he has a great deal. Further, a man who has some knowledge of a subject, if of the type we are considering, is inclined to extend it through reading the technical journals.

"The form of newspaper composition is a proper but minor consideration for schools of journalism. For the rest of the technical part of the work the best school for the quickest results is the newspaper office.

"Regarding the ability to write. There are newspaper workers who transcribe their notes and are conscientious and particular in the choice of words and produce nothing—not even that Truth on which they are given to vaunting themselves. They describe an event as impressive, and expect the reader to take their word that such it is.

"And there are those who having seen or heard, or having had described to them, an event or a mental process can reconstruct it as a moving picture on the silver sheet of their minds and with simple words provide a medium by which the reader can see it also. Oh, yes; a mental process can be visualized. And the men who can do that have the makings of reporters.

"But good writing calls for technical skill. Instructors can list objectionable usage of words and in many ways can help the student in the art of writing. But I call to mind Stevenson's story of how he gained proficiency through the laborious days of transcribing the masters literally. It seems like a dull task, and perhaps it is, but I can offer testimony that I have seen it efficacious. In several cases I have tried the experiment. My homely tools were "Pickwick Papers" and any good poem. The aspirant was called on to read and then to mentally reconstruct a moving picture of what he had read. Then he copied literally—capitalization, punctuation, quotation marks, and all—the text of the selection. The poems were read aloud. First, for enlargement of vocabulary; second, for the automatic correction of pronunciation, and third for the refinement of manner of speech. The results were beyond my expectation. How that method would operate in a school of journalism I do not know. The facts are given for what they are worth."

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T. J. Dillon, managing editor Minneapolis Tribune, Minneapolis, Minnesota—"It is a fact that educational standards in the rank and file of the newspaper business in the United States are not high. The whole tendency has been, and to a very great extent now is, toward an effort to get facts in the shortest time possible at the expense of clear writing and the development of general knowledge. We develop excellent amateur detectives

and specialists on city hall, courts and business news, who devote all their working time and their spare time to these specialties. As a consequence they have a very limited background of information when called upon to handle matter off of their run.

"Any system or plan which would have a tendency to provide the newspaper profession with better educated men must have the hearty approval of every publisher and editor. Schools of journalism will, in the course of time, raise the standard to an encouraging degree. As far as their technical training is concerned, I consider it valuable chiefly as an inducement for the young man ambitious to become a newspaper man to secure a general education. The technique of the business can be taught just as effectively in the newspaper office, but no newspaper office has the time to give its employes a general education."

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J. L. Dobell, managing editor *The Butte Miner*, Butte, Montana—"In reply to your favor asking for an expression of opinion upon journalistic education in the United States, particularly as conducted by schools of journalism, will say that my experience with the graduates of such institutions has been exceptionally satisfactory.

"I have had a number of young men and one young woman who received their training at the School of Journalism connected with the University of Montana, and, without exception, have found all of these graduates well grounded in the business and thoroughly capable, so much so that now when I need any reporters, I invariably apply to the Montana school to find out if they can send me any of their young men. The advantage of getting these school journalists is that they appear to have a very high moral sense of duty that has not been weakened by previous practical newspaper experience. What I mean by this is that many of the news writers that come to one from other papers I have found have not the same high moral standards that these graduates from this State's School of Journalism possess. It is only fair to say in this connection that Dean A. L. Stone of the Montana school is a man of the very highest character and a thoroughly practical newspaper man. The result is that he is turning out finely equipped young men and women.

"It is my opinion, judging from this Montana school, that these institutions are doing good work, and should be encouraged. Of course, to make a person an all-round newspaper man I think that he should travel and have knowledge of other countries, but this is impossible for many individuals, and the next best thing, it appears to me, is for a newspaper man to have been graduated from one of these schools of journalism."

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R. W. Haywood, editor *News and Observer*, Raleigh, North Carolina—"I think that practical experience is the best kind of education for news gathering and reporting and in so far as schools of journalism furnish this experience, I feel that they are very helpful. Experience is the big thing.

"With a fair education, a willingness to work, a fondness for the newspaper career, together with practical experience, a man is equipped to hold a position on any newspaper."

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Walter M. Harrison, managing editor Daily Oklahoman and Oklahoma City Times, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma—"I think there is a distinct need for schools of journalism. I have had so much experience in the last three or four years with young men and young women engaged in a journalism course in one of the accredited schools that I can safely say a large majority of the graduates of such schools go into the newspaper business with a good basic understanding of the principles and tactics of newspaper work.

"It is my judgment that the development of the courses in journalism in the colleges of the country has had a great deal to do with bringing newspaper work up the ladder of professional activities to where it stands today, and in my judgment will have a material bearing in the further development of the fraternity to a point where it will be considered on a plane with any of the classic professions.

"As far as the college course is concerned, I think two years in a liberal arts school is the best course of study for one planning to major in journalism. After two years in liberal arts the time should be devoted to the most practical course in journalism, in my judgment, will make it a largely to detailed instruction in newspaper work with a portion of the student's time devoted to the active work of a college newspaper office. requirement that the students before getting a degree shall spend two summer periods at work in a newspaper office. I mean by summer period, the vacation time between the dates of the opening and closing of the regular school year."

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Roy Garner, managing editor Mobile Register, Mobile, Alabama—"It has been my observation that the energetic young man with ambition backed by fair knowledge of English, placed under older men with patience to teach them, develop into the best newspaper workers. Our office in the last six years has developed many such men. From reports I have received the first man has to fail. They usually step into responsible positions in comparatively short time. A reporter must have a "nose for news" as well as the desk man. Without the "nose for news," I don't care how well he may be qualified in other respects, your man is not going to develop very fast if at all.

"I have had several graduates from schools of journalism during my six years experience as a managing editor. As a rule they have been disappointments. I will say, however, that these men were not from the larger schools of the country. I found them afflicted with egotism and disinclined to take advice. Every publication has its peculiarities in style and few newspapers handle press reports the same way with respect to display. Men who cannot learn these peculiarities are not worth much to the paper. To illustrate my point will say that as far as I know I am satisfactory to the publisher of the Register. Suppose I was with you and got out your newspaper like I do The Register in news display and say that you preferred a more sensational newspaper than we have here. If I couldn't get your viewpoint naturally I would disappoint you and

you would be entirely right in supplanting me. I have had several men who seemed to resent being told to handle the news as we wanted it handled and not as the person in particular believed it should be displayed.

"I would not condemn schools of journalism. As I see them they merely lay the foundation. Their pupils should be able to pick up the fine points of journalism quicker than the novice because of their preliminary training. But if you should ask me if I believed graduates of such schools are qualified to step into a newspaper office and handle responsible positions from the beginning, I would say they are not. If such persons have been so perfectly trained by a school it has not been my pleasure to meet them.

"Give me a man with common sense, one who loves the work, is studious and ambitious, fairly well educated in English and I can train him to become a fairly good newspaper man. Three weeks ago I wanted a telegraph editor. The man on the local news desk was doing all right there and did not care to tackle the telegraph desk. I brought two or three men here from larger newspapers and they didn't suit me. One evening I noticed a young man who formerly telegraphed for The Associated Press. He was not familiar with the editorial room game. I believed he would learn quickly. Despite the fact that I was shorthanded I induced him to try the telegraph desk. It was a daring step on my part and I believe few managing editors would have done as I did. But that boy is doing his work better than several older men tried at the desk. He quickly absorbed my ideas and now is handling the desk practically without assistance. In six months I believe he will be just as efficient as the graduate of a school.

"So in closing I again emphasize the point that success is up to the man or woman."

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C. H. Dennis, managing editor Chicago Daily News, Chicago, Illinois—"I wish that I were better informed as to the practical results of courses in schools of journalism. In the abstract I am very favorably inclined to well managed schools of this sort and I have visited one or two of them that seem to be admirably equipped for the preliminary training of young men and young women who desire to enter journalism. Unfortunately, in my long experience with newspaper work, I have never seen in practice the benefits that I believe are derived from these well considered courses of study. Having seen so many successful newspaper men come up from the ranks despite their lack of special education, I am more and more convinced that a special aptitude for newspaper work is almost indispensable to success. Given this special aptitude, I have no doubt that a well conducted school of journalism is of material help to the young man or the young woman seeking to enter journalism. Nothing, however, can take the place of hard, intelligent work after the beginner has actually begun to make his living on the staff of a newspaper."

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C. A. Rook, editor Pittsburg Dispatch, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania—"My

experience with young men graduated from schools of journalism is that a great majority of them seem to think that having been graduated from the school they are full fledged newspaper men and rather object to being told that there is a practical end of the profession which they must learn from experience in a newspaper office. I believe, of course, in schools of journalism, but I would certainly advise instructors to teach their boys that they are far from knowing it all when they leave the school.

"Our experience has been that the boy who grows up in a newspaper office makes a better reporter than the boy who comes in thinking he knows it all. We have trained many boys from office boy to star reporter, so that in my opinion the boy who works up develops into a better newspaper man than many of the boys, not all, who come out of schools of journalism. Do not understand me as objecting or knocking schools of journalism, but I would like to see instructors in schools of journalism show horse sense."

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Milo M. Thompson, editor Idaho Statesman, Boise, Idaho—"The kind of education which fits one for newspaper writing is that which trains best in language, in 'presence' and in development of the 'news sense.'

"Training in 'presence,' by which I mean ability to conduct oneself properly, to meet people, making a good impression, and to talk with them intelligently, might come from business experience of the traveling salesman sort or something of that kind as well as from actual newspaper experience. Training in language, including grammar, rhetoric, spelling and vocabulary should come from schools. I think the 'news sense' is in part an accident of environment in up-bringing and in part a result of hard work in the newspaper profession."

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Joseph Garretson, managing editor Cincinnati Times-Star, Cincinnati, Ohio—"In my personal experience, covering a period of thirty-five years in active newspaper work, I am convinced that a college education is a necessary basis for a successful journalistic career. There is no possible question but that schools of journalism provide an excellent groundwork for a newspaper career."

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Victor B. Smith, managing editor Omaha Daily Bee, Omaha, Nebraska—"I believe that the best training a man can have for newspaper work, in so far as education is concerned, is a general academic course in both high school and college. Certain instruction in broad fundamentals of newspaper work may be gained in school, particularly mass psychology and ethics of newspaper conduct. I believe that training in the more technical details—such as head writing, copy reading and actual construction of stories—can be learned better in actual practice than in school. At any rate, I think it more important that the time in school be spent in more fundamental education, in history, economics, political science, literature and rhetoric. The thing which puts a newspaper man ahead of his fellows to-

day is training in these fundamentals which enables him to judge news values and interpret news.

"The mere handling of news is a trade; it can be learned, as other trades are, by practical training. The bigger problems of ethics, broad news values and editorial policy depend on the more fundamental matters mentioned above."

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H. R. Galt, managing editor St. Paul Dispatch, St. Paul Pioneer Press, St. Paul, Minnesota—"I believe very strongly in the schools of journalism conducted along practical lines and have seen the good results in many individual cases. As to the general question of the sort of education necessary for a newspaper man, that is too large a subject for me to tackle on the eve of my departure from the city, much as I would like to do so."

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Frank J. Ryan, The Newspaper Enterprise Association, Cleveland, Ohio—"Speaking from a long experience as city editor and managing editor, I want to say first in regard to the education and training of persons for the journalistic profession:

"I thoroughly believe in a good basic education in colleges of journalism or colleges devoted to the fine arts. I think every newspaper man and every newspaper woman should have equipment of thorough schooling in mathematics, basic sciences, history, literature and economics. I think a general training in language study is an excellent asset. I further think every newspaper man and every newspaper woman should know something of the theory of psychology and sociology.

"I know of no better way in which the theoretical foundation for successful journalistic career can be obtained than in a real college of journalism. I, myself, am not a college man. I realize, therefore, all the more the benefits that are to be gained from a college training.

"It has been my observation that college trained men of approximately the same inherent and natural ability, working along side of men who did not have the benefit of a college education, have excelled the latter.

"The big thing about a college education is that it enables a man to have a broader understanding of affairs generally, and to express himself more intelligently and effectually. While this same facility of expression can be acquired by actual work, I think the theory of it is just as important a part of the equipment of a newspaper man or newspaper woman as the theory of medicine is to a physician or the theory of surgery is to a surgeon.

"I do not mean that one cannot succeed in this business without college training. I know some men who have made most outstanding successes without such preparation. However, there is no telling how much farther they would have gone if they had had the benefit of a college foundation.

"I think that schools of journalism would do much more effective work if they arranged extension courses so that in vacations and periods the students would have an opportunity to get actual experience on newspapers.

Also, I think that a portion of the college course should be given to actual experience on newspapers for which the students would be given due credit by the college. This is especially important early in the college course, as without such an opportunity many men and women go ahead preparing themselves for journalism when naturally and fundamentally they are totally unfitted for this line of work. Of course, the sooner they find this out the better it is for themselves."

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R. E. Stout, managing editor Kansas City Star, Kansas City, Missouri—

"I am positive the schools of journalism have justified their existence. It is not what they have done for the so-called metropolitan papers on which I base this belief but on what they have done for the county seat weekly and the small town daily. In Kansas and Missouri they have exercised marked influence on newspapers of this type. The boys who have studied at the school of journalism have absorbed the right ideas of ethics, of a better typography and have an understanding of the better ideals of journalism. To me there is abundant evidence of a very distinct improvement in the so-called country press as a result of the teachings of the schools of journalism."

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H. M. Crist, managing editor Brooklyn Daily Eagle, Brooklyn, New York—"A general college education will give the equipment needed in order to become a good newspaper reporter, provided one has aptitude for this kind of work. Colleges, however, cannot give news sense to a reporter. That must be born in one and this quality is quite as important as a college education if the reporter is to rise above mediocrity. Schools of journalism are helpful in supplying a certain technique, but I think this is best learned by actual work in a newspaper office. My observation is that the colleges furnish as good reporters as do the schools of journalism."

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Dick Smith, managing editor Kansas City Post, Kansas City, Missouri—"In regard to your request for an opinion concerning schools of journalism, I will say that I consider them particularly of value in giving the reporter the technical training he needs. Of course, a school of journalism, no more than a newspaper office, cannot make a reporter out of a person in whom the bed rock material is lacking.

"City editors and experienced reporters in offices would be saved a great deal of trouble and annoyance if all the beginners who came to them had been trained in schools of journalism. The school takes off the shoulders of the newspaper office executive the first six months' or year's training of beginners.

"However, perhaps, the main value of the school of journalism to the reporter is that he gets with his technical training, education in other subjects. For instance, I understand that a study of economics is required. With the activities of the world today hinging almost completely on economic questions, no reporter can function intelligently without some knowledge of this subject.



"Developments in science are becoming of increasing importance in the news of the day. I take it for granted, the journalism student is required to make a general study of science. History, sociology, languages, various other branches of learning that he gets with his journalism will prove useful to him.

"Of course the schools of journalism are presenting a problem by flooding the market with large numbers of graduates, many of whom do not have sufficiently practical ideas of newspaper work. If the schools could weed out more of the unfit before the latter get their degrees, the standing of the institutions would be greatly raised in newspaper offices. Often persons who have no fitness whatever for newspaper work spend much time in preparation at the schools only to suffer disillusionment later in offices.

"After all, though, the whole problem harks back to the individual. The best reporters are those who are educated, whether by college or by self does not matter materially."

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Charles H. Sessions, managing editor Topeka Daily Capital, Topeka, Kansas—"In selecting reporters for The Capital we now give preference to those who have been trained at the schools of journalism. Of course many of these young men do not know as much about the newspaper business as they think they do, but at that they know more than the average cub picked up on the street. While I am not a college man myself, I feel that a college education is a fine thing for any young man desiring to do newspaper work.

"Not all students of journalism of course, pan out as good reporters but a higher per cent. of them turn out better than the average run of cubs, who have had no training in college schools of journalism."

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Otis Lorton, managing editor Tulsa Daily World, Tulsa, Oklahoma—"I am one of those who are prejudiced against schools of journalism. This may be because of those graduates I have come in contact with. However, I am a strong believer in the school of practical experience for the making of valuable newspaper men and women. Outside of giving the student a better drilling in English, possibly, I have never seen any particular value in schools of journalism. Most of the graduates I have known are full of theories which are not practical, and they have been sadly lacking in news sense and the knowledge of how to write a story."

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Charles McD. Puckette, managing editor New York Evening Post, New York—"Judging by the work of the graduates of schools of journalism who have come under my eye in this office there is no definite opinion to be given. Some have been extraordinarily good, others have been hopeless as newspaper men. It all came back to the personal equation. The results of their journalistic education were fairly discernible in the good ones; undoubtedly their training had fitted them for moderately rapid advancement in newspaper work.

"As I understand it the best schools of journalism now require an academic degree as a requisite for entrance. Where this is the case schools of journalism must undertake to give their graduates better training and to place them in a more advantageous position in the newspaper field than these same students could obtain by spending the terms of years equivalent to that journalistic course in practical paid newspaper work. I think it is quite important for a newspaper man to have a college education but if in hiring a college man I had the choice of a graduate who had had four years actual newspaper work as against a man who had spent four years in the school of journalism I should probably choose without hesitation the man who had had the practical work.

"It has been my observation that several schools of journalism have permitted students to remain throughout the course and to be graduated who were obviously unfitted ever to be newspaper workers. I think every school of journalism could 'pluck' its classes at the end of the first year, say, and weed out the hopeless ones by some test of fitness. This would be a good thing for the schools themselves. I think it may come, too, that schools of journalism will develop more in the direction of giving their students some practical knowledge of newspaper working plus a thoroughly intensified course in some special field such as foreign affairs, government, agriculture, etc. I think too that there is a real opportunity for schools of journalism to offer courses on the business side of newspapers. There is no training school that I know of for circulation, production, advertising and promotion managers."

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John T. Burke, managing editor Richmond Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Virginia—"The first essential is a nose for news, backed by a sound education, embracing a comprehensive course in standard English literature. A college education is no load to carry in a newspaper office, but to become a success the neophyte must love the profession and look upon it as his life work, not as a stepping-stone to more profitable things."

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F. W. Eldridge, managing editor Los Angeles Examiner, Los Angeles, California—"I am afraid I will have to answer your courteous inquiry in a rather sketchy fashion. If I am at all helpful I should be indeed pleased.

"To start with—I am very enthusiastic on the subject of schools of journalism. Many practical newspaper men think otherwise. They will tell you that the best possible training to make an efficient reporter, or editor, must come from a slow working up through professional ranks; indeed many newspaper men think a proper newspaper training cannot be obtained in any other way; nevertheless the school of journalism is enormously important in directing the attention of young men to the newspaper field; in arousing the journalistic spirit and in giving them a most excellent preparatory training—both intellectual and technical. Even a first-class newspaper man could gather new ideas and new impulses in the well-managed schools of journalism. While a highly proficient newspaper man may come up through the ranks—indeed many have graduated from

printers' devils and office boys—nevertheless these gentlemen must necessarily feel the lack of certain educational qualities which they have possibly not found time to acquire—the sort of education the student in a school of journalism must inevitably absorb.

“The best way to educate a young man for newspaper writing is to interest him in the affairs of the world at large. He must be a close student of current affairs and affairs of humanity. It is impossible to over-educate a newspaper editor. If he can, he should know something of everything and certainly keep himself well abreast of the tides in the affairs of men that create history.

“My own personal opinion of newspaper training would start from the cub reporter and continue thereon; that is to say: a first-class newspaper man should know every possible angle of this very complicated profession. Then he should read and read and read; and if he had the spirit and genuine impulse, he will gradually train himself not only in the technique of the profession, but will at the same time acquire a liberal education.”

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F. W. Clarke, managing editor *Atlanta Constitution*, Atlanta, Georgia—“It has been my experience that the best training of this kind is to be secured inside a newspaper office. Schools of journalism may be theoretically good, but it has been our experience that they do very little in enabling an embryo newspaper man to advance in his chosen profession.

“It is my firm belief that a newspaper man is born, not made, and if he has the spark in him he can best develop it by actual experience in a newspaper office, while if he hasn't it, all the education and all the experience will never make a star newspaper man out of him.

“The best journalistic education for any young man is for him to enter a newspaper office where the editors will have enough interest to watch his work and coach him along. For instance, any young man who comes to *The Constitution* office is not only carefully instructed as to his duties, but his work is also watched for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not his bent is toward feature and descriptive work or straight news items. Or it might be that his special ability was as a desk man, and the editor with the proper interest would so guide his efforts. Some of the greatest editors who have been known in the history of American newspapers have been very poor writers, while on the other hand some of the greatest feature writers would never have qualified as editors.

“It is my conviction that only by actual experience in a newspaper office can these qualifications in a young man be demonstrated, and it is for this reason that I believe the best journalistic education for a young man is to be found in a newspaper office, and not in a journalism course. Journalism courses teach certain rudiments of course, but these same rudiments could be learned in one-tenth the time in the actual work of a newspaper office.”

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Barry Bullock, managing editor *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky—“In reply to your letter I am very glad to give you my somewhat limited experience with men from schools of journalism. For the most

part the graduates of such institutions have come to us after they have served their novitiate on some other newspaper. Their callowness was therefore somewhat modified by practical journalism. These men have been average reporters. But this is nothing against schools of journalism because a reporter is born, not made. It requires a special aptitude, and if he hasn't this he will never be a reporter. For general information, too, the graduates of these schools are no better fitted than the graduate of some school of arts.

"Please do not think I am prejudiced against schools of journalism. The curricula of such institutions that I have examined have seemed inadequate. But the requirements of a newspaper are so great that the most liberal education is required. History is not emphasized in some of these schools and neither are sociology and political economy. These subjects of course are of paramount importance. I am sorry that my experience has not been more varied in this particular but I am sending these conclusions for whatever they may be worth."

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William Allen White, editor Emporia Gazette, Emporia, Kansas—"You ask me in your letter of Aug. 16 for my opinion of schools of journalism. I suppose that so long as country printing offices are practically shut to the young man by the restriction of union apprenticeship, the practical end of the printing end of the printing business can no longer be learned by many aspiring journalists. I should say that the way to get into the newspaper business is first through a college course, then through two years course in the front room of a printing office, then doing leg work on country papers. But as the country printing office is closed I suppose the school of journalism is the best modern substitute."

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W. W. Waymack, managing editor Des Moines Register and the Evening Tribune, Des Moines, Iowa—"My opinion is that schools of journalism while doubtless more or less theoretical and ineffective in their beginning have greatly improved, and that some of them are of very great value now in training people to be real newspaper workers. I think there is no question in the world but that the newspapers of the United States need the journalistic schools—the good ones, that is to say. Our newspapers have got along altogether too many years with a preponderance of uninformed, incompetent editorial help. The disposition in some quarters always to think and speak contemptuously of cub reporters has been too much justified, not only by cubs but by others. Authoritative reporting by men who know how is very badly needed in this country, in the interest of newspapering itself quite as much as in the interest of the public. The better the schools get and the more that newspapers take advantage of the work the schools do, the more progress will be made along this line. Real education of prospective newspaper writers on social and economic subjects is perhaps the most important thing of all right now."

Tom Finny, Jr., associate editor Dallas Morning News and editor Dallas Journal, Dallas, Texas—"In regard to training for newspaper work. It is my idea that the best material out of which to make a newspaper man is a man of fair education, who has been an intelligent reader, and who has engaged in various pursuits, but publishers rarely are willing to pay such men enough to attract them into the business. The cub idea still obtains, although the facilities for training cubs in newspaper offices no longer are present as they were in former years. Handling the news while it is in progress and putting out many editions a day, editors no longer have time to brace up the stories of amateurs nor to train and counsel beginners as in days of yore. Schools of journalism are natural development. They do good where they do not lead the pupils to expect too much, and especially where the teachers are frank enough to tell a pupil that he isn't meant for the business.

"You ask: 'What kind of education best fits one for newspaper writing, particularly for newsgathering and reporting, and how this education can be best obtained?' The three R's are essential. These comprehend spelling. It is true that printers correct copy, but a good knowledge of spelling nevertheless is necessary. A poor speller is not accurate in anything, and inaccuracy is an abomination. A good knowledge of mathematics also is necessary in the newspaper business, because it is often necessary for a reporter or editor to handle figures, and because the mathematical mind is an analytical mind. English, of course, is indispensable. In this connection a study of the Bible is recommended, not alone because of the purity of its English, but also because of the morals and justice that it teaches. A good knowledge of history is desirable, and training in industry—love for work—is essential. Lazy men do not belong in newspaper offices. Then, I agree with Mr. Edison, that there ought to be training in memory. It is absolutely essential in newspaper work that one should have thousands of facts instantly available and that he should know where to look for other facts. There really is no excuse for errors in newspapers. The newspaper worker ought to remember most of what he has learned in school, and he ought to be able to retain most of the facts of later acquisition, the names of persons and places, incidents, etc. At least a fair knowledge of law is very desirable, not only because newspaper workers have to deal with law, but also because of its disciplinary value. And especially ought there to be some training in libel and the law upon the subject. Every student in journalism ought to attend lectures thereon. I give a few sentences that I think ought to be stressed in such lectures.

"There ought to be a libel law. Newspaper men ought to go to great pains to keep libelous matter out of the papers, not only because libel suits are costly, but also and more so because it is morally wrong to ignore the law and to mete out injustice. Sometimes the judgments in libel suits are unless there was something wrong with, some inaccuracy in, the article unless there was something wrong with, some inaccuracy in, the article upon which it was founded. A passion for accuracy in all things and a

burning desire to be just and decent are almost impregnable defenses against libel suits.’”

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Casper S. Yost, who for more than thirty years has been connected with the editorial department of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, wrote from Paris: “I have no leisure to comply with your request, more than to hazard the opinion that a general education is the best foundation for journalism, and the generaler the better. But of course any collegiate education is only a foundation. The schools of journalism are valuable as preparatory institutions but they don’t make newspaper men. Only experience will do that.”

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J. M. Noth, Jr., managing editor Fort Worth Star-Telegram, Fort Worth, Texas—“I have always rather felt that the best school of journalism is that of practical experience, but at the same time I do think there is a wonderful amount of work that such schools can do in preparing students for newspaper work that will better fit them and enable them to progress more rapidly when they take up practical work. I should think a course in literature, particularly one that would bring out the styles in writing, a thorough course in history and economics and a study of government would make good foundation work. One of the greatest handicaps I have noticed in young reporters, and a lot of old ones for that matter, is the lack of a good vocabulary. Most of them seem to be woefully short in expressing their thoughts. The best way to acquire a good vocabulary is the slow and painstaking method of looking it up in the dictionary. If the student is made to look up every word with which he is unfamiliar as he runs across it and then use it at every opportunity until he becomes thoroughly familiar with it, he will soon acquire an excellent vocabulary and will have a diction that the average reporter does not have.

“I have found reporters, and some of them college graduates, who were thoroughly informed as to a lot of information absolutely useless but were woefully ignorant on everyday affairs, and particularly the men and women who are making history of the day. I have found some of them had absolutely no knowledge of persons who have figured in news development of recent years.

“I do not think the importance of a school of journalism can be overestimated for the ground work of a newspaper career, and I find that very much of the work through which a reporter has to pass in his cub stage is eliminated by such schools. However, I think the school of journalism that attempts to fit men only for country newspapers and small daily work is making a serious mistake. I think the course should be such as to fit a man for any kind of newspaper work and I believe that when such courses are given the school is doing its part in turning out men who will be able to cash in their course within a short time after they become connected with any newspaper.”



LORRIN A. THURSTON, (upper)  
*President, Advertiser Publishing Company, Honolulu.*

WALLACE R. FARRINGTON, (center)  
*Governor of Territory of Hawaii.*

ALEXANDER HUME FORD, (lower)  
*Director of Pan-Pacific Union.*





J. B. Doze, managing editor *Wichita Eagle*, *Wichita, Kansas*—"In the first place news gatherers are born—not trained. The best news gatherers I have ever met were indifferent writers. And some of the best writers I have employed were dubs at gathering news or were unreliable and incapable of securing all the facts a news story should contain.

"Presentation of news is changing with the times. The public prefers to be amused rather than informed. I am coming to the belief that the new way of handling news will be a composite style, a little information with a lot of trimmings put in to entertain the readers.

"The best news writers and news gatherers are students of psychology. In fact the more one knows of this subject the better he or she is able to catch the public attention and hold it through a story.

"Fundamentals of news presentation are: to be able to write correctly, use short, snappy sentences, use a large variety of simple words, and to familiarize oneself with all walks and stations in life. College education can be wasted in trying to make a news writer out of a school teacher. Humor is a wonderful asset.

"America, I believe, has given the newspaper world the interview, the scare heads and features in styles of writing and make-up of papers. Lately we are giving the world a striking example of how advertisers are getting a firmer grip upon the news columns. This is an advertising age and advertising is rapidly reaching an equal if not getting a superior place in the newspaper field. I would not be amazed to realize fully within the next five years that the editorial side of a newspaper is secondary to the advertising side. But I hope that there will be a turn. Unless newspaper owners stand together in a pact to bar the doors against press notices of all kinds—no matter if they do lose a national advertiser—the news side will take second place and we indeed will become a kept press in fact.

"In my many years experience in six states as a newspaper man I have found that the best writers come from the little towns as a rule and that many of them do not have college educations. In fact I am an example of one who has succeeded fairly well without higher education. I spent less than twelve years in school. However, I do not indorse the idea that a college education is not necessary. I would give much to have a degree from a higher university.

"Some of our schools of journalism fail largely because they do not have material to work into shape. The chief fault I find with the product of schools of journalism is that they make automatic news writers. All handle news in the same style and I find that style stereotyped.

"One of the star reporters on the *Kansas City Star* today began as a cub on the *Eagle* and for years he did not know what a period is for or that a sentence should begin with a capital letter. He has succeeded because he has the natural nose for news and is a born student of the human mind.

"Our schools of journalism, I believe, would aid the fraternity more by refusing diplomas to stereotyped and indifferent news writers than by

sending them out into the world laboring under the impression that they were news writers or journalists. Perhaps one in ten 'graduated' is a news writer.

"The profession is different from anything under the sun. Its code changes, its style is everchanging and it has no fixed formulas nor has it unchangeable standards like law or medicine. Authorities of today are out of date tomorrow. Then again each community prefers a different style, as a rule. Some sections are strong for slap-stick news, others want it heavy and weighty, others highly colored, etc. Style in Texas and style in Kansas are entirely different. On the Atlantic international news is of interest. In the middle west we care little what is going on in Austria or France but we get excited if a wildcat oil well comes in or wheat jumps up twenty-five cents the bushel. This emphasizes that to be a successful news writer or editor one must be a natural psychologist, individually and collectively. And our schools of journalism should major this study instead of teaching headwriting and style sheets.

"A board of governors composed of active editors of news—not editorial—would save the country from this deluge every year of half-baked, presumptuous 'journalists' we are getting. Their judgment would be worth, in my mind, more than the gradings by a technical teacher not in the daily grind of news manufacturing, if I may use the term."

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Wade Mountfortt, managing editor The Commercial Tribune, Cincinnati, Ohio—"A college education of course is a most valuable asset for any calling and naturally this would apply to newspaper work. In fact, nearly anyone would say off hand that such an education would be quite as essential to this line of work as to any other profession, but often by the time a man has passed through a university he has reached an age where it is not possible for him to begin at the bottom rung of business life and this is absolutely essential to a successful newspaper career. So, a good fundamental common school education, three or four years of general reporting coupled with an intelligent study of newspaper methods constitute the equipment of a large number of men who are successful in this line of work.

"I regret to say that I regard the so-called school of journalism as almost a total loss. I have tried out a considerable number of persons from these schools with general disappointment. It is not possible for one to learn how a newspaper is made merely by reading and studying the newspaper or being told about it. Newspaper men who have gone from the smaller communities to Chicago, New York and other large cities, even after many years of work in the smaller places, will have a clear appreciation of what I mean by that. To see it in the making is to learn how to do it. Imitations of the various kinds of metropolitan newspapers are often ridiculously lacking in their essential qualities. Hence, I believe that the successful 'School of Journalism' of the future will be a part of some wide-awake and enterprising newspaper. There the beginner may

see the manufacture of the newspaper in all its phases and will be equipped to go forth and put into practice what he has seen others accomplish."

A. W. Grant, managing editor San Antonio Express, San Antonio, Texas—"Without much more familiarity with the colleges of journalism now in existence than I possess it is impossible to say what their ground work should be. Of the students who have come from Austin here I think the greatest difficulty has been lack of ability to apply principles which undoubtedly they had been taught.

"Especially have I noticed in University students here, those from the main University mostly, for we have had very few directly from the College of Journalism, a tendency to use vague and general words and phrases instead of precise and specific ones. I take it that this is chargeable mostly to their preliminary school work where they must have studied a great deal about English vaguely instead of learning a little thoroughly. On the other hand I have had a boy out of the army, a baker before he enlisted, who has been at work a little over a year and who did not have even a good common schooling when put to work. His grammatical constructions are not good but his selection of words that have definite meanings shows that his very limited vocabulary has been learned thoroughly.

"If journalism colleges do not stress the importance of knowing what every word means and all that it may or may not mean before it is used in a news story their progress will be delayed because a reputation for turning out graduates who have been equipped inadequately will reflect upon them.

"This, however, deals with only one phase of newspaper work. I believe that after a certain point the courses in a college of journalism should diverge so that the student wishing to qualify for some department other than the editorial branch could get an insight into the other sides of newspaper work. Four years spent in the study of news-gathering, news-writing and news-display is not too long, but four years thus spent will not equip the student to enter the counting room, the circulation department or the advertising department.

"Whatever the department of newspaper work for which a student is in training there should be held before him always the fact that the newspaper is a public service institution, privately-owned, and because it is not subject to many of the regulations of other public-service institutions its responsibility to the public is proportionately greater. The art of dealing with the public is one which should be taught the journalism student at every stage in his work. Perhaps as many newspaper men fail from trying to be too obliging as those who think brusqueness a necessity.

"Newspaper work is a business as well as a profession and it is the business of a newspaper to make money or it cannot practice its profession. The importance of paying attention to the phases of newspaper-making which can be made to yield money is great and journalism students should be shown how to make money as well as how to save costs."

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R. W. Horn, managing editor Daily Argus-Leader, Sioux Falls, South Dakota—"My experience has not been wide, but it has been practical, and from my experience and observation I have formed several opinions regarding the training of newspaper men. I started in a small town, worked through the composing room into the editorial room, and then topped off my high school work with three years at college. Briefly, I believe the kind of education that best fits one for newspaper writing, particularly news-gathering and reporting, is the education of the country newspaper shop, or the small town daily, supplemented, of course, by as much college education as the person can possibly get, circumstances and finances considered. Put a youth into a small newspaper shop, for a while under an exacting foreman and then under a capable and painstaking editor, and if he has the stuff in him he will make good. But the more foundation he can get for the bigger profession, the better. He must also have the knack of making friends and keeping them, and all the other attributes which books on journalism tell about. As for the schools of journalism, they are excellent in my opinion, but supplementary to the more practical training on a newspaper!"

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Max Bentley, managing editor Houston Chronicle, Houston, Texas—"While I believe off-hand that a course in journalism is mighty fine preparation for newspaper work, my ideal of a good reporter on the metropolitan sheet is the chap who came up from a small town daily. That sort of back-ground spreads out before his thirsty soul the panorama of newspaper making—in miniature of course. For after all, the way we do it here is just like they do it on small town dailies, except there is more of it. I always give preference to that type of applicant. He comes to us ready to work hard and he has a general drift of the game before he ever hangs up his hat.

"I firmly believe, however, that the prospective newspaper man will lose nothing by taking a regular course in journalism. The general run of copy sent to me by such students is good, and a few of them apparently have grasped the feature idea. I believe in preparatory work for any sort of profession. A lot of sloppy work goes into the average newspaper, and especially an afternoon paper, and I believe a competent course in journalism will do much to relieve this condition in knocking off the rough edges of rhetoric, spelling and construction of sentences. I have thought that it might have the effect of standardizing the student, which would injure his individuality and lessen his initiative, but I have never yet seen anything to justify this supposition. After all, it rests on the human equation."

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W. P. Hobby, former Governor of Texas; publisher and editor Beaumont Enterprise and Beaumont Journal—"The attributes which contribute to the success of a news reporter, an editor, a gatherer of news facts or the writer of news are not materially different from the attributes which

go to make a man successful in any other business. Up to a certain degree of perfection in the business of making a newspaper the elements of success are fundamental. These may be defined as honesty, ambition, loyalty to ideals, energy, courage, industry, fidelity to fact and common sense. Obviously these are elements of character essential to success in any important undertaking but particularly in the making of a newspaper worker.

"With these as constituent elements success and achievement mount in proportion to the number of qualifications applicable to the gathering and writing of news facts. It is scarcely necessary to enumerate a number of qualifications essential to any degree of success in newspaper work, such as common school education with particular application to grammar and the fundamentals of composition and rhetoric. Unfortunately for the newspapers of this country there is not enough attention given to correct writing. Very little application is needed to perfect anyone in the art or trade of writing correctly. Proper construction, proper use of words, a thorough knowledge and high respect for the meaning of words and phrases are essential to high levels in newspaper work.

"Thus far we have roughly outlined the essentials to make a newspaper man. Anyone meeting with these qualifications will have a standing in newspaper work anywhere. Further success or individual advancement to achievements of distinction depend upon individual characteristics or, it might be said, peculiarities or exceptional talents. And these may be as varied as character itself. They may be acquired but rarely. But the development and perfecting of particular traits is limitless.

"Excessive development of some characteristic or the possession of an exceptional talent often distinguishes an individual to the extent that the lack of other important factors is forgiven. A young man may be an extraordinarily successful news gatherer but utterly incapable of putting the result of his work into fit language. Editors will tolerate and encourage him for the one thing in which he excels. On the other hand there are many men who have a faculty for exquisite writing who have no faculty whatever for gathering news. Here again a place is found for the special talent. There is no reason, however, why each of these workers may not acquire the thing he lacks to make him thoroughly successful.

"Generally speaking there are two ways of training men for the newspaper profession. First is the hard grind of experience. More successful newspaper men come from this field of education, but very likely because there are more entries in this field. The second method is through the more recently established schools of journalism.

"Let us review the second first for when it is exhausted all the rest that may be said applies to the practical school of experience. It is too extreme to say that schools of journalism are not needed. If a hundred such schools turn out one distinguished, useful and successful newspaper man can it not be said that they were worth while? Certainly those who failed have not failed entirely. The decision hinges upon a measure of the cost, energy and time expended compared to the results obtained. I

have my opinion that a calculation of that sort would show the schools of journalism not without justification. But a number of such schools are maintained by funds provided by individuals and such are of course approved both for the reason that the expense is eliminated to that extent where the general good accomplished far outweighs the cost.

"To my mind the greatest objection to offer to schools of journalism is that they attract to the newspaper profession a large number who are utterly unsuited and wholly incapable of ever becoming useful in the newspaper field. Of course this is true of every technical school but more applicable to journalism than the others. Mechanics, civil engineering, agriculture, commercial work, science, law, medicine, architecture, clerical and many other lines of industry offer a fair reward for anyone even moderately equipped, while the newspaper field holds little inducement for the mediocre, average and poorly equipped worker.

"The education and training secured in a journalistic school is superior to that secured in a newspaper office. It rounds out a man by developing the weaker factors. It creates no freaks such as may often be found among graduates from a newspaper office. In the long run, and eliminating or disregarding waste, the schools of journalism make for the improving and uplifting of newspapers. In the schools the student is trained along idealistic lines. Standard work, correct writing, high ideals, worthy achievements and better newspapers are the objects set before him. In a newspaper office he is fortunate if he has set before him the same pattern.

"As I said before, however, if not more than ten per cent of the graduates of a school of journalism become actual newspaper workers, their existence is justified because the others have been benefited and perhaps fitted to follow some other profession more suited to them. The chief objection to schools of journalism is the diversion of the youths into this field who are fundamentally not suited for the work and therefore doomed to failure from the outset.

"The newspaper office as a school, however, puts the student constantly to test and one rarely goes through that school nor wastes much time at it unless he is suited for it. Its education is, however, woefully unbalanced. It develops special talents to utter disregard of highly necessary factors. It teaches habits, traits, and characteristics which are undesirable. Its aim is not the development of the highest qualities in the student, but the exploiting of the chief talent of the student.

"I doubt that schools of journalism will ever attain the standing of medical schools, commercial schools and other technical schools. The profession is too varied to make such schools the only gateway to enter. Technical knowledge is not essential to newspaper success, hence it cannot be the only avenue to enter the field.

"The kind of an education that is needed to make a thorough newspaper man is not different from the education needed to make a lawyer, a teacher, a merchant or any other professional man successful. A substantial education back of experience has the same happy results for newspaper men

as for any other. Every newspaper man should have a thorough education. Without it a special talent may carry him through. With it there is no limit to his achievements. But to education the newspaper man must add accuracy of observation, variety of knowledge, infinite information, tact, absolute fidelity to news fact, courage without taint and unrestrained ambition. I think a man who knows something about everything is a better newspaper man than one who knows everything about something.

"But of all things commendable in a news gatherer and news writer is his loyalty to fact. Once he departs from truth there is no rudder to guide him. He is the object of every cross-wind that blows, he will be carried by the currents to unspeakable disaster. Truth for truth's sake, to report the fact though the heavens fall, are ideals which will lead on to success and build a better world, make better men and women and enable every newspaper worker to leave an impress upon the time in which he lives."

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Robert W. Bentley, managing editor Tampa Morning Tribune, Tampa, Florida—"My experience on newspapers covers exactly thirty years. As to what are the essentials that make up a good reporter, volumes might be written. But if a man has these things in his makeup he should make good:

"A fair education—college course not necessity, but of course, an aid. He must be able to write plain English and state the facts of his story concisely. Absolute honesty and conscientious regard for the rights of others. The ability to see both sides of the case, and the need for stating both facts. A faculty for making friends, and retaining them. Recognition of the fact that news sources must never be betrayed. A real newspaperman will go to jail rather than disclose a source of information if such disclosure will make that source of information any trouble.

"Discretion in the matter of using a woman's name in a sensational case. It is better to leave it out than to visit undeserved punishment on an innocent person. The ability to leave one's own personality out of the news. All news should be written dispassionately. Of course, when a man is writing a special signed article his personal opinions may be stated, but only as such.

"As to the rest of it, why perhaps 'star' reporters are born rather than made, but there are so few real 'stars.' A 'nose for news,' appreciation of relative values in news. These two things are essentials. Charles A. Dana once stated that the fact that a dog had bitten a man might be worth two inches of space, provided the man was badly chewed up, but should a man bite a dog, well that would be worth a quarter column or more.

"Journalistic courses in college are helpful. But a good city editor can take a would-be reporter under his wing and teach him more about newspaper work in three months of actual labor than the lad could learn in as many years in a college of journalism. I believe the best place for a

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young man to learn newspaper work is on a daily paper in a town of 25,000 or less."

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Marvin H. Creager, managing editor Milwaukee Journal, Milwaukee, Wisconsin—"I believe the best preparation for reportorial work is very wide reading and mixing with people of all kinds. It is rather unusual that a person has a trend in both these directions, but both are needed. The bookworm, who buries himself in pages of type, cannot get the normal reader's viewpoint. The buzzing sort of person, who is a mixer and nothing else, rarely can light long enough to write. Study of literature, history, sociology and psychology is of highest importance.

"Schools of journalism, I believe, are of greatest value in preparing students for work on papers in small cities and towns. Much is being done through the courses to standardize 'country journalism' and it was greatly in need of standardizing. Beginners often are left to their own guidance on small papers. Journalism courses give them definite ideas of what to do. The need of journalism courses is not so great so far as metropolitan papers are concerned, but my observation is that, other things being equal, the journalism student usually gets a better start than absolutely raw material. It is not always true that he holds his advantage permanently."

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Robert L. O'Brien, editor Boston Herald—"I am a great believer in the School of Journalism. I believe it a necessary evolution, just as the law school succeeded the practice of reading law in an old lawyer's office, and the medical school followed the practice of riding around in the chaise with the village doctor. Self taught is ill taught. I feel sure that the Pulitzer School of Journalism, for example, is giving its pupils a training which is much worth while, and as an evidence of my faith in it, I am going to send my son there instead of letting him go to Harvard College, where the ties of tradition are strong. I am a graduate of Harvard myself, and it is something of a wrench to pull my boy away from there, and send him to New York; but such is my purpose because of my confidence in technical newspaper training."

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Donald Sterling, managing editor Oregon Journal, Portland, Oregon—"I believe in the value of academic training for newspaper work. The cardinal principles of newspaper writing being accuracy, brevity and speed, a mind trained in resourcefulness is essential. This is where a liberal arts education is invaluable.

"I heartily indorse schools of journalism on the theory that, as has often been stated, 'nothing is born but a damn fool.' Training ever is worth while."

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Howard K. Regal, managing editor Springfield Republican, Springfield, Massachusetts—"What I have to say I am putting in the shape of an informal letter, which you may use in any way you see fit. I am sorry I could not inclose something from Solomon B. Griffin, for many years



managing editor of *The Republican* and one of the men who gave it character and prominence among the newspapers of the land. I could not of course quote Mr. Griffin as to schools of journalism, but it is significant that he is a member of the governing board of the Pulitzer school in New York. I should have liked to consult him but he, too, is out of town.

"The *Republican* during my twenty-five years service with it has until lately drawn for its staff almost wholly from the colleges, it being favorably located in the midst of an important group of institutions, both for men and women, and maintaining pretty close relations with most of them. And it should be said that many newspaper men have come straight from college to *The Republican*, had their journalism education here and have made their mark in the profession. Further, *The Republican* from such sources has had splendid material for its own service, and if conditions in the newspaper business had remained unchanged I would say that for this particular field nothing could be better than to be able to have the pick of earnest, intelligent college men who would get their training in this office. For such men it is a matter of very little time to master newspaper technic and to absorb the higher ideals of the profession, if, indeed, they are not already imbued with them when they begin.

"But conditions have changed. Newspaper work commands relatively much less pay than it did formerly; it is less attractive as a profession and latterly it has been more difficult to interest first-class men in it. What the next year or two may develop cannot well be forecast, but I venture to say that unless it is possible to pay better for hard work well done it will be more difficult than it has been to keep the journalist ranks properly recruited. If good college men cannot be had, neither can it be expected that prospective journalists can afford to go to special schools for long courses when little reward is promised in a profession that offers relatively few prizes. The contact the *Republican* has had with graduates from schools of journalism has been almost wholly satisfactory. They are in earnest and have been well taught. There is no question but such schools, or college courses in journalism, do give instruction of practical value. And yet, taking purely the point of view of a newspaper situated as *The Republican* is, it is doubtful if there is much advantage in taking a man or woman with such training in preference to one with a good college education. It would be easy to say that newspaper men are born, not made. Character, personality and talent are after all the primary factors. Technic to men and women so endowed is by no means unimportant but it is easily conquered, or brilliant successes are made in spite of imperfect technic. The most important function of any school of journalism, or of any college course in journalism, is that of inspiration.

"But as I have indicated, what might be practical with journalism raised to a higher level of material prosperity is not practical now. It would be delightful to contemplate a condition which would permit high specialization on top of a thorough collegiate foundation; but the practical consideration has lately been how to secure good workers at pay

which does not permit of years of special training. My view of the problem is of course merely my own and naturally is narrow, but it is possible that there are a good many newspapers that have had a similar experience to that of *The Republican*. I should be very much interested to know the results of your investigation."

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W. A. Thayer, managing editor *New York American*, New York—"Newspaper men, I think you will agree, are to a large extent born and not made. The born newspaper man is made more valuable by education in all lines. Some of the best news-gatherers that have come under my observation have graduated from the office boy school, with little school education. Some of them have kept on as good news gatherers and others, by using their spare moments in study, have added to their news gathering ability to write well and thus have become more valuable.

"The schools of journalism undoubtedly are needed. Many of the graduates from such schools whom I have known never would become brilliant newspaper workers, but undoubtedly they came to the newspaper office better equipped to earn a living than if they had not attended the school."

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David E. W. Williamson, editor *Reno Evening Gazette*, Reno, Nevada—"When I started, thirty-five years ago, the best equipped reporters were those who came from the printer's case, but the enthusiasm of high school boys usually overcame the handicap of lack of knowledge of how to handle a story and prepare copy. We had few men from the colleges then. Those who had degrees and stayed with the work were rapidly promoted, showing that their education was of benefit to them. It is no longer possible to procure reporters from the composing room, the high schools fail to turn out boys who can write ordinary English and the colleges do not seem to be able to make their graduates understand the fact that enthusiasm must be tempered by regard for accuracy and the law of libel. I have read of the courses in journalism provided by some of the colleges, and, while it has not been my good fortune to watch the work of students in such classes, it is very clear that a man or woman trained in them ought to have the self-reliance and knowledge of what to do that the majority of present-day candidates for newspaper places certainly lack.

"As you in your own experience doubtless have thought—sometimes it seems new reporters can never know too much and at other times it appears that better results would be attained if their education stopped in the schools about the middle of the high school. There is one thing on which I am positive and it is that if the courses in journalism do not succeed in turning out newspaper reporters I do not know whence they are to come, for there are no longer any applicants from any other quarter who are capable of 'being licked into shape.' That is the discouraged truth."

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George W. Dodds, managing editor *Spokesman-Review*, Spokane, Washington—"Our experience with several graduates from the College of Jour-

nalism of the Washington State University has been satisfactory. We have had one young man and two young women, and, without any training on our part they took up their duties on the paper and handled themselves equally with the rest of the staff. Their copy was good; well written, and required less editing than the copy written by many old time newspaper men. In my opinion such schools are needed; that they are going to have a great influence in improving the class of newspaper writers. The best kind of an education for newspaper writing is a thorough grounding in the English language. A young man (or a young woman) thoroughly equipped in the use of his native tongue is possessed with something that is half the battle of life. A young man who can write correctly, speak correctly, to do it freely, cannot have arrived at such efficiency without side reading and deep study. He is cultured and can talk intelligently, and how important that is in mixing with and meeting people. He can ask an intelligent question; and how important that is in getting the right sort of answer.

"Give me an educated young man (or young woman) and I do not worry much over the question of news gathering. Their educational equipment is such that the news sense, once on a daily paper, is quickly developed."

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Will Owen Jones, managing editor Nebraska State Journal, Lincoln, Nebraska—"So long as present day tendencies continue in newspapering it is needless seriously to consider preparation for entering the profession of journalism. The writing side of the press has become a mere incident, a side issue, in the publishing game. So long as advertising remains the main source of newspaper income and so long as space is bought on the basis of bulk rather than quality of circulation, the editorial department will be hopelessly subordinate to the business office. Schools of journalism are needed to create discriminating newspaper readers, not to prepare young people for a profession that has degenerated into a badly sweated trade."

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THE CHAIRMAN: The comprehensive paper which Mr. Hornaday has presented deals, of course, with conditions of journalistic education in the United States. It was not intended, I assume, that he should discuss conditions existing outside the United States.

I ask to speak next a product of schools of journalism in the United States, whom we have heard on other subjects during our meetings. He is a former student of the Pulitzer School of Journalism and of the School of Journalism, University of Missouri. While all he has to say will not deal directly with journalistic education, some of it will do so. I present to you Mr.

Hollington K. Tong of Peking, China, associate editor of the Weekly of the Far East, director of the North China Star, and representative of the Peking Daily News, the Chinese Press in Peking and Tientsin, and the Commercial Press of Shanghai.

MR. TONG: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Dr. Williams could not have arranged this afternoon's program more happily than to call me, "a product of two American schools of journalism," to follow Mr. Hornaday's address. The subject of my address is: "An Appeal from the Republic of China to the Press of the World."

This is the second time I have been invited to speak before the Press Congress of the World. On the previous occasion in 1915, I was unable to accept on account of public and private reasons. The president of the Congress, at whose feet I studied journalism a decade ago, has been so generous as to invite his Chinese pupil for the second time to speak to fellow craftsmen. Allow me to express my deep appreciation of the hospitality extended by the Congress in this way to the son of a race that has long honored the profession of letters and that is now learning to honor that branch of literature which has sent its representatives here from all parts of the earth. I take the invitation not in any sense as a personal thing, but as an indication that the Congress desired to honor my country. I assure you that not merely the Chinese delegation, or the Chinese press, but the Chinese people, as well, highly appreciate this courtesy.

The choice of our meeting place, to the Chinese, is the most significant. There are two great strategic centers in the world, Suez and the spot on which we now stand. For centuries Suez stood as the meeting place of East and West with Constantinople in alignment with it. Along that line of "the dawn and the rising sun" there has been a constant impact of the peoples of two hemispheres. The impact has often been fruitful in misunderstanding and even hatred and other evil passions. A famous line sums up the facts of the past in the form of a prophecy for the future:

"East is East and West is West  
And ne'er the twain shall meet."

Yet there is more poetry than truth in this statement. As we look back through history we find many examples where the East and West have met in hostile clash, but even in their ex-

change of blows each side has learned something from the other. For the mutual misunderstanding, ignorance has played an important part; ignorance varying in quality from that due to difference of language, mode of life and general customs to the bitter religious, race and commercial antagonisms that make such discouraging black pages in the world history, even of most recent times. But the world is waking rapidly to the folly of such human strife. Even backward governments are now being forced by their own people to disregard the prejudices which spring from ignorance and to follow a policy of enlightened self interest in appreciation of the interdependence of nations as well as of individuals.

The last few years have seen, in an increasing measure, attempts to remove the ignorance on the part of one-half the world of how the other half lives. It is beginning to be realized that it is good neither for men nor for nations to live alone. There are today exchange professors between the several countries, international parliamentary gatherings, race congresses, congresses of religion, international organizations for the communication of knowledge in the scientific and legal and literary fields, international postal unions, international radiotelegraphic conventions, international reciprocity in almost every sphere; and of all these organizations this World Press Congress is the most significant. Such international organizations are the concrete expression of the belief, crystallized in a French proverb, that to understand all is to forgive all, and where there is complete forgiveness there can be no ill will. A full understanding means in the end a full sympathy.

In the practical, everyday rush of the profession to which we have the honor to belong, there is little opportunity for thinking on these matters. I have spoken about them in general terms, but undoubtedly you have seen the trend of my thoughts. I appear before you as a delegate from China, and it is of China's importance as an international factor that I would speak to you, and through you, to the peoples of the West. In the coming international struggle, China is bound to play a principal part, either for good or for evil, if that struggle is not prevented by an international understanding. Already China is being mentioned with increasing frequency in the newspapers of all quarters of

the globe. In spite of this, few persons in the West realize that the Republic of China is as big as the United States of America and is more than half the size of the old Russian Empire. And few persons know that when they dismiss China with a shrug of the shoulders, they are condemning one quarter of the human race and that when they speak of the Republic of China they are speaking of a nation of four hundred and twenty-five millions of people, homogeneous in custom, in characteristics, in thought and in tradition; with a common language and literature living and likely to live forever; residing in a territory which no other region of the world can surpass in the variety of its natural riches; and just entering into the fulness of a renewed national life.

China's traditional and historical greatness may hardly constitute a claim to the attention of the rapidly moving world of today, but the very fact of the existence of these hundreds of millions of people who are making rapid progress in every field of human endeavor is a stupendous thing and cannot be lightly ignored. Unfortunately China has been ignored in the past, in the very recent past. Only a few weeks ago, the Prime Minister of a Western Power spoke on the problems of the Pacific which were of interest to Japan, Great Britain and the United States; and his audience had to remind him of the existence of China! But China can be ignored no longer even if the human equation were left alone. For this is the beginning of the Pacific era. The great issues of the future will be Pacific issues. And there is no Pacific issue in which China is not concerned. Immigration? The Chinese are vitally concerned. Cable communications? The Chinese have a vital interest there too. Strategic questions? The Chinese are not a naturally militarist nation, but they must look to their own security. Economic considerations? The exploitation of China's surplus economic wealth offers opportunities such as no other country has offered or can offer. In these later centuries the underlying economic motive has been the cause of a large proportion of the warfare that has sucked the life-blood from the leading nations. There is hardly a single Pacific problem that is not potentially a cause of war and on a scale that the world has never known, and in which China is not involved.

Inasmuch as China is important in an international sense

from the viewpoint of her numerical strength and her geographical location and inasmuch as China cannot be ignored any longer for the same reason, the powerful pressmen of the world, unless desirous of purposely confining themselves within the limited sphere of activities which is within the reach of their eyes, must get better acquainted with my country and with what it is doing educationally, economically, journalistically, politically, socially and even in the development of one national feeling and one national sentiment on the great issues of the day. When the press world has acquired an intimate knowledge of Chinese affairs, the world at large will be even more ready to concede China's international importance, either for peace or for war, and by conceding it, may minimize the possibilities of international strife. For this reason, I urge the press representatives who are assembling here and who are controlling the world opinion to get some ideas about Chinese affairs along these various lines as quickly as possible in order that the West may be better informed thereon. By removing ignorance, you kill the mother of nearly all the international misunderstandings and bitternesses between nations.

First of all, get acquainted, fellow craftsmen, with China's educational development. In spite of stringent finances, in spite of deep-rooted conservatism, and in spite of a thousand obstacles, the Chinese are establishing schools, colleges and universities. To these institutions of learning in increasing numbers are going the boys and girls, the young men and women who in less than a decade will be the units of public opinion in the land. Perhaps you do not realize how quickly they are learning. Here is an illustration of the speed at which they are moving. Next to the test of what is commonly called literacy and illiteracy, one of the best tests of progress is the extent to which a nation uses the postoffice. Ten years ago, the number of letters and parcels dealt with by the Chinese postoffice was just over one hundred million. Last year it was over seven hundred million. The Chinese of today are availing themselves of facilities which have a distinct and broad educational value. This is only one instance of a very remarkable movement.

Then try, gentlemen, to learn all the facts about China's economic development which she is rapidly undergoing. The meth-

ods of co-operative business and amalgamated interest that have so long been a feature of Western commercial life are hastily making way in the land. During the last few months, for instance, the banking institutions of the country have realized that their interests are one and identical, and having realized it, have taken steps to enable them to speak with a single voice. Appreciative of the interdependence of all finance, whether commercial or national, they have stepped into the breach by the organization of a Chinese banking consortium to support the Government in its great financial difficulties and to supervise the expenditure of public funds. When a great French banking institution in China recently closed its doors, at least temporarily, it was the Chinese banking consortium which took up its outstanding banknotes at par. These matters are common enough in the West, and would hardly provoke comment, but with the Chinese they are new. At present these collective economic efforts may not be particularly effective, but at the moment effectiveness is of minor importance. What is of importance is the fact that the Chinese are learning, that they are trying to follow in the footsteps of the great Occidental peoples, and that they have recognized, not too late surely, that if China is ever again to be a leading figure in the world's council, they must practice what has been so sedulously preached to them for a hundred years. They are learning modern commercial methods by practicing them. They are making mistakes it is true. But who does not?

Then get acquainted, members of the Congress, with the Chinese progress in journalism. No efforts are being spared to spread the newspaper press throughout the country. It is only ten years since China became a republic and practically there was no scope for the press before that time. Under the Empire Chinese officialdom considered as its enemy all the newspapers. They were subjected to the severest restrictions, and outside the privileged area of the foreign settlements there could be no liberty for them whatsoever. The case is vastly different today. There are in China several hundreds of newspapers, and rapidly increasing numbers of magazines of instruction and enlightenment. It is safe to say that there is not a single large city without its local newspapers. Some of these newspapers in the Capitol and at Shanghai have a circulation that is nation-wide.



In order to make the printed word more accessible to the general public, the press has adopted an easy style of writing. The Chinese literature for centuries has been stereotyped in form. Today the Chinese are deliberately making as great a change in their literature as the change through which English literature passed in emerging from Latin. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that until a few years ago the only Chinese literature that was considered worth printing was written in a style as unlike the language "understood of the people" as the language in which the philosophical works of Bacon were written is to the newspaper English today. The change that has come gradually through several centuries in English is being effected in the Chinese popular writing under the leadership of the press with remarkable rapidity. Even what is called the Chinese spelling is being altered. The mild changes that you understand by reformed spelling are quite insignificant compared with the change that is being made in China. The Chinese are, so to speak, reducing their alphabet from thousands of characters to forty. In this new character spelling, books are being published, newspapers issued and pamphlets printed on vital subjects such as health and sanitation, domestic economy and thrift. With the new alphabet, even ignorant peasants are taught to read in a few weeks. Thus living literature is being brought within the reach of all, and in the future, newspaper making in China will be much facilitated.

A special feature marking the development of Chinese journalism is the effort of the educational authorities to give the needed training to future newspaper men. Several projects for the establishment of schools of journalism in the important cities of China are now under consideration. It is certain that before long these projects will be executed in response to the popular demand. In the meantime, classes in journalism and in advertising are being conducted in the Peking Government University, the Peking Union University, St. John's University, the Communications University and other institutions of high learning. These classes are popular with Chinese young men who are ambitious to learn the art of moulding the public opinion. At the same time, Chinese graduates of the Schools of Journalism in the United States and those Chinese who have had foreign press training are looked up to by all classes of people as leaders

in modern newspaper making. The professional services of foreign pressmen in China as teachers of journalism are equally in high demand. The Finance Editor of the Weekly of the Far East, a graduate of the Missouri School of Journalism, is spending a few hours a week to teach students of St. John's University to be newspaper men. An invitation has been extended by a Peking University to another member of the same Weekly, also a graduate of Missouri, to organize a school of journalism in the Chinese Metropolis. Lectures from foreign and Chinese journalists on various aspects of the profession are highly welcomed.

Then turn your attention for a brief moment, members of the Congress, to Chinese political affairs, the progress of which is not even less rapid. She is now a republic, and there are many people who think that the Republic is not a success. China is not the first country that has not made a success of republicanism within a few years. There are some countries where it has been necessary to make two or three attempts before a stable republic was established. And these countries have not had to face the difficulties which are confronting China today. Until a few years ago, what was the political condition of China? Broadly, it was this: politics, administration, law, peace and war were the business of the official hierarchy. The people had no concern in them. They knew nothing about them. They cared nothing for them. The only problem of politics that they understood was the problem to meet such taxes as were justly due and to prevent the collection of taxes that were unjustly imposed. In actual practice, the latter seldom occurred, for even the bureaucracy knew that if taxes mounted unduly high the people would murmur, and from murmuring they would soon pass to rebelling. Provided that taxation was not increased beyond the limits that tradition has sanctioned, the people at large had no interest in what in other lands are called public affairs. Is it any wonder then that with the coming of democratic ideas which ultimately means an understanding of the value of the individual, and which requires every man to take his share in shaping the destinies of the nation, there should at first be hesitation and doubt and mistakes and even disasters? The difficulties of such a situation are tremendous, and under these peculiar circumstances mistakes and even disasters are not unpardonable.

While passing through a great period of transition or transformation, the Chinese are often misunderstood. I would say that they are misrepresented, were it not that the word suggests an intention to deceive. Already the peoples in the West do not know the situation in China, and misrepresentation enhances their ignorance of Chinese affairs. Ignorance leads to further misunderstanding, and the Chinese consequently become to them a puzzle. But they are no more puzzle than any other people. If the press of the world were to assist China in the enlightenment of the Occidental peoples, its representatives present at the Congress should also have some correct ideas about the development of a national feeling in China, which has a great potentiality capable of making and unmaking cabinets, and equally capable of directing the world's movement if it is allowed sufficient time to grow.

Get acquainted, gentlemen, then with the growth of the Chinese national feeling as is partly shown in their endeavor to learn self-government. Up to ten years ago, when it was said in the newspapers and chancelleries of the world "what will China say or do?" the question was easy to answer, because "China" simply meant a handful of officials in Peking whose ideas on most subjects were well known, whose course of conduct it was fairly easy to prognosticate, and whose little likes and dislikes were as easy to read as an A-B-C book. But today, "China" means a very different thing. It means an awakening people. It means a rapidly increasing number of men and women and of boys and girls who are taking a vital interest in their country, anxious to see it highly regarded in the family of nations and therefore jealous of its honor and integrity, and who are establishing those institutions wherein the peoples of the West have learned self-government through many generations. Here some are serving an apprenticeship for self-government on a much larger scale, and their fellow citizens are preparing themselves to undertake national obligations in the hundreds of local councils of one sort or another, ranging from the mere village council to the provincial assembly, entrusted with the local administration.

Many of these new men and women are equipped more with zeal than with knowledge. The natural consequence is that

there are discordant voices among themselves, and not merely discordant voices, but inconsistent action, and even something more than that; there are warring factions. But the fact that there are warring factions does not differentiate China from any other country where there are democratic institutions just emerging from the superincumbent mass of autocracy and incrustated tradition. The Chinese have not yet reached such a state of equilibrium that mere votes can decide an issue. The old autocratic spirit still survives. The old trust is in physical force. To physical force the less scrupulous resort without hesitation. As in all countries the only answer to force is force, human nature being what it is. Against this spirit, and its embodiment in swollen armies, the whole nation is struggling; and in the end the whole nation must be victorious.

You may not have followed recent Chinese history closely, so I ask you to take my word for it that one after another those parties in China that have sought to rule by the sword have had to give way. They cannot, shall not, always be succeeded by others of like minds with themselves.

There will come an end to them some time, and when that time comes the Chinese revolution will be complete. Put simply, the explanation of present day conditions in China is that the Chinese revolution is not yet complete. The Chinese are in a transition stage.

To think that because the Chinese have their domestic differences they are also divided in opinion on the great issues in which they are concerned is erroneous. Domestic differences there are, and from purely accidental circumstances connected with them there has grown up the expression "North and South." There is a certain convenience in the expression, but nothing more. Northerners and southerners want the same thing, are imbued with the same ideas and are governed by the same national feeling. Essentially both North China and South China are alike. It happens, however, that the capitol of China is Peking, and dissentients from the policy of the Peking Government naturally do not gather in Peking but at some place outside. They have chosen Canton as their headquarters. Had it happened that Canton were the Capitol of China, it is quite possible that Peking would have been the rallying-point of the dissentients. Or, if the

Capital had been in the West, the rallying-point of dissent would have been in the East, and then we should have had a so-called division into East and West. As it is, there are among the leaders of the so-called southerners many prominent northerners, and amongst the northerners there are many prominent southerners. These circumstances are accidental. They are but a part of the symptoms of transition.

Whatever may be the actual differences between the Chinese themselves, there is but one national sentiment on great issues. On practically every national subject there is general agreement as to aim and intention. The sole causes of disagreement are as to method and manner, a subject on which before this other nations have long been divided but have ultimately reached a settlement. And if there is a general concensus of opinion on the subjects of domestic concern, there is still more wholly unanimous opinion on all matters of foreign relations. Take the case of the Versailles Peace Conference for example. Both the North and the South sent to that international tribunal a single delegation and that delegation acted in complete harmony. When it was known that the decision at the Conference was against China there was a nation-wide indignation. To take another case. The Chinese both in North and South China are looking forward to the Pacific Conference at Washington to lay down righteous and just lines by which future international relations across the Pacific are to be governed. They jointly feel that nothing but good can come of such a conference if meeting in sincerity, and they believe it has been called in sincerity. The chances of making an equitable working arrangement would be enormously enhanced if the public both in the United States and in the other participating countries were better informed on Chinese affairs. If there is sufficient time allowed I may urge the gentlemen present to become acquainted with the present social movement in China and with the development of a new culture by the combination and amalgamation of Occidental and Oriental civilizations.

Get acquainted with all the facts and much more about China, and you will help the world to know her and to remove international misunderstanding, the root of all the wars in the past. I take it that the first function of the press is to supply news, to purvey information, and that the second is to endeavor to direct

the minds of men in such a way as to enable them to reach true and dependable judgments on the issues of the moment. Without accurate information on Chinese affairs, the faithful performance of these two functions of the press, so far as China is concerned, is an impossibility. And yet it is important to know China correctly.

On behalf of my country, I urge you to ask yourselves whether you are well equipped for guiding the world on the great problems that must arise on the Pacific within the next few years. The only way to avoid a disaster of unimaginable magnitude consequent upon the arising of these problems is for the journalists to see to it, not merely that justice is done, but that those to whom it is done feel that they have had justice done to them. This can be secured only by the development of a well informed public opinion throughout the world. The existence of such a world opinion is impossible unless the man behind the newspaper, who writes its editorials and collects its news, is thoroughly equipped for his task. The work we do, I take it for granted, is honest work, that is to say, that we are not conscientiously writing to order, but honesty alone is not enough; to our honesty or perhaps in our honesty, we should add or have the fundamental basic facts that are the truth. No man can discuss the affairs of the Pacific adequately or can consider himself as well equipped for the task unless he has some real knowledge of China.

When a soldier wants to understand the tactical problems before him he gets the best map he can. He studies its depressions and elevations, its contours and its characteristic signs. He notes every bridge, every ford, every railway crossing. Gradients are of the utmost importance to him. He spares no pains to understand the whole character of the country. Surely it is not too much to expect that a man who aspires to have some share in controlling the destiny of mankind—and every journalist in his heart really believes that the greatest factor in controlling that destiny is himself—should have some solid acquaintance with the ideas, the mode of life, the ambitions and manifold disappointments of a people constituting a quarter of the human race!

I do not think that anybody can withstand the plea I have

made that the pressmen of the world should know China. It only remains for me to point out some of the ways whereby they may have an intimate acquaintance with Chinese affairs. The best way is to go over to my country, make a detailed study of its activities, and live among the people for some time. There is nothing like seeing the country for yourselves. If a long stay is not possible, a few months' visit should be made, and it would be of mutual benefit. The traveling facilities in China and across the Pacific are greatly advanced today over those that offered themselves twenty years ago. In normal times, a trip to China, either from America or from Europe, is only a matter of a summer holiday.

True it is that the short time available from a summer holiday will not suffice to make any man posted on Chinese affairs, but I do not forget that I am speaking to the representatives of the great newspaper world, and that if there is one thing that the trained newspaper man can do supremely well, it is to get to the heart of a situation, to size it up in the shortest possible space of time. The soldier reads the map and he plans his next move. In the same way the journalist explores a situation and gets in a short space of time its salient feature and is able to expound it to others; so that if the trained journalist has only a few weeks or a few months to spend with the Chinese he ought to leave them at least with a true perspective, and we hope that he would take with him a pleasant remembrance of his sojourn to China. That of course will be "up to" us.

The influence that the trained observer who is in China for a few weeks or for a few months can exert, however, is great. An illustration of this may be given in the case of Mr. Samuel Blythe, who happened to be in China, as all good journalists are, just at the critical moment. He was in my country during those momentous weeks in 1915 and his correspondence to the *Saturday Evening Post* was of immense value in informing the American public of what the real situation was. At a later day came Monsieur Dubosqu, foreign editor of *Le Temps*, who during his visit to China a couple of years ago, contributed to his newspaper a series of articles that has been of incalculable value in cementing an entente cordiale between France and China. We hope, and we think that there is no doubt, that the forthcoming

visit of Lord Northcliffe to the Far East and especially to China will serve a similar purpose.

It may be well to put in a caution here. Not a few of the misunderstandings of China have arisen from the erroneous reports and messages conveyed either by the casual and superficial visitors, or by the journalists who spend the whole of their time as most of the globe-trotters do, in the treaty ports, or in one city. These people get only a very limited view of China and their words must be taken with the greatest caution. They no doubt mean well but in one case they are not trained observers and in the other case their outlook is limited.

The second best way of knowing China is to send more correspondents to her metropolis or her large cities or to travel in the country extensively. Materials for big stories of human interest are abundant over there. Some of the foreign press men who have already been in China are either not enterprising enough or do not receive sufficient encouragement to collect them and write them up in presentable form for the information of the West. Even the news of so important a discovery as the discovery through an earthquake and landsliding of a city in Kansu which, together with its inhabitants was buried in the ground many centuries ago without any warning like Pompeii of old, does not offer enough inducement to any of them to take a trip to that spot, make an investigation and write a feature story in the interest of science. I urge the representatives of the great newspapers and news agencies to send more trained pressmen to write more about China and create a greater interest in that country in America and Europe.

If the powerful Occidental newspapers and news agencies do send men to China, I hope that they will take precaution in their selection. Would they ever think of sending to Germany a correspondent who does not know something of the German language, German history and German thought; or to France a man who perhaps is not simply ignorant of the French language and literature, of French history and ideals, but who despises them? That is more or less what they do when they send men to China. Some of their men, besides being not sufficiently well equipped with the necessary training, know nothing, when they go to the Chinese, of the Chinese language, literature or history.



As a rule they make no attempt to learn any of them. The inevitable result is failure to appreciate the real significance of much that goes on around them, with the still further result that the world is misled, instead of being informed. I plead with the Western newspapers and news agencies to send to China highly trained journalists who will make at least some attempt to get in touch with the real life and thought of our people.

Unfortunately there are so many bad examples in the world. When a statesman can go to the Paris Conference without having ever heard of Teschen, confessedly ignorant of the existence of a place called Shantung, believing that Mt. Blanc is in Switzerland, a mere journalist can hardly be blamed for ignorance of the details of the country to which he is sent. But his proprietor is blameworthy for sending him, except with the injunction that he is really to get to know the country, its language, its history, its people and its ideals. You may say that in the case of China this is impossible. Not impossible, but a little difficult I grant you. Yet, not as difficult as it used to be. The helps to the study of the Chinese language are today so many and so admirable that the comparatively young man who has been six months in the country has no excuse for lack of acquaintance with more than sufficient Chinese to carry him along. To the aspiring journalist China offers a magnificent field, a field worthy of a Dana or a Bennett, of a De Blowitz or a Dillon. The late Dr. Morrison established a great tradition in spite of obstacles many of which have disappeared today. It remains for his successors, present or prospective, to emulate his important work, which certainly led to a better understanding of China in London, and indirectly throughout the world.

Another way of knowing China and getting at her point of view is to converse with those who really understand China, of whom there are far more available now than is generally thought. Men like Professor John Dewey, of Columbia University, who has had a really close knowledge of Chinese affairs, are not lacking. There are furthermore thousands of Chinese students studying in your countries who are quite able to give correct information on China. They are outspoken and frank. They would not hesitate to point out Chinese shortcomings as well as to praise Chinese virtues. They are always available for informa-

tion. Then there are missionaries who have retired after years of service in China, or merchants and officials who have stayed in China for a long period of time. By intercourse with them it is possible to get at China's viewpoint.

Once sufficient interest in China has been created in the continents other than Asia and once China's importance as an international factor has been made generally known, the pressmen of the world, I believe, would be eager to go to my country and study its manifold activities, or to converse with those who really know China in order to get first hand information thereon, and the great Western newspapers and news agencies would find it a necessity and not a luxury to station more correspondents in large Chinese cities. As one of the means to create that initial interest in China, I propose the exchange of newspaper men between the countries which are participating in the Press Congress of the world. The institution of exchange professors for the communication of knowledge between countries in the scientific and literary fields has proved a success. Why not interchange newspapermen between China and America, between China and Great Britain, between China and Japan, between China and France and other countries? If there is any measure which will insure a better international understanding, certainly the exchange of newspapermen will be one. Both the Chinese people and Chinese officials will give to the proposal all the support and encouragement they can within their power.

On the eve of my departure for Honolulu last month, I saw the leading members of the Ministry of Communications at Peking and told them of my exchange newspaperman idea. They readily expressed their willingness to assist in putting it into effect. Mr. Hsu Shih-shwang, Vice-Minister of Communications, a brother of the President of China, was most enthusiastic over my proposition. One day before leaving Peking, I received an official letter from the Ministry of Communications informing me that if the proposal can be adopted at the Press Congress of the World, the Ministry would be very glad to offer in advance to such exchange newspapermen who may go to China from America and other continents the privileges of free transportation and traveling on all the Chinese Government railways and the friendly assistance of communications authorities wherever they

would like to go in my country. I hope that before the present session of the Congress adjourns, it will consider the advisability of the proposal and some action will be taken. China welcomes the suggestion because she will be better known to the world and the world will be better known to her if it can be carried out.

While endeavoring to know China by various means, you should look out for propaganda which may now be insidiously moulding your opinions in a wrong direction. You know too well the various forms such propaganda assumes, but you may not be aware of its effectiveness, which is often overlooked. Let me give an instance to illustrate my point.

A few years ago a momentous event occurred in China, and this was big news. The Peking correspondent of a great Western news agency was the first man to get it. After verifying the information he quickly cabled it to his headquarters in his own country. His chief, after keeping back this important message for three days from the public, made some inquiry in his national capital and was told that there was no truth in the Peking report. Then he cabled a query to his correspondent as to whether the information in question was really authentic. The reply he got from Peking was to this effect. "Why do you doubt my words? Have I ever turned in any false news?" Then the reply concluded with a request for the acceptance of his resignation which his chief granted without a word of explanation a few months later. At that moment this unusual case was known to three persons only, namely, the disappointed correspondent, his ungrateful chief and myself. Even today it is known to a small circle of newspapermen in China. The instance shows, firstly, the effectiveness of propaganda, and secondly, the public ignorance of its effectiveness.

Last week on my way to Honolulu across the Pacific, I heard of a similar instance which had happened in Russia. The narrator of it is a man of integrity. This is what he told me in his own words: In the winter of 1919 the Czecho troops in Russia were highly dissatisfied with the Kolchak Government, and their Minister issued a statement explaining why they had been opposing it. A translation of the statement was given to a representative of a leading Western news agency and was immediately

cabled to New York. The press correspondent congratulated himself upon having obtained so important a news item. A few months later, to his disappointment he received a copy of a leading New York weekly in which was published an editorial sounding to him a note of warning for sending an untrue statement. So strong had the propaganda in the United States been in favor of Kolchak that the editor of that weekly refused to believe that the Czechos Minister had ever denounced the Omsk Government. The statement concerned was, however, entirely true. I have in my possession the original signed copy which was supplied to me as a representative on the Inter-Allied Committee. The world has since learned that all which the Czechos had said in that statement was absolutely authentic. Beware of the propaganda and its effectiveness in your attempt to understand China.

But, you will ask me, "Why do you warn us against propaganda? Why do you wish us to make China known to the world? Why not do so yourselves?" The answer is simple; there are not enough of us for one thing, and the world's knowledge of China must come from impartial sources for another. The number of Chinese journalists capable of representing China at the world's capitals is small at present. We are doing what we can, but it is not enough, not merely to satisfy our desire that the world should know us better but to keep the world so informed of the Chinese situation so that it can form true judgments thereon. Frankly we are appealing to you for your co-operation, your assistance, your practical sympathy. We do not doubt we shall get it in every shape and form. We are appealing to the highest instincts of the profession that your co-operation will be cordially given not because of any incidental material benefit to yourselves, but in the interest of the world-wide harmony.

We meet here, as I have said at the beginning of my address, not only at the second great strategic point on the earth's surface, but at a crucial time in the world's history. Here we are at the crossroads of the Pacific, an ocean well named, if its past history alone be taken into account. Seldom have the waves of this ocean borne on their crests the sounds of hostile guns; its surface has ever been almost as free from the noise of men's dis-

cordant strife as its depths are free from the wreckage of war. The future, however, may not be as pacific as the past has been. But let us hope that we are entering on an era that will be pacific not merely geographically but historically as well. Time alone can tell whether that is to be so or not, but of this I am certain, that to nobody does greater responsibility for that future attach itself than does it to the important profession that is here represented. It largely depends upon the honesty, the devotion and the highmindedness of those whom this gathering so amply represents whether the future is to be one of worldwide progress and development, or is to be one of renewed strife, or worldwide chaos, or the perdition of all civilizations. Here we stand at the second meeting place of East and West, at a critical moment of the world's history. With the memory of a recent great international calamity still vivid in our minds, we must all strive to avoid a second similar world catastrophe. Very largely indeed the future rests with us. What are we going to make of it? (Loud and prolonged applause.)

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THE CHAIRMAN: Your close attention and cordial applause indicates I think that you believe Mr. Tong has made a real contribution to the program of this session. We have had today representatives of several nations and no more important contribution has been made than that we have just heard from the Republic of China by a Chinese journalist. Now, if we can come back again on the questions presented by Mr. Tong to the subject presented by Mr. Hornaday, we will devote the last part of the afternoon session to some further consideration of questions of journalistic education. I am confident you will be pleased to hear on this subject from delegates from the countries in which movements and endeavors towards larger preparation for journalism is being made.

MR. C. L. DOTSON: Mr. President: I would like to note approval upon the paper presented by Mr. Hornaday if it is proper at this time.

Certainly I have no criticism to offer. The only question in my mind is whether he carried out as fully as he should have done his arguments in behalf of the schools for journalism. I am impressed with the thought after hearing his excellent paper,

that if schools of journalism mean anything of value to the publishers of newspapers, it means more than the simple preparation of the young man or young woman for reportorial duty. The young man who attends one of these schools and takes a two year college or university course and then two years more of journalistic work, if he has not become inspired with that that we call ideals, then to me it is of little value whatever he may have accomplished.

The standard of newspapers throughout America certainly should be raised, and to my mind the young man who comes out from one of these schools of journalism comes out with a higher conception of the duties of a reporter, an editorial writer, or an advertising writer, than would be possible for any young man to hold who had not received such educational and journalistic training.

If I were to criticize Mr. Hornaday's paper, it would be that he failed to point out the fact that not only is the young man fitted to chronicle events but he is fitted for editorial duty because of his higher conception of the profession, and because he is also fitted, if he doesn't care to devote his time to the editorial department, and sees greater opportunity in the advertising department for the work of an accomplished ad writer because of his ability to put intelligence into advertising. The day is passed when an advertisement to sell merchandise attracts the buyer on account of the attractiveness of its display. Words thrown together and simply made attractive by the display no longer is the kind of advertisement that sells the merchandise for the extensive advertiser. Intelligence, ability to word the advertising in a way that catches and holds the eye and the mind, and impresses the reader with the force of the writer, are required of the advertising writer who is sought by the greatest advertising journals today.

If the school of journalism fails in this respect to inspire its students to a higher estimate and to impress the students with qualities and character, then, to my mind, these schools of journalism are so many failures.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will be pleased to hear from Mr. Mark Cohen, Chairman of the New Zealand delegation. In New Zealand recently Mr. Robert Bell, whose letter you have

heard read this afternoon, who by the way made the first motion for the establishment of this congress, has established a Chair of journalism in Canterbury College in New Zealand in memory of his son who lost his life in the World War. I would very much like to hear from Mr. Cohen.

MR. MARK COHEN. Mr. Chairman, brother delegates: It gives me very great pleasure to answer the call of the Chair to say a few words in respect to the newly created Chair of Journalism at Canterbury College, which my old friend Mr. Robert Bell, who is managing director of one of our most important newspapers and who took a prominent part in San Francisco in 1915 in establishing the World's Press Congress, has endowed with the sum of three thousand pounds in memory of one of his sons who made the supreme sacrifice in the great war. Mr. Bell not only was one of the executive who framed the Constitution of this Congress, but he made a second pilgrimage to the United States to confer with our worthy President as to the next session of the Congress which, had all things gone smoothly, would have been held in Sydney at Eastertide of the present year, and I ought to state very frankly while I am on my feet that there is some misconception as to why that meeting in Australia was not held.

Mr. Bell and I, acting in concert and with the full approval of President Williams, consulted with the Prime Minister of New Zealand and his cabinet, as to what part our Dominion would take in the reception and entertainment of the delegates to that Congress. We received a most sympathetic hearing from Mr. Massey who promised on behalf of his government that every facility should be granted to the Overseas Delegates to see as much of our wonderland and majestic scenery as the time at their disposal would permit while enroute to Sydney, and the newspaper proprietors of New Zealand, at their annual convention, also decided to do their part in adequately entertaining the delegates when they made their first port of call at Auckland. But, unfortunately, the whirligigs of politics in New South Wales brought about a change in the administration of affairs of that Mother State and a Labor government came into office, which turned down absolutely and refused to have anything to do with Mr. Holman's proposal to make the World Press Congress the

guests of the people of New South Wales. I am satisfied from my knowledge of the ex-premier of New South Wales that, had he retained office, he would have carried out to the letter the agreement that he made officially with us in San Francisco six years ago, and that no one regretted more deeply than himself—an old working journalist—that that undertaking was not loyally carried out.

But to return to my muttons. Mr. Bell's deed of gift, inspired I have very little doubt by the experience of President Williams, has so far taken concrete shape that the first lecturer in journalism that New Zealand has is Mr. A. G. Henderson, who has had a long and honorable journalistic career and who is today general manager of the Lyttelton Times. Having filled every subordinate position on the staff of that paper, he rose by dint of perseverance, industry and natural ability, to the position of principal leader writer, and himself a student of Canterbury College. I am satisfied that nothing will be wanting on his part to make the new Chair a conspicuous success. My only criticism of Mr. Bell's gift is that it is somewhat restricted in its character and that in consequence the students who will benefit by it must be children of journalists who have resided within the provincial district of Canterbury. To my thinking there ought not to be, under any scheme of national education anywhere, any differentiation or discrimination against candidates for any prizes in the scholastic or academic world. The aim should be to give equal opportunity and equal rewards to all. We may not all agree as to the part schools of journalism may play in the future in equipping the men and women who are to fill responsible posts on our newspapers, but we must give every credit to Mr. Bell and others like himself, whose sole desire is, as I know, to make journalism a better profession than he found it when he entered it himself, and to give the best possible advantages educationally and otherwise to those who in the future will have the shaping of the destinies of the countries in which they live.

THE CHAIRMAN: In Japan a number of courses in journalism have been carried on. Some lectures on journalism have been delivered, one by Mr. Sugimura, whom we had the privilege of hearing this morning, at Keio University. I am going to ask Mr. Zumoto, editor of the Herald of Asia, Tokyo, to say something to us about journalistic education in Japan.





OSWALD MAYRAND (upper left), MONTREAL, CANADA;

AGUSTIN LAZO (upper right), HAVANA, CUBA;

COL. AND MRS. EDWARD FREDERICK LAWSON (lower left), LONDON, ENGLAND;

MR. AND MRS. THOMAS PETRIE (lower right), HONGKONG.



MR. ZUMOTO: I am placed in rather a tight place. Although I have been engaged in journalistic work for nearly thirty years, my experience in this field has been confined entirely to journalism in English, a language which I was not born in, therefore I feel hardly qualified to say anything about the conditions of journalistic education in Japan.

So, asking your leave to shirk that part of the duty, I wish to be allowed to say a few words about what Mr. Tong has said in so eloquent language. I heartily emphasize every word he said in behalf of his country. Everybody that goes to China necessarily comes to Japan also, and therefore in that respect these pleadings are for Japan as well.

Now, with regard to China, speaking for myself, I am filled with deep feelings of sympathy for the very difficult and critical period of history through which she is now passing. General ignorance of the outside public about conditions in that country have led to many unfortunate ideas and to many unfortunate mistakes. One of these ideas which a large and influential number of men, both in China and in Europe and America, are propagating now is that China has reached a stage where she needs foreign supervision with regard to the management of her internal affairs. Now, as a Japanese journalist, I can tell you that that idea has received no response from either the members of the press or from any other profession or class of people there. We feel that is an insult to a great people and we know that anything of that kind is bound to fail. We feel that way not because we are filled with sympathy for the Chinese people but because we know conditions in China fairly well, in any case better than any other foreign people. We have studied; speaking for myself, when we were boys we studied Chinese philosophy and Chinese classics and that was the best part of our education. Our study of history was the history of China. We owe almost everything of value in our art, in our philosophy and in our letters to China and to Korea and we know that China has produced a series of great statesmen, leaders and generals, and we also know that once in every two, three or four hundred or five hundred years there has been revolution in China and every time that revolution took place the country had to go slow from hard and sometimes cruel experience. For that war lasted sometimes ten years and sometimes seventy years.

Now it is only ten years since China started on this experiment of a republic. I have no doubt that ultimately China will succeed in that experiment. It is utterly irrational to expect that this experiment should be completed in five or ten years. All we have to do is to give China plenty of time, say five, ten, twenty or even thirty years more and let the Chinese people work in their own historical way, and in the meanwhile let the outsiders keep the ring for the Chinese. Let nobody rush in and take charge of conditions in China. You may say "Well, Mr. Editor, you may think so but some of the others may not think so. Look at your ministers, what are they doing?" I anticipate that remark. However as I am going to treat that subject in an address which the chairman has promised me I shall not go into that now.

But I can say that the world has made a mistake about Japanese militarism. Militarism is not a power to decide our national policy. It is not so now and it will never be so in our history. So I feel sure in assuring you that in saying this I voice the sentiment of the most intelligent and influential section of my people. If you, ladies and gentlemen, come out to Japan and study the situation you will see exactly where things stand there and you will come to the conclusion to which I have come in an experience and study of thirty years.

THE CHAIRMAN: May I not say before adjournment just a word or two about Mr. Hornaday's paper. His paper dealt only or chiefly with the training of reporters in journalism. Now, the reporter is an essential part, perhaps the most essential part in journalism, but he is not all, and the other schools of journalism and other teachers of journalism are engaged in preparing their students for other fields of journalistic endeavor as well as the field of the salaried reporter on somebody else's newspaper. I think this is a fair statement to be made in reference to Mr. Hornaday's paper, but having that particular branch of education in his charge at the University of Texas, he has perhaps left the impression with persons not familiar with this school and with other schools, that the art of reporting is the only art considered in courses and schools of journalism.

MR. FRANK P. GLASS: May I have the privilege for a minute or two of speaking on the question that Mr. Dotson brought up and also of elaborating a little on what he had to say. I, like

every other practical newspaper man, have had my doubts of schools of journalism, but this summer I was invited by the dean of the school of journalism at Missouri University to deliver an address before it, and I stayed there the entire week and saw the workings of that school of journalism with, you might say, a prejudiced eye. I came away a thorough convert to that school, and to any other school following similar methods. I discovered that it had an extraordinary efficiency as a training school of character. Schools of journalism are not purely mechanical, and that school impressed me as an exceedingly practical one, because it was publishing every day a commercial newspaper, i. e., a newspaper in the ordinary sense of the term. Men and women were being taught editorial work, the mechanics of a newspaper, advertising, circulation, editorial and desk work throughout. Everybody had an opportunity there to learn as much of the practical work as well as the theoretical work of making a newspaper. I am not familiar with other schools of journalism in this country, but know that most of them are following along in the paths of this pioneer school, and I think that newspaper managers are finding everywhere that men coming out of these schools are uplifted in their ideals of journalism.

MR. HORNADAY: I have here a report of the Committee on Credentials which I shall read:

Supplemental to the list of delegates already authorized, the Committee on Credentials begs leave to report that it has examined the credentials of the following additional delegates, and found them to be in proper form, and the applicants are authorized to participate in the proceedings of the Press Congress:

Mr. P. Y. Chien, Editor Social Welfare, Tientsin, China.

Dr. F. F. Bunker, Honolulu.

THE CHAIRMAN: Action on the report will be deferred until tomorrow morning.

The Congress is adjourned to meet tomorrow at nine o'clock a. m.

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FOURTH SESSION.

TUESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 18, 1921.

The meeting was called to order at nine o'clock a. m. President Williams in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the temporary absence of the Secretary I take pleasure in appointing Mr. Petrie, of Hongkong to serve this morning in his stead.

THE SECRETARY: The following radiogram has been received since yesterday:

From Hans Den Weisz, Delegate appointed by Governor Preus of Minnesota: "Congratulate you on your work. What we need most is the old time spirit of confidence. The newspaper man as no other has the opportunity to develop in his country optimism, hope, and faith; regret can't be with you. God-speed to the press congress."

THE CHAIRMAN: A radio from Venezuela regarding press conditions there, and also the following:

A resolution proposed by Mr. S. E. De Rackin relative to the conference at Washington;

A communication from the Association of Foreign Press Correspondents relative to newspaper advertising;

A communication from the Association of Foreign Press Correspondents at New York, through its president, Mr. Percy Bullen, regarding a resolution for the observance of Armistice Day;

A communication from the American Forestry Association regarding news print supplies;

A communication from the Spanish Press Association of Madrid, relative to the recognition of Spanish as an official language of future meetings of the congress;

And a communication from Hedrik C. Anderson, of Rome, relative to a spiritual capital;

Are referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

I recognize Mr. Mark Cohen, of New Zealand, who will read a letter from Sir George Fenwick.

MR. COHEN: I am pleased to be able to tell you that Sir George Fenwick is the President of the New Zealand Branch of the Empire Press Union; is one of our most respected journalists and is recognized in the profession as a man of light and leading, and therefore any words of welcome that come from him may be accepted by you in the spirit in which they are offered. I will read his letter:

*Dear Mr. Cohen:*

I shall be glad if you will convey to the President my regret at finding myself unable to attend the Congress of the World's Press to be held at Honolulu next month. This Company felt that it should be represented, however, and, as you know, Mr. William Easton, its manager, will travel with you to the Congress as its representative. I mention the Daily Times and Witness Company's desire to mark its interest in the Conference partly from the standpoint that the Otago Daily Times was the first daily newspaper to be published in New Zealand and will celebrate its sixtieth birth-

day on 15th November next. This is an event in which you also will have a personal interest, for you and I were, as boys, in very humble capacities members of the staff of the paper at its foundation. It is a long vista of years to look back on, and memories sad and joyous, events hopeful and clouded with doubt, objects attained, projects unrealized—a thousand and one reminiscences of the steadily advancing journalism of this Dominion as of the greater world beyond its shores—well up in the mind. But with them there is the proud knowledge that the New Zealand press can take its stand beside the powerful journals of the old world as representative of all that is sound and wholesome in newspaper life, of all that stands for the welfare of the people, and endowed to the full with that spirit of patriotism and love of our Empire which stood for so much in the tragic happenings of recent years.

It is my very earnest hope that there will be a large gathering at Honolulu of the world's pressmen, and that the proceedings at the Conference will prove of great benefit alike to newspaper interests and to those of the general community.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

GEORGE FENWICK.

THE CHAIRMAN: An invitation has been forwarded through Dr. Sebastiao Sampaio of the Association of the Press of Brazil, from that Association and the government of Brazil, to hold the next session of the Press Congress of the World in Rio de Janeiro. The invitation has not yet reached us, but I acknowledge the advance notice of its coming and refer it when it does arrive to the Executive Committee that shall be elected at this congress. You have heard the report of the Committee on Credentials submitted yesterday. A motion for its adoption will be in order.

MR. GLASS: I move the adoption of the committee's report.

MR. HERRICK: I second that motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor say Aye, contrary No. Carried unanimously.

Mr. E. S. Bronson, who is the Oklahoma Press Association State of Oklahoma, U. S. A., is allotted two minutes at this stage of the proceedings to make an announcement.

MR. BRONSON: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I want to tell you that I am going to extend an invitation to this Press Congress to come to Oklahoma. We have beautiful palms and some of the plants you have here in Honolulu, and we have also oil, and I assure you that we will give you the best there is in the city. I want you to understand that I mean to invite you and entertain you if you come. I have distributed copies of some

photographs of the only country editors' club house in the United States. It was built by himself and another gentleman who has died since.

I also desire at this time to indorse schools for journalism. Down in my State I have tried to get the boys and girls to go to a school of journalism. We have one in Oklahoma and I am using two men in my office now, products of schools for journalism. I thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN: The invitation presented by Mr. Bronson will be referred to the Executive Committee.

We come now to the more formal part of the morning's program. The general topic for consideration this morning is "What, if any, are the obligations of journalists in reference to international relations." Formal addresses will be limited to twenty minutes each, and each address will be followed, if the Press Congress so desires, by discussion. The entire program will also be followed by a discussion and the speeches in discussion will be limited to five minutes each.

I present as the first speaker a man who has done perhaps as much for the Press Congress in his part of the world and in Southern Europe as any member of the organization, Dr. V. R. Beteta.

DR. BETETA: Mr. President, Members of the Press Congress of the World: On the subject I am to speak on today, viz.: "What, if any, are the obligations of the Press Congress in reference to international relations," I wrote a paper which the New York Editor and Publisher, whose specialty is news collected from the newspaper trade and matters of editorial import, printed in its number devoted to the inauguration of the Press Congress of the World. I would refer you to that paper, which is presented to the congress for its details. I answer the question there affirmatively by stating that world peace must be the highest ideal of the Press Congress in dealing with the subject of international relations, and that the best proceeding for the accomplishment of such an ideal is to form a permanent organization of journalists throughout the world, an international league of journalists, for better international understanding with the welfare of all peoples as its sole object.

I outlined roughly there the plan for a tribunal whose deci-



sions shall be more difficult to ignore because sanctioned by a moral and not a material force, a league built upon a previous and larger combination of viewpoints among its associates, in a word, a world press court. I stated there how both aspirations, the press court and the league of journalists, can be materialized in this new and every day better-understood institution known as the Press Congress of the World, which, from this meeting in Honolulu will continue on a permanent basis and be developed to the greatest extent, its purpose the same as heretofore, the service of journalism and the world. I stated there that we stand at the historical moment at which the press, profiting by the serious lessons of the times, tries to improve itself by an inner critical examination.

The formula "International journalistic co-operation shall come to prove all that the press is capable of accomplishing for its self-improvement," the Press Congress is called to be the nucleus of that co-operation. It will work for the liberation of the press in countries that do not yet enjoy it, and at the same time, for a moderation in the behavior of the press where its excesses are conducing to end its freedom. I also believe that the standards of the press can be raised with the help of schools of journalism and that to make the profession of journalism a matter of special study and a definite career, either by propagating schools of journalism or through the incorporation of special study in the ordinary curriculum, seems to be the best way to reach that end. I make the following quotation:

It is worth noting that this Press Congress is being patronized by a university and presided over by a past master of world journalism, one of the leaders of American thought. It is only necessary to remember that this university—the University of Missouri—has distinguished itself by the wide scope of its studies on comparative journalism. It was there that the first faculty of journalism created in the United States, indeed in the world, was established. There also, some of the most eminent editors of the United States meet once a year for their "Week of Journalism," and the University of Missouri, as stated yesterday by our distinguished colleague Mr. Glass, issues a daily newspaper managed and edited exclusively by the students. Thus appears the interesting fact that in the very heart of the United States, a great University has made itself the champion of journalism as a profession and is determined to make the permanent Congress of the Press the body from which journalism's ideals are going to be communicated to the world.

The proposed league of journalists through the world will put an end

to the extreme of nationalism. Over the old conception of nationalism will prevail a wider idea of the universal country for humanity. Indeed, to what extent does the press help kindle the blaze of war? Were not the newspapers, before the beginning of the last terrible world war, to a certain extent fanning the hates of the peoples through their presentations of facts from the point of view of a rabid nationalism? Was not the news from the official agencies published by the press the medium used to carry the propaganda of the particular viewpoints of the governments, rather than those of the people, and least of all the views of Humanity? On the other hand, if journalism had been enjoying what you may call freedom of conscience, that is to say, not merely the freedom granted by the State but the inner freedom of expression without any prejudice or inherited conventionalism; if the European press had been for the last century free to discuss and present frankly the facts about the political entanglements and the engineering of secret treaties—which was the source from which the war gathered its terrific strength—it could have given a start to a healthy reaction on the part of the public against the extremes of nationalism and in favor of peace.

The propitious hour for a general revision of facts and a revision of conscience is the present hour, when the war has just come to a close and its lessons are still fresh and its wounds still open, when in one or another form statesmen and peoples are trying to build the foundation for a future peace. To attain this end, the need for better understanding among the newspaper men of all countries is apparent, especially those from the nations that have delicate problems pending between them.

Finally, I state in my paper how from one end of the world to another the vague aspiration for a better understanding and for the building up of an institution through which co-operative efforts can materialize, is taking more definite form every day. I point out some of the facts which prove such an assertion, and quote especially the active part that Spain and Latin America are taking in this movement. Let me now add some concrete examples of what the Press Congress of the World could accomplish in the matter of this proposed international journalistic co-operation in regard to the Spanish speaking world. I will quote but three cases to be submitted to your consideration.

The first case refers to the Republic of Peru and the second to Venezuela, both tending to ask moral support of the Congress on behalf of the freedom of the press.

The third refers to Central America, my native country, and asks this moral support to solve its greater problem which is of international interest to all Latin America.

Proposition of Dr. Luis Fernan Cisneros, Director of La Prema, Lima, Peru.

Two months ago, in South America, one of the most esteemed papers at Lima, the capital of Peru, was closed and confiscated by the Government. The alleged cause was that there had been published some articles of seditious character, interfering with public order. The building and printing press were taken by force. To justify this proceeding, the Government, through a decree, declared that this was done by reason of public necessity.

The editor, Dr. Luis Fernan Cisneros, is for that reason now in exile in Panama whence he has sent an energetic protest, setting the case before the whole world and especially before the Latin American journalists. He has sent a letter to the Hispanic Section of the Press Congress of the World requesting it to submit the case to the assembly at Honolulu and asking the moral support of the Congress.

The following case refers to a more serious situation and of a more general character, to assist which the co-operation of the Congress is looked for.

Dr. Jacinto Lopez, Member of the Press Congress of the World, and Editor of *La Reforma Social*, an international, political and historical monthly review of New York City, proposes to the Congress to take a resolution denouncing to the world the present despotism of Venezuela, the only one which exists in America after the war.

Doctor Lopez is one of the most noted publicists of Latin America. His review has been exclusively devoted, for the many years that it has been in existence, to the defence of the principles of freedom, independence and sovereignty of the continental countries of Spanish origin. His proposition is to form a coalition between all the organs of the press, if not the press of the whole world, at least that of the American continent, against despotism in America.

He says, "The first institution that despotism destroys is the press because it is the most to be feared by despotism and also the most incompatible with it. Therefore, the press of the free countries is the natural enemy of the individual governments and autocratic governments such as that of Venezuela."

In reality the press of the civilized world has no service more important to give than that of fighting for liberty in the countries

that still live under the shadow and opprobrium of political oppression; and the press of America especially, has not today, in my concept, a duty more urgent to fulfill than that which the disastrous situation existing in Venezuela imperiously demands of her.

The tolerance and indifference of the world toward situations like that of Venezuela does not do honor to modern civilization. The world of civilized nations ought not to maintain relations of any sort with countries in which there are ruling governments so barbarous as that of Venezuela, which is an affront to the human species. It seems as if it ought to be impossible, in an international sense, that a government violates not only all the political rights but also the principles of humanity with impunity. The world lives and continues living without caring, apparently, for the fate of the countries that agonize on the cross of primitive despotisms by their ferocity and their ignorance.

The great force of modern civilization is public opinion, and public opinion is nourished by publicity and information. From here comes the power, the irresistible power of the press, in reality the first power of the modern world. No despotism in America would be able to survive, in my concept, the continued and co-ordinated action of this power.

The opportunity of the Press Congress of the World, meeting in Honolulu, is precious. A resolution denouncing the inhuman despotism of Venezuela, with its prisons, its hatreds, its tortures, its assassinations, its robberies, its monopolies, its corruption, its vices, its pitiful system of terror, would be a new accomplishment and without doubt one of the greatest efficacy. It would be a proof of international solidarity, not so much of the governments as of the public. It would signify that the despotism cannot count upon the indifference and the silence of the rest of the world.

This is, in essence, the proposition which Dr. Lopez presents to this congress. Can this congress, under its constitution and purposes, open its door for the consideration of matters of this kind, or does this fall under the category of political affairs which are banned from consideration?

The third case is of a very different character.

Central America, my native land, is not indifferent to the

movement represented by this Congress. On the contrary, and as long as eleven years ago, it foresaw the need of its journalists uniting in a league in order to attain modern progress in its most practical form.

Some ten years ago the Central American journalists held a Congress, in which not only the militant newspapermen took part, but also all men of learning who were desirous of giving publicity to their views by means of the press. At that memorable gathering the following standard was adopted:

"The press of the five Central American republics should combine their efforts in an energetic, unanimous campaign, that, at the end of ten years the five countries might be reunited into one nation as they were before they gained their independence!"

The purpose in view was to marshal the forces of the press into an intensive and noble campaign to expurgate the grave disease that has undermined the vitality of the five countries, and which has been to a certain extent the cause which has, in the course of time, impaired the work of the founders of the Confederation.

Central America was born a united country. What desire more legitimate than that of seeing her once again a single nation upon reaching the first centenary of independent life?

What were the means counselled by that Congress to attain such ends? To form an organization for international co-operation among the newspapers and intellectual workers of the five countries, in other words a Newspapermen's League, which, under the control of a group of statesmen of the highest prestige should begin an intensive propaganda on the economic agreements to be adopted for the cultivation of common interests; to tie the five countries with bonds of positive strength destined to bridge the distances that have separated them until now; and to complete the work of rapprochement already initiated by the need of mutual defense through a common government, by an historical tradition closely similar, by the imperative command of geography, by every advice of experience and every impulse of idealism.

Notwithstanding the unfavorable circumstances of the political atmosphere for the development of the whole plan at that time, the seed survived; and that effort is worth recalling in referring to the inherited and fresh sympathies the idea of a

journalistic league awakens in Latin America. In this way a newspapermen's league was on the point of being put to the test for the noblest and most fecund of purposes, not merely in the interest of five countries, but of the progress of the whole continent as well, considering it as a single expression of democratic principles, without age-long prejudices and destined to realize the ideal of the fatherland for a new mankind.

The importance of uniting the five small republics has been recognized by the Spanish press, which has studied our problem with much sympathy and has praised our efforts, as has done that of Latin America. One of the greatest Latin American dailies, one of the greatest newspapers of Argentina, *La Prensa*, suggested years ago that the several governments of Spanish America should morally aid Central Americans to reconstruct the old Confederacy by the year 1921, centenary of its independence, by appointing special diplomats entrusted with that task. Even the American press has declared itself unanimously and enthusiastically in favor of the union.

What more appropriate demonstration than that this Press Congress of the World should also see fit to emphasize the moral protection which the press of the entire world must extend to the Central Americans in their effort to consolidate so vast and transcendent an enterprise?

To point out to the Press of the World the significance that the consolidation of their political unity involves for the five countries of Central America and for the reciprocal relations of Latin America, and to persuade those newspapers to tender their sympathies and moral support to the Central Americans for the accomplishment of that supreme blessing, is to my understanding, an exalted goal which the Press Congress can help to attain for the promotion of beneficial interests among all peoples.

Besides its educational schools of journalism; besides its works for procuring better means of cablegraphic communication; besides its periodical congresses at which the most advanced principles in journalism might be declared, a permanent effort in the direction of this practical and greatest of ideals of the peoples would place this Congress in the very near future at the head of the new world.

The moral and intensive support of the Press Congress of the World could be given to its full extent for a union that shall in-

sure for the five countries the reign of public rights, the sacredness of property, the removal of the deep economic obstacles that have hindered the development of the immense natural resources of the Central American lands; a union that shall open up for the sons of Central America the sources of a permanent prosperity in every aspect of life; a union that shall be above the petty interests of partisanship, above the narrow politics of each separate country; a union that shall open the way for a closer relationship among the sons of Central America, banishing the hatreds and provincial jealousies in which our peoples, often instigated by their governments, have been involved; a union that shall bind the leading men of Central America in a co-operative movement embracing the improvement of the cultural and economic conditions of the mass of people; a union that shall be the starting point for a new era of harmony after a century wasted in the hard process of a social and political adjustment; that maintains over the five countries the rights of sovereignty and the sentiment of their solidarity and their duty toward the other peoples of the earth; for a union that shall be the result of the united efforts of the best sons of the five countries and of the five peoples; for a union founded upon such basis and oriented to such goal of progress and civilization. (Applause.)

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THE CHAIRMAN: Are there any remarks at this time in connection with Dr. Beteta's paper? I assume that the several committees of the Congress will take such cognizance of the questions raised for consideration or otherwise as they may deem necessary.

Those of us who come from the mainland of America know of the high significance in American journalism of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. Delegates from other countries may be interested in the statements of the A. N. P. A., an organization composed of the larger metropolitan newspapers of the United States, one of the more important organizations that bring the pressmen of the United States together for common council.

Among the delegates to this Congress is a former president of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, and business manager of the Brooklyn Standard Union whom we have had the privilege of hearing briefly at other times during the

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Congress sessions. It is a pleasure, as well as a distinguished honor, to present to you as the next speaker, Mr. Herbert L. Bridgman of Brooklyn.

MR. BRIDGMAN: The purpose of this paper is neither speculative nor prophetic. I am to try to speak to you concerning "The Newspaper of Tomorrow," but of what value will be our forecast except review of yesterday and survey of today to precede it? "I have but one lamp," said Patrick Henry, "by which my feet are guided, the light of experience," and none of the works of the minds and the hands of man demonstrate the laws and illustrate the processes of evolution more fully and forcibly than the newspaper.

In undertaking the honorable duty assigned me I expressly disown any special forte or fitness for it. We here are all fellow workers of like experiences and common ambitions and as I look from a beginning half a century ago upon the younger brothers I can only claim to be an older, not a better soldier. Let me by way of suggestion ask you, why the newspaper? We have heard that the ancients had their germs or types, but the Athenian mobs which ran after every new thing and the baked bulletin boards of Rome were in no sense precursors of what this Congress of the Press of the World stands for and represents. It is true, though, that that famous runner who told Athens that the barbarian drive had been stopped at Marathon and fell dead as he uttered the joyful news deserves recognition as the first war correspondent and that when Caesar wrote to Rome, "Veni, vidi, vici," he made, though he did not know it, the best headline of the centuries. If you ask why the newspaper, you must go deep into human nature for an answer. Desire for knowledge on the one hand and for gain on the other are, if we will but be honest and speak plainly, the parents of the newspaper; for, to state it in mathematical terms the equation would read, Curiosity plus cupidity equals the newspaper, and by these terms I mean, in the widest and most liberal interpretation, still more. Reduced to still simpler terms, knowledge is power, transmuted incarnated into the newspaper, a very human institution, with all the qualities, mental and moral, of its makers, and neither demanding nor deserving privileges, prerogatives or rewards except those which it honestly earns. Look at the evolution of the news-



paper. Printing, movable types, were for books. For four thousand years before the Christian era and fifteen hundred years after, the world had gotten along without newspapers and, what is infinitely more serious, without desire for them, and when they first appeared they were among the lowest forms of irregular and precarious life in the literary world. No matter what may have been the descent or the ascent of man, evolution has no more cogent argument, more convincing illustration, than that many-paged, many-sided product with which the whole world is today familiar, in which it lives, moves and has its being, than the daily newspaper.

At least this might be the plausible conclusion of the superficial observer, for it must be remembered that all this extraordinary growth, this development in wealth, power and prestige, has been not as in church, in state, in national enlargement, from within outward, but has been forced from the outside, superimposed upon the existing organization, and apparently by influences exterior and superior. The newspaper man did not invent the telegraph, the stereotype, install the fast press, the telephone, wireless or the aeroplane, all of which are his faithful and indispensable servants, and on which his life and prosperity depend. All came to him from outside and wholly independent sources. Shall we not rather say that the newspapers were always quick to perceive and ready to encourage merit in every new invention and that every patient, struggling inventor knew that as soon as the child of his brain was ready to work the work would be provided and well paid for. Mechanical and industrial history may be searched in vain for more generous appreciation and liberal rewards to inventors and manufacturers, no matter in which of the many collateral and appointed fields they were working, than those which the newspapers have bestowed in their eager competition for the latest and the best. It may also be searched in vain for more convincing demonstration of the value of wholesome and healthy competition in a free field and fair play, and of the survival of the fittest. The completed newspaper of today, as it is placed in the reader's hand, is, on its physical and mechanical side alone, the most perfect composite of modern invention and combination of means to end in modern civilization, and yet at a price so small and itself a thing so common that no one ever thinks of it.

Now, I will not say that I disbelieve all which I have said but I gravely doubt whether it will stand examination and analysis. Have we not here, and to deal with dual forces, the interplay of cause and effect, a situation in which the attempt to measure results and assure values is altogether futile and fruitless? Is not the newspaper really and in the large sense and long run as much cause as effect? Else how comes it that in every land and age the world over the free press marches with progress in all the applied arts, and what it attracts to itself and assumes later for its own development is but a tithe, or infinitely less, of that which it proclaims and explains to the whole world. If anything is invented anywhere, the newspapers tell every other inventor of it, and if special advantages and conditions favor development at one center rather than another, newspapers, not consular reports, tell those who are waiting for their place in the sun of progress and prosperity. Do you not recall "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump," and do I claim too much when I claim this energizing, vitalizing function for the newspaper? Something more than politics, more than a bulwark of civil liberty, is in the Constitution of the United States that its press shall be forever free; it is pledge and guarantee of industrial, economic and commercial integrity and independence.

Now, do not think that this traverse, and there is one more short stage, is irrelevant. If predictions are to be worth anything, they must be based on something, and what else does the newspaper of tomorrow stand for except that of the present and the past? That the radical, revolutionary changes of the last generation are due to mechanical causes in great measures may be readily conceded, but are not these at an end? Nothing of prime mechanical importance has appeared for a score of years, and the physical complex is now so well balanced and functions so satisfactorily that it is more than doubtful whether it will be easily disturbed. Experiments with paper mills and coal mines may be undertaken, but they involve far too much capital outlay and certain continuous competition to become an appreciable factor.

On the other hand, while the changes in the news and editorial departments of the newspapers have been no less complete and sweeping than in the mechanical, there is no indication nor

assurance that they are at an end. Personal journalism, the Greeley, Bennett and Raymond type, to mention the great American trinity is at an end, and so is the era which produced and developed them, and what have we and those who follow us in their place? I will not admit that the newspapers have lost their power, nor outlived their influence, even though the great signal lights have gone out and the landmarks have been removed. Twenty of us, the other evening, admitted to each other that we had read the editorials of the morning papers; not one could tell the subjects nor in which paper he had read it, which to my thinking is not the significant or important thing, but that they had all read something and that they had the habit. In the old times only the disciples of a cult or the followers of a leader would have read any editorial, and all the others would have gone on ignorant or indifferent. In other words, the newspaper force of today, and it follows the laws of the church and state, is general, impersonal and moves upon the mass rather than upon the individual. To measure or compare the effect of the past with the present is impossible, for tests and standards are all lacking, but let us not be vainglorious nor overconfident. If a tree is to be judged by its fruits, look at that barren fig tree, New York's municipal election four years ago this fall, when the Tammany tiger, with one newspaper in his teeth, tore through the Fusion Hindenburg line and captured the richest political loot of the country, and if this discourages you, look again and see the magnificent way in which the Liberty and Victory loans and all the other loans and drives went over the top. Depend on it, the newspaper of today changed, transformed from that of yesterday, has lost none of its power. Now, and at last, "The newspaper of tomorrow," shall I say "Haec fabula docet?" May I not invite you from what I have endeavored to recall and outline, to larger fields, greater power and responsibilities and higher rewards? Let me offer a bill of particulars. Mechanical evolution, if it has not practically ceased, is for a while at least quiescent. Business administration, management and methods, in the old times rudimentary or non-existent, are rapidly taking their proper place among the exact business sciences, and rate cutting and confidential rebates for the proud insider in all reputable offices, already things of the long ago, will become as

obnoxious and repugnant as piracy or slavetrading. The circulation liar will not need to wait for his fellows in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone and the publisher who complacently signs and swears "to, for the post office department, whatever the boys put before me" will transfer his obliquity and indifference to more congenial fields of activity. Nothing is more certain than that if the vapid and amateur circulation statement law enacted in spite and ignorance were repealed every self-respecting publisher would rejoice, not so much on his own account but because a gratuitous insult on the whole profession had been withdrawn and a standing premium on falsehood and official incompetence abated. If the government really cared to vindicate its own good name and faith and would check postage payments with sworn statements of circulation the utter absurdity of the whole disgraceful situation would be demonstrated. Newspapers have firmly established their own standards and code of honor, and no more effective testimony to the fallacy and feebleness of the government in business can be found than in the difference in value between a postal affidavit and an A. B. C. certificate, a badge of honor which every newspaper is proud to wear.

In advertising, the future is bright, and I'm not speaking of quantity but of quality. The newspapers of their own accord many by common consent, long before laggard legislators awoke to the situation, cleaned house and cleaned it thoroughly, and if the business office can secure response and co-operation from the editorial rooms the job is finally and effectively completed. Whether the newspaper of tomorrow will be emancipated from the press agent, the promoter and the syndicate who work by ways that are dark and tricks that are vain, I dare not predict. Nor am I inclined to keep reading columns so straight that they lean backward. Many commercial and business enterprises often have substantial news value and genuine and general human interest to the community of which the newspaper is a factor. My objections are to the confidence man who pretends to control editorial opinion and to the meaner types of petty larceny which collects money for the space which the newspaper innocently and in good faith gives away. For all this deplorable and depressing situation and its consequences, however, I believe

that the newspapers themselves, through poverty or carelessness, are responsible. Beware the Greeks bringing gifts, avoid "flimsy" as the pestilence; go out and get your own business notes and news, and then no man will tell that he has a pull and that he can print anything in your columns.

As to advertising rates, those of the newspapers of tomorrow will be higher than those of to-day, and they ought to be. Not only will the service be more valuable in respect to quantity, but its quality and prestige will be sensibly advanced. If the newspaper of tomorrow will do what, so far as I know, has never been done, establish a unit of value as the French scientist did of measure, it will do a service to itself and the business world scarcely less substantial than the invention of printing. Does any member of this Congress, any newspaper man anywhere, know what a line of advertising costs, cost being one of the first elements in the price fixing of every other commodity and service? I am hardly willing to accept without reservation the judgment of the "Thunderer" (of New York, I mean, not of London), whose memorable twenty-five years of the Times we hope may be indefinitely prolonged, that a cent a line per thousand is a fair basic rate. Maybe, by and large, "as we say in the West," but does not application of this rule imply a change every day or two as circulation fluctuates, endless computation and calculations to decide prices? And does not everyone know that thousands of some sorts of circulation are worth millions of other sorts? Of one thing, however, the newspaper of tomorrow will be absolutely sure and inflexible: Rates, whatever they are, will be maintained. Here there is no middle ground. Integrity of rates, all things to all men, is to a newspaper as credit to the banker, virtue to a woman, and the newspaper which trifles with it is doomed.

Disowning again prophetic power, I foresee in the newspaper of tomorrow, readjustment of capital and labor, different forms of the same thing, by which mutuality and understanding will take the place of indifference, distrust, thinly veiled antagonism; in which, freed from the taxes, handicaps and strait-jackets of organization, competent wage earners may do the work which they are able and willing to and receive pay profitable to them and their employers, when ambition to earn and save shall be

recognized and rewarded and the production and prosperity increased. The newspaper of tomorrow will, I hope and believe, be smaller than those of today. Why in blind competition to print everything which everybody wants, print so much that nobody wants? This, the most easily approached and superficial of its characteristics, will most likely resolve itself largely into a commercial and mechanical problem. If the space can be sold for more than it costs it will be otherwise, curtailment will follow, depending on price of newsprint, labor and other materials of production. Retail selling price will doubtless follow the same laws, but both size and price are the body, not the soul, of the newspaper of tomorrow. Whatever may happen it is my belief that if they were smaller they would be better, though this thing must not be pressed to the vanishing point. But how many features, supplements, insets, juniors and other appendages could we not discard with resignation and advantage? Pictures and colors, light cavalry air services if any prefer, are too recent accessories for final assessment. Circulation builders and promoters they doubtless are, but so far as their impact on public consciousness and will are concerned, the substantial driving force of the newspaper, they may be as transient as the lights and shadows of which they are made. Compare valuations. The New York Mercury reported the miraculous retreat of the American army after the battle of Long Island, which saved the Revolution, in three lines; the London Times covered the battle of Waterloo in two "sticks." We print first page telegraphed columns of the beastly orgy of beastly men and women in a San Francisco hotel, and that too before we have determined paternity, rank which smells to heaven and concerning which many valuable pages have been wasted.

The newspaper of tomorrow, to which at last I may have brought you, deserves an apocalypse to which I am unequal and which I shall not attempt. Do you not see in this review of evolution these physical and outward indices which I have endeavored to set before you promise and inspiration? If the day of personal journalism is passed, the picturesque, colorful day of the story writer, are we not entering on a higher plan and developing forces which must be controlled and coordinated? That the newspaper of tomorrow will be the great educator of

the people of the whole world, for knowledge, like science, has no frontier seems inevitable, and yet we may go too far in organization and impersonalism. Every great newspaper today of the first class is an institution, intangible, sometimes destitute of physical assets, but can the corporation which has no soul maintain its hold on the thought and the conscience of the public? The scale upon which the great newspapers are run makes competition practically impossible, and without subvention of franchises they hold substantial and potential monopolies. But if they are not human, the men who own and operate them are, and in this, more than anything else, is the safety and safeguard of the newspaper of the future. "During good behavior" some states appoint their judges, and the newspaper of the future will thrive and prosper just as it serves the people, is faithful to them and its own convictions of duty. The absolute, continuous certainty that this is so, that not only prosperity but life depends on it, is the hostage which the newspaper of the present hands on to that of the future. That of the past educated and led the people in political, social and industrial liberty and advancement, and that of tomorrow must follow the law of its life and evolution.

One hundred and fifty years have passed since Burke's immortal "three estates in Parliament, but in the reporters' gallery yonder there sits a Fourth Estate, more important far than they all." May the newspaper of tomorrow be worthy of its heritage, its opportunity and its duty. Before the disarmament conference opens next month in Washington may not we, reporters and interpreters of history, have laid on this fair and hospitable island, in this "Parliament of man" in personal contact and friendships, the foundation of a real League of Nations, a "Federation of the World?" (Loud applause).

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MRS. EMMA R. REED, Society of the California Woman's Press Club, Los Angeles, California: Mr. President, Delegates of the Press Congress: As I will not be here after tomorrow I thought I would like to say a few words today. I like the optimistic tone in regard to the press but it seems to me that we can do nothing but voice disappointment at the present situation. I come from a city of more than 700,000 inhabitants, a very progressive city that has grown so enormously as to make the con-

ditions that might arise necessary for supervision on the part of the most important of our citizenship.

I say this, that we have the largest number of organized club women in the world in this city, and since they are women of more or less leisure we have considered the welfare of this city very seriously and I want to tell you that we have done work and received hearty co-operation from our newspapers until the close of the war. We have this situation since peace was declared: there has been this era of commercialism and to our dismay we suddenly found that the powers of the press were now in the hands of the commercial interests. We have a very rich city, a very rich organization and very fine business. Our banks are large advertisers and they control all of the businesses to which they loan money. The power of the press resides in the large business interests. We are really prohibited now from doing our work. We have probably a membership of at least 15,000 earnest, intelligent women, who have been getting results, and we ought to be a factor in the continued upbuilding of our city and we are paralyzed by the fact that our newspapers are now owned by the commercial interests.

THE CHAIRMAN: At this time the chair is pleased to report that three additional members of the Australian delegation have arrived to attend the Congress sessions, with Mr. Davies at the head. They will be heard during the coming sessions of the Congress.

Among the many great buildings of Shanghai is the building occupied by the Shun Pao, which, if I mistake not, has the largest circulation of any newspaper published in the Republic of China. The next speaker on the morning program comes to us from the Shun Pao, Mr. K. P. Wang.

MR. WANG: Mr. Chairman and members of the Press Congress of the World: It is indeed a great pleasure and honor for me to be present here in this Congress to represent the Shun Pao, the leading newspaper in China. I am also glad to state that the Shun Pao has accepted most readily the invitation to the Congress and has resolved most promptly to send representatives to participate in the Congress' programme, because we think that China has had too few opportunities to have privileges to take part in international gatherings, especially in gatherings of this



nature, where only peoples of different nationalities, instead of government officials, are present, and where discussions and deliberations are free from diplomatic conventions and political complications, and because we further think that a leading daily like the *Shun Pao* should make herself acquainted with newspapers of other countries, and in conjunction with other members of the Congress help to accelerate the advancement of the journalistic profession of the world.

During the last few decades, China has become one of the most important members in the family of nations, and the press in China has also become one of the greatest factors in China's progress and reconstruction. It is therefore not altogether out of place for me to spend a few minutes here to discuss the relationship between China and the press world. Probably a few words about the history of press and printing in China would be a proper introduction. The press, as it is understood by the western nations, is still in its period of infancy in China, but China has a rather long and interesting history of newspaper life. She holds the distinction of being the first country to start the newspaper. As far back as the second century, B. C., during the Han Dynasty, China began to have circular papers. They were in forms of periodical reports prepared by residential representatives of feudal lords of different states at the capital to keep their lords and home officials well-informed about the edicts and decrees issued by the emperors. Later during the Tang Dynasty, about the middle of the seventh century, these feudal reports changed their forms into governmental gazettes, which were issued by the Government itself instead. These gazettes generally contained information of official promotions and removals, principal ministers' memoranda and recommendations, and new orders and laws authorized by the emperors. It is also during this period that the first newspaper in China as well as in the whole world was born. During the reign of Emperor Yuantsung, which lasted from the year 713 to the year 755, a magazine was founded known as the "Kai Yuan" magazine. As far as histories go, this is the first newspaper ever recorded on any historical annals of any nation.

However, the word press generally carries the idea of printing and until the art of printing was discovered, there could not

be any press in the proper sense of the word. Just as the newspaper made its initial entrance to the world through China, printing was also first invented by Chinese artisans. Movable types were first used in China in 1045, when a blacksmith named Pi Shing began to use types made of plastic clay. On the soft surface of a plate of clay, Pi Shing cut out the characters, which were later hardened by fire. From this cut plate of clay, porcelain types were then moulded. The porcelain types, when in use, were set up in a frame of iron partitioned off by strips, and inserted in a cement of wax, resin, and lime to fasten them down. The printing was generally done by rubbing, and when the processes were completed, the types were loosened by melting the cement and then made clean for another impression. However, prior to the use of movable types, there was printing in China already, which was usually done by wooden or stone blocks with characters carved on. Rubbing was also the usual way of reproduction. As early as 175, Emperor Lingti of the Han Dynasty ordered all the classics carved on stone tablets to be posted in front of imperial palaces so that the scholars could have the opportunity to rub the impressions from them.

The above is a brief history of the press and printing in China. Though China employed movable types five hundred years earlier than Gutenberg cut his matrices at Mainz, yet today in China the press, as such, is still more or less undeveloped, leaving plenty of room for improvement and progress. In the first place, there are not enough newspapers in the country to serve the public. Then again most of the papers which exist today are not conducted along modern lines. Only a few of them are acquainted with up-to-date journalistic principles and management. Advertising rates are altogether too low to support the papers. Their circulation figures are mostly insignificant, and the majority of newspaper workers have not received the proper training. The equipments for the papers are as a whole incomplete. In the matter of news service, there are too few out-port correspondents, and yet these correspondents generally send the bulk of news through mails rather than through telegrams. Editorial policies, as such, are practically unknown to most of the Chinese editors, except policies which make the papers appear partisan and partial.

Nevertheless such a state of affairs existing in the newspaper world in China today does not mean that we should feel discouraged. The present tendencies all indicate a better day. The fact that the general public of the country gradually feel the necessity and importance of the press should be taken as a source of inspiration. In all the big political, economic, educational and social problems of the country, everybody has to look for news from the papers as well as for opinions expressed by the editorial comments of the papers; and very often, they would borrow the space of the papers to publish their own views about these problems. During the revolutionary period some ten years ago, the press in China played such an important role that it can be safely said that the revolution was only made successful through the utterings of the newspapers. Since then, more and more papers have been established, and the number of publications has been increasing all the time. Modern newspaper plants are being constructed and up-to-date printing machinery are being ordered. The old class of editors, who are merely literari and poets, are being replaced by graduates from colleges, who are fully equipped with modern knowledge of sciences and languages. As the people are getting more and more educated, the reading public is being enlarged and hence the circulation is being increased. The day is not far now when China will have a press as strong and as efficient as that of any country.

That the Chinese press is already exerting its influence in China now can not be denied. A few simple statistical facts will prove its popularity and strength. In spite of the fact that there is such an extent of territory and there is no adequate communication throughout the country, we have secured the following statistics as authentic and accurate as obtainable. According to the figures kept by the statistical department of the Shun Pao there are now in China 1,134 publications of one kind or the other; and when classified there are daily, 550; weekly, 154; monthly, 303; yearly, 1; quarterly, 4; half-monthly, 45; half-yearly, 1; bi-monthly, 1; bi-weekly, 5; bi-daily, 6; every ten days, 46; every five days, 9; and every three days, 9. Among the above papers, there are 26 of them published by foreigners in foreign language; 15 of them being published by the British; 4 by the Americans; 4 by the Japanese; and 3 by the French; 18 of them

being published daily, 4 weekly, and 4 monthly. Many other papers published in Chinese language are also identified with foreign interests, in fact though not in name. Also there are five other daily papers, appearing in English language but owned by Chinese.

As it is the case in other countries, China also has her newspaper centers. Peking and Shanghai are the cities where the influence of the press is felt the most. In Peking alone, there are in all 92 daily papers, including publications of every nature and every description. These papers contain most of the political news of the country, presenting the stories from different angles and under different shades. Shanghai is a commercial center, and so the papers there publish more economic and commercial news than papers of other cities. Monthly publications seem to have found more room in Shanghai than the dailies; the number of monthlies published in Shanghai is 63, while that of the dailies is only 31. Canton, Hankow and Tientsin are the other journalistic centers of the country, but none of them can be in any way compared with Shanghai and Peking. Editorial expressions published at Canton, Hankow and Tientsin do not carry as much weight as expected, and the papers from those cities do not circulate very far. A few of the foreign newspapers in China have also established a high standing and prestige, and very often their editorials are translated by the Chinese papers.

In the whole history of the Chinese press, the *Shun Pao* has always, as it does today, enjoyed the reputation as the leading newspaper in China. It has had a long and bright history and it has won a deserving and lasting prestige. It reaches every class of people, and its influence is felt by all. It has become so popular that its title *Shun Pao* has become a common name to people living in the interior parts of the country—in country villages and small towns, the name "*Shun Pao*" has long been a substitute word for "newspapers." The *Shun Pao* has a net circulation of 42,000 copies every day, which is about the largest circulation figure China ever possesses. And when we think of the fact, which is peculiar to China alone, that a newspaper passes to many neighbors to be read before it reaches the waste basket, this circulation figure would be increased to manifold if every reader would subscribe for a copy. The figure 42,000 is certainly incom-

parable with the circulation figure of papers in other countries. But China is a country where communication is so inadequate and the number of educated persons is so limited that it is hard to build a big circulation in one day.

Among all the newspapers in China at present, the Shun Pao is the oldest one. It was established on the thirtieth of April, 1872, when the paper was running on a very small scale, appearing merely in the form of single news sheets every day. Not until 1915 a small rotary press of French type without folder was used and the number of pages for every day's issue was increased to twenty. In 1918, owing to the ever increasing demand for a modern plant, a new building was completed. It was in November of that year that all Shanghai residents witnessed the inauguration of the new home of the Shun Pao, which is a reinforced concrete fire-proof structure of five stories. In addition to the huge building, a Sextuple forty-eight page Rotary Press driven by a forty horse power motor was installed, which was the first of the kind ever put up in China. Office work began to be departmentalized and handled by specialists, and the time-honored policy of strict impartiality began to be crystallized. Owing to the leadership of the director and untiring effort of the staff, the Shun Pao is today by far the most influential newspaper throughout the length and breadth of the Republic of China.

Now permit me to say just a few words about the reason why the press is so important in the present day China. China is now facing her hardest period, the period of reconstruction. She has so many knotty domestic questions to tackle and so many complicated international problems to solve that she needs most urgently the help and guidance of public opinion. In these days of internationalization, and in these days when the problems of the Pacific deserve the greatest attention of the world, the destiny of China is the destiny of the world. In rebuilding China into a great nation, the responsibility should not be shouldered by China alone, but must be shared by all nations, because the rise or fall of China affects the welfare of the world as a whole. The Shun Pao and other newspapers that control the public opinion in China today have pledged themselves to exert their best ability and power to serve China. But in such a great task, the assistance and co-operation of the press of other friendly

powers are most earnestly solicited, for the Chinese press, which is so inadequate and insignificant, cannot undertake the work alone. We must ask the sympathy and support from the press of other countries.

Among all the things that the Chinese press world needs most today is the organization of an efficient and well-intentioned international news agency, jointly supported by the press of both China and other nations. China has long felt such a need, because she does not get enough information from the western countries for the reading public. On the other hand, the press in the foreign countries are also very much handicapped by the absence of authentic and valuable information about China. Whatever foreign news appears in Chinese papers is either too far behind or too brief to comprehend. Any reading materials about China published in foreign papers mostly consists of short reports of insignificant events and wrong representations of political and social problems. There has been too little sympathetic news service both in China and in foreign countries; and a well-organized international news agency would be the best remedy for the situation. Such an agency should invite upright newspaper men both from China and from other nations to be on the staff so that all parties concerned could get the best benefit therefrom. Each member of the staff should get out accurate news and profitable informations about his own country to be furnished to papers of other nations. If such an agency should include all principal countries of the world and work together in proper co-operative basis, it would be a useful and important journalistic enterprise of the world.

In conclusion let me make clear that I am not here today just to give you a brief history of the press and printing in China, nor am I here today to present to you a short description of the Chinese press as existing in China at the present moment and to tell you the development and progress of the Shun Pao. I have a much bigger and a more important mission than these. I am here today on behalf of the Shun Pao to deliver a message to you, members of the Press Congress of the World, to request you to give a helping hand to China to restore her life and vigor again, to insure peace and order in the Pacific regions, and "to make the world safe for democracy." The world civilization has

come to such a state that we must have a bigger vision to look at the world problems than before. Racial prejudices must be discarded, and people's diplomacy should rule the day. Asia is no longer a far-off continent and China is no longer a secluded country. Proper and authentic publicity about China should supersede ridiculous story telling, and friendly and helpful advices should be introduced in place of sarcastic and sometimes contemptuous comments. The world is no longer a world of governments, but it has become a world of peoples. If the peoples of the world cannot sympathize and help one another to bring about the world's salvation, what will be the hope and destiny of the world's civilization? In my opinion, and in the opinion of the Shun Pao, there is nothing more beneficial to future happiness of mankind than to effect a better understanding and to seek for a more sympathetic co-operation among the peoples of the world. This is the reason why I am here, and this is the reason why the Press Congress of the World is organized. Let us all take this as the supreme aim of this Congress. (Applause.)

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THE CHAIRMAN: Having heard the illuminating paper of Mr. Wang regarding China and Chinese journalism, and the hopes that are entertained, we come a little nearer geographically to these islands—slightly nearer I think—and will now hear from Mr. Henry Chung of the New Korea, representing the journalists of Korea.

MR. CHUNG: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Before I begin my address I want to say a little word, and that is I bring cordial greetings and sincere good wishes from all Korean journals and journalists.

In the paper I am going to read to you I have purposely eliminated any mention of the Korean question because I am desirous to avoid all questions partisan or propaganda in nature. I am going to speak to you as a publisher of a paper not belonging to any one particular country.

Some time ago a prominent American journalist made a statement that the age in which we live is an age of lies and liars. The world war was started by lies and liars and was won by lies and liars.

That is indeed a very challenging statement, and brings to the fore once again the time-honored adage that the pen is mightier than the sword. It also raises the question as to what is a lie. Perhaps the definition of deceitfulness given by Oscar Wilde might be applicable in the case of newspapermen. Oscar Wilde once said what we commonly call deceitfulness on the part of some people is nothing more than multiplicity of personality. But in case of the newspaper man it is versatility and adaptability necessary to his profession, and not multiplicity of personality.

Is it true that the pen is mightier than the sword? If so how should we wield this powerful weapon to promote better relations between nations?

No reform of any consequence has ever been brought about without the assistance of the pen, and quite often the pen has been mainly instrumental in bringing about a reform. Consider for a moment, if you please, the influence of the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau on the French Revolution, of the work of Thomas Paine and Alexander Hamilton on the revolutionary and constitutional periods of American history, and of the writings of William Lloyd Garrison and Harriet Beecher Stowe on the abolition of slavery. When the world war was started the first thing that the British Government did was to take over all the cable and wireless communications to all the parts of the world in so far as it was possible for Great Britain to do so, and keep them free from enemy interference. When America entered the war, President Wilson promptly established the Bureau of Public Information to educate the public. I am not praising, nor condemning Mr. George Creel, who, as the chief of that bureau, received no small amount of criticism. I am simply mentioning that bureau as a necessary auxiliary to the government during the war. The work performed by Ray Standard Baker at Paris as the publicity man of the American delegation was a necessary part of the many laborious functions of the delegation. One reason why Secretary Hughes did not yield an inch in his negotiations with Japan on the Yap controversy is because he realizes the strategic importance of that island as a cable station keeping the communication channels between the East and West open.



All these illustrate the important role the publicist and profession play in international affairs. There is no question that the modern newspaper is a power—a power that can be used either for good or for bad. In former days of American journalism there were a number of remarkable individual journalists whose ideas molded public opinion and to whom the public looked for guidance. Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana, James Gordon Bennett, Joseph Pulitzer and Henry Watterson were a few of the exponents of this school of individual journalism. In those days the newspapers were the vehicle of expression of the personality and character of these individual journalists, and the public was able to trace the responsibility for statements made by them. Each newspaper had a personality of its own. It was in the day when the individual came before the corporation, and the man before the machine. Thus far in history nearly every reform of lasting character has been brought by individuals, not by machines. If I had a thousand dollars—which I haven't—I would invest it not in the biggest investment concern, but in a concern managed by the most trustworthy individuals. It is indeed fortunate for the public that a few journals the world over still rigidly adhere to their distinct character and personality regardless of its popularity. But the good old days are gone, and possibilities are that we shall never go back to them again. Corporations have replaced individuals, and syndicates control small newspapers. Bigness and sensationalism seem to be the spirit and tendency of the modern newspaper.

A few weeks ago while the Arbuckle trial was occupying the front page of every newspaper in the United States, there was a convention of world-wide significance held in New York City. It was the convention of chemists. These scientists discussed matters that might revolutionize the industry of the world. Yet how many newspapers gave any lengthy space to their discussions? To be sure, the profound deliberations of the chemists assembled in New York would be dry and uninteresting to the average reader, while a scandal such as the Arbuckle trial is highly sensational. And people like to read sensational things—I mean the average people. It is a debatable question whether the newspaper should give the people what they want regardless of the ethics of the question involved, or should the newspaper

consider the people as a parent looks upon his children and give them only what they ought to have. The most we could hope to accomplish in dealing with human nature is a compromise. We should give our readers what they would like to read mixed with what they ought to read. In this way, the newspaper of today will be able to serve and please the people, at the same time leading them along the path of progress.

The modern news-gathering facilities have never been equaled in history. They eliminate distance and bind, if properly utilized, all peoples of the world into a great family of mutual understanding and harmonious co-operation. But here is the danger of these powerful agencies being controlled by financial interests or ambitious governments. The only way to keep the vehicle of public opinion on the high road to truth and idealism is to develop a group of journalists of vision and high caliber. Their business it is to have a thorough knowledge of international affairs so that they may aid their statesmen in developing international comity and good relationship. They should study assiduously the government and people of other nations, so that they may understand the motive and aspiration of other nations. Quite often misunderstandings magnify small issues and cause many unnecessary frictions between nations. Once Charles Lamb said of a man, "I hate that fellow." Lamb's friend said, "Why do you hate him? Do you know him?" Lamb replied, "No, I do not. I never hate a man that I know."

Here I regret to say that the average American newspaper man has a very limited knowledge of the affairs of other countries, especially the Oriental countries. Difficulty in mastering the Oriental languages is perhaps the main reason. This lack of understanding of the Far Eastern situation often leads them to play unwittingly into the hands of clever government propagandists in the Orient. I personally know a number of American publicists who went to the Far East to investigate. They were well-meaning and unsuspecting. They unknowingly fell into the hands of a government propaganda. The result was they saw nothing but what that government wanted them to see and heard nothing but what that government wanted them to hear. They came back home in a happy haze of pleasant impressions ever praising that government for the wonderful work it was doing.

The ideal and aim of a publicist should be seeking truth; and after having found it he should tell it to his readers regardless of consequences. Truth-telling in international matters is not always a pleasant task. But we must keep in mind that no lasting peace can be founded on falsity. Despite all the high-sounding principles of peace enunciated by our peace advocates, there are at this moment fourteen principal nations having 6,000,000 soldiers under arms. These are the grim facts which the newspaper man cannot afford to lose sight of. I wish to take this occasion to present to you the lurking dangers in news-gathering agencies that are owned, controlled or subsidized by their governments. I have often noticed that whenever a government subsidizes a news agency, it does so with the intention of using it as its propaganda channel. Often such a syndicate may magnify or minimize, create or suppress news to serve the purpose of that government. Such an agency is no respecter of truth. I have in my mind a news agency that is not only subsidized but established and controlled by its government, and the news it distributes is utterly unreliable. In this connection I may say that we cannot praise too highly the splendid service which the Associated Press renders to the newspapers in America. Its fairness and impartiality may well be emulated by news-gathering agencies of other countries.

The best way to keep the press of the world free from propaganda of any sort is to develop a group of newspapermen of high caliber and character in every country—men who will not be mystified by decorations from kings and potentates, nor be deceived by lavish entertainment of ambitious governments. Every newspaperman must be made to realize that he is an apostle of truth and an advocate of righteousness. He must not be afraid to attack kings and princes if need be, nor to hesitate to advocate the rights of the humble and lowly when humanity and justice demand it. He should be progressive enough to be thoroughly open to new ideas and at the same time have a profound regard for traditional institutions of the past which contributed so richly to the achievement of modern civilization.

Imperialism, political or economic, is at the bottom of all modern wars. Publicity is the greatest enemy of imperialistic tendencies. In this respect we may well consider the newspaper-

man of today as a soldier of truth fighting the battle for the cause of human justice. Here we must remember that an ounce of preventive is far more effective than tons of remedy. Especially is it true in international affairs. The world is getting smaller, and what affects one corner of the earth is bound to affect all the rest. If you see a sore spot of imperialism anywhere, turn on your ray of publicity and apply the radium cure of public condemnation to that nation. Otherwise you will have to perform an operation on the battlefield which always involves hardship and sacrifice.

It is particularly fitting and proper that this Congress should be held in Hawaii which lies at the crossroads of the Pacific. You will agree with me when I say that the trouble center of the world has been transferred from the Balkans to the Orient, and the great Powers of the world are preparing for a settlement. In the future, the Pacific, not the Atlantic, will be the center of political, commercial and possibly naval activities of the world. It is the duty of the journalists of the nations surrounding the Pacific to fight governmental propaganda, whether it is Oriental or Occidental, and present the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth to the people of their respective countries, so that the people, the sovereigns of each nation, may see the issues involved with clear vision and go forward to meet them with good faith and unflinching courage. Mutual understanding based on truth will eventually pave the way for mutual good will and friendly co-operation. By making it possible for nations to understand each other truthfully, the journalist of today will prove once again the time-honored maxim that the pen is mightier than the sword, and will render an invaluable service to the cause of international justice and comity. (Applause.)

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THE CHAIRMAN: What Mr. Chung has so well said appeals I am confident to the members of the profession.

The last speaker on the formal program comes to us from our next-door neighbor of the West, or shall I say of the East, our nearest neighbor. It is my genuine privilege to present to you now my old friend—I use the word “old” as an evidence of affection, not of antiquity—my old friend Mr. M. Zumoto, of Tokyo, Japan, editor of the *Herald of Asia*.

MR. ZUMOTO: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Before proceeding with the reading of my paper I wish to take this opportunity of extending to you an invitation from the press of Japan to come over and hold your next session in Japan. Now, we do not mean to compete with our friends from China. If the next Congress is held in China it would please us just as much as if it were held in Japan, but as a matter of physical sequence I think Japan is the logical place for the next session of the Congress. It was first held in San Francisco and it has traveled Westward so far as this place in mid-ocean, and so the next place you will touch on your westward course will necessarily be Japan, and if the next session is held in Japan we promise you, Dr. Tong, and other friends from China, that we will take good care that every one of the delegates coming to Japan shall pass on to China later.

Now, coming to my paper, I feel that on more than one point I may infringe on the Constitution of this Congress, for I am going to talk to you about something which is very much like policies and politics. However, I crave your indulgence, Mr. President, and yours, Ladies and Gentlemen, for this will be my first and last offense.

[As Mr. Zumoto's paper dealt in considerable measure with international politics and as it has been published in full elsewhere, it is, with Mr. Zumoto's generous and cordial consent, omitted from this volume.—Editor.]

THE CHAIRMAN: The thoughtful and intelligent paper presented by Mr. Zumoto has I am confident been received by you with interest.

The invitation presented by Mr. Zumoto, to hold the next session of the Congress in Japan, will be referred to the Executive Committee with appreciation and thanks.

The Congress will now be in recess until two o'clock.

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FIFTH SESSION.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 18, 1921.

Congress was called to order at two p. m. President Williams in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first speaker on the program this

afternoon is Colonel E. F. Lawson of Great Britain, whom I have the honor of presenting to you.

COLONEL LAWSON: Mr. President, Fellow Delegates: I venture to suggest to the President of the Press Congress of the World the desirability of the representatives of the World's press here assembled passing some form of resolution affirming their belief in the value of cheapened means of communication in providing better international understanding and sympathy, and pledging the efforts of the members present to endeavor in their own countries to urge the improvement and cheapening of all means of international communication. The President was good enough to agree with my suggestion and to permit me to move the resolution which I subjected to his approval.

In submitting this resolution I shall assume that no one here disputes the desirability of improved communications. There may be people in the world who have a vested interest in ignorance, but they are not to be found in a gathering of representatives of the World's press.

There are many physicians who claim to have knowledge of "the panacea" for the world's ills. But in so far as those ills are the result of international misunderstandings the surest remedy must be the greater knowledge of each other. Countless prescriptions exist for creating this greater knowledge of bringing the various parts of the world into closer relationship. But whatever they may be and whatever form they may take, early and cheap communication lies behind them all.

Innumerable cases can be quoted where the beginning of international misunderstandings can be traced to the absence of really full and accurate accounts of events, not due to any international misrepresentation, but entirely due to a very laudable desire to curtail cabling expenses.

In dealing with events of international importance the danger of the use of abbreviated cablegrams is obvious. For business telegrams codes may be valuable but for the use of journalism they are valueless. When the question at issue involves the explanation of new facts, the publication of explanatory statements and the development of new policies verbal accuracy is absolutely essential.

There can be no doubt that letters from correspondents re-

ceived by mail do not have the same value as cabled news. The people of the present day want their news fresh and are determined to have it fresh. They are disinclined to give more than a cursory glance to matter which they can see is three or four weeks old and pay more attention to the short cabled message which has gone before than to the detailed explanatory statement which supplements it.

Setting aside altruistic motives, the direct interest to journalists in the reduction of cost of transmission of news is obvious. I do not stress this very much, but I mention it because I have heard malevolent criticism on this very question of cabled news, that you will only get journalists to combine when they see the expectation of material gain. I do not think that this is a true or a just criticism. When international matters of the first importance are under discussion, it is truly remarkable how the press of all countries deal with them in the most ample telegrams. The difficult questions of space go by the board and expense is the last consideration. They have a duty to their readers which they are the first to recognize. To take only one instance, Australia with a population of 5,000,000 has been spending 100,000 pounds a year in keeping her people informed of what is happening all over the world.

It is not in this way that cheapened communications can serve to improve international relations. It is when there is no event of the first importance that the good results would be seen in the constant flow of live news which would create between the countries real understanding and sympathy, news which owing to expense of cabling the different publics do not get now, not only political information but fuller accounts of international sport, more human interest stories, little things as well as big, so that the nations may be able to understand each other's private lives, and our intercourse should be easy, intimate and free.

There can be no doubt that the volume of news between countries is primarily regulated by the cost of transmission. That in all countries the volume of news from other countries is insufficient is only too true. Nothing strikes a visitor to a strange country more than the paucity of information which is being published about his own country. Some travelers, of course, suffer from a slight deficiency in their sense of relative values. I do

not think that I expect to see too much British news in the American papers or vice versa, but in reading your papers I do feel that your editors would sometimes be glad of more news from Europe. And in our country I know that we should be glad of more news from the States. It is my practice at home to read all the quotations from the Daily Telegraph in the provincial and local press of Great Britain, and no one of our correspondents is more quoted than Mr. Percy Bullen, for many years our correspondent in New York. We have a thinking public who want to know what you are doing and thinking.

In this matter of the collection of world's news, the American press with its hundred million of readers is better placed than the press of other countries in being able to pay for its news. Its internal consumption is so great that it can afford to pay for its collection of news on a vast scale. This is a question which affects not only the newspapers directly but also the agencies. The American press is not entirely dependent on the great and efficient agencies for its news. The leading American papers have their representatives in the capitals of Europe—I speak from my knowledge of London—men of the very highest ability, to inform their readers of the events of Europe and to advise them on its politics.

And I am sure I am right in assuming that their newsmen are no less desirous than those of other countries that cheapest facilities should be given for the transmission of information. On this point I may venture to quote Dr. Pierson, chairman of the American publishers committee on cable and radio communications. In forwarding a memorandum to Lord Riddell of our Empire Press Union, he says: "The few sentences herewith mentioned or quoted from conventions are the only laws governing or protecting newspapers in their daily work of diffusing among their million readers news of the peoples of other lands. The fewness of these regulations and the multiplicity of interpretations given to them are due to the inertia of the newspapers of the world in the past and invite us all to a struggle for their improvement now and when a new convention is being formulated." He goes on to say, "In the present conditions of the world the reason for encouraging press services are numerous and dominant."



Because we of the press have been inert in the past is no reason why we should be in the future, and no representative meeting of those who have at heart the interests not only of the world's press but of the world's peace should pass without an affirmation of our solidarity in this matter. When we come to the question of remedies, we are on more difficult and perhaps controversial ground.

I will make no attempt to apportion the blame, if blame there be, of high costs amongst nations, corporations, or individuals. Nor will I endeavor to define the remedy of the existing situation. To essay the first would be of little practical value, to succeed in the second would require greater knowledge than I possess. Even to prescribe for our present conditions requires a depth of technical skill and the widest sources of information. To secure any improvement, it needs the co-operation of all governments, it needs the co-operation of existing cable companies.

The cost of operation of the cable systems is high and in all probability will remain high. The cost of maintenance is on a par with the cost of operation. Although the congestion on some cable wires has been very great, cables are not everywhere run to their maximum capacity. This is the direct result of high rates. I believe that traffic on the Pacific cable between Vancouver and Australia and New Zealand which amounted to some 10 million words per annum during the war had gone in the present year to one hundred and thirty thousand words a week, and that the wire was clear for an average of forty-eight hours a week. There was margin here for the introduction of deferred press rates without delay.

The cost of laying fresh cables is prohibitive, and our great hope of improvement of communications would appear to be in the increased use of wireless telegraphy. Wireless telegraphy is still in a transitional stage and has not yet attained its full efficiency. Where cables are not used to their full capacity there may be some hope of improvement in the establishment or re-establishment of deferred press rates. But this condition is not general and we must look elsewhere for the remedies which we require. Nothing seems to offer the same prospect as the development of wireless telegraph.

Improved methods of wireless transmission are being dis-

covered every day and will result in wider ranges and the possibility of acting under adverse electrical conditions. We are informed that messages sent at high commercial speed are practically impossible to intercept, which is assuring news for those who, in spite of our fraternal feeling for each other, sometimes welcome some slight chronological advantage in the receipt of news.

There are, I believe, five transatlantic wireless routes in operation, though three of these are intermittent. There are seventeen cables. Wireless, however well it may develop, will never in all probability entirely replace cables. It will be a supplementary service, not an alternative one. But if wireless is developed it will act as a competitor to the cable companies and compel them to maintain a higher state of efficiency at the lowest cost to the public. But herein appears a great danger. There are vast interests who desire that wireless rates shall not be on the low scale that the inexpensive nature of the system justifies. There is grave reason to fear that wireless users will lose their advantage in order that the dividends of the cable companies may be kept up. At the present moment the wireless rate from New York to London, which began at 2½d per word, has increased to 3½d. This has the effect of bringing them up to the rates charged by the Western Union. If this state of affairs is to be the fate of wireless everywhere, we shall have no hope of cheapened communications. Nobody can state what should be the future rate for wireless. No one can say to what extent cable rates can be reduced. Reductions must be of gradual growth and the result of experiment.

In discussing this question of the development of wireless there is an important point for consideration. There exists a divergence of opinion as to whether this service can best be developed by the private enterprise of the radio companies or by government service. I am not going to express a definite opinion on that point. With a very marked preference for individual enterprise, I should be prepared to waive my objections in favor of the service which would give the best transmission at the lowest cost.

But if government services are to be developed, it is all-important that in no matter what country they may be their use

should be free and unrestricted. A service should be self-supporting, but even if it be state-aided, it must not be state-controlled. There are a number of countries which, owing to the undeveloped nature of their press, cannot pay for their news in the quantity in which, in the interests of world peace, they ought to have it. But if the rates cannot be brought down to a level on which they can afford a free and unrestricted service, it is better that they should be left with an inadequate news service.

It is full time that very unpleasant word propoganda should be decently interred. No one will wear mourning for it. My friend, Mr. McClatchy, with the illumination of expert knowledge, can amplify this by concrete example. So I will not dwell on this point any longer.

I may seem to have made a statement which does not carry us any farther on the road to improvement. In a matter which demands the co-operation of all the nations of the earth, it is difficult to be precise.

But to all who have the interest of world communications at heart, the present conditions are highly unsatisfactory, and I feel that it would not be right for a representative Congress of the World's press to depart without having registered their collective opinions of the importance of this question and pledged themselves in their respective countries to strive for improvement.

No improvement can be effected without effort. Were it possible for me to outline a definite program of reform I would do so. I can only suggest that on our return we do two things; First, that we endeavor to educate the public to realize and appreciate the importance of this question of cheap and rapid communications; second, that whenever any question of communications is under discussion we do our utmost to insure improvement, not only by personal effort, but by the support, given without consideration of space, of all the weight and influence of the various publications with which we are associated. We know that most of the evils in the world's history have come from ignorance, and that the surest bond of sympathy among nations is the complete, free and untrammelled knowledge of one another's daily life and difficulties.

Disarmament in itself is nothing. What have you accomplished by limiting the means of fighting if you leave the desire

to fight? In such a reference it is commonplace to quote that you cannot hate the man you know. But, like so many commonplaces, it is a great truth, and the desire to know each other better is there. Every nation of the earth wants to know other people's opinions. They want to understand their hopes, the causes of their fears and the objects of their ideals, their joys and their sorrows. It is only the absence of a sufficient quantity of free and cheap news which enables the baser elements which may exist in every nation and which may prefer to foster prejudices rather than to promote good understanding—though they know the danger that it may lead to wars—which enables these elements to maintain the influence which they exercise on opinion.

We journalists are not accused of being, as a class, prone to self-depreciation, but I honestly believe that we ourselves have no conception of our power to secure the peace of the world. The vast majority of the inhabitants of every country never travel beyond their country's borders and have neither the time nor the inclination to read books of travel or to study the politics of other nations.

To them the press, and more particularly the daily press is the interpreter of the sentiment of other nations and the source on which they rely for their information as to the life of the world outside. That information the press endeavors to give as fully as possible. But the press has got to make its living. We don't want paid propaganda from any one; we want news, a regular flow of live news, got whence we want, free and cheap, free alike from restriction and from bias, and cheap so that partial understanding may not work as great mischief as international prejudice.

This is a case which deserves a worthier advocate, but is, I think, a cause of supreme importance for the benefit of civilization, and, therefore, with no further commendation I beg to move this resolution:

Resolved, that this Congress declares that, in the interests of world amity and of better international understanding and sympathy, telegraphic facilities for the general interchange of news and press comment should be greatly cheapened, improved and extended; and

That the representatives of the world's press here assembled

in conference undertake, in their respective countries, to press by all legitimate means for the establishment of lower rates for press messages, whether by land telegraph, submarine cable, or wireless telegraphy, and for the improvement and extension of such means of communication. (Loud applause.)

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THE CHAIRMAN: Colonel Lawson has pitched the discussion on a high plane with his instructive and inspiring address. No more significant topic is to be considered by the Press Congress than the one which has been presented by him.

I call next on Mr. V. S. McClatchy, editor of the Sacramento Bee, United States, who will speak to you on the same subject.

MR. McCLATCHY: The most important subject which can be offered for consideration of the Press Congress of the World at this time, is reliable international news communication. Only through such communication can we dissipate ignorance, and prevent the misunderstandings which create suspicion and distrust, and serve as forerunners and cause of war.

This subject is of more immediate importance than disarmament even, since no nation is justified in laying aside the weapons of defense upon which the nation's life may depend, until assured by knowledge of sentiment and conditions in other countries that weapons are no longer needed.

The Pan-Pacific Union has shown its appreciation of the importance of this matter by confining its tentative agenda for the present Congress to the subject of "Communication" in its various phases. The papers prepared, and thus far printed, however, treat the subject as a problem unsolved, and offer suggestions for solutions.

As a matter of fact, the solution of the problem of trans-Pacific news communication, was presented by me more than two years ago, and was adopted by Congress more than a year ago; and the plan has been in successful operation since. Today, the people of China, and Japan, and the Philippines and Hawaii, and the United States, are finding their vision broadened and their misunderstanding disappearing, through the influence of an extended, uncensored daily news report.

The work of the Press Congress of the World, and of the Pan-Pacific Union, so far as this question is concerned, may now

be confined to insuring continuance of the facilities already established, and to inducing co-operation of other countries on the Pacific, so as to extend and broaden those facilities and secure the greatest possible general benefit therefrom.

The most effective plan for expediting freight transportation for long distances, is to provide a canal on which any one may operate carrier boats for a nominal fee. The most effective plan for securing reliable international news communication, is to provide facilities for accurate and rapid transmission of news reports, at a nominal word rate, and throw those facilities open for use by reputable news associations and individual newspapers, the news reports to be independent, free from government control or censorship, unassisted by subsidy, and to be self-supporting.

Those are precisely the conditions which now exist for trans-Pacific news communication in certain districts, and which may be, and should be extended, to all countries bordering on this ocean. With the example of a system of the kind successfully operating on the Pacific, it will be a question of time only when the balance of the world will insist on enjoying similar advantages.

A brief statement of communication conditions on the Pacific, with the detail of the plan and its operation, will be found in an article written by me for Editor and Publisher of New York, the issue of March 12, 1921. The investigation made by Congress in the matter is covered in transcript of hearings held in September and October 1919 before the radio sub-committees of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, and the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

For present purposes, it will suffice to say, that Congress passed in June 1920 a resolution, authorizing the Navy Department to use its radio facilities for two years for news communication under certain conditions; that the Navy Department made a rate per word for news transmission across the Pacific,—San Francisco to Cavite (near Manila) of six cents per word, the lowest rate for long distance transmission of independent news reports in the world; that the Navy radio in this matter, acts practically as a common carrier, and that news reports thus transmitted, are not subject to government control or censorship.

This authorization was granted in the face of pronounced opposition from radio corporations, and notwithstanding a well-defined objection in Congress to extending Navy jurisdiction over public utilities. This opposition lost its force in face of the undisputed statement of facts and the very grave national and international interests now dependent on news communication across the Pacific. It was conceded that congested lines and prohibitive rates made impracticable the use of private cable and radio lines for the purpose, and that the plan proposed was the only feasible one that promised success. The resolution was passed partly because of my assurance that with proper facilities, and a six cent rate, news associations and individual newspapers would themselves insure the sending of independent and reliable news reports. The authorization was granted for two years only, on the theory that if the plan did not work successfully, such power should not continue, while if the method of communication proved successful, Congress would undoubtedly extend the authorization.

News reports have been transmitted across the Pacific under that plan since January 1920. At first, there were many difficulties, and short-comings, but they have been gradually overcome. Installation of high power machines and improved sending and receiving apparatus, have trebled the speed, and now enable San Francisco to receive direct from Cavite without delay. Three independent daily reports now go westward from San Francisco—that of the Associated Press, 1100 words—the United Press, about 500 words, and a special report for the Japan Advertiser of Tokyo; while special correspondents of some American newspapers use the new radio to a limited extent for sending news from the Far East. The Associated Press report is used at Honolulu, by English and Japanese newspapers, and at Manila by English and vernacular newspapers. At Guam, it is carried across the island by motor car and relayed by cable to Tokyo, whence it is distributed through Japan by Kokusai, the Japanese news agency. At Cavite the Associated Press report is broadcasted by Navy wireless, and picked up in Shanghai and Peking, and used by the English and vernacular newspapers of China. It is similarly available in Vladivostok and elsewhere if there be receiving stations or ships to record it.

The Navy Department recently announced that it is prepared to carry for the news associations daily East bound reports, covering news of the Far East if delivered to it at Manila for transmission to San Francisco. Regular reports of this character have not yet been inaugurated, but doubtless will be commenced when arrangements for gathering news from the continent of Asia can be completed.

The French Government has already entered into an arrangement under which it will use its large wireless station at Shanghai, co-operating with our Navy Department, in maintaining wireless communication between the two continents. The Navy Department is endeavoring to secure under this arrangement, a special news rate. The American Federal Wireless Company is now constructing for China, a number of high power stations, which when completed, can be used in conjunction with our Navy system for international news communication; and Japan has already officially indicated her willingness to co-operate in exchange of news reports by wireless with the United States.

This brief statement of the facts gives an indication of the development already made in the use of wireless for news communication on the Pacific and the manner in which the system can be extended. It is only necessary for Australia, New Zealand and other countries to adopt the policy inaugurated by the United States, and now working successfully, to establish, as it were, wireless canals for the carriage of independent news report boats, and make a connection with the canals already established, and there can be then perfect interchange across the Pacific, among all its peoples, of uncensored and reliable news reports.

The foundation of this ideal system rests, it will be seen, upon maintenance of open ways for uncensored news reports at a low word rate, and accessibility thereto for all responsible news associations, or newspapers.

That foundation is threatened at this time, in the fact that Congress has thus far failed to renew the authorization for use of Navy radio facilities for news purposes, expiring in July 1922, and interested parties are apparently seeking to prevent Congressional action in the matter.

Should no action be taken by Congress, the present reports must cease in eight months, and we will revert at once to prior



conditions, which made it impractical for any adequate news exchange between Asia and America. Wireless and cable companies regard news as objectionable business, requiring a low rate, and interfering with profitable commercial business; news rates on the Pacific, by either cable or wireless, are prohibitive, and do not ensure prompt delivery, three times the commercial rate being asked for expedited service; and wireless companies have shown a disposition to duplicate cable rates, instead of offering much lower rates.

It would seem the proper plan therefore, for the Press Congress of the World, and the Pan-Pacific Union, to concentrate all their energies now, on securing the maintenance of the present system of communication by the United States, and the adoption of a similar policy in co-operation by all other countries on the Pacific. We do not undertake construction of canal boats, until we have planned and ensured construction of our main canal, and encouraged planning of subsidiary feeding canals. Time and energy should not be wasted, therefore, in devising the kind of trans-Pacific news reports to establish, or the agencies that shall control them, when the system of common carrier to transmit those reports has not been permanently established. Insure the carrier system, with facilities open to all, and the other problems will disappear as rapidly as they did in the matter of supplying reports to Honolulu, Manila and Tokyo, as narrated herein. (Applause.)

I submit, for adoption the following resolution:

(See Page 361 for this resolution.)

This is not intended to take the place of the resolution of Colonel Lawson, but rather to emphasize it.

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THE CHAIRMAN: It is good journalism to follow the application of general principles with concrete examples as has been done so well by Mr. McClatchy. The resolution read by this gentleman will be referred for consideration to the Committee on Resolutions.

Members of the Congress heard this morning a statement regarding the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, and its former president, Mr. Bridgman. We have another former president of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association as

a delegate to this Congress, and it gives me particular pleasure to place him in my position so that you may have a new voice as presiding officer for the rest of the afternoon. He comes from that part of the United States where flowers grow most abundantly, flowers of speech as well as other flowers.

I present to you, to preside for the rest of the afternoon session, Mr. Frank P. Glass.

MR. GLASS: It is very kind of Dr. Williams to put me in this position temporarily. I beg your indulgence while I try to fill his place.

The next item on the program in connection with the subject of news service is to be an address by Mr. G. Nieva, of the Philippine Islands.

MR. NIEVA: After Colonel Lawson's illuminating paper on cheaper communication, as supplemented by that of Mr. McClatchy, I feel myself fortunate to have prepared mine on the line of after-effect of universal communication.

On no occasion of my life have I felt the impressive touch of a truly high, solemn honor as today, when, in compliance with the kind request of our President, and as a representative of the Press of my country, bearing with me the good wishes of my government, I have the unusual privilege of addressing this assemblage of distinguished men of letters representing the Fourth Estate from all over the world. For the last six years it has been my earnest endeavor, through my little paper, *The Philippine Review*, to be of service in an association like this, for my own land, the Philippines, and the land of all men, the World, that I may do my bit in the huge task of trying to bring mankind into candid friendship and mutual understanding. I thought, however, it was quite presumptuous for me, as an individual, so to seek to bring such an ideal to reality. For nations—nations of the big one's group—have failed almost flatly to achieve it.

In tracing out, however, the cause of such failure, I find that it may be assigned to the fact that nations have not yet taken the active, intelligent co-operation of the press of the world fully and unreservedly into their confidence.

Thus in national or international affairs, where government men and men of the Press have not yet, as they ought to long ago, come into such mutual intimacy and such cordial openness as



DELEGATES FROM CHINA (upper, left to right)

JABIN HSU, SHANGHAI; K. P. WANG, SHANGHAI;  
HOLLINGTON K. TONG, PEKING; HIN WONG, CANTON;  
PEI-YU CHIEN, TIENTSIN.

AT THE MILITARY REVIEW (lower).



should have made their joint service to mankind one of tremendous efficiency, the representatives of the Press have to work hard to get the news, to chase it ahead of others, then to boil it, then to construe it, then to comment on it, and then to serve it to their reading public. Misconstruction has thus in many cases endangered the safety of the interests of the community.

It is this mutual confidence, it is this cordial openness, gentlemen of the press, that we all must try to see as the distinguishing features of our service in behalf of universal good hereafter. It is this service that I wish to enlist in the achievement of humane purposes in the Far East.

Fortunately, nations today seem to be working under the pressing tendency to associate themselves, to group together in alliance, just as individuals in clubs or associations, for the more expeditious promotion of their purpose.

The press, which has always been the promoter of great ideals, strangely enough, is almost the last to realize the imperative necessity of organizing itself into a world-wide association for the systematization of its efforts into one combined and efficient service to mankind. The new spirit, however, is now permeating our various communities and impelling them into such a world-wide association. This is, indeed, a very hopeful sign.

It is doubtless for this great purpose, as well as the call of the new spirit, that we are met here today. I have been going over man's creative ideas of the age, to see which of them are best suited to man's requirements today. While some—to mention those for war purposes—are for quickening the reciprocal annihilation of contending forces, and while science and industry are thus placed at the service of civilization for the latter's own lightning-like destruction, however, it is gratifying to see the new spirit leading the press of the world towards an every-day much closer association, towards one great periodical Congress, for a heart to heart intercourse of ideas and opinions and plans, such as our living experience may enlighten us to formulate before an organization of our own, for our own information, for action by ourselves.

I profess the profoundest faith in the immense possibilities of the Press as a world power for good, and for evil as well. It must still be easy for us all to remember the influence of a cer-

tain portion of the Press in shaping and reshaping policies of national and international purport during the early stages of the war in Europe, even at that time when secrecy in motives of action on public matters didn't seem to run fully in accord with the character of the latter, and when press representatives were not yet, as they are not yet today, accorded, as I have said above, that openness which should have been accorded to them *ab initio* and which would make the joint functioning of the Press and the government a great deal more efficient indeed.

The press, however, loyal and patriotic, rendered its service just the same, to the very best, and at times saved whole armies from utter annihilation, at its own expense, and in all without the least expectation either of official recognition or official reward. The idea of an honest and loyal service to the public has always been its best reward.

This shows that, if properly harnessed, there would be none on earth that could pride itself with claiming a greater meaning to, and with being a greater power for, humanity than the press with the systematic utilization of its dynamic forces—forces that would always stand for conquest without invasion, for victory without annihilation, for peace without reparations. In Tulsa, Oklahoma, to refer to a recent instance, a reporter's pen proved itself a powerful contributing factor to cause as it caused that beautiful city to fall asunder. That same pen, however, could have helped to save that graceful city from utter destruction. In this sense, the press can be a war-preventer. In this same sense, it can, just as easily, cause utter destruction. It is, therefore, the dynamism of our as yet unorganized forces that we must patiently, that we must carefully harness. Fortunately enough, it is not yet too late for us to have them efficiently organized.

Heretofore, men and nations have been laboring for the future by nationalities. The future was accordingly mapped out by nationalities also. It could not be helped. It was simply impossible to help. The civilization of the West was that way. And that civilization was our heritage. It was the model civilization after which nations and democracies, schools and universities, the pulpit even, were patterned. Never was there a true community of interests, physical or spiritual, between nations, except when a

blast of danger threatened to blow them together. There had been some of it in religious doctrines, socialistic tendencies, or labor preachings, and this, for the masses below, for those whose rights are more or less rightly believed to be trampled down, but even then, with relative or rather doubtful sincerity. Selfishness, in terms of nationalities, in terms of races, made actual community spirit simply impossible for the world, and made it impossible for the nations jointly to labor for universal good.

During the war, nations allied themselves in formidable groups for offensive and defensive purposes, for greater efficiency in war. After the war, horrified at the grimy sight of death, of destruction, of the universal bankruptcy now mercilessly choking up the world, they began to think of peace, and to labor for the permanent promotion of peace, and today, with some gratifying consistency, the world is drifting towards peace. President Harding, through his proposed unrestricted discussion of public questions, which must really be made public for all men and nations on earth by throwing wide open the doors of secret diplomacy, if heeded and fortunate, may at last start the discussion of human affairs in the clear open at all times and find the formula for man's lasting peace, based upon mutual understanding. For this effort, and to help make public questions really public, all our support and all we are and all we stand for should be placed unqualifiedly available for him. In this way we may render a decisive service to help cause to fade whatever difficulties may block the path of or blind our statesmen. And in this, our service to man will nicely fit.

Indeed, it is a happy coincidence that in Honolulu, in this group of tiny Isles which, in vivid contrast, are the birthplace and home of the gigantic Pan-Pacific Union idea, the courtesy of a very significant meeting place—the Hall of a Throne that was—has been so splendidly, so accommodatingly, so munificently extended to us, both by the government and the local business and press community of these diminutive Isles, that it may perhaps be once more the birthplace of a new spirit, of a new idea for the regeneration of humanity. I hope you will heartily join me in extending to them all our most expressive thanks.

After San Francisco, this is, indeed, the most logical meeting place, for we all can see that from here, then in Japan, China, the

Philippines, Java, India, and so on, hand in hand on this side of the earth that is still free from the frightful bickerings of antagonistic interests and antagonistic attitudes and antagonistic futures as those still obtaining on the other side, the idea of a United Press of the World and the idea of the Pan-Pacific Union, one helping the other as the two greatest movements of the age, both may, here, give a sound start to the union of all Pacific countries and then of all countries on earth, into one brotherly search after the solemn truth of their common future and the common future of men.

The Pacific is making colossal strides forward. Its dot-like, central islands seem to house the spark to set the world again afire. And the forebodings of war and of war causes and war forces would seem to accumulate on the Pacific, and, if unprevented, I am afraid, the next most stupendous of all wars will be here. However, if we are really determined to utilize what God has so purposely placed in our hands—that pure, piercing light of a fearless publicity—to test and gauge the purity and consistency of man's purpose, without becoming disloyal to ourselves, without becoming disloyal to our respective countries, but just assisting, with absolute loyalty, our own statesmen and our masses and the world itself intelligently to understand, in every instance, the true case for man, I hope we may help cause such accumulation of war purposes and sinister means for war to fade away like night darkness before the unflinching onrush of daylight. This, on the one hand. On the other, there is today a factor surging for this—the advent to world power of journalists and of great dreamers whose writings are now capturing the profound attention of humanity leaders, and who are presenting the world with the unpolluted gift of their dreams—dreams that are not at all wholly unworkable, dreams that are not at all entirely unfeasible, dreams that, if backed up by the earnest response of reorganized humanity, can be made into powerful factors to reshape the world, to remodel world interests, to revitalize mankind through the revigoration of its old nerves and tissues with new, fresh, dynamic forces for peace. Harding, Wilson, Northcliffe, Hara, Wells, Tagore, Gandhi, and others are great hopes for man.

As I have said, the Pacific today is assuming vast proportions.



Europe, both Americas, the whole Far East are meeting nowadays in the Pacific. The richest and untouched treasures of the world are here. The logical market of the world is here. More than one billion people from India, Java, the Philippines, China, Japan, Oriental Russia and other countries inhabit the left hand side of the Pacific, if we look northward, with the little, almost dot-like, but all-important isles of Hawaii, Yap, Ladrone, Guam, and others in the center, while peoples of the Anglo-Saxon and Latin stocks are on the right, all perhaps to melt in the Pacific, and there, once melted, to form a real association of races, vitalized with one common hope, with one common ideal, with one joint, whole-hearted determination to achieve what Europe has failed to, and what has made of America today the nearest approach to this dreamed reality.

It is here, therefore, where we may put to actual test the resistive power and inclination of races against that great crime to humanity or incomprehensible human error named "race prejudice." It is here where, in the face of the new situation surging all over the Far East, we can put to actual test the true consistency of high principles of humanity, both as proclaimed in the West and then as applied in the East, or as must be proclaimed in and applied to both the West and the East alike. For one can see today universal principles are still conceived, proclaimed and observed one way for one place, and another for another place—one way for the West and another way for the East. And it is here where, if really determined therefore, we may put an end to such prejudice and such practice or else be ready again to face the undesirable as heretofore, ignoring all that for which mankind has so nobly fought and which it so patiently and so direly achieved. This is the crime or error to help suppress which, we, members of the World Press, must boldly stand united and combined, as it has been fought against from Christ to date.

We already had too many dreadful wars, even during the last fifty years previous to 1914, when war was proclaimed by somebody as an element of world order, when universal peace was considered a mere dream, and not a beautiful dream even; when everything drifted towards war, through schools and papers and pulpit as its more or less veiled channels. This, to give a tangible preponderance to stronger nationalities, and to make prosperity

the exclusive privilege of the latter, at the expense of the weaker. Already we have seen that this policy has caused the world to sink deeper and deeper, and then deeper still, and the items of loss in war to be enormously greater than the item of loss in peace, and the item of profit in peace to be inconceivably greater than the item of profit in war, besides being more stable and better balanced for all. The time, therefore, seems ripe for the world to think of peace through these same factors, and to give room for a fitting community spirit for all nationalities to prevail through the work of peace as an every-day reality.

Can't we really do it?

Some said that if man can conceive it, man can do it. If this is really true, if we ourselves can conceive it, if we can make ourselves want it as necessity, then my answer will be "Yes, chiefly through the press."

The world is becoming so much narrower every day, and men and nations are getting themselves so much more closely dependent upon each other, that one can no longer live without the other. Marriage, intermarriage, the Bible, education, science, industry, trade, internationalism, Service as the supreme ideal of man to-day, fast transport and communication by sea, land and air, and the press, all tend to broaden our vision, but only to make our world much narrower each time, to lay everything open to man's sight, and thus make it the world of real men as God—the God of all men—wants men to be. But above all this, the press service—as superbly typified by the service rendered by the Associated Press, through which we are enabled to know every-day happenings in Russia, Ireland, Alaska, Congo, Argentine, Tibet, Afghanistan, India, and other places, from our respective homes, no matter where, in cities or villages—is the one service that truly links the world together, that causes waves of public wrath or public sympathy or public gratification to surge the world over, making men feel as men towards each other, and thus gradually furnishing an effective check against state rulers, through the daily formation of a gradually increasing, powerful public opinion to enlighten the world on universal and local matters. And I feel positive that if we, members of the press, can only inform the masses thoroughly, as thoroughly as we should inform them, about things around them and around the world, so that we may

help them to understand those things properly, and properly to understand themselves as well, then we shall have accumulated such an enormous force of social cohesion for all mankind, irrespective of race, of religion, of government, as to make the state anywhere on earth a true servant of the people, and deliver the masses from merely being food for guns or the disequilibrium of heads of states.

It is for this that I feel positive that, if we can only serve the people of the world with unveiled information about national and international purposes of the men at the helm of the ships of states, and make this a point of unevadable duty for both the men of the press and the heads of governments, we would relieve the world from so much of human worries and miseries and sufferings to the full measure of everybody's realization of his duty, and the exercise of man's right towards his fellow man. This way we could no longer be indifferent to massacres of Armenians, to Bolshevism in Russia, to famine in China, and when, after a night's rest, morning comes bringing to the home of every citizen of the world, through the press, the un mutilated news of the day, to place him in contact with the rest of mankind and in readiness to start the toil of the day with a fair knowledge of how his other fellowmen elsewhere on earth are, and cheerfully do his share in man's tasks for man, then we can say that, through the honest, efficient service of our association, we shall have expedited the creation of a world comradeship spirit, and rendered mankind that service that will make it feel under the unescapable duty of upholding humane purposes anywhere on earth.

Then, through the press, we shall have seen the achievement of humane purposes in the Far East.

And now, in the face of the new forces today in evolution in the Far East, whose tendency is to unite together and to a man push the Far and Near Easts towards the place allotted to them on earth; in the face of present tendencies towards a provoked separation, I, for one at least, and as one coming from the Philippines, or as a Far Easterner, dare respectfully raise my voice to appeal to you, fellow members of the press in this Congress, for me the one Congress possessing the greatest power on earth for the maintenance and preservation of humane purposes with neither violence nor reprisals, to invite you all to do all that is in our

hands, through our respective papers, for a joint action in the maintenance and promotion of man's purposes anywhere we may be. Human unity the world over must not fall asunder. Humane purposes in the Far East must not fail. And universal comradeship must not be rendered impossible for racial reasons or other trifling causes. For their achievement in peace is perfectly within the possibilities of the press. We must make up our mind to engineer the colossal power of a sane public opinion resulting from a fearless, thorough information, to utilize it in engineering the gigantic waves of these new forces for the preservation and promotion of civilization, to stop murder, to stop destruction, once and for all to bring to an end the subjugation of man by man, that the West and the East may at last get together in behalf of man, that there may be universal contentment and welfare.

Shall we fail the world?

Shall the world fail us?

Shall we fail each other?

It is up to us to give an honest answer.

In closing, allow me to thank you most heartily for the privilege of addressing you on this occasion. My government, as well as the press and Chambers of Commerce of my country, have authorized me to extend to you its cordial invitation to hold our Congress's next meeting in the Philippines which, with the cooperation of the United States, is now trying its best so that the world trade may have a modern distributing center in the Far East, and which you will find as close to both Americas as to Europe. But you will find it closer still to your hearts if you will consider the fact that the Filipino people speak the language of your own civilization, that the Filipino press is written in the same language as your own press, and that the Christ of the Philippines is the same Christ of your countries. It is perhaps for this reason that the Philippines may justly claim to be the country of the Orient that may best labor for the unification of the East and the West.

Our people, our press, our public institutions would all cheerfully be at the service of humanity in this gigantic task.

Indeed it would be a signal honor for my people and for the press of my country to have you all as our honored guests.

Once more I thank you. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Congress has enjoyed very greatly this very beautiful and strong presentation of the spirit of the Philippines as embodied by that English-speaking and English-writing people and press. The invitation of Mr. Nieva will be referred, as the other invitations have been, to the Executive Committee for future consideration.

The next speaker on this program is Mr. William Southern, Jr., of the Independence Examiner, Independence, Missouri, U. S. A.

MR. SOUTHERN: Mr. President, Members of the Press Congress: It is with a good deal of embarrassment and some reluctance that I appear on the program following the distinguished speakers who have discussed so forcibly the vital questions with which our Congress is to deal, and then attempt to turn your minds from the consideration of these great features of our Congress to the consideration of one portion of the press of the United States. This morning you listened to Mr. Bridgman, who discussed the features of the metropolitan press, and what I shall have to say should be, I think, a corollary following that through the press publications in the smaller cities of the United States. I come, Mr. President, from a small press on which the local features predominate. It is our theory that a dog fight on Main Street, well written up, is of more interest to our readers than the story of a band of anarchists chasing a Grand Duke through Moscow. And so you will understand that to drop from the discussions you have been hearing and listen to a discussion from a small paper, is rather embarrassing. The Chairman assigned me to discuss the provincial newspapers of the United States.

Only a few years ago in England all newspapers not published in the city of London were called provincial papers. It is probable that if a definition of a provincial paper were sought in New York the answer would be promptly forthcoming that all papers not published on the isle of Manhattan are provincial papers. If the definition should be asked of the papers published in the smaller cities the term provincial would be passed on down the line to include only the weekly press of the country. If the weekly papers were asked for an opinion they would promptly reply that the most provincial papers published are the New York papers and point out the fact in proof that the great daily

papers in New York City have not yet discovered that the eighteenth amendment is a part of the constitution of the United States.

We have thus a complete circle of definition and conclude at once it was a wise man who said that if a camel could define God his picture would show God with four legs and a hump.

The definition of the provincial papers of the United States draws no distinct line of demarkation between cities or states. Provincial papers may be found among the largest papers of the cities of the world and papers which have lifted themselves out of the provincial class may be found in the smaller communities.

We go back in the history of the United States more than three hundred years to find the first provincial paper, the first effort to establish a newspaper in this country. Boston was the birthplace and the date was 1689. The paper was called *Publick Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestic*. It was a four page paper, pages about the size of the standard letter head in use today, one page blank. There were two columns to the page. Only one issue of this newspaper was published and as far as is known only one copy is now in existence and that is found on file in the state offices in London. The paper was suppressed by the government.

The next venture in journalism in the United States was *The Boston News Letter* founded and published by John Campbell, postmaster of Boston. The affinity between the postoffice and the local newspaper has often been remarked and here we have our authority for the custom of appointing the editor to the postoffice.

In announcing an enlargement of his paper John Campbell said, "This time twelve months we were thirteen months behind with foreign news and are now less than five months," and encouraged his subscribers to remain faithful "until January next, life permitted, they will be accommodated with all the news of Europe."

The *News Letter* was the only paper published in the provinces for fifteen years and then came a tragedy. A change in the administration appointed another postmaster and the new postmaster started another paper. John Campbell was greatly peeved to lose his job as postmaster and at the same time find his field

as editor also threatened and then began the first war between editors, a war that has continued even unto this day.

At the commencement of the Revolution in 1775 there were seven newspapers in Massachusetts, one in New Hampshire, two in Rhode Island, three in Connecticut, eight in Pennsylvania, three in New York, two each in Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina, three in South Carolina and one in Georgia, thirty-four in all.

The development of the newspaper and the evolution from a small three-page paper printed once a month on a screw press, capable of producing about three hundred copies printed on one side in an hour, divides itself into three periods, up to the Civil War, the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century and to the present. From the beginning of the newspapers in the United States to the Civil War in 1865 and for ten years thereafter the progress was interminably slow. Processes of printing were such that papers were small in size and small in circulation and the cost of the white paper was almost prohibitive. Men of today will remember when a majority of the small papers were printed on the Washington hand press and the city papers were printed on a drum cylinder press to which steam power had been adjusted and the sheets fed separately for printing on one side at a rate not exceeding one thousand an hour. The demand for daily papers could not be met. Stereotyping the forms was unknown. Printing from a roll was still in the future to be suggested from the method of manufacturing cotton cloth in rolls. All type was set by hand and the tramp printer flourished. Four pages was the usual size.

Just one hundred years ago there were published in New York City eight daily newspapers with an aggregate circulation of ten thousand, eight hundred copies. None of these boasted of more than two thousand copies daily. In 1835 no paper in the country circulated more than five thousand copies daily and very few could show half that number.

The first rapid folding machine attached to a press was shown at the centennial at Philadelphia in 1876.

A writer in 1894 after describing the typesetting machines of that day told of the Mergenthaler and the Thorne and ended his article with these words, "Most of the typesetting of the world is done by hand."

Great circulations of individual papers were impossible until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In this time the presses capable of printing by duplication as many copies as necessary for any circulation were perfected, the type setting machines made possible the composition and the price of news print paper dropped to a ridiculous figure. Before and during the Civil War news paper cost as high as twenty-two cents a pound. In 1864 it sold for sixteen cents a pound; in 1873 at twelve and thirteen cents a pound, declining in 1875 to eight and fifty-three hundredths cents a pound, in 1880 to six and ninety-two hundredths and in 1890 to three and thirty-eight hundredths. In 1897 contracts for good paper delivered in large quantities in New York press rooms were made at one and five-tenths cents a pound. Telegraph and cable sprang into general newspaper use and the service became reasonably cheap and within reach.

Followed a riot of cheap newspapers, many paged newspapers, and the scramble for large circulations, no matter how secured.

From 1915 to the present brought another great change. The war taught the newspapers of this nation many things and has brought them to a better business basis and to a better and larger service. Every newspaper publisher is familiar with this phase of the newspaper development and the lessons which it taught. To many came the discovery that their business methods were bad. Advertising was developed to an extent unheard of and unexpected. It was found that advertising had a distinct news value and the standards maintained in the editorial rooms were adopted in the advertising departments among the best papers.

In the United States today, according to the American Newspaper Directory, there are 22,373 publications sent out regularly from 10,894 towns, of this number 2,374 are published daily with a circulation of thirty-two million copies. The evening papers outnumber the morning papers three to one.

This means that one daily paper is printed every day for every three and one-fifth persons in the United States. In two states there is a daily paper for every one and one-tenth person living in those states. Missouri is third in the list.

There are in the United States 150 cities of more than 50,000 population and from these cities are published 399 daily papers. There are 1,475 cities with a population of between 5,000 and



50,000, and, including the comparatively small number of daily papers published in cities of less than 5,000 population, there are 1,875 daily papers published in this group of cities and they circulate approximately 12,000,000 copies daily.

Writing the story of newspapers of the United States in the late nineties Whitelaw Reid said, "The period since the war has been marked by the rapid development of local journalism throughout the United States. Nearly every city of 15,000 inhabitants must have its daily paper. A great business has grown up in the furnishing from some central city of ready printed sheets so that the local paper may have the news and literature and only need print at home one or two pages. Ready plates have also been a factor in the development of the small city daily." Development of the small city daily since that time has been far greater than in all the years before. The small city daily is now printed on a perfecting press and buys its paper by the carload. It is set on type casting machines and every office has from two to five of these machines. It carries the Associated Press franchise and gives the news of the world on the same day that news is printed in the large cities.

As a member of an organization which includes the daily papers of this class from seven states it was my privilege not long ago to look over the tabulated and classified report of the business and work of one hundred of these small city papers. In that list there were only two which failed to show a profit and the average profit revealed was fifteen per cent of the gross receipts for the year for which the report was made.

This group of small daily newspapers is a most powerful group because of ownership, method of management and personal touch. The metropolitan daily is often a bulletin of the press news of the world and of the daily report of the courts. It treats news as news, impersonal and inexorable. The individual is submerged. This makes a wonderful news medium and it is bought as such. We often deplore the fact that we do not now have a Greeley or a Dana or Watterson; picturesque, able, positive and strong men. These figures have disappeared, not because there are no great and strong editors among the metropolitan papers today, but because the metropolitan paper has become a marvelous and complex business machine, pervading every field

of endeavor, a great manufacturing plant, reaching to the timber lands of the north for pulp, owning paper mills, requiring millions of dollars investment and employing thousands of men and women every day. Machines set the type and turn the presses and adjust the rolls and write the editorials and edit the copy and the whole is a vast commercialized business. In the days of Greeley, in the days of Dana and Watterson theirs were one man papers, provincial papers, if you please, papers with a soul and a purpose other than to carry the news of the world, like a phonograph machine set on jazz records, to the minds of thousands of careless hurrying people who read today and occupy the mind tomorrow with the next day's news.

In the smaller cities the daily paper is still a personal paper. The editor is known to everybody. He is supposed to know everything and what he does not know he suspects very strongly. He takes part in all of the activities of his city, readers point to an article and name the man who wrote it. The small daily paper has the soul, the personal touch. It is often noticed that in great campaigns all the big papers united fail to defeat a man for office. The provincial paper more often is successful.

The small city daily often owns a congressman, makes a governor, defeats a senator. It is found like Greeley's Tribune, on the table with the family Bible, nowadays more often on the table from which the Bible may have been banished and bridge whist substituted.

While a newspaper in a large city may find a sufficient clientage to make a financial success by dealing out only the sensational and the high spiced evil aroma of a salacious world, the newspaper in a smaller city can never make such a success. You will not find the rococo style of newspaper in the smaller cities. Nor yet the yellow journal. This style of paper can only thrive in cities large enough to provide a clientage. It appeals to the sensational and to the morbid and to the lawless. In the smaller city the percentage of such is so small that there is no room for a paper which is all gingerbread and froth. Something else is demanded and the newspaper instinct is that which senses the demand of its clientage and fills that demand. If it can not do this it can not survive. The only way to success is to establish a character which is recognized and which brings the faith and the confidence of the public.

Samuel Johnson once said, "It is a reproach not to have friends, it may be even a greater reproach not to have enemies." Nowhere is this truer than in the newspaper business of a small city. The newspaper man can not make a reputation for wisdom by going around with a solemn face and the chastened appearance of an undertaker at an open grave. He must take the knocks with a smile, sympathize with and help and stand always for the best things of his community and his country. His friends and his enemies are a part of the game.

After a good many years in the newspaper business one comes almost to believe that he does not know very many things and is not quite certain about them. Yet, established in the affections of his readers, they always want to know what he has to say about everything. The League of Nations, the conduct of the wars, the acts of congress, the building of cabinets, the election of candidates, must all be discussed and are thus passed on to those who think about such things. I remember very well when Colonel Roosevelt died. It was several days afterward and I had not printed an editorial about Roosevelt. I had printed editorials from other papers and comments upon the career of the great man who touched the life of our country in so many places and who was the typical American in the minds of very many. One day I met an old friend who reproached me. "Oh yes," he said, "you have printed what others have said, but we want you to say something yourself." I relate this incident to show how close we come to the lives and hearts of our readers and how careful we should be never to betray the trust, once we have it.

Newspapers before the Revolution were not given to the expression of comment and opinion. They were quite likely to be suppressed very quickly and Ben Franklin, still the patron saint of the printer, was among the few who had the independence and courage to express an opinion. His brother, James Franklin, before him was put out of the newspaper business through a religious discussion. Newspapers in the United States have struggled from the first for the right of free speech and a free press and have secured that right which is permitted to the point where it becomes license. Franklin believed in giving the people what they should have whether they wanted it or not.

The highest art in the newspaper business is to give the read-

ers what they should have in such a way that they will think it is exactly what they want.

Experience and the survival of the fittest has taught lessons from which the small city paper draws success. About the experience of years has been builded a code of ethics and a style of work. Perhaps it may be called an idealism. During the history of newspaper building from the time the first bulletin was etched on a piece of hardened clay in Egypt to the time of the multiple multiple press printing thousands of many paged papers from machine-set forms in a single hour, the owners have blazed their own trail. They found their own ethics and marked their own ways to success.

It is only recently that Schools of Journalism have announced the theory that the principles of newspaper work may be taught successfully. The first of these schools was only established a dozen years ago, in the State of Missouri. Then there were sneers and jeers at the idea, now this has disappeared and other states have followed in line and the thinking men of the profession indorse the idea whole-heartedly. This education and teaching of ideals has brought about an effort among groups of papers to formulate into words a code. These declarations have so far come only from the provincial papers, but have received the strong endorsement of the larger papers and world wide comment and approval.

The foundation of such a code is the responsibility of the press to its public. The newspaper is the interpreter. Its business is to gather together and carry to the world the truth and its interpretation.

A newspaper does not belong to its owner. It is a public service institution and is not fulfilling its highest functions if devoted selfishly.

As a fundamental principle it is agreed that the truth is the basis of all correct journalism. To go beyond the truth is a betrayal of trust. To suppress the truth when it properly belongs to the public is always to be condemned and never practiced.

Control of news or comment for business considerations is unworthy. News should be written, interpreted wholly and at all times in the interest of the public.

Not only are these principles to be applied to the news and



LUDVIG SAXE (upper left), CHRISTIANIA, NORWAY;  
MARK COHEN (upper right), DUNEDIN, NEW ZEALAND;  
THALES COUTOUPIS (lower left), ATHENS, GREECE;  
VIRGILIO RODRIGUEZ BETETA (lower right) GUATEMALA CITY, GUATEMALA.



editorials, but to the advertising columns. Deceptive or misleading advertisements or advertising disguised as news bring disrepute to the newspaper which permits such practice.

It was a noted Frenchman who wrote "Suffer yourself to be blamed, imprisoned, condemned; suffer yourself even to be hanged, but publish your opinion. It is not a right, it is a duty."

Dante wrote "Give light and the people will find their own way." This is the great duty of all newspapers whether they are published in the teeming centers of population or in the smallest community and if we agree, then it is manifest that anything which is permitted to blur the brilliancy of the light, or to sully the stream of truth should be shunned as a plague.

No matter what may be our view of the origin of the Ten Commandments, whether we may believe or not the story as told in Exodus that this charter of our faith and practice was carved on the face of a great stone by God himself and delivered over to Moses, the principles there enunciated remain the same and the constitution upon which the progress of the human race toward civilization and light has stood for centuries, is still as firm as when first enunciated. Of miraculous conception or the condensed expression of the experience of mankind reduced to words, the effect is the same. All codes of ethics are invariably based upon the teaching which is found in this charter and concentrated in a verse to be found in writing attributed to the prophet Micah: "What doth the Lord require of Thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."

Newspapers are the interpreters, the message bearers in every printed page, the medium which gathers from every quarter the truth and the lights the torch for its perusal. Theirs is to break down the prejudices and the boundaries of class, to remove the barriers of ignorance and selfishness and to dissolve misunderstanding. This accomplished, armaments will disappear and war be banished.

This is the mission and the burden of the newspapers of the world. To the end that this mission be accomplished I bring to you the message and the promise of the community newspaper, the provincial press. In all our strength and our every effort we stand with you who represent the press of every clime in the cause of high ideals and of world co-operation among the Press and the peoples of the earth. (Applause.)

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THE CHAIRMAN: This has been a splendid tribute to the village newspapers of the mainland of the United States.

It closes the program for this afternoon.

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### SIXTH SESSION.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 19, 1921.

Congress was called to order at 9 o'clock, President Williams in the chair.

THE SECRETARY: I have here some further messages of greeting. The first is from Mr. Gus J. Karger, Chairman of the Washington Correspondents, who says in part:

We of the Fourth Estate are the men and women on the side lines and our part in the proceedings is to enforce the rules of fair play—fair play to the public by the players, and fair play to the players by the public. We live in an era of great movements and we must help to give them the proper direction as far as in our power lies. The Press Congress of the World may make of itself a strong instrument toward that end. With cordial regards and best wishes for the success of the Congress."

The next is from Mr. Aaron Watson of London:

It would have been delightful to me to meet the representatives of the World's Press at Honolulu; but, as there are circumstances which make it impossible for me to be present, it is a satisfaction to me to believe that I have been of service to those who have brought about so remarkable an event, and to think that the meeting must have beneficial results not only in promoting acquaintanceship among some of the leading journalists of the world—a good end in itself—but in extending public recognition of the common purpose and the high mission of journalism.

The World's Press Congress is, in its own way, a League of Nations. The World's Press has an enormous, perhaps an excessive, power of promoting the same ends, or of impeding them. Those of us who have had a share in the work that has preceded the Honolulu Congress have had our visions of a World's Press so far united in feeling and in purpose as to be undeviatingly on the side of the world's highest interests and aspirations. So, indeed, may it be.

Also one from Mr. T. W. Heney, Queensland, who says:

I am satisfied that the peace and prosperity of the Pacific begins now to depend, under Providence, upon the frequent meeting of the chief public men, business men, journalists, literary men, teachers and educationalists, including of course, women, of each country having a Pacific littoral. Whoever serves and helps that ideal is a good servant and true friend of the Pacific.

THE CHAIRMAN: As the first speaker of the morning I have the privilege of presenting to you a man who has done more



than most men have done in behalf of better journalism in the United States and throughout the world; a man whose publication and personal service have been given without stint to the promotion of the profession of journalism: Mr. James Wright Brown, Editor of *Editor and Publisher*, New York City.

MR. BROWN: Mr. President, Fellow Delegates of the Press Congress of the World: The Congress will readily agree with Mr. Thales Coutoupis that the "Press of the world must be free." Especially so of governmental and parliamentary control. Legitimate public service by the press must not be interfered with. Indeed I am very strongly of the opinion that the members of the Congress here assembled believe that modern publicity has become a tremendous force which righteously administered will lift mankind on to higher ground for no problem is too big for an honest press to tackle. News and views are the raw material of public opinion and public opinion in a democracy is impelling and controlling.

Mr. Coutoupis voiced his sincere regret because of the inability of the militant journalists to finance a new venture these high cost days without seeking financial aid and assistance of bankers and big advertisers.

In this connection it may interest him to learn that one of our big newspaper concerns has started four new papers in the United States of America in the last four months—Fort Worth, Birmingham, Norfolk and Washington, D. C.—and plans to start thirteen new enterprises this year. The Scripps newspapers are evening six-day papers, so-called "People's papers." They begin in a small way with a very small force and few pages. They follow the budget system carefully. Advertisements are not solicited for the first six months. No loans are sought, enough money is deposited in bank to pay salaries and expenses the first year. If after a fair trial the paper is not making a profit, it is discontinued. There is absolutely no sentiment about it. The paper must be made to pay. The Scripps profit basis is about twenty per cent of gross receipts. The total volume of business of this organization last year amounted to about twenty-five million dollars.

It may also be of interest to Mr. Coutoupis and some of the overseas delegates to learn that whereas the present Greek Gov-

ernment is concentrating its advertising in the Royalist press, the American Government is using display space in American daily and weekly newspapers irrespective of political consideration to promote the interests of the Army and Navy and the Shipping Board, and the service has been quite satisfactory.

We all agree, I'm sure, that the press should be used in far greater measure than at present to promulgate ideas. Scandals and crimes and so called crimson news, have occupied the columns of newspapers the world over since the signing of the armistice, to the exclusion of the live and vital international and domestic problems that must inevitably engage the attention of the thoughtful peoples of the world.

With us in the States we have had the Hamon murder case, the Stillman divorce and the Arbuckle scandal all over our front pages for months past. Professional baseball and other sports have been given space out of all proportion to their importance. I for one have felt that this was just a natural and inevitable reaction from the goose-stepping of war days, just a passing phase, on the road to more militant public service by the press than ever before.

"Facts ought to be kept holy," is the immortal phrase of Ludvig Saxe, of Norway. It should be emblazoned on the editorial walls of the world, but whilst we are in complete harmony and sympathy with this ideal we must vigorously dissent to the sentiment quoted that "It does not pay to publish a clean newspaper as people want a shady one."

American publishers are finding out that the clean, dependable, reliably accurate newspaper is the newspaper that wins and holds public confidence and sound financial support. It has been very clearly demonstrated in American journalism that character is the first essential to success. That the kept newspaper is usually kept as no one wants it.

With Mr. Saxe's observations in re-advertising influence and control we are in hearty sympathy. There are many newspapers in the States dominated by the advertising department as referred to by Mr. Cohen and Mr. Saxe. On many of these newspapers the managing editor is merely a sort of an assistant advertising manager, but thank God, the pendulum is now swinging in the other direction and in the last analysis the total of such newspapers in the United States is a small percentage of the whole.

The whole is represented by two thousand five hundred and seventy-four newspapers, morning, evening and Sunday, having a net paid "A. B. C." circulation of forty-seven million copies.

432 Morning	10,000,000	Circulation
1606 Evening	18,500,000	"
536 Sunday	19,000,000	"

"A. B. C." circulation means that the circulation statements of newspaper publishers are semi-annually audited by the auditors of the Audit Bureau of Circulations, an organization maintained through the active interest and co-operation of all the publishing interests in the United States, magazines, newspapers, farm papers, advertisers and advertising agents, etc. This was an increase of circulation for these newspapers of more than two million copies during the year.

The Bourne law adopted by the American Congress in 1912 contains many of the features emphasized by Mr. Coutoupis as altogether desirable.

For example under the Bourne law American newspaper publishers must file semi-annually with the local postmaster a statement giving the names of the responsible editors and publishers, managing editors, business managers, stockholders, owning more than one per cent of the capital stock, the bond holders, and the average net paid circulation of the newspaper for the preceding six months. This statement must be filed April 1 and October 1, each year, moreover it must be printed in the columns of said daily newspaper within five days of filing; however, there is no penalty for violating or false statement, but it is not necessary, as most of the newspapers find it distinctly to their advantage to be a member of the "A. B. C." and make truthful, dependable statements of net paid circulations. Some newspapers in America are of the "fifth page" variety to which Mr. Saxe has referred, but the number is small and growing smaller.

Most of our newspapers are of the class to which Mr. Saxe referred as "small and poor" confining advertising to advertising pages and consecratedly devoted to the public interest. Of course, we have papers of the immensely prosperous sort, making yearly profits after taxes in excess of one million dollars and one or two in the two million class but of the two thousand six hundred dailies and eleven thousand weekly newspapers in the United

States of America, by far the vast majority are simply making a living for the owner a very modest living at that. They are honestly administered.

Mr. Saxe spoke of the Master Craftsman turned out of a post because he refused to write that which he did not believe. All honor to him, which recalls to my mind the suggestion that I made some time ago that the Congress should have and maintain a welfare committee for the aid and assistance of all such worthy brothers.

Messrs. Coutoupis and Saxe agree that we must raise the ethical standards if we are to inspire a greater devotion to the public interest.

Mr. Sugimura raises the question "what should be the standard of value?

All of which suggests to my mind the need for an international code of ethics or an international Standard of Practice that would be at all times available for the pressmen of the world. To this end I suggest the appointment of an ad interim committee whose duty it should be to give these questions careful and painstaking study in order that the whole profession of journalism throughout the world may be served in a big way.

I have not deemed it either wise or expedient to discuss in this presence the historical background of the fight that has been waged in the last three hundred years for freedom of speech and of the press.

In the United States in recent months there have been three attempts made to discipline and control the utterances of newspapers.

The attempt of Postmaster General Burleson to discipline the New York Socialist daily, the Call, for criticism of Governmental policies by the withdrawal of the second class privilege.

The ten million dollar suit of the City of Chicago filed against the Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Daily News. The suit is for defamation and libel. The articles upon which the suit is based consists of some thirty-five in number running into different publications over a series of three months. The series are not in serial form; they are detached publications, not referring one to another in any way. They allege that the city is bankrupt, the streets of the city are filled with dust and dirt,

the moral conditions constitute a serious menace against women and children, etc. There is only one similar suit to it in the whole history of jurisprudence. That was a suit filed more than a hundred years ago, by the city of Manchester against a local paper.

The attempt of Mayor Hylan of New York City to influence the merchants of the great city to withdraw their advertising from some of the daily newspapers that dared to criticise the Mayor and point out to their readers the prevalence of crime.

I have not given much thought in this brief talk to a discussion of the historical background of the fight for freedom of speech and of the press with all of which the members of the Congress are more or less familiar. But in answer to the query as to the necessity and desirability of freedom of the press, I should like to quote to you three master craftsmen and advocates of other days.

John Milton, who, in 1643, indignant over the shameful attempts to rob the press of its rights, and stirred to the very depths of his soul by the indignities heaped upon the heads of those who dared lift up their voices against the abuse of power by the Government, wrote the most forceful and convincing argument for the liberty of the press that had been written up to that time, and which is still regarded as a masterly presentation of the subject. Milton declared that if printing was to be regulated then all recreations and pastimes, all that is delightful to man, must be regulated.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience above all (other) liberties," he said, "For who knows not that Truth is strong, next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings to make her victorious. Those are the shifts and defences that Error uses against her power. A free country without the Liberty of the Press is a contradiction of terms; it is free slavery or unchained liberty."

A hundred years later Lord Thomas Erskine, whom Lord Campbell in his "Lives of the Chancellors," pronounced "without equal in ancient or modern times as an advocate in the Forum," declared that "men cannot communicate their free thoughts to one another with a lash held over their heads. Genius breaks from the fetters of criticism. Subject it to the critic and you tame it into dullness.

"The press," he continues, "must be free; it has always been so and much evil has been corrected by it. If government finds itself annoyed by it, let it examine its own conduct and it will find the cause; let it amend it and it will find the remedy.

"A free and unlicensed press, in the great and legal sense of the expression, has led all the blessings, both of religion and government, which Great Britain or any part of the world at this moment enjoys, and is calculated still further to advance mankind to higher degrees of civilization and happiness. Government, in its own estimation has been at all times a system of protection; but a free press has examined and detected its errors and the people from time to time reformed them. The more men are enlightened the better they will be qualified to be good subjects of a good Government."

William Ellery Channing, the Unitarian clergyman who during the early days of the last century, was one of the most eloquent opponents of slavery in America and an ardent defender of the liberty of the press, declared:

"Freedom of opinion, of speech and of the press is our most valuable privilege, the very soul of republican institutions, the safeguard of all other rights. Nothing awakens and improves man so much as the free communication of thoughts and feelings. If men abandon free discussion; if, awed by threats, they suppress their convictions; if rulers succeed in silencing every voice but that which approves them; if nothing reaches the people but what would lend support to men in power then *farewell to liberty*; the form of a free government may remain, but the life, the soul, the substance is fled."

In my humble judgment this freedom of the press may best be attained and safeguarded by the publication of more accurate and dependable newspapers righteously administered in the public interest.

An international code of ethics and standard of practice would aid and assist materially in bringing this about.

The following is President Williams' Creed:

#### The Journalist's Creed.

I believe in the profession of journalism.

I believe that the public journal is a public trust; that all connected with it are, to the full measure of their responsibility, trustees for the

public; that acceptance of lesser service than the public service is betrayal of this trust.

I believe that clear thinking and clear statement, accuracy and fairness, are fundamental to good journalism.

I believe that a journalist should write only what he holds in his heart to be true.

I believe that suppression of the news, for any consideration other than the welfare of society, is indefensible.

I believe that no one should write as a journalist what he would not say as a gentleman; that bribery by one's own pocketbook is as much to be avoided as bribery by the pocketbook of another; that individual responsibility may not be escaped by pleading another's instructions or another's dividends.

I believe that advertising, news and editorial columns should alike serve the best interests of readers; that a single standard of helpful truth and cleanness should prevail for all; that the supreme test of good journalism is the measure of its public service.

I believe that the journalism which succeeds best—and best deserves success—fears God and honors man; is stoutly independent, unmoved by pride of opinion or greed of power; constructive; tolerant but never careless; self-controlled, patient, always respectful of its readers but always unafraid; is quickly indignant at injustice; is unswayed by the appeal of privilege or the clamor of the mob; seeks to give every man a chance and, as far as law and honest wage and recognition of human brotherhood can make it so, an equal chance; is profoundly patriotic while sincerely promoting international good will and cementing world-comradeship, is a journalism of humanity, of and for today's world. (Applause).

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THE CHAIRMAN: The second speaker of the morning is Mr. F. P. Glass, of the United States, about whom I said some good things yesterday, which remain true today.

MR. GLASS: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: The subject assigned to me by your worthy President is "Tendencies in Present Day Journalism." You will recognize at once that it is a big assignment. Tendencies are as numerous and varied as the eyes of observers. "Present day" may be interpreted very broadly. And the title might be construed to include the newspapers of other countries than the United States.

In this paper the attempt will be made to treat the subject in a common-sense way. Not all tendencies will be enumerated—the outstanding ones will be picked out. The "present-day" outlook must be dependent upon developments of recent years. And while references may be made to the newspapers of other coun-

tries, there will be no attempt at analysis of their tendencies. I shall also speak mainly of daily papers.

Probably it may be instructive to give you some of the facts as to the personal experiences which unavoidably must be behind this paper. The writer has been connected with four papers in Alabama. Just out of Princeton University he started a country weekly forty years ago, merely interrupting the study of law for that supposed temporary undertaking. The fascinating quality of printer's ink got its grip on him, and in a year's time he bought control of a daily in Selma, then a city of 10,000. Four years later he moved to Montgomery, the State capital, assuming the general management of *The Montgomery Advertiser*, one of the oldest morning dailies in the South. There he was in association with one of the noted editors of the historic South, Major William Wallace Screws, who was for fifty years its directing spirit. He was an editor of the fine traditional Southern type of the school of John Forsyth and Henry Watterson.

He steadily pressed me into service in political campaigns as editorial assistant, for while he was the sweetest of men, he believed it a newspaper's duty to fight vigorously for honest government and high-class men as officials. Then after twenty-five years' association with such a wise and noble mentor, I was induced to take an interest in *The Birmingham News*, an evening paper, in the great industrial center of the South. For five years my time was divided each week between duties as general manager of the Montgomery morning paper and as editor of the Birmingham evening paper. Later, time and interest were concentrated at Birmingham. For a year I have been out of newspaperdom altogether.

It will be seen that such training from the old-time cases of a country weekly through dailies in three cities of different sizes, surroundings and ideals at first, amid the trying conditions of the South following the period of reconstruction and then in its later astonishing industrial development, would tend to develop a sort of progressive-conservative in journalistic ideals. And I think that has been the result. I have always revered the essential soundness of the traditional Southern newspaper in its consistent devotion to constitutional principles and its fearless advocacy of honor and honesty in public life. I have always been



receptive of new ideas and perhaps too quick to respond to progressive methods in newspaper conduct. Necessity has forced me into work at various times in all departments of a newspaper—mechanical, circulation, advertising, reportorial, desk work, editorial writing and general management. While I had the advantage of a college education, schools of journalism, where the lessons of past newspaper experience and the best methods of special equipment are taught, were unknown in my youth. What little I have learned about the gigantic task of journalism has come from active masters and from hard knocks, some of which frequently laid me out flat in more ways than one.

But enough of preliminaries. Let us go to the subject. What are the conspicuous tendencies in present-day journalism?

There has been abundant public discussion of the subject in the last year especially, and there are conflicting views. Naturally there have been great changes going on in newspapers in our rapidly growing country in the last generation, and these changes have been crystallized, or made more noticeable, in the last few years of world war and world readjustment. There has been much materialistic growth and hence considerable pessimism in the criticism of unavoidable changes. There have been also of late extraordinary difficulties and abnormal problems for publishers in print paper and labor conditions, as well as for editors. There has been a period of transition, and not all the results of the different factors in the manifest evolution are clear and indisputable.

Probably the most conspicuous change in newspapers in recent years has been towards breadth and strength of business conduct. To one who has attended annually the sessions of the American Newspaper Publishers Association for more than twenty-five years, this is very apparent. Of course, there have been dailies in the largest cities for many years which were ably managed and profitable. But in the period named the business of publishing has been systemized all over the country, and there are now hundreds of papers that are models in a business way. They have efficient organizations, with various departments, mechanical, circulation, advertising, auditing, which are capably manned and harmoniously functioning in team work. The net result may be told in one simple statement. In 1880

the newsprint consumption of this country was three pounds per capita; in 1919 it was thirty-three pounds per capita.

Naturally with this wide-spread business development of newspapers there has been an undue emphasis upon the part that the business organizations have played in the outcome. The circulation manager has been credited with it, the advertising manager has glorified himself on account of it, the business manager has been puffed up with big claims and bigger salaries, the publisher has too frequently become the chief owner and has arrogated to himself the airs of a genius, a Napoleon of finance. Too often, it must be admitted, have newspapers deteriorated into mere factories for the production of advertising space, and too frequently great space merchants have imagined that they were born journalists. Sometimes these space merchants have decided that the counting house downstairs was the dynamo of their establishments, instead of the brains and the souls of the men of vision upstairs who handled the news of the world and interpreted it so effectively that circulators and advertising men were enabled to sell the papers and the space profitably.

One incident of this too common elevation of the space merchant to power has been the charge of control of papers by interests, of their failure to print the news, all the news, the real facts of vital interest to the public. This has led frequently to cynical distrust of newspapers, and sometimes to arguments that papers have lost their influence. In the last few years the success of candidates for mayor in some of the largest cities, in spite of the opposition of all the local papers, has been cited as proof of this alleged degeneration of the press. And in connection with this argument there have been allegations of conditions from important sources which have been alarming.

One of these allegations was made by a dry goods trade publication a few months ago. Substantially it was that there existed a close working arrangement between editorial and business offices. There have been frequent charges that department stores suppressed the publication of news injurious to them. And yet stronger indictments have been brought against newspapers by editors of national repute. Mr. Charles Grant Miller, formerly of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, the Christian Herald and the Scripps-McRae League, in a series of signed articles in The

Editor and Publisher, has been especially vigorous in denouncing the system of publicity work done for great corporations, banks and statesmen all over the country by capable ex-newspaper men. He has said this:

Propaganda and puffery, double-cooked news and predigested opinion are sapping the life blood of America's newspapers. For five years there has been a world-wide famine in facts. Truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth about anything of grave public interest seems to have disappeared from the face of the earth. Date lines are no longer the signs of the real source of the news. Assertion is little indication of the truth. Most of the foreign news is strained through the foreign loan centers of Wall Street, and where all the rest of the world-full of interested, if not interesting, misinformation comes from, the Lord only knows.

Even so eminent an editor as Frank Cobb, of the *New York World*, probably the ablest, most virile editorial writer on the American press, lately protested against the terrific volume of propaganda and colored news, termed in newspaper vernacular "hand-outs." He is reported as having said in an address that the press was "exhausted" by the war, that "the war did more to debauch journalism than anything that has ever happened." He deplored the system of censorship that was used as a war necessity, and spoke of its spread into all channels of information. Inside censorship has unquestionably gained too much of a grip on too many news sources, official, public and private. He regrets that the use of censorship through hired publicity men has been accepted and permitted too much by newspaper editors. One writer has called this stereotyped publicity the "hook-worm of journalism."

There can be no question that this program has become too general. Hired publicity men are too common in the highest circles at Washington. It is estimated that there are 1,200 in New York alone. They are common in all the smaller cities of the country. This system has a two-fold injurious influence. Not only does it generally repress and restrict the sources of news, but it also tempts with high salaries capable, progressive newspaper men out of great usefulness and bright futures into comfortable, but dwarfing and semi-paralyzing sinecures.

Let us move on to the consideration of other tendencies in latter-day and present journalism that are more perceptible and perhaps more permanent. There has taken place a great change

in the general type of newspapers, in respect to their news conduct.

It has not been many years since it was the ambition and the undertaking of the daily papers to print all the news, or as much of it as their growing incomes could afford. The older newspaper men here will recall the period when such metropolitan papers as *The New York World*, *The New York Herald*, *The Chicago Tribune*, *The St. Louis Globe Democrat*, and others like them in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Cincinnati were daily epitomes of all the happenings of the world and especially of our own country. They were very full and complete newspapers, with wide-awake correspondents in every state and in every city of consequence, as well as in many parts of the world. You could find every news happening of consequence in a paragraph or a stick or two, or more, as its importance dictated. Efforts for national circulation were common, and heavy expenses undertaken for special fast trains to get general circulation with the splendid feast of general news.

Rapidly all that plan of newspaper making has changed. How many papers of that type remain? Very few, of which perhaps *The New York Times* is the nearest approximation. The purpose of publishers and the program of managing editors has been transformed into getting local news, into playing it up in big space with large headlines. Even during the Great War the process went on. Big battles had the first claim in the make-up, but local news was not squeezed off the first page. Today in the majority of daily offices the country over a sensational divorce suit in high local society, or a particularly revolting crime in the neighborhood, is considered worth the best talent in handling and the most conspicuous space in the make-up. Even the great news associations have yielded to this pressure, as illustrated in the recent Arbuckle case.

This change of standpoint as to the relative value of news has reached the smaller cities of the country, because their newspaper managers and managing editors keep close watch on metropolitan tendencies. In how few papers is the bulk of the splendid Associated Press report printed? In many offices it is used as a mere index to news, by which perhaps to order specials, while the mass of it comes from too far away to consume space, and so it is thrown aside.

What has been the cause of this remarkable and not altogether desirable transformation in news valuation? It is the imperative requirement of the business office for local circulation. The advertising manager demands it. The fierce competition between two or more dailies in every city for the larger volume of advertising space has long ago distorted the vision of publisher and managing editor. The circulation man finds that the public eats up the local news, especially if it has a sensational quality, and so the drive is made on all hands to please the public, to beat the other fellow in local circulation, and to get the record in advertising.

There is where the modern business system of the newspapers has yielded too much to the spirit of commercialism. Full incomes and good profits are desirable things, of course, but principle and service should not be timidly subordinated to profit. Is it not true frequently that the high function of the paper as a teacher and a leader is forgotten in the greed for income and profit? Furthermore, is it not undesirable education for the people that the important daily developments of progress and material advancement all over the land and the world should be minimized or neglected in order to pander to a depraved taste for the sensational and salacious? Cannot large circulations be gained and held by all papers, as in the case of some, through the provision of the better class of news written intelligently and handled tastefully? Take *The Christian Science Monitor*, of Boston, for instance. Its name is largely a misnomer—it is not nearly so much a denominational organ as an excellent newspaper, with news well chosen and well written. In this connection it may be said that no purely religious daily has ever succeeded, because such undertakings have been too dull and heavy. There has lately been another example of failure of such a publication in Chicago.

The highest sort of newspaper conduct and success will require working forces with more brains and better education. And is not the supply of that sort of forces becoming constantly more available through the various schools of journalism—which are springing up in all parts of the country? The more newspaper men of high ideals and of broad education and special equipment who are turned out, the surer the uplift in the evolution of newspapers and of their conduct.

Another marked tendency in present day journalism is the wide-spread effort to make dailies and weeklies with a super-weight of magazine features and diversified attachments. No longer is the printing of the news the chief concern of the enterprising publisher and of the alert managing editor. The supply of sensational local news is apparently not steady and ample enough to hold the attention of the feverish reader, whose taste has been more or less perverted, and so he must be entertained every day, as well as Sunday, with all sorts of stories, features, comic illustrations, etc. One recent advertisement of a daily in a city of less than 250,000 has stated that it was expending about \$75,000 a year for features. Just think of it—about \$1,500 a week for material that is not news, probably much more than all of that paper's news services and specials are costing! Now no one is prepared to condemn features by wholesale. They are valuable in attracting certain classes of readers and getting home circulation. Yet it cannot be denied that the feature business is being overdone by many papers. They are thoughtlessly educating their readers away from an appreciation of their prime function of "printing all the news that is fit to print," of furnishing the public with all the important facts of daily happenings, not merely of local occurrence, but of national movements, scientific progress, industrial uplift, etc. In this connection, is to be commended the recent endowment of the late Mr. Scripps of the Scripps-McRae League, of an institution to gather scientific news and put it into available form for newspaper use. News of that sort is sure to be far more useful and profitable to farmers, laborers, manufacturers and merchants than most of the criminal news and some of the frivolous diversions termed features.

But will it not make for higher journalism and more attractive papers, if much of the full appropriations for features were diverted to the salaries of low paid desk men and reporters? Would it not be a better trend in journalism to turn back to the old standards of *The New York Sun*, under Dana, Laffan and Chester Lord? There dozens of thoroughly educated men were trained into rewriting all news matter into clear, terse, compact English. Some of the force could take a busy reporter's stick story and expand it into a half column gem of a human in-

terest story far more entertaining than the most attractive general feature, because it was about facts of yesterday, and not fiction of last month or last year.

In this connection it may be well to consider one of the contrasts of British journals with our own. Many of the English and Scottish dailies may not be as newsy, as enterprising, as bright, as those on this side; but in some respects they are more excellent. For the most part they are scholarly, well written, and quite thorough in the news treatment of all subjects of public interest. The greater papers have large staffs of men who are broadly educated and who are ready authorities on all uppermost issues. They receive handsome salaries, even though in many cases they do not give all their time to their papers. The consequence is that all leading questions are discussed in the most illuminating way. Frequently there are signed articles by staff men giving opposite viewpoints. The reader is always informed, his mind clarified, his judgment assisted, his thinking made more accurate, his decision more positive. Sometimes the British papers may be charged with heaviness, but rarely with superficiality or ignorance or unfairness. And a strong feature of British papers is their steady follow-up from day to day of all large questions. It seems quite natural, therefore, to dignify many of the British dailies with the title of "journals." Among the papers of the type described are *The London Times*, *The London Telegraph*, *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Edinburgh Scotsman*, and *The Glasgow Herald*.

The mention of foreign journals brings up another recent development in our papers on this side. The Great War has brought about a wide-spread interest in foreign news. The problems of peace, and our own direct interest in their solution, has aroused a tremendous appreciation of new events in Europe, China and Japan. Our papers are printing columns of real cables from England, France, Germany and Italy. The Associated Press' foreign service has been greatly amplified because of this new interest in what our recent allies and antagonists are doing, politically and commercially.

Furthermore, special news services are now springing up to interpret and analyze foreign news from an American standpoint, so that the average American reader can weigh facts intelligently.

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One of the best of these special interpretations comes from the pen of the foreign news editor of *The New York World*, Mr. Eugene Young.

Another noticeable development in American journalism is the illustrated daily. *The Illustrated News of New York* has quickly attained a circulation of about half a million. It is surprising that this development has not come before now, because in London there are two very successful dailies made up mainly of illustrations of news events. *The London Mirror* has a circulation of over a million and is a great money maker for its chief owner. Another very successful English illustrated daily paper is *The London Sketch*. It may interest you as a piece of newspaper gossip in New York to hear that several of the big dailies in the metropolis and Boston are about to start tabloid sections, or issues, made up mainly of news event pictures.

Another marked development in dailies in recent years has been the large amount of space given to sports. This is commendable in the main, because it helps build human strength and sanity. But probably too much space has been given to professional baseball, which is a great business and not always a clean business. There is no more justice in the free advertising of the business of the baseball magnates than there would be in similar gratuities to department stores.

In another respect newspapers have made great advances—in the fullness, promptness and accuracy of their market reports. These help the farmer, the merchant, the housewife. But here again, as in baseball, there has been a sort of slop-over, in the extensive reports of pure stock gambling and that of other exchanges, where private business, frequently dishonest, has been helped, to the detriment of masses of unsuspecting lambs.

There is an outstanding fact in present-day American journalism, which is to a large extent the result of the systematic business development of newspapers. There are very few great editorial figures nowadays. Mr. Henry Watterson, one of the greatest editors the world has produced, recently said this in a magazine article: "The old system of personal journalism having gone out and the new system of counting-room journalism having not quite yet reached a full realization of itself, the ed-



itorial function seems to have fallen into a lean and slippered state. Too often the counting room takes no supervision of the editorial room beyond the immediate selling value of the paper the latter turns out. Things upstairs are left at loose ends. The personal element eliminated, why may not the impersonal head of the coming newspaper, proud of his profession and satisfied with the results of his ministrations, render yet better account to God and the people in unselfish devotion to the common interest?"

It will be seen that the great editor's optimism has not faded away as his years are added, but that he has faith in the right evolution of the newspaper in spite of the present-day weaknesses.

More despairing is the utterance of another writer on that phase of present-day journalism. Mr. Bruce Calvert lately wrote this:

"There aren't many editors left now anyway. The editor in America belongs to a fast disappearing species. He will soon be extinct. The day of the great editors, men of personality and power, leaders in national affairs, is actually dead and gone. I asked a well read man recently to name three great editors, just 3 out of 25,000—men with soul, insight, courage, men with the sublime vision to inspire the thought of a great people—just three who could stand alongside of such editors and intellectual giants of the past as Greeley, Dana, Watterson, Halstead, McMichael, the older Bennett, Bullitt, Medill, Nelson, Story, McCullagh, McClure, Piatt and Reid, and my friend could not do it."

He argued that commercial corporations were dominating newspapers and had dispensed with great personalities at their head. His view is that the controlling policy of such papers is not "Is it right?" but "Will it pay?"

All of this is depressing and discouraging. While there may be for the time considerable truth in the allegations that there are few great editors in the public eye, it cannot be denied that their souls go marching on in the splendid structures they builded when living and working. And, what is still better, I believe their spirits yet animate the majority of newspaper workers, who are toiling away inconspicuously in their great machines to make them living things and to make the world a better place to live in.

In this connection you will be pleased to know that Frank Cobb of *The New York World*, whom I have already quoted as uttering a pessimistic note about "hand-outs" and publicity propaganda, holds a decidedly optimistic view by and large. He has lately said: "I have never known a first-class newspaper man who would not print the news, if he knew it was true. In the long run the newspaper can't be much better or worse than the community in which it circulates. On this question of integrity I believe that whatever are the faults of our newspapers, they are on a higher plane of integrity than any other journalism in the world."

It so happens that I can quote a less partisan authority on that point than the New York editor. In November, 1918, I had the honor as one of the newspaper guests of the British Government to sit at a newspaper dinner in London, given by Viscount Burnham of *The Telegraph*. I was seated alongside of one of Britain's greatest statesmen and scholars, Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, then Minister for Foreign Affairs. It was the night following the signing of the Armistice, and the subject of conversation turned upon the coming Paris Peace Conference. I was asking him some rather impudent questions, extenuating my boldness with the statement that he must have discovered on his long visit to Washington the previous winter just how bold American newspaper men could be. The great man, who is kindness personified, showed his breadth and faith by this reply: "Yes, I met many of them in Washington. They always knew just what they wanted, and proceeded to ask for what they wanted. I talked to them with unusual frankness, not always for publication, and I can truthfully say that not one of them ever took advantage of my confidence which is more than I can say of some of their British colleagues in my experiences here."

Of course, these high testimonials are as to the character of individual newspaper workers, and not as to the quality of dependability of newspapers as impersonal quantities. But what is true of the mass of individual newspaper men of America, as to their respect for truth and their regard for confidence, must be reflected in the conduct of the newspapers they play such a large part in making. They and the rising army of newspaper

men, their coming colleagues and successors, are the great uplifting force which must minimize the trend of commercialism that has been too manifest of late. They and you must play a great part in the complete restoration of the free play of public opinion, which can be possible only through a faithful search for the whole truth and its fearless publication.

If it is at all true, as lately written by an authority, that "Every edition of every paper is tinctured with lies, and every sensible editor knows it, and at heart is sick about it, and that he cannot see how to help it," then what a splendid field is open to the coming crop of reporters and newspaper men to reform the newspapers of the land?

But no matter how dark the picture that may be painted by some discouraged idealists, who have too short a perspective, or who have distorted specific short-comings into sweeping generalizations, there are many, many great newspapers which are still dominated by high ideals of unselfish devotion to the public welfare. It is a fact that no great newspaper, no important newspaper, even if not frequently in the national eye, was ever established, built into public confidence and into financial success save through the broad brain and the true soul of some one strong man. When Shakespeare wrote,

"The evil that men do lives after them

The good is oft interred with their bones."

he had not seen *The London Times*, whose great office now stands on the site of one of the playhouses where doubtless those words may have been first uttered. The great British editors who made it have established what Northcliffe calls "an institution," which he told me once "he dared not change." Nor had Shakespeare dreamed of the great development of modern journalism, and the hundreds of concrete contradictions of his words.

The great work of many an unselfish editor lives on. He built his brain, his character, in many cases his very blood, through years of toil and service, into the very fibre of his newspaper, and in most cases the papers can't outgrow that influence, no matter how careless or thoughtless may be their latter-day counting-house domination. The tradition persists from year to year through successions of desk men and reporters, and like Banquo's ghost "will not down."

Take, for instance, the spirit and life work of that great journalistic figure, Col. W. R. Nelson of The Kansas City Star, whom all younger newspaper men respected. The slogan of his management, constantly repeated to his force, is thus reported:

"Remember this: The Star has a greater purpose in life than merely to print the news. It believes in doing things. I can employ plenty of men merely to write for the paper. The successful reporter is the one who knows how to get results by working to bring about the thing he is trying to do."

The spirit of the elder Bennett, one of the very first fearless newsgatherers and publishers, so persisted that The New York Herald, after years of later control and adhesion to old-time methods had resulted in a losing property, has been sold to Mr. Munsey for four million dollars. It was largely the elder Bennett's character and The Herald's tradition of printing the facts that brought that price.

The New York Tribune was made a great paper by that fearless truth teller, Horace Greeley, who was one of the great moulders of national opinion and the chief creator of the Republican party. Whitelaw Reid was a worthy later successor, with more polish, and though The Tribune suffered for a period the lack of a strong steering hand, its soul persisted and latterly the paper is reasserting its pristine vigor and usefulness.

The New York World was founded as a religious daily in 1860, but was soon turned into a secular paper because of financial troubles. Manton Marble put his brain and soul into it, though not a strong business man. Joseph Pulitzer, who had demonstrated his journalistic genius at St. Louis, took hold of The World and in a few years in the fierce struggle of metropolitan journalism built into it his fearlessness, his love of freedom, his devotion to the public welfare. It has long been one of the finest newspaper properties in the country and still adheres to his principles and purposes. Yet he is reported to have said frequently that he never spent an hour in the business office. He reasoned that if he voiced the opinions and the aspirations of Lincoln's "plain people," the business office would take care of itself, that men could always be found competent to look after the outgo and income. Pulitzer was a pugnacious journalist, always trying to enforce his views. He built his life's blood into his paper, and his spirit persists.

The New York Times had built into it more than two generations ago the brain and soul of Raymond. After his death it accomplished a great achievement for New York in the dethronement of the Tweed Ring. Steadily, however, it went down in a business way, so that when Adolph Ochs, a comparatively unknown provincial newspaper man, took hold, its losses were several thousand dollars a week. He built upon the foundations and traditions of Raymond, and for years The Times has been one of the most prosperous journals of the country, and in many respects the most complete newspaper, with probably a wider diffused national circulation than any other daily.

The list might be prolonged, to include papers in Boston, Philadelphia, Springfield, Chicago, St. Louis, Charleston, Richmond, New Orleans, Montgomery, Nashville, Louisville. Their names would be legion, if all could be listed in which some individual's life, character and brain, have been slowly but surely and permanently built into newspapers. That is the explanation of why so many newspapers have extraordinary vitality, why some of them survive periods of bad management. It takes time to build character into a man. It requires time and struggle to build character into a newspaper. That is one of the chief reasons why old established newspapers so frequently defy the onslaughts of younger papers with more money. It takes much more than brains and money to establish newspapers—it requires character, soul, vision, sacrifice. And the structure has the permanency of the rock that withstands all storms.

In summing up let me fortify my optimism as to the general healthy trend of newspaperdom by a summary of a round-table discussion at a dinner given in February to Harold B. Johnston, editor of The Watertown (N. Y.) Times by that admirable newspaper man, Mr. Herbert F. Gunnison of The Brooklyn Eagle, one of the best, most public spirited and constructive papers in the whole country. There were a number of notable newspaper figures at that dinner, and The Editor and Publisher stated this as a summary of the ideas developed:

“The daily newspapers of the country have not retrograded, notwithstanding the charges to this effect that have been brought against them, but have made progress since the day of Greeley, Bennett, Raymond and Dana. They do not mould public opin-

ion as they did in the days of those famous journalists, but rather they crystallize it. Instead of doing the thinking of the masses, they encourage people to do their own thinking by furnishing them all kinds of information on public questions and urging them to form their own conclusions.

"The editorial page is of better average quality. Personal vituperation between editors is no longer indulged in, except in rare cases. Bitter partisanship has been replaced by tolerance or rather a desire to be fair and just to those who belong to the opposing party."

It is probably true that while editorial influence has been lessened by greater education of the masses, who seek facts and do more of their own reasoning from the facts, that the general influence of newspapers is greater.

It must be admitted, too, that there has been too much attention paid to the trend of dailies in the greater cities, and too little to the bulk of papers in the smaller cities and towns. And furthermore there are the thousands of country weeklies throughout the land, which have been little observed and considered in the aggregate study of newspaper tendencies. If it is true that the average paper is no better, no worse, than the community in which it circulates, should it not be admitted that the bulk of the papers, whether daily or weekly, printed in the smaller towns, are of higher moral tone and more devoted to the public welfare, because of the relative purity of their environment and their lesser temptation to go off after false gods of sensationalism and interested influence? It is frequently said at Washington that the average Congressman is far more sensitive to the views and wishes of the small dailies and weeklies read by his constituency than to the thunders of the great dailies of his own State or of the greatest cities.

In conclusion allow me to assure my auditors of journalistic experience that all the good papers have not been in the past, that there is evolution upward still going on, and abundant room at the top for any of them who has the will to make the way. And to the large number of younger men, who are starting in all sorts of newspaper work, let me say that never before has there been so rich a harvest opening out for educated brains, illumined souls and trained hands. Please remember that the

greatest of newspaper men began as printers and reporters, that competent reporting is the very foundation of successful newspaper work—the very highest function of journalism. They should perfect styles of clear, terse, forceful English. They should equip their minds with an adequate understanding of the psychology of men, of their human nature, so as to approach all sorts in the effective way to get the truth, the essential facts. Their memory should be filled with all the knowledge possible of sound economics and of history. And, above all, all of us should sweeten our souls with faith in the progress of all things, and train our spirits into the habit of vision. Thus you will make of yourselves powers in your lands to neutralize all low tendencies in journalism and to preserve, strengthen and mature all the good work which has been started by the giants of the past. Then we will serve our time, our countries, as well as bring happiness, success and honor to ourselves. (Loud applause).

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THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the strong and thoughtful address by Mr. Glass. It is now our privilege to hear from another representative of the United States, a dweller in Honolulu, who has done distinguished public service in other fields of action as well as in journalism, Colonel Riley H. Allen, of the Star-Bulletin.

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COLONEL ALLEN: Those of you who were not here at the opening of this session missed to my mind one of the finest things I have heard said, when the Chairman asked speakers today to cut out all unnecessary details from their speeches. That to me was a real privilege because the first day I came out here I heard a comparatively long paper by Mr. Tong covering most of what I have to say. I came out yesterday afternoon to hear Mr. McClatchy on "Communications" and that enabled me to cut about half of the remainder of my paper out after hearing his talk. After hearing Mr. Glass this morning and Mr. Brown I will touch only on some of the high points, and make my talk rather short.

Mr. Chairman, Delegates to the Press Congress of the World, Ladies and Gentlemen: Hawaii has an interest in a real freedom of the press as keen as that of any other part of the world;

keener than most. We consider here that freedom of the press—and by that I mean especially freedom of news communication and editorial comment upon subjects of international importance—is an imperative condition for our existence as a self-governing community.

Because we are set squarely in the midst of an ocean which admittedly is disturbed by competing cultures and ambitions on its two great shores, our social and industrial serenity depend upon accurate knowledge of these disquieting elements more than upon any other one factor.

Because in this archipelago two civilizations and parts of several others have met and are in hourly close contact, it is essential that we should have ample information as to the events and probable future of the civilizations in the countries of their birth.

In instancing Hawaii, I do not wish to be understood as assuming that these islands should set pattern for the rest of the world. We are a very small part of the great community of nations; industrially the territory is still immature; and its newspapers do not pretend to compare with the great journals of the several continents. It would ill become a newspaperman of this little mid-Pacific community to advise the rest of the world what to do. However, as I have listened to various papers and addresses presented at this Congress, I have felt more and more that in Hawaii we have a crystallization of many international problems which loom only vaguely on the world-horizon; that we have here, in a small but concrete and easily visualized form, that same impact of cultures and customs which is felt throughout the world today.

In Hawaii, the physical facts of this crystallization and impact are under our eyes daily; in the world at large, they are seen only as sinister clouds, disturbing to thoughtful men and women, but, even if felt by the great mass of people, not understood.

We here see almost immediately in the reaction of our citizens or alien residents the results of frictions between nations. And, as the ways of world-communication are becoming more and more expeditious and ample, news of international misunder-



standing will be borne more and more quickly to the various nationals resident here.

We who live here, like to call Hawaii the "Paradise of the Pacific." But without sufficient freedom of the press to keep us closely informed on world-affairs, we would be living in a fool's paradise.

When I say that a free press is an imperative condition of our existence, I mean exactly that. This ocean may be either as serene with peace as a smiling summer sky, or as stormy with war as a typhoon off the China coast. Without a press which can keep us informed, and rightly informed, on events which may mean peace or war for our respective nations, we in Hawaii would be as helpless as chips in a whirlpool.

Few of you gentlemen live in communities which stand to lose as Hawaii stands to lose if war should come on the Pacific. For some of you, such a war would come no closer home than the war in Europe came to the man in Iowa or Utah or Oregon. For us, it might come with the shattering, roaring, bloody tragedy that visited France, Belgium and Italy.

So, if I talk from the standpoint of a newspaperman of Hawaii, it is not to attempt to advise you, who are from much more important newspaper centers, but to give you the viewpoint of one man in a community which he considers to embody in miniature certain international conditions affecting the newspapers of the world.

How far is freedom of the press desirable and how may it be safeguarded?

To the first part of that question, which is the subject for today, an American newspaperman has but one answer. Freedom of the press is desirable to its peace-time limits. Those limits are set for us by libel laws and by constitutional provisions occasionally added to by federal or state enactment. Our constitution guarantees freedom of the press, and when I say that freedom of the press is desirable to its peace-time limits, I mean that those extraordinary restrictions recognized as necessary, even if disagreeable, in war-time have no place whatever in normal periods; that censorship in peace-time is both unconstitutional and intolerable; that it is to the interests of the government as well as of the people to encourage free and informed newspaper exchange of fact and opinion.

To me there can be no two sides to the question of desirability of freedom of the press, and therefore I have no extended discussion to make of it.

How may freedom of the press be safeguarded?

Only one phase of this rather broad subject can be taken up in this paper—that of making a clear distinction in newspaper columns between what is news or what is editorial comment, and what is propaganda.

A delegate said yesterday that he wished the word propaganda could be decently interred. So do we all, but it can't. The Great War, in fact, immensely widened the scope which propaganda could take. It taught governments and ministries new lessons in influencing the peoples. If it had its tremendous benefits, in the quick results of organized campaigns to sell bonds, recruit soldiers and raise relief funds, it had its evils in developing the business of controlling and directing public opinion to a scale and efficiency hitherto undreamed of; and now, instead of letting propaganda get the best of us, we must get the best of it, by keeping it within proper bounds and making it do its proper work.

Propaganda which threatens the freedom of the press by attempting to use the press as a cloak for ulterior motives and subterranean actions is of two sorts—that emanating from private businesses and that emanating from governments.

Both take a great variety of forms; both deal with many matters of purely domestic concerns, and these I shall not discuss. Our special interest in this Congress is as to those which are apt to lead to international frictions.

Now as to the private business propaganda which may lead to international trouble, it is plain that its weight is lessening. We used to hear a good deal of the pernicious influence of munition-makers, professional warriors, and international bankers who looked on war as a good thing. The recent great conflict gave these gentry the *coup-de-grace*. The world has been disillusioned on war. Not so many years ago in our own country, a war was considered good business by many large newspaper-publishers. The Spanish-American war taught most of them differently; and the World War finished the course of lessons for everybody else.

No gain in circulation, or in the prestige arising from carrying news of the most intense interest and importance, compensates, in the long run, for the business depression (not to speak of the human cost) following such a war as the world has just gone through. Never again will thinking newspapermen consider that war is good business for their profession—for newspaper and magazine making and selling. And, such being the case, the professional war-maker will hereafter get scant encouragement from newspaper publishers.

In public or government propaganda the freedom of the press has still an ancient and powerful enemy.

It is all the more dangerous because sometimes it comes to the newspaper disguised under the cloak of patriotism.

Some governments have done far more than others in controlling the press for their own purposes—those purposes being to further imperial ambition, no matter how certain this ambition was later on to run the people into a head-on collision with other peoples.

Is it not significant that our greatest, most vivid, most tragic example of a nation which wrecked itself in a headlong dash for world-supremacy is also our greatest example of a government which used its press to control and direct and mould the minds of its people to its own ends? Is it not significant that it is precisely those people who for more than a generation had been pap-fed on propaganda instead of news who followed blindly a fatal and suicidal international course?

The public is too often fed with "inspired statements." We too often read windy and unimportant views sent out by someone "on high authority." Sometimes the observations thus purveyed to a yawning and uninterested world are good, sometimes tiresome; sometimes true, sometimes untrue.

To distinguish between government matter which should be published as a patriotic duty (aside from its news interest) and matter which should not be published because it isn't news, tests the newspaperman's alert professional ability as well as his courage.

I cannot offer any panacea to prevent absolutely the debasing of a free press by government propaganda. Education, the rise of general public interest in government affairs, the demand that

the source of news as well as the news itself be open to the public eye; a constant fight for the right of the press to free speech within the bounds of decency—these will help to enlist the reader on the side of the newspaper.

No hard-and-fast rules can be given to the editor or publisher on what government matter is of sufficient general interest to be run as news, and what is not. Such distinction depends on the merits of each case, and on locality and reader-character of the paper, dearth or amplitude of other news, and many other factors.

What I want to emphasize is that to continue and develop true freedom of the press, newspapers and magazines all over the world should adopt and adhere to the principle that government propaganda, like any other propaganda, which is of little or no straight news interest, should be carried as paid advertising at card rates. (Applause.)

More than this—that governments should recognize that greater power and effectiveness which modern advertising, with its distinctive typography and its hammering repetition, can give their messages, even when these are also carried in the news columns.

Paid advertising—the kind which is carried in the display columns or plainly marked with the word “advertisement”; the kind which tells the reader who inserts the matter and who is paying for its insertion ought to be insisted on for government propaganda just as for the promotion of a private commercial interest.

I do not mean to say that government announcements, government doings, government plans, are not news. Much of this matter is good news, affecting thousands, hundreds of thousands of readers of our papers, and therefore eagerly read by them. But the point I want to emphasize is that governments should realize the value of paid advertising to explain to the people the merits of their plans and actions; and, to use American idiom, it’s up to the newspapers to drive this point home to the governments.

During the war, under the terrific necessity of getting great things done in a hurry, the governments used paid advertising on a liberal scale. War-bonds, recruiting-campaigns and the like

were widely advertised. The results proved conclusively that when the government has a big message to get across, the way to do it is both through the news columns and through the advertising columns.

That lesson shouldn't be forgotten in peace.

If governments and government bureaus will put their peacetime messages in the form of paid advertising, over the signatures of these bureaus or responsible officers, they will reap instant benefit in the interest and understanding of their readers.

We are moving and talking today in an atmosphere of peace-desire. This very Congress illustrates how inevitably nearly all public discussion touches on the need for peace. Our haggard countries are yearning for a day free from the torments and anxieties that go with thoughts and signs of war.

I submit that one effective way to bring about that better understanding concerning which there is so much general, nebulous talk, is through this very method of advertising by nations.

Most of us know that diplomats and official missions are going about in many capitals of the world talking peace. But a great deal of their talk misses the mark. It isn't read, or if read, it loses force from lack of proper display and repetition. It isn't direct; it isn't put in the language of the people, one and two syllable words. The man who talks war gets more attention than the man who talks peace. Yet in the long run peace-talk is the more valuable of the two lines of conversation, and ought to be more emphasized.

Most of the world has reached the point of education in advertising where it is perfectly possible for governments to use this tremendous modern publicity force to further the cause of world peace.

I sincerely believe that if the governments to be represented at the Limitation of Armaments Conference were to join a few days before the Conference, in a series of full-page advertisements to be published in daily papers and magazines in every country of the world, setting forth the high purpose and friendly desire which animates this conference, the result would be worth more for future peace than any dreadnought—and it could be done for less than a tenth of the cost of a dreadnought.

I sincerely believe that a year's advertising campaign for

peace, conducted by the governments of the world, would be more effective than a line of forts or a division of infantry or a fleet of battle cruisers. And it would cost far less.

Now I am not so visionary as to believe this is immediately possible. In some countries it may be decades before advertising is as far advanced as in the United States or the British kingdom. But we can measurably hasten the day of world-wide use of advertising by governments for perfectly legitimate ends. We can hasten it by emphasizing daily and nightly that our news columns be kept free of propaganda—that if propaganda is published, it be in the advertising columns where readers may know exactly what it is. Let it not be disguised as news or editorial.

Each in our own community, we can work for, struggle for, fight for this principle. We may not always succeed, but we can always make progress. If the Great War had its evils in developing cleverly disguised propaganda, it also immensely broadened the advertising field, and definitely committed some governments to paid advertising as one method for uniting their peoples and thus helping to win.

I can assure you that nowhere in the world will the efforts of newspapers to preserve freedom of the press, and to make both their news and advertising columns effective media for friendship and peace, be more closely or anxiously watched than in Hawaii. (Applause).

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THE CHAIRMAN: After hearing what Colonel Allen has so well said you may understand why what he writes and what he speaks is always listened to with attention and profit. We, who are delegates to the Press Congress, may add that what he does for us is also to our pleasure and profit.

We will have the pleasure of hearing as our next speaker Mrs. Georgina Townsend, of Los Angeles, representing the Southern California Women's Press Association.

MRS. TOWNSEND: Mr. President and Delegates: To the Press Congress of the World I bring greetings from the Southern California Woman's Press Club of Los Angeles, of which I have the honor to be president, and a member of twenty-one years' standing.

My club was organized twenty-eight years ago by a small



MEMBERS OF THE AUSTRALIAN DELEGATION, WITH GOVERNOR FARRINGTON (upper, left to right).

GUY INNES MELBOURNE; ANDREW DUNN, ROCKHAMPTON, QUEENSLAND; GOVERNOR WALLACE R. FARRINGTON; JOHN HENRY KESSELL, GLADSTONE, QUEENSLAND; HERBERT ARTHUR DAVIES, MELBOURNE.

ON THE REVIEWING STAND AT IOLANI PALACE (lower, left to right).

GOVERNOR FARRINGTON; REAR ADMIRAL EDWARD SIMPSON, U. S. N.; MAJOR-GENERAL CHAS. P. SUMMERALL, U. S. A.; PRESIDENT WALTER WILLIAMS.





group of women doing journalistic work. It was at a time when women's clubs were laughed at, but like other pioneers it outlived scorn and scoffing, and stands today as the most distinguished woman's club in the state of California, a state having more than fifty thousand club women federated.

As my club's representative I bring the message that we are one and all, once and always for peace, and then more peace even if we have to fight for it. As newspaper women and writers we know the tremendous influence a free, untrammelled press would exert upon the efforts of men and women to bring peace and harmony and prosperity to the peoples of the world.

We are looking for splendid results from this Congress, which has sounded two deep notes dear to women's hearts, peace and a free press. To each and every one of our members, be we newspaper women, writers of fiction, makers of text books, or composers of music, has come the restriction upon our creative work which a press controlled wholly by financial considerations imposes upon such effort. If for no other reason than this, we would be opposed to big business control of publications. But we are as women opposed to the present conditions under which newspapers are conducted. We are soul-sick of scintillating editorials which attract the attention of the careless, unthinking reader, and mould his opinions, yet which contain day after day, a tiny drop of poison that works insidiously to lower standards, to create hatred, unrest and dissatisfaction, and to pollute the mind of the public. We are soul-sick of the exploitation of crime, of screaming headlines, of lurid sensation. We are soul-sick of mawkish sentimentality, of sob sister stuff, of disgusting details of debaucheries, of minute particulars in sickening murder trials, divorce scandals, and horrible deaths. We are soul-sick of extravagant statements of the beauty and genius of second and third-rate moving picture people, statements which we know are paid advertisements run in the news columns, and which deceive no one except the foolish young girls with ambitions to become beautiful and famous. And we mothers are soul-sick of the comic section and the low standard it sets in a child's mind in regard to fun, play, obedience and obligation.

But most of all we are sick unto death of propaganda, and what is more, you men are also.

Yet we read the papers and the magazines. But we read them with resentment, indignation and contempt, and only because we have nothing else to read. Yet our intelligence is insulted by being told that publishers are giving the public what it wants. They are not giving the women what they want, and yet it is the women who support the papers. A broad statement you may say. But if the financial success of a publication depends upon its advertisements, as it admittedly does, and at least ninety per cent of all advertising is addressed to women, who are the buyers of necessities and luxuries, then the success of a publication depends upon its women readers who patronize the advertisers, who are the financial backers of the newspaper industry.

And because women are the buyers of ninety per cent of all necessities and luxuries, and because it is to this buying element that advertisers look for patronage, why is it not good business policy upon the part of publishers and editors, to give women what they want, a free, uncorrupted press? And the courageous publisher or editor who gives women what they want, is giving the public what it wants, which is legitimate news well presented, editorials which build up standards and ideals instead of dragging them down, and all that produces harmony, good will, understanding, tolerance, charity and peace, for these are the foundation stones of prosperity, and that is what the whole world needs. The newspaper which is fearless of the effect of truth upon its advertisers will have the women back of it, and such a newspaper will be in a position to dictate to its advertisers instead of being dictated to by them. If you doubt the truth of this statement, think back some thirty years to the time when the Ladies Home Journal attacked the patent medicine business, a business seemingly impregnable; to attack such business apparently meant ruin to any publication undertaking to expose the gigantic fake which was fattening off the credulity of the public, and it was freely predicted that the Ladies Home Journal would never survive but would be crushed by the pressure which the immense patent medicine business would bring to bear upon it. And such pressure was brought to bear and the magazine suffered severe loss, but because it was telling the truth by exposing a harmful and dishonest line of business, it had the

women with it. And with the women back of it, the magazine lived, and the patent medicine business industry died.

Therefore it seems to me that the problem of the present condition of the press might be solved by the application of this bit of psychology, simple enough to state to be sure, but not so simple to carry out, for it takes courage and fearlessness. But our journalists have both courage and fearlessness, and upon these splendid attributes we women are depending for the purity of the press and the future welfare of our nation. (Applause).

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THE CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Townsend has set a good example to the speakers on this program, not only in the thought she presents but in the time she took to express her thoughts. If she would have added a postscript in which she would have told exactly what all women want in the newspapers, she could be employed on any newspaper in the world at any time.

We next have the privilege of re-adjusting the program slightly in order to hear a delegate from Canada, the managing editor of *La Presse* at Montreal. The French Canadian has done great service in Canada, and we in the Mississippi Valley and all editors are glad to meet him South of the imaginary line which separates the Dominion from the Republic.

I have pleasure in presenting to you now Mr. Oswald Mayrand, managing editor of *La Presse* of Montreal.

MR. MAYRAND: On behalf of the Canadian Press, which I have the honor to represent here, it is my privilege to congratulate the organizers of this congress for the magnificent success they are achieving.

Conventions of this kind bring soldiers of the pen together, make them know, understand and appreciate each other; they put in common the fruits of the most experienced among them and the whole human community, of whom journalists are the best natured servants, get the ultimate benefit.

Having been asked to present a lecture on any journalistic subject, I thought you might be interested to hear something of the Canadian press and especially something of the French-Canadian press history.

The press of a country reflects the ideals of such country. French-Canadians are peaceful people living in harmony with

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The press of a country reflects the ideals of such country. French-Canadians are peaceful people living in harmony with

all ethnical groups which surround them. Canada at large is often looked upon as a lively hyphen between the several great races of this continent and even of the whole world. There can not be a higher purpose to achieve. Our people's motto is "Je me souviens" (I remember) and should not this be one of the ideals of the universal press? Above the legitimate interests of each country, pressmen, let us remember and serve the interests of humanity, our common mother.

In 1752 appeared the first journal published within the actual limits of Canada. It was at Halifax and its editor was named Bushell. That man was therefore first to take out of the bushel the Canadian journalistic light and also first to fire a newspaper shell in the land which was to be the future peaceful Dominion of Canada. Suspended a few years after its first publication, that paper, which was rather an official gazette, reappeared later and is still living under the name of Nova Scotia Official Gazette.

Twelve years after on June 21, 1764, appeared in Canada as it was then formed the first journal, *La Gazette de Quebec*, which was published by Brown and Gilmour, two printers who had come from Philadelphia. It was printed at first half in French, half in English; then, for many years, alternately in English and in French, and from 1842 in English only. After the death of Gilmour and, later, of Brown, the *Quebec Gazette* became the property of the latter's nephew, named Neilson, and for more than half a century, it belonged to the Neilson family. At first, that paper contained foreign news rather than local news and it soon became an official gazette in which were published ordinances and laws. During about fifteen years it was the only Canadian paper. It disappeared in 1874, after one hundred and ten years of existence.

In 1778, Fleury Mesplet, another printer coming from Philadelphia, founded in Montreal *La Gazette Litteraire*, which having ceased to be exclusively literary and having encroached upon the political arena, died after about a year of existence.

In 1785, the same Fleury Mesplet began the publication of *La Gazette de Montreal*. When he died, in 1793, his paper was bought by Mr. Edwards and it is the same which still exists under the name of the *Montreal Gazette*.

In 1796 and 1797 another Gazette de Montreal was simultaneously published by Louis Roy, who had printed before the first journal of Upper Canada, 'The Canada Gazette. Those two papers were edited in English and French.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the struggle between the French Canadian patriots' party and the English bureaucracy became more acute, many fighting papers then came out.

First of all appeared *Le Canadien*, founded in 1806 and which after getting through many hardships was killed by Craig, general governor, in 1810.

To fight against *Le Canadien*, Thomas Cary brought forth, in 1806, the *Quebec Mercury* which was still more fiery than *Le Canadien*.

The moderate party had also, at that time, their own organs. *Le Courrier de Quebec* which lived from 1807 to 1818 and *Le Vrai Canadien*, which lasted from 1807 to 1811. Both papers were supported, at least secretly, by the Government.

From 1810 to 1820, other journals pursued the struggle for each side. On the English side, the most prominent as well as the most fanatic at that time, was the *Herald*, which was established in 1811. On the Canadian, or patriots' side, there were above all *Le Spectateur*, founded in 1813 by C. B. Pasteur, and the *Canadian Spectator*, edited in English by Jocelyn Waller. At about the same time Michel Bibaud began to publish periodical reviews which favored bureaucracy.

Then, at Three Rivers, Ludger Duvernay published *La Gazette de Trois-Rivieres*, *Le Constitutionnel* and *L'Argus*, which, although they had a short life, valiantly fought for the Canadian cause.

In 1826, *La Minerve*, the most accredited organ of French Canadian interests, was founded by A-Norbert Morin. That paper lived six months only. It was revived in 1827 by Ludger Duvernay as publisher and by the same A-Norbert Morin as editor.

Before, it had been attempted twice, though unsuccessfully, to revive *Le Canadien* in Quebec, but that paper was definitively re-established in 1831, with Etienne Parent as its director.

Until 1837, *La Minerve* and *Le Canadien* were the two French

papers which led the fight against the Herald and the Montreal Gazette.

La Gazette de Quebec, which from 1822 had ceased to be the official gazette, went also into the fight, but with moderate views.

In 1832 came out, in Montreal, L'Ami du Peuple which supported the Government while he was supposed to fight against the exaggerations of the Patriots.

On behalf of the Patriots were then published in Quebec Le Liberal by S. M. Bouchette and Le Fantastique by Aubin, in Montreal, La Quotidienne by Lemaitre, LeJean-Baptiste by Dr. Gauvin, and La Canadienne by Plinguet. As a supporter of the Government there was above all Le Populaire published by Gosselin and Leblanc de Marconnay. Among the most fiery champions of the Patriots' cause there was also The Vindicator, edited in English by Dr. O'Callaghan. All those papers were wiped out by the storm of 1838-39. Even La Minerve was forced to give up for some time its publication and Ludger Duvernay, who had run away to Burlington, edited there Le Patriote Canadien.

After the union of Upper to Lower Canada, the struggle was transferred upon the constitutional ground. La Minerve, re-established in 1842 and especially inspired by Lafontaine, called for a responsible government, and it was supported by Le Canadien, who was still published in Quebec. Both papers had to fight against the Montreal Gazette, the Herald, the Transcript, the Courier and sometimes against L'Aurore des Canadas, a wavering French paper, which, having been established in 1839, lasted until 1848.

During the same period several publications were edited by Michel Bibaud: La Bibliotheque Canadienne, L'Observateur, Le Magasin du Bas Canada and L'Encyclopedia Canadienne, all ignoring politics.

A little later, the political struggle took place between the Liberal party as created by Lafontaine and the Red party as established in 1844, when Louis-Joseph Papineau had come back to Canada. On the one side which can already be named Liberal-Conservative there were, each having its shades of opinion, La Minerve of Montreal, Le Canadien of Quebec and, from 1842, Le Journal de Quebec.



On the radical side there was above all *L'Avenir*, which after having been founded in 1847 by Jean-Baptiste-Eric Dorion, gave its place, in 1852, to *LePays* edited by Dessaulles. In 1855 *Le National of Juot*, Fournier and Plamondon came and helped *Le-Pays*.

Among the influential papers which came along and helped the Conservative party should be mentioned *Le Courrier du Canada*, established in 1857 and at first edited by Aubry.

Under the pressure of political evolution, the papers varied more and more until the Confederation. Then, in 1867, was founded *L'Evenement* which, edited by Hector Fabre, sustained for years a most strenuous fight against *Le Journal de Quebec* published by the Honorable Joseph Cauchon.

After 1867, besides the party papers which still existed like *La Minerve*, *Le Courrier du Canada*, *L'Evenement*, *Le Canadien*, *Le Journal de Quebec*, etc., there were, from 1870 to 1880, many politico-religious papers which most acrimoniously fought each other. Let us mention *L'Ordre*, edited by Mr. Royal, *Le Nouveau-Monde*, directed by Canon Lamarche and *Le Franc-Parleur*, of Adolphe Ouimet. Of the same kind came, a little later, *L'Etendard*, of Senator Trudel and *Le Journal de Trois-Rivieres* of McLeod.

From 1880 H. Beaugrand founded *La Patrie*, then a liberal organ, and in 1880 the Hon. C. E. Gagnon brought forth at Quebec *L'Electeur*, another Liberal organ which while edited by Earnest Pacaud was interdicted and then became *Le Soleil*.

In 1881 *Le Nouveau-Monde* was transformed into *Le Monde* which was made by its publisher, Frederic Houde, a first model of what was to be the French Canadian modern newspaper. Houde having died, his paper was soon supplanted by *La Presse*, founded by Mr. W. E. Blunhardt in 1884, but reorganized and remodeled as a thorough newspaper of today by Treffe Berthiaume in 1889.

Let me say only a few words of the present French Canadian press. There are four French dailies published in Montreal: *Le Canada*, a morning Liberal newspaper; *La Patrie*, *Le Devoir* and *La Presse*, all independent evening newspapers.

In the city of Quebec there are three French dailies *Le Soliel*, organ of the Liberal party; *L'Evenement* and *L'Action Catholique*, both independent as to politics.

Besides, there are a few French daily newspapers published in some other Canadian cities, for instance: *Le Nourvilliste* in Three Rivers, *La Tribune* in Sherbrooke and *Le Droit* in Ottawa. From the maritime provinces to the Western Canada we have also a great number of French weekly newspapers, literary or scientific reviews which are of a most valuable credit to our French Canadian people and to the whole Dominion's community at large.

Will you allow me to say just a few words more about *La Presse*, the French newspaper which has the largest circulation of all the dailies published in any language in the British Dominion of Canada.

Established, as it is, by a courageous self-made man, Treffle Berthiaume, who was a printer, that paper has the following program, which appears, as in a nutshell, in each of its editions:

*La Presse* is an institution irrevocably devoted to the French-Canadian interests: free from political influences, it treats everybody with justice, protects little and weak people against big and strong interests, fights for right against wrong, prefers enlightening to governing, makes truth shine through its powerful information service and is a champion of reforms which can better the life of social classes.

Does not such a program spell some of what might inspire the whole press of the world? (Applause).

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THE CHAIRMAN: We next have an opportunity of hearing a representative of the Havana Reporters' Association, Mr. Agustin Lazo of Cuba.

MR. LAZO: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is not the first time that journalists from the different countries of the world have analyzed, studied and discussed the freedom of the press, although this Press Congress of the World is somewhat different in character, having for its aim fomenting the union and solidarity of the press. It is convenient at this time, now that we are assembled to discuss and study beneficial measures to make decisions in relation to freedom of the press, proceeding without any passionate feeling which might tend to mar otherwise harmonious results of our plans.

The freedom of the press as has been asserted, must be as

wide as the freedom of thought. Our thoughts and our ideas cannot be checked. Our minds may conceive sentiments which cannot be governed by moral or human law. But does this apply in the same way in regard to our ideas? Surely not. In our minds are mixed together all our good and bad sentiments, which unfortunately all of us possess. Purity of thought does not always predominate.

Freedom of the press, which means the free and untrammelled expression of our thoughts cannot be so governed as the freedom of thought, which certainly has no boundaries, no censors, no rules, and no laws or control. Only when our ideals are all pure can we equalize the two freedoms which, nevertheless, are in close and intimate relation. In a world which really is not our earthly world the conceptions of the mind and its expressions are apt to be confused. Let us therefore struggle for universal purity of ideas which must govern the spirits of those who, like ourselves, have for their object the guidance of public opinion in all the most important problems of life.

Taking into consideration the importance of the press, which has reached the denomination of Fourth Power of the State, it is only logical that the various governments have had to publish laws relating to the press. The press is as significant in the development of a government as any other power under a control, offering as it does a means for the discussion and approval of legislation in order that it may become effective. But the press is something more than a law-making, judicial and executive power. Restrictions to the expression of written thoughts have been only local or national, and in the international conventions, governments have never intended to limit the activities of the press to the sphere around which the press turns. In no international treaty have there been restrictions against which it was necessary to protest. Our sphere of action has no boundaries and is more extensive than the boundary lines of the different countries of the world. The ideas scattered by the press reach to all points of the compass, whereas laws and powers of individual governments are confined to one particular country. To us of the press falls the responsibility of establishing rules to assure healthful and favorable results for mankind, avoiding all despotic and depreciative proceedings by which journalism

can lose its reputation and prestige and grow repulsive and hateful.

What should be the necessary and desired freedom of the press, and how can that freedom be defended and maintained? This is a problem which opens up an opportunity for wide discussion. The political relations between individual citizens and countries provoke a different situation in each case. Temperance of rulers is not the same in each case and temperance of writers is always different. Laws are different, too, and the internal situations differ in each country.

Another point I have especially appreciated in my country, the Republic of Cuba, has been the nationality of writers. The government has not followed the same course against natives and foreigners but this sentiment has had to be completely changed.

Freedom of the press is necessary. Sentiments of nations, just as the sentiments of citizens who formed those nations, will hardly be altered, but to that difficult task let us unite in our efforts. May divisions between the journalists of the world never appear. Let ideas be expressed freely so that from discussions may come out the light, pure and bright, to color in an atmosphere of transparency and cordial harmony the spirits of the inhabitants of all the world, maintaining a universal peace and an intense, deep, and mutual love amongst human beings.

The press is the organization in charge of the defense of men's rights, of the liberties of nations, of universal peace, and is the institution which will spread knowledge of interest to everyone; which will reflect the sentiments of public opinion, its necessities, its claims, and at the same time will indicate the means to be employed for the realization of inspired ideals. The press can not be put aside by progress and civilization. The press will be the means of transporting from mind to mind, rapidly, with the speed permitted by means of modern communication, the events occurring in every place. To governments more than to anybody else will depend the maintenance of the freedom of the press. Let both governments and the press unify their aims towards the maintenance of the solidarity they need so that passions will not break out furiously as a storm menacing nationality, transformed to a weak vessel without steersmen and without

secure direction. The press must always claim the rights needed for the fulfillment of its noble and beneficial purpose. How shall the press claim and maintain those rights? By friendly negotiations it must search for the betterment of conditions, first within its own country, exhausting all sources given by code and resolutions in force, and if that is not sufficient, by appealing to the Press Congress of the World, which after hearing the details of disagreement, will act according to the prudent judgment of a committee appointed by us. This committee or tribunal so appointed should be composed of press representatives from the different nations, in order that the experiences of every particular nation be at its disposal. Its nomination should be made immediately, so that complaints already officially presented may be made known to this Congress.

According to my reports, we have two communications on the table of this Congress and they ought to be studied carefully by the committee named for investigation. One of those cases comes from Lima, Peru, where the government has expropriated the building and properties of the newspaper *El Comercio*, one of the oldest dailies in Lima. Soldiers were sent against the house alleging a breach of public order on account of some articles published by that important organ of the Peruvian Press. Mr. Fernan Cisneros, the owner, one of the vice-presidents of the Press Congress of the World, was even after being deprived of his belongings, exiled, and now lives in Panama from where he is sending a protest to the civilized world and especially to journalists and to the Press Congress of the World.

These are two different cases worthy of our attention on account of the solidarity we are obliged to maintain with journalists in both South American countries, and because these will not be the only cases submitted for the consideration of the distinguished members of this Congress. The first case is isolated to the life of the Peruvian government. The second relates to government systems generally as criticized by the press of almost every nation. In both cases the Press Congress of the World should take action, promising its moral support.

But all these problems I have referred to are more or less governed by the education received by the various journalists. Frequently the freedom to express ideas will depend exclusively

on the intelligence and prudence of the writer, who must have had adequate preparation obtained in a favorable manner and under favorable conditions to enable him to properly express his thoughts and opinions.

Now, what is the most desirable preparation for a career of journalism? In this field nothing is so necessary and so useful as a course in schools of journalism as established in the United States and several other countries. In other places questions relating to the establishment of a faculty in the universities are pending where those who take courses in politics, science, finance or religion may also study modern journalism. In Cuba we are trying to establish our school of journalism. We need it and it would be a great asset to the success of journalism in the future.

To these schools we ought to direct our thoughts now that we are assembled here for the search of new plans tending to the improvement of journalism. The Press Congress of the World must start an effective campaign on behalf of these schools for journalism. Within them, pupils will learn to demonstrate a knowledge of good grammar and literature in the language used in their writings. There should also be civic instruction which will include elements of the constitution, administration, political and international law, political economy, ethics and modern history. The pupils should also have practical training for writing editorials and for searching out the news. The teachers in these schools of journalism should be persons of unquestioned ability in order that they may give their scholars besides technical knowledge the necessary capacity to rapidly estimate the value of any particular event and applying great doses of prudence, discretion, sagacity and acuteness of mind, qualities on which will greatly depend the success of the students, because journalism embodies all human activities and is the motor of ideas in the advancement of modern civilization. (Applause).

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THE CHAIRMAN: As the last speaker of the morning we have the opportunity of hearing a representative of China, a member of the staff of The China Press of Shanghai, commissioned by the Press Association of Shanghai, China, to this body, educated at the University of Michigan, United States. I have great pleasure in presenting to you Mr. Jabin Hsu.

MR. JABIN HSU: Mr. Chairman and Members of the Press Congress: Perhaps you will remember that our esteemed friend, Colonel Lawson, at the opening session, told you in a very neat way what he thought of America. My message will be more or less an address from one organic body to another organic body, viz: what we, the Chinese press, think of the world press. It is in that name that I propose to speak this morning.

The press of China is rapidly growing in influence and is now voicing the opinions of the thinking Chinese. Its views on matters of domestic concern carry much weight with all classes of people in the country. I believe that before long the views of the Chinese press on matters of international character will carry equal weight with the people of other nations. As the opinion expressed by the Chinese press on all kinds of topics of the day are shared to a more or less extent by the populace, a discussion of the views of the press in my country about the world press may not be lacking in interest, representing as it does the concensus of public opinion in China.

Before the World War, the Chinese press, which was then in its infancy, paid all its attention to domestic affairs and seldom, if ever, ventured into the realm of international politics. The war, however, was responsible for the shifting of part of the attention to world problems. Since 1914, the newspapermen in my country had been eagerly devouring all the news dished out by the foreign press about affairs of other continents, especially about the news of international nature in relation to China. In their first contact with the newspaper world of the West, Chinese journalists placed implicit confidence in what they read in the foreign papers.

However, when the roar of cannon and the butchery of human beings ceased on that memorable day, November 11, 1918, the newspapers in China were led by the world press to believe that finally the better instincts of mankind would assert themselves and that arms would be subordinated to reason while aggrandisement and imperialism would simultaneously cease. Chinese journalists all over the country hailed the same unanimous view that instead of secret diplomacy, we were to have covenants openly arrived at and instead of entangling alliances, we were to have a League of Nations with armament reduced to a minimum re-

quired for the performance of mere police duties. Thus the Chinese people were led by their own press, which was in turn led by the world press, to believe that the longed for Utopia was about to be realized and that liberty, justice and equality would soon reign supreme. For had not the European and the American press repeatedly declared to the world that the great war was a war to end all future wars and that the Allies were fighting for justice and civilization against militarism and barbarism? Such press views from America and Europe were re-echoed by the press in China. And the people of China had the greatest faith in them. Urged on by these promises as were scattered broadcast by the press of the world, the people of China bore the heavy burden of deprivation and sacrifice willingly in fond hopes of future peace. But today, after three long years, they find themselves disillusioned and deceived by press reports. Instead of a period of social, financial and political quietude, we face today a world of unrest in which we Chinese are suffering equally with the rest of the world. During the last three years, more strikes and labor troubles have happened than in any other period of similar duration in history. In a word, the Versailles Conference did not prove to be the panacea that the Chinese expected. Has the press deceived the Chinese press, and through the Chinese press, deceived the Chinese people by holding out an unusually bright future, a future which was later proved to be a mere illusion?

Most of the Chinese journalists have now realized—whether rightly or wrongly—that the press news from Europe and America had selfish purposes to serve; that the whole truth of the conditions of the West at the moment was not wholly told, or that the foreign pressmen, or publishers of the foreign newspapers, were but catspaws in the hands of their statesmen and carried out their instructions for the furtherance of a political program. The confidence of the Chinese journalists in the foreign press for the time being is being totally shaken. Their criticism of the foreign press which they consider as not playing the game fairly, is rather severe, and perhaps too severe. The advice they offer to remedy what they consider as a deplorable international situation is sound. They suggest that if the world press is to continue the enjoyment of the confidence of mankind, it



should endeavor to refer back now and then to old facts while reporting the new events. In order to make themselves clear on this point, one newspaper had this much to say:

“Great statesmen of two continents in the midst of the war promised in the most solemn manner a new world to mankind after the termination of the great international conflict, promised equal rights to big as well as small nations and promised self-determination of the people. The newspapers in America and Europe wrote editorials after editorials praising them without reservation, to use a Chinese expression, ‘to the skyward.’ At the Versailles Peace Conference, the words and acts of these advocates of high-sounding principles were found to be diametrically opposite. And the people and the press of China expected to find in the various foreign papers which used to praise them without qualification editorials of condemnation, but they were disappointed as they found nothing of the kind. There was silence which the foreign press religiously observed with regard to the inconsistency of the deeds and words of their statesmen; the silence could be interpreted as their connivance at the low grade statecraft.”

Another paper endorsed the foregoing views and added that if the world press is to serve mankind, it should take to task those statesmen who make promises which are not meant to be carried out. These suggestions, I feel certain, are worthy of consideration by press representatives.

If the press is to lead world opinion, it must exercise pressure wherever and whenever it is necessary in the interest of public welfare. Once a great statesman who does not intend to keep his promises which are made to secure either cheap publicity or to mislead the world, experiences such pressure, he dare not to repeat it and will be more truthful in what he says as well as what he does in the future. The vigilance of the press over conduct of those who are “high-up,” when effectively exercised, will do away with much misunderstandings, which are responsible for all human conflicts, and will finally lead to the creation of a better world. Is the international press ready to assume this responsibility? This responsibility is by no means light, but it cannot be assumed by any other institution except the press of the world. If the world press is not yet ready to do

so, then it fails to perform its vital function of guiding the world opinion along the proper channels and enforcing what is right and fair.

Having been disappointed by the foreign press and inclined to distrust news reports from abroad, the leading Chinese journalists have offered their reading public an explanation of their own with reference to the cause of the economic and political unrest. This unrest is attributed to the return of the United States of America to her ante-bellum isolation. They stated that the enthusiasm with which she went into the war and waged it has now become supercooled; since the conclusion of the war, she has been almost deaf to the appeal of the sore distressed world. On this question, the general comment of the Chinese press, which undoubtedly supplies American newspapermen much food for thought, runs in this way:

"The United States which for years considered her splendid isolation as a justification for being indifferent to world affairs, discovering in 1917 that she could not keep herself further aloof from the cataclysm of Europe, jumped into it just in the nick of time to save what was left of this old world of ours. The Allies, strengthened not only materially but more so morally, emerged victorious and were going to run the world, as their statesmen said, on a new plan. The big heads of Europe, Asia, and America met to devise this plan of running the world whereby every one was promised a decent chance to live and be happy. This plan was evolved in the covenants of the so-called League of Nations. President Wilson brought this plan back to the United States, but the American people could not stand for any such league as that existing at that time. What now? Every piece of news that comes from Europe indicates that war has exhausted practically all the resources at the command of Europe, which badly needs America's aid to rehabilitate herself. Austria is starving. Spain, Italy, France and England are all turbulent with constant labor troubles, making production impossible, America is the only nation in the world which is able to help the world, but she, for good reasons, declines to do so. Hence Europe today is starving, while America has goods, money and clothing in abundance. The exalted mood of wartime has died away and the American people who gladly made sacrifices in the

war are now demanding the concentration of American energy and wealth for America alone. The general populace who made such supreme sacrifices during the conflagration are now returning to their old time mode of living in a rather cool-blooded spirit."

"The high cost of living," to get some further ideas about the Chinese press comment on world affairs, "has been due to America's indifference to international affairs and refusal to meddle in European affairs and to play her manifest role as the hope of mankind. Europe needs America's raw material, her coal, wheat and financial credit, but America is evidently unmoved. If America had the same enthusiasm now as when she fought for civilization then, we might have a different world altogether."

We who have been in touch with the affairs of the world more closely know that such comment in the Chinese press is far from being fair. We know too well that it is not the withdrawal of the United States from European affairs, but the inevitable after-war effects that are principally accountable for the political and labor unrest all over the world. But ladies and gentlemen, you are reaping your own harvest from what you sowed during the war. The foreign press has destroyed the confidence of the Chinese pressmen, who are naturally not very well-acquainted with world conditions, in the reliability of its news and it is only natural that they should allow their own imagination free play which is most injurious to the world at large. For the misinterpretation by the Chinese press of the world conditions today—for which America has been held responsible—the foreign press, especially the American journalists, have to thank themselves.

In order to secure a renewed confidence of the Chinese pressmen in Western journalism the papers in America and Europe should discard expediency and perform their function of supplying genuine information and of supervising the conducts of statesmen of the world faithfully, though unpleasantly. A world press free from jingoism and consecrated solely to public welfare can overcome the unfavorable attitude of the average Chinese newspapermen towards their Western fellow-craftsmen. I hope the day is not far distant when the public press may be consecrated to the high ideals so eloquently urged by the leading journalists of the day at this Congress.

The faithful performance by the Western press of its function in the light of the comment of the Chinese press is important, for it does not need a prophet to tell that the Pacific will be the storm center of the world in the years to come. The responsibilities of our fellow-craftsmen in handling Pacific problems correctly are immensely heavy. We know by experience that we cannot entirely rely on diplomats for the promotion of international peace. They too often misunderstand one another and the slightest spark of friction among them would kindle the fire of Mars to slaughter the sons of men! As nations, we are by no means intelligent on the affairs of one another, largely perhaps due to the failure of the press to perform its sacred duty of telling the "truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth." We are suspicious of one another. Consequently, some nations resort madly to the increase of armament as a means of preservation while others indulge in secret diplomacy, intrigue and oppression of the weak.

Here is an opportunity for the foreign press to show its Eastern brother that it is sincere in working for universal peace and it will not hesitate to note publicly inconsistencies of their statesmen, which will remove some of the misunderstandings now entertained by the Chinese press. Within a month from today, there will be held in Washington a Disarmament Conference. At this, many of China's intricate problems will be discussed and her grievances, we hope, aired. There may be obstacles to the solution of these problems. But American and European statesmen, as well as those from the Orient, have repeatedly announced their intention to see to it that China receives a square deal at the Conference table and that some means will be devised for the reinforcement of the policy of Open Door and the principle of territorial integrity of our country. If these statesmen will carry out their promises in letter and in spirit, well and good; but, if not, I trust that the press of the world will not allow them to pass unnoticed as they did during the Paris Conference. A repetition of the events at the Paris Conference will confirm the unfavorable opinion of the Chinese press and will produce undesirable results, because, as we all know, not until the last war cloud disappears from the Pacific horizon will the nations of the world trust each other and lay down their arms.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Press, I have frankly stated to you the views of the Chinese press on the world press. In giving them, I have no other motive than to bring closer together the relationship between the press of the Orient with that of the Occident. The sincere co-operation of these pressmen of the East and the West is imperative as it will result in a better understanding between nations at this critical hour. Let us remember that our interest in the journalistic profession is in concord and not in conflict and our real success rests in public service and co-operation. I hope that all who are here this afternoon, whether he be an editor, a publisher or a business manager, I hope he may be moved to higher and nobler efforts for his own and the world's good and that out of this Congress may come not only cordial relations between the delegates, confidence and fraternity, improvement of our profession, but also service to humanity and consecration of the high ideals of mankind so as to make this old world of ours more pleasant to live in!

It will be a great satisfaction, I am sure, if as a result of this historical gathering of the leading members of the journalistic profession here at the crossroads of the Pacific we at once join hands to carry out this supreme duty! (Applause).

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THE CHAIRMAN: Opportunity will be given tomorrow for the discussion of Mr. Hsu's interesting and suggestive paper, as well as for discussion of the other papers read this morning.

This afternoon, beginning at two o'clock we will have some important and interesting addresses, closing the program of formal addresses at this Congress session. Some most stimulating addresses will be made this afternoon.

The Congress will be in recess until two o'clock.

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SEVENTH SESSION.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 19, 1921.

Congress was called to order at two p. m. by President Williams.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read a message from His Excellency, the Governor of Hongkong.

THE SECRETARY: This letter has been entrusted to Mr.

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Petrie, delegate to the Press Congress of the World from the Hongkong press, who handed it to Governor Farrington, who in turn suggests that it be made part of the minutes of the Press Congress. That has been done and the letter from the Governor of Hongkong is as follows:

Government House  
HONGKONG, 9th August, 1921.

*To the Governor of Hawaii:*

I avail myself of the opportunity afforded by the presence of Mr. T. Petrie as Delegate of the Hongkong Press at the Press Congress of the World to send greetings to Your Excellency and to express the hope that the results of the Congress meeting in your territory will be to enhance the value of the World's Press by facilitating the dissemination of accurate information and thus helping to remove prejudices and misunderstandings and to promote international goodwill and co-operation.

R. E. STUBBS,  
Governor, &c.

THE CHAIRMAN: However full the news reports and however fair and instructive the editorial opinions may be, unless a newspaper has readers, news and opinion do not serve the desired purpose. The first paper this afternoon is on "The Building of Circulation," by a conspicuously successful country publisher from the middle of the United States, Mr. H. U. Bailey, of the Bureau County Republican, Princeton, Illinois.

MR. BAILEY: Mr. President, Members of the Congress: I might say here that I believe that the publishing of the news in a community is usually a matter of education to be conducted by the editor of the paper. In our own experience I know that we are now publishing a very large line of news matter which fifteen or twenty years ago we could not have published without giving offense to a considerable number of people, but the people in our community have learned to feel that matters of real importance are going to be published, and unless there is some sentimental reason—some innocent people to suffer—the subscribers know it will be published.

The modern newspaper is a commercial institution to the extent that it has two commodities for sale—circulation and advertising. Both of these are essential to the success of any newspaper enterprise for they constitute the only legitimate sources of revenue upon which a newspaper may depend for support. Of course, many newspapers, especially in country towns,

operate a job printing plant from which a profit is derived, but certainly the income from job printing cannot be reckoned as newspaper earnings.

In my opinion the circulation of a newspaper is its greatest asset, for upon the circulation, its size and character, depends the value of its advertising space. It is the basis upon which advertising rates are fixed and is the lodestone which attracts advertisers who have a message to deliver to the public.

The building of circulation is one of the publisher's most important and sometimes most difficult problems. A large subscription list is the ambition of every publisher of a newspaper whether he be located in a great city or in a little country town. Circulation is the tape-measure of popularity. It indicates the degree in which the newspaper is fulfilling its mission in the community and the response which its efforts to supply useful information meets from the people it attempts to serve.

No newspaper can hope to succeed unless it becomes a vital, throbbing part of the community life. It must reflect what is in the minds and hearts of the people; it must be a faithful record of human progress and human events; it must lead the way with the pulpit toward the better things of life. It must win and hold the confidence of the people as the champion of right and justice and the unceasing antagonist of that which is against the common good.

To reach this goal, requires more than good intentions. It requires hard work, tenacity of purpose, and a keen understanding of human nature. While truth in journalism is essential to success there must be coupled with it energy and alertness to deliver the news bright and fresh from the various centers of activity. Wherever the common welfare is concerned the newspaper should spare neither time, effort nor money to keep the public informed. It will be repaid many fold.

I once knew a newspaper man in Iowa who conducted a weekly paper in a small town for twenty years, and it was his boast that he had never published an item that gave offense to any of his subscribers. He was proud of the claim that he did not have an enemy in the world. And yet, when he became a candidate for the job of local postmaster he could not muster enough support to land the job and failed. While perhaps, it was true

that he did not have any enemies, his supine attitude during his twenty years of editorship did not make him any real warm friends and both he and his paper were a failure in that community.

The publisher in building up circulation is engaged in the sales end of a commercial enterprise. He is selling his product—news. He has the same things to consider that a merchant has who is setting out to market his goods. The same principles of salesmanship apply to both. In the first place there must be a need for his product and in the second place he must produce something that fills the need.

A study of the history of American journalism reveals an infinite variety of methods for the building of circulation. In fact, American publishers, as business men, have shown as much versatility and as much ingenuity in selling their product as have the men engaged in other lines of business. Many schemes have been devised for getting subscribers, some of them excellent in their results and others not so good. Voting contests, premium offers, free trial subscriptions, and a great many other schemes have been tried by publishers all over the land, with varying results. For our part we have never tried any of these. We employ subscription solicitors during the summer months of the year but we have never employed advertising solicitors. Advertisers come voluntarily to the office and to meet their needs in addition to our news service we find it necessary to print from sixteen to twenty-four pages of each issue. In the matter of circulation I believe publishers should give their advertisers full and accurate information concerning that which they are buying, viz: circulation. Therefore at six months intervals we issue rate and circulation folders in which we give the total sworn circulation during the preceding six months and we supplement this with a table giving the exact number of subscribers in each town and on each rural route of the county. In addition to the affidavit we publish a guarantee in which we agree that we will cancel the bill of any advertiser or refund the amount paid by any advertiser in case such advertiser points out one instance in which an error of as many as six subscriptions has been made in any town or on any one of the forty-nine rural routes of the county. We let these circulation statements take the place of advertising solicitors.



Personally I have come to the conclusion that circulation is something which cannot be acquired in a day or a year. The building of a substantial, bona fide subscription list is the work of years. It must rest upon a firm foundation.

In my judgment, the first essential in building circulation is to furnish a really worth-while newspaper. In other words, manufacture a meritorious article for which there is a public demand. It is useless to send out agents to secure subscribers if you cannot hold them after you get them. You must furnish a satisfactory news service, giving in an interesting manner an unbiased report of the events transpiring in the community which you serve.

I do not wish to pose before this World Press Congress as an expert circulation builder. I am simply a country editor, who has achieved a measure of success, and willing to share the benefit of my experience with my fellow publishers. If there is anything in that experience that may be useful to you, I gladly give it.

When I acquired the Bureau County Republican, which was established seventy-five years ago at Princeton, Illinois, a town of about 5,000 inhabitants, it had a circulation of 2,500. It was a weekly paper in a county seat town and because it carried the news of the courts and the proceedings of the board of supervisors it had a more or less general circulation throughout Bureau County, an agricultural district with approximately 43,000 inhabitants.

Without artificial means to stimulate subscription sales a campaign was undertaken to increase the circulation. One of the first steps in this direction was the appointment of additional correspondents in order to cover every local community in the county and thereby improve and extend the news service.

We have raised the number of our correspondents from twenty to fifty-six in a territory thirty-six miles square, in addition to our regular editorial staff at Princeton. These correspondents are volunteers who contribute items of news each week from their community in a total volume of from fourteen to twenty columns without other remuneration than a free copy of the paper. We could not afford to maintain such a large corps of correspondents if we had to pay them in cash, but we have tried

to make our paper represent our county in such a way that in contributing to our news columns these correspondents feel they are serving their community and take a certain pride in the distinction. The correspondents for the most part are persons of prominence in the community. They include teachers, justices of the peace, housewives, ministers and farmers. Many of them have served for more than twenty years and usually when they drop out they arrange with others to take their places. We seldom have to look for a new correspondent to fill a vacancy.

We got a foothold in the towns outside of Princeton by sending special staff men into them and "writing up" the town. We picked out the leading industries and the leading citizens and the leading things of interest in them and in special articles, illustrated with pictures, we touched the local pride of the people to work up a friendly attitude toward the paper. Then our solicitors were sent in to sell subscriptions and by this method our circulation was greatly increased. That was about fifteen years ago. Never since then have we permitted our circulation to take a slump. We have never lost sight of the fact that we are selling news and that the only reason people buy our paper is to get the news. Like the wise merchants, we aim to give our patrons the best on the market at the lowest possible cost and we have centered our efforts on putting out a good newspaper. We print all the news that we can get hold of in our territory and pass it on to our readers in as interesting a fashion as our staff can present it. We do not suppress legitimate news through fear or favor nor do we permit personal animosities to creep into our news or editorial columns. We strive to conduct the Republican so that it will command the respect and confidence of our readers and keep them constantly with us. That we have succeeded is evident by the fact that we have many names on our list that have been there for half a century and in numerous instances there are as many as three generations of the same family taking our paper.

The Republican has grown in circulation in the last fifteen years from 2,500 to 7,100 in a territory where approximately 35,000 of the inhabitants speak the English language. This is an average of one copy to every five persons. There are nine rural delivery routes radiating from the city of Princeton and there is an average of ninety-six mail boxes on each route. The average

number of Republicans going on these routes is eighty-eight. The Republican goes into eighty-five per cent of the mail boxes on the rural routes in the whole county. Our subscription agents report that they sometimes run across thirty to fifty farm homes in succession in which the Republican is read. During the last year we put seven hundred new subscribers on our list, and over four hundred of this gain came voluntarily through the mails or at the office, while less than three hundred of the gain was received by solicitation. The subscription price of the paper is now, and for the last fifty-four years has been, two dollars a year.

The growth of the Republican to a point where it has the largest circulation of any county weekly newspaper in the United States has not been sudden or miraculous. It has been the result of years of patient and painstaking effort to serve the best interests of the community. We have tried to incorporate in the Republican the highest ideals of newspaper making and have been rewarded by the whole-hearted support of our people.

What the Republican has done in Bureau County, Illinois, any newspaper can do in its particular field. Human nature is the same the world over and while the experiences here recounted have been realized in a district in the central or an agricultural portion of the United States, I believe they can be achieved in any part of the civilized world. If I were to attempt to give any advice to my fellow publishers assembled here in this Congress, it would be this: strive first to produce the best newspaper within your power and all things else will come unto you. (Applause.)

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THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair may add that Mr. Bailey practices what he preaches in his paper.

MR. MARK COHEN: I would like to place before this meeting for information only at this time the following draft resolution:

#### MEMBERSHIP.

Resolved, That memberships in the Press Congress of the World shall be of three classes as follows: (a) individual memberships with dues of \$5 annually in the coin of the United States, (b) corporate memberships with dues of \$50 annually in the coin of the United States and (c) sustaining memberships to be held by persons, corporations or institutions contributing any amount to the support of the Congress.

Resolved, further, That individual or corporate members shall be entitled to one vote at meetings of the Congress but that sustaining memberships shall not include the voting power.

THE CHAIRMAN: The report will be held over until tomorrow.

The Chair presents to you now Colonel Lawson for discussion of "Preparation for Journalism in Great Britain."

COLONEL LAWSON: First of all, as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, I should like to report on the action which has been taken. Resolutions as submitted and approved will be submitted at the session tomorrow at a time to be appointed by the President, and unless the President should direct otherwise, the resolutions will be taken in the order in which I read them.

First of all comes a resolution as to the Constitution, submitted by Mr. Mark Cohen.

Next a resolution proposed by Mr. S. E. DeRackin.

The third is on the question of communications.

The next was moved by Mr. McClatchy.

Next, a motion offered by Mr. Sugimura.

Next, a resolution proposed by Mr. Saxe.

Next, one proposed by Mr. Wong of China.

There is also the possibility that two further resolutions will be brought forward, one which is now being drafted by Mr. Nieva of the Philippines and another being drafted by Mr. Innes of Australia, on the subject of international travel, which are still to be submitted to the Resolutions Committee.

The final resolution is for the Press Congress of the World to express appreciation of the hospitality it has received in these islands. I will not divulge the wording of that resolution at this moment. It is moved by Mr. Innes and seconded by Mr. Glass, supported by Mr. Tong of China.

I will now proceed to my subject. I feel that it is not quite right that I should be addressing you on this subject. I have already held the platform once, but I have come a long way and represent many different institutions. When I spoke on the question of communications I was representing the Empire Press Union. The Institute of Journalists particularly asked me to let this Congress know what has been done in the way of journalistic education in England and finds me the excuse for addressing you.

I see on looking through it that a great deal of my address has been struck out as of no importance by the one Honolulu paper to which I gave the only copy, so any slight difficulties there may be in my getting through with it, you will understand are through no fault of my own.

This subject of journalistic education is one which I approach with particular interest as a member of the British Institute of Journalists, and as its accredited representative to the meeting of the Press Congress of the World at Honolulu. The Institute of Journalists is a Victorian institution whose aim and object is in the words of its charter, "the promotion of whatever may tend to be the elevation of the status and the improvement of the qualifications of all members of the journalistic profession and the promotion by all reasonable means of the interests of journalists and journalism.'

The Institute has done in the past a great deal of valuable service in restoring and improving such rights in British law and recognition in the British social and political commonwealth as have accrued to journalists and journalism by the merits of the service.

Much of this story and its connotation in the history of the world's press is already known to the President of this Congress. With such a President and such a Congress it may not be necessary to excuse one's self for recalling that at least by intention the Institute of Journalists was amongst the first—if not quite the first—to connect professional education with professional association for journalists. If our delegation to Honolulu is not numerous you will remember with indulgence that the Institute of Journalists sent the largest delegation of any country except the United States to the first World's Congress of the Press called by American conveners. The President will be able to correct our history if it is at fault but we have the impression that the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri was a direct offspring of the World's Congress held at St. Louis in the great exhibition year. Having given such evidence of good international and professional spirit, I must in honesty and candor, in continuing to speak of professional education, decline upon a minor key. For we have not yet succeeded in establishing in any British university or in any other manner or connection that can be regarded

as sufficiently complying with our own conception of the needs and opportunities of the undertaking, any complete system or provision of professional education. We made powerful and generous friends among the leaders of our press, but for all that our professional society has on professional issues and objects been fighting a soldier's battle.

A few words concerning our successes and failures to establish professional education for journalists on effective and permanent bases may be a serviceable contribution to this debate.

Several of our universities have set up courses of study shaped and very usefully shaped to the purposes of intending journalists. But they have not hitherto succeeded in enlisting enough of the intimate, constructive, and enduring teaching of and training in the technique—the typical actualities of modern journalism—to enable them to develop into schools of a kind in any way comparable with the schools of journalism at the University of Missouri, at Columbia University, and at others of the American universities. Most recently we have turned with hope towards a new endeavor identified with the institution, in 1919, of a course of journalism at the University of London. Such courses have been instituted before, and similar proposals have been many times considered between the Institute of Journalists and representatives of London and other British universities. But the institution of the present London University courses had two precipitating causes. One was a visit to our institute in December 1918, of Professor Cunliffe of Columbia University and one or two of his colleagues of the American University schools of journalism and when the subject was redebated in our hall against the great newspaper offices of Fleet Street between these gentlemen, Sir Sidney Lee, Dean of Arts of London University, and the President and some senior and official members of our body corporate, the University Senate appointed a journalism committee—primarily of teachers of the University and of its colleges—to which our institute sent representatives, as also did the National Union of Journalists, and to which a number of other well known journalists were elected.

A three years' course was devised by this committee chiefly by the personal instrumentality of its chairman, Sir Sidney Lee. This course has been carried through for the first time and the diploma

examination held. Amongst the students were many who had practical experience in journalism and for the second course it appears that there will be quite sufficient students not only to justify and require the continuance of the undertaking, but to give it the prospect of development and permanence.

Like all undertakings this effort of London University has had to meet with considerable criticism. The course may not be ideal but the university does not claim to give a diploma in journalism but a diploma for journalism. In its own words it strives "to promote the efficiency of those intending to pursue the profession of journalism." Students are warned that before entering their first session they are expected to make themselves proficient in shorthand and typewriting. But the university student journalist is still expected to obtain the more technical elements of his qualification by practice as a pupil in the ordinary duties of a member of the editorial staff.

Practically nothing of technical teaching is included in the courses. English composition includes essay writing and practice in writing for the press, principles of art and literary criticism are taught, and the whole system of teaching has reference to its special application, but it is fair to say that the London School teaches academic and not technical subjects.

To a journalist member of the Joint Committee a young journalist ex-officer wrote, early in July:

"I have received from the University of London a preliminary announcement of their Journalism Course, and I am disappointed. Instead of its being a course in Journalism it is one in Arts and Science, useful, I admit, in perfecting one's general knowledge, but hopelessly out of place to a student of journalism.

1. Newspaper make up;
2. Comparative journalism;
3. Newspaper direction;
4. Editorial policy and writing;
5. News gathering and editing;
6. Principles of advertising;
7. The County Newspaper;
8. Agricultural journalism;
9. Advanced news writing;

10. Feature writing and illustration ;
11. Rural newspaper management.

These headings I am clipping from the 1916-1917 announcement of the Missouri School of Journalism from where I am receiving their treatises on the different journalistic problems enumerated.

I conceived that your committee would rise to the occasion and give to the rising generation some such course, instead of some theoretical nonsense, useful only to the special writer.

So I am afraid I have no use for the course, much as I should like to study certain of the subjects if I had the time, and was not the bread-winner of a wife and family. Above all things I aim at being practical in my studies if I am to attain to a place of controlling interest in the profession."

Subjects taught are "A" (1), English composition. Two of the following (2) Principles of Criticism (3) History of Political Ideas (4) General History and Development of Science; and three of the following (5) English Literature, (6) History (7) Political Science (8) Economics (9) Modern Languages (10) Natural Science (biological) (11) Natural Science (Physio-Chemical) (12) Philosophy and Psychology.

Some of the criticism has been extremely just—the technical training is not included—therein lies the whole problem of all education, not only of journalistic education.

I could not venture to suggest exactly just what should be the brand of specialized and general education in the ideal journalistic education. In conjunction with our own schemes I have studied the curricula of of Columbia University and the University of Missouri and have read much that has been spoken and written on the subject and have, I confess, come back almost to where I started. As every good journalist should I fully recognize the necessity of professional education and I am here for information. I had very much hoped that we should have the great privilege of hearing President Williams on this question.

We recognize that the United States is far ahead of us in this matter, and I am here to assist in carrying back the information of what it is doing. Speaking as a private person and not as a delegate, I should like to make a few observations.



Journalism recruits the ranks of her writers from everywhere and it is obviously impossible for all journalists to be qualified by a test examination like the bar, medicine and other learned professions. And after all who can say what are to be the limits of the curriculum of the journalists? The requirements of his knowledge are as extensive as the scope of the paper for which he writes. A knowledge of philosophy, law, history, economics, and science are of great value, if not essential. A conversational proficiency in modern languages in Europe, at any rate, is a very great asset. If his knowledge of these subjects is not very profound it must at any rate be deep enough for him to know where to find the information which he does not possess. He may be called upon to lay down the law on any conceivable subject, and more is required of him than mere facility of expression.

Above all in these courses of instruction we desire to achieve some measures of success not only in promoting the interest of the intending journalist, but to raise the level of the press as a whole by improving the education of those who serve it.

Journalism may not be literature. Lord Morley was accused of saying that journalism is literature in a hurry, but much of what is written in our daily papers is not perhaps purely ephemeral—much I trust is. The primary purpose of a daily newspaper is admittedly not the cultivation of letters but the presentation of news, but I believe that very few of us rightly estimate the educative value of the modern newspaper, and when we talk of the education of journalists we are talking of the education of perhaps the only professors under whom enormous numbers of our modern reading public study. We must not be tempted to regard our profession solely as an industry and not as an art. To write and to write well is an art. It is true that by overstressing the technical side of the education you would not deprive journalism of its literary merit. Numbers of journalists will always go into the profession from the love of literature because they want to write and because they think they can write. They do not go in because they want to disseminate news. They do not even go in because they want to make money. Men of their talents and ability can make much more money elsewhere.

Do not think that in discussing this subject I think that every one who takes this course is going to be an editor or a leader

writer. There are many of our profession who do most of their writing with a blue pencil, many more do not write at all. But as we have only attempted the education of the editorial man, I confine myself to that. I think that we can, we ought, to insure that every man who enters the ranks has the field marshal's baton in his knapsack, and not predestine the journalistic graduate to finish his life as a sub-editor or reporter. Perhaps after all one is driven back to the fundamental difference between the two schools of thought in journalistic education, those who desire to turn out the finished product fit to take his place in the economic world, and those who would leave the greater part of the technical education to be acquired as a pupil in a newspaper office. Nobody wants to plunge the boy fresh from school into the thick of press work as was done in the old days. But is it or is it not possible to give a young man his technical education outside a newspaper office? Can any laboratory, however complete its organization and however real its conditions, represent what is required for the fevered struggle of modern competitive journalism?

If you do not give the technical education you delay the time at which your student can arrive at his full salary-earning capacity, and it may be urged that the journalistic student has little advantage over the man who has received another form of final education.

Against that he has the advantage of the wider education which the other man may have received, and a good deal of training besides in its special application to the uses of journalism.

If you neglect the wider education you may have deprived your student of an inestimable advantage.

There is a certain time when a man can study and derive the fullest advantage from it. A man is never too old to learn but there is a time when one prefers to pick up what comes to him rather than go out to get it, to settle down to serious work. And when can the man who has commenced his journalistic career better his education? Even in the improved modern condition of hours and work the general utility man on a newspaper has very little time of his own to devote to widening the sphere of his knowledge.

If there is any doubt about the ideal proportion of technical and general education, I may be conservative or even reactionary,



JOHN HENRY KESSELL, Gladstone, Queensland, Australia; HERBERT ARTHUR DAVIES, Melbourne, Australia; ANDREW DUNN, Rockhampton, Queensland, Australia. (Upper, left to right).

MOTOSADA ZUMOTO, Tokyo, (center, left); K. SUGIMURA, Tokyo, (center, right).

HIN WONG, Canton, China; HOLLINGTON K. TONG, Peking, China; GREGORIA NIEVA, Manila, Philippine Islands. (Lower, left to right).



but I should like to put in a plea for erring on the broad side. Nothing which a man can get later can ever replace the deeper training of the mind which a man can acquire when he is at the receptive age. The wider a man's education, the wider will be his sympathies and the result will be a better journalist and a better citizen.

There is another side of journalistic education which we in England are not neglecting, the education of the man who is already in the profession. Here again our will outstrips our accomplishment but we are doing our best. The Empire Press Union of the council of which I am a member are preparing a scheme of travel scholarships for journalists with reference to which Mr. Robert Donald has been in communication with the President of this Congress and with other leaders of American education.

I have spoken too much. This is a subject in which speaking for myself I am here to learn. But I wished to assure you that in England, although we may not have accomplished much, we too have the best interests of our profession at heart and have not neglected the question of journalistic education. And when we consider this question we want to envisage it on its very broadest lines, we want to maintain the loftiest conception of the greatness of our profession. We should consider it our duty to leave journalism better than we find it. But we have a double duty. We want to make it better as a means of livelihood for the capable worker, we want to give the man who wants to adopt this profession the best advantages of entry and qualification, but more than that we want to raise journalism to a higher sphere than it has ever reached before and make it better as an instrument for the service of the human race. I should very much like to hear from President Williams and hope to have that very great privilege. (Applause.)

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THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair may be permitted to disagree in the name of the Congress with the copy reader or sub-editor on the Honolulu newspaper and to say that nothing should have been struck out of the remarks that Colonel Lawson has just made.

The resolutions which he read as coming from the different delegates to the Committee on Resolutions will be considered tomorrow morning beginning at ten o'clock if possible. The Con-

gress will meet at nine for other business preceding the consideration of those resolutions. The resolutions will be considered in the order suggested by the committee.

We are fortunate in having as our next speaker the President of the Australian Journalists Association, an organization which is distinctive in character and somewhat different in accomplishment from press organizations with which most of us are acquainted. I have genuine pleasure in presenting to you at this time, Mr. H. A. Davies, of the Melbourne Argus, the President of the Australian Journalists Association.

MR. DAVIES: In dealing with the subject of what preparation is desirable for journalism one cannot lay down hard and fast rules. Where there is a natural aptitude for the profession, little preparation beyond a sound education is necessary. But even the man or woman who has a flair for newspaper work can be wonderfully improved by a course of study in suitable subjects. It is obvious that the gift known in the newspaper world as a "nose for news" cannot be developed, but a very good imitation can be obtained by a newspaper man who realizes that this sense is lacking and who resolutely sets out to acquire a procedure to be adopted in any set of circumstances. Thus he equips himself to meet any emergency and protects himself against leaving any avenue of inquiry unexplored. The art of writing correct English in an attractive form can also be acquired by one who is not born with gift of writing brilliant descriptive matters. The Australian Journalists Association, over which I have the honor to preside, and which includes among its members editors, leader writers, reporters, authors, press artists, press photographers, licensed shorthand writers, and members of the parliamentary Hansard staffs, having devoted the earlier years of its existence to improving the conditions of journalism in Australia is now actively engaged in improving the journalists themselves. Exhaustive investigations have been made into the best course of study for journalists to pursue, and, while we do not claim that anything like perfection has been reached we do believe that as the result of our efforts substantial progress has been made along the road to higher efficiency. This belief is buttressed by comments made by Lord Northcliffe during his recent visit to Australia.

In the course of my paper I shall refer to the work being done

in the various states which form the Commonwealth of Australia and in order that members of the Congress may properly understand the position I propose at first to give a brief description of the Australian Journalists Association which occupies a unique position in the newspaper world. Previous to 1911 newspaper work in Australia was not attractive. The salaries paid (except on one or two of the leading metropolitan journals) were small, men were required to work inordinately long hours and there was little opportunity for home or social life. It was realized that in offices where the men worked reasonable hours and received fair remuneration the proprietors carried on at a considerable disadvantage compared with papers which, by paying low wages and working long hours, produced a cheaper publication. Therefore in 1911 the Australian Journalists Association was formed. The new body made rapid progress and by its efforts the lot of the newspaper man has not only been made more comfortable, but the general standard of efficiency among Australian journalists has been raised.

The Australian Journalists Association is a federal body with districts in each state, governed by a state or district committee, which is responsible to a Federal Council meeting once a year. The executive work, where it is not delegated to a district, is carried on by a federal executive committee, upon which each state is represented, and which meets weekly in Melbourne, the headquarters of the association. The new association upon its formation was registered under the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act, a course later followed by ship captains and officers, actors and medical officers in the employ of the Federal Quarantine and Health departments. The objects of the association are:

(A) To combine the journalists and allied press workers of Australia so that the Association may represent them or act for them in any matters connected with their calling.

(B) To encourage and where possible initiate whatever may tend towards the improvement of the status, training and qualifications of all classes of journalists.

(C) To formulate in so far as may be found desirable professional usages and customs of journalists; and to formulate, protect and extend when necessary the beneficial privileges of the press.

(D) To mediate in regard to, and, if possible, to reconcile disputes affecting members of the association.

(E) To watch all legislative or other proposals which may affect journalists in the discharge of their professional duties.

(F) To devise a scheme or system of providence against age, sickness, death, misfortune or unemployment.

(G) To regulate and protect the conditions of work and the relation between employers and employees; to provide legal assistance in defense of the rights of members; to promote the general welfare of members and to improve the relations between employers and employees.

(H) To take advantage of the machinery provided by legislation for the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes.

The association has no political faith. Naturally, it could not as its members include journalists employed on newspapers of every political faith. Its sole aim is the welfare of journalism.

One of the first acts of the newly formed organization was to meet in conference the proprietors of the newspapers published in the six capital cities of the Commonwealth, and an agreement was entered into which assured to the newspaper man a fixed amount of leisure time in each week. This agreement was subsequently amended by an award of the Commonwealth Arbitration Court in which the deputy president (a justice of the High Court of Australia) considered the position adopted by the association so reasonable that he granted the claims in full. In Australia nowadays, the newspaper man works 46 hours in each week (40 hours if constantly employed after midnight), receives one and a half days off in each week and three weeks holiday on full pay each year. This concession has a direct bearing upon the subject of this paper, for it ensures to the journalist who is undertaking the course of study we have arranged at the universities, a fixed amount of leisure time in each week. A tired brain refuses to coin bright and feeling phrases and the beneficial effect on reasonably short hours has been recognized by Lord Northcliffe, who is one of the most successful newspaper proprietors in the world. Speaking at a reception given him by the Australian Journalists Association in Melbourne last month he said: "I was the first newspaper proprietor in England to introduce the five



days week for my staff. I have found that short hours make bright newspapers."

Owing to the infinitely varied nature of the work performed by newspaper staffs, it was found to be impossible to classify the duties, so a system was adopted of dividing the staffs into fifths. Three-fifths of the newspaper staffs are senior reporters—men capable of performing any function—one-fifth are general reporters and one-fifth junior reporters. Cadets, or young men in training as journalists, are allowed in the proportion of one to every five members of the classified staff. The minimum salaries payable (taking the normal rate of exchange of \$4.86 to the pound) are—senior reporters, \$46.00 a week, generals \$40.00 a week and juniors \$30.00 a week. It must be remembered that these are the minimum rates. Good men command substantially higher salaries and on most all of the newspapers are men receiving above the minimum. In the case of the Melbourne Herald, whose associate editor (Mr. Guy Innes) is present at this Congress, every member of the staff receives a salary in excess of the minimum.

This is a brief resume of the principal work performed by our association in improving the conditions of journalism in Australia. It gives me great pleasure to say that all this has been achieved without generating any bitterness. The relations between the proprietaries of the newspapers and the Australian Journalists Association are most cordial. In fact one of my close friends is a man whom I am sometimes called upon to meet on the other side of the conference table. The whole aim of the Australian Journalists Association is to raise the standard of journalism and to make the profession one that will attract to it young men of ability and to insure that that ability will meet with its reward.

During the past three years the Australian Journalists Association has devoted much time to the improvement of journalists themselves. In May, 1919, a committee of the Association conducted an exhaustive inquiry into the question of the higher education of journalists. Opinions were obtained from university professors, newspaper editors, leading journalists, commercial men, and publicists and the results, with the recommendations of the committee, have been embodied in a pamphlet. I have copies of this pamphlet with me and will be pleased to give one to any

delegate who is interested in the subject. After considering the report, the Australian Journalists Association made the following recommendations: That efforts be made to secure the establishment of a course for journalists at each of the Australian universities, that the course be as nearly as possible identical with the arts course with the addition of lectures and examinations in journalism, and that the classes be open to matriculated students and to all other persons of adequate scholastic attainments.

Immediately the various district committees set to work and the following schemes are now in operation:

#### VICTORIA.

Negotiations between the Victoria district and the authorities of the Melbourne University were successful, a course upon the completion of which a diploma of journalism will be granted, being agreed upon. A number of journalists are now taking this course. Matriculation is not required but the students before being permitted to embark upon the course are examined by a joint committee of the University staff and the Australian Journalists Association which decides upon the fitness of the candidates.

The subjects to be passed before the diploma is granted are: English, three subjects of the history or economics group for the B. A. degree and two other subjects in the course for the B. A. degree. After completing the six subjects set out above the student must pass a test in practical journalism and must also show evidence of at least four years experience in newspaper work. The requirement is a wide selection of subjects as follows:

Group 1: Greek, Latin, English, French, German, the science of language and comparative philology, English language and philosophy.

Group 2: (History and political science) British History, European history, ancient history, political economy, modern political institutions, sociology.

Group 3: (Philosophy and pure mathematics, (psychology, logic and ethics, history of philosophy, advanced logic, advanced ethics, metaphysics and pure mathematics.

Group 4: (Science) Mixed mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, zoology, botany, and geology.

## QUEENSLAND.

In this state also the district committee of the Australia Journalists Association has arranged for a special course of study for journalists extending over at least two years and on the successful completion of which a diploma of journalism will be granted upon the production of a certificate from the Australian Journalists Association that the candidates have satisfactorily come through three years' practical experience in journalism. Admission to the course is by application to a joint committee of the Australia Journalists Association and the University Senate. The course comprises four single subjects and not more than two may be attempted in any one year. They are, English, British history (or an alternative course), economics, including economic history and one only of the following: Latin, Greek, French, German, constitutional history, political science, ancient history, logic and psychology, ethics and metaphysics, pure mathematics, applied mathematics, biology, chemistry, geology and mineralogy, physics.

## WESTERN AUSTRALIA

By arrangement with the West Australian District of the Australian Journalists Association the Perth University has instituted a special course for journalists. Two lectures a week are given but there is no examination at the end of the course nor is any degree or diploma granted. Arrangements have also been made for members of the association in the country towns to be supplied with synopses of the lectures. The district has also established a library from which those attending the course may obtain the text and reference books recommended by the lecturers.

## NEW SOUTH WALES

Lectures are also given in New South Wales but here again there is no examination. English literature is mainly dealt with, each lecture lasting an hour, after which there is a discussion for another hour upon the subject of the lecture. In the progressive series of lectures already given, writers from Shakespeare to the leading writers of the present day, have been discussed.

In the other states it has not yet been found possible to institute courses, the university authorities in some cases not being favorably disposed towards the scheme. It will be seen, however, that much work is being done in Australia to encourage and assist the working journalist to increase his store of knowledge. It is obvious that a purely academic course will not in itself fit any young man for a position on the press, but when practical experience in the rough and tumble of newspaper work is fortified by a wide knowledge of such subjects as literature, economics, history, French and one of the sciences the journalist must of necessity be better equipped for his work. That the systems which have been adopted in Australia have not been without result is shown by a statement made by Lord Northcliffe in Melbourne when he said: "The level of efficiency of reporters in Australia is very high. So far as I am aware, have not once been misreported since I have been in the Commonwealth." Some weeks later in a speech at Brisbane he said: "I have not seen any 'go-slow' in Australian newspaper offices. Most of the offices are as good as any we have in England, considering the populations you have to deal with. I have been in the offices of your great newspapers in Melbourne and Sydney and they are equally efficient. The whole tone of the press in Australia is on a very high plane and the editorial articles are just as well written as in England." These words are very encouraging to our association and are a striking testimony to the success of its efforts to improve the status and qualifications of its members.

There is another factor in the training of journalists, that is, travel. This opens up a wide field for discussion and I will not attempt to deal with it fully in this paper. But I would like to suggest to this Congress that it should discuss proposals for the frequent interchange of journalists between the various countries, particularly between America and Australia. It is my belief that many misunderstandings and misconceptions would be avoided if we had a better knowledge of one another's affairs. It might be possible for a newspaper proprietary in New York, Chicago, or other large cities to arrange with a Melbourne or Sydney newspaper to exchange bright young men at yearly or two-yearly intervals. If the selection be delegated to the Aus-

tralia Journalists Association (as was the selection of the Official Australian Correspondent and Historian of the War) I can assure the congress that none but the best will be sent. Better mutual understandings, thus fostered through those who inform the public, will strengthen the bonds of friendship between the two countries and will also make for greater knowledge and efficiency on the part of the journalists concerned. (Applause.)

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THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair may be permitted to remark that even more could be said in praise of this work in Australia than its president has just said to us.

We have had the privilege of hearing a representative of China coming from Peking in North China, and another representative from Shanghai, which is an international settlement in mid-China; now we have the third representative of this great country, who comes from Canton, South China. He is the editor of the Star of Canton and the representative in Canton of the Associated Press and of Reuters,—the first Chinese, I think, to be appointed to so important a position by news services. I present Mr. Hin Wong of Canton, China.

MR. WONG: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have been requested by the Chinese delegation to thank the Congress for the time allotted to them, and also to say that we very much appreciate the many kind words spoken by the Japanese delegation regarding China.

The subject I am to speak on this morning is, "Why Not a Journalistic Mission to China?"

China must get into the world or the world will get into it. China must decide to assume her responsibility in the world in accordance with her power, position, and ability, or she will be forced to do so by others in manners detrimental to her station and interest. To ascend to her rightful place in the family of nations, while she should chiefly rely upon her own people, China cannot afford to refuse encouragement and guidance from friends abroad.

Friends of China are assisting her in various ways, especially through the many religious and scientific missions now operating in the different centers of the Republic. They are adopting a very wise policy. They try to impart into the Chinese what

the West knows and extract from this ancient race the best it possesses, always working in co-operation with the Chinese people themselves, so that the knowledge of one nation may be shared by many and the achievement of a few be an inspiration to all.

The world is meeting China half-way in her struggle to advance towards the higher position from which she may render her service as a great and influential power. And many individuals and organizations are either thinking, talking, or writing of her problems at home or actually laboring for her welfare on her own field.

Aside from the labors of the Christian mission seeking to echo back to Asia the Oriental message of universal brotherhood and unselfish service, there are many departments of activities now at work in China under the auspices of foreign organizations or by joint management of foreigners and Chinese.

It is safe to say that the Chinese will welcome all co-operation in matters of social reform and education and matters tending to promote international friendship and commerce and industry.

British merchants and manufacturers have established courses in engineering and commerce in the Hongkong University for the purpose of training and enabling Young China to apply the intelligence and ability of the race to the development of Chinese resources as far as possible in the light of modern learning and foreign experience. The Pennsylvania, the Kansas, and other American State Colleges are co-operating with institutions in China in the study of Western and Chinese systems of agriculture and forestry, while the Yale and other Universities have branches in China to teach medical science and institute researches regarding Chinese medicine. In Shanghai, the largest port in China, there is a school with courses in law and political science which are taught by capable British and American lawyers. The Rockefeller Foundation from America has just inaugurated a scheme in Peking for the spread of medical education in China, opening a school and a hospital with an equipment second to none in the world. The Chinese-American Educational Mission, made possible through the remission by the United States of the Boxer Indemnity, is being followed by the

organization of a Chinese-French Educational Society, through which many hundred Chinese students are now studying in colleges in France. Seattle and other leading cities of the world are making arrangements through which Chinese students abroad may obtain practical experience in their shops and offices after graduation from schools before returning to China to take up their life work, and some well-known firms—Chinese and foreign—in China are supporting students in English and American colleges in Great Britain and the United States. The International Silk Association with offices in New York is financing a course in sericulture in Canton Christian College, while foreign architects sent by foreign governments or missions to China to design consular buildings or school houses are doing great service by utilizing native materials and skill in working out Western ideas and thus harmonizing the East and the West in an important development of the arts and sciences at the same time proving that Chinese and foreigners can work together. Exchange of professors between Chinese and American schools has begun to develop as a promising medium of intercourse in the intellectual field; and the Y. M. C. A., the Red Cross, and other religious and philanthropic agencies are greatly helping the world to better appreciate the moral assistance needed by the Chinese.

In addition to what has been mentioned, the occasional industrial and parliamentary missions from foreign countries to China are also helping the world to better understand China.

It is safe to assume that, while special missions for particular purposes have their value both for China and for the benefit of the world at large, the different peoples must be brought closer to China through every day reading and every day life.

Much injustice has been done to China because of ignorance of Chinese conditions on the part of foreigners and of the failure on the part of Chinese leaders to make her cause and aspirations understood by the world. Much misconception regarding things Chinese exists, and it is high time that definite steps should be taken by Chinese and others interested to bring to the attention of the world the existence of a great people with incalculable natural resources capable of bringing peace, prosperity, and happiness to mankind if properly developed and appreciated

or curse and war to the world if misunderstood and mistreated.

The Chinese are hoping that better means and facilities may be devised and greater effort made by their own leaders and friends to bring Chinese news and views uncolored and unprejudiced before the world, to advertise Chinese goods and products abroad, to have the best Chinese thought interpreted to other peoples, to correct misconceptions regarding China, to enlist more admirers and supporters for the Chinese people among the leaders of all circles in the West, to give prospective visitors to China advance information, to keep Chinese people at home and abroad better informed regarding the political, economic, social, educational progress of the world, to provide Chinese merchants and manufacturers with world intelligence on commerce and finance so as to assist them in the extension of their trade abroad, to gather for Chinese and foreign publications information which cannot easily be obtained through private and individual efforts, and to supplement some of the work already initiated by learned societies and special agencies.

It is recognized that, under present conditions and with limited resources, the Chinese press is unable to open expensive and extensive news agencies in the Far East, Europe, and America with representatives in the leading capitals and cities to supply Chinese information to the foreign press or send home important news of events affecting world interest and China in particular and political movements with which Chinese statesmen and public men should be in touch. The Chinese have realized the value of all this but they do not possess as yet the means and facilities to encourage and interest Chinese scholars and specialists to contribute to foreign newspapers and magazines on Chinese subjects or to translate from articles of the foreign press valuable to Chinese trade or politics.

Very little has yet been done to arrange for Chinese and foreign schools to exchange student publications and for the printing of Chinese matters in the country or provincial press of the leading nations of the world, in spite of the general admission that the common mass in the West and the East must be brought together before real friendship between different peoples can be assured and maintained. It is a fact that, while many progressive enterprises of the people and notable acts of the Chinese



leaders and officials are not reported in the press, their mistakes and errors are circulated throughout the world by agencies unfriendly to China and not seldom for political and selfish purpose.

There are cases in which first-class Chinese goods are being sold as inferior and superior articles listed as second-class because of lack of systematic watching and advertising abroad. And some of the merchants of one country will counterfeit the trade-marks of those of another in China in order to promote the trade of a particular country to the detriment of others. This is possible because of the inability of the Chinese to distinguish the many foreign articles and many trade-marks. While names of foreign firms seeking connection with Chinese importers and exporters may sometimes be obtained from foreign consulates, a well-balanced and extensive international trade directory including Chinese merchants and firms cannot be found. Improvements of Chinese goods and products as desired and demanded by foreign merchants do not come to the knowledge of the Chinese merchants and manufacturers mostly concerned. The best Chinese literature in arts and thought has not yet been translated for the benefit of the world. The good side as well as the bad must be seen before admiring and respecting Chinese ancient learning. And books written by foreigners on Chinese questions are often left unnoticed by Chinese from the Chinese point of view, not to speak of having them translated into the Chinese. It is surely necessary that an expression of opinion, views and comment, should be made by those most concerned in matters sometimes involving their national honor and territory.

Chinese must know more about other people and be known by them in order to interest a large number of foreigners to visit China and bring them periodically, if possible, for conference and study on particular subjects. This is necessary if Chinese are to have more personal intercourse with leaders from all parts of the world or to accept the invitation from other countries for visits of Chinese leaders in order to properly discuss Chinese foreign questions.

It is most desirable and will be of advantage to both China and the world for a body like the Press Congress of the World to appoint or request the greater news agencies or press associa-

tions of representative countries to constitute a commission to look into the condition, extent, methods, and purposes of the several news agencies, foreign and Chinese, now operating in China and the facilities now being offered by the cable and telegraph companies and the concessions given, if any, by the governments protecting the services. Inquiries might be made to ascertain if the more resourceful and greater press associations or individual newspapers interested in the publication of Chinese news abroad and the transmission of foreign information into China would organize a permanent international press service with headquarters in Shanghai or some other large Chinese city to undertake publicity work in all parts of the world in accordance with the desire of the Chinese and as demanded by the foreign public for accurate presentation and fair interpretation of Chinese news and views.

The leading news agencies of the world are now already maintaining correspondents in China and are also employing Chinese in their service to a more or less extent. Some of them furnish foreign news to the Chinese press. While the Chinese appreciate the service now provided them by the foreign agencies, they cannot honestly admit that everything supplied is welcomed. It cannot be denied that some of the information furnished to the press in China is greatly distorted and wrongly interpreted for a variety of reasons. It must be pointed out, however, that the majority of the agencies now at work in China is not inspired by improper motives. And it is true to say that the country whose press agents are the most unfair and least accurate is the most distrusted by the Chinese. Some of the propaganda methods used by more than one people represented in China during the World War in order to gain Chinese support and sympathy are being copied by the Chinese in their present civil war, and the value of these methods is still a subject of doubt.

An impartial and international press service, organized to cover the affairs of one-fourth of the world's population for the benefit of the other three-fourths would discourage unreliable information, minimize distortion, and exclude the inefficient and partisan news agencies now rendering free service to the Chinese press. And such a service might continue to function until the

Chinese themselves should have the experience, ability, and resource to direct it independently and create a public opinion capable of discriminating and judging all the reports coming into the country from outside.

Foreign advertising experts and impartial news correspondents in China would have no difficulty in adjusting their ways to conform to the general policy to be adopted by an associated international press service, as special fields still require special information. A general book on physiology and hygiene, written in popular language intended for public circulation, cannot destroy the value of a technical work for medical and scientific students.

The policy of the Open Door in China must be openly directed and discussed with equal facilities and given equal attention by all parts of the world, and any attempt to disregard and misinterpret it by a particular nation for selfish motive must be resisted by all seeking to have relationship with the Chinese people. Pacific problems must be solved through pacific means; and as the Chinese form the greater part of the Pacific population, no solution of Pacific problems will be satisfactory without their full knowledge and hearty support. Satisfactory reorganization of Europe and her reconstruction will not prevent another great world war; and peace will be better assured only when China also appreciates her position and possibility in the service of mankind. It is unwise to keep China in ignorance of world affairs and progress and take no heed of her latent power; and further delay on the part of China to co-operate with the world in its many problems and demands will be dangerous not only to herself but also to every nation in the group. The ability to support one another depends on the amount of knowledge one has of the other.

A journalistic mission to China has, in fact, been started in a small way, following more or less on the principle of the medical and agricultural missions to China from the foreign colleges and universities. Many journalists, trained in the University of Missouri, have accepted the claim of President Walter Williams that journalism has a world mission and is a public service. They are now engaged in this profession in the large cities in China, Japan, and the Philippines; and a group of them,

including a few Chinese, are controlling and editing at least one publication of international influence, although it deals principally in Chinese and Far Eastern questions for the information of people outside as well as inside China. It may not take long for the enterprising graduates of this institution to initiate a course in journalism in connection with some larger schools in China, as some graduates of Yale have founded a medical college in this country. Graduates of Missouri have organized the first advertising club in China and were the first advertising experts to interest a Chinese town to advertise its resources and advantages in a foreign newspaper.

It is, indeed, a great joy and a real pleasure for one who has enjoyed the educational facilities offered by this Paradise of the Pacific and learned the high calling of his profession while serving a newspaper here, and who was the first of his race from these islands to sit at the feet of the great teacher and leader of newspaper-making to endorse on behalf of the country of his origin the organization of a Pan-Pacific Press Congress.

To prepare the way for a greater journalistic mission to China, many journalists should pay a visit to China, especially the city of Canton, where the Hawaiian hospitality can easily be duplicated. The President of the Constitutional Government of the Republic of China, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, has been a resident of Honolulu, and the Mayor of the city of Canton is a Maui boy and a former student of Honolulu schools. (Applause).

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THE CHAIRMAN: What Mr. Wong has so impressively and simply said, particularly his closing sentences, is an indication of what can be accomplished by meetings such as this and what may be accomplished by Chinese journalists who are, at personal sacrifice, giving their lives among their own people unto high public service.

We have other addresses this afternoon. The next to the last on the program is an address by the Secretary. It is not his address, it is an address prepared for him, or rather prepared for the Congress, by Mr. J. E. Davidson, now the managing director of *The Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, Australia, and first president of the Australian Journalists Association. His subject is "Journalism in Australia." It is particularly appropriate that

it should be read, with some additional comments I trust, by our worthy Secretary, Mr. Guy Innes, who was for a long time associated with Mr. Davidson on the Melbourne Evening Herald.

MR. INNES: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Mr. Davidson has been more fortunate in his paper than Colonel Lawson was in his. Far from cutting portions out, the Star Bulletin has indorsed great sections of it with black marks, so I take it, it will approve of what Mr. Davidson has said.

Mr. Davidson I might say is of American birth, an Ann Arbor boy. He was for some time on the Detroit Free Press; then he came to Australia eventually becoming first president of the Australian Journalistic Association, a position which Mr. Davies occupies at present. This association has done more for the working journalist than any other body, and I have great pleasure in presenting his address:

Eight hundred and forty-five newspapers supply Australia's five and a half millions of people with news and journalistic comment. Australian journalism compares favorably with that in any other part of the globe. From the editorial and commercial points of view, the bulk of the newspapers are ably conducted. In a social system in which the newspaper must necessarily be a commercial success in order to live, they maintain the highest ideals. There has never been ground, so far as I know, for suspicion that any newspaper of standing has ever been actuated in its policy or advocacy by self-seeking or corrupt motives. Bribery of the Australian press is unheard of. Its honesty of purpose is beyond question. The leading and special articles are vigorously written. The news on the whole is set out fairly and impartially. The style employed is generally crisp and pithy, but without any attempt at elaborate display. In the last ten years the evening newspapers, which have made rapid progress, have to some extent broken away from the unwritten law in regard to the non-display of news, but the morning papers still rigidly conform to it. In the same way, the evening newspapers have abandoned the practice of excluding pictorial features. Several of the most successful evening papers are now following the example set by the American press in that respect. On special occasions the morning papers use photographic work, but not so generally as their evening contempo-

aries. Line illustrations as used in the United States are rarely seen in Australian newspapers.

A lack of humor is perhaps one of the outstanding features of Australian journalism. One rarely gets a laugh out of our daily press, unless it be a laugh at the intense seriousness of some of the political articles. Conscious humor is studiously avoided, so studiously avoided, that not infrequently unconscious humor is abundantly present. The Australian newspapers are originally modeled on the British type of journalism, to which type they still closely adhere. True to the British type, the Australian journalism is staid, weighty and serious. It worships at the shrine of dignity, and therefore in many of the leading daily newspapers humor is taboo. That is not to say there are no humorists among Australian newspaper men. As a fact, there is as high a percentage of them on the inky way under the Southern Cross as among journalists elsewhere, but most of the witty newspaper matter and headings are only published in clubs or other places where the Australian newspaper men congregate. Several bright writers in Australia have, at different times, nearly lost their jobs, because in unguarded moments, they let a joke creep into their "copy."

On this phase of journalism many proprietors and managers have a perfect horror of what they call "Americanizing" their newspapers. A remonstrance to one manager in respect to the dull seriousness of his newspaper drew the remark, "My dear fellow, dullness and seriousness pay me. Tell me how to make my paper more solemn and serious and I'll listen to you." And there was wisdom in that apparent topsyturvy observation. There is nothing the Australian public resent more quickly or more emphatically than innovations in its newspapers.

The Australian newspaper reader likes his paper to have exactly the same appearance from day to day. He wishes to find its several features—the wool market, the mining news, the financial articles, the cabled and local news—all in precisely the same part of the paper each day. Further, he expects all the reports and articles to follow a stereotyped form. For that reason what is called the "lead" in American journalism is unknown in Australia. In Australia a newspaper story must start at the "beginning" and work up to a climax like the old three-volume

novel. A police court story must first of all set out when and where the court was held, who occupied the bench, the name of the accused, and the charge. The evidence tendered in the case must follow in the order submitted, and the fate of the person concerned must be carefully concealed until the last paragraph is written; unless perchance it is disclosed in the headline. In the case of one newspaper which departed from that formula the managing editor received numerous letters from readers to the effect that they objected to him turning "all the reports in the paper upsidedown."

Until the Australian States federated and the Commonwealth of Australia was created, the newspapers devoted an inordinate amount of space to politics. This again was one of the journalistic traditions handed down from the British type. The political writers were always the best-paid men, and the editors of the great daily newspapers were selected mainly on their political acumen. In those days most of the work in what Americans call the "human interest" domain was entrusted to the junior members of the staffs. While the states remained entirely separate entities, the big metropolitan newspapers wielded enormous political power, and on that power they flourished in a financial sense.

More than fifty per cent of the Australian population is centered in the state capital cities, and that enabled the great newspapers to build up their immense political influence. Each paper strove to become a sort of political director, and the more powerful of them were indeed able to make and unmake State Ministries at their own sweet wills. The success of these papers led others to strive after similar effects, with the result that the real news side of journalism was neglected. The aim of every proprietor was to make his publication, not a first-class newspaper, but what some were pleased to term an "organ." In other words, a force in the formation of public opinion.

When the Commonwealth was inaugurated, however, national matters began to overshadow state affairs. Australia on a whole displaced the individual states in the minds of the people. Realizing that fact, the newspapers began to devote less space to state politics and more to Commonwealth politics; but they

had not nearly the same influence of power over the Federal (Commonwealth) Parliament or in Federal political matters as they had enjoyed in state matters. This was inevitable. The big metropolitan newspapers, while all-powerful in their own states, could do nothing to influence the electors of other states, simply because they have no circulation there. Therefore, since the establishment of the Commonwealth in 1900 the newspapers have devoted much more attention to general news as distinguished from political news.

In the early days of Australian journalism the newspapers were divided in the political field along a line somewhat similar to that existing in Great Britain. They belonged to one of two groups—Conservative or Liberal. The Conservative papers stood for the preservation of vested interests, chiefly those of the landed proprietors, men who had come to the new land from Great Britain and taken up large areas of pastoral country. These men were and still are, known as "squatters." On the other hand, the Liberal newspapers favored the breaking up of the holdings of the squatters into small areas with the object of absorbing the population which had been attracted to Australia by the gold discoveries, and in order to provide land for other immigrants.

Later on, as secondary industries began to grow up, the division was along the fiscal issue, except in New South Wales, the Australian home of free trade. The Conservative newspapers took up the cudgels on behalf of free trade and the importing interests, while the Liberal journals supported a policy of protection for the new industries. In this battle the Liberal papers eventually won a decisive victory. In the first two Commonwealth Parliamentary elections after the states had federated, the free trade party was completely routed, since then, the fiscal issue has played a very insignificant part in Australian journalism. Even in New South Wales the contest against the policy of protection has been abandoned.

Meanwhile, as secondary industries had multiplied, there had grown up in the big cities, almost unheeded by the newspapers, a large wage-earning population—artisans and factory operatives. That class of the population was augmented by the masses of unskilled laborers, created and encouraged to remain



unskilled by the expenditure by the State Governments of enormous sums of loan money borrowed from Great Britain. The steady growth of this proletarian population silently worked a tremendous change in the political thought of Australia, which again had its effect on political journalism. For a time the proletarian class swung in behind the Liberal Party, as it did in Great Britain for nearly two centuries. This meant a vast accession of power to the Liberal newspapers. But about 1890—the year of the great hard fought strike in the shipping industry in Australia—the proletarian or working class population began to organize a political party of its own. This became, and is still, known as the Australian Labor Party. It was at the time wholly without newspaper support. For ten years the work of organization went on steadily, and ultimately changed the whole aspect of Australian political journalism.

Conservative and Liberal newspapers, which had hitherto been fiercely fighting each other, began to find a common cause in hostility to the new party and its socialistic policy. Almost unconsciously, they joined forces to oppose sternly the now rapidly rising party. There was still here and there a slight difference in the tone adopted toward certain measures proposed by the Labor Party, but in the broad sense both Conservative and Liberal journals were unanimously anti-Labor. Despite their combined efforts, they failed utterly to stem Labor's oncoming tide.

Assisted, but not much, by three or four small weekly propaganda sheets, published in State Capital cities, the Labor Party eventually secured a majority in two or three of the State Legislatures and in the Commonwealth Parliament. The political power and influence of the Australian newspapers were dealt a staggering blow, from which they have never recovered in a political sense. This was unmistakably demonstrated during the war period. On two occasions during that period the Commonwealth Government submitted to a referendum of the editors (adult suffrage) the question of whether the Australian army fighting abroad should be reinforced by means of military conscription. The Labor Party opposed military conscription and was supported by five small and feeble daily newspapers which it had meanwhile established. The whole of the powerful anti-Labor and non-

Labor newspapers, numbering seven hundred throughout Australia, strongly advocated the principle of and need for military conscription. Clearly the old-established newspapers had lost their power to sway the people at will, though doubtless the element of strong self-interest and family interest in the conscription question was beyond the reach of newspaper argument in the case of vast numbers of the electors.

One result of this loss of influence is that the political side of Australian journalism is gradually losing much of the importance it once possessed. More and more attention is being paid to the world's news, received by cable, and to happenings affecting the general life of the community. In short, the Australian newspaper is becoming less of a political machine, and therefore truer to name.

In addition to the weekly Labor papers already referred to the Labor party now publishes five daily journals, one each in Hobart (Tasmania), Adelaide (South Australia), Brisbane (Queensland), Ballarat (Victoria) and Broken Hill (New South Wales). There is no Labor daily press in either of the two chief cities—Melbourne and Sydney, although at the outbreak of the war the Labor party had a modern plant ready in Sydney to produce a daily newspaper. Owing greatly to the narrow lines and narrow views which characterize the Labor papers as compared with their non-Labor opponents—which, again, is owing greatly to the fact that the leaders of the party have not yet learned the first essentials of newspaper management—little journalistic or financial success has yet been achieved by any Labor daily paper. All of them are dependent on constant and grudging financial support from the Labor unions. The circulations, too, are exceedingly small, even among the working class, in comparison with those of non-Labor papers. One explanation of the poor circulations is that the Labor publications are not newspapers in the proper sense of that term. They may be described generally as propaganda sheets disguised as newspapers, and they are therefore neither one nor the other. They try to be both, and fail both ways. Another drawback to successful Labor journalism is that there are wide divisions within the party itself. These divisions cover sections such as the revolutionary communists, of the Karl Marx school; guild socialists; State socialists and

constitutional democrats. All these sections issue small weekly, fortnightly, or monthly newspapers which have little or no influence on the mass of the proletariat.

From the offices of most of the principal daily papers bulky general weekly newspapers are issued. There is usually one such weekly paper connected with each big daily paper proprietary. These publications are a distinctive feature of Australian journalism. They are not mere weekly enlargements of the dailies, but they are entirely separate publications under separate titles. They contain summaries of the week's news, special agricultural, pastoral, horticultural and sporting articles, short and serial stories, and an illustrated section printed on art or supercalendared paper. Many of these are highclass productions and have large circulations, chiefly in the rural districts. Australia, however, is deficient in first-rate magazines and reviews, the reason being that its population is too small to carry them.

Except at Sydney, in the State of New South Wales, there are no Sunday papers in Australia. In that city, however, three Sunday papers are published regularly, two of them from the offices of evening newspapers and one independently. All are built more or less on the lines of American Sunday papers. In several of the States the publication of regular Sunday papers is expressly forbidden by law. In those States it is provided that established newspapers may publish three Sunday editions during any one year, but then only if the matter contained in such editions is of national importance.

Among the weekly publications there is one which is known in most parts of the English-speaking world. This is *The Bulletin*, published in Sydney, New South Wales. It is the nearest approach that Australia has to a national paper. In its make-up and range of matter there is nothing quite like it in the whole world of journalism. Founded by an extraordinarily brilliant Australian, whose outlook was essentially that of the average Australian, it has done much to mould national thought and character.

Seizing the field of humor and satire, left largely untouched by the daily newspapers, the founder of *The Bulletin* produced a paper brimful of those qualities. After the usual struggle, owing to insufficient capital, it was a complete success. It handles

politics, finance, art, literature, and the topics of the day from a broad national viewpoint, and all its articles, paragraphs, cartoons, caricatures and drawings are given a witty turn typically Australian. The humor is so adroitly mixed with sound common sense, good taste, solid argument, and lofty national sentiment that *The Bulletin* makes delightful reading. It is as popular with women readers as with men. Its contributors are to be found in all classes of the community, and in every remote corner of the island continent. It has done more to encourage and build up the short story writers and the black and white artists of Australia than any one paper in any other country has done for its writers and artists. It is popular in city, town and country. Indeed it has been said that if, on the long, lonely back country tracks of Australia, you meet a solitary swagman, bush worker, or sheep or cattle drover, he may ask you for a pipe of tobacco, but he is sure to ask for a copy of *The Bulletin*. And withal it is in the hands of practically every financier and statesman, investor and business man in every part of the Continent.

As is natural in a country so devoutly devoted to all forms of sport, the sporting papers are numerous. These follow closely the lines of the British and American sporting publications.

The great handicap under which the Australian newspapers suffer is the cost of obtaining the world's big news. The bulk of this news is cabled from London, England, and in comparison with the cable charges to other countries, the rate per word is high. Two cable lines touch Australia, the Eastern Extension and the Pacific cables. The news is transmitted through those lines, but the heavy cost is a drain on the resources of the newspapers. The whole of the Australian press is dependent on three cable news organizations. One of these is controlled by the morning newspapers of Sydney and Melbourne, formed into an association for that purpose. This association uses its own service, and also sells it to the other morning papers in the capital cities, and to one or two evening papers in the capital cities as well. The other two cable news organizations are at present working together under an agreement. They consist of a service controlled by the evening paper in Sydney and another in Melbourne, and of the Reuter's Service. These services are sold to other newspapers throughout Australia on a contributory basis which gives the contributors no voice in the management.

With slight variations the laws, libel and otherwise, governing newspapers in Australia are the same in all the states of the Commonwealth. They are based on the British laws dealing with newspapers. So far as the law of libel is concerned, the principle is that nothing must be printed that is calculated to injure or damage a person in the eyes of his fellow-citizens. Under it a newspaper has no greater rights or privileges in commenting on public affairs, or in criticizing public men or other persons, that are possessed by the ordinary citizen. The courts of justice are very strict on this point, and the libel law is resorted to by persons who consider themselves aggrieved much more frequently in Australia than is the case in America. The Australian citizen is much more sensitive in respect to what is said about him in the press than is his American cousin.

The following instance, from my own experience, will illustrate the nervous condition of the Australian newspapers as regards the printing of libels. During the Broken Hill strike of 1919-20, when the whole city was laid idle for eighteen months, *The Barrier Miner* discovered that three of the strike leaders, while drawing strike pay coupons, were secretly receiving seven pounds a week for alleged services in procuring the attendance of union members for examination by a medical commission specially appointed by the Government, at the Union's request, to enquire into the health conditions at the mines. The leaders were suspected of opposing the work of the health commission, and so they were secretly paid salaries by the commission to counteract their adverse intentions—a scheme which proved successful. *The Barrier Miner*, having got the men to unsuspectingly convict themselves out of their own mouths, telegraphed the facts, as specially good copy, to all its correspondent newspapers, and to all the other leading newspapers in Australia. But although the strike was a matter of great national concern, scarcely any, if any, dared to reproduce the exposure. The guilty men had published a threat of libel actions against any newspapers that should reprint the facts, and that sufficed to terrify the Australian press into silence. The men did begin suits against *The Barrier Miner* but they did not proceed to court. Meanwhile one of them was hounded out of office over the matter, and the others went out of their own accord. This is an example of the paralyzing effects of the libel nightmare on the Australian press.

One law, peculiar to Australia, has been enacted by the Commonwealth Parliament. This is contained in the Electoral Act, a law relating to and governing the election of members to the Commonwealth Parliament. In it there is a clause providing that between the date of the issue of a writ for an election, and the date of the return of the writ to the President of the Senate or the Speaker of the House of Representatives every article appearing in any paper commenting on matter relating to the election must be signed by the writer thereof. This provision was brought forward by the Labor party, and was intended as a blow at the influence of the anti-Labor newspapers. It was considered that if the names of the writers of political articles were attached to them, it would detract from the weight of such articles. The underlying idea was to detach the force and influence of a paper from the article published in it, and to give them the appearance of expression of mere personal opinions by obscure writers.

The intention of the law, however, has been fairly generally defeated whenever desired. This has been done by attaching to each article the names of the whole of the persons composing the editorial and leader-writing staff, by appending a statement that the article was written, after consultation, by "Brown Smith" or by printing a statement in some part of the newspaper to the effect that for any matter in the issue requiring a signature under the law, "Brown Smith," "Smith Brown," and "Jones Robinson" are responsible.

Consequently it is exceedingly doubtful whether the law has had the effect desired by its framers. It has been the means of satisfying some idle curiosity as to the identity of the political writers, but that is about all.

For the last ten years the working journalists of Australia have been organized in a trade union, registered under the industrial law of the Commonwealth. This union is known as the Australian Journalists' Association. Any person the major portion of whose income is derived from journalism, not being a managing editor or chief of staff, is eligible for membership. Practically every working journalist is a member of the organization, which has obtained by appeals to the Arbitration Court created under the Industrial law, awards fixing the minimum wages, and the hours and conditions of labor for all its members.

These awards have substantially increased the wages of journalists on the regular newspaper staffs throughout Australia, and at the same time they have decreased the hours of labor. Separate agreements have been made by the Journalists' Association with city and country newspaper proprietors. In the capital cities, the Melbourne (Victoria) and Sydney (New South Wales) wage rates are taken as basis, and percentage reductions are provided in the wages paid in the smaller capitals like Brisbane (Queensland), and Perth (West Australia), Hobart (Tasmania), and Adelaide (South Australia). At first, where the journalists were fighting for the formation of the Association and for their awards from the Arbitration Court, there was some friction with the newspaper proprietors, who resented the application of trade union principles in the working of their literary staffs. Now, however, the position has been accepted, and the scheme is operating smoothly and, on the whole, satisfactorily.

The need for a national Australian daily newspaper is crying aloud for recognition. The great dailies of the large cities are all parochial. Even the greatest of them, and they include newspapers that would bear comparison with the world's best, give surprisingly little space to Australian affairs outside the state in which they are published. Indeed, after eliminating the purely metropolitan news and the foreign cables, there is little left. Australian happenings of far greater importance than much of the news cabled from the other side of the world are often overlooked if outside the boundaries of the state in which the paper is published. One would think that the leading metropolitan dailies had come to an agreement not to compete with one another, otherwise, within twenty years of federation, surely one, if not more, of them would have published an edition simultaneously in each state. That opportunity will not be left unseized forever; for though it would take large capital to initiate a new daily newspaper on national lines, with a national policy, and published simultaneously in each of the six states, such a paper would really have no opposition in its own wide sphere. Three-fifths of the population would be reached by such a paper before breakfast every morning. Well and patriotically conducted, such a journal would indeed be a power in the land, and a power for great good. Perhaps such a paper will soon appear. Until it

does, it cannot be said that the Australian press has attained its majority. (Loud applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Those who have the privilege of acquaintance with Mr. Davidson hold him in high regard and admiration, which regard and admiration is increased by the paper we have heard read by his worthy representative on this program, Mr. Guy Innes. As the delegate from Great Britain is out of the House at this time, the Chair may quote a remark made by an Australian journalist regarding journalism in Australia. When asked if it was not true that the journalism of Australia has descended from the British journalism, he replied, "No, ascended from British journalism," which was, of course, with the becoming modesty of a child as to its parent.

The final speaker of the afternoon is a woman. She would have a larger audience except for herself. She, as President of the Honolulu Press Club, has provided such delightful entertainment outside of this room that it has taken from her audience persons who otherwise would be here. I have the distinguished pleasure of presenting to you the President of the Honolulu Press Club, to whose activity we owe so much of the attractiveness of our stay in the Islands, Mrs. John T. Warren.

MRS. WARREN: Mr. President and Delegates of the Press: As the special representative of the Honolulu Press Club, in my heart I also represent the League of American Pen Women of which I have been Territorial representative for three years, and the Southern California Women's Press Club, whose President addressed you this morning, and of which I have been a member for the past eighteen years.

They say that the most important part of a woman's letter is her postscript, as it is then that she asks her husband for money and then that she lets the one man know that he is the one man.

I was allowed to choose my subject and so show my two hobbies, "interviewing" and "headlines." No real feminine fails to look at the end of a story first seeking for the happy ending, so I am going to start with my postscript and then go back to the story.

There is one suggestion or rather appeal which I would like to make and it comes as the result of ten years' active experience



on a daily paper, upon the staff of which I occupied every position from society editor at the beginning to associate editor in the middle and special writer at the end, when I wrote in every department, police court to heads, and many times had to train the cub reporters into the bargain! The question which burns in my soul and has scorched my otherwise good disposition is the matter of headlines. Of all the departments of a daily newspaper where there is room for more just criticism than any other, it is in the abominations which appear frequently on the front page under the name of headlines. It is not only the inaccuracies to which I refer, but the bad technique. There is an art in writing a headline just as in anything else, but if more reporters were trained at the start how to write heads there would be more city editors in the world ten years later who could head up a story properly.

Is it heads or tails?

Sometimes I think the city editors toss their thoughts up into the air and trust to luck whether it is heads or tails that turns up. Sometimes I have searched half way down the column of a front page story trying to discover the germ of an idea which gave the headlines to the story and just when I had about decided that this time it was the fault of the composing room in getting heads switched I found the poor forlorn little idea buried under an avalanche of words, struggling for air.

If I had taken the job of city editor which was offered me a few years before I left the active newspaper game, one of the reforms which I would have instituted in my office would have been in the writing of headlines. I should have required every reporter on the paper to turn in heads with every story. Perhaps none of these headlines would ever have been used—certainly they would not have till they conformed with the required standard—but the reporters would not only be gaining valuable experience in the proper writing of heads but they would many times have given the man whose business it is to head up stories an idea for the heads. In the last few years I have been many times disgusted by the irrelevancy of many headlines. Many times the chief idea of the story, the very reason for its existence, is completely ignored and one has to search with a microscope to find an excuse within the story for it. No man ought to know

the big idea in a story as well as the man who wrote it and many times the man who writes the story can give a good idea to the man who writes the heads, who must skim scores of stories so hurriedly that he oftentimes in the hurry and bustle of makeup loses the best points in a story.

Headlines have always interested me and my editor not only expected me to head up most of my own stories but to turn in heads for many of the other reporters. On many occasions this was a big help to the city editor. I do not contend that a good writer of heads can be made in a week or a month or even a year, perhaps, but every bit of training helps and if the heads thus written cannot be used there is nothing lost and there is the ever-yawning waste basket.

This is an age of quick action and quick results. The busy man and woman must many times depend almost entirely upon the headlines for their news. A three or four-deck head when properly written "hits all the high places" and gives the chief facts of the story.

Every writer of heads should be taught to phrase his headlines. You cannot break a thought in two at the end of a line and stick the end of it into the second line. There is an etiquette and technique in the writing of headlines which should be carefully observed. It is as important as is the phrasing of a piece of music. Thought come in phrases and a broken thought in a headline is as bad form as a word hyphenated, and continued over to another line! It seems impossible but I have seen that unpardonable sin committed even in Honolulu. One such headline ruins the whole page which it defaces. Put a picture into your headlines. Make them live. While the yellow journals lean too far toward the side of the dramatic and sensational I sometimes think they write better heads than the inert, aenemic groups of words which many times—alas too many—disgrace the top of otherwise good stories.

I plead for a better co-operation and co-ordination between the writer of the story and the writer of the head. Unity of thought and expression is a goal to strive for, and when the man who writes the story is capable of writing his own captions the newspapers will go far toward solving this vexing problem.

Interviewing is an art, and an art that many a good writer

has never mastered. There are two prime factors that enter into an interview: one is, how to get it; the other is how to write it.

At first sight the formér would seem to be more important for you ask: "How can you write a thing until you have it?" Let the yellow journals who do that sort of thing answer. Certain it is that many an interview that in itself was good stuff, has been so blotched and spoiled in the handling, that it would require a very clever person to detect the hallmarks of the genuine article. It requires a certain amount of cleverness, tact, and adaptability to secure a good interview. It requires a certain amount of cleverness and genius to write it.

Any one can ask another man questions and jot down those questions and answers, verbatim. But that by no means constitutes an interview in the best sense. To begin with, one should be a good student of human nature—be able to read people quickly and accurately, and then to remember what he reads. He should be able to see at a glance little peculiarities and bits of personality that are distinctive and individual, and, like a characteristic pose in a picture, stamps the personality of the man indelibly upon the printed page. Any little mannerisms or habits, or prominent traits should be noted, and hoarded up for use later on, when the interview comes to be written. It is these more than the thoughts which the man expresses that will give the personal flavor, that will stamp an interview on disarmament with James Diplomat, Congressman from the Sixth District, as distinctive from another with the Governor of the state upon the same subject. The thoughts they express and the words they utter are but half the interview after all.

If, after reading an interview with someone you know personally, you have not been made to feel that you have just had a conversation with that man, then that interview has fallen short of what it should have been in just so far as it has lacked naturalness and the little indefinable something, known for lack of a better name as personality.

If you are interviewing a man who persists in twirling his mustache and always crossing his legs when he talks; who paces back and forth across the room with his hands in his pockets and his eyes on the carpet as he thinks; or a woman who tilts her head on one side when she looks at you; who has a peculiar way of

pushing back the hair from her forehead; who affects any noticeable style in dress that sets her apart from other women; remember it. You will have use for it later on. It seems immaterial perhaps, and foolish, to you as you think of it, but when you wish to put a little of the actress' personality into your two column interview that lasted but ten minutes, you will find these bits of information like grains of pure gold.

Atmosphere is another thing which is a veritable "first aid" to the interviewer. For instance: some years ago I had the pleasure of spending an hour with Augustus Thomas, the well known playwright, one rainy Sunday morning at his picturesque home, "The Ramble," in New Rochelle, "forty-five minutes from Broadway!" It so happened that the only hour at which I could see him was his breakfast hour, so while he ate toast and oranges, and drank his morning coffee, between surreptitious glances at the New York papers which his man brought in, damp from the rain-soaked lawn, I chatted with him of his work, and he told me how he writes his plays. A reception room or a business-office interview is quite the ordinary thing, but here was atmosphere more novel. It is not often that one is admitted to a cosy breakfast room and allowed to chat in such a delightfully informal way with the lion one is coaxing to roar! So the oranges and the coffee, the jam and the toast; the old blue breakfast porcelain and the newspapers all had their parts to play when the interview was written.

At another time I spent some pleasant hours with Bronson Howard, the dean of American playwrights, this time, three thousand miles away from his home environment, in the midst of a Southern California winter. Surrounded by fruitladen orange trees, with the odor of orange blossoms and roses in the air, and the waving palm branches framing a glimpse of purple-peaked mountains in the distance, it was possible to give a very different atmosphere and setting to the interview than if it had been secured in a stately New York drawing room. A rose garden chat in the dead of winter apparently appealed to the eastern editors, for I syndicated the story myself and sold almost every one of the many copies I sent out.

Francis Wilson at home at "The Orchard," surrounded by his fine collection of brasses and rare paintings, his Napoleon and



MISS CAROLINE SOUTHERN CATCHES A FISH (upper, left); LOUIS MADEIRAS, PORTUGUESE, PRESENTING GAVEL FOR CONGRESS TO GOVERNOR FARRINGTON AND PRESIDENT WILLIAMS, ON STEPS OF IOLANI PALACE (upper right). OKLAHOMA EDITOR'S CLUB HOUSE IN WHICH CONGRESS WAS INVITED TO MEET (center). HENRY CHUNG, KOREA; DONG-SUNG KIM, KOREA (lower left, left to right). MRS. HENRY J. ALLEN AND MRS. RALPH A. HARRIS, DELEGATES FROM KANSAS, DECORATED WITH LEIS (lower right, left to right).

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the wonderful old carved chairs made from the pew ends of the Shakespeare chapel at Stratford-on-Avon, was a very different Francis Wilson from the actor in his dressing room, and the two interviews I had with him were as different as though with two different men.

Edward Kemble in his quaint old studio in New Rochelle gave me just the setting I wanted for the kind of interview I sought—far more of the atmosphere of the palette and brush than had I met him at a down town club.

Paul de Longpre among the flowers that he loved to paint and among which he lived, gave me just the setting I needed for an Easter interview obtained in December, that brought me one of the best checks I ever endorsed. And it was ten times easier to get and to write than many other I have knocked off on my old machine in the city room to the accompaniment of a dozen other typewriters, three telephones and the unrelenting urge of the copy boy waiting for the next page!

George Ade in a Southern California lemon orchard gave that touch of novelty and background to the tale I had to tell that brought me anything but lemons when the checks came home. They were peaches, every one of them!

Sometimes you want a man in his own environment. Sometimes you want him out of it. Oftentimes the appropriate setting is the more effective and artistic. At others it is the dramatic contrast and antithesis which prove your greatest assets. The clever reporter will recognize these facts and plan his interview accordingly. Many times, of course, he cannot choose his setting and then he will make the best of what he finds.

Just as a picture takes on varied tones and aspects from the frame which surrounds it, so the man who is interviewed may be made to appear as differently by the kind of setting in which he is placed. If this is in any way unique or unusual or picturesque, so much the better. If it has none of these attributes make the most of it and use it to the best advantage, watching all the more closely for the individualities of the man himself.

Naturalness is another most necessary adjunct of the good interview. Ask yourself continually as you write: "Is this natural?" For instance: when two persons are conversing one usually does not say many sentences without giving the other an op-

portunity to say something. Be careful to avoid long speeches in the mouths of your "victims." Break up the conversation. There are many little devices one may use to do this, if a speech seems too long to be natural. Drop in an occasional, "he continued;" "concluded the speaker;" "added Mr. Blank," etc. Hunt up a few more verbs beside "said" and "answered" and "replied." Remember that "rejoined, laughed, added, smiled, suggested, exclaimed, questioned, admitted, frowned," and numerous others all may be used, and still carry enough distinctive meaning to change the color of the monochrome. Try to let the manner of the man's speech suggest the verb that is to express it.

The Bible admonished the disciples to "be in the world, but not of it." No less should the interviewer, be he a cub reporter at twenty-five dollars a week, or a magazine writer of the nth power, strive to be in the interview but not of it. He must be careful not to intrude his own personality into his story, at the same time putting enough of himself in to keep the interview from appearing like a lecture taken down verbatim by a stenographer. He must ask questions, and some of these questions are necessary to the continuity and sequence of his story. But the ego, the every present "I" must be kept skillfully in the background. If you are doing an interview remember that you are merely the electrician operating the lights, and that the audience will have eyes and ears only for the stage and the leading man. If your machinery squeaks and your fuses sputter, the audience may cast their eyes your way, it is true, but be sure it will not be glances of approbation that you will receive. Just as anything which diverts the attention from what is going on upon the stage detracts from the interest of the play, so anything which takes the attention of the reader from the hero of the story, weakens the effect and the reader is just as liable to harbor a grudge against this foreign element as is the occupant of the aisle seat whose gaze is attracted by the sputtering lights in the theatre.

When we look at a sketch we see the outline of the drawing, we do not see the pen which traced the graceful lines. If we stop to analyze it we know the pen was there, or there could never have been the lines, but the pen is kept out of sight, and there is only the evidence of its existence. Just so should the reporter efface himself from his interview; the reader must never be allowed to "see the wheels go round."



The backbone of the interview will depend upon the questions the reporter asks. Someone has said that it takes a wise man to ask questions. It certainly requires some knowledge of the subject in hand to ask intelligent questions that will draw out the thoughts and opinions of the one interviewed, and on the originality and versatility of the questioner will largely depend the success of his interview. Even a clever man is not liable to appear clever unless there is some kind of a magnet to draw the needles of his wit, while a dull man is hopeless in the hands of a reporter who has not learned the art of interviewing.

Make your subject live and breathe between the lines of your story. Stamp it so indelibly with his personality that a stranger reading it would afterward recognize the man from your interview—that his friend would feel that he had had converse with him.

If you are a reporter on a daily paper there are many times when you have no warning of the impending interview. When given such an assignment you must do your best on the spur of the moment with the light you have. But on the other hand if you know beforehand as many times it is quite possible to do—as it almost invariably is necessary to do if you are getting your interview for a magazine—secure all the information about the man or woman you are to interview before you call. Go to the library, look him up in "Who's Who," read a bit of biography if he is famous enough to have been accorded the honor of one—saturate your mind with knowledge of him. Then you will be able to ask much more intelligent questions; you can mould your interview almost to suit the especial needs of your story. Like the background of a picture or the accompaniment of a song, your character will stand out in much stronger, more effective relief if you can surround it with the proper setting, the atmosphere which it demands. You must be like a sponge—absorb much more than you expect to give out in order to give out enough. The most effective interview is the one which gives the reader the impression that the writer has acquaintance with his subject and could have told a lot more about him if he had wished. There is great power in the art of repression. There is nowhere in newspaper work where a little superficial knowledge of this

kind will go farther than in creating a background for an interview.

Again, if you are writing your interview for some special paper or magazine, study the policy of the periodical before sketching your story. For instance: an interview with the same man for a Hearst paper would require very different handling than one for *The Outlook* or *The Atlantic*. If sensationalism is the policy of your journal, play up the points that will be the most dramatic, couch your story in the most vivid, expressive language you know, feature the most unique points. If you are writing for a newspaper or magazine of more conservative tone you will have more opportunity to make your work artistic and pay more heed to literary forms, perhaps, at the same time not losing sight of its dramatic value.

Accentuate your powers of observation and concentration to the nth power. Do not let the minutest detail of surroundings, personality, dress or speech escape you. It may be your most valuable material later on, when you begin to write.

Every good newspaper man or woman is past master of the art of journalistic dentistry. Remember that many of the best interviews like any other story—no, I will say more almost, than any other story—must be extracted by the roots, and the more painless the process, the more successful the job. It is true that many of the most interesting, worth-while people from the standpoint of the public and the interviewer, do not enjoy talking about themselves. If the interview is to be a very personal one it is most essential that you get some of this personal “business”—if I may resort to stage parlance—into your story, and it often-times requires great tact and cleverness to extract these facts.

When I was a little girl I had a dear old grandfather who was a clergyman of the old school. He used first to write his sermons and then commit them to memory as he had a horror of preaching from notes. When he had a particularly difficult sermon to commit, he always dressed up in his Sunday best for he said when he looked well he could always learn his sermon better!

Now mere man may laugh if he will, but for the woman reporter, at least, the psychology of clothes—her own clothes—is one of the most important things to consider in preparation for a dated interview. I will even go farther and say that the psy-

chology of color is of importance, and a clever woman will recognize this and accept it. "A word to the wise is sufficient." Personal appearance is one of the chief aids to the proper getting of an interview. The more difficult the subject you must interview, the better you must look when you do it. I once sent a woman out on a difficult assignment, one in which men had failed. When she came back she had, according to the popular parlance of the day, "brought the bacon." When I asked her how she had done it she replied laconically, "Oh, I wore my best hat."

Keep your ideals high. First, make yourself worth believing in. Then believe in yourself, hard. There is a world of difference between self confidence and conceit. Self confidence is believing in something that exists in you. Conceit is merely the artificial camouflage of personal vanity and egotism as hollow as air and with nothing to justify it.

Whenever I knew ahead of time that I was dated for an interview, that was the morning I took extra care in dressing for it. I dressed for the part as carefully as I would for a social function, though not in the same clothes! An over-inappropriately dressed woman would queer herself right at the start and defeat the very object for which she strove. You must look your best, not so much to make a good impression upon the subject—though that of course has its value—but because the well-groomed woman has better poise, better command of herself. If you know you look well you can forget yourself. There is a sureness and a feeling of power in a properly tailored suit, a bunch of violets and a hat that brings out the best points of your eyes and complexion that all the courses in college of journalism training in the world can never give you! Of course it doesn't always work but it is a big help. I have written scores of interviews and from those ten years experiences have worked out my own theory of procedure, but there was one among the men I interviewed and only one, I remember, from whom I failed to get one single thing I tried for. And he was the most charming of them all! I refer to Myron T. Herrick, now Ambassador to France. It was many years ago when he was spending the winter in Pasadena—I do not remember whether it was during the period of his governorship of Ohio or not—but I was told to interview him on certain phases of the political sit-

uation about which my editor was very anxious to have him speak. We talked for an hour. I never saw a man in all my life who could fence with words as he did. He parried every question I asked, he diverted it and all so tactfully and skillfully that I could not possibly take offense, but neither could I penetrate his wall of diplomacy. He baffled me at every turn. I had a column interview on the front page that afternoon—but not one thing in it which I went after. When I got through I said to him: "Well, Mr. Herrick, you are the first man from whom I could not get one thing, one wee bit of information I sought. If ever you want to qualify for the diplomatic corps call on me for a recommendation!" He turned to me with that rare smile of his that makes his the most alive face I have ever seen and said: "Well, if ever I do, you shall be my private secretary!"

Years afterward, when he went to Paris as American Ambassador I could not help wondering if I had not been married if he would have kept his word.

For an interview which the reporter knows beforehand he is to do he should map out his questions and plan of interview with much care. At one time when I was doing a series of interviews for *The Theatre Magazine* in New York, I made up my mind to secure an interview with Sarah Barnhardt when she was playing at Venice, California. It had been announced in the Southern California newspapers that she would refuse all interviews. That was oil to the flame of my purpose. I knew it would tax my ingenuity to get the desired interview. I realized that time would probably be at a premium so I not only planned out my interview but typed the list of questions I wished to ask and left plenty of space between as I expected to have to work like mad. How I secured the interview both for my paper and the magazine and was the only person in Southern California to get one, to say nothing of an autographed picture with a personal message to me on it, is another story and of no interest to anyone but myself, but my methods may be. When I found that every question had first to be given to the interpreter I realized how wise I had been to have my questions ready. I gave him my notes and so deft was he at his job that the answers came back to me in a steady stream with no break

in the continuity, and it was a simple matter to take the necessary notes and arrange them in the story as I wished later on.

There are people whom the sight of a pencil and paper in the hands of a reporter, frighten into frigid silence, and because of this fact it is always well to cultivate the art of interviewing without taking many notes, none at all would be advisable if the reporter has a sufficiently good memory to be trusted. However, when one is working from morning till night and from night half the way back to morning, he cannot always trust his memory, and a few notes are almost a necessity. He can, however, keep the thread of the conversation unwinding, and take notes at the same time if he is at all clever, and this will help to dispel that awful blankness which comes over most people when they feel they are being "interviewed."

It is usually easiest to get the conversation started in a sociable sort of way and then gradually to lead up to the interview. A little adroitness on the part of the reporter and a little thought beforehand as to the questions he will ask, will greatly aid him.

Interviewing is an art in itself, but it is also one of the best training schools for the creative, imaginative work which every writer who really loves his work hopes some time to do. There is nothing that will give one ease in handling conversations and sketching character like interviewing, at the same time giving the reporter a rich bank account in the way of character types upon which he may often draw in the future. (Applause).

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THE CHAIRMAN: While Mrs. Warren was reading what she had written regarding Heads and Headlines, these lines were handed up to the Chair. Permit me to read them:

#### HEADS AND TALES

When the man who writes the story writes the head,  
The news will be applauded, when it's read,  
By all, perhaps, except the City Ed.

When the man who writes the story writes the head,  
The journals that are yellow will be red,  
And Swift and Burke and Sterne  
In their silent graves will turn,

Assured that they are lucky to be dead,  
 When the man who writes the story writes the head,  
 The tears of Mrs. Warren won't we shed,  
 And there won't be any "postscript" to be said.

The shuttle of the news is swiftly sped—  
 The paper simply has to get to bed;  
     Of the time that will be lost,  
     Let the printer count the cost,  
 When the man who writes the story writes the head.

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MR. GUY INNES: I was struck indeed with the soundness of Mrs. Warren's argument about gowns and being properly dressed when seeking an interview. It may interest you to know that so fully was this recognized by one of the Melbourne papers when the Prince of Wales visited Australia, that they made their lady reporter a special allowance to buy pretty frocks when the Prince was there.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Henry Chung, Korea, has presented an invitation from the journalists of Korea to hold the next session of the Congress in that country. This invitation will be referred with the others to the Executive Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Congress is now adjourned until nine o'clock tomorrow morning.

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EIGHTH SESSION

THURSDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 20, 1921.

The meeting was called to order at nine o'clock a. m. by President Williams.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will ask Mr. William Southern, Jr., United States, to act as Secretary pro tem until the arrival of Mr. Innes.

The Chair acknowledges with thanks on behalf of the Congress the gift of these beautiful African daisies from the children of the Manoa school in Honolulu. They make an excellent decoration for the stage.

As this is the day set apart for discussion and for consideration and votes upon the various reports to be submitted to the

Congress, attention is called to the fact that the voting power of the Congress rests of course with the delegates to the Congress, and not with the visitors to the Congress.

For the Committee on Constitution, the Vice-Chairman of that Committee, Mr. F. P. Hall of New York, will present the report.

MR. HALL, Mr. President, Members of the Press Congress of the World: The Constitution of this body which was adopted at San Francisco is a very brief document.

The Committee at their meeting yesterday afternoon did not deem it advisable to alter it to any great extent, and are simply bringing at this time a substitute to Article IV which relates to the Officers. It is deemed desirable to make some changes in that article and I will read what the Committee adopted as a substitute for the present Article IV.

#### ARTICLE IV.

##### OFFICERS.

The officers, who with the exception of the honorary President to be chosen by the Governing Committee, shall be elected at each session of the Congress, shall be as follows:

An Honorary President,

A President,

Two Vice-Presidents from each country holding membership,

A Secretary-Treasurer,

A Governing Committee, consisting of the President, Secretary-Treasurer and thirteen additional members, which shall have general direction of the activities of the Congress. The members of this Committee shall have power of substitution, and may designate an Executive Committee of Five. Vacancies shall be filled by the Governing Committee upon recommendation of the countries affected.

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The old Article IV provided for a Committee consisting of the President and Secretary-Treasurer and five additional members chosen from the Vice-Presidents. It was deemed advisable to have a somewhat larger Executive Committee, or Governing Committee as we have designated it, and that they should designate an Executive Committee of five to handle the affairs of

the body. That is all the change the Committee thought it wise to make at this time. I therefore present this and move its adoption.

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THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the motion made relating to the Constitution by Mr. Hall. What is your pleasure?

MR. McCLATCHY: I second the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of the motion to change Article IV of the Constitution as suggested, please make it known by saying Aye; contrary No.

The motion is carried and the constitutional change is thereby made.

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The Chair recognizes at this time Mr. Petrie of Hongkong who will present a brief comment on several of the papers presented during this Congress.

MR. PETRIE: Mr. President and Delegates: I did not intend to trouble you with any remarks. I came from Hongkong, which is represented for the first time at a gathering of this kind, to listen and to learn, and I must confess I have listened with the greatest of pleasure and learned not a little from the excellent papers submitted.

It does not follow, however, that I agree with all that I have heard, and, under the disadvantage of not having the text of the various addresses to quote from, I would, if you will spare me a few minutes, take just a couple of points and so far relieve my mind before we pass on to the business of the session.

We have heard a great deal about the liberty of the press, and we have all, myself included, applauded the views expressed on this age-old subject. It has occurred to me, however, that no attempt has been made by any of the speakers to define the extent of the liberty desired, whether it is to be full liberty or liberty within limits, if the word liberty can be applied in such a sense.

There are "scabs"—you know what I mean—in most professions, and in the profession of journalism, I regret to say, there are men whom it would be dangerous to trust with the full liberty that every honest journalist would like to enjoy.

I think a clear definition of what is meant by the term so often



and so glibly used, the liberty of the press, might very well come from this Congress.

It has also occurred to me that the excellent paper read by my very good friends and neighbors, the Chinese delegates, have not given due credit to the sincerely honest attempts of foreign writers and newspaper correspondents especially, to ascertain and tell the truth and nothing but the truth about their country. Mr. Tong particularly made an eloquent appeal for justice and fair play in this connection. That so little is known of China and her teeming millions, and that so much misconception prevails abroad regarding this great land and its promising people, is not entirely the fault of the foreigner. I want the delegates to this Congress to clearly understand that, and I trust Mr. Tong will forgive me if, as close range observer of his country and people for the last twenty-two years, I endeavor to temper some of his criticism.

No foreign journalist ventures abroad to deliberately write lies about any country. He can always do that at home if he wants to. I make bold to say that the alleged misrepresentation of China in the foreign press is the fault of the Chinese themselves. Chinese ignorance, suspicion, self-interest and often fear, have played a large part in the past in misinforming the Western world. I am glad to acknowledge that these failings are likely soon to give way to a better order. But even today there are very few men of the caliber of Mr. Tong, Mr. Wong or Mr. Hsu to give facts concerning the country to which they belong. Unless the foreign writer has access to such men or such men make it their business to get into touch with foreign writers in search of information about China, I can see no immediate hope of the complaint that was expressed so eloquently being remedied. Despite the many changes for the good which China has witnessed since 1911, the type of "Chinee" described by Mark Twain—I need not quote the line—is by no means extinct, and so long as he exists, the writer of the foreign press is liable to be the innocent victim of his fabrications.

I speak from experience. The type I refer to is not peculiar to China, nor is China's average any greater than elsewhere. But in other countries where the language barrier is not so steep and information is easier to obtain, the discreet foreign writer

is always safeguarded against hitting the rock of falsehood. Here in Honolulu Mr. Tong and his fellow Congressmen from Cathay have had a practical lesson in the presenting of essential facts and figures which should not have been lost upon them any more than it will be upon the writers who are assembled here from other parts of the globe. I have had many inquiries since I came here about China, and the Chinese. No doubt my Chinese friends have been similarly questioned, and no doubt like myself they have endeavored to enlighten some of the inquirers. But with this question of misinformation before us, it will perhaps astonish those delegates who have not yet been to China to learn that in a country embracing one-fourth of the population of the world there is scarcely any informative literature of the type with which we have been so liberally supplied in this relatively small territory of Hawaii, and which is so common in the United States and elsewhere. Such literature as is available is almost entirely of foreign production. I mention this to prove that the foreign writer has invariably done his best with such information as he could command, to make China known to the world, that China herself has done next to nothing to provide such enlightenment as Mr. Tong and his colleagues would like the world to have. The correspondent who rushes through China and writes to the press does not care to hunt for facts in the heavy figure-laden tomes of the customs department, nor is he interested in the dry-as-dust volumes issued by the statistical bureau. He looks for facts and figures, in terse and attractive form, such as have been presented to us here, and failing that, he is compelled to trust to his own observations and the statements of individuals who may or may not be well informed.

If the misconception, misinformation and misrepresentation for which foreign writers have been blamed are to be removed, China must have cheap, concise, attractive, reliable and up-to-date literature.

In making this statement, I hope I have removed any suspicion that may have been created in your minds regarding the general run of foreign writers on China, and that in venturing to differ I have given no offense to those worthy delegates from China whose eloquent utterances have helped to illuminate these proceedings. (Applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair has received a number of papers on journalism in various countries, papers prepared for presentation to this Congress. If it does not meet with the disapproval of the delegates to the Congress, these papers will not be read but will be placed in charge of the Committee which will direct the publication of the proceedings of the Congress, to be used in whole or in part in the proceedings as that Committee may deem best. If anyone has any objection to that plan of procedure he may speak now, if there is no objection it will be so ordered.

COLONEL LAWSON: The first list of resolutions prepared by the Committee is printed in this morning's paper, and most of you will have read them. In addition to that are the following:

Resolution proposed by Mr. Hollington Tong of China.

Resolution proposed by Mr. Zumoto of Japan.

Another resolution presented by Mr. Coutoupis.

May I say that the work of the Resolutions Committee consisted only in considering resolutions that were submitted by members of the Congress, and assuring themselves that such resolutions fell within the scope of the Articles of Constitution of the Congress. The Committee only accepted one resolution on any question, but, as announced before, that will not prevent any member of the Congress from moving any amendment which may alter the meaning of any resolution which you have had read out to you. Any alteration will be made by discussion and approved by the vote of the Congress.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report as made by the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. We will consider the resolutions proposed in the order in which they have been presented.

The first resolution, which will be read by the Secretary, is proposed by Mr. Mark Cohen of New Zealand.

THE SECRETARY: The resolution is as follows:

(Memberships) *Resolved*, That memberships in the Press Congress of the World shall be of three classes as follows: (a) individual memberships with dues of \$5 annually in the coin of the United States, (b) corporate memberships with dues of \$50 annually in the coin of the United States and (c) sustaining memberships to be held by persons, corporations or institutions contributing any amount to the support of the Congress.

*Resolved, further,* That individual or corporate members shall be entitled to one vote at meetings of the Congress but that sustaining memberships shall not include the voting power.

MR. MARK COHEN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The resolution which I have the honor to move on behalf of the Committee on Nominations, who have had this particular matter under their consideration is, I venture to think, one of the most important, if not the most important, matter with which this Congress will have to deal, because it essays for the first time to put the affairs of the Congress on a suitable and permanent financial footing. So important indeed is this matter, that I fully expected that every seat in this room would have been occupied this morning, because it is an open secret that on the attitude of the Congress towards the question of finance, the success of all future Congresses absolutely depends.

This is the second session of the Press Congress of the World and if I am rightly advised, the financial burden of the Congress of 1915 and, to a large extent, the cost of this present gathering, will fall upon one shoulder. If our worthy President were not in the chair I should be tempted to say a good deal of what I know from my absolute knowledge as to the part that he has himself played, not only in shaping the deliberations of both these Congresses, but in selecting the men to whom has been entrusted the onerous duty of giving executive action to your deliberations, and if the President will bear with me I will so far let this meeting understand, that when the Committee came to consider the crucial matters underlying this question of finance, Dr. Williams met us just in the manner that might have been expected of a gentleman of his well-known characteristics and fine feelings, by telling us with perfect candor how matters really stood, and I am not doing my colleagues any injustice when I say to you that that recital of actualities created a deep impression on our minds, and we unanimously resolved there and then that, no matter on whom the choice of this Congress might fall as to the person most fitted to occupy the high position of President by reason of his ripened judgment, culture, knowledge of affairs and great experience, that that individual should under no circumstances be saddled with the thought of having to finance such a great institution as this.

For my own part, believing as I do firmly in the validity of

the principle of every laborer being worthy of his hire, and having preached it in my own country in every position to which the public has been good enough to call me, I would be lacking in my devotion to that principle and would fail to recognize the great worth and manifold virtues of your present president, were I not to stand up here and affirm with all the strength at my command that now is the time for you delegates to show, not only your confidence in President Williams as a man and as a friend, but to test your friendship and may I say your love for the man, by declaring that each and every one of us will do the utmost in his or her power, if he will accept at our hands today a renewal of that confidence, coupled with the knowledge that the finances of this Congress shall from this day henceforward be a matter entirely in our keeping.

We have been assured that a sum ranging from sixty to seventy-five thousand dollars is necessary to secure the efficient running of the machinery of this Congress and to give to your President whatever clerical assistance he finds it necessary to employ, and we are confident that the world's press will have no difficulty whatever in raising the necessary fund to accomplish this and even more.

I ought to explain to you that we have very considerable difficulty in arriving at a conclusion as to what should form the basis of future membership. In the Committee a strong plea was put up on behalf of the poorer nations of Europe, that it would not be possible for them to send representatives to future Congresses, if in addition to having to bear the cost of travel, which is unnecessarily high now and is not likely to be reduced for some time to come, they would have to bear a heavy individual membership fee, and rather than see any country debarred from assisting in the deliberations of this organization, we had no difficulty in reaching what I hope you will consider to be a proper compromise. We think that no working journalist who is animated by a desire to work for the betterment of our profession and for ameliorating the conditions of life in less favored countries than our own, will object to the imposition of a small fee annually, sufficient not only to constitute membership but to carry with it certain undefined advantages. We may have later to consider seriously whether there are not too many persons,

styling themselves journalists, who have no valid claim to that title and who persist in hanging on the fringe as it were of a Congress like this, merely for the social advantages which such a gathering entails. It will be well worth consideration by the Executive, whether a substantial fee ought not in future to be exacted from persons who legitimately fall within this category.

The Committee apparently had good reason for thinking, from the enthusiastic manner in which these proposals were received in the Committee, that the wealthy newspapers in different parts of the world, particularly in English-speaking countries, will see it to their advantage to subscribe in bulk in order to enable them to send from their staffs or from their managerial establishments the best men in their service, and we are moreover fortified with the belief that there are many great industrial enterprises, more or less associated with journalism, that will also find it worth their while to keep in active touch with and to support liberally an institution that is capable of doing so much good for the world of letters at large.

It is the opinion of the Committee, which I heartily share, that these three resolutions will meet with your favorable consideration for the reasons which I have attempted to adduce, and that they will receive your unanimous endorsement.

At a later period of the day it will be my privilege as well as my duty as the mouthpiece of this Committee, to submit for your acceptance not only the name that will I am sure be received with the heartiest demonstration of approval, but the names of gentlemen also who will bring to the assistance of your new President a large measure of that enthusiasm which, during the past six years, he has brought to bear on the successful administration of the affairs of this Congress, and who, like himself, will spare themselves neither time, money nor effort to carry on the great and beneficent work which Dr. Williams so successfully inaugurated at San Francisco in the summer of 1915. (Applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: The present occupant of the chair may be permitted, I trust, to hope that his name may be eliminated from any discussion of a matter so important and far-reaching as that we have under consideration. While he is grateful for what has been said by his friend from New Zealand let us omit

the personal note from a discussion of so much importance.

Mr. James Wright Brown of New York has something to say.

MR. BROWN: It seems to me that Mr. Cohen has covered this resolution adequately. If there is any emphasis I should add to what he has said, it is along the line of application by the individual delegates. Obviously this sum of from twelve thousand to fifteen thousand dollars is not going to be raised without the whole-hearted cooperation of every delegate to this Congress. We are at the threshold of a new era in international journalism and in international relations also, a new era that can best be inaugurated by a sympathetic understanding of the journalists of the world. It would be manifestly unfair for us, it seems to me, to go forward as we have been going this last five or six years, dependent upon the consecrated devotion of a few men, more especially one man.

This resolution is really a compromise resolution. Some members of the Nominations Committee—and I think I may say that the Nominations Committee has worked hard and given a great deal of thought and devotion to the problem put before them, and I think it only fair to say the same of the Committees on Resolutions and Constitution,—the thing that has impressed me about the whole of the Congress sessions is first, the dominant mastery of the Chairman who has forced us to come at nine in the morning and stay until five in the afternoon, and second, the earnest, sincere, and devoted way in which the delegates have given careful thought and attention to the papers that have been read and have voiced their yearning for better times and better days.

Some of our overseas delegates thought that ten dollars for individual membership was a little high, so it was made five dollars. Some of the members of the Nominations Committee thought that the price for membership should be twenty-five dollars while some thought that it would be just as easy to get fifty dollars as twenty-five dollars. Obviously we must have funds. We cannot function in journalistic interest or public interest unless we have ample funds.

Colonel Lawson has suggested that I explain to you what corporate membership means. The plan is briefly this: that del-

legates may have individual interest in the Congress, and that the great newspapers may have membership in the Congress so they may send delegates to represent their newspapers; and the third is sustaining membership, by which the allied interests might contribute to the support of this work. Sustaining membership, it is optional with the member as to whether he contribute one hundred dollars, two hundred dollars or a thousand dollars, or any other sum to the maintenance of this work.

It seems to me that this resolution is very closely associated with another resolution that comes before you this afternoon. If the Chair will permit I should like to explain that this other resolution is a very modest resolution but it seems to me that it provides the machinery for greater activity of the Congress than ever before. Someone has said that the simple things of life are faith, love and hope. This is a simple little thing but it provides the machinery for permanent standing committees. It provides for news communication between members situated throughout the world; for a standing committee on the freedom of the press—in reality a grievance committee where the grievances of journalists may be submitted with the firm knowledge that such grievances will have a careful hearing and investigation; a standing committee on interchange of journalists; also a committee on journalistic education; another on ethics of journalism and standard of practice and another standing committee for the promotion of the welfare of journalists. It is hoped that we may be able to institute a system of bulletins, weekly, monthly, semi-monthly or bi-monthly bulletins that will keep the journalists of the world informed as to activities throughout the world—on communications for example. If there is interference with the delivery and distribution of news to Hawaii and the Pacific, it would be the duty of this committee to make an investigation and publish the facts to the members of the Congress throughout the world. You can see that through this system of bulletins we would have co-ordination to a greater extent than ever before. I am in hearty sympathy with it and hope the resolution will be adopted. I second Mr. Cohen's resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of the adoption of the resolution on membership as proposed by Mr. Cohen and seconded by Mr. Brown will please make it known by saying aye.



The resolution is unanimously adopted.

The Secretary will read resolution number two, proposed by Mr. DeRackin.

THE SECRETARY:

*Resolved:* by the Press Congress of the World, in session at Honolulu, this eighteenth day of October, 1921, that as a first and very proper step in the direction of a better understanding between the people of the world, that the international conference soon to assemble in Washington, at the invitation of the President of the United States, be requested to admit the representatives of the Press to all sessions of said conference.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the absence of Mr. DeRackin, will some delegate in sympathy with the resolution move its adoption?

MR. BROWN: I move the adoption of the resolution.

MR McCLATCHY: I second it.

COLONEL LAWSON: I rather hesitate to speak on this matter as I do not wish to be proclaimed as an advocate of secret diplomacy. I am as strongly opposed to secret diplomacy as any one of the delegates here present. But as I understand secret diplomacy it means arrangements between certain groups of nations to which other nations are not a party.

At Washington where there is a conference in which almost every nation in the world is represented, there can be no question of secret diplomacy. It is the history of representative institutions all over the world that most of the business is accomplished in committee. Here where there is a mass of detail to be discussed on subjects regarding which many of the nations hold directly opposing views, it may be impossible to get the business transacted in open session.

There is, I think, in this a double danger. Firstly, that you will only get business transacted in which there is a certainty of agreement. Secondly, there will be nothing but the delivery of set speeches embodying the sentiments which all of us hold about peace. I want to see something done, not hear something said, and I think that the greatest danger of all in adopting this motion would be that you would set up the situation that you wish to avoid, and that most of its business would be transacted by nations and groups of nations in private committees before they went into session.

I move this amendment, because even if it is lost I wish it to

be understood that there is another point of view, and if the representatives of any nation be found holding this point of view, it does not mean that they are not sincere in their desire to cooperate to secure peace and disarmament.

I want also to emphasize the fact that I am the last to uphold the principles of secret diplomacy. I should prefer that a resolution of this kind should read, as to the second part of it, "That the international conference soon to assemble in Washington, at the invitation of the President of the United States, be requested to ensure that as far as compatible with the transactions of its business, representatives of the press should be admitted to sessions of the conference."

MR. COHEN: I second the amendment.

MR. McCLATCHY: I am going to ask for the information of all of us that the original resolution be read again and have Colonel Lawson say which portion he wishes to amend. (Resolution and amendment read.)

MR. COHEN: I would like to thank Colonel Lawson for the privilege of seconding his amendment, not because I am in hearty agreement with all he said but because I recognize there are very serious difficulties in the way of giving effect to what I know to be the wishes of this Conference and the civilized world. One has to bear in mind when discussing questions that may affect the whole being of millions of people, that those who represent those peoples are stimulated by a desire, if it be possible, to achieve some tangible results in their deliberations, and speaking with an experience of nearly half a century as a reporter and public man, I have no hesitation in stating that there are times when it becomes absolutely necessary for those in charge of public affairs and matters of such a delicate nature as now have to be discussed, that it is in the interest of general peace that those particular matters should be withdrawn as it were from the gaze of the general public.

The complaint against secret diplomacy in the past has been that actual decisions have been reached about which the peoples whose destinies are affected by these conclusions were unaware until their representatives met in their respective parliaments and tried to explain what had taken place. There is always some excuse put forward to camouflage the action of those proceedings,

and that is why I think most people wish to see secret diplomacy done away with. There may be of course, when before even a report is finally read, matters sufficiently advanced to enable the world at large to weigh what is in the minds of the contracting parties, and at such conferences or meetings the accredited representatives of the press should be allowed to be present to watch the proceedings. Of course the difficulty I know—and I have been privileged to attend at meetings of a similar character—has been not that the record of the proceeding is not given to the public but that too often the views of the individual reporter for a paper are set before the public. That complaint has been voiced over and over again and will be voiced still until it is impressed upon the minds of the men who go as the representatives of the press, that the responsibility is not theirs to do as they wish or to write as they think, but that they shall record without fear or favor the actual phrases of the men who propound the policies governing the world. Given always a fair and accurate and faithful report of those proceedings, I don't think anyone would object.

With regard to the Washington Conference, the world is just now reaching its most serious moment and upon what is done at that Conference the happiness of the world rests. If the men who represent the press there are animated with the desire for peace, which we all hope for, a peace lasting in time, a peace that will endure, then by all means let the world at large know what the people are expected to do and I think you will find that public opinion throughout the world will agree to any form of disarmament and permanent peace which the world is thirsting for today.

MR. FRANK O. EDGECOMBE: I also wish to support the amendment of Colonel Lawson. I hope to see the Washington Conference reduce oratorical action and fine phrases to accomplishment, and I do not believe that in our own experience with our national Congress at Washington and any other deliberative body of a similar character, that things that ought to be done can be done as we are asking by this original resolution to have them done.

I believe also that we should save our faces. It is not likely that any resolutions we adopt here will have great influence upon

what the accredited delegates from the numerous countries decide is the right thing to do, and even if we could influence their decision, it would not be to the interests of the Press Congress to attempt to do so (Hear, hear) and I believe something in the form of the amendment suggested by Colonel Lawson would be more satisfactory from every point of view than to hanker for something that would probably not be granted and which if granted might be unwise.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before we proceed further the Secretary will read the resolution in its original form, and then the resolution as amended as Colonel Lawson proposed.

THE SECRETARY: In its original form the resolution is as follows:

*Resolved:* By the Press Congress of the World, in session at Honolulu, this eighteenth day of October, 1921, that as a first and very proper step in the direction of a better understanding between the peoples of the world, that the international conference soon to assemble in Washington, at the invitation of the President of the United States, be requested to admit the representatives of the Press to all sessions of said conference.

The amendment to take its place reads:

*Resolved,* By the Press Congress of the World, in session at Honolulu this eighteenth day of October, 1921, that as a first and very proper step in the direction of a better understanding between the peoples of the world, that the international conference soon to assemble in Washington, at the invitation of the President of the United States, be requested to ensure that, as far as compatible with the transaction of its business, representatives of the Press should be admitted to sessions of the Conference.

MR. McCLATCHY: It seems to me that we may without discourtesy expedite matters and save a great deal of trouble, and I therefore submit to Mr. Brown, who moved the original resolution, if he does not think it will be discourteous to Mr. De-Rackin, to accept the amendment in place of the original resolution.

MR. BROWN: I would say that I am very strongly in favor of the original motion and very strongly opposed to the amendment, and I would like to say further that it seems to me that this Congress should concern itself with fundamental principles and ideas. We should not be concerned with matters of expediency; we are on the road up the hill to the ultimate parliament of man and we expect some day to attain that ideal.

I recall distinctly a talk I had with Lord Northcliffe in New

York, on the occasion of his recent visit there. He told me about the arrival of the delegates from Czecho-Slovakia at the Paris Conference. The delegate said to Clemenceau: "It will take me seven hours time to read my paper to the Conference," and I said: "Perhaps mankind would have been better off if the delegate had been given his seven hours time, because ever since the Paris Conference, mankind has been debating the matters supposed to have been settled."

I very firmly believe that in the first international Conference in Washington there should be the utmost frankness, there should be no committee meetings or session meetings at which representatives of the press are not present. The newspapers of the world are going to get the news obviously. So far as getting the news is concerned, it matters little whether secret sessions are held or not, but the point is that a good deal of this so-called news wirelessly throughout the world is going to be conjectured, surmised, and it will unavoidably be misinterpreted. When you look the other man in the eye and give him some idea of your aspirations and you do as Mr. Cohen has said, viz: put all the cards on the table in the white light, the shining light of publicity, you are not going to be misinterpreted. The people will know what you want and what you expect.

It seems to me that on the basis of consideration of principles and ideals alone, this original resolution should be adopted and the amendment voted down.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair may be permitted to state that without any instructions from the Congress, in order to accomplish the business of the session, speeches will be limited to five minutes from this time on.

MR. GLASS: I think that Mr. Brown has in a considerable measure answered himself, and has also shown the strength and wisdom of Colonel Lawson's amendment when he says that newspaper men are going to get the news anyway. I have been in Washington a good deal, and if ever there was a secret in Washington for twenty-four hours, I have never heard of it. The results of the executive sessions of the Senate are known five minutes after the sessions adjourn, and, with the army of magazine correspondents and the army of newspaper correspondents from all over the world, there is not going to

be anything worth knowing about that Disarmament Conference and its deliberations that will not be known right away. The Paris Conference was supposed to be secret and it lasted six months. If you throw open this Conference to the gallery, it will last for a year, and everybody will be speaking to the gallery—Japan, Great Britain, the United States, France and all the rest. Let us have action and don't let us interfere too much. I thoroughly agree with Colonel Lawson's amendment.

MR. INNES: Gentlemen, I would like to support Colonel Lawson's amendment, very largely for the reason set forth by Mr. Glass. I think the form in which Colonel Lawson has couched the amendment is a dignified one. It is advisable not to strive for the unattainable and this will meet the desires of the Congress.

MR. ZUMOTO: Mr. President, as this matter has been fully threshed out by the preceding speakers, all that is needed of me is to say that I am in full accord with the sentiments expressed by Colonel Lawson in proposing his amendment. It may, however, be interesting to you to know that a few days before my departure from Japan, The Disarmament Society of Japan proposed a resolution similar to the one introduced by Mr. DeRackin. I was among those who opposed it on grounds almost exactly like those expressed by Colonel Lawson. It was laid aside at the meeting I attended, but at the next meeting which circumstances prevented me from attending, it was brought up again and passed unanimously, and the message was at once telegraphed to Washington asking that the sessions of the Pacific and Disarmament Conferences be fully opened to the public. I believe this was a mistake. I have too high a regard for the reputation of this Congress as an assembly of sensible and practical men, to let this opportunity pass without a word of protest against the resolution as originally framed.

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of the amendment as proposed by Colonel Lawson and seconded by Mr. Cohen will make it known by saying Aye. Contrary minded No.

The amendment is carried.

MR. BROWN: I rise to move that it be carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of the resolution as amended will make it known by saying Aye. The amendment is carried unanimously.

MR. COHEN: I would like to thank Mr. Brown for his fine action.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will report the next resolution moved by Col. Lawson on international press communication.

THE SECRETARY: I will read the resolution:

*International Press Communications:* This Congress declares that, in the interests of world amity and of better international understanding and sympathy, telegraphic facilities for the general interchange of news and press comment should be greatly cheapened, improved, and extended: and,

That the representatives of the world's press here assembled in conference, undertake, in their respective countries, to press by all legitimate means for the establishment of lower rates for press messages, whether by land telegraph, submarine cable, or wireless telegraphy, and for the improvement and extension of such means of communication.

COLONEL LAWSON: I have already spoken about this resolution at considerable length. I don't intend to say any more. In view of the resolution which we have just carried I will repeat this part of it: That I consider that disarmament in itself is nothing at all and it is no use in limiting the means of fighting if you leave the desire to fight. The surest way to eliminate the desire to fight is to improve our knowledge of each other, and that can only be done by extending, cheapening, and improving the means of international communication.

MR. COHEN: I second the resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: Colonel Lawson moves and Mr. Cohen seconds the resolution as reported to you. Are you ready for the question? All in favor say Aye, contrary No.

The resolution is unanimously carried.

The Secretary will report the next resolution, proposed by Mr. McClatchy.

THE SECRETARY: The following is resolution number four:

Realizing the vital necessity for interchange of reliable, uncontrolled and uncensored news reports between the peoples of the earth, if misunderstandings are to be avoided and peace maintained:

Appreciating the action of Congress of United States in authorizing the use of United States Navy radio facilities for trans-oceanic news communication at a word rate which has encouraged the development of comprehensive daily trans-pacific news reports:

Realizing the fact that continuation of this policy on the part of the United States, with co-operation from other nations on the shores

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of the Pacific, will insure permanent communication across that ocean, and encourage similar conditions in other portions of the globe;

Understanding that in no other way at this time, is it practicable to insure satisfactory news communication across the Pacific and that the present service must cease in July 1922, if Congress fails to renew authorization to the Navy Department;

The Press Congress of the World, in session assembled at Honolulu, expresses its warm appreciation of the initiative thus taken by the United States in practical peace promotion, by fostering the development of independent uncensored news communication with other countries, and trusts that the U. S. Congress will not permit lapse or discontinuance of the present service.

The Press Congress of the World further commends the policy thus established by the United States to the careful consideration of other nations in the hope that through co-operation all parts of the world may in time enjoy such interchange of reliable news as is now possible on the Pacific; and pledges its members in their respective countries, to the promotion of such a policy.

MR. McCLATCHY: I think it unnecessary to make a speech on this matter. My paper covered the fundamental facts upon which the resolution was based. May I say only this. You have shown by unanimous endorsement of Colonel Lawson's resolution the sentiments of this Congress as to the necessity of the free interchange of news communications throughout the world. The principles are good but none of us can accomplish anything if we confine ourselves to generalities. The Press Congress of the World has a remarkable opportunity to demonstrate its usefulness by doing something practical. President Harding in his address intimated that he would be glad to receive and thought he might receive suggestions from this Congress looking forward to maintaining the peace of the world. Here is a concrete example in which we can suggest.

The papers which you see published in Honolulu carrying complete press reports are the development of that plan. It is only necessary to extend that plan through other countries to secure on the part of all peoples and countries of the Pacific ocean that intercommunication of news which must prevent propaganda and misunderstandings. Let us not neglect this opportunity. Let us not only interest the United States in establishing a plan of this kind but urgently ask that they do not permit that plan to be killed by failure to provide the means by which that plan may be continued and extended.



MR. PETRIE: I second the resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: There being no further remarks on the resolution as proposed and seconded, those in favor make it known by saying Aye, contrary No.

The resolution is unanimously carried.

COLONEL LAWSON: On behalf of the Resolutions Committee I would like to announce there will be a short session of that Committee immediately after this session, in order to look through some resolutions recently submitted. I am sorry it is necessary to call the Resolutions Committee again, but if delegates will not pay any attention to announcements made we have to do the best we can.

THE CHAIRMAN: In that event the Chair will submit some resolutions just handed to him by delegates from Latin America.

The Secretary will read the next resolution which is proposed by Mr. Sugimura of Japan.

THE SECRETARY: The resolution reads:

WHEREAS: The influence of and future growth in sphere of general usefulness of the press of the world must necessarily depend upon the standards which are set by its great power for good or evil, and that these standards can be best attained through the training of journalists along the broadest and most wholesome lines; then be it

*Resolved:* That the Press Congress of the World here assembled gives its heartiest indorsement and moral support to the work that is being done in various ways for the training and education along the broadest and highest lines of young men and women in those things that may best serve the newspapers and the public in their profession of journalism.

MR. WONG: I second it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are there any further remarks on the motion to adopt this resolution? There appearing to be none, all in favor of its adoption say Aye, contrary No. It is unanimously adopted.

The Secretary will now report the next resolution, by Mr. Ludvig Saxe.

THE SECRETARY:

WHEREAS, it is understood that there is at this time being formed in Belgium an international press union which is to be composed of representatives of those countries included in the League of Nations; and whereas it is desirable that if possible one great international Press Union should be formed, therefore be it

*Resolved:* That the Congress ask the Executive Committee to direct its attention to the international press union with a view to co-operation if found practical so that duplication of effort may be avoided.

MR. SAXE: Some months ago the Belgian Press Association sent an invitation to press associations in different countries, asking them to send delegates to a congress in Brussels, with the intention to constitute an International Press Union. It was the understanding that admission should be open to journalists from the political dailies in the allied and neutral countries within the League of Nations. An invitation was received also by the Norwegian Press Association, but we could not accept it.

The Congress in Belgium probably has been held ere this and the new International Press Union probably has been constituted. As far as I know it should be discussed in Belgium as to whether admission should also be open to journalists from countries outside the League of Nations.

Nobody can say at this moment how that Press Union will develop, but it may happen that it will become a great international association and I think it would be wise if the Executive Committee of the Press Congress of the World would have its attention directed to the new Union. It might be desirable to get into contact with it and possibly co-operate with it.

MR. GLASS: I second the resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of this resolution say Aye, contrary No.

The motion is carried unanimously.

The seventh resolution is by Mr. Hin Wong. The Secretary will please read the resolution.

THE SECRETARY:

*Resolved:* That the Press Congress of the World shall instruct its Executive Committee to confer with representatives of the Chinese delegation to the conference with a view to the possibility of appointing at their request a commission to study the present condition, extent, and methods of Chinese foreign press service with a view to recommending means of improvement if necessary.

MR. HIN WONG: I move the adoption of the resolution.

MR. ZUMOTO: I second the motion.

MR. HENRY CHUNG: Mr. Chairman, I am in hearty accord with my friend Mr. Wong of China in supporting the resolution presented by him. It will be a good thing for China, and consequently it will be a good thing for a country closely allied with China both by racial ties and territorial propinquity, Korea.

For that reason, Mr. Chairman, I propose the following amendment to Mr. Wong's resolution:

*Resolved*, that the Press Congress of the World shall instruct its Executive Committee to empower the same Commission to make a similar inquiry into the present condition, extent and methods of press services to and from Korea with a view to recommending means of improvement if necessary.

This does not in any way change or modify the resolution proposed by Mr. Wong, but simply widens its scope so that the investigation be extended to Korea.

Korea is a nation of splendid history and achievements. By coming into closer contact with her, the rest of the nations of the world will be benefited in learning the ancient culture and civilization of that nation. In so far as Korea is concerned, she is anxious to play her role in the family of nations in the way of cultural exchange and friendly co-operation. Her aspirations in this regard should have the support of the other nations surrounding the Pacific.

Japan should have no objection to having a commission of journalists investigate the conditions in Korea. On the contrary she should welcome it as it would afford her a chance to air possible misunderstanding that might exist between Korea and Japan.

For all these reasons I solicit your support in the amendment I have proposed.

MR. ZUMOTO: Mr. President, I second Mr. Chung's amendment and in so doing I ask your permission to say a few words. I am in hearty sympathy with the desire which Mr. Chung has so clearly expressed, that conditions in Korea be made known to the world more accurately and more widely than is the case now. I have the greatest sympathy with the Korean people among whom I count not a few dear friends, and anything that may conduce to the betterment of their conditions commands my hearty support.

As for Japan, she has nothing to conceal from the world concerning her policy and action in the peninsula, and there is no doubt that her best interests will be served by having everything made known to the outside public, no matter whether the facts revealed may be favorable or unfavorable to her. Mr. Chung's proposal, therefore, has my whole-hearted endorsement.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Wong, will you accept Mr. Chung's amendment?

MR. WONG: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Wong accepts the amendment and includes the amendment in his original resolution. All in favor of the resolution as amended will make it known by saying Aye, contrary No. The resolution as amended is carried unanimously.

The next resolution will be reported by the Secretary, whose resolution it is.

THE SECRETARY: My resolution is as follows:

WHEREAS, it is desirable, in order to facilitate travel, particularly the free passage from country to country of journalists whose efforts may promote mutual international enlightenment and understanding, be it

*Resolved:* That the members of the Press Congress of the World pledge themselves to urge upon their respective governments the necessity for the removal, as far as possible, of all vexatious restrictions upon the issue of passports, and that the imposition of any additional charges for such passports, other than that made in the country of their issue, be discontinued.

MR. GLASS: I second that resolution.

(The resolution was carried unanimously.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Resolution number nine will be held over until the afternoon session. The Secretary will next report the tenth resolution, proposed by Mr. Nieva of the Philippine Islands.

THE SECRETARY: The resolution reads:

WHEREAS, it is the earnest desire of the Press Congress of the World to co-operate with duly organized governments in the establishment of permanent peace for mankind,

*Be it Resolved:* That it is the hope of the Press Congress of the World that all governments of the world will give the Press of the world all such means of access to avenues of information as should enable the Press everywhere to inform the world correctly and unreservedly on public matters.

*Be it Also Resolved:* That the Delegates to the Press Congress of the World pledge themselves to give the widest publicity to this resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the absence of Mr. Nieva will some one in sympathy with that resolution move its adoption, if not it will be deferred until the afternoon session.

COLONEL LAWSON: On behalf of Mr. Nieva, I beg to move the adoption of the resolution.

MR. COUTOUPIS: I second the resolution.

(The resolution was unanimously carried.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next resolution is apparently proposed by the Chairman of a committee, there is no name on it. The Secretary will read it.

THE SECRETARY:

*Resolved:* That the President be authorized to nominate and with the approval of the Executive Committee to appoint standing committees to deal with (a) news communication, (b) freedom of the press, (c) interchange of journalists, (d) journalistic education, (e) ethics of journalism and standards of practice, (f) promotion of the welfare of journalists.

MR. MARK COHEN: I move the adoption of the resolution.

MR. SOUTHERN: I second it.

COLONEL LAWSON: A number of members of the Congress, with various cases of specific grievance in various parts of the world, have come to the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee and have asked for resolutions to be passed by this Congress expressing its approval of certain action or advocating some form of action. I want it understood that it is impossible for this Congress, assembled as it is here, to take any action on what, although it may be correct, is only an *ex parte* statement.

It is the intention of the Congress to appoint these standing Committees which will be empowered to handle any case brought before them. The Committees will endeavor to the best of their ability to get all the evidence on these cases, and their decisions and anything they may be able to do to adjust these grievances will be published in the Bulletin about which Mr. Brown has spoken to you.

The only weapon which this Congress has is that of publicity. It is perfectly useless for us to pass a resolution expressing disapproval of the action of some state, because the answer of that state will be that they do not recognize any jurisdiction of this Congress. But, on the other hand, if such a conclusion is shown in its true light, in a Bulletin which is circulated all over the world, they may do a very great deal to insure that that grievance should be put right. That is the constructive policy of this Congress on this particular question, and I hope it will be understood by the various members who brought forward these cases that there is no lack of sympathy on the part of the Resolutions Committee but because it is absolutely impossible for them to take any ac-

tion. It is only by the establishment of these Committees that anything can be done, and therefore in my opinion this is the most important resolution to come before the meeting today.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the motion?

The resolution is carried unanimously.

The next resolution is proposed by Mr. Hollington Tong on interchange of journalists. The Secretary will read it.

THE SECRETARY:

WHEREAS, each nation must depend in large measure upon its journalists for its knowledge of the other nations of the world, and

WHEREAS, it is in the interests of world peace and understanding that journalists should be most thoroughly informed as regards the people and customs and thought of countries other than their own,

*Be it Resolved*, That the Press Congress of the World urges wider practice of the policy of interchange of journalists between nations and proposes to its Executive Committee that definite steps be taken to increase the practice between the countries represented in the Congress.

MR. TONG: As it is unnecessary to dwell on the importance of the necessity to interchange newspaper men between the nations, and as Colonel Lawson and other speakers have dwelt upon this matter at great length, I will not speak about it any more and have pleasure in merely moving the adoption of the resolution.

(The motion was seconded by Mr. Davies of Australia, and carried unanimously.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will report the next resolution on international obligations, proposed by Mr. Zumoto, of Japan.

THE SECRETARY: Mr. Zumoto's resolution reads as follows:

WHEREAS, it is believed that the difficulties which arise between the nations of the world are due largely to lack of full understanding between the several governments and peoples, and

WHEREAS, it is further believed that to disseminate among the peoples of the earth more complete knowledge of countries and races other than their own would be one of the surest guarantees of international amity,

*Be It Resolved*, That the Press Congress of the World in this manner recognizes the solemn obligations which rest upon journalists everywhere to spare no effort to promote a spirit of world fellowship among the peoples of all nations.

MR. ZUMOTO: I do not think this resolution requires any amplification from me. It expresses very clearly what is pro-



W. D. HORNADAY, AUSTIN, TEXAS (upper, left); MR. AND MRS. V. S. McCLATCHY, SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA (upper, center); HERBERT L. BRIDGMAN, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK (upper, right).  
 MRS. JOHN TRENHOLM WARREN, HONOLULU (center, left); FRANK P. GLASS, SR., BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA (center, right).  
 JOHN R. MORRIS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE CONGRESS, TOKYO (lower, left); MR. AND MRS. H. U. BAILEY, ILLINOIS (lower, center); L. W. DE VIS-NORTON, SECRETARY, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (lower, right).





posed, so I will simply ask your hearty approval of this resolution.

MR. TONG: I heartily second the motion.

MR. DAVIES: I would like to make a few remarks. We all realize that a more complete knowledge of countries and races other than our own will help to remove a great many misunderstandings, but I think to a certain extent the newspapers themselves are to blame. The cable news going from Australia to England for the last year for instance, has led to a wonderful misconception of the place. There is an impression in Great Britain now that Australia is a land of drought and where strikes are constantly in evidence. As one newspaper said: "Australia is a land where industrial peace occasionally breaks out." That is all wrong. It has a drought now and again but there are portions of Australia where the rainfall is continual throughout the year. It is only in certain sections of the country where we ever have drought. In other matters too, the sending of sensational news only and the printing of sensational news only of remote countries helps to create a misconception and if it were possible that the press of the world could endeavor not only to print sensational news from remote countries, but also to give some indication of ordinary life there, it would do a great deal of good. I think the proposal for an interchange of journalists as outlined in the previous motion would help out a lot. Therefore, if this system of interchange of journalists can be brought about it will be a good thing.

I most heartily support this motion and I hope the press of other countries, when sensational items do come from Australia, will realize that that is not the general run of things there.

(The motion was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will report the last of the resolutions to be presented at this time; not all the resolutions but the last to be presented at this time, a resolution regarding the freedom of the press presented by Mr. Coutoupis of Greece. The Secretary will read the resolution.

THE SECRETARY:

WHEREAS: Fairminded men everywhere realize the benefits to be derived from a free and unhampered press and know that a press subject to the control of any outside power or influence can never be an agent of true public service;

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*Be It Resolved*, That the Press Congress of the World condemns every power or influence which would seek to control the utterances or color the news reports of the press of any land and the delegates in the Press Congress here assembled pledge themselves to the principle of absolute freedom of expression for the press of the world.

MR. COUTOUPIS: In moving this resolution I may be considered as proposing something superfluous, as nowadays no one either in this room or outside of it is likely to be against the freedom of the press. The real question about the matter is, how far must this freedom go? I am aware there are circumstances where freedom of the press must have some limit but I would like to say that a Press Congress should always regard the principles of the freedom of the press as its basis.

During the war in France, a country which stands to the front for freedom of opinion and thought, there were complaints that the censors abused this privilege by limiting very much the freedom of the press. Clemenceau, the great French statesman and journalist, very often complained about this. I therefore suggest that the Press Congress pass this resolution in order to remind all governments that even in exceptional circumstances, as in time of war, this freedom must be respected. I move the adoption of this resolution.

(The motion was seconded by Mr. Brown of New York, supported by Mr. Chung of Korea, and carried unanimously.)

THE CHAIRMAN: This completes the list of resolutions for this morning's session. The Congress will recess until two o'clock.

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### NINTH SESSION.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 20, 1921.

Congress was called to order at two o'clock by President Williams.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee on Resolutions have a further report to make.

COLONEL LAWSON: Further resolutions were submitted this morning which have been approved by the Committee on Resolutions and have been handed to the Secretary of the Congress.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read these resolutions.

If you will allow me before that, however, I will ask the Secretary to read a communication from Mr. Beteta regarding some matters which will, after having been read for information, be referred to the Executive Committee for such action as may seem desirable.

THE SECRETARY: Mr. Beteta announces:

The two Vice-presidents of the Congress for Spain have sent to the Press Congress papers containing an outline of the Spanish Press History and the Spanish Press Legislation.

Representing the Spanish Press Association I have the honor of proposing that the Spanish language, which spoken by more than eighty millions of persons and on which such a great deal of human culture has been constructed would be declared as one of the official languages of the Congress.

On behalf of the same institution I have the honor to express that should the Congress decide to hold its next meeting at Seville, the Association would be glad to support and co-operate as far as necessary to the end of making such a meeting of great success worthy of the important mission of the Press Congress of the World.

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Dr. Roberto Brenes Mesen, a veteran of the journalism of the Republic of Costa Rica, Central America, and former Secretary of Education there and Minister of Costa Rica to Washington, proposes to create the Continental American Press Sub-Congress, as a part of the Press Congress of the World, with two independent sections, because of the difference of language—but in close spiritual relation. The function of this Sub-Congress should be to determine those important questions upon which the international consciousness of the Continent needs must be formed and educated in order that each of its composing nations becomes aware of the share incumbent upon the American Continent in the preservation of the peace and welfare of the world.

The Spanish American Section of this Sub-Congress should take in charge, besides, this most important function: to emphasize the spiritual unity of all peoples speaking one and the same Peninsular language, creating in a solid and definite way the sentiment and the conviction that in the realm of art and science and all the spiritual forms of civilization all those nations are, separately, mere provinces of a vast ensemble which we must take in sight when the artistic work is created, or the scientific research is brought about, or the philosophic doctrine is expounded.

Dr. Brenes Mesen outlined his complete plan for this Sub-Congress.

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Mr. Ernesto Montenegro, General Representative of the Chilean daily *El Mercurio*, the oldest paper in Latin America, proposes to the Congress a plan for the creation of a Monthly Magazine devoted to the Youths of the three Americas, in order to complete their education and to create in their spirit high ideals of human solidarity, peace and friendship.

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Mr. Jose Elias Levis, President of the Press Association of Porto Rico, proposes a plan for the diffusion of the Schools of Journalism throughout Latin America and for the bettering of the actual conditions of the members of the staff and other inferior employees of the journalistic enterprises.

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THE CHAIRMAN: Unless there is some objection, this communication will be referred to the Executive Committee for such action as to it may seem desirable and possible and necessary.

The Chair presents to you Mr. Frank P. Glass as your presiding officer for the rest of the session.

MR. GLASS: The next order of business is the continuance of the presentation of the various resolutions by the Secretary.

THE SECRETARY: Ladies and Gentlemen, these resolutions by Mr. Riley Allen, in his absence will be introduced by Mr. Herrick and Mr. McClatchy.

WHEREAS, the Associated Press has given to the Press Congress of the World its fullest co-operation and sympathetic help at all times, both in advance arrangements for this convention at Honolulu, and in carrying all over the world the news of the convention's deliberations, and

WHEREAS, the Associated Press has especially manifested this spirit of interest and co-operation by furnishing free of charge through the Honolulu Associated Press newspapers an augmented news service;

*Therefore be it Resolved,*

*First,* that this Congress votes its thanks and gratitude to the Associated Press and its representative in Honolulu, Mr. John Snell, who has taken great personal interest in promoting the success of the Congress.

*Secondly,* that we view the interest of the Associated Press in this Congress as an encouragement to the cause of good journalism, whose foundation is the dissemination of correct and authoritative news.

*Thirdly,* that copies of these resolutions be sent to the board of directors and the general manager of the Associated Press and to its Honolulu representative.

MR. HERRICK: I move the adoption of the resolution.

MR. HOLLINGTON TONG: I second the motion.

(The resolution was carried unanimously.)

THE SECRETARY: The next resolution is also by Mr. Riley Allen and will be introduced by Mr. McClatchy.

*Resolved,* that the thanks of this Congress be extended to the United Press, whose interest in the Congress has been evidenced by its arrangement to send by wireless a special news report from time to time during the sessions of the Congress.

MR. McCLATCHY: I have pleasure in urging the adoption of that resolution.

MR. BROWN: I have pleasure in seconding the motion.

(The resolution was unanimously carried.)

THE SECRETARY: Another resolution, in the name of Mr. Riley Allen, reads:

WHEREAS, the Communication Division of the United States Department of the Navy has made possible, during the sessions of the Press Congress of the World, a largely expanded daily news report, carried free by United States Navy Radio, and has spared no effort to provide for the delegates here assembled a most thorough and representative news report,

*Be it Resolved*, by the delegates to the Press Congress of the World,

*First*, that we heartily appreciate the attitude of the Communications Division of the Department of the Navy of the United States;

*Secondly*, that we express special appreciation for the high degree of technical success which has characterized the efforts of the U. S. Navy Radio officers and staff operators in bringing the several daily and nightly news reports by navy radio to Honolulu;

*Thirdly*, that copies of these resolutions be sent to the officer commanding the communication division, United States Navy Department, to the district communications officer at San Francisco; and to the district communications officer at Honolulu, Lieut. C. N. Ingraham for himself and staff.

MR. McCLATCHY: I have been in intimate touch for one and a half years about with the Navy Department and know perhaps as intimately as anyone the credit that is due, and I have great pleasure in moving the adoption of the resolution.

MR. HERRICK: I second the resolution.

(The resolution was carried by acclamation.)

THE SECRETARY: I have a resolution here standing in the name of Mr. Beteta, to which I am sure you will give your most hearty support.

*Be it Resolved*, that the Press Congress of the World assembled at Honolulu wishes to express to Dr. Walter Williams, the President of the Congress, its deep appreciation of his tireless efforts in behalf of this organization of the world's journalists. The delegates to the Press Congress of the World recognize that the maintenance of the Congress since the meeting in San Francisco in 1915 and the signal success of the present session is due, more than to any other factor, to President Williams' wisdom, his lofty integrity, and his devotion to the duties which his high office involves.

MR. SOUTHERN: I have the honor to second the resolution which is offered by Mr. Beteta.

I am sure that every member of this Congress will agree with me when I indorse the ability and the justice and the impartiality and the humor with which our presiding officer has conducted these meetings, (applause). He has been the means of bringing among us such a fine spirit of co-operation and good feeling, that our meetings have been brought to a larger success through the courtesy of Dr. Williams. It has been said that a prophet is without honor in his own country. It gives me pleasure to say that we in Missouri have proved that saying does not fit on this occasion. I, therefore, coming from Missouri, speak, I think, the feeling of every member present when I heartily ask the adoption of the resolution offered.

MR. ZUMOTO: Permit me to suggest a word on this resolution.

I think it is fitting to have an expression of the high obligation and appreciation that we men in the Far East hold for Dr. Williams. We have always found Dr. Williams a man of the broadest views; a man without petty feeling of race and color, and so thoroughly impartial in his views that he has endeared himself to the Japanese people, the Chinese and the Koreans. The fine spirit of interest and sincerity of his character has been recognized and has appealed to the imagination of the Oriental people, and we have had quite a number of specimens of journalists that he is turning out at his School of Journalism, and of these men some are working in Tokyo, some in Shanghai and at other places in the East, and judging from the fruits we all know that he is conducting one of the best schools of journalism in the world.

I am very happy to have had this opportunity of expressing the sentiments we feel towards him before an audience composed of important and influential journalists from all parts of the world.

JUDGE PIERCE: Not as a substitute and of course not as an amendment, I desire to place partly through the motion of the other and partly because there cannot be too much said on the subject the following:

*Resolved*, that it is the unanimous and grateful sense of this Assembly of the Press from all over the world, that diligent search and happy fortune could not possibly have furnished us a more wise, efficient and accomplished President; and Secretary as well.

Our President's vision and vigor in forecasting this notable movement; his great services in its organization; his dignity and judicial bearing while presiding at our deliberations; his ever present humor, render entirely inadequate any measure of our express admiration and thankfulness.

Yet we cannot let this opportunity pass without recording our sincere sense of the highest appreciation and the deepest gratitude to our noble President, Dean Walter Williams, the head of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri, as well also to our tall, handsome and brainy Secretary, Guy Innes, Associate Editor of the Herald of Melbourne in far-away and always-admirable Australia.

I propose a rising vote for the adoption of both these resolutions.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does Judge Pierce offer that as a substitute or as an amendment?

JUDGE PIERCE: As a resolution to run concurrently with the other.

THE CHAIRMAN: That would be hardly parliamentary I fear, Judge. Also there is another resolution with reference to the Secretary.

COLONEL LAWSON: Had Judge Pierce submitted his resolution to the Resolutions Committee, we should have been able to approve it, but as he did not do so it is too late to do anything now, I fear.

May I point out that this resolution especially before the Congress was specially designed to cover Dr. Walter Williams' actions as Chairman of this Congress in session; there is another resolution on paper covering what he has done as President of the Press Congress of the World, and there is also another resolution referring to Mr. Guy Innes as Secretary. Therefore, as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, I submit that it would be preferable that the resolution proposed by Mr. Beteta now before the Congress be allowed to stand.

MR. TONG: I cannot allow such an important an occasion to pass without saying a few words on behalf of the Chinese delegation on the fair manner in which Dr. Williams conducted the meeting. I consider this an unusual occasion. Dr. Williams has always been impartial, fair-minded, sincere and earnest. I have

been well accustomed, as one of his students, to these characteristics of his and so I am not surprised at the fairness, sincerity and impartiality which he has shown throughout the whole of the proceedings on these Islands and I say that he is a man of international caliber. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Am I to understand that Judge Pierce withdraws his resolution?

JUDGE PIERCE: Certainly.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then the resolution is ready for the vote. All in favor will rise.

The resolution was carried by a rising vote.

Here is another resolution of a similar trend.

THE SECRETARY:

*Resolved*, that this Congress desires to place on record its high appreciation of the ability and impartiality displayed by Dr. Walter Williams as Chairman, in the conduct of the sessions of the Congress.

This resolution is also proposed in the name of Mr. Beteta.

MR. SOUTHERN: I also have pleasure in seconding this resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair also calls for a rising vote in this case.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have a resolution here which reads as follows:

*Resolved*, that this Congress desires to express its thanks to Mr. Guy Innes, for acting as secretary during the sessions of the Congress.

This resolution is in the name of Colonel Lawson.

MR. HERRICK: I move its adoption.

MR. TONG: I second that motion.

(The resolution was unanimously carried.)

MR. GUY INNES: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have to thank you very much and also Judge Pierce, for the resolution you have just passed. All I have done I have been only too happy to do in the cause of that great crusade of which Dr. Williams has been such a noble and efficient leader.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next order of business, if the time has arrived, is the report of the Committee on Nominations, unless someone has business to introduce in the meantime.

JUDGE PIERCE: I am wondering with becoming modesty and deference I hope, that since there were three resolutions on



the same subject if the one I offered may not, without any remarks, be considered at the close of the regular resolutions which have come from the Committee, and therefore I make a motion, without remark, that that resolution of mine be also adopted in connection with the other three. Too much praise cannot be offered these two gentlemen.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair offers the suggestion that Judge Pierce's motion be incorporated into the minutes of the session. It will be so ordered.

MR. PETRIE: I move that the last three resolutions passed by the Congress be engrossed on parchment and sent to the President and Secretary respectively.

MR. TONG: I second that motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is carried unanimously, and it is so ordered.

MR. McCLATCHY: I presume that copy of these resolutions will be sent out by the Secretary of the Congress. I presume there is no need for motion to that effect.

THE CHAIRMAN: There will be no harm whatever in moving to that effect.

MR. McCLATCHY: I make a motion in accordance with that suggestion.

MR. HERRICK: I second the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is carried and it is so ordered.

We will now proceed to the Report of the Committee on Nominations.

MR. COHEN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: In presenting the final report of the Committee on Nominations, I desire to call your attention to the fact that there are two independent matters discussed in that report, and with your approval I propose to discuss them separately.

The first is a resolution recommending that Article IV of the Constitution be amended so as to increase the number of members of the Executive to fifteen, and to remove the requirement that Vice-Presidents of the Congress should alone be members of that committee.

The second part of the resolution submits for your ratification or otherwise, the names of the gentlemen who have been

selected to fill the various executive offices as well as the several Vice-Presidents.

Taking the need for the amendment of the Constitution first, we have found as the result of experience in working out the constitution, that in limiting the choice of your Executive to Vice-presidents, a very limited field of workers is presented, and we are anxious that the President shall have to his hand a committee sufficiently large, not only to advise him on difficult matters as they arise, but to warrant him after consultation with them to express the mind of the Congress on any matter of urgency, and we venture to think that the names that have been selected as members of that Executive Committee will meet with your hearty approval.

It was indeed a great pleasure to us as a committee to know that both Mr. Glass and Mr. Brown, whose work as colleagues I take this opportunity of acknowledging, consented immediately to the wish of the committee, that they should be relieved of the Vice-presidential offices in order to become the trusted advisers of your President. (Applause).

This morning I said all that I think is necessary to commend the name of Dr. Walter Williams to you as the most fit and proper person to fill the Presidential chair for a further term, and the many eulogies that were passed upon him, and the cordial manner in which his name was received by you, make it unnecessary for me, on this occasion at all events, to add one single word to the many well earned tributes that were paid this morning to our beloved President.

In Mr. James Wright Brown, Dr. Williams will have a man after his own heart, and in Mr. Glass a coadjutor of acknowledged national standing.

It is quite unnecessary for me to give the names of the other gentlemen who are to constitute your Executive, but a few of them are deserving of passing mention. Dr. Beteta performed yeoman service at San Francisco and has placed this Congress under an obligation to him for his splendid service in Europe during the present year.

The representatives of Japan, of Greece, of China, and of Canada, require no eulogy at my hands. Each and all have done their work splendidly and in Mr. Guy Innes, of Melbourne,

you have had not only a hard working and zealous secretary, but a man whose standing in his profession in Australia deserves recognition in the way that you purpose to utilize his services in the immediate future.

Among the lists of Vice-Presidents it will be seen that in several of the countries only one nomination is made, but the understanding is that wherever a single nomination has been made, that individual will do his utmost to associate with himself some journalist in his own country who will co-operate with him in furthering the interests of this Congress.

A number of invitations were sent out by the Executive to persons asking them to act as Vice-Presidents, but the time has been so short for their signification of acceptance or otherwise, that your committee deemed it wise to renominate them in the hope that they would find no difficulty in the way of acting in the way we asked them to do.

It gives me very great pleasure indeed to move not only the amendment of the Constitution but to submit as the office bearers for the ensuing term the names in the list which I hand to the Secretary to read.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the Committee on Nominations. I will ask the Secretary to read the resolution relating to Article IV.

THE SECRETARY:

That Article IV of the constitution of the Press Congress be amended so as to increase the number of members of the Executive Committee to fifteen, including the President and Secretary-Treasurer of the Congress, and to remove the requirement that members of the Executive Committee be also Vice-presidents of the Congress.

MR. HERRICK: I second that motion.

MR. McCLATCHY: My understanding of the Constitution is that there are two Vice-presidents from each country represented in the Congress and that the amendment of Article IV in no way amended that portion of the constitution. As I gather now the suggestion is that we make Vice-presidents members of the Executive Committee.

MR. COHEN: No.

MR. McCLATCHY: How many members are there?

MR. COHEN: Fifteen.

MR. McCLATCHY: Those fifteen must be chosen from the Vice-presidents?

MR. COHEN: Not necessarily. Take for example Great Britain.

MR. McCLATCHY: How many members is the Executive Committee supposed to have?

MR. COHEN: Fifteen including the President and Secretary-Treasurer. There are more than forty Vice-Presidents, two from each country.

MR. McCLATCHY: We don't provide in our resolution that they must be Vice-Presidents?

MR. COHEN: May I put it this way. The future executive body as now selected will number fifteen but will not necessarily include every Vice-President but may include a certain number of them. In the case of Great Britain we have suggested two names who, we think will be of great service to you, and we ask you to put them on the Executive Committee.

MR. McCLATCHY: Our present Constitution does not provide that members of the Executive Committee shall be chosen from the Vice-presidents.

MR. COHEN: Oh, yes, it does.

MR. McCLATCHY: That is different.

(The amendment was seconded and carried.)

MR. COHEN: The following is a list of nominations to be presented to the Congress with the recommendation that they be elected officers of the Congress to hold office from the time of election until the next regular election. I will ask the Secretary to please read the names.

THE SECRETARY:

For President: Walter Williams of the United States of America.

For Secretary-Treasurer: James Wright Brown of the United States of America.

For members of the Governing Committee:

E. F. Lawson, of England

K. Sugimura, of Japan

Edouard Chapuisat, of Switzerland

V. R. Beteta, of Guatemala

Robert Bell, of New Zealand

Ludvig Saxe, of Norway

Thales Coutoupis, of Greece

Hollington K. Tong, of China

Oswald Mayrand, of Canada  
F. Horace Rose, of South Africa  
Sebastiao Sampaio, of South America  
Guy Innes, of Australia

For Vice-Presidents the following:

Argentina: Ezequiel Paz and Dr. Jorge Mitre  
Australia: Keith Murdoch and H. A. Davies  
Brazil: Jose Carlos Rodriguez and Felix Pacheco  
Belgium: Edouard J. C. Fonteyne  
Canada: Walter Nichol and Oswald Mayrand  
Chile: Augustin Edwards and Dr. Carlos Silva Vildosola  
China: Hin Wong and Sze Liang Zay  
Colombia: Enrique Lievano and Ismael E. Arciniegas  
Costa Rica: Luis Cruz Meza and Guillermo Vargas Calvo  
Cuba: Agustin Lazo and Jose del Rivero  
Denmark: Kristian Dahl and J. Borgbjerg  
Dominican Republic: Arturo Pellerano Alfau and Conrado Sanchez  
Ecuador: Leonidas Pallares Arteta and Cesar Borja Cordero  
France: Philippe Millet and Stephane Lauzanne  
Great Britain: Sir Campbell Stuart and Sir William Davies  
Greece: Thales Coutoupis  
Guatemala: V. R. Beteta  
Holland: D. Hans and Dr. G. G. van der Hoeven  
Honduras: Troylan Turcios and Paulina Valladares  
Hongkong: T. Petrie  
India: Sir S. Banerjee and R. N. Vatchaghandy  
Ireland: J. F. Charlessen and W. T. Brewster  
Italy: M. Borsa and Olinda Malagod  
Japan: K. Sugimura and M. Zumoto  
Korea: Henry Chung and Dong Sung Kim  
Mexico: Rafael Alducin and Felix E. Palavicini  
New Zealand: Robert Bell and Cecil W. Leys  
Nicaragua: Daniel Maldonado and Juan Ramon Aviles  
Norway: Ludvig Saxe  
Panama: Guillermo Andreve and Guillermo Colunje  
Paraguay: Dr. Enrique Bordenave and Dr. Carlos Luis Isasi  
Peru: Oscar Miro Quezada and Luis Fernan Cisneros  
Philippine Islands: Gregorio Nieva and Conrado Benitez  
Porto Rico: Manuel Fernandez and Jose Elias Levis  
Portugal: Alfreda de Mesquita and Dr. Julio Dantas  
Salvador: Ramon Mayorga Rivas and Francisco Gavidian  
South Africa: F. Horace Rose  
Spain: Rufino Blanco and E. Gomez Baquero  
Switzerland: H. Schoop and Edouard Chapuisat  
Turkey: Mihran Nacachian and Vertanes Mardigian  
United States: Frank P. Glass and Gardiner Kline

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Uruguay: Jose Batle Ordonez and Dr. Juan Andres Ramirez  
Venezuela: Laureano Vallenille Lanz and Andre Mata

MR. COHEN: You will notice in one or two places a single name has been put forward and the understanding is, that the person so named shall put forward the name of someone in his country for the other vice-presidency; and that those who have not had time to send confirmative replies or in the negative will be regarded as accepting.

With these two exceptions I beg to move the adoption of the report in its entirety.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that the Secretary of this Congress be authorized to cast a vote of the entire body for this list of nominations for the various offices.

THE SECRETARY: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I wish to announce that I have cast the ballot, and the result is as I have just read here.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion to adopt is carried by acclamation.

I have here one more resolution, proposed by Mr. Glass, which I will ask the Secretary to read.

THE SECRETARY:

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has called a Conference of representatives of the principal nations of the world to assemble in the city of Washington on November 11th, and

WHEREAS, the purpose of this Conference is to consider the best ways and means of reducing armaments and of laying foundations for a general and permanent peace throughout the world, so that all peoples may be relieved of oppressive taxation and may have the opportunity to develop their highest qualities of blood and spirit,

*Now, Therefore be it Resolved* by this body of forward-looking journalists that we commend heartily this great vision of world harmony; that we express the deepest sympathy with the purposes of the Conference; that we entertain the most earnest hope that wise and practicable policies may be matured by that great body of strong men; that we have an abiding faith that the time is ripe for a substantial step forward in securing the world's welfare, and

*Be it Further Resolved*: That, as a league of journalists, conscious of a world outlook at this strategic point in the great Pacific, we pledge ourselves to sustain and support the work of the Disarmament Conference in every deserved and practicable way, to the end that public opinion in all countries may ensure success for all decisions and undertakings that look to the attainment of world peace.

MR. GLASS: I move the adoption of that resolution.

COLONEL LAWSON: I have pleasure in seconding the motion.

(The resolution was unanimously carried.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I now desire to appoint a Committee to notify Dr. Williams of his re-election to this important position, and to ask him into the room—to bring him into the room—and let him make such remarks as he may see fit to make. I appoint Colonel Lawson, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Tong as a committee. You will please proceed to find Dr. Williams and bring him here forthwith.

(The committee appointed found Dr. Williams and led him into the hall, to the singing of "He's a Jolly Good Fellow.")

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I have very great pleasure in presenting to this body its new President, but never its old one, Dr. Williams.

MR. WILLIAMS: I deeply appreciate, friends of mine, the high honor that you have paid me. I fear that I cannot trust myself to put into words that which my heart would suggest of gratitude and appreciation. You have given me far more honor than I merit and entrusted me with a position which I very much fear I will not be able to fill as acceptably as I would hope to fill it for your sake and mine.

The success of these Congress sessions and of the preparations therefor has been due to the helpfulness of journalists everywhere and in particular the success of this meeting has been due to the men and women of Hawaii who have given us such a cordial reception, and to your tolerance and patience and sympathy with the presiding officer. He could not help but do fairly well however feeble his efforts might be, when he had you to preside over, mild mannered, kindly disposed and eager to help as you have always been.

We have had a great session. The tone and spirit of the papers that have been read and the addresses that have been delivered, and in particular the fine fraternal relationship established between journalists of various lands have, I believe, made this a most notable assembly of the world's press. We have builded well a foundation unto the future good of journalism and through journalism to the good of mankind.

The resolutions that you passed this morning offered the framework and the foundation for an edifice out of which may

come much of good to journalism and humanity, but the building of that edifice depends not upon me, to whom you have entrusted in your mistaken kindness of heart the Presidency for another term, but the building of that edifice rests upon you, and you, and you (indicating) in every country represented here and in those countries which should be represented in like Congresses. We can only succeed when we are united, earnest and active, in the support of this great movement.

Journalism may be seen in various manifestations throughout the world, just as we see in tropical countries where there are no seasons, fields that show the seeding side by side with fields that show the harvesting, and fields where planting is being done side by side with fields where the fruit is being gathered. So as we survey the world's journalism, we may see in some places the beginnings of journalism; in other places, it coming to a finer fruitage, and yet others where the harvesting is more nearly to be attained. But one may not say to the other that journalism is not being well done there. We may, I think, say with sympathy and hope to the journalism of any land that those of other lands where journalism has progressed farther to freedom and a longer distance toward better conditions, that we should all stand together, bound up in the bundle of the world's life, and, that, I think is one of the purposes of the Press Congress.

At one time, in the master city of the world, there stood a great and golden vase. It stood in the very center of the city and each evening as the sun went down, the toilers in that city came by that great and golden vase and placed within it the offerings of the people, and the next morning when the day dawned and the sun's first roseate streaks ran along the sky, the high priest of the city came unto that great and golden vase and took from out it the offerings of the people, reading aloud the legend writ upon the vase, and this is what he read:

'From each according to his ability  
Unto each according to his need.'

And each day the high priest took the offerings of the people and distributed them to the city's life and beauty and to the common good. The blessing of the gods was on the city, from the temple altar e'en down to the great and gloomy walls and yet be-



PRELIMINARY SESSION OF CONGRESS ON BOARD MATSON NAVIGATION COMPANY STEAMSHIP "ALYSSONIA."





yond to the fair and fertile fields on which that city stood, as all cities stand, on the fair and fertile fields beyond the city gates. And the blessings came and never went until one day the custom failed. Each man toiled as hard as yesterday but all that he had he kept for his own selfish use, and shrivelled in his heart as he kept it for himself, and today, this glorious October day, if you would go to that one-time master city of the world you would find that bats rear their noisome brood within the market place; the great and gloomy walls are there no more; the temple altar has fallen into ruin and there is not a soul left to do the city reverence.

This is a symbol as I understand it, of the high mission of journalism, a profession which seeks to take from every man his thought and opinion and aid, according to his ability, and distribute it throughout the world unto every man according to his need. And in this community and everywhere where that lesson and legend is forgotten, then, as the civilization of yesterday reached its summit and went down again in ruins, what we call our civilization of today comes to the summit and goes down again.

And that, it seems to me, friends of mine, sums up the purpose of a Press Congress of the World, representing the profession of journalism throughout the world. Considering all the responsibility that you have again placed in my hands I am grateful personally to each one of you for your kindly consideration at this session; and, hoping to do such service in the future as may be within my power in your behalf and in behalf of the cause which to all of us is dear, the profession of journalism, I am happy to accept again the honor that you have conferred upon me. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The ninth resolution was laid over from this morning until this afternoon for presentation. Is the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee ready to present it at this time?

COLONEL LAWSON: Since that resolution was prepared I understand there probably will be a further meeting of the Congress and, if it is your wish, I suggest that the resolution be presented at the final meeting of the Congress.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is my understanding, that there will be a brief meeting at some hour to be designated by the Ex-

ecutive Committee or the President, probably the morning of the first of November, at which final resolutions will be adopted, the meeting being for no other purpose than that. If there is no objection this resolution will be held over for consideration at that time.

Does any delegate wish to bring up the matter of the next meeting place? If not, under the Constitution it goes to the Executive Committee.

MR. HODGES: I move that no preferential vote be taken but that the matter be left entirely to the Executive Committee.

MR. HERRICK: I second that motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is carried unanimously.

MR. BROWN: I should very greatly appreciate the opportunity at this time of expressing my personal thanks to the Congress for the high honor they have conferred upon me. I feel very deeply that honor. I may say that while there has been that spirit of self-sacrifice, that these ideals have uplifted me and will place this Congress on a higher plane than any I have previously attended. The spirit of accommodation, the spirit of good-will, the spirit of co-operation have been so much in evidence here on the part of the delegates from so many different lands. I wish that we at this particular time would pledge ourselves, each and every delegate,—and I hesitate to even give thought or expression at this time to this idea, but this Congress is outstanding in my mind as the one Congress that has not been stamped all over with the dollar mark. We have discussed here questions of public service and I hesitate to sound a note of dollar interest, but it does seem to me that we are not going to achieve our object, that we are not going to be able to benefit in the largest possible measure, unless each personal delegate feels it his personal duty to co-operate with the officers providing the means for the larger activities, the machinery for which has been provided today.

If it is in order, Mr. President, I should like to ask every delegate to stand on his feet and promise to keep strongly and persistently after new members in his individual country.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will ask all delegates and guests who will pledge with themselves in their respective countries to do everything possible to carry out the resolutions adopted this morning, to rise.

It is unanimous.

MR. McCLATCHY: May I suggest in line with the remarks of Mr. Brown that I think it might be well to send out a blank to each particular representative of the Congress before he departs from Honolulu,—two blank subscription forms that they might indicate thereon their subscriptions as individual members and also if so disposed their subscriptions on the part of the paper they represent, for corporate membership.

THE CHAIRMAN: The suggestion of Mr. McClatchy will be referred to the Executive Committee for action and I presume will be acted upon with promptness. There will be a dotted line on the blank and you will do what you are supposed to do on the dotted line.

The Chair announces that there will be a meeting of the new Executive Committee called within the next few hours of which due notice to the members of the Executive Committee will be given.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we have come to the close of the formal sessions except the brief final session of this second Congress of the World's Press.

I think it would be entirely proper, as the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii said the opening word of the sessions of the Congress to have him say a word at this closing session of the Congress, the Chair reserving always the right to say a word after the Governor finishes.

GOVERNOR FARRINGTON: Mr. President, and Fellow Delegates of the Press Congress of the World: I made it a special point to come out here this afternoon in order that I might participate in some of the active duties of this Congress, but I had no idea I was to participate in this manner in giving you a final word, not the final word but the final word previous to the last word of the President.

I deeply regret that it has been impossible for me to be with you here at your regular daily sessions. I like Congresses of this character; I like conventions of this character.

As your newly-elected President was speaking to you on his acceptance of the duties for another term, I noticed that he used the word frequently "journalist." Now you know I have always been in the rough and tumble of newspaper life and I am glad to

have somebody come along once in a while and dignify my profession a little more than I do myself, because in my newspaper work, in my activities from a reporter to business manager, no sooner has one day's work been finished than I wonder what we are going to do for the next. It is either a story or the program for the paper or an endeavor to find the necessary dollar whereby we might be fed and clothed for another day.

This is the first opportunity I have had of looking upon a body of journalists from the standpoint of official position, and I assure you, gentlemen, that I have enjoyed it, not because I am pleased to be sort of set apart from you for a time being, but I am glad to get the new point of view. Out in my back yard is a fig tree which has given me a number of valuable lessons on points of view. At various times of the year it bears fruit and I go and pick it until I think the tree is entirely harvested from fruit; then I get up into the tree and see there is more there and it has been a lesson to me.

So I am pleased to have a new point of view of journalism, newspaper writers and the men who furnish the wherewithal of the profession.

I have failed to tell you I think of how this thing started so far as Honolulu is concerned, and I think you ought to know, because possibly it is typical of journalistic enterprise. It is not a long story nor an ornamental story, I know, and there is nothing particularly exciting about it. But as I was sitting in my office of the Star-Bulletin one day, Mr. Thurston came in with a clipping in his hand and he said, "Mr. Farrington, do you know Walter Williams?" I said, "I do." "Well," he said, "Here is a clipping from the Editor and Publisher which says that the people of Sydney have given up the Press Congress of the World and it seems to me that we ought to get that Press Congress for Honolulu." I said, "All right, let's get it." He said: "I don't know Dean Williams and I understand that you do and I wish that you would join with me and see if we cannot work out some sort of scheme whereby we can extend an invitation to the Press Congress of the World so that they shall come here." I said, "All right, anything I can do I am willing to do." So we got up a telegram there and then and sent it to Dr. Williams inviting him in the name of the Territory to

bring his Press Congress of the World to Honolulu. In the course of our shaping up of that telegram, we enlisted the name and effort of Alexander Hume Ford, who has to do with most anything that circles around the Pacific, and through Mr. Ford we enlisted the then Governor of the Territory, Governor McCarthy, and we sent on this telegram. Mr. Williams responded very favorably, communicating that it would be appropriate for the Congress to have some money in order to guarantee meeting here. So Mr. Ford, Mr. Thurston and myself wondered if we could guarantee that money. Mr. Ford said he would be ready with his \$5,000, Mr. Thurston said he would guarantee his \$5,000 and then and there the thing was settled. I have sometimes thought that some newspaper enterprises have started on faith just as that did, but of course we knew with whom we were dealing as far as our community was concerned, and from that time on the enterprise grew, and it has been a pleasure to be associated with that enterprise in various capacities. You are not going to leave us right now, you are going to have a further session in connection with the Pan-Pacific Congress tomorrow.

I have followed through the newspapers the papers read and resolutions passed by this Congress, and I am very sure that the expectations of those who have felt that this Congress would have some definite beneficial influence on that Congress which is to be assembled in Washington next month, those who expected much from this Congress, have by no means been disappointed.

I am gratified to be here with you on the closing session and since Dean Williams is to have the last word I will not hold you longer. (Applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: If the Governor of Hawaii gets inspiration and suggestion by climbing a fig tree in his back yard and picking the fruit therefrom, I tremble to think what would be the consequences to Hawaii if that was a cocoanut palm and that only in that way he could get such interesting and valuable suggestions as he has presented to us this afternoon. I am also pleased to know that he acknowledges in public that he knows me.

His incidental suggestion with regard to the use of the word journalist permits me to say there is no other general term that

applies in all countries as the word journalist does. In one country it means the man that keeps the press and runs the machinery, and something else in another country. Journalist gives the suggestion of dignity. I also have recently become a journalist. I was a newspaperman before I associated with the Press Congress, and I am pleased to have that word for use as it adds dignity to the profession.

We are happy to have the closing word of Governor Farrington at this session and also happy to know that we are to remain in Honolulu under his jurisdiction for some days longer, to our great enjoyment.

Is there any further business to come before the Congress? Let me say then once more, let me emphasize once more, the high value which I think has been achieved by the sessions of the Congress, the tone and spirit of the papers and addresses and the movements that have been begun.

The Congress is adjourned.

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TENTH SESSION.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1921.

The Congress was called to order at ten o'clock a. m. by President Williams.

THE CHAIRMAN: American delegates to the Congress have signed a statement in reference to conditions in the Territory of Hawaii, and the obligations of the American Government as they see them, with respect to these conditions. I will read the paper signed by the American delegates:

We, the American Delegates to the Press Congress of the World, now in session at Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, after a sojourn in Hawaii of three weeks, during which time we have visited the three principal islands of the group, and had opportunity to observe all phases of life in this Territory—social, educational, political, agricultural and mercantile—have noted the facts hereunder set forth, which, in our opinion, vitally affect American interests, and we desire, therefore, to place ourselves on record concerning the same, as follows:

1. We find that the predominating spirit and controlling influence in these Islands is overwhelmingly American.

That we are strongly of the opinion that, not only from American viewpoint, but from that of the perpetuation of orderly government and the peace of the world—more particularly that of the Pacific regions—



this status should be sustained, maintained, and extended, in every legitimate, practicable manner.

2. We find that growing out of conditions incident to the war, there is an abnormal shortage in the number of agricultural laborers in the Hawaiian Islands, by virtue of which every principal industry upon the maintenance of which American dominance depends, is endangered.

That it is our earnest belief that the conditions now prevalent justify and require the enactment of the measure now pending before Congress, relating to immigration of laborers to Hawaii, under the direct control of the President and the Secretary of Labor, or some measure affording similar relief, if American supremacy in Hawaii is to be successfully and normally maintained.

3. We find that in respect to every obligation incident to statehood, imposed by law, such as payment of federal taxes, customs and internal revenues, subjection to military draft laws and all other laws applying generally to the several States, Hawaii is included.

That during the war, government officials and civil organizations of the mainland treated Hawaii as being upon the same plane of obligation with the States of the Union, to make pro rata subscriptions to Liberty Bonds, Postal Savings Stamps, the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Relief of Europe, and every other patriotic and philanthropic appeal for money and service.

That such appeals were fully and loyally responded to by the people of the Hawaii, they going "over the top" in every instance, well up in the lead in percentage of excess over the quota assigned and in promptness of response.

That notwithstanding this continuous policy of assigning obligations and imposing burdens, upon a basis pro rata with that of the several States of the Union, Congress and Departments of Government at Washington, have been, and still are systematically and persistently excluding Hawaii from participation in the benefits under appropriation bills which provide for payment pro rata to all the States; such, for example, as appropriations for roads, for education, and all other bills of a similar general character.

That, in our opinion, this policy is unjust and inequitable, and should be changed so that Hawaii, shall be permitted to share in the privileges and benefits incident to its connection with the American Union, upon the same basis that it bears the burdens and is subject to the obligations incident thereto.

As this meeting this morning is merely for the adoption of resolutions, and as many of the delegates have already gone to their homes, and furthermore, as this is a domestic question and not a world question, and still furthermore, because it deals with questions other than that purely concerning journalism, the paper having been signed by the American delegates, will be placed in

the record book of the Congress and the Secretary will be instructed to make note of it as representing the views of the American delegates here to such authorities as it should properly go.

MR. DOTSON: I wish to inquire whether it was your intention to convey that it had been signed by all the American delegates as representing their sentiments.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, only of those who signed it.

MRS. WARREN: Some of us have not had any opportunity to sign it.

THE CHAIRMAN: They will have an opportunity to sign later.

Next in order is the report of the Committee on Resolutions, to be presented by Mr. Frank P. Glass, the Vice-Chairman of the Committee.

MR. GLASS: Mr. President and members of the Press Congress, I beg first to offer the following:

*Resolved*, That the delegates to the Press Congress of the World, assembled in formal session at Honolulu this first day of November 1921, do hereby make grateful acknowledgment of two beautiful gifts of silver from the Prime Minister and Acting Minister of Finance of China, presented by Mr. Hollington K. Tong, of Peking.

*Resolved further*, That, with deep appreciation of the spirit of world fellowship in which these gifts were made, they be accepted by this Congress, to be retained in the perpetual possession of its officers as reminders throughout the years to come of the greatness and goodness of China.

*Resolved further*, That a copy of this resolution be incorporated in the record of this day's proceedings, that the Secretary be directed to transmit copies to the Prime Minister and Acting Minister of Finance of the Chinese Government, and that the President of the Congress be requested to convey to them in person at his first convenience the thanks of this body.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

MR. GLASS: I have the privilege for the Committee on Resolutions to offer the following:

*Resolved*, That it is the wish of the Press Congress of the World to make permanent record of its heartfelt gratitude for the many kindnesses and constant attention its delegates have received at the hands of the people of Honolulu, the seat of the Congress of 1921, and of all the Hawaiian Islands. The Congress deeply appreciates its welcome. Through the courtesy and daily exertion of the people of these Islands, it has been possible to hold the present sessions under the most enjoyable conditions. The hospitality extended to the delegates has been most cordial, spontaneous and delightful.

*Resolved*, That at this final session of the Press Congress of the World, in Honolulu, November 1, 1921, the delegates here assembled desire to express their deep appreciation of the tireless efforts of L. A. Thurston, chairman of the local entertainment committee, and his associates, to make their visit in Hawaii in every way delightful.

*Resolved*, Further, that while appreciating the extent to which all the people of the Territory of Hawaii have combined their efforts to make pleasant and profitable the stay of the Congress delegates in their Islands, it is desired especially to express appreciation for the great kindnesses shown by the Hawaiian Islands Committee, the Honolulu Press Club, the Honolulu Ad Club, the Oahu Country Club, the Pan Pacific Union, the Honolulu Automobile Club, the Hawaiian Patriotic Societies, the Outrigger Canoe Club, the Hawaiian Pineapple Packers' Association, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, the Chambers of Commerce of the Islands of Hawaii and Maui, and the United States Army and Navy.

Mr. President, it gives me unusual pleasure to move the adoption of these resolutions. I don't think it necessary to attempt anything like an elaboration of them or emphasis upon them. But I believe I speak the heart, as well as the mind, of every delegate present, when I say, that the few weeks spent in these Islands have been one of the most delightful episodes of our lives. We do not believe that anything in the way or method of our entertainment and for our pleasure could have been advanced to a greater degree. (Applause.) I am sure that everyone of us will treasure during the rest of our lives the acquaintance and the charm of the people of these islands; that we will understand sympathetically their trials and troubles and problems; that we will go back to our several States on the mainland and to our several countries throughout the world, watchful, always sympathetic with the laudable and progressive aspirations of this remarkable people, this extraordinary aggregation of the great races of the world, who are working out unusual problems in the most efficient and harmonious way.

I move the adoption of these resolutions.

MR. J. P. HERRICK, NEW YORK: I second the motion.

MR. COUTOUPIS: I would like to add a few words to what Mr. Glass has said. I would like to express my thanks for the hospitality shown from the officials down to the people. I suppose that none of us will forget in this life the pleasant and delightful time we have had in these islands; the Hawaiian Islands and the Hawaiian people, will, I am sure, be always in our minds.

MR. KESSELL, of AUSTRALIA: Mr. President, Fellow Members of the Congress: It would ill-become an Australian to allow a resolution such as that so ably moved by Mr. Glass to pass without comment from Australia, and on behalf of the Australian delegates, I would like to say how very deeply we appreciate the wonderful kindness of the residents of Honolulu during our stay here.

In my opinion the residents of Hawaii have discovered the secret of perpetual motion. Ever since I have been here I have been on the move from early morning till noon and from noon until evening. Everything that could be done has been done to make the stay of the delegates a pleasant one. We came hearing a lot about the Paradise of the Pacific, but we have been more than surprised by what has been done. Somebody has said that Australia was the "Kohinoor" of the British Crown. Well, I will say that if this is the Paradise of the Pacific, Australia is the Pearl of the Pacific and the white pearl at that. We are immensely proud of our country; we believe that we are a hospitable people, but having seen the hospitality of the Paradise of the Pacific, it makes me wonder if, when you hold a Congress in Australia, we shall be able to hold a candle to the one held here. You have given us an opportunity of seeing the whole of the interests of this Island, and as far as I am personally concerned, what impressed me most, apart from your activities in a commercial sense, has been the military and naval spectacles. Of course, I would not display the bad taste to touch on domestic matters. I am Australian and you are members of the United States. But I heard a gentleman say during the military review that apparently America trusts in God and keeps her powder dry, and Saturday, at the Naval review, if I so far forgot myself as to give advice, I would say: "Trust in God and keep your oil tanks full."

I will say this, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, that we in Australia watch with tremendous interest the problems with which you are so ably dealing. You and we are one. We feel that more than ever now since we have met you and got to know you. We feel that your interests and ours are identical. We feel that what you are doing is making Australia wonderfully safe, and, as an Australian, I give you greetings from the

Pearl of the Pacific. I trust that some day you will come across, every one of you, and see what our country is like. We have our wonders, we have our beauties, but above all, we have our hearts that beat for America. When you come to us, just as you have received us as members of the great race, so when you come to Australia we will hold out the hand of fellowship; we will take you to our hearts and we will discuss with you as abundantly as you have done with us some of our domestic troubles, that you may help us. I cannot use the Hawaiian term which is filled with beauty, but will say to you at this, our farewell meeting, on behalf of the Australian delegates,—I say goodbye to you in the good old sense of the term, God be with you, and I am sure in our hearts we will never forget what has been done for us, and I would like the residents of Hawaii to take from me on behalf of the Australian delegates our heartfelt thanks for the wonderful entertainment given us.

MR. HIN WONG: Mr. President, Members of the Press Congress: In supporting the resolution expressing the appreciation of the Congress for the kindness shown by the people of Hawaii, I would like to say that Hawaii is truly a Paradise, as she has no racial prejudice and offers opportunity to all who come to her. On behalf of the Chinese delegation, I wish to express not only the appreciation for the entertainments offered them during the sessions of the Congress, but also for the kind treatment the people of Hawaii have always extended to the Chinese, visiting or residents. I wish the world to know through the journalists from all parts that, while the Chinese at home have to work hard in order to send their children abroad to receive a college education, Chinese boys and girls are able to get their higher education here free, like the rest of the people in Hawaii. I wish those who have the good of the Chinese at heart would encourage some Hawaiian Chinese young men and women to return to China with their training, as we need them in China, or do something for the people in the land of their parents. If other countries and communities will only treat the Chinese as well as Hawaii does, there will be no difficulty or racial problems, as Hawaii has had no difficulty with the Chinese. I am sure the Chinese do appreciate the good that is being done for their people in Hawaii, and they will return thanks by promoting peace at home and for the world.

MR. BETETA: May I say a few words, Mr. President, on behalf of the Spanish Press Association? This Press Congress, I think, has accomplished a great success. And we members of the Press Congress have enjoyed one of the most wonderful times of our lives.

The Press Congress at this session has remarked the fact in the first place that journalists from every part of the world desire to work for peace. It is interesting to note this is a unanimous movement on the part of journalists, who are the best representatives of public opinion, to work for the future peace of the world and to have selected as one of the best means for it the construction of a League of Journalists. From its present meeting, our institution will grow up more and more and through the League of Journalists will grow each day better able to enforce the ideas of human peace. We could not have chosen a better place for the foundation of these ideas of peace through the public understanding among the peoples of the earth, than Honolulu. We have laid this foundation in the very heart of the most cosmopolitan people of the world. One of the most impressive events of our entertainment in the islands, to my mind, were the words pronounced by the little girl at the Japanese Theatre in Hilo, when that little girl told us "I am only a little girl, but I will make you a little speech." That little girl, born in Honolulu, or shall I say in the Hawaiian Islands, from Japanese ancestors, educated in the American Spirit, willing to be an American, and feeling herself facing the big problems which is the racial problem of this country,—the impressive words of that little girl are in themselves a big lesson and of the best impulse to move the spirit on which the ideas of this Press Congress is constructed. There is no reason for all men, all inhabitants of the world having to confront big problems of country, because of having been born in one particular place or another. This little girl is the best lesson in the construction of our ideas.

So far as the entertainment is concerned, we have enjoyed here, let me say, hospitality and kindnesses, so well expressed by the words of the resolution, that I will only add that I brought with me the invitation of Spain to hold there our next meeting. I have had the honor to present it on behalf of the City of Seville,

and so wonderful have been the demonstrations given to us by the people of the Hawaiian Islands, by its authorities, by every institution of Honolulu, and by its people, that I am really afraid if my invitation would be accepted, I do not know how we, the Spanish speaking peoples, could hope to surpass this entertainment, but I will say that we will do nearly as well.

MR. LUDVIG SAXE: Mr. President, allow me to say that I expected very much from this meeting of the Congress, and from the stay here in Honolulu, but I consider everything has been beyond my expectations. I have travelled half way around the world to come here, but if it had been necessary to have gone all around the world, it would have been worth while. I think it is something wonderful the way the people of Hawaii have entertained us, and I just wish to express my most cordial thanks.

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of the adoption of the resolution of thanks, as presented by Acting Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Glass, will make it known by rising.

The resolution is unanimously adopted.

I have now the privilege of presenting to you your new Secretary-Treasurer, who has some important announcements to read into the record, and for you to hear. May I not say to you that, in my opinion, the Press Congress of the World accomplished a desirable work when it persuaded Mr. James Wright Brown, of the Editor and Publisher, of New York City, to serve in this important position, on which so much of the future of the Press Congress depends. You could not have improved upon him, even had you elected all of yourselves to take the position that he is to occupy. (Applause.)

MR. BROWN: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Congress: I very deeply appreciate the high honor that you have conferred upon me. You have opened the door to a larger opportunity of service and that is the animating purpose, my animating purpose, in accepting this task, for verily it is a task. If we are to carry forward in the future as aggressively, and let us hope more aggressively, the work of cementing the bonds of friendship as between journalists throughout the world, then it must be a real task, a task of consecrated, devoted service on the part of every member of the Congress. I would like to have

every member of the Congress feel that he has a personal representative in New York City, who is at all times at your service, willing to make any sacrifice of time to be helpful to you and helpful in promoting the spirit of journalistic world fraternity. It is worth any sacrifice of time and money to come to know such men as we have come to know here in this Congress, newspaper men and journalists, men like Cohen, Kessell, Davies from Australia, Coutoupis of Greece, Beteta of Latin America, all these outstanding journalists, men animated by lofty ideals, and I for one feel that we have marched along the highway a great distance in this Congress, that many obstacles have been eliminated here and that we will go forward to new accomplishments and to greater performances.

I thank you most sincerely, Mr. President and Delegates, for your kindness and courtesy to me, and I should like to have you feel that I am at all times at your service.

The President has appointed some important committees. As Chairman of the Committee on Communications: Col. Edward Frederick Lawson, of the London Daily Telegraph, London, England. As Chairman of the Committee to Study the Present Conditions, Extent and Methods of the Chinese and Korean Press Services, with a view to recommending means of improvement, if necessary, he has named Mr. Frank P. Glass, of the United States. As members of the Executive Committee, the Governing Committee has named the following, through the power of substitution given to the Committee by this Congress: K. Sugimura of Japan, Virgilio R. Beteta, of Guatemala, Gardiner Kline, of the United States, Oswald Mayrand of Canada, and E. F. Lawson of England. The President and Secretary-Treasurer are ex-officio members of the Executive Committee. He has also named a committee to draft a reply to President Harding, consisting of Messrs. James Wright Brown of New York, Secretary-Treasurer; Guy Innes of Melbourne, Australia, and Virgilio Rodriguez Beteta of Guatemala.

I think I should take advantage of this opportunity, if I may, Mr. President, to emphasize the needs of carrying forward the new financial system which this Congress has inaugurated. As you know, the dues of individual members have been fixed at five dollars per year; newspapers may join at fifty dollars a year, and



sustaining members may contribute any sum desired. I think most of the delegates in the room have already paid the Secretary-Treasurer their dues for 1922. As you know, present membership covers the year 1921, and the remittance you have made covers the dues for 1922. Dues are on the calendar year basis. If there are any who have not paid, I do hope that they will see the Secretary-Treasurer before they leave, and let us leave Honolulu with a one hundred per cent result of paid-in-advance dues and this I assure you will be the aim of the Treasurer to maintain.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, We have come to the close of the sessions of the Press Congress of the World in Hawaii. It has been a most wonderful meeting in every way, more than two hundred representatives from eighteen nations have registered during the sessions of the Congress their personal attendance. Economic conditions and the disarmament conference at Washington have to a degree interfered with the size of the attendance, but those of you who are here will, I am confident, agree with the Chair in its conclusion that nothing has interfered with the quality of the delegates that have attended or with the representative character of the Congress itself.

The resolutions that you have passed paid a tribute to the hospitality, the marvelous hospitality, of the Territorial Government and the people of these Islands. It may not be beyond the propriety of the occasion for the Chair to add on his behalf, and he thinks also on behalf of the Press Congress, a special word of appreciation to the Honorable Wallace R. Farrington, Governor of the Territory of Hawaii, the Chairman of the Committee; Mr. L. A. Thurston, an intellectual giant and a master of organization, Chairman of the Committee on Entertainment; Mr. Alexander Hume Ford, the dynamic force of the Pan-Pacific Union, and also Mr. L. W. de vis Norton, the efficient Executive Secretary, as well as to the various members of the Committees here assembled, for our hospitable reception and their great and thoughtful consideration unto us. May it not also be added that nowhere could the Congress have received more generous treatment; its deliberations, discussions and addresses more faithfully reported than has been reported in the newspapers in the City of Honolulu. (Applause.) It is to me as a journalist a source of pride in the profession of which I am a member, that we have here in this

remarkable city newspapers that are so fair and enterprising and aggressive, and at the same time hold to the high standard that should characterize the profession of journalism everywhere. One cannot mention the various individuals, much as all of us would like to mention individuals who have contributed so much to our happy stay and to the profit of this Congress. The reception that we have received, the greeting that we have had, and the aid given to us here has not been confined to any race or any nationality or any group, but has been spontaneous, general and widespread. The American sentiment that has been dominant has been aided in its expression of hospitality by the Japanese, Koreans, Chinese, and every other racial line represented in these Islands. There has been a systematic effort to express a fine sentiment of hospitality and gratitude to the visitors. We may not have entered the kingdom of friendship as yet, nor become members of a democracy of human brotherhood, but surely the gates into the kingdom of friendship and the doors of the brotherhood of democracy have been opened wider and swing easier in this Paradise of the Pacific than in any other community.

The Congress has accomplished some notable results. First, it seems to me, in its results, has been an added acquaintanceship with the Pacific Ocean questions; a larger knowledge of the situation as it exists on the blue waters of this great ocean, and hereafter, whatever else may be true of the delegates to this Congress, they will no longer have closed eyes or shuttered minds when it comes to the consideration of the great questions which are to be solved, if solved at all, in this laboratory of human races here on the Pacific.

The Pan-Pacific Press Conference, left as a legacy to the countries bordering on the Pacific, would of itself be a sufficient achievement. But that is not all. In the papers that have been read, in the addresses delivered, in the discussions that have followed, in the debates in the Congress (and particularly the debates outside) there have been considered questions of high import to the profession of journalism and of high concern to mankind. To ensure as far as compatible with the transaction of its business that members of the press should be admitted to sessions of the Washington Conference; to plan international communication so there should be lower rates charged for communication between conti-

nents and peoples; to continue the United States Naval Radio facilities for trans-oceanic news communications; to approve of methods for better journalistic education; to communicate with the proposed International Press Union in Belgium; to inquire into the present methods, conditions and extent of the Chinese foreign press service, with a view to recommending means for improvement, if necessary; to inquire into the present methods, condition and extent of the Korean foreign press service; to remove the vexatious restrictions on passports; to secure the establishment of permanent peace through making accessible to the press everywhere all avenues of information, that the world may be correctly and unreservedly informed on public matters; to permit the interchange of journalists; to work for a spirit of world fellowship; to establish and maintain an absolute freedom of the press everywhere and to lend our influence as far as may be in our respective spheres, to the laying aside of some at least of the weapons of warfare, that the world may turn more quickly to the practice of peace; these are substantial contributions of the World's Press Congress through the resolutions adopted, and adopted with unanimity.

We have set in motion forces that are hereafter to do more good than even we have in mind just now. The ad interim committees which have been named and which are to be named, which are to consider the interchange of journalists, the freedom of the press and other questions of high import, are to carry forward the work of this Congress until its next session. This alone, if nothing else had been accomplished, would again have marked this Press Congress of the World as of high value to journalists in every land. The Congress itself has been made permanent. The preliminary organization in San Francisco in 1915 has brought together this first session of another World Congress and here in Honolulu there has been established upon, it seems to me, a permanent basis, a Congress of the World's Press that means much for the uplifting of journalism and through journalism unto the high service of humanity.

Centuries ago, the written word tells us that after days of chaos in the then universe, the Lord said: "Let there be light, and there was light." It seems to me if we have faith in our own profession and if we understand what it means unto the

world today, that if some great Supreme Being said now "Let there be light," there would be journalism, for the light that journalism is to spread upon problems and peoples and policies and purposes is the light that is to shine more and more unto the perfect day, a living sun for every man, woman and child beneath the skies.

And so, with that high purpose, we come to the close of a wonderful session. If the Press Congress is to succeed, it is to succeed, not by individual effort of officers or members, but by that spirit of co-operation and comradeship that is characteristic of our own profession wherever journalists meet together the world around. It has been demonstrated in these sessions, it will be demonstrated more and more as the years pass, and it is through that spirit of co-operation that the Press Congress of tomorrow and the many morrows to follow is to do its greatest and best work. The individual whom you have honored with the presidency says this final word with his love and thanks to each of you for your kindness unto him personally. With appreciation and thanks to you all, and with a final word of challenge unto higher consecration unto a nobler service, he declares the Press Congress of the World in Hawaii adjourned.

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## V.

### MESSAGES TO THE CONGRESS.

Many messages were received at the Congress from associations of journalists and individual journalists throughout the world. Some of these messages are included in the proceedings and others follow:

*E. Lansing Ray, President and Editor, St. Louis Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri.*

Permit me, not only personally but for the entire staff of the Globe-Democrat, to wish the greatest success to the Press Congress of the World.

The Honorable Arthur M. Hyde, Governor of the Commonwealth of Missouri, paid me the high compliment of appointment as one of Missouri's representatives. It was with the sincerest regret that I felt compelled to advise him that I could not attend.

The Fourth Estate is the great guiding light of the world. Without it, there would be medieval darkness. In the troubled and serious times of the reconstruction period, following the calamitous World War, when nations and races are inclined to look askance at one another, what can be more fitting and offer greater promise of helpfulness than a meeting of this kind?

As a gathering of representatives from the four corners of the world, of the greatest force of civilization for good or evil, may you discuss the many and varied problems frankly and fairly and endeavor to come to a sincere and mutual understanding.

With the world press of the twentieth century united by a bond of common sympathy and a desire for mutual co-operation, steadfastly preaching truth and hopefulness, many of the threatening clouds will disappear. After all, men are of the same human flesh and blood, and only need the cementing influence of free and friendly intercourse to throw off the prejudices and passions of ignorance.

I feel sure that the press of all nations is watching your deliberations with the keenest expectancy of beneficial results of the greatest magnitude. May it not be disappointed.

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*Percy S. Bullen, President The Association of Foreign Press Correspondents, 66 Broadway, New York City.*

The Association of Foreign Press Correspondents in the United States, comprising sixty representatives of the leading journals of Europe, South America, and Japan, desire me to express their most sincere wishes for the success of your Congress.

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We believe that the delegates assembled in Honolulu will have a unique opportunity of promoting the best interests of the press, and through the press rendering service to mankind.

The members of the association had the honor of entertaining Colonel Lawson, the English delegates, also the American representatives to the Conference from New York and Brooklyn on the eve of their departure for San Francisco, and entrusted to them personally the pleasant duty of conveying to the Press Congress of the World a message of fraternal greeting and abundant good-will.

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*Dean Colin Dymont, College of Literature, Science and the Arts, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.*

May you have every good luck, and above all may you get something done!

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*Robert Bell, Christchurch Star, Christchurch, New Zealand.*

I sincerely regret my inability to be present with you today. During the intervening years since 1915 I have looked forward to attending the sessions of the next Congress, and now that the place and date has been fixed I find that my newspaper and other interests intervene to keep me at home. Especially do I regret not being able to be present, because I had the privilege to be one of those who drafted the constitution of the Congress and actually moved the resolution for its permanent establishment. But, if not present in the flesh, believe me I am with you in spirit and herewith send you my best wishes for a happy and successful gathering.

I have no doubt that this great and representative gathering of newspaper men from all parts of the world—the men who not only supply news but who form public opinion in their respective countries—will be conducive of great good. The interchange of opinions and ideas on national and international questions must result in better understanding of the problems which face the peoples of every part of the world of today. Members of the Fourth Estate are charged with a great responsibility, for the power of the press is a very real factor for good or ill, not only in the affairs of state, but in the everyday affairs of life. I look forward, therefore, with great hope to the benefits which will result from the deliberations of the Congress, not only to the members of the press who attend, but to the peoples of the countries whom they represent and whose voice they are.

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*Director H. F. Harrington, the Joseph Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, Chicago, Illinois.*

The Joseph Medill School of Journalism of Northwestern University sends hearty greetings to the delegates of the Press Congress of the World assembled in Honolulu.

If sympathetic understanding of the ideals, institutions, and daily life of kindred peoples is to be established in the world, it will come

through the sharing of correct information, as spread broadcast by the newspapers and periodicals.

You editorial brethren, who unleash the winged word in many lands, have in your keeping the education of a more intelligent breed of men and women. If you gentlemen think straight, if your sympathies are born of adequate knowledge, if you have an abiding faith in the good intent of neighboring peoples, the thousands, who read your publications, will also come into closer alliance of heart and mind.

The schools of journalism in the United States, which have to do with the training of tomorrow's reporters and editors, confidently believe that your deliberations will cement still more securely the bonds of mutual purpose.

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*Ezequiel V. Paz, Director of La Prensa, Buenos Aires, Argentina.*

I am very sorry indeed not to be able to assist at the meeting to be held in October at Honolulu; this is due to the manifold duties I have to comply with owing to the direction and management of this paper. However, I sincerely offer my heartfelt co-operation and moral support towards the useful finalities pursued by the Congress.

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*Cesar Riera Mares, Spanish poet, stenographer, author, Barcelona, Spain.*

I send a strong brotherly embracement for all companions of the Press Congress of the World.

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*J. D. Graham, Express and Star, Wolverhampton, England.*

The fact that I am prevented from being present at the Press Congress in Honolulu is a source of deep regret, because I realise the immense value of that assembly to all who are engaged in journalism. The Press Congress of the World is more than ever necessary at this critical period in history, when the closest scrutiny is being given to every system and to the whole of our international relationships in the light of ideals which are essential as the motive force of good government and ordered progress.

The first great service and one that ought to be rendered to the world in the name of those who nobly redeemed it from the menace of militarism is the promotion of international amity, peace and understanding, the fostering of conditions which will make it easier for the nations to work in unison for the betterment of the whole world. The Press Congress is a vital instrument to this great end.

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*L. A. Hodoroff, Russian journalist, Moscow.*

The coming meeting of the Press Congress of the World is undoubtedly an event of great importance and interest in our world of journalism. It is with utmost reluctance that I give up my intention to attend it. Otherwise, I certainly would try to fulfill your hope by preparing a speech on "Journalism in Russia," which would give an idea of what the subject suggests and contribute towards giving a better understanding of the true state of affairs in this much misrepresented country.

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*R. Mackenzie, Proprietor, Argyllshire Advertiser, Lochgilphead, Scotland.*

I wish the great Congress the loftiest success in every way and that it may result in a greater and nobler friendship to all concerned in the prosperity and glory of the world's press.

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*Rario Ribas de Cantruy, Editor of Revista Renacimiento, Tegucigalpa, Republic of Honduras, Central America.*

May I ask you to be so kind as to express to the Press Congress my deepest regrets for not being able to be present at Honolulu?

It would have afforded me an immense pleasure to be able to attend personally the sessions of the Congress, first because of the great interest and numberless charms that those poetic and hospitable islands with their unrivaled scenery offer to the stranger from distant lands; and then also because of the vast benefits that as a journalist I would most assuredly have received by coming into contact with what I will call "the brains of the world,"—for indeed, a gathering of four or five hundred of the world's best publicists does represent the brains of the world,— its brain and its heart. We cannot estimate to its full measure the importance of the press, as a world institution, unless we try for a moment to picture to ourselves in this century of light and progress, a world without newspapers, a world without printed news, without magazines, without press of any kind; then and only then, can we slightly grasp what the press really means to human-kind.

The press can cause wars; the press can prevent wars; the best league of nations would be a League of the World's Press which, extending its action beyond all frontiers, and with a fixed program in mind, would have as its chief aim the furtherance of human welfare and the gradually bringing about of the real, effective, durable brotherhood of men of all nations and creeds. This is why I am a strong believer in gatherings such as this where newspapermen from all countries come to meet together to discuss and exchange ideas and to strengthen the bonds of fraternal cordiality.

A great amount of good would be done to the world if these meetings could be held together more frequently; and if, as the most humble member of the Press Congress of the World, my voice can have any weight, I wish to raise it here and now to advocate a yearly meeting so that we may once a year come together to further a better understanding between the peoples of the world. Thus, through our mutual effort displayed collectively and with the same aim in view we will work together with enthusiasm and with faith in the performing of our sacred duty as guides of human thought and as builders of international amity.

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*G. Andreve, Director-proprietor, El Tiempo, Panama City, Panama.*

Owing to unfavorable circumstances it will be impossible for me to attend the meetings of the Congress. However this does not lessen my interest in its work nor does it prevent me from sending my friendliest greet-



ings to all its members and my best wishes that they may achieve a highly satisfactory work for the benefit of the press interests of the whole world.

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*H. M. Richardson, General Secretary, National Union of Journalists, 180 Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4.*

We trust that your deliberations will be harmonious and that, as a result of the coming together of representatives of the world's press, there will be a greater coming together of the nations of the world. We are quite sure that the exchange of views at close quarters between representatives of the newspapers of the different nationalities must lead to a better understanding between the different peoples.

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*Miss Bertha Gray Robinson, Editor, Observer, Orange, Virginia, U. S. A.*

I feel a deep interest in all the proceedings of the Congress, for I am confident that the deliberations of such a distinguished body, composed of commissioned delegates from every known country of the world, will redound to the greatest good to any and all of the countries therein represented. Though I am not present with you I shall have the meeting in mind and shall wish for each and every one not only an important business session but a delightful social gathering.

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*Miss Hedwig Bott, 421 W. 65th Place, Chicago, Illinois.*

I sincerely hope the conference will prove an auspicious one.

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*E. K. Gaylord, President, Oklahoma Publishing Co., Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.*

I earnestly hope that the Congress will be of very great importance and benefit to the editorial profession in general.

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*P. Selig, Christchurch Press, Christchurch, New Zealand.*

Wishing you a highly successful Congress, which I trust may be fraught with the best of results far-reaching in their effect.

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*Jens K. Grondahl, Editor, Red Wing Daily Republican, Red Wing, Minnesota.*

It is with deep regret, and because of circumstances over which I have no control, that I am unable to be present and participate in the deliberations of the Press Congress of the World as a representative of the National Editorial Association and of the State of Minnesota. I wish to extend my fraternal greetings to the members of the Congress, with my best wishes for results that will benefit journalism and the peoples throughout the earth.

At this critical time in the world's history, when the leading nations are about to make what seems an honest effort to lessen the chances of war and lessen the burdens of taxation by limiting armaments of war, the hour

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appears exceedingly opportune for the journalistic forces of the world, gathered at Honolulu, to exert their tremendous power, to promote the peace of the world and the brotherhood of man. Millions will watch the proceedings of the Press Congress of the World at Honolulu with the same interest that they will scan the progress of the Conference for the Limitation of Armaments and other world matters a little later on at Washington.

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*Dr. Frits Holm, 14 John Street, New York.*

By virtue of your united efforts, and under the life-giving sun of a hospitable Pacific archipelago, you are planting the seed which is still further to enhance the guiding influence and merited power of the press in all the lands of the globe—that influence which is ours, however, only as long as we, as journalists, remember, through vigilant observation, ceaseless study and struggle, and endless labor and toil, to serve nothing but the truth as based upon the facts before us in each and every individual case as it presents itself. May you all benefit by your important conferences and by your pleasant travels, and may the benefits, which you yourself glean, generously be passed on to mankind that you all serve in so responsible a capacity.

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*Richard Ivens, Editor, the Nottingham Guardian, Nottingham, England.*

I much regret that it will not be possible for me to attend the Press Congress of the World at Honolulu. I had made arrangements to attend, but have been compelled to put them on one side at almost the last moment. It would have given me intense pleasure to meet so many illustrious journalists, from so many countries, and the fact that I cannot now do so will be one of the chief disappointments of my life. Please accept my best wishes for the success of the conference and for the enjoyment of all who are so fortunate as to take part in it. I have been associated with daily newspapers for more than fifty years and I have been editor of one of them for nearly forty years. My long experience in newspaper work leads me to think that the Press Congress of the World will be useful and I herewith send my most hearty greetings to all of you.

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*Henry Wyatt, Editor, Blackpool Times, 14 Clifton Street, Blackpool, England.*

On behalf of British weekly journalism, I extend hearty greetings to the Press Congress of the World and trust that its deliberations may be happy, successful and serviceable to our common cause.

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*Robert H. H. Baird, Belfast Telegraph, Belfast, Ireland.*

In expressing my deep regret that I am unable to attend the great Press Congress of the World, I desire, as an Ulsterman, to extend through you cordial greetings to all my colleagues of the press, and to express the hope that the Congress will prove one of the greatest levers in the advancement of civilization and progress.

Your world-wide gathering at Honolulu is unique in the history of newspapers. By bringing together newspaper producers from every clime, it is sure to prove an inspiration and an incentive to literary and mechanical achievements hitherto undreamt of.

All nations and languages have, through the conquering attainments of modern science, a common bond of union in the newspaper press, and I know of no league so likely to bring about that universal peace for which the world is yearning.

Your great gathering may indeed be called the "Pacific" Congress. Its aspirations, resolutions, and achievements will emanate, as a great wireless from the Punch Bowl, in every direction, and reach the remotest journalistic outpost of the two hemispheres, giving encouragement to all who are engaged in our noble profession.

I have no doubt that the Congress will ultimately realise the dream of the poet in establishing itself as "The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the world."

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*Major Alexander Steven, Director, Northumberland and Berwickshire Newspapers, Limited, Berwick-upon-Tweed, England.*

The Congress will be a great success, to the advantage of the world.

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*E. O. Norton, Secretary, the Weekly Newspaper and Periodical Proprietors' Association, Limited, Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4, England.*

The Council of the Weekly Newspaper and Periodical Proprietors' Association much regret their inability to send a representative to the Press Congress of the World, which is being held in Honolulu in October next, but hope to be more fortunate on the next occasion.

As the association, therefore, will not have the advantage of being directly represented, the council desire to send their best wishes for the success of the Congress. They fully appreciate the vast importance of the objects in view, and are strongly in favor of conferences of this sort, which tend to promote international good feeling.

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*Morley Stuart, Cambridge Daily News, Cambridge, England.*

Aloha!

I feel that I must respond to your invitation to send a word of greeting to my brethren of the press gathered at the great Press Congress of the World. I have heard much of the hospitality of Honolulu and should dearly like to share it with you, but it is a long journey from England and considerations of time and money prevent my coming. It would be a particular joy to me to pass through the great Republic of America and thus follow in the footsteps of my father, himself a journalist, who ever retained the happiest recollections of a lecturing tour in 1887.

Need I say that I shall read with deep interest of your meetings and that I sincerely hope that your deliberations will make for the good of the great profession to which we are all so proud to belong.

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It is a splendid idea to link together in this way the press of the world and some day I hope we may have the pleasure of welcoming the Congress to England. Should that happy event come to pass I hope that it may be possible to spare one day for a visit to the great University of Cambridge, in which case I shall be happy to do everything in my power to ensure you the heartiest of welcomes.

Across the Atlantic and the Pacific I extend the right hand of fellowship and wish you well.

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*Mrs. R. W. Gough, Corresponding Secretary, Southern California Women's Press Club, Los Angeles, California.*

I greet you, and express sincerest regret over my inability to meet with you and share the pleasure and profit of your association. May you all realize in fullest measure the privileges afforded by this international commingling of ideas and infusion of thought and may you register splendid progress in the press attainments of all people.

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*David Beecroft, Director Editor, The Class Journal Company, 239 West 39th St., New York City.*

We know nothing more necessary than that the press of the world, including the business or industrial press, work in the closest co-operation.

Speaking for the business press we feel that it is more essential than ever that those directing it are familiar with not only all of the countries of the world but many of the industrial problems in each.

The business press must take a stronger place in foreign trade, as well as in other matters of world importance. Conferences such as yours draw attention to the obligations that rest upon the press. A better acquaintance among the personnel and a more mutual understanding of objectives will always work for the betterment of world conditions.

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*John Kaiser, Managing Editor, Register-Leader, Marietta, Ohio.*

If the world is ever to be restored to its former conditions, a large factor in such restoration will be the press of the world. Upon your deliberations at beautiful Honolulu will depend to a great extent what the world is to be for the next decade. The underlying structure of the world press has ever been that of service to humanity, and I am sure that the newspaper men of today are alert not only to their duties but to their opportunities.

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*Benjamin J. Fisher, Editor, Eastern Shore Herald, Eastville, Virginia.*

Out of this session of the Press Congress I hope for large results to the press of the world. While the Eastern Shore Herald is a small country paper, yet we are trying to do our part in moulding public opinion on the great questions of the day. I bid you and all the members of the Congress Godspeed in your work.

*Professor Bristow Adams, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.*

Those of us at Cornell who are interested in high standards of journalism wish for the Congress every success and feel sure that it will mark an important step in developing a world solidarity among journalists.

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*Benjamin S. Herbert, President, Illinois Press Association, Chicago, Illinois.*

Greetings from Illinois! Several representatives from Illinois, in which nearly a thousand newspapers are published, will attend the Press Congress at Honolulu. The Illinois Press Association, representing more than half the newspapers in Illinois, are of one accord that this great gathering of master minds will work out policies and establish thought along lines of advancement which will have a great influence in directing the destinies of nations. The country press of this state stood wholeheartedly behind the Government during the war and the editors and publishers are lending their energy in promotion of reconstruction. Any decision reached by the Press Congress of the World will have the most respectful consideration of the Illinois Press Association.

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*J. H. McKeever, President, Aberdeen American and News, Aberdeen, South Dakota.*

From the prairies of South Dakota I send my greeting to the Press Congress of the World and with it my regrets that I shall be unable to attend.

In this period when all nations are devoted to binding up the wounds of the world, I conceive that the press is destined to be a great factor in spreading among them a closer acquaintance and more intimate knowledge which must prevail as a constant and perpetual insurance against disagreement and strife.

To that end, the session of the Press Congress in which you are sitting has a magnificent destiny, and it is my sincere regret that I am not personally to be there to share in the proceedings.

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*O. S. Freeman, President, Connecticut Editorial Association, Water-town, Connecticut.*

Hearty greetings from the Connecticut Editorial Association.

May the deliberations of the Press Congress of the World result in helpfulness and inspiration to the thousands of men and women workers in the most helpful profession on earth.

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*Will E. and Charles H. Beeson, the Winchester Journal, Winchester, Indiana.*

Our regrets in being unable to attend your sessions are only exceeded by the good times we know you are having as the guests of the Hawaiian people. We are sure that your hosts are meeting every anticipation of their guests.

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Besides the pleasures of the trip you doubtless are enjoying the satisfaction of realizing that as individuals and as an organization you are performing a service not only to the present generation but to unborn generations.

There is, we believe, no power so well fitted to cement the nations of the world as the newspapers, and a personal acquaintance among newspaper makers of the various nations will not only be a social privilege but a strong factor in the betterment of the world.

It is claimed, and possibly rightly, that if the National Editorial Association had been in existence in the fifties and early sixties of the century just past there would have been no civil war in the United States, and it is our belief that if the Press Congress of the World had been functioning there would have been no World War.

With this belief and with eyes to the future we wish Godspeed in your deliberations.

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*Ernest J. P. Benn, Benn Brothers, Limited, 8 Bouverie Street, London, E. C. 4, England.*

I hope that any of my colleagues of the business press who are able to be present will be able to secure a good large share of the time of the Congress because it seems to me that they have a special duty to talk and a special right to be heard at this most interesting crisis in the world's history.

Stated very simply, the broad fact is that the field of industry, business, commerce, call it what you like has, for good or ill, been invaded by the politicians. This means that the political and popular journalist is called upon to deal much more fully and deeply with business questions than has ever been the case before. The natural tendency of the journalist is to take his cue from the man who shouts loudest. That is one of the inherent and necessary weaknesses of journalism. In connection with current problems it means that our newspapers are liable to give undue emphasis to the irresponsible and uninspired utterances of people who know little or nothing of real business, and that the views of the practical men, always and obviously lacking in sensation, are denied the prominence which is their due.

Therefore, if at Honolulu the trade journalists feel inclined to talk, be lenient with them, apply your genius to the dry-as-dust, matter-of-fact, unpalatable truths in which they are specialists, and thus your conference might arrive at a new and beneficent discovery, and bring sensationalism to the service of sense.

Yours for the revolution—the real revolution which makes the wheels go round.

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*Douglas C. Leng, Director, Sheffield Telegraph, Sheffield, England.*

It is not too much to say that the moulding of the future of humanity lies in the hands of the pressmen gathered together at Honolulu. May a beneficent Providence guide their deliberations and ensure

through the medium of the printing press peace on earth and a better understanding between mankind. Let the two great English-speaking nations in particular remember that their responsibility is paramount if the progress of the race is to continue, and let the primary object of the newspaper man be to ensure on both sides of the Atlantic that the peoples raise themselves to the height of it.

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*Clement Shorter, Editor and Director, The Sphere, London, England.*

I greatly regret that it is not possible for me to accept your kind invitation to the Press Congress of the World at Honolulu. I send, however, very cordial greetings and rejoice in the brotherhood of journalism that such a gathering implies. I believe with all my heart, in spite of the tragic conditions of the past sad years, that the world can be mended and ennobled only through sympathy and understanding and that these qualities can only be commanded through the medium of newspapers with their millions of readers. Goethe dreamed that a World Literature would make for peace among the nations. It was an idle dream. Literature from Homer to Rudyard Kipling has tended rather to war than to peace, has thrown a false glamour over force as a ruler of the world. It remains for journalism, with its myriads of preachers in every land, to strive for that happy harmony among the peoples of the earth for which we all long. I can see no solution of the problems which beset the nations if one cannot be found in such a Congress of the World's Press as that assembled at Honolulu of which I would give much to be an humble member.

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*The Rev. J. G. Digges, Editor, Irish Bee Journal and Beekeepers' Gazette, Lough Rynn, R. S. A., Ireland.*

I wish for the Congress unbounded success. Permit me to send herewith sincere greetings to all concerned.

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*O. S. Bailey, Editor, Waukon Republican and Standard, Waukon, Iowa.*

With profound regret at my inability to attend this, the greatest meeting of public men of the age, I tender greetings to all.

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*L. J. Berry, Secretary, The Newspaper Proprietors' Association of New Zealand, Inc., Wellington, New Zealand.*

Best wishes for profitable sessions and enjoyable entertainments.

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*Dietrick Lamade, President and General Manager, Grit Publishing Company, Williamsport, Pennsylvania.*

I can conceive of no movement of more profound significance to journalism and, through it, to the world, than the convention of the Press Congress of the World.

Language is the instrument of the individual—the newspaper is the voice of the multitude. If, then, through exchange of thought and development of higher common ideals the dominating minds of news-

papers of the world may unite in common cause, we may hope, through proper direction of public opinion, to unite our constituents, regardless of race, color or creed, in bonds of world wide peace and brotherly love.

I look for excellent results to come from this meeting and hope it will lead to a thorough organization of the press of the world to the end that journalism may fulfill to the highest degree the service for which so much opportunity exists.

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*Gus J. Karger, Washington Bureau, Cincinnati Times-Star, 61 Post Building, Washington, D. C.*

The session of Congress and the coming gathering of representatives of great nations to discuss Far Eastern problems and devise measures to put a period to rivalries that lead to war make it inexpedient, to my sorrow, to join you at the Honolulu Congress. I can send no message to that assemblage that will not appear trite and commonplace beside the messages your speakers will deliver. But I would stress this point: We of the Fourth Estate are the men and women on the side lines and our part in the proceedings is to enforce the rules of fair play—fair play to the public by the players, and fair play to the players by the public. We live in an era of great movements and we must help to give them the proper direction as far as in our power lies. The Press Congress of the World may make of itself a strong instrument toward that end.

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*Arthur R. Holbrook, Portsmouth Times, 19 Porchester Square, W. 2, England.*

Will you please convey my respects and my apologies for absence. This Congress will, I feel confident, have world-wide influence in promoting peace and progress throughout the world.

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*M. C. Modi, Hon. Secretary, the Press Association of India, Bombay, India.*

I am sorry that due to pressing engagements and the pending of an important question of the removal of the blackest Indian press legislation, I shall be unable to leave India to attend the Press Congress in October next. The journalists and the press of India will watch with deep interest the proceedings of your Congress for the betterment of the present standard of their work in all lines connected with their profession.

It is needless to say that the liberty of the press is the essential thing and for a country like ours it is to be first taken into consideration. The Indian Press Act of 1910 is a standing menace to our liberty and progress. Our strong agitation since its enactment for its removal both in form and spirit, from the statute book had been ignored by the government of India till now. However, there is a ray of hope now. In its next session of the Indian Council, a report of the Press Laws Inquiry



Committee will very likely be discussed and my association looks to you for your support in our achieving the said object, viz., entire removal of the act and restoring the press its freedom.

Yours being the Press Congress of the World, my association thinks it shall be befitting if the Congress will also handle this question and urge the Government of India, in the name of the press, to repeal all obnoxious press legislation as soon as possible.

Before concluding, my association wishes you all success and has its entire sympathy and support with your aim and objects.

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*Hans Den Weisz, Volkszeitung, St. Paul, Minnesota.*

I congratulate you on your work. What we need most is the old time spirit of confidence. The newspaper man, as no other, has the opportunity to develop in his country optimism, hope, and faith. Regret cannot be with you. Godspeed to the Press Congress.

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*Henry Stead, Stead's Review, Melbourne, Australia.*

With best wishes for a most successful and resultful conference.

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*Fred Johnston, Herald, Falkirk, Scotland.*

Heartiest greetings; regret absence.

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*W. T. Brewster, Independent Newspapers, Ltd., Dublin, Ireland.*

Greetings from press of Ireland and heartiest wishes for success.

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*President, Dutch Association of Journalists, Scheveningen, Holland.*

Editors associations Holland wishes congress all hail for international brotherhood's sake.

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*Igglesden, Kentish Express, Ashford, Kent, England.*

Hearty good wishes from reluctantly absent member.

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*Ernest F. Birmingham, Editor, The Fourth Estate, New York City.*

Much regret my inability to be with you. Please convey to Governor Farrington and members of Congress the Fourth Estate's congratulations and our belief that your meeting will prove historic in strengthening the relations between the press of all nations which, although always cordial, are not sufficiently co-ordinated to demonstrate its full power and influence on the world's progress. I am certain that the interchange of thought on the practical problems of newspaper publishing will broaden editorial vision and help materially in framing policies dealing with the momentous questions now before the world's leaders, outstanding among whom is our own President Harding, himself a man of life long training in the profession of journalism.

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*John Dymond, Past President, National Editorial Association; Editor, Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer; Editor, El Mundo Azucarero, New Orleans, Louisiana.*

The Louisiana Press Association in annual session authorized me to convey to you the good wishes of all the editors of Louisiana with the hope that your session will be full of intellectual enjoyment and mark an advance in the newspaper status of the whole world.

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*Prof. Joseph S. Myers, Department of Journalism, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.*

World journalism will benefit profoundly as a result of this and succeeding Congresses, and what makes for the betterment of the newspapers and their editors is also inevitably for the advancement of all society.

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*Aaron Watson, Bewley Cottage, Lacock, Wiltshire, England.*

It would have been delightful to me to meet the representatives of the Press Congress of the World at Honolulu but as there are circumstances which make it impossible for me to be present, it is a satisfaction to me to believe that I have been of service to those who have brought about so remarkable an event, and to think that the meeting must have beneficial results not only in promoting acquaintanceship among some of the leading journalists of the world—a good end in itself—but in extending public recognition of the common purpose and the high mission of journalism.

The Press Congress of the World is, in its own way, a league of nations. The world's press has an enormous, perhaps an excessive, power of promoting the same ends, or of impeding them. Those of us who have had a share in the work that has preceded the Honolulu Congress have had our visions of a world's press so far united in feeling and in purpose as to be undeviatingly on the side of the world's highest interests and aspirations. So, indeed, may it be.

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*Andrea Ferretti, Ilby Gard, Borga, Finland.*

I shall always be very much pleased to keep in touch with you and be informed about the further enhancement of the association to which I ask you kindly to interpret my sentiments of greeting.

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*John A. Park, Publisher, Raleigh Times, Raleigh, North Carolina.*

I feel sure the sessions will be of unusual interest to every member attending, and I know the splendid tours will be worth all the inconvenience and long journey on the part of each attendant.

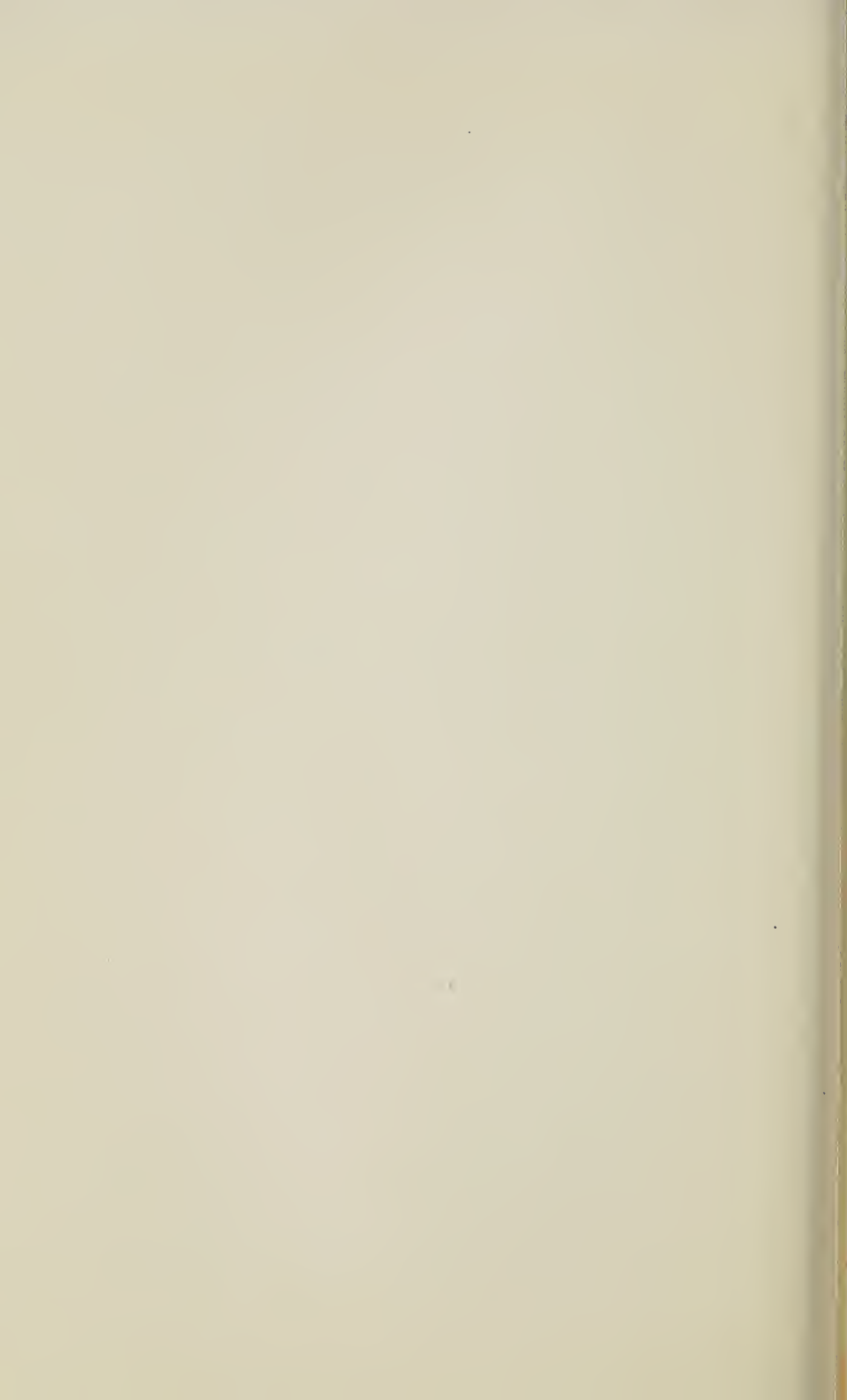
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*General J. C. Smuts, Premier, South Africa, London, England.*

The purpose of the Congress sets a high ideal and my sincerest wish is that the deliberations will strengthen the desire and the passion for



DELEGATES HEAR DR. T. A. JAGGAR LECTURE AT KILAUEN.



public service and uplifting of humanity, which is the real end not only of the press but also of all true statesmanship.

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*W. Adamson MacCallumy, Superintendent and Manager, Drummond's Tract Society, Stirling, Scotland.*

I trust that the meeting will be a great success. When so many men representative of the world's press meet together to confer there is bound to be a great gain for the universal interests of humanity. The world is ultimately ruled by reason and by ideas and the world's editors by continual reiteration of ideas can exert an incalculable influence in bringing forward the time when humanity as a whole will not only believe all these ideas but will act upon them.

Will you express to the Congress my personal regret at my inability to be present, as also my genuine and sincere desire that this meeting may be the prelude to a new era in the world's pilgrimage towards peace.

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*S. G. Jarman, J. P., the North Wales Guardian, Argyle Street, Wrexham, England.*

I hope your gatherings will be a glorious success.

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*United Chambers of Commerce, United Educational Associations, United Bankers Association of China.*

Pray accept our hearty congratulations for successful holding of second sessions and our appreciation of collective efforts made by pressmen of the world for international goodwill. May we have the honor of inviting the Congress to hold the next session in China?

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*Dong-a Daily, Seoul, Korea.*

Wish Congress great success.

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*Natal Witness, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.*

Express our regret unable attend fraternal greeting Best wishes success Congress.

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*Rafael Alducin, Excelsior, Mexico City, Mexico.*

Unable attend Congress I wish to convey to all delegates assembled my best wishes for complete success and my innermost desire that collective co-operation will result in improvements, interchange of world's news and stronger friendly and uplifting spirit amongst great newspaper fraternity.

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*Messages of greeting were also received from the following:*

Conrado Sanchez, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

Josephus Daniels, the News and Observer, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mihran Nacachian, Director and Proprietor, Sabah, Constantinople, Turkey. •

Juan Guillermo Mendoza, Director Administrator, Notas, Venezuela.

L. O. Trigg, Editor, Eldorado Daily Journal, Eldorado, Illinois.

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William Grant, Stornoway Gazette, Stornoway, Scotland.

J. E. Dertinger, Editor and Publisher, the Bushnell Record, Bushnell, Illinois.

Chief Director, the African Bureau of Information, Monrovia, Liberia, West Africa.

Randolph Bedford, Brisbane, Queensland, Australia.

Vertanes Mardigian, Djagadmart, Constantinople, Turkey.

Fermin Manzanares, Duaca, Venezuela, South America.

Camille Devilar, Corresponding Secretary, Association of the French Colonial Press, 132 Avenue d'Orleans, Paris, France.

Arturo Alessandri, Santiago, Chile.

W. Arthur Wilson, Editor, The Malaya Tribune, Singapore, Straits Settlement.

Leonard W. Matters, Herald, Buenos Aires, Argentina, South America.

Hugh Curran, Irish Times, Dublin, Ireland.

Walter Makepeace, Singapore Free Press, Singapore, Straits Settlement.

John Clyde Oswald, Editor, American Printer, New York City.

Korean Independence News, Shanghai.

Salvado Canals, Madrid, Spain.

Toundokyo Magazine, Keijyo, Korea.

Kaibyuk Magazine, Keijyo, Korea.

## VI.

### PAN-PACIFIC PRESS CONFERENCE.

The first Pan-Pacific Press Conference, a regional section of the Press Congress of the World, was held under the auspices of the Pan-Pacific Union and called by Dr. Walter Williams, President of the Press Congress of the World, in Honolulu, October 21, 1921.

Dr. Williams was Honorary Chairman of the Conference. Alexander Hume Ford, editor of the *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, was chairman of the Conference program; Mrs. F. M. Swanzy, chairman of the entertainment program; Dr. Frank F. Bunker, secretary of the Conference; M. Zumoto, chairman of the morning session; V. S. McClatchy, secretary of the morning session; Hollington K. Tong, chairman of the afternoon session, and Hon. Mark Cohen, secretary of the afternoon session.

Lorrin A. Thurston, proprietor of the *Honolulu Advertiser*, was elected President of the permanent Pan-Pacific Press Conference. Dr. Frank F. Bunker, executive secretary of the Pan-Pacific Union, was elected Secretary of the Conference, and Y. Soga, editor of *Nippu Jiji*, Honolulu, was elected as third member of the executive committee of the Conference.

At nine o'clock on the morning of October 21, 1921, Hon. Wallace R. Farrington, Governor of Hawaii, as President of the Pan-Pacific Union, met with the Admiral of the U. S. Navy, the General of the U. S. Army, and the trustees of the Pan-Pacific Union on the steps of the Capitol Building to receive the delegates to the first Pan-Pacific Press Conference, and with them to review the pageant of the states and countries of the Pacific, comprising children of each state and country who presented the flag of each.

There were fifty groups of children from the states and territories of the United States, each marching behind the state flag, each in the colors bearing the floral emblem of his state. These

were led by a detachment from the Army carrying the national colors.

The groups from Pacific lands in their national dress were headed by a detachment from the United States Navy, carrying the colors, and concluding with the Filipino section escorting an historic silken flag of the Philippines which was presented to Governor Farrington as head of the Pan-Pacific Union.

At the conclusion of the pageant, Governor Farrington led the way into the throne room of the old Iolani Palace of the ancient Hawaiian monarchy, now the Executive Building of the Territory.

After a brief address of welcome, Governor Farrington introduced a distinguished visitor, Hon. S. T. Wen, Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, Nanking, China, who was on his way to the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament.

Governor Farrington then turned the meeting over to the chairman of the Executive Committee having the program for the day in hand, Mr. Alexander Hume Ford.

Dr. Walter Williams, President of the Press Congress of the World, in behalf of the Congress, expressed appreciation to the Pan-Pacific Union for permitting the organization of the Pan-Pacific Press Conference in Honolulu. In his belief the object of the Pan-Pacific Conference should be "to permit each of the Pan-Pacific peoples and nationalities to grow to the fullest extent of their own individual grace and beauty and power without interfering in any way with the growth and the beauty and grace and the power of the other nations and peoples represented in the Pan-Pacific lands. Just as the individuals in a community are encouraged to make the most of themselves, so long as the making of the most of themselves permits others to make the most of themselves, so each community reaches its highest results."

Hon. J. H. Kessell, former member of Parliament, Queensland, and Mayor of the city of Gladstone, Queensland, brought greetings to the Conference from Australia.

In selecting addresses for publication here, the editor has chosen those especially concerning the practical problems confronting the press of the Pacific.

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WHY A PERMANENT PAN-PACIFIC CONFERENCE  
BODY

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By ALEXANDER HUME FORD,

*Director, Pan-Pacific Union.*

There is need, as never before, that the gatherers and disseminators of news in Pacific lands come to a better knowledge of each other and each other's land and problems.

The Australian journalist knows little of Japan, the American journalist is confused by the reams of paid-for press propaganda that deluges him from the Orient, the Japanese press takes seriously the utterances of the American jingo journalist and tries to out-jingo him. The Latin-American press is fairly well served so far as her northern neighbor is concerned, but little in other Pacific lands is known concerning the affairs of the great South American continent.

The result of all this neglect of understanding is that Pacific lands are steering straight for the shoals of chronic misunderstanding and worse. Unfortunately the great news distributing bodies of Europe and America play an influential part in the keeping up of Pan-Pacific misunderstanding. They control, largely, the dissemination of world news to and between Pacific lands, and, because of their contracts, entered into long ago, when news dissemination methods depended on now antiquated methods make it practically impossible for the press of the Pacific to secure cheap and abundant news service to which the invention of the wireless entitles it.

To illustrate, the delegates from Australasia to this Conference up to the day before their arrival in Honolulu, could send wireless messages to Australia and New Zealand for fourteen cents a word; the moment they landed, however, they were shut off from wireless communication with Australia and must resort to cable rates at 83 cents a word. Surely Australia and New Zealand should be urged by this Conference to find immediately some means of opening their wireless stations to the reception of press and commercial messages from Pacific lands at least.

I learned when in Japan, and from a director of the Associated

Press, that owing to a contract between American Associated Press and British Reuter that world news to Japan must go only through Reuter. Java has asked that Honolulu be made a "drop" station and that a man be stationed here to select from the "drop" service such news as each Pacific country may desire and forward it by wireless.

Premier Massey of New Zealand informed me the other day that it may be years before the round-the-world British system of wireless stations is put in operation. One of these is to be located at Auckland and the premier hopes then that we of other parts of the Pacific, not colored in red, may be permitted to send wireless press messages to Pacific British possessions. Who knows what may happen in the Pacific during the next few years before us if the press of the Pacific does not arise to its great duty and by truthful reporting dispel some of the misunderstandings that are arising because of the fact that the press of the Pacific is not educating the people concerning each others affairs.

Tributary to the shores of the Pacific lives more than half the population of the globe. The Pacific Ocean is the future theatre of the commerce of the world. Here in the Pacific meet the oldest and the newest civilizations. From now on it is the Pacific lands that must feed the world. Lack of co-operation and understanding among Pacific peoples would prove the greatest calamity the world has yet known. The press of the Pacific alone can prevent this calamity and save the world. From now on the greater part of the world's people will have their homes in Pacific lands. Their leaders should be brought together for better understanding of each other's aims and ambitions, and the press should create, as it can, a patriotism of the Pacific.

In the Orient many of the journalistic leaders are graduates of an American school of journalism where they have been taught, as the foundation principle, that a news-gatherer should be a gentleman at heart and in action. This is also a tradition among the British pressmen in the Orient. This leaven is permeating the Anglo Saxon press of the Far East and should be the watchword of the vernacular press. This little body of men is having a marked influence in the Orient; the leaders among the pressmen in the Philippines, China, Japan and Korea, know each other personally and trust each other. As this circle enlarges the jingoists

will find it more difficult to excite the imaginations of those who do not always think seriously and investigate. The men of the press in the Pacific, when they know each other, will learn to trust each other, and in every Pacific land they will strive to be worthy of this trust of their distant confreres and the serious problems of the Pacific will dissipate in fleecy clouds, knowledge of each other's affairs will take the place of ignorance and prejudice and understanding will supersede misunderstanding, if only our press of the Pacific will consummate its high mission.

Perhaps there should be two distinct bodies in the future Pan-Pacific Press Conference: One a League of Pacific Newspapers composed of proprietors and the business staff, that should outline the general business policy, deal with the cost of paper and news-gathering, reducing their cost by co-operative methods and perhaps reducing the cost of international advertising to the advertiser through similar methods of co-operation among the business staffs of the newspapers and magazines published in Pacific lands. The other and more important body, for the peace of the world at least, should be the actual disseminators of news and information concerning Pacific lands. They should meet together to know each other and to plan work that will make the people of each Pacific land know more about the people of other Pacific lands. The first step such a body should take would be to secure a reduction in the cable and wireless press rates between Pacific lands, and actual free trade in wireless press correspondence, unhampered by any private or other contracts that would militate against the cheapest possible rates in the dissemination of international news and information.

The late ex-Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, ex-President Wilson, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and President Harding have all voiced the opinion that in the Pacific, having behind it thousands of years of traditions of peace, that here might be the logical birthplace of a real League of Nations. Who knows but that it may not be the mission of the press of the Pacific to bring this about.

Next September there is to be held in Honolulu under the auspices of the Pan-Pacific Union the first Pan-Pacific Commercial Conference. It is hoped that President Harding may be present, and should he find it possible to be here at that time, he

will. If he does come to Hawaii, the Pan-Pacific Union will invite the presidents and premiers of all Pacific lands to meet here in friendly conference.

Then, perhaps once more, the pressmen of the Pacific may be asked to gather in honor of such an informal meeting of the heads of Pacific governments, and it would be an inspiration for better understanding the future results of which might be incalculably good.

The Pan-Pacific Union at the request of Dr. Walter Williams, President of the Press Congress of the World, issued the call for the first Pan-Pacific Press Conference, with the understanding that it was to be a permanent body to meet for conference every two or three years; a regional conference body affiliated with the Press Congress of the World and one that would stimulate the holding of annual local press conferences in the Orient, Australasia and on the Pacific Coast of America.

The Pan-Pacific Union gladly assumed the responsibility for the call, and further offers its services to the permanent organization.

The Pan-Pacific Educational Conference, recently held here, passed a number of recommendations that it requested the Union to carry out, among these the publishing of its proceedings and the preparation for and the calling of a second Pan-Pacific Educational Conference. The Union has secured the services of Dr. F. F. Bunker, to assist in carrying out the recommendations made and has appropriated sufficient funds for carrying out most of them.

In the matter of aiding the Pan-Pacific Press Conference along kindred lines I am certain that the Union would endeavor to carry out any recommendations of this Conference, if so requested. We wish to serve.

The workers in the Pan-Pacific Union are constantly brought face to face with the fact that for good or evil the power of the press will guide the destinies of the Pacific. There is need today as never before that you men of the press give us the best that is in you toward the dissemination of truthful and helpful facts concerning Pacific lands. What will you do about it—how can we aid?

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A PACIFIC UNDERSTANDING

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By GUY INNES,

*Associate Editor, The Herald, Melbourne, Australia.*

Throughout his tour to Australia and New Zealand, Lord Northcliffe, principal proprietor of the London "Times," and one of the greatest of the British Empire's journalists, lost no opportunity of emphasizing the importance, particularly to Australia and the British possessions in the Pacific, of the Disarmament Conference to be held at Washington. He pointed out that at this conference Australia's fate might be settled, and, largely as the result of his utterances, the five and a half million inhabitants of the great Island Commonwealth are beginning, perhaps belatedly, to realize how vital to them and to their country are the problems to be discussed at the Conference, and how much they are concerned in the result of its deliberations. It was originally understood that the interests of Australia as a component part of the British Empire, would be safeguarded by the British delegation to this great international congress; and, though Australia trusts her Motherland to the full, more than one close student of the situation regretted that the Australian Commonwealth was not to be represented individually and directly by one of her own statesmen, who could interpret clearly and emphatically the attitude and ideals of his nation in regard to problems peculiarly her own—such, for instance, as the maintenance of the White Australia policy. This is of particular importance in view of the statement that Japan intends to seek the removal of restrictions upon immigration from Japan to other Pacific lands. Very welcome, therefore, is the announcement of the Prime Minister of Australia, William Morris Hughes, that, as the outcome of communications with Washington, Senator G. F. Pearce, Minister for Defense, has been appointed to represent Australia at the Disarmament Conference. Senator Pearce, who was appointed to his present position in the cabinet before the war, can be relied upon, by reason of his long political experience and his thorough familiarity with the problems that will be discussed, for the ample presentation of Australia's case, particularly as he will have full knowl-

edge, through his close personal association with Mr. Hughes, of the transactions at the recent Empire Conference of Prime Ministers. The appointment of a direct representative is clear proof that Australia realizes to the full that her future is as closely involved in the outcome of the Washington Conference as is that of any nation bordering on the Pacific Ocean.

It is in the Pacific, in days to come, that the form of our future civilization may be decided. Peace in the Pacific is a surety for the peace of the world. A stroke of the pen may forestall and prevent the blow of the sword. By strokes of the pen has the Pan-Pacific Union been created; and there are no bounds to the hopes which that Union may inspire for the dawning of the day "when nation shall not lift up sword against nation." It is fortunate and fitting that the Pan-Pacific Press Conference should precede the great conference at Washington; for there is as yet no other agency in existence so well calculated to promote that mutual understanding between the Pacific nations and that frank appreciation of the aims which they have in common to safeguard civilization as is this organization of practical idealists.

That the shore of the Pacific is the threshold of the world has been realized by Mr. Hughes, who, addressing the Commonwealth House of Representatives shortly after his return from the conference in England of the Prime Ministers of the British Empire, said in effect that the solution of the problems of the Pacific was essentially a precedent to the satisfactory conduct and conclusion of the Disarmament Conference. It needs no profound study of his utterance to demonstrate its truth. So long as there is a possibility of this ocean becoming the arena of the world in arms, for just so long will the certainty exist that those nations taking part in the conference at Washington will endeavor to attain and maintain that state of overwhelming preparedness which prefers arsenals to arbitration, and, in too early a resort, cruisers to congresses of peace. Every possible step should be taken to ensure that each participant has concrete rather than piously hopeful reasons for the belief that the meeting will achieve more than ever Hague Conference has attempted aforesaid, and that there must be no feeling, however diplomatically concealed that though a colleague has his cards on the table, there is a gun on his hip.

Much, therefore, rests with the Pan-Pacific Press Conference.

Assembled on one of the fairest isles of a sea which has ever been a field of exploration and of commerce rather than the battleground of contending navies, it can serve greatly in making that sea Pacific in fame as it is Pacific in name. By promoting an international understanding, honest, frank and free from chauvinistic propaganda masquerading as patriotism, it can go far to annihilate those mischievous misunderstandings too often deliberately fostered, which even if they do not lead to direct war, yet create an atmosphere of unrest and distrust which can be paralyzing if not actually disastrous. Nowhere does one realize this as in Honolulu, standing as it does as a marine telephone exchange where the world's wires converge; where, in the words of Emerson

“Every day brings a ship—  
Every ship brings a word.”

Shall not the efforts of the Pan-Pacific bring the consummation voiced by the poet:

“Well for him who hath no fear,  
Looking seaward, well assured  
That the word the vessel brings  
Is the word he longs to hear.”

And that word is—“Peace.”

As has been said by resolution duly attested, the Conference offers a co-ordinating agency which can take the initiative and can stimulate, in the wisest and widest sense, education to common ends in the various Pacific nations. And it can “undertake either directly or indirectly \* \* \* a thorough scientific investigation of the causes of war and assist educational machinery in the various nations to remove causes which may contribute to war making.”

Now, the power-house of that machinery is the Press. No other medium is so certain in its operation or so far-reaching in its activities. It is for the Congress to take advantage of it, and by its legitimate use, discountenancing the spread of misleading or merely sectional propaganda of the baser sort, to establish an understanding among Pacific countries which will form the best guarantee that the world can have for a reduction of armaments, or, failing their immediate reduction, a halt in that adding of armor-plate to armor-plate and weapon to weapon which makes a nation so ponderous in its might that it must through sheer weight fall upon its neighbor.

Excellent within their limits as are the various news services to Australia, and widespread as are their ultimate sources, they are at present too costly, as was pointed out at the recent Imperial Press Congress held at Ottawa, to permit of their full use as a factor in promoting international understanding. There is too little opportunity for the chronicling of consecutive and constructive steps in social progress, in altruistic legislation and its effects, in great educational movement, and in efforts in any country which have for their objective the co-ordination of international forces for peace. Were a cheaper cable service possible, particularly between countries bordering upon the Pacific, Australian papers could afford to a greater extent than they do at present to maintain trustworthy special correspondents in the important cities of these lands, whose work would go far to promote what may be described as the entente cordiale of the Pacific. This, from the Australian point of view, would be preferable to the establishment of a news bureau which would endeavor to serve the Australian press as a whole. The more important Australian papers prefer to maintain as far as possible an individuality in their news service, at least as far as the two main groups of journals are concerned. One of these groups, which consists largely of morning papers, receives a cable service which is under control of its own managing editors in London and New York, and the other, in which the two principal Australian evening journals (the Melbourne Herald and the Sydney Sun) are associated, in conjunction with Reuters, receives services from London, Vancouver, Tokio and elsewhere, although London and Vancouver are the main headquarters. From the point of view of accuracy, general interest, and scope, this latter service, always having regard to the restrictions imposed by the cost of cabling, reaches, it is generally acknowledged, a high standard of excellence. But it might cover Pacific news far more fully than it does at present.

Whether greater recourse could be had to wireless messages as a means of securing a more ample service is a matter of some doubt. Were the cost of cable transmission made cheaper, most of the existing drawbacks could be overcome. Competition or threatened competition by wireless might have this effect, as the cable companies might reduce their charges in self-defense. But



it remains to be proved by actual experiment whether an exclusively wireless service could ever take the place of cable news. A partly wireless service has been introduced by the Pacific Cable Board, but this is not much used for press purposes.

It should here be explained that there are two principal cable companies operating routes to Australia from England. One is the Pacific, by which messages after being transmitted from England across the Atlantic to Vancouver by the Anglo-American and Commercial Company's cable, are forwarded from Montreal by way of Fanning Island, Fiji, and Norfolk Island to Southport, Queensland, whence they are distributed over Australia. There is a branch cable from Norfolk Island to New Zealand. In addition, there are two submarine cables which connect the latter Dominion with the Australian mainland.

The other principal organization is the Eastern Extension Cable Company, which, in addition to the original cable from London to Port Darwin, in the Northern Territory of Australia, has duplicated this line, and has also laid a cable from Great Britain via Durban, South Africa, to Fremantle, West Australia. There is an alternative route, partly belonging to the Eastern Extension Company, connecting the Port Darwin-Singapore cable with London via Hongkong, Shanghai, and Russia. A cable from Java to Cocos Island affords another route from South Africa to Australia, and a radio station at Cocos strengthens the line of communication between Australia and the East. Rates for press cables from England range from seven cents to seventy-two cents a word, according to whether they are ordinary press or urgent.

In considering the question of wireless competition, regard must be had to the fact that the Governments of the various Australian States were, and the Australian Federal Government is, financially interested in the continuance of the existing cable services, inasmuch as the cable companies were or are subsidized by Government to defray in part the cost of the service or of laying the original cable. With regard to the Pacific Cable, the Commonwealth shares proportionately in the profit or loss which accrues from the traffic. The subsidy agreement between the State Governments and the Eastern Extension Company expired in 1900.

Even if present circumstances, which include the terms of existing press contracts with the cable companies, do not permit of immediate recourse to wireless, the prospect of its adoption might be of value as a lever to secure a reduction in cable rates. In any case, the lowering of the latter should be strongly urged by the Pan-Pacific Press Conference.

But whatever be the ultimate means adopted to increase the scope and efficiency of the news services throughout the Pacific, no permanent good can be achieved that is not sought in a spirit of forbearance, understanding, and mutual comprehension. Concession must meet with concession, not challenge with challenge. The Pan-Pacific Union has supplied the initiative, and it is for the press of the Pacific to follow its example. Nation by nation, it may educate the world. Much has already been gained by the gathering together in one spot, where they may interchange ideas and formulate constructive proposals, of so many men who are primarily a power for the dissemination of the truth. The torch of enlightenment has been kindled, and it may yet illuminate the greater half of the globe. The acquisition of a better mutual knowledge of national aims and aspirations is inseparable from such a meeting as this; and when those who have assembled go forth pledged to spread in their own countries the truth about every other land, the good that will result must be incalculable. With every succeeding conference the scope of achievement will be amplified, until, in Mr. Alexander Hume Ford's notable words, the press has created a patriotism of the Pacific.

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#### PAN-PACIFIC CABLE NEWS SERVICE

By T. PETRIE,

*Editor, South China Morning Post, Hongkong.*

"Tell them we want a broader, bigger, brighter and better cable news service." That was the last injunction I received on leaving Hongkong to attend this conference.

Hitherto the position has not been satisfactory. Hongkong is tied to Reuter, Manila to the Associated Press, Tokyo to Kokusai. No agency treads on the ground of another, and costs are far too high for the development of individual enterprise.

Shanghai, on the other hand, is a dumping ground for many services. Reuter is the chief ingredient of a confused mass of intelligence landed there, but the lump is leavened by smatterings of American and French wireless, and supplemented by liberal doses of Russian and German information of doubtful origin and authenticity. It is not an ideal dish, but, in such a mixed community, it probably meets with more acceptance than any single agency service could possibly command.

What we should aim at is the ideal dish.

Reuter, as a British agency, features British news and views. The Associated Press caters for American readers, while Kokusai, which I believe is a camouflaged Reuter offshoot, is intended solely for Japanese consumption. Not one of these big news agencies deals, except in the "scrappiest" fashion, with the news which most concerns us, the news of the countries bordering the Pacific. They tell us of happenings, mainly political, in London, Paris, Washington, but seldom do they give enlightenment as to what is transpiring in those vast territories which border the Pacific, the peoples of which comprise one-third of the population of the globe. They tell us little or nothing about our immediate neighbors, and it follows that such news as we get, presented as it is in different ways in different countries, is not conducive to good understanding. Errors creep in, even falsehoods, and friction results. This is perhaps the chief disadvantage of the present system, or lack of system.

Some months ago I received a letter from Mr. Ford, director of the Pan-Pacific Union, in which he suggested Honolulu as a center for the collection and dissemination of news to and from the Pacific. Herein lies an opportunity for the Pan-Pacific Press Conference to step in and to perform a real service not only to the press but to the reading public of Pacific lands. Benjamin Franklin described the press as "the mistress of intelligence." It behooves us to guard that title. To be worthy of the dignity it implies, it is imperative that the press of the Pacific should move with the times. The war has altered many things. It has broadened the outlook of millions. No longer are we satisfied with news from the homeland alone, the news which in days gone by came like water to thirsty souls. We want to be fully informed of current events in other lands, and chiefly

we want to know and become acquainted with our neighbors. We want to get together and to understand each other. Then we must give a thought to the wants of the native elements who surround us. The foreign press is an important factor in bringing enlightenment to many millions of races who are just beginning to interest themselves in the doings of the western world. The numbers of native readers of the foreign press in China, Japan, Malaya and elsewhere on the Pacific are increasing by leaps and bounds, and no progressive newspaper can afford to ignore their wants.

It should be possible for us to organize a liberal and inexpensive yet thoroughly reliable and acceptable general news service for the Pacific.

A broader service—a service of world-wide scope and outlook, a service which as far as possible will reveal both sides of the picture at the same time.

A bigger service—a service which will not be restricted by the terms of a contract yielding so many words for so many dollars, a service always as big as the event recorded warrants.

A brighter service—a service which will deal much more liberally with the happy side of international affairs and much less liberally with the petty woes and worries which torment humanity.

A better service—a service of real live news and news only, a service which will not attempt in any way to influence the minds of the writers who may have to handle it.

Surely between us we can provide a service on these lines. A central organization will be needed to collect and distribute the news. I can think of no better center than Honolulu, the hub of the Pacific. Here we already have the nucleus of the organization and the willingness to work. This great Pacific Cable News Service will need a staff and a number of correspondents. The cost will be heavy, but as a set-off there should soon arise a demand for Pacific news from our organization, which news will be supplied by and credited to its respective contributors. Telegraphic charges will be the main item of cost, but it will be the duty of our organization to continually press for reduction. By ceaseless agitation we can, I am sure, obtain both cheap and better telegraphic facili-

ties than we have hitherto had. With wireless and the submarine cable competing for our business—they are bound to do this in time—such a news service as I have outlined can be organized and operated with benefit to all concerned. Better served, the press can do much to tone down and even dispel the many misunderstandings and jealousies which afflict the cosmopolitan communities bordering the Pacific. Some members of the Conference may consider a Pacific cable news service such as I have outlined in advance of the times, but those members who have resided in the East for a number of years cannot fail to appreciate and approve the motive which has inspired the idea. A big change in the collection and distribution of cable news must come sooner or later, and it will be well to prepare, for much water will flow under the bridge before such a get-together opportunity as this gathering offers occurs again.

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#### INTERCHANGE OF NEWS IN THE PACIFIC

By RILEY H. ALLEN,

*Editor, Honolulu Star-Bulletin.*

There can be no difference of opinion among newspapermen of the countries in the Pacific, as to the high desirability of that millenium of "better understanding" about which we have heard with significant frequency from the day the Press Congress of the World opened.

We need not debate the question whether freer interchange of news and views about really important Pacific questions will help to promote better understanding—the truth of it is self-evident.

We need not assure our Anglo-Saxon, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean fellow-newspapermen that if the channels of communication about and across the Pacific were broader and smoother, we who live about the Pacific would be less apt to suspect each other's motives and criticise each other's actions. The truth of that is self-evident, too.

Our first problem is right here among those of us who are fortunate enough to be at the Press Congress of the World, and

this Pan-Pacific conference. It is to translate all the energy and fervor and gallant spirit expressed in the many addresses and papers into certain concrete terms which shall formulate at least one or two courses of action to be undertaken immediately after this conference has concluded.

I need hardly emphasize to our visitors that we newspapermen in Hawaii agree with what has been said of the need for lower press rates; the need for a broader service between the United States and the Orient; the need for a greater variety of news, and especially for Oriental and American news, to be made available for Australia and New Zealand. Hawaii's geographical position is such, and the development of the island press has been such, as to bring home to us daily the desirability of a vastly increased news service throughout Pacific lands. We know also that the majority of newspapers in the Pacific islands and in Asia are financially unable to assume a greater burden of news expense than they now carry, and many are finding their costs in traffic tariffs and the salaries of correspondents a greater load than is comfortable.

Nor need I emphasize that the newspapermen of Hawaii believe that this freer interchange of national news would have a beneficial political effect in addition to its obvious benefit to the newspaper by the greater diversity and balance of matter which it could offer its readers. Our visitors, I am sure, will not have failed to see that in Hawaii we Americans believe in frank exchange of views on important and sometimes delicate subjects with our fellow-residents of other races. On a vastly larger scale, that same principle would be carried out in the great news-exchange which we should like to see developed for the Pacific.

Taking it for granted that we have fairly similar ideas on the principles and purposes just mentioned, how can we put them into action?

My two suggestions, and they are put forth with entire knowledge of the difficulty of carrying them out, are, first, an international press rate; and secondly, the use of government wireless stations to carry the news.

In connection with the matter, let me, for Hawaii, heartily second what Mr. McClatchy of Sacramento said to the Press

Congress of the World a few days ago—that the agreement by which the government radio is made available for communications on the Pacific be extended, after its first two-year period ends next July. The renewal of this agreement is so imperative to the welfare of the American newspapers of the Pacific that I cannot emphasize it too strongly. It means so much to the future of the Pacific for press service to be comprehensive, unhampered and efficient that an abrogation of the present system would be disastrous.

1. The International Press Rate:

Various suggestions have been made in recent years, and especially since the conclusion of the World War, for national press rates. One such suggestion which received considerable attention has, I believe, been considered by the British government—that a uniform one-cent rate be established for press matter between any two points in the British dominions. I have read also that the French government has considered a similar plan.

Now obviously this plan is not based primarily on the expense of such a traffic service. It takes no account of distances to be covered, relays to be made, or other physical features. The plan is based primarily on a realization of the value of an empire-wide press service, a service which shall permit and encourage the transmission of a great volume of news at a low cost. It is based on a recognition of the need for giving to far-separated peoples a sense of their common interests and common destiny.

No private business could set up such an arrangement, in which the charge to patron is based not at all on the cost of operation, and survive. But a government which spends billions to build battleships which may never fire a shot, or drill armies that may never be called into the field, can subsidize the lines of communication, either government or privately owned, and make such a uniform rate possible.

It may be argued that while a single government might perfect such an arrangement, the technical difficulties involved in immense distances and various kinds of communication facilities would make an international plan impossible. I do not think so, I think that if we accept the idea of an international press rate as sound, we and other countries would have no more difficulties working out the details than we had with our international

postal conventions,—and the United States, for instance, has successfully operated under international postal conventions since 1869.

This is a day when international standardization is being used to promote business—why not use it to promote communications and peace? We are getting to a universal system of weights and measures; we have international telegraphic unions already. It is noteworthy that an adviser to the French treasury department, Monsieur I. Bourquin, has just proposed in *La Revue Mondiale* an international money to pass at par throughout the world in all international transactions.

A uniform press rate would immensely stimulate and simplify press traffic around the world. I think perhaps its greatest value would be to bring world-news to remote communities. Its value in getting the larger communities of North and South America, Europe, Asia, Australia, and Africa into contact with each other would be scarcely less.

I do not mean to suggest government control of the news in any form, except the physical features of the traffic. My thought is that the support and activities of the governments concerned would be confined to providing the facilities for transmission, and paying the bills—for assuredly, at the outset, there would be some deficits.

Perhaps the single arbitrary control which the governments should exercise would be on the point of volume of news matter to be carried. Of course they could not be expected to turn their facilities over without limit. Within the limits, however, it should not be a matter of government dictation what sort of matter was transmitted, except as are already imposed by constitutional law.

## 2. Use of Government Wireless Stations.

What I have just said on a uniform press rate must be considered with the second suggestion of greatly developing the use of government wireless.

Hawaii has made and is making perhaps greater use of wireless in peace-time than any other community in the world. It was in these islands that wireless was first made commercially practicable. For a good many years the daily papers of Honolulu have received almost, and are now receiving all, of their news report by wireless.



Our very successful use of wireless, and especially the fine cooperation and efficient traffic arrangements which the Honolulu papers are receiving from the United States naval radio system makes me believe it entirely practicable for governments to place their wireless systems in the service of the press—and not, of course, from a commercial motive, but from the patriotic and quite as legitimate motive of promoting world-interests.

Wireless is still in its infancy, and yet today Hawaii can talk with Paris. If necessary, we could tonight put a message into that barred capital of Soviet Russia which is under the shadows of mystery almost as deep as those which once shrouded the Forbidden City. During the war our navy operators here heard French operators on a lofty tower in Bordeaux, and German operators signalling from the masts at Nauen.

Establishment of press wireless around the world, with the governments providing traffic facilities, means three principal prior things:

First, agreement by the governments that they will do it. Secondly, the erection of wireless stations at many points and the enlargement and strengthening of other stations. Thirdly, the development of news exchange agreements and contracts between existing news agencies, and probably an international news agency to supervise the great system. And the government service should be so developed that the individual correspondent would be able to file his dispatches without danger of being choked off or crowded out by the big agencies.

Such a plan might seem Utopian were it not for our experience in Hawaii with the use of the United States navy radio system. By act of congress, the facilities of the navy wireless have been made available to American newspapers and news agencies, and the comparatively short time this has been in operation has proved a boon to the local dailies.

We have found the navy officers and staff charged with the duty of handling this traffic keenly alive to its importance, deeply interested in perfecting the technical side, and with their imaginations stirred by the possibilities for development of this mysterious force which can fling the words of men instantly to immense distances, to be read by millions of people we shall never see but whose interests more and more are becoming identical with ours.

The local staff and equipment of the navy radio can handle with ease 27,000 words a day. You have perhaps noticed that during the sessions of the Congress we have been printing an augmented telegraphic service. In addition to the regular daily news report of the Associated Press, we are getting more than a thousand words extra a day from the Associated Press, and the Chicago Tribune, recognizing the importance of this congress, has enterprisingly given a three thousand word daily report especially compiled by its syndicate service. All of this has been handled efficiently by the navy radio here—more, it was handled without serious delay or interruption even when we were getting play-by-play bulletins, every few minutes, on the world-series baseball at New York last week.

It seems to me that governments may well expend some of the great sums they will save by limitation of armaments in developing wireless press service. It would not take many of the millions of dollars which go into dreadnoughts, to build stations and establish operating staffs sufficient to cover the globe.

Such a plan as is herewith suggested would not necessarily conflict with the legitimate business of commercial cable and wireless systems. As international business grows, these are finding their facilities taxed in the straight commercial traffic. Some of them frankly do not want to handle press service.

Nor do I propose any system to tear down the large news-gathering and distribution agencies whose development is really among the wonders of the world. Today we have a close and cordial cooperation between the Associated Press and the United States navy radio in bringing world-news to Hawaii, and I have no doubt that same cordial spirit could be maintained with international systems.

In peace-time—and this whole congress is an illustration of the hope that peace may continue—in peace-time the government wireless can easily handle an immense press traffic. The United States navy plant and the staff here can handle a much larger volume of traffic than it is now called upon to handle. With the increase in number of wireless stations, and the steadily improving service which the fertile invention and the enthusiastic industry of wireless experts are developing, it will become more and more easy to flash tens of thousands of words a day around

the world. That opens to the newspaperman such a vista of possibilities that it seems indeed like a dream. But a great part of that dream has already come true in this part of the Pacific.

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FIELD OF SERVICE FOR THE PAN-PACIFIC PRESS  
CONFERENCE

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By LORRIN A. THURSTON,  
*Proprietor, Honolulu Advertiser.*

“ ‘Oo’s the bloke?”

“ ‘Ee’s a stranger.”

“ ‘Eave a ‘arf a brick at ‘im!”

(From a supposititious conversation between two English laborers concerning a passerby.)

The foregoing is illustrative of a trait in human nature—an innate feeling that every stranger is an enemy.

It is doubtless an inheritance from the days of the “cave era,” when man was a “beast of prey,” taking what he could and holding what he took—when he was strong enough to do so.

It is a survival from the days of uncurbed individualism, when “might was right”—when every man’s hand was against every other man.

In these twentieth century days, mankind has progressed to the extent, at least, that all other men are not necessarily enemies; that some may even be, *prima facie*, friends—those, for example, of the same family, clan, and, more latterly, of the same nation—although it is historically but of yesterday that the Scot and Briton looked askance at one another, and even the “hielander” and the “lowlander” of “bonny Scotland” were each the legitimate prey of the other; and the warm sentiment with which, on general principles, a south-of-Irelander still regards the English needs no elaborate proof.

The millenium is not in sight. It is not even within hearing distance over the horizon, nor within signaling distance by wireless!

It is, however, conceivable that the friendliness which has

in course of time expanded from family to clan, from clan to nation, to some extent, to nations of kindred blood or principles, can be extended to nations not of the same race origin, or who have been nurtured to revere different ideals!

It is an axiom that "like produces like."

That acquaintance begets friendliness.

"Pan-Pacificism" as evidenced in and through the "Pan-Pacific Union" is the visible manifestation of a spirit—a sentiment; and that spirit—that sentiment is, that friendliness begets friendliness—friendliness evolves cooperation, and cooperation results in progress.

The great distances between the shores of the Pacific, and, until recently, the scarcity of speedy steamers and the complete absence of cables and wireless, prevented communication between the countries bordering thereon; knowledge of what was transpiring across the ocean and intimate acquaintance between citizens of the Occident and the Orient, almost as completely as though the respective countries had been located in separate worlds.

No better evidence is required of the recent remoteness of Hawaii from the other Pacific countries, and they from each other, than the fact that the news of the election of President McKinley came to Honolulu by a steamer sailing from Yokohama, Japan, and the news that President Cleveland intended to restore the Hawaiian monarchy reached Hawaii by a steamer sailing from Victoria, Canada, and the news of the recognition of the provisional government of Hawaii by the United States reached Hawaii by a steamer sailing from Auckland, New Zealand.

During the past two decades communication, both steam and electric, across the Pacific has rapidly developed; but, until a chance visitor—one Alexander Hume Ford—breezed into Honolulu, well within that period, but little advance had been made in the bringing together of the peoples of the Pacific.

Whether Ford evolved the spirit of "Pan-Pacificism"—the spirit of friendliness—of co-operation—of progress, out of his own inner consciousness, or whether he crystalized it out of the balmy breezes and friendly atmosphere of Hawaii, has not been revealed; but as a matter of historical fact, the gentleman was

soon in full cry upon a scent which led to a shrine dedicated to friendliness entitled "The Hands Around the Pacific Club."

After spending some months in Honolulu proclaiming the virtues of this organization to a somewhat skeptical community, remindful of the voice of the prophet crying in the wilderness, Ford, not a bit discouraged or abashed, departed on a swing around the grand circuit of the Pacific, taking in New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines, China and Japan.

The only credentials which he carried were his own optimistic, almost beatific enthusiasm and a letter from the governor of Hawaii couched in somewhat general terms, to the effect that the writer thought that Ford was "all right."

In the course of a year or so Ford returned to Honolulu—not with a string of scalps at his belt, but with a sheaf of endorsements of the "Hands Around the Pacific" ideal, by high officials and public organizations of the several countries named, where branches of the new organization had been established by him. A natural inquiry was: "What is there in this for Ford?" Honolulu has long ago arrived at the conclusion that there is nothing in it for Ford—nothing except the "joy of service" and the exhilaration incident to accomplishment.

This brilliant beginning of a movement which has finally evolved into the Pan-Pacific Union, was due to Ford's intense enthusiasm, patent sincerity and unflagging energy; but even these qualities, combined as they were, with his magnetic and almost uncanny faculty of setting other people to work, would not have succeeded in galvanizing the traditional lethargy of the East into action, if it had not been that the time was ripe for just such a movement.

That the time was ripe, is evidenced by the rapidity with which the spirit of "Pan-Pacificism" has taken hold and "friendly co-operation" become the slogan of all the Pacific countries which have come within the sphere of the spirit.

There seems to have come into the Pacific world—spontaneously—like unto a new creation—the feeling that the old policies of aloofness—of isolation—of "every man for himself and the devil take the hindermost," are obsolete.

The feeling that friendliness and co-operation were to lead the Pacific nations out of the wilderness of suspicion and doubt,

seems to have been just beneath the surface, awaiting the magic touch which should crystalize this latent sentiment into realization and action—and this touch was supplied by Ford.

So much for the animating cause and the avenue through which "Pan-Pacificism" has arrived at its present position of beneficent activity.

It is easy to formulate generalities and express appreciation of good intentions; but "the proof of the pudding is in the eating of it," and one fact is worth a hundred theories.

I wish to place on record a concrete instance of accomplishment directly due to the Pan-Pacific Union, which would not have occurred but for the existence of that organization, which appears to me to justify all of the time, effort and expense which has been expended upon its organization and maintenance.

In October, 1920, a most disturbing condition of affairs existed in Hawaii, with possibilities of developing in such manner as to intensify already existing race suspicion, leading even to possible international friction.

Following the war spirit engendered on the mainland against the German newspapers and schools and the propaganda carried on through them, the sentiment had become prevalent in Hawaii that the local so-called "Language Schools"—chiefly Japanese—should be abolished or radically controlled.

An attempt to accomplish this through the local Legislature of 1918, excited so much opposition on the part of those who would be affected thereby, that the proposed legislation failed.

Instead of settling the question this failure to secure action aggravated the situation and the avowed determination was expressed throughout the Territory that Language Schools should and must be abolished.

The Attorney General and the Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu, the leading civic organization of the Territory, caused drafts of bills for this purpose to be drawn and published.

There was no sign of abatement of opposition to the proposed measures and there seemed no prospect for settlement of the issue except upon a basis which would leave a permanent feeling of resentment in a large part of the community against the ruling element thereof, based upon the beliefs that the former had been unjustly and unfairly dealt with.

A special term of the Legislature was already in session and the anti-Language School bills under consideration.

At this stage of events a "Pan-Pacific Banquet" was held at the International Y. M. C. A. building in Honolulu.

Upon this particular occasion the threatening aspect of the Language School question rippled the placid surface of the international pool somewhat more than usual, and out of the discussion there was evolved a plan between certain of the Japanese and some of the Americans present, by which it was hoped that a friendly settlement of the issue might be promoted.

The initiative was taken by the Japanese and the ground work of a regulatory legislative act suggested.

This was presented the next day to a meeting of the American Chamber of Commerce which had been especially convened to consider the bills which had been drafted by its own committee.

The chamber debated its own bill and the proposition submitted by the Japanese for several hours and adjourned without action.

Four days later it met again and received in confirmation of the original proffer a written draft of a bill to carry the original proposition into effect, accompanied by a letter signed by a committee of 24 Japanese residents of Honolulu, representing the business, financial, professional, and religious leadership of the community of that nationality, and the editors of three of the daily Japanese newspapers published in Honolulu, asserting that they were responsible for the proposed act and would support its enactment and execution.

As a result of this action, the Chamber of Commerce by a vote of 5 to 1 endorsed the measure presented by the Japanese in place of that presented by its own committee, and recommended its enactment by the Legislature.

The bill was forthwith introduced into the Legislature.

A public hearing was given thereon by the committee to whom it was referred at which the community was invited to express its views. This was freely done for an entire forenoon.

The ultimate result was that the senate passed the bill which had been offered by the Japanese, by a unanimous vote and the house of representatives by a vote of approximately 5 to 1 and the measure was signed by the Governor.

The law contains many details—prescribed the time and hours of sessions; subjected the curriculum to the control of the local board of education; required the schools and teachers to be licensed, the latter to be subject to the ability of the teachers to pass an examination in speaking and writing the English language and in knowledge of the American Constitution and history and of the ideals of democracy.

The same Japanese committee which had originally proposed the legislation then took up with the territorial board of education the question of securing special instruction, at the expense of the language school teachers, in the subjects upon which they were required to pass an examination.

The board of education co-operated with great energy and friendliness, such instruction beginning early in this year 1921.

On July 1st last the required examinations were taken by approximately 300 Japanese language school teachers, besides those of other nationality and a large majority of them passed and were duly licensed.

The language school teachers affected by this law have expressed themselves, practically unanimously, as being highly appreciative of the fair and friendly treatment accorded them by the educational authorities of the territory and the American community has been more than pleased at the prompt acquiescence and manifest sincerity of the language school authorities involved. It is even reported that some of the teachers, through the medium of their studies, have been converted from imperialism into enthusiastic advocates of a democratic form of government.

Through the medium of the Pan-Pacific Union's method of discussion across the table and "getting together" in friendly cooperation, a question which a year ago seriously threatened the peace of mind of this community with the possibility even of its affecting international relations has been amicably and satisfactorily settled.

While all of the issues now pending between Pacific countries cannot be settled as easily or as promptly as was the language school question in Hawaii, the principles involved in the settlement of this question are equally applicable to the larger and more serious issues now pending or which may hereafter arise.



The spirit of "Pan-Pacificism"—that is, the spirit of settling differences by friendly face to face consultation and mutual cooperation, will not immediately bring the millennium, but it offers a better and more hopeful method of settling international differences and preventing war than any other method yet proposed.

"Friendly consultation and mutual cooperation" is a slogan worthy of the earnest and enthusiastic support of this organization.

I trust, hope and believe that the Pan-Pacific Press organization this day formed will be an added and potent influence in advancing the beneficent objects of the Pan-Pacific Union.

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OPEN DIPLOMACY, THE HOPE OF THE PACIFIC  
PRESS

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By HOLLINGTON K. TONG,

*Peking editor of the Review of the Far East, Director of the North China Star of Tientsin, representative of the Peking and Tientsin newspapers and of the Commercial Press. of Shanghai and the North China Daily Mail of Tientsin.*

In three weeks' time a conference of international significance called by President Warren G. Harding will be held at Washington, D. C., to consider the Pacific questions and the advisability of the reduction of armaments of the leading nations. More than one hundred Chinese delegates and experts are now on their way to the Capital of the United States, and Japan is sending twice that number of officials to attend the conference. Other participating nations are taking a similar great interest in the Washington meeting. The importance of the forthcoming event in America is self-evident. If this important Washington conference is to be successful, the principle of open diplomacy must be religiously observed by those who are to participate therein.

The press on the other side of the Pacific Ocean has repeatedly expressed its hope that at the coming Washington meeting parlor discussions would not be resorted to, that all of its proceedings would be thrown open to the public as far as advisable

and that whatever secret understandings that might be previously entered into would not be recognized as having binding force. It has uttered a warning against the repetition of the secret diplomacy which has usually characterized the decisions of vital questions at international conferences in the past. Without exception, all the newspapers in China are unanimous in voicing their wish for the adoption of open diplomacy as the cardinal principle of the Washington conference, and looking forward to that conference openly to lay down righteous and just lines along which all international affairs that may arise on the Pacific should be regulated.

A section of the press in Japan which is liberal in its opinion on international relationship is sharing the foregoing views, knowing that the present Pacific situation is far from being satisfactory and that a little intrigue here and there may start a worldwide conflict anew. Undoubtedly the press on this side of the ocean may also urge open proceedings at the Washington conference and ask that the peoples of the interested nations should be taken into the confidence of negotiators in view of the fact that it is they who will have to make good whatever promises that their statesmen may make. But as yet it has not taken a definite stand on the issue. If the Pan-Pacific Press Conference can rouse the press in America and other countries which are sending delegates to the Washington meeting to take a renewed interest in the matter of open diplomacy during the next three weeks, it will render a useful service to humanity.

As a press representative from China, I propose that the Pan-Pacific Press Conference pass a resolution advocating statesmen of various nations who are to sit at the meeting reflect twice before they would follow in the footsteps of those who have in the past endeavored to arrive at secret understandings. It should be sent broadcast to the Pacific press and especially to the newspapers in America which can exert more influence than their contemporaries in the Far East in this connection, inasmuch as, first of all, the meeting place of the conference is to be in their capital, and secondly, they are always looked up to by the Americans as leaders of public opinion. Copies of the resolution should be specially sent to President Harding, American officials and officials of the other nations by the Pan-Pacific Press Confer-

ence in order to inform them in advance of the collective wish of the Pacific press. Unless this is done, it will be hard for those newspapers who would like to see intrigues replaced by open proceedings to realize their hope.

A statement concisely worded may be prepared by the Pan-Pacific Press Conference to support and amplify and explain the resolution mentioned. A request for the publication of the statement as well as of the resolution should be sent to all the newspapers in America, Canada, Japan, China and other countries in order to enlist the support of the press world in general. If sufficient public pressure can be brought to bear upon those statesmen who have made secret diplomacy a profession and considered it as an expediency, the hope of the Pacific press may yet be realized, the Washington conference may go down in history as the first international conference none of the decisions of which has been secretly reached beforehand, and the outstanding questions between the Pacific nations may be solved to the satisfaction of their peoples, which ultimately will lead to a better international understanding.

Not only should the proceedings of the Washington conference be guided by full publicity, but also daily international intercourse should be so regulated. If the nations can be frank in their relationships with their neighbors, the chance of war might be much minimized. It is the countries which did not show their cards on the table while engaged in negotiations which were accountable for the large proportion of the past warfare. History is full of instances to illustrate this point. On the other hand, if the diplomats concerned are open-minded and abhor diplomatic practices, a serious situation may be averted and substituted by a better relationship.

Secret diplomacy is often disadvantageous to the country or countries which resort to it. They cannot continue practicing it without being found out. Once discovered they lose the respect of civilized mankind. Even if they are truthful once in a while in what they say or promise, the nations with which they have dealings would suspect them and would refrain from placing faith in them. This is bad enough for them, but the worst has yet to come. Because of their secret diplomatic dealings, they usually keep back the news concerned as long as possible.

The newspapers which by chance should get a tip therein often magnify the seriousness of the situation and call upon imagination for assistance in writing up the story when they fail to get from the officials the true facts. Corrections are usually belated, and the reading public as a rule places more confidence in the first story than in the subsequent corrections. An ambitious government may be aggressive in nine out of ten cases, but when it has really rendered some disinterested service to mankind in the tenth case, no one will believe its altruism. Its credit has been lost, and none would have confidence therein. Injuries, direct or indirect, from the loss of credit by a nation, must be tremendous. Is it worth while to reap such a disastrous fruit from the continued practice of secret diplomacy? The reply of an influential section of the press on the Pacific is in the negative.

Today open diplomacy is more needed than ever before. The future ahead of us is rather gloomy indeed. A new international clash that shall drown the world in a lake of blood beside which the late blood-letting in Europe will appear but as a small stream is freely predicted and tremblingly feared. Some have forecasted that the time for the conflict between the East and West is also fast approaching. Small incidents which have happened in the past are magnified by the yellow press of the world out of all proportion either to their cause or to their significance. Even the thinking peoples in all countries become nervous, and are afraid of the day when another world-war may be waged. At such a time, the use of a little secret diplomacy may cause the explosion and bring woe to peaceful inhabitants of God's earth.

No organization, in my opinion, is more fitted than the Pan-Pacific Press Conference to endeavor to make open diplomacy an accepted creed of international statecraft and to decide at its first session upon the attainment of this object as one of its aims. With the support of President Harding, one of its honorary presidents, who cannot but be sympathetic with our motive, I fully believe that this Press Conference may be able to accomplish something in that direction. The rulers of other countries may be requested to lend their support to the carrying out of the program. I feel certain that the President of the Republic of China will be glad to do all he can in this worthy matter.

I sincerely hope that before the adjourning of the first ses-

A VIEW OF THE LEAF IN THE ARMORY AT LAHAINA, MAUI.





sion of the Pan-Pacific Conference a resolution will be passed advocating the publication of all the proceedings of the Washington conference as wished by the Pacific press, and that steps would be taken by the officers of the Pan-Pacific Union to give to the resolution wide publicity and to try to put that great principle into effect as early as possible. The Washington conference to be held on November 11th should give us an impetus to work for this object which I believe must be cherished by all the newspapermen who desire peace on earth and good will towards mankind.

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## JAPANESE PRESS IN HAWAII

By Y. SOGA,

*Editor, Nippon Jiji.*

The Japanese press in Hawaii plays an important part in the manifold activities of Hawaii due to the fact that it represents a large number of Japanese residents who constitute a majority of the population of these islands. The influence of the Japanese press, whether in the good direction or in the bad direction, vitally affects Hawaii's interests, and upon its attitude depend interracial harmony and concord in this integral part of the United States.

The Japanese press in Hawaii is not a small question, and in treating the question, I shall be brief, confining myself to a statement of principal facts, divided into past, present and future.

The first Japanese newspaper made its appearance twenty-nine years ago, in 1892, when *Nippon Shuho* or *Japanese Weekly* printed its first sheet by a mimeograph machine. This publication after sending out a number of editions changed its title to *Hawaii Shuho* or *Hawaii Weekly*, with B. Onome, superintendent of immigration board of Hawaii, as editor.

In 1893 another weekly newspaper came into existence, with the title of *Hawaii Shinbun*. It was edited by Dr. J. Uchida who published about 65 editions. A little later another publication came into existence. It was called *Jukuseiki* or *Nineteenth Century*.

The appearance of the Jukuseiki was followed by the establishment of the Hawaii Shimpo in 1894, and Yamato Shinbun, the forerunner of the Nippu Jiji, in 1895. Shin Nippon or New Japan, another publication, appeared about the same time or shortly afterwards. The Yamato Shinbun was first edited by H. Mizuno.

About the time the Yamato Shinbun and Hawaii Shimpo came into being, the mimeograph machines were discarded and their places were taken by types imported from Japan. At the same time the newspapers changed their editions from weekly to daily, gaining substantial increase in circulation.

This was the beginning of the Japanese press in Hawaii. At the present time there are in the whole territory about twelve dailies and weeklies and several monthly periodicals. The city of Honolulu has four Japanese dailies which are the Hawaii Shimpo, Hawaii Houchi, Hawaii Nippo and the Nippu Jiji. Hilo city has two daily and one weekly publications, while west Hawaii has one weekly; Koloa, island of Kauai, one weekly; and Lihue, Kauai, also one weekly. The island of Maui has two newspapers, one being semiweekly and the other a weekly publication.

Besides these newspapers there is the Jitsugyo-no-Hawaii, known in the English-speaking community as the Commercial and Industrial Magazine of Hawaii. This periodical is ten years old. Another periodical is the Japanese-American Review which will soon come into existence with objects to promote better understanding between races in these islands.

The Japanese newspapers in Hawaii, like all newspapers, are striving for supremacy. In the gathering and dissemination of local news, in the printing of world news, they are engaged in keen competition. The development of the Japanese press in Honolulu has been so rapid in recent years that some of the largest Japanese newspapers published outside of the Empire of Japan are found not on the continental United States or in Korea or any other country where Japanese reside, but right here in Hawaii.

The policies of the Japanese newspapers in Hawaii, while differing from one another in minor points, agree in their essentials. As a part of their policy the Japanese newspapers pro-



pound to Japanese residents in the territory what the Japanese call "Eiju Dochaku" or permanent residence in Hawaii. This policy is pursued by the Japanese press not with any sinister motive to secure control on these islands or to obtain domination over other races, but with the idea of inducing the Japanese of becoming a part of the land of their residence. The Japanese press believes that the longer the Japanese live in Hawaii, the more interested they will become in Hawaii's affairs and things American, and the more they come to know about America the better it is for the Americanization of themselves and their children.

The life of the Japanese press in Hawaii will not be long. The steady increase in the English-speaking Japanese educated in America and the decrease of the older Japanese generation speaking the Japanese language will make the publication of Japanese newspapers an unpaying proposition within twenty-five years or so.

In this connection it might be interesting to mention that the Japanese press in Hawaii is advocating the use of Romanized Japanese which makes it possible for Japanese writers to convey their sentiment in Japanese phraseologies reduced to Roman letters.

In order that there may be a better understanding between Americans and Japanese in Hawaii, one of the Japanese newspapers in Honolulu, The Nippu Jiji, publishes its editorials and news articles in Japanese as well as in English, giving the English-speaking community a comprehensive view of what takes place in the Japanese community every day. The Hawaii Shimpo, another Honolulu daily, has also recently started to publish its leading editorials once a week, in the English language, which is very commendable.

The English section of the Nippu Jiji is largely devoted to promoting understanding between Japanese and American communities, and also to the promotion of interest of Japanese children growing up into American citizens. In the beginning this section was not so popular as it was expected, the criticism being that it was too much for the Nippu Jiji, which is an eight-page newspaper, to devote a page for English news items. However, this criticism has now entirely disappeared, parents of Japanese

children finding it a valuable source of information for their children who prefer to read and speak English rather than Japanese.

The Nippu Jiji has grown from a small printing plant having a circulation of a few hundred copies to a large printing establishment holding the leading place among the Japanese press in Hawaii. It holds membership in the Associated Press through whose services its readers are given reports of up-to-date world events. Its cable despatches from Tokyo are noted for accuracy and promptitude.

The Japanese press of Hawaii has been, and is still to some extent, very unpopular among certain elements in the American community. The unpopularity was at its height a year or two ago when an unfortunate event unavoidably took place in Hawaii.

The popular belief among the white people seems to be that the Japanese press allows anything to appear in its columns because no one, except the Japanese, knows what is being said. This is untrue. Responsible newspapers control their utterances, though at times, they become irrelevant in an unguarded moment. They are perfectly aware of the fact that what is being said in Japanese is rapidly communicated to the American community. The Nippu Jiji, for one, prints in the Japanese as well as in the English language what actually takes place in the Japanese community, withholding or camouflaging nothing. This honesty is sometimes criticized by its Japanese contemporaries, but the Nippu Jiji could not justify itself if it concealed or suppressed facts just because they are unpleasant.

In spite of all that may be said against the Japanese press, it must be conceded that it is a valuable factor in the Americanization work of the alien Japanese population of the islands which is dominating any other single race as far as number is concerned. The majority of the Japanese in Hawaii do not speak or read the English language. They must rely upon the Japanese press for the day's information relating to practically everything, from the enactment of new laws down to the social customs, if they are to conform, as best as they can, to the requirements of the country of their residence. The Japanese press is necessary until such time as the alien Japanese population shall have attained such a degree of Americanization that its assistance is no longer needed.

In support of the statement that the Japanese press is a valuable factor in the uplift of Hawaii, let me cite some of the many instances of patriotic work it has performed. When the European war started it was the Japanese press through the Japanese language that successfully urged the Japanese residents to enlist in the United States army, to buy Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps. It enlisted the support of the Japanese in American Red Cross work and other patriotic services, and what they have done, in my opinion, cannot be successfully contradicted by any one.

We have in Hawaii a press law enacted by the 1921 territorial legislature for the primary purpose of controlling the utterances of the foreign language press. While this law has been enacted particularly for the control of Japanese newspapers in Hawaii, we hope it will never find application to any of the newspapers in the territory.

The future of America as a nation depends in an important degree upon the measure of success Americans achieve in uniting all the racial strains into a single racial element—the American—with a single American aim with a single American ideal. And Hawaii cannot afford to alienate the Japanese press by setting up against them a barrier of prejudice and undeserved suspicion when they can be used to mix the Japanese racial strain into American race.

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#### A MESSAGE FROM THE CHINESE PRESS

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By JABIN HSU,

*Representative of the Newspaper Association of Shanghai  
and the Chinese Press, Shanghai.*

The press of the Pacific countries has come to play an important role in the regeneration of the intellectual life of China. Contact with other nations shatters the crust of China's provincial journalism and induces mutation and progress in the journalistic activities. As it has been in Japanese newspaperdom, so it is in China. Contact with the West, especially America, has brought in new ideas, new forces and new influences, which are helping

to guide the public opinion of China's vast populace. In the journalistic development, China is in a transition from the old to the new, from the conservative to the progressive, like her other phases of national life.

During this period of transition, we are looking to our neighbors on the Pacific for sympathetic guidance and support and to a certain extent we have succeeded. We are copying all the methods of news gathering, editing and advertising, which our big brothers have wisely adopted through trying experiences. On account of her youth as a factor in the intellectual life of a nation, China has for some considerable extent allowed herself to be led by the opinions of the Pacific newspapers and news agencies. During the world war, newspapermen in China devoured everything that the foreign press chose to feed the Orient but the news reports concerning the international relationship of China as conveyed by the foreign agencies had their own purposes to serve. In their contact with the Pacific press, the Chinese pressmen placed unreserved confidence in the columns of the newspapers circulated in the countries bordering the great ocean and the daily dispatches furnished by news agencies of these countries.

When peace was proclaimed, newspapers in China unanimously predicted disarmament and the elimination of secret diplomacy, because the press of the Pacific had repeatedly declared that the late war was fought in the interest of justice and humanity. The Chinese press at that time merely reproduced the promises made by the statesmen of the day through the Pacific press and other machines of publicity. Three long years have elapsed and Chinese today discover that they have been misled, intentionally or unintentionally, we are not here to discuss. Chinese journalists have now realized that press dispatches from their foreign colleagues were distributed with ulterior motives and that the truth of the conditions of the nations of the world was not honestly told in the Far East. Some believed that the foreign press organizations are merely weapons in the hands of their respective diplomats.

Inconsistency, of course, is the greatest impeachment with which the press of China today charges the press of the Pacific, for did not the statesmen of Europe and America declare through

their own press that the war was to end all future conflicts and that upon its successful prosecution, each and every person would be given a decent chance to enjoy life, property and the pursuit of happiness. If the Pacific press expects to enjoy the confidence of us all, the Chinese journalists say, it should be at least consistent: it should review the utterance and declaration of the figures of world importance as it publishes new facts about them. If the press of the Pacific is to lead the opinion of the Orient, it must necessarily exercise such vigilance and supervision as are required from time to time to check the inconsistent words and acts of the world politicians. Under such circumstances and only under such circumstances can the world be free from propaganda, so expressively termed the "hookworm of journalism."

The comment of the Chinese press on the Pacific press, though somewhat too severe, is but the outcome of the disease seeds sowed by the foreign journalists themselves and they have only themselves to thank for. But in order to secure the confidence and hence sympathetic support of the Oriental newspaperdom, the foreign press should tell "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth." A press devoid of propaganda and colored news, or "handouts" and aimed for the welfare of the Pacific as well as the world is the call of the Orient. The faithful performance of its duties by the Pacific press during the world crisis as is existing today will accomplish much to disperse the war clouds which even today hang darkly over our horizon. Such being the case, the reason why the Pacific press should be clean, consistent and truthful more than any other section of the world press is more than apparent.

With the results of the Versailles Conference still vividly lingering in our minds, the nations of the earth are about to undergo another experiment to solve the Pacific problems without resorting to arms. The time is opportune for the journalists of the Pacific to see to it that the tragedy of the Versailles conference is not reproduced. It is well within the power of the Pacific press to avert the coming strike. Secret diplomacy, intrigue and entangling alliance have but one remedy, the bitter pill of wide publicity. The statesmen who are going to participate in this coming conference, like those at the Versailles Conference, have announced to the world through the press their intention of re-

lieving mankind of that terrible burden of deprivation for the increase of armament and of giving all the nations, whether strong or weak, a square deal at the conference table. The same pledge, it will be remembered, was made by the participants of the Versailles Conference before its sessions. I trust that the newspapermen of the Pacific will effectively exercise their supreme function of making the statesmen make good their promises and prevent that great catastrophe which must follow if a revivification of the Versailles Conference takes place.

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### JOURNALISM IN KOREA

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By I. YAMAGATA,  
*Editor, Seoul Press.*

I am a Japanese and have come from Seoul in Korea where I am the proprietor and editor of a little daily paper called the Seoul Press. Although my paper is a humble publication of only four pages, yet Dr. Williams, the President of the World Press Congress, when he visited Korea several years ago took notice of it and afterwards in a pamphlet he prepared on the press of the world, included it among the hundred representative papers of the world. I am not so self-conceited as to think that Dr. Williams gave my paper this distinction and honor because it was a good standard journal. On the contrary mine is very poor stuff, containing not much cablegrams and highly paid special articles and giving only local news written in the poorest English. Nevertheless it is the only daily paper published in English in the whole of the Korean peninsula and besides at the time Dr. Williams visited Seoul it was the highest priced paper in the world, the monthly subscription being one dollar and a quarter gold. These two, I think, are the reasons which induced or compelled Dr. Williams to mention the name of my paper in the list of a hundred great papers of the world. Our distinguished president was simply forced to give my paper, the Seoul Press, this great honor for there was no other competitor in the field for the laurel.

By the way, a few years ago I was obliged to abandon the distinction of publishing the highest priced paper in the world. I was constantly assailed by my readers with complaints against the high price of my paper and with demands for a reduction of it. I lowered the price to only a half a dollar a month a few years ago and though this trebled the circulation of the Seoul Press I am not getting so much profit as I did before. This makes me think that we journalists should combine ourselves to maintain a reasonably high price for our papers. Newspapers are now a thing of necessity, as indispensable as our daily food. They are a necessity, or it may be a necessary evil. People simply cannot do without them. Why should not we ask from them for more pay for our work and labor.

As I have said, I have come from Korea, a country which is still little known by the people of the rest of the world. If any of you, ladies and gentlemen, would like to know about the real condition of Korea I should only be too glad to supply you with correct information as best as I can. As this is a congress of journalists, permit me, however, to tell you something about journalism in Korea. It is charged that the Japanese government restricts the freedom of the press. This charge is true to a certain extent. No cities except such big cities as Seoul and Fusan were permitted to have more than one newspaper. In other words, one paper for one city was the rule. This policy was enforced by the government partly for political reasons and partly in consideration of the interest of the people at large. For some time after the annexation of Korea by Japan was carried out, there prevailed much political unrest, which induced the authorities to think it prudent and expedient to control the press. At the same time the authorities thought it beneficial to the people at large, not to permit the publication of too many newspapers, because when there are many newspapers published in a small place it is always the public that suffer much in consequence of the competition and struggles for existence between them. Keen canvassing for soliciting advertisements and subscriptions must be kept up so that they may live on and the result is that the general public are victimized.

As a matter of fact, before annexation Seoul had four or five Japanese and four Korean daily papers, all of which were but

poorly supported and had to live, so to speak, from hand to mouth. The result was that not a few instances occurred in which the public were made to lose. In view of this evil the government put restriction on the number of newspapers making one newspaper for one city a general rule. This policy, as you will see, was taken with the best of intentions, but I do not think it was a wise one. The government should have left the matter alone, leaving the public to manage it by itself. The government was too paternal and this was resented by the public. The government has since seen its error in this respect.

Two years ago when the Government-General of Korea was reformed and reorganized, one of the first things the new authorities did was to permit the publication of three Korean and two Japanese newspapers in Seoul. One of the Korean newspapers is here represented by my friend Mr. Kim. His paper is *Dong-A Daily*, or *Eastern Asia Daily News*. It is the best paper with the largest circulation in Korea, being edited by some of Korea's best educated young men. It is a great educational power and influential moulder of Korean public opinion, and though its utterances occasionally displease the Japanese authorities, as outspoken and radical opinions of young men do older men, it is a great help to the government because through its columns the the authorities can sound and learn the desires and ideas of the Korean people, so that they may frame such a policy of administration as will please them and promote their general interest.

Journalism in Korea is still in its young days of development. There are published in Seoul, capital of the peninsula, three Korean, three Japanese and one English dailies, besides a number of monthly magazines, Japanese and Korean. In the provinces about a dozen daily papers are published. Most of those metropolitan and provincial papers are rather poor stuff and their financial conditions are anything but good. The Korean masses are still too ignorant and too poor to be able to support any big papers, in running which much capital is needed. Besides, Korea being an agricultural country and her commerce and manufacturing industries being still undeveloped, the papers in that country can not as yet collect many advertisements and can not obtain any big income from that source. Both subscription and advertising rates are low and editors are very poorly paid.



As I said, the Dong-A Daily is the Korean paper enjoying the largest circulation, issuing, as I understand, some forty thousand copies a day. Even this paper, however, cannot be said to be financially very well off. As I understand, it is run with little or no profit. Nevertheless, the Korean papers have a great future. Education is rapidly spreading among Korea's rising generation and along with the economic advance the people are steadily making today, there is no doubt that the number of people reading newspapers will increase and correspondingly the position of the press and of those engaged in it will be improved.

I thank you all for listening to my poor paper.

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### THE NEWSPAPER IN KOREA

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By D. S. KIM,

*The Dong-A Daily, Seoul, Korea.*

(*Read by Guy Innes.*)

The average English reader knows little of the Korean newspaper in the making. It is a happy occasion to inform this great gathering briefly how the modern Korean paper is turned out.

Koreans use the Chinese characters as well as the alphabet or the phonetic syllabary, which is composed of eleven vowels and fourteen consonants which is considered the simplest written language in the world. Anybody can learn to read and write within a week. For this reason there is no illiteracy in Korea, but a Korean journalist must be a scholar in Chinese classics which form the basis of all written language in the Orient. The English papers have passed the stage when the reading public enjoyed a long editorial, but in Korea it is still in demand.

History tells us that the Koreans invented the iron movable types long before Gutenberg; those old types are still kept at the royal museum today. The Korean alphabet has been already adapted to the linotype with which the Koreans in America are publishing their papers, but on account of the Chinese characters it is not practicable in Korea.

Now, take the Dong-A Daily, the leading newspaper in

Korea, it has four pages with sixteen members on the editorial staff which is too crowded for an English paper of the same size. One might criticise for the waste of labor, but actually the writing is all done by hand, and it must be carried out by a bigger force than an English paper. The manuscript papers are ruled so as to write one word in each square space by which means the man in the composing room may know how many words to the line or the whole article at a glance.

The Korean language is like the Chinese, read up and down and from right to left, so the first page is really the last of a four-page paper. It is a decided rule, that each page has its separate departments: The first page is editorial, by all means the most important; the second, telegrams, politics and commercial news; the third, the social or city news, the written picture of Korean life; and the fourth page has fiction and correspondence from all corners of the nation. Advertisements go at the foot of the first and last pages. The third page is written entirely by the Korean alphabet, that attracts more readers than the other conservative pages.

The Dong-A Daily has a rotary press that turns out twenty thousand copies per hour, and the press rolls almost three hours daily to turn out fifty thousand copies that reach every corner and nook of the country.

The local news is gathered by reporters who have been assigned to certain places and also by news agencies, but the foreign news is supplied by the Reuter and Kokusai, that tell very little about the news of the different races bordering the Pacific.

The Koreans want to know more about the news concerning the Pacific. In view of this fact the Dong-A Daily has been rendering all possible assistance and publicity to the Pan-Pacific Union, so today the name of Mr. Alexander Hume Ford, our esteemed chairman of the conference, is as well known to the Koreans as to the Hawaiians, and the full report of the first educational conference proceedings has been published and now the Dong-A Daily is represented at the first Pan-Pacific Press Conference, at the threshold of a new era, may we hope that we know each other better than ever before by the efforts of this conference.

THE NEED IN LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES

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By VIRGILIO RODRIGUEZ BETETA,

*Representing the Press Association of  
South America*

Being one of the fundamental purposes of the Press Congress to establish and maintain closer relations between the publishers of newspapers and magazines in every country, nothing could be better than the formation of subdivisions of this Congress, in such a way that this may be the big organization which will preside over all subdivisions and these will serve with greater concentration on sectional problems, and particular attention to relations between peoples of one section of the globe. The organization of a Pan-Pacific Press Conference to be a part of the Press Congress of the World is, in consequence, not only a logical step in the development of the functions of the Press Congress of the World, but a step of more than ordinary significance at this time when the eyes of the world are turned expectantly on the development of this section of the globe.

The papers presented on the occasion of the inauguration of this Pan-Pacific Press Conference will show how practical can be the promotion of understanding between the Pan-Pacific countries to secure better means of communication between them and, above all, to advance the cause of world peace.

I will refer now only to what this section of the Press Congress can accomplish in the case of Latin America. All of the Latin American Republics have coastlines, both on the Atlantic and the Pacific, with the exception of Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Bolivia, but even these countries have considerable interest in the Pacific. In so far as the first four are concerned they are interested because of the establishment of railroad facilities between Chile and the Republic of Argentina by means of the Transandean Railway. In reference to the last named of these republics, Bolivia, which has no coast, either on the Atlantic or the Pacific, has its natural outlet, however, toward the Pacific.

In spite of the many commercial interests which Latin America

has on the Pacific it can be said that there are but very few relations maintained between these countries and those of the Hawaiian Islands, Japan, China, Korea, New Zealand, the Philippines, Australia and other countries bordering the Pacific in the Old World, countries which are known to Latin America through name only.

There are in Latin American countries bordering the Pacific not less than seventy wireless stations, among them one of high power located in Chile, but no news is sent there directly from the Orient. It is relayed to California by wireless, from there it is sent to New York, thence to South America by cable from Galveston on the Gulf of Mexico, going to Vera Cruz, Mexico, crossing then the isthmus and going from there through all the Pacific countries of Central and South America.

The main task of the Pan-Pacific Conference in connection with the interchange of news in Central and South American newspapers should be directed to obtaining direct means of communication at the lowest possible rate. The dealings which rapid development of this Congress is maintaining is of great interest to the Orient because of the rapid growth which these young countries have made in their fight for advancement against so many handicaps. The Orient would be interested in knowing how the racial problem has been solved in countries like Argentina and Uruguay, how the extension of a great population of Negroes in Brazil does not constitute a problem there, and how the problem of a large native Indian population, by means of its slow assimilation with the white populations, is being solved. You of the Orient will be very much interested in knowing of the magnitude and intensity of the fight in which these countries have been engaged in their struggle to adopt the most advanced principles of representation and democracy in spite of poor preparation by the masses and a national independent life when these countries obtained their independence from Spain. Finally you will be astonished when you know the progress, the figures of natural trade and some other striking results achieved by some of these countries. While a group of them have achieved great results and all the others are in different degrees of development, all tending toward the same results. The size of the Latin American territory which is at least four times that of the United States and is cap-

able for a population of four hundred million people, and the stupendous number and variety of natural resources foreshadows that Latin America is destined to occupy a great position in world affairs. And now it is interesting to know how the Orient will be benefited from the position which Latin America holds.

From the beginning of the development of the practical works of the Pan-Pacific Conference in Latin America I suggest the necessity of starting the relations with it by means of a center of communication established at a point in America which is to be in direct contact, both with Latin America and at the same time with the Orient. There is but one way to begin, that is to say, to take advantage of an intermediate point. The situation is similar to that of two persons, who, in order to become acquainted need the services of a third person to make the introduction. Through this point you will speak to Latin America and Latin America will speak to you, it being the center of diffusion and the source of the information contained in your newspapers, magazines and pamphlets, and vice versa. Of course this point which is selected must be one which has the best and most rapid means of communication by cable, wireless, steamer and mail with both the Orient and Latin America. Through this center there would be developed the mutual relations between the Orient and Latin America, until the time when such communications could be put on a direct basis.

That is the way for the Pan-Pacific Conference to promote a better understanding between the Pacific countries of Latin America and the Pacific countries of the Orient, and especially of establishing better understanding between the journalists by means of communication. In so far as the high purposes of advancing the cause of the *peace of the Pacific*, a phrase of deep significance for securing the peace of the world, this branch of the Press Congress should make the task of Latin America a very important one. There are in the most southwesterly part of America big problems which concern the international policies of all Latin America. The "War of the Pacific," so-called, is the name given by history to the war between Chile on the one side, and Peru and Bolivia on the other side during the last third of the eighteenth century. This war left as a legacy a bitter dispute as to frontiers and provinces which has been impossible to settle ami-

cably in spite of the many efforts used, as much on the part of politicians and diplomatists of the contending nations as by the mediation of disinterested countries. Neither the Pan-American Congress, started nearly thirty years ago with the purpose of bringing together the American countries, both of Saxon and Spanish origin, for the settlement of international quarrels and disputes and adopting a common point of view in regard to international policies, or the efforts of prominent men of thought and good will in North and South America have succeeded in stopping this acute quarrel which represents the most perplexing problem confronted by the people of Latin America.

Bolivia expects, naturally enough, an outlet to the sea, of which she was deprived at the time of the treaty after that war. Peru demands the return of two provinces which Chile retains in her hands. Chile argues that she has the right for doing it and the other says that the main condition of that treaty, which was to put the disputed provinces under the test of a plebiscite, was not fulfilled.

The settlement of the problem involved is the main purpose of any attempt to maintain peace in the Latin American Pacific. If the Pan-Pacific Press Conference could do something that would gain the attention of the most influential journalists of both countries in order to bring about a common point of view which would result in arranging a covenant, it would be an achievement which would excel any other one accomplishment made by the many tentative Pan-American Congresses and courts of arbitration.

Another point to which the work of the Pan-Pacific Press Conference could be addressed is Central America. The separation of these five small republics, which at the time of its independence and some twenty years after, were constituted a sole nation, is a Latin American international problem which in a certain way opposes the prestige and harmonious development of the American continent of Spanish speaking countries. Since its independence the most intelligent and patriotic public men have been engaged in fighting at first for maintaining the unity of the Republic of Central America and afterwards for the establishment of it. Since 1885, on which date Rufino Barrios fell in battle, fighting gloriously for these ideals, the attempts to secure this union by

means of force were stopped, and has been changed by means of a policy of diplomacy and other peaceful means. In 1911 a league of Central American journalists was attempted for the same purpose. At present they are not engaged in re-uniting the governments, but mainly the peoples. Big things are being performed worthy of the help and support of all honorable people. The Spanish and Latin American press has offered at different opportunities its support, and recently most of the papers of the United States, especially the papers and magazines of New York, have become interested in this affair and have applauded that effort. Should the Pan-Pacific Conference take upon its own account the task of using its influence for securing a definite moral support of the press of the Pacific it would be very opportune and it would signify that they would help the five countries occupying the center of the New World, through which the oceanic communication was opened and which is the point at which not only the communication of the Atlantic with the Pacific was consummated, but which represents the bridge uniting the great portions of North and South America.

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THE PAN-PACIFIC PRESS CONFERENCE

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By DR. FRANK F. BUNKER,

*Executive Secretary, Pan-Pacific Union.*

The hour has come to close this session of the Pan-Pacific Press Conference and with it there terminates as well the official program of the Press Congress of the World. Very soon, all too soon to suit those of us who belong to Hawaii, you will begin retracing your steps. Very soon comfortable and commodious vessels and swift trains will have carried you back to your desks and very soon you will find yourselves in your accustomed places, engaged in your accustomed duties, meeting your accustomed associates and again living your accustomed lives. For a brief time you will have slipped out of your place in the smoothly working machinery with which each of you has surrounded himself

and of which each is an integral and essential part. Soon you will have slipped back into your particular niches, outwardly unchanged by your visit to Hawaii.

While your avoirdupois may show some increase, nevertheless, I have no doubt, your architectural lines will still bear sufficient resemblance to your former proportions to enable your friends to recognize your silhouette. Outwardly, I say, all will be as before, but inwardly, I doubt not, there will have come a change as a result of new perceptions, an enlarged outlook, an energizing vision, for you have been seeing with the mind as well as with the eye.

The citizens of Hawaii, with that hospitality for which they are justly famous (I can say this without immodesty for I have been here not much longer than yourselves) have tried to make it easy for you to see something of nature's wonders here to be found in lavish profusion; to gain some notion at first hand of Hawaii's important occupations; to learn somewhat of the customs, lore and character of the great race of Polynesians who have long inhabited these Islands, and to form some idea of the problems of labor and race here to be found.

Although we hope you will have found these features of sufficient interest to lead you to speak and to write of them as opportunity arises, nevertheless, if that inward change of which I speak has led you to do no more than to observe and enjoy the unparalleled beauties of sea and land and sky, here to be found, your trip will have fallen short of its possibilities, both to you and to us, for you will have missed the interrelations of things, the hidden meanings, the things which do not appear. In such event it will be as though "having eyes one sees not" and "having ears one hears not."

That the countries and states bordering the Pacific and in the Pacific constitute a region having features and characteristics and problems which differentiate it from every other region has been recognized by many. Seventy years or more ago W. H. Seward, then United States Senator from New York, and later Secretary of State under Lincoln, in a notable speech in the Senate, gave expression to a remarkable prophecy concerning this region. He said:

"Henceforth European commerce, European politics, Euro-



pean thought, and European activity, although actually gaining force; and European connections, although actually becoming more intimate, will nevertheless relatively sink in importance; while the Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands and the vast region beyond, will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter."

The fact that on Armistice Day, November 11th next, there convenes in Washington at the call of the President of the United States representatives of the principal allied and associated powers to consider the principles and policies which shall govern in and about the Pacific, is clear proof of the fact that in the view of the President of the United States the future peace of the world now turns on the settlement of difficulties in the Pacific. If further proof of his interest in the Pacific were needed it would be found in the letter of greetings which he sent to the delegates to the Pan-Pacific Educational Conference which convened in this city in August last. Let me read his letter:

"The Pan-Pacific Congress on Education soon to meet has greatly appealed to my imagination, and I want to express my hopes that it will be marked by a measure of success that will justify all the hopes that have been entertained for it. It seems only yesterday that we thought of the broad Pacific as separating two unrelated worlds, now we have come to regard it as a world by itself, the greatest of neighborhoods, the romantic meeting place of East and West, where each merges into the other and both discover that at last the supreme interests of humanity are common to all men and races. Two-thirds of the earth's population live in the lands of the Pacific, numbering the oldest and the newest of organized communities, and, characteristic of our times, their mighty ocean is come to be regarded by all of them as a bond rather than a barrier. In a large way we must feel that the future of the race, the hope of creating a true community of men and nations and civilizations, each retaining its own traditions, character and independence, yet all serving the common end of human progress must greatly depend on the development of your fine ideal of a Pan-Pacific neighborhood. With better acquaintance, more intimate interdependence, riper mutual understandings, we shall advance to the realization of such an ideal. I feel that your Educational Congress is one of the most practical

means of drawing these communities thus closer together, and therefore have special reasons to wish it well."

In this connection I want also to bring to your attention a statement made by Lloyd George, uttered but a few weeks ago, in discussion of the British-Japanese alliance. As quoted by the Associated Press, he said:

"If the alliance with Japan could be merged into a greater understanding with Japan and the United States on all problems of the Pacific, that would be a great event, and it would be a guarantee for the peace of the world. The problems of today may be in the Atlantic. Yesterday they were in the German ocean, and they may pass tomorrow into the Pacific and when they do the powers that are most greatly concerned in the Pacific are America, Japan, China and the British Empire. These four great powers are primarily concerned with having a complete understanding with regard to the Pacific. The surest way to make a success of any disarmament plan is, first of all, to arrive at an understanding upon the Pacific."

And may I not add also the words of the late President Roosevelt, speaking to this matter of the Pacific as a region of significance:

"The Mediterranean era died with the discovery of America; the Atlantic era has reached the height of its development; the Pacific era, destined to be the greatest, is just at dawn."

This area which we are calling the Pacific region is so big and broad, so diversified in its peoples, its climate, its industries; and we in turn may become so occupied with the minutiae of our particular vocations that it is easy to fail to see the larger whole and consequently to fail to do our part in bringing into harmonious relationship the divergent elements to be found therein. The fact, however, that the Press Congress of the World thought it important enough to meet here in Hawaii and that you have thought it wise to organize a Pan-Pacific Press Conference to carry forward lines of work which have to do primarily with this region show unmistakably that you are not blind to the need or to the possibilities.

Fourteen years ago this vision of a Pacific region knit together in all of its parts and its interrelations by friendly understanding came to Mr. Alexander Hume Ford. Like many other

movements which have grown into powerful agencies for public welfare, the idea first found lodgment in the mind of a single individual who had the courage and singleness of purpose to devote his entire time and energy to its promotion.

The attitude of Hawaii, itself, towards the Pan-Pacific movement inaugurated by Mr. Ford has been much the same as that which communities generally take toward projects of like character. At first the feeling was one of indifference and of incredulity. Then came a period characterized by an awakening interest followed by the full endorsement and the active support of local persons of the highest standing. As to the nations and countries in and about the Pacific, Mr. Ford has secured for the Union from many the endorsement of their chief administrative officers and the permission to use their names as sponsors. Among these countries are the following: The United States and Canada in North America; New Zealand, Australia, Java, the Philippines and Japan among the Pacific islands; and Siam and China on the continent of Asia.

Furthermore, such is the recognition accorded the Pan-Pacific Union, that Mr. Ford succeeded, through the assistance of the Federal Bureau of Education and of the Pan-American Union, in having the Department of State of the United States government, through its diplomatic connections, extend to the governments and self-governing colonies of the Pacific, a formal invitation to send delegates to the Pan-Pacific Educational Conference held last August here in Honolulu.

A year ago the leading scientists of Pan-Pacific regions were convened here by the Pan-Pacific Union in a conference of great success, held under the chairmanship of Dr. Herbert E. Gregory, Director of Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu. Last August, as I have just stated, the Pan-Pacific Union brought together seventy-five experts in the general field of education under the chairmanship of Dr. David Starr Jordan. Copies of the proceedings have just come from the press and will be distributed among you. In August or September of next year it will bring to Honolulu in similar fashion a group of the leaders of commerce and of business drawn from Pacific regions. Other conferences of like character are in prospect for succeeding years, all of which are in line with the thought with which I am sure

you will agree, that amity and goodfellowship among the races and nations of this great region will be conserved and stimulated by bringing together leaders in the different fields of human activity.

All of this has, let me add, been accomplished in fourteen years by the genius of one man and with the co-operation and help of a board of trustees of very able and public-spirited persons who have had faith in Mr. Ford and in the practicability and value of his idea.

The educational conference recently held here, with unanimity and much enthusiasm, recommended that the Pan-Pacific Union take up and carry forward important investigations which it proposed and lines of activity which it believes will minister to a better understanding among the Pacific nations. The Pan-Pacific Union gladly acceded to its request, and is expanding its machinery to serve as indicated.

This morning, as the heritage of the Press Congress of the World, you have organized a permanent Pan-Pacific Press Conference to undertake to bring the peoples of the Pacific into closer and better relationships through making the way for the transmission and interchange of information easier. While maintaining its contact with the Press Congress of the World you have arranged to place it under the fostering care of the Pan-Pacific Union. We gladly accept this foster child under the conditions which have been proposed and will give its nurture and growth our sympathetic and active assistance and we hope that two or three years hence when the second meeting of the representatives of the press of the Pacific is held that our child will be a lusty and vigorous one with lungs and a voice sufficiently developed to be heard by the governments of the nations of the Pacific whose ears are sometimes a bit deaf.

Thus does the Pan-Pacific Union seek to cooperate with any and all agencies which attempt to make of the region of the Pacific one wherein the minds of all of our people shall be thoroughly saturated with the spirit which prompted Abram of old to say to his nephew Lot when trouble was in prospect:

"Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen, *for we be brethren.*"

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GETTING NEWS IN AND OUT OF CHINA

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By K. P. WANG,

*Associate Editor, the Shun Pao, Shanghai, China.*

China is a country where the newspaper has not been fully developed as yet. Both the news releasers and the news readers have not fully understood the value of good news service, and hence the task of the news gatherers is a rather difficult one. However, as the news field in China is so rich and abundant, and practically the whole of which is unexplored yet, a conscientious and adventurous journalist will find his work in China to be one of unsurpassed fascination and of inexhaustible inspiration. It was only a few years ago that the people of the country took journalism not as a profession or a profession of public service. But today, there is already a group of people, who have recognized the importance of journalistic work in China and have resolved to devote their lifetime to serve the public through their pens; and quite a number of them can be considered as real, genuine, and faithful journalists, journalists who chose journalism as their profession because they have faith and love in the value, interest and fascination of the work itself, and not because they take it as a means to achieve a certain selfish aim for themselves or for somebody else.

In spite of the fact that we have quite a number of real journalists in China, yet the news service in the country today as a whole has not been proved satisfactory or efficient at it should be, either because the news releasers would not give enough cooperation and assistance in putting out news in a manner that is most prompt and most worthy, or because the news gathered and published does not suit the taste of the reading public. In China, public organizations, or even government bureaus, have not adopted the policy and have not realized the advantage of releasing news to the papers from time to time; and whatever they release for publication, if any, is either too formal and uninteresting, or too brief and incomprehensible, and in the majority of the cases, the news gatherers for the papers have to go here and there to get materials to supplement that released so that it

can be rendered into readable and understandable matter. Many a time, news items of public interest, the nature of which is common and the significance of which is not far-reaching, have to be withheld from publication by the authorities concerned, simply because they deal with the government or government officials, and as such, they should be regarded as secret to the public. It is also very common that meetings and gatherings of public organizations, or important movements conducted by public bodies, which by their nature possess tremendous news value, would pass through without being noticed and reported by the papers. As a rule, people in China do not notify the papers as to what they have done, they are doing, or they will do, and it is up to the papers to find out these doings themselves. The institution of getting an interview for publication from a certain person is practically unknown to Chinese, not because the reporters are not on the job, but because the people whom the reporters would interview do not want publicity in that way. People in China still hold the old virtue of modesty, and they do not wish to have their names appear in the papers if they can help it, even if the appearance of their names, would do them good and would give them fame and credit. Our people at home simply have not been accustomed to that institution as yet.

Then again, the nature of the news and the style in which the news is written have a great deal to do with the success and popularity of the papers. The study of newspaper readers' psychology in China is a very interesting one. The majority of newspaper subscribers there do not subscribe for the papers for the news of the day, but for the so-called literary pages. The most important feature for a newspaper to have in China has been, and will continue to be for the next few years to come, these literary pages, pages containing not the news of the present moment, but the news happenings of years ago, pages not containing articles on current topics, but articles of literary value. Anecdotes concerning certain noted persons in the past are always more preferred than telegraphic news telling stories about the present day people who reside far away, or describing current events which happened in farther-off districts or countries. A few stanzas of poetry are much more welcomed by the readers than a few articles on political or economic problems. Therefore,

the main task of the news gatherers of the majority of the papers in China today, particularly of the papers in the interior parts of the country, is to gather news not of the present, but of the past, because that is the only way to keep the paper going, and that is also the only way to satisfy the subscribers. Then the style of writing must be strictly literary, and no vulgar expressions can be tolerated, as the Chinese are essentially a literary people, though the number of educated people is so limited. The literary style must be kept and emphasized throughout the whole paper, including the news columns. Chinese people will not read a story which consists of facts alone, with no opinions or comments intermingled. The more opinion the writer puts into the story, the more the story will be read; and papers giving the stories in pure narrative style will not appeal to readers and hence will not make any success in China. The American journalistic principle of giving facts alone and no comments in the news columns can not be worked out in China just now, and most likely will remain unworkable for a few decades to come. The British way of treating news, that is: editorial opinions intermixed with news stories, is a favorite type for the Chinese.

However, the above picture only gives a description of conditions existing in the newspaper world of China at large, and principal papers having their publications issued in newspaper centres like Shanghai, Peking, Canton, Hankow, and Tientsin are being conducted more or less according to modern methods and principles. Let us discuss a few minutes the ways through which these papers are getting stories for their news columns. The papers in these newspaper centres, though still publishing literary pages and employing literary style for their writings, are paying more and more attention to the importance and value of getting news of the day and, by so doing, they are gradually introducing into China principles of modern journalism. Now, how do they get news? That is a question worth considering. Take the Shanghai papers into consideration first, as the Shanghai papers are by far the most advanced and progressive of all the papers in the country. Nearly all the papers in Shanghai employ special correspondents stationed in the different principal cities, who send in the bulk of news to the editorial offices of their home papers generally through postal administration. A

few rich papers and papers of old standing provide a better facility for the public, however; the correspondents of these papers would send in the comparatively more important news through telegraphic channels. As a rule, the papers possessing facilities of telegraphic news are more popular to the readers than papers without such service, and the telegraphic news items themselves have also been proved more popular than items sent through other means. The most highly paid correspondents are those who are stationed in Peking, and most of them deserve the highest merit. Peking is the greatest news centre in China, and as such, the responsibilities of the correspondents towards the papers of which they are representatives are also the greatest. In Peking, where the seat of China's national capital is situated, news items of all description and of all nature are produced nearly every minute, and it takes men of big calibre, clear mind, keen judgment, and learned farsightedness to sort out all the news that comes to him, to pick the true and good, and to send it back to their home papers. Correspondents stationed at other cities do not play such an important part as those at Peking, but they also make valuable contributions to the papers from time to time.

For local news, practically all Shanghai papers have good services, both by their own staff and by professional reporters. As Shanghai is the commercial centre of China, Shanghai papers give more commercial news of China than all the papers in the country combined. Most of the papers have specials dealing with economic news, and very often learned scholars are employed as financial editors. These financial editors are in close and constant touch with the leading merchants, bankers, trade commissioners, shipping and customs officials, guilds and chamber of commerce of the city and also of other parts of the country, so that their source of financial news will never become exhausted. Besides these financial editors, there are special reporters who are always ready to be on the job for any reporting work at any time. Social news and news of human interest are abundant in Shanghai, and taken as a whole, Shanghai papers generally put out good and interesting news every day. A few of these papers are also conducting engraving and photographic departments, and hence they have the advantage over other papers by issuing il-



illustrated pages. In Shanghai, we have a special class of newspaper workers known as professional reporters. These professional reporters are not employees of any paper, nor are they employed by any news agency or news syndicate. They are a class by themselves. During the day they would go out and get whatever news they can, and towards the evening or late in the afternoon, they would meet together at certain appointed tea houses or restaurants to talk over what each has gathered in the day. They would exchange the news thus gathered, one with another, and each would use his best style to render the materials thus exchanged into story form, and when these stories are sent to the papers and published the next day, they get their pay due to them from the papers in which their stories appear according to proper basis of valuation.

Next to Shanghai, we have another city of great journalistic importance, namely Peking. Peking is an important city, not because of its abundance of news, but because of its peculiarity of being a city of news agencies instead of newspapers. There are upwards of thirty news agencies in Peking, publishing news in Chinese, English, French, Russian and Japanese languages, conducted by peoples and organs of different nationalities, including Chinese, American, British, French, Russian and Japanese. It is these news agencies instead of newspapers, which are carrying on the important function and duty of getting the news. In fact many of the newspapers in Peking do not have any reporters of their own to run after news and whatever they published in the morning is just reprinted from whatever they have been supplied by the news agencies the preceding evening. Even some of the correspondents of Shanghai papers at Peking have to depend upon these agencies for news, which can be secured by regular subscriptions. These reports are generally issued at 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening and soon after are distributed to various newspapers, all edited and ready for print for next morning's paper. The subscription list is open to all persons who desire to get news one night earlier, and as a rule, the subscription list of private persons of some of the agencies is very long. By this way, the news agencies in Peking are taking the place of evening papers, and many of them have built up a reputable standing and hence become very influential. It is almost invariably true that

these news agencies are either run by political parties or subsidized by certain political figures, and it is therefore also invariably true that the news they issue is tinged with political color or mixed with personal element. Such being the case, it is therefore rather hard for newspaper editors, if they want to use the service of these agencies, to distinguish between a real story and a yellow information, to trace dividing lines of political and personal interests, and to select the right ones for publication. In case of foreign news agencies, that is, news agencies supported and conducted by foreigners, they are operated with certain definite purposes to achieve certain definite objects. Most of them are official organs of foreign governments, and some of them are mouthpieces of big foreign financial interests. Since the policy and purpose of these agencies are so divergent one from another, it is not uncommon that the news items issued by them are contradictory. Very often, a British report about conditions in Russia appearing in today's paper has to be corrected by a Russian version tomorrow. Still very often news sent out by Japanese agencies on U. S.-Japanese relations can never be confirmed by American agencies. With the Chinese agencies they even present more interesting phenomena than the foreign agencies. One agency would send out, sometimes purely through manufacturing, a report about the unfavorable situation of the political party, with whose views and policies the issuing agency can not agree; another agency would publish something concerning entirely private affairs of an influential person in the enemy's camp; and still another agency would put out in its reports items absolutely untrue and detrimental to the interests of the opposition group. Of course, all these practices do not appear every day, but the agencies certainly take them as their weapons to defeat people belonging to different political belief and faith.

All these news agencies employ a certain number of news gatherers to get material for publication. As it has been said above, it is very seldom that the reporters can get news through regular way of release, the news agency reporters in Peking have to resort to some other ways than regular. Generally these reporters are alert and always on the job, and the way they get their news is through making friends with government employees, visiting parks, tea houses, theatres, and restaurants, and fre-

quenting other amusement places where the government employees go during their leisure hours. Through conversations with others and through hearing others' conversations, these reporters usually get good stories about what is going on in and around Peking, socially as well as politically; and whoever secures the greatest number of friends and whoever secures the greatest number of stories, he will be the most successful reporter in the long run. Such is the fascinating life of news agency reporters in Peking, and such a fascinating life is probably unequaled anywhere else in the world.

With regard to the foreign journalists in China, be they news agency reporters or be they specially sent correspondents of some big and influential papers of foreign countries, the number of the latter case is, by the way, very limited, their life is an entirely different one. Their usual way of getting news is through direct calls on the people from whom they want to get something and through correspondence with people from whom they are anxious to learn something. It is very strange to say that Chinese officials and authorities are very willing to grant interviews to foreign newspapermen, and to answer the questions put to them by the foreign correspondents, though such interviews are as a rule very formal and uninteresting, and though such answers given are generally too indirect and not to the point. To an expert foreign correspondent, who has been in China for many years, such interviews and answers would not be regarded as good and fit for print, until he puts a lot of finishing touches to them by his knowledge of Chinese people and Chinese affairs; but an inexperienced one, who just came over, is liable to use them as they have been given to him, possibly coupled with wrong interpretations of his own. It is through this latter case that many a time misunderstanding about China and Chinese affairs would arise, and it is therefore sincerely hoped that no foreign newspaper would send any correspondent over to China, unless it is assured that he is fully equipped with a knowledge about China and thus fully qualified.

Now just a word or two about sending Chinese news abroad and getting foreign news into China. Both of these services are at present in the hands of foreigners. News about China is being dispatched to foreign lands by telegraphic lines, submarine cables,

or wireless transmission. Most of the materials are taken from the interviews and correspondence acquired through the manner as above described, and the rest of them are secured through translations from Chinese papers. They are usually misleading and full of misinterpretations. On the other hand, news about foreign countries generally comes through the offices of foreign news agencies. Only a few Chinese papers have their own correspondents abroad, though many of the students studying in foreign countries, including girls, have been contracted with to dispatch news home by some of the papers.

Practically a hundred per cent of the Chinese papers take in foreign news items and publish them as they are supplied by the responsible foreign news agencies. Sometimes home correspondence appearing in foreign newspapers in China is also translated by the vernacular papers for publication. In both cases, the news thus published is not of the first hand value, and generally not the kind of news fit for Chinese readers. It is therefore strongly urged that neither newspapers of foreign countries nor Chinese newspapers at home should feel satisfied with the foreign news service which they are getting and both of them should send out correspondents of their own to get whatever news they want, which can be taken by the readers as trustworthy and reliable.

Such is a brief survey of news service in China, and the conditions as now prevailing are certainly unsatisfactory and inefficient. We want improvement and progress, and we want to better these conditions. We are only hoping now that the cable rate, which the Press Congress of the World has been energetically discussing, will be eventually reduced, so that newspapers of China and of foreign countries can afford to send correspondents to do some real correspondence work between China and other countries, which is so badly needed, and we are also hoping now that an international news agency, properly managed and conducted with honest and straight purposes, which the Pan-Pacific Press Conference is trying to realize, will be realized in the near future, so that countries, at least countries bordering on the Pacific ocean, can be better acquainted one with another, and the news service between them can be better handled. These are what modern journalists in China are looking for from the Press

Congress of the World, and particularly from the Pan-Pacific Press Conference. We have only a handful of journalists in China who deserve to be called journalists, and unless the journalists of the world, particularly Pan-Pacific journalists, will be willing to help and assist us, we can not expect to remedy the present journalistic condition in China, which is so undeveloped and behind time, in a short time. Will the journalists of the world, and of the Pan-Pacific countries help and assist us?

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THE PAN-PACIFIC UNION AND THE CANADIAN  
PRESS

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By OSWALD MAYRAND,

*Managing Editor, La Presse, Montreal, Canada.*

Canada has a coast line of 7000 miles on the Pacific Ocean, so that my country is quite naturally interested in all questions concerning the Pan-Pacific Union Press Conference. The Canadian press at large is aware of the fact that the eyes of the whole world are actually drawn upon the Pacific's problems and all the journalists of my country are anxious to contribute, as much as possible, to the solution of such problems.

As it has already been said by some speakers at the present Press Congress of the World, mutual understanding is to be sought by all nations who want to live in peace with their neighbors. And to make nations understand each other, the lowering of the rates of fast communications by land telegraph, cable and wireless seems especially desirable.

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The shortness of unskilled labor, as it exists in the Hawaiian Territory, is, for instance, a serious question to be settled by the government of the United States, but the press of the whole Pan-Pacific Union is taking a deep interest in the solution of such economic problem which may have a wide bearing on the international labor. There is actually so much unemployment

all over the world that it is lamentable to see in these days of general postwar hardships courageous men as the Hawaiian industrial leaders short of labormen. Let us hope that the Government of the United States is on the verge to bring forth a solution which shall secure necessary labor and prosperity to these islands without jeopardizing the security of the American Republic.

\* \* \*

The Canadian Press, Limited, which supplies nearly all the dailies with foreign news as well as local news, is a cooperative organization of which most newspapers of the Dominion are members. She has reliable correspondents in all the great cities of my country and her connections with the Associated Press of the United States secure to our people a satisfactory service which, however, we urge to make better. Should not the cooperative principle which is at the very basis of the Canadian Press, Limited, and which makes her services effective be embodied in the Pan-Pacific Union? Countries having common interests in the many problems concerning the territories confined by the Pacific Ocean should pull together and give their full cooperation for the common welfare.

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There are surely great possibilities of commercial intercourse between the Hawaiian Islands and Canada, separated only by water, and I hope that the present congress of the Fourth Estate held in these islands shall contribute to stimulate such intercourse which should be profitable to all interested parties.

The Canadian press realizes that the Pan-Pacific Union is a peaceful organization seeking to settle harmoniously all divergencies of opinion among interested parties and she rallies to your colors; she is willing to take a glorious share in your enlightening mission.

\* \* \*

On the sixth of September last, more than one hundred years of peace between the United States and Canada were commemorated by the dedication of the Peace Portal, a huge arch of steel and cement, on the international boundary line near Blaine, Washington. The Peace Portal rests half on American and half on Canadian soil. On the south side are inscribed the words:



A SECOND VIEW OF THE LUNCH IN THE ARMORY AT LAHAINA, MAUI.





“Children of a Common Mother.” On the north side appear these words: “Brethren Dwelling Together in Unity.” On the interior, below one of the doors can be read: “Open for One Hundred Years.” And below the other door: “May These Doors Never be Closed.” The structure bears two flag poles from which fly the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack. During the dedication ceremonies the flags of Belgium and France were hoisted.

Is not that Peace Portal an inspiring emblem of what should be the friendly relations between the several nations having some territory in the Pacific Ocean?

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## THE PRESS AND PEACE IN THE PACIFIC

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By HENRY STEAD,

*Editor, Stead's Review, Melbourne, Australia.*

I regret most deeply that illness prevents my being present at the first Pan-Pacific Conference, to attend which I traveled specially from Australia.

I regard this Conference as of the very greatest importance for the political center of the world has now shifted from Europe to the Pacific. In the old world the great war has left the Allies supreme. Their word is law and they realize that if they would maintain peace they must agree amongst themselves. In the Pacific however these same Powers are by no means a happy family. They do not agree, and their differences, minor though most of them be, actually threaten the peace of the world. That being so every effort put forth to improve the relations between the Pacific nations is of peculiar importance at the present time. We newspaper men realize how great an influence we can and do wield among the people, and if we, in conference, can come to some understanding amongst ourselves, can evolve some plan of united action with the object of enabling the Pacific nations to get to know one another better and thus avoid the unnecessary friction which so easily arises, we will indeed have done well.

It is an astonishing fact, which too few people properly realize, that whilst all the great nations are spending huge sums on making preparations for defense and war, not one of them is spending a single cent in order to systematically attempt to make the war they fear impossible. Millions of dollars are spent on building gigantic superdreadnaughts which will be obsolete in five years, but not one dollar is set aside with the object of promoting better relations between the nations, getting them to know each other better, thus making war less likely. It was a well known American statesman who, at a time of crisis prior to the late war, declared: "Give me the price of a single battleship and I will undertake to make this threatened struggle impossible."

Just suppose for a moment that the Administration were to set aside no more than one per cent of its war appropriations for use in peace propaganda. Why there would be no war! Today it costs at least \$25,000,000 to build a dreadnaught. What could not be done with one per cent of that huge sum for the cause of peace. But no government at present sets aside even one-tenth of one per cent of its war expenditures for peace purposes.

Several years ago when the mayors of French towns were visiting England, having been invited to do so by their English confrères, all the money required for their entertainment had to be raised privately. The British Government, although most sympathetic, had actually no funds available to provide these visitors with even one banquet! Yet when distinguished soldiers from abroad came to England the War Office had always plenty of money to entertain them with. Every one admits that visits of this nature helped to bring about a better understanding between England and France, but the expense of such visits had to be borne always by private individuals. That is not right and I think it is the duty of every newspaper man to try and induce his particular government to set aside a definite sum, better still a fixed percentage of its defense and war expenditure, which should be used in order to facilitate visits of representative men and workers from one country to another; should be used to disseminate correct information about one country in another, and above all should be utilized to run to earth in one country the lies which are at present so widely circulated about another.

What is needed in every country is a Ministry of Friendship in charge of a man whose duty it should be to apply the grease of truth to the international machinery when the friction between its parts became acute. We have secretaries of state, for war, for the navy, ministers of defense. Immensely complicated diplomatic services whose nominal duty it is to work for peace but who, alas, are much more concerned in finding out the latest devices other nations have adopted in their armies and navies than they are in smoothing away those little irritations which so quickly give cause for war.

In Australia the year before the war we spent almost £6,000,000 on the army and navy. Unless the Disarmament Conference at Washington is successful we shall have to spend much more than that in coming years. The taxpayers in the Commonwealth, already complaining, will strongly protest, but protests will be of no avail if other fleets of the Pacific are being increased in size. The man who has to find the money is likely to approve the suggestion that a very small part of it should be used to make the war he fears impossible. Australia could well afford to spend one-tenth of one per cent of its defense appropriation on work for peace in the Pacific. £60,000 is a small amount, yet carefully expended it should make the raising of £6,000,000 for defense purposes unnecessary. If all the Pacific countries were to spend no more than one-tenth of one per cent of their appropriations for armies and navies on systematic peace propaganda I am convinced that the need for those armies and those navies would quickly disappear.

We are, I think, all seized with the fact that wars are almost always due to misunderstandings which had time permitted could have been cleared up. But whilst the machinery for making war is always well oiled, efficient and up-to-date, no special machinery for preserving peace exists at all. It seems to me that we might well work for the setting up of such machinery and urge our respective governments to set aside a mere fraction of the huge sums they spend on getting ready for war to be used in bringing about a better understanding between Pacific peoples, in running a campaign of truth to counteract the wild and foolish

rumors which at present furnish fuel for misunderstandings and mutual distrust.

But whilst I think it is the duty of governments to systematically work for peace and not concern themselves only in preparing for war, it will be difficult to bring them to a realization of that fact. Meanwhile can we not do something ourselves to counteract these lies and rumors which work so much mischief in our relations with other Pacific countries. We are severely handicapped because we ourselves do not know the truth about our neighbors and, not knowing the truth, we cannot contradict the lie. It would be well if every large newspaper or group of newspapers were to have a reliable correspondent in each country washed by the Pacific, who could be relied on to give accurate information himself and to report false news which was being circulated in the country where he was living about that one where the papers he represented were located. Expense is of course the chief argument against this plan, but already some of the Australian papers have made a beginning and a reliable correspondent represents the Melbourne Herald in Japan.

It is to be hoped that other papers will follow suit. But correspondents are a luxury which great newspapers only can indulge in, the lesser journals have to rely upon what they get from the large dailies and from chance letters. The Pan-Pacific Union, which has already done so much to promote a better feeling in the Pacific, might be of use here. It might act as a distribution center of reliable news concerning every Pacific country. There are plenty of journals in Australia which would be glad to have short articles telling, for instance, about labor conditions in Japan and China; plenty which would publish brief accounts of social movements in other countries. How far they would be prepared to support a "truth" service of this kind it is difficult to say, but my experience certainly suggests that it would be unwise to offer it free. Individuals and newspapers, whilst at first welcoming something for nothing, soon cease to have interest in it. On the other hand, when they have to pay even a small sum for it, their interest is preserved and when they would throw a batch of free articles into the waste-paper basket,

they would carefully peruse those they had paid to have sent them.

The scheme would require working out and considerable modification but, properly done, it should be of immense value in bringing about a better understanding between the Pacific peoples. It is because we do not understand each other, because we are suspicious of each other, that we think and talk of war. If we knew more about each other we would think much less about war. The press can do more than any other agency to bring about the desired understanding. It can frown on scare rumors and seek always to soothe instead of ruffle the susceptibilities of its neighbors. The Pacific being now the center of world politics the responsibilities thrown on the Pacific press are great, far greater than they have ever been before. I am confident that we will rise to the occasion and do everything in our power to dispel the danger of war and bring in that era of peace which we so fondly imagined would be ours once the great war had been won. I, at any rate, pledge myself to do everything in my power to assist any movement started at this Conference which has as an object the bringing of mutual understanding and trust amongst the peoples of the Pacific.

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## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

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By LORRIN A. THURSTON, *Chairman*.

I would say that the Committee was presented with three apparently inconsistent propositions: one was that this Pan-Pacific Conference, the permanent organization, should be under the control of the World's Press Congress; the second proposition was that it should be under the control of the Pan-Pacific Union; and the third, that it should be an independent body. The duties of the Committee have been to try and reconcile these three propositions, and it was recognized, before the initial steps were taken, that there were advocates for all three propositions.

Taking the last first, it seemed that the newspaper men of the Pacific were able to handle their own affairs without having to look to anybody else for advice or counsel. On the other hand, we recognized that it is an unorganized body, so far as having any paid official, and experience has demonstrated that an unpaid organization of men with other business to attend to is liable to lose interest, and affairs are apt to lag behind, whereas a permanently organized body with paid officials, such as is the Pan-Pacific Union, whose first business is to carry out the objects of that organization, will be much more promptly attended to. It is desirable to allow the Pan-Pacific Union to utilize its machinery for carrying out this object. As to the Press Congress, the Committee recognizes the extreme advantage of being a part and parcel of a working organization, and therefore having the moral as well as the positive and material support of that organization when it had formulated policies which it wished to have incorporated into its policies, consequently the Committee has felt strongly that it was extremely desirable to have the three policies combined if possible, and the resolutions I will now present are an attempt to do that.

A second problem presented was as to the method of control of the organization, the difficulties being, on the one hand, that it should be democratic and that every member of the Congress should have something to say in regard to its policies, but, on the other hand, our members are so scattered that, in order to secure promptness and efficiency of action, it is necessary to have concentrated control for current work.

We have attempted in that respect to give a control to every member of the Congress when the meetings take place. In order to give a partial general control by the members during the intervals between meetings, the scheme has been devised of having a general committee which shall consist of at least one member from every country in the organization. In order that this may never delay operations, the countries being scattered along the Pacific, requiring a month or two for full consideration, the additional scheme was devised of having a central steering committee of three persons, and again, to get prompt action, that

these be located in Honolulu, where lines between the countries are shortest. That is an explanation as to why there appears to be undue concentration of authority between meetings.

Your Committee on Resolutions herewith presents four resolutions relative to:

1. The organization of a permanent Pan-Pacific Press Conference;
2. Electrical News Service in and about the Pacific;
3. Defining the scope of the activities of the Pan-Pacific Press Conference;
4. Endorsing the Conference to Limit Armaments and to consider the problems of the Pacific and the Far East.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of these resolutions.

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RESOLUTION No. 1, CONCERNING THE ORGANIZATION OF A  
PERMANENT PAN-PACIFIC PRESS CONFERENCE.

*Whereas*, representatives of the press of the countries in and bordering upon the Pacific Ocean in attendance upon the sessions of the Press Congress of the World have been convened and are now in session as the "Pan-Pacific Press Conference" for the consideration of matters of special concern to the journalism of the Pacific regions;

*And Whereas*, the formation of a permanent organization of representatives of the press of the Pacific will promote the purposes for which this Conference was called; provide a means for effectuating its objects and desires; give publicity to its purposes and proceedings and the needs of the Pacific region and furnish a medium for calling and holding future meetings of such representatives;

*And Whereas*, the Pan-Pacific Union is a duly incorporated body, organized under the laws of the Territory of Hawaii, U. S. A., with offices in Honolulu, having an international Board of Trustees representing the principal nations of the Pacific, one of the main objects of which is to call conferences of delegates from Pacific regions to discuss and further interests common to

Pacific peoples, with a view to bringing them into closer contact and more friendly relations;

*And Whereas*, the said Pan-Pacific Union has called the first Pan-Pacific Press Conference with the approval and cooperation of the Press Congress of the World, and has financed this Conference and offers its services in carrying forward recommendations made by the Conference, in calling further Pan-Pacific Conferences at such times and places as may be mutually agreed upon, when so requested by the proper officers of the same, and in bringing the press men of the Pacific into better acquaintanceship, cooperation, correspondence and communication;

*Be It Resolved*, that the members of this Pan-Pacific Press Conference be and hereby are organized into a permanent body to be known as the "PAN-PACIFIC PRESS CONFERENCE," to consist of representatives of the press from the countries and states in or bordering upon the Pacific Ocean; such representatives to be appointed upon such conditions, in such numbers and in such manner as may be hereafter decided by the General Committee of said Conference as hereinafter indicated;

*Be It Further Resolved*, that all of the powers of the Pan-Pacific Press Conference hereby formed, between the meetings of same, shall be vested in a General Committee, consisting of not less than one delegate from each country or state now represented in the present Conference or which may hereafter be represented therein; who shall be appointed by the President.

Except as herein otherwise provided, all of the powers of the General Committee shall be vested in an Executive Committee of three, one of whom shall be the President, and one the Secretary. The Secretary shall also act as Treasurer of the Conference, of the General Committee and of the Executive Committee.

For purposes of convenience of administration and securing promptness of action, the President and Secretary shall, until otherwise ordered by the Conference or the General Committee, be residents of Honolulu, Hawaii.

The members of the Executive Committee are hereby declared to be:



President -----  
Secretary -----  
Member -----

Vacancies in the General Committee or the Executive Committee, caused by death, resignation, disability or failure to act for the space of one year, shall be filled by appointment by the President.

In case of a vacancy in the office of President, the same shall be filled by vote of the General Committee.

Members of the General Committee representing additional countries or states which may hereafter join said Conference, shall be appointed by the President.

Officers and members of said General and Executive Committees shall be hereafter elected at each meeting of the Pan-Pacific Press Conference, by a majority vote of the delegates attending such meeting.

The officers and members of said General and Executive Committees shall continue to hold their respective offices until their successors are duly elected or appointed.

The members of the General Committee are hereby authorized, by majority vote, between sessions of this Conference, to amend or add to the terms of organization herein expressed.

*Be It Further Resolved*, that the said offer of the Pan-Pacific Union is hereby accepted with the sincere thanks of this Conference.

*Be It Further Resolved*, that, in the opinion of this Pan-Pacific Press Conference, it will be in the best interests of all concerned if the Pan-Pacific Press Conference shall act as and be a permanent regional section of the Press Congress of the World, representing it and cooperating with it, in and concerning all matters appertaining to or of special interest to the countries and peoples of the Pacific, and the Executive Committee is hereby authorized and directed to make such arrangements to effectuate this suggestion as are mutually satisfactory to it and the Press Congress of the World.

Meetings of the Conference shall be called by the President, or by a majority of the Executive Committee, at such times and places as, in conference with the Pan-Pacific Union, may be de-

terminated, due notice thereof being given to members of the Conference.

Every appointment herein provided to be made by the President, shall, when made, be immediately reported to each member of the General Committee, and shall be subject to revocation and the appointment of another in place thereof, upon a vote to that effect by majority of the General Committee. Until such vote is received, such appointment shall be effective.

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RESOLUTION NO. 2—ELECTRICAL NEWS SERVICE IN AND ABOUT  
THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

*Whereas* news dispatches are now transmitted electrically with speed, efficiency and economy between certain countries bordering upon the Pacific Ocean; but as to certain other countries, more particularly between the United States on the one hand and Japan, New Zealand and Australia on the other, such service is neither speedy, efficient nor economical;

It is hereby declared by the Pan-Pacific Press Conference now assembled in the City of Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, U. S. A.:

That ignorance by one people of the character, objects, purposes, doings and intentions of other peoples, is the most prolific cause of misunderstanding and ill-feeling between such peoples, tending to generate suspicion and produce friction and disagreement and is therefore one of the principal causes of war;

That the easiest, quickest and best medium for dispelling such ignorance is the public press;

That the day has passed when the mail is adequate to transmit news from one country to another;

That communication from one country to another by electric telegraph, cable or wireless, is essential to that full and prompt knowledge of what is transpiring in the various countries to secure in full measure the benefits incident to publicity;

That to obtain the full advantage and benefits of such electrical transmission of press messages, it should reach all parts of the civilized world by the shortest, cheapest and quickest routes;

That such service around and across the Pacific Ocean is, as to some portions thereof inadequate in its connections, ham-

pered by artificial obstacles, and so expensive as to be prohibitive of the free use necessary to enable the press to make the best and fullest use thereof;

That this Conference hereby declares its unqualified conviction that prompt expansion of the means of communication to all parts of the Pacific and extension to the press of facilities for cheap, unrestricted, uncensored and uncontrolled electrical communication throughout the Pacific will be a most potent influence for securing, establishing and maintaining good feeling, good will and peace between the peoples of that region, and thus tend to a satisfactory solution of the chief issue now pending before the nations;

That this Conference hereby most heartily commends the policy under which the wireless service of the U. S. Navy is now transmitting press messages between certain points in the Pacific, at a low rate and hereby most urgently recommends that such service be expanded and extended to all parts of the Pacific where practicable; and that the charges for such service shall not exceed the amounts necessary to make such service self-supporting;

That to insure the full and adequate exchange of desirable news, if the purposes of this declaration are to be assured, it is necessary that means be evolved for the collection of news in the several countries affected and the same exchanged through some common medium mutually agreed upon;

That such news having been so collected it is highly desirable that the same should so far as reasonably practicable, be concentrated at a common center, to be there segregated and forwarded to such points as it may be of interest. Honolulu is recommended as the point at which such news exchange should be located;

That this Conference therefore most strenuously urges the governments and companies owning or controlling mediums of electrical communication in and about the Pacific to comply with the suggestions and recommendations herein contained;

That the officers of this Conference are hereby authorized and instructed to take all necessary or proper steps to secure the action herein sought.

RESOLUTION NO. 3—DEFINING THE SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES OF THE  
PAN-PACIFIC PRESS CONFERENCE.

*Be It Resolved*, that upon the permanent organization of the Pan-Pacific Press Conference, among other matters which it may properly undertake, the following shall be considered to be within the scope of the activities thereof, viz.:

1. To act as an agency for interchanging among the newspapers and magazines of the Pacific region accurate information about the peoples of the Pacific and their problems.

2. To arrange future conferences of representatives of the Pacific press to the end that the problems incident to the work of the press of the Pacific region shall be considered.

3. To take such steps as are necessary to securing cheaper rates and more efficient service for telegraph, cable and wireless messages.

4. To entertain representatives of the press of the Pacific as they pass through Honolulu, thus utilizing the opportunity afforded for spreading the Pan-Pacific spirit.

5. To investigate the feasibility of the international interchange of journalists to the end that wider contacts may be created and initiate such interchange if a practical plan can be formed.

6. To consider the practicability of establishing a Pan-Pacific school of journalism and take steps to bring this about if feasible.

7. To collect and interchange films and pictures that portray accurately the life of the people.

8. To assist in furthering the movement among Pacific countries of the adoption of the Roman alphabet and of a common language.

9. To take such steps as will secure a modification of the ruling of the shipping board, recently made, which forbids passengers on a foreign boat bound for a United States port and wishing to stop over in Honolulu, from resuming passage on a boat of the same line. This is the interpretation given the regulation that no foreign boat can carry passengers between American ports and works a hardship upon persons coming from foreign ports who wish to stop over in Honolulu to attend conferences or for other purposes.

RESOLUTION NO. 4—CONCERNING THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS AND PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC AND THE FAR EAST.

*Whereas*, the delegates of the daily, weekly and monthly press of the countries and regions bordering the Pacific having been convened in this Pan-Pacific Press Conference for the consideration of questions pertaining particularly to the Pacific regions;

*And Whereas*, the President of the United States has invited the principal allied and associated powers to participate in a conference on the limitation of armaments and on the problems of the Pacific and the Far East;

*Therefore, Be It Resolved*, that we, in conference assembled, do warmly commend the President of the United States for calling what may prove to be an epoch making conference and we further commend him for his wisdom in proposing that at this conference an attempt be made to come to a common understanding with respect to the principles and policies which shall obtain in the Far East. Furthermore, that we instruct the officers of this conference to convey by cable to the President of the United States this resolution.

Discussion of Resolution No. 2

MR. COHEN: I would not like this resolution to include the word "inefficient" as applied to the service of cable news to Australia or New Zealand, because in my humble judgment it is contrary to the fact. One has to remember the birth and growth of cable communications during the past 25 years. Since then there have been great developments and great improvements in cables, and remembering, as I do, that the Pacific cable is owned by Great Britain, and the several countries of Australia and New Zealand and Canada, forming a federation who have been able out of its profits to put aside large sums of money in order to secure better service, and remembering further that the Great Imperial Conference of 1909 committed itself to this declaration of policy that as soon as the system of wireless had progressed sufficiently as to make it reliable and dependable that the governments of those countries should be asked to consider the practicability of furnishing a chain of imperial communications by

wireless around the globe; and remembering that an important delegation, again headed by Canada, the moving spirit in this matter, went to Mr. Asquith, Premier of Great Britain, and put that view of the case before him, and induced him, by solid argument, to entertain the view that the day of wireless was quickly coming; I venture to say in view of all this that but for the unfortunate great war, a chain of wireless, assisted by that great genius in wireless, Marconi, would have been in existence today. I understand that that very thing is now being evolved.

Since the press of New Zealand and Australia depend on London for the major supply of their news, everything has been done to make that news reliable and thoroughly representative of that from which it emanates. Anyone who has seen the Sydney Morning Herald or the Melbourne Argus or my own country papers of today, will remember the advance that is given to world wide events, will say with me that the service is dependent, reliable and efficient, and far cheaper, having regard to all circumstances of the case. I recognize and freely accord the Government of the United States credit for what it has done in the matter of establishing a service with which at all events you Americans are thoroughly well satisfied, but you must have some regard for the traditions of these countries which have a monopoly of utilities—the countries that we are looking to for help and assistance, and we cannot run counter to their wishes. If there is a clearing house established in the Pacific, I hope it may be established here. I hope to see the day come when all sensational items are suppressed as you would the plague. We want news, absolutely reliable news, and nothing else. We don't want sensationalism. We don't want items about the decision of 200 or 300 school children as to whether they will wear short frocks and expose part of their anatomy to the gaze of the public. We call that "piffle."

You must give us some credit as pioneers in this work, for having done what we tried to do. We intend to go on establishing wireless where we can, having thought for the enterprise and press of our country, and we ask you Americans, especially you here, to second our efforts and see when the time comes that we

are supplied with news quickly, that is thoroughly reliable, thoroughly wholesome and thoroughly dependable. (Applause.)

MR. THURSTON: I wish to say a word of explanation on the point concerning which Mr. Cohen has addressed the conference. Far be it from the Committee to intend, or attempt to ignore the news service which is going to Australia from the south, by cable. This question has been given more consideration by the Committee than any other point that came before it. The statements which have been made here, and which have called forth the criticism from the gentleman were based on information received by the delegates from New Zealand, Australia, and Hongkong, in addition to the information furnished by the chief of the wireless station in Honolulu. The delegate here from Hongkong stated to us that the news they received in Hongkong came to them not direct but by way of London—telegraphed across the world to London and then relayed to Hongkong. That does not seem to be efficient or economical and I have therefore characterized that as being a part of the service that is inefficient and uneconomical. One of the delegates from New Zealand stated to the Committee that on the way here from New Zealand, up to the day before they reached Honolulu, he was able to send messages for  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d or 9 cents a word, and that the day after he got here he attempted to send a message and was told he could not send it, but was referred to the cable office where he was told he could only send a message at 75 cents a word. His message had to be cabled to San Francisco, telegraphed to Victoria, and from Canada cabled back to New Zealand. That did not seem efficient or economical to the Committee—in fact, it seemed a prohibitive condition of affairs.

Again, the local Committee, before the Congress assembled here, took the matter up with the Navy wireless station, which receives wireless news service in Honolulu, and asked if it would not be practicable to make this the center of a special wireless at uniform rates. It appealed to him immensely and he said he would take it up and see what could be done. He stated it was physically possible to make contact with Japan, but that the regulations did not permit him to send messages to Japan. He stated that it was feasible for the radio station here to transmit

messages, as far as he knew, to New Zealand and Australia, but that was not being done, and that he would ascertain why not, and he communicated with Washington and later informed us that it could not be done.

We are in daily communication with Samoa, and the Fijis. The cable from Samoa and Fiji can transmit messages to Australia and New Zealand, but it cannot be done because of a contract between the cable company coming to New Zealand and Australia from the south, by which these countries are prohibited from receiving telegraphic or wireless except over their cable over a term of years, except from the sea. That was why the delegate was able to send messages up to the night before he landed from the steamer. He was prohibited from sending messages from our local office because of the contract between New Zealand and Australia and that cable company. That did not seem to be efficient or economical, when it is within the possibilities of the wireless to transmit such message at a cost not exceeding 9 cents a word, and the delegate had to pay 75 cents a word.

We recognize that the communications which the gentleman spoke of by way of the southern cable, and also from Canada, is an immense advance over the previous conditions when there was no cable. We recognize that the governments and companies in that connection, which the honorable gentleman has mentioned, looked forward to the time when wireless was coming, and now we feel that the time has arrived when there are physical means by which that communication can be cheapened and made far more efficient, so that countries across the waters from the United States and each other can get into communication, and it should be recognized by this Conference, and they should exercise their influence, so far as practicable, to get wireless put into operation as promptly as possible.

As to the cost, I was told by Mr. McClatchy, a director of the Associated Press, that the present service being conducted by the Navy wireless will cost only 6 cents a word from San Francisco to the Philippines, and practically the same to Japan. The present service to Japan is sent by wireless to Guam, taken 20 miles across the Island and then cabled to Japan; three charges for the one



message—in addition to the delay. There is no reason, except artificial obstacles which have been interposed, why the message could not go direct from San Francisco to Japan in the twinkling of an eye, at the rate of 6 cents a word. The Chairman told me only yesterday it was incredible to him that such a service could be obtained and yet was not available. It is not our object to condemn any service of any country, but to set forth the fact that this cheaper and more efficient service is to be had, and to make a declaration on our part that we favor putting that cheaper service into operation as soon as possible.

MR. McCLATCHY: May I supplement what Mr. Thurston has said by another concrete example. I was told by the editor of the *Nippu Jiji* that his cabled news or wireless received from Japan here in Honolulu cost him  $26\frac{1}{2}$  cents per word, and that a similar charge would be made from here to Japan. The Navy wireless, as you have been told, is sending news all the way from San Francisco to Cavite, for 6 cents, and is prepared to send from San Francisco to Japan for 6 cents a word, with the cooperation of Japan, and between San Francisco and Honolulu and Honolulu and Manila, the rate is less. It is obvious that the journalists of Japan are losing not only money but a great advantage in the opportunity for an extended news service which would be of value there and here.

COL. LAWSON: I think I can explain in a few words the position of the British Empire in regard to this system, and I think I can make the apparent difficulties quite clear, if I should be allowed to do so. The object of the British Empire scheme of establishing and improving the system of communications is this—they are endeavoring to put their communications on a sound commercial basis, and at every station they are endeavoring to establish, it is intended to be a commercial one, whether operated by private companies or endeavor. It is meant to be commercial and permanent, therefore I don't think it is quite fair to compare it with the facilities which the U. S. Navy Department can put at the disposal of the public for communications in the Pacific. While not wishing to depreciate in any way the value of that service, I should like to point out that it is only a temporary expedient—unless the sanction is renewed, it will be

void on July 22 next, and might be void at any moment for strategic or other reasons. Therefore I do not think it quite fair to blame any part of the British Empire for failing to fall in with what is only a temporary expedient.

Dr. Pierson was over in London this summer, endeavoring to arrange these questions of communication in conjunction with our government. I have no doubt but that if this service which is now operating was operated on a permanent commercial basis, it would be possible to make some arrangement with the cable companies of New Zealand and Australia and see that the difficulties Mr. Thurston speaks of do not exist. I think that this is the position as regards the British Empire. It is not because they are not doing their best to improve the system of communications, not only by cable but by wireless by all means in their power, but because they are endeavoring to get a permanent solution of the problem, and that will take a very long time.

As soon as the wireless chain is established, there will be a high-powered station in Australia, and that will be the time for entering into these arrangements in the Pacific, which will make arrangements to perfect things all through. I think that explains why our plans as they now stand do not fall in with the temporary wireless arrangement in operation now.

MR. COHEN: I thank Colonel Lawson for his remarks. New Zealand through its delegation will cordially support him in every effort he makes to cheapen the means of communication throughout the world. And I am quite sure that the representatives of Australia will stand shoulder to shoulder with him in endeavoring to achieve such a desirable result.

The excellent speech he has made and the cogent arguments he has adduced recall to my mind the part his family, the first Lord Burnham and the present holder of the title, played in 1909 at the great Pan-British Press Conference in London in June of that year, when the question of cheaper cable rates and greater facilities for the transmission of foreign news was forced on the attention of the British government. A committee, to which Canada contributed a strong contingent, waited on Mr. Asquith (then Prime Minister) and the Postmaster-General with a request—I was almost tempted to say a demand—that the natural

complement of the Pacific cable in establishing an all-Red cable under the Atlantic should be immediately undertaken by the partners—John Bull and Sons—as a great national enterprise.

We were most fortunate at that time in having in England the presence of the late Sir Sandford Fleming, the Canadian engineer, to whose fine spirit of optimism and constructive ability the world owes much. And it was a Canadian journalist, Ross Gottawa, whose faith in the potentialities of wireless pointed the way to the authorities of the British Post Office and compelled them to acknowledge that Marconi's wonderful invention had come to stay.

These are matters of historical importance, and I mention them merely to emphasize my contention that as newspapermen we are justified in pressing for the removal of the disabilities under which we at present labor. But there is another angle from which this question must be viewed. While we are demanding cheaper and better communications we must not overlook the fact that trade and commerce are even more deeply concerned than ourselves in securing the paramount advantages of cheaper, quicker and more extended communications; whether it ultimately be cable duplication or by improved wireless, must be left to the experts to determine.

Returning for a moment to the London Conference of 1909, that committee did some splendid work. They induced the cable companies to reduce their tariffs to India, South Africa, Ceylon, and Australia; they obtained "deferred" and week-end messages, and they might have reasonably anticipated other advantages if the world-war had not summarily stopped all negotiations. It will be remembered, moreover, that the British government set up a Trade Commission which took evidence in every one of the British self-governing dominions, and made a series of important recommendations, among them being pronouncements in favor of cheap press and mercantile cablegrams, and the establishment of a chain of high-power wireless stations to embrace Great Britain and all her dependencies. The war prevented any of these recommendations being acted on, but I have the best reason for saying that successive Prime Ministers' Conferences in London have warmly endorsed these findings and that before

another year shall have passed a commencement will be made in erecting these high-power stations.

But whether the carrying out of this project will be left to private enterprise or form part of the activities of the British Post Office lies in the womb of the near future. Whatever happens, it is high time that something were done to terminate crushing monopolies that can be proved to be inimical to the public interest. Let me give two concrete illustrations.

While we were journeying hitherward we were able through the medium of the Australian Wireless Company, which I understand has its headquarters at Sydney, Australia, and took over the Telefunken wireless system from a German syndicate, to dispatch radio messages either to Australia or New Zealand at a flat rate of 9 cents per word, but the moment our steamer came within American territorial waters the Sydney system ceased to operate, and the American operators demanded a tariff of 75 cents per word! If that is not profiteering, pure and unadulterated, I cannot conceive what is, and in my own country, would be promptly investigated by our Board of Trade, who would suggest a remedy.

A few days after our arrival here we were waited on by the head of the local naval station, who most courteously offered to dispatch a daily message of 100 words to New Zealand, guaranteeing delivery only at Tutuilla (American Samoa), but promising the assistance of his department to get the messages forwarded to Doubtless Bay (the nearest radio station in the northern part of New Zealand). But from the explanation made by the chairman of the New Zealand Press Association, who is a member of our delegation, it appeared that this organization has an agreement with the government of New Zealand which prevents absolutely the receipt of any message—by cable or otherwise—which the Press Agency has not authorized. This is probably done to eliminate competition, for the Press Association has to pay dearly for its foreign news, and therefore must avoid overlapping.

But had we known in time of what your radio-operators can accomplish I am sure the embargo in New Zealand would have been lifted if the facts had been brought under the notice of

our Prime Minister when he passed through Honolulu a couple of weeks ago. It would have been an illuminating experiment, and would have kept our people in daily touch with the proceedings of this Conference, a considerable achievement in itself.

Having no right to pass judgment on the domestic policies of the United States, I merely remark in passing that the plan outlined by Mr. McClatchy has no element of permanence, as it seems to me. Will your Congress agree to forward at a flat rate to any part of the world uncensored press messages, which may go to the length of camouflaging the policies of the Administration in office? What we are out for, apart from the question of cost, is real news; in other words it is not quantity but quality that counts even before cost.

Newspaper publishers, being sharp men of business, will take good care that the charges are more reasonable; but the responsible conductors of the press all the world over lie under a grave responsibility to the reading public, that the news shall be absolutely reliable and never be "doctored" to help a partisan cause or to wound the susceptibilities of another nation. Far too much pin-pricking goes on these days. Those "misunderstandings" of which you complain so bitterly will remain sources of national ill-will so long as public men and press writers persist in inflaming racial passions and take a delight in suppressing the truth.

Col. Lawson has struck the right note. Let us be scrupulously fair and thoroughly impartial in our criticism of our neighbors' policies, give them credit for striving to be honest in their intentions toward us just as we expect them to believe us to be honest, unless the contrary can be proved, and let us by every legitimate means get into closer touch with those weak peoples whose trials and tribulations call aloud for redress, but whose actual position is unknown to us. To that consummation so devoutly to be wished, nothing, it appears to me, will contribute more potently, more effectively, or more readily than the diffusion of wholesome, authentic, and widely-circulated news, the impartial garnering of which will constitute the *raison d'être* of this World's Press Congress, now entering on the third and most important period of its career.

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The resolutions, as reported by Chairman Thurston, after discussion and amendment, were adopted. As adopted they appear in the report.

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#### RESOLUTION OF THANKS TO NEWS AGENCIES

After resuming the chair at the conclusion of the afternoon session, Mr. Alexander Hume Ford stated that the last business of the Pan-Pacific Press Conference session, which would likewise formally conclude the official program of the Press Congress of the World, should be, he felt, an expression of hearty appreciation to the various news agencies which had contributed so signally to the success of the conference, both by their comprehensive news reports of world events brought to Hawaii during the session, and by the notable wide service over the world given to the Conference through these agencies and their correspondents. He proposed a vote of thanks to the agencies individually and collectively for their sympathetic attitude in promoting a better understanding through the communication of news and also for the technical excellence with which the United States Radio News Service had carried the dispatches. The four agencies specified are:

The Associated Press, which augmented its daily reports to Hawaii newspapers with a special 1,000 word report.

The Chicago Tribune Syndicate Service, which established especially for the period of the sessions of the Press Congress of the World, a 3,000 word daily news report, which it collected in its Chicago office from foreign news dispatches gathered in all parts of the world.

The United Press, which sent a fifty-word dispatch daily.

The United States Navy Radio, which made special arrangements to handle incoming and outgoing news as well as placing the daily news report at the disposal of the delegates at the Press Congress headquarters.

In addition to the foregoing, representative correspondents of other newspapers and news agencies were commended for their interest in sending out complete reports of the sessions.

The chairman's proposal was carried unanimously by a viva voce vote.

CLOSING WORDS TO THE PAN-PACIFIC PRESS CONFERENCE

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By ALEXANDER HUME FORD,

*Director, Pan-Pacific Union.*

The Pan-Pacific Union stands for service. Honolulu is the service station of the Pacific. Here I have met at one time at the Conference table the premiers of three Pacific countries and this not by premeditation, but by the accident of the arrival of their steamers the same day from three different Pacific countries. This would not be likely to happen anywhere else, and it is because of such frequent happenings, bringing together in Honolulu the leading men of thought and action from different Pacific countries, that this city was selected a dozen years ago at the First Pan-Pacific Convention, as the meeting place for future Pan-Pacific Conferences.

The Pan-Pacific Union is calling a series of Conferences of the leading men in all lines of thought and action in the Pacific. It realizes that without the co-operation and thought of the press it is powerless to go forward. The press of the Pacific is today the greatest educational force and the greatest force for moral uplift in the whole world.

In some of our Pacific lands the newspapers pride themselves upon the fact that they disseminate the truth, that no interview is printed until it has the approval of the man interviewed. The truthfulness of these papers in local matters is astonishing, especially to the American, but when these same papers speak of other countries of the Pacific it is impossible for them to verify their information. They publish what is sent to them and copy from foreign journals, and, alas, all is not well.

Men wish to do that which is right, and if it is not too difficult they will do the right thing always. It seems to me, therefore, that it is the duty of this body to make it easy for the journalists of the Pacific to learn the truth about one another's countries, especially the pleasant, uplifting and encouraging truths.

You have accepted by resolution the services of the Pan-Pacific Union and I feel that its chief object should now be to aid in disseminating among all countries of the Pacific the truth about the conditions concerning each and the actual modes of living and being of their peoples. If we can establish here at the ocean crossroads a clearing house of accurate information; if from this central station we can send in every direction the cable and wireless items that are dropped here, it will be splendid for Pacific journalism. I believe that here in Honolulu men of experience in press matters would know best as to the items of news that each Pacific country would wish flashed forward to it and if the Pan-Pacific Union can serve in establishing such a central news gathering and disseminating organization its force is at your disposal in the attempt. All that would be needed to make it a success will be your co-operation.

It is for the Executive Committee now of the Pan-Pacific Press Conference to co-operate with the Pan-Pacific Union to establish the service that you desire and to set the countries and peoples of the Pacific press of the world in their true light.

The President of the Press Congress of the World has suggested that a Pan-Pacific School of Journalism be established here at the ocean crossroads. The Pan-Pacific Union will gladly co-operate with Dr. Walter Williams and the journalists of the Pacific who are looking forward to such an inter-racial journalistic school.

The proceedings of this Pan-Pacific Press Conference, a book of about one hundred pages, will be printed and published immediately and we trust that within a week several hundred copies will be on their way to Washington where the Disarmament Conference is about to open its sessions. It has been intimated that the views expressed by the journalists of the Pacific may have a valuable bearing at this time in Washington.

It may be that an informal conference of the press men of the Pacific will be held in Washington, as there will be a quorum of the Trustees of the Pan-Pacific Union in that city during the Disarmament Conference. It has been suggested that at the Pan-Pacific Commercial Conference, to be held in Honolulu next September, that there be a section composed of the owners of



newspapers and publications in Pacific lands. This matter will be taken up and duly considered. If, as it is hoped, the President of the United States will be with us in Hawaii next September, it may be possible that an informal conference of presidents and premiers of Pacific lands may be brought about in which case it may be well to hold a second Pan-Pacific Press Conference as the leading newspaper men of the Pacific would undoubtedly visit Honolulu on that occasion.

The Pan-Pacific Union is seeking to get the leading men of all lines of thought and action in Pacific lands in personal touch with one another. We have brought together the leading scientists of the Pacific and they are well organized in a body that will carry on and meet again. The same is true of the educators and now also of the press men of the Pacific. Next will be the gathering of the leading business giants of Pacific lands. There was once a saying among business men that there is no friendship in business, but this is no longer a truism. The Pan-Pacific Union holds that there should be no business, but friendship, and this will come true.

I cannot but be grateful for the kindly expressions that some of the speakers have voiced concerning my personal part in the work of the Pan-Pacific Union. I am grateful because it has made me certain that you go back to your homes in perfect assurance that whatever the Pan-Pacific Union can do to serve you between your meetings, to aid you in making a permanent success of your Pan-Pacific Congress body that it will do. We have asked for your co-operation and you have accepted ours. In whatever manner you wish us to be of service to you it is but for you to call upon us, and I trust you will call upon us, for we are here to serve.

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## VII.

### APPENDIX.

In the appendix will be found the Constitution of the Press Congress of the World as amended at Honolulu, the list of delegates and guests in attendance upon the Honolulu sessions, and several addresses prepared for but not delivered at the Congress sessions.

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#### CONSTITUTION OF THE CONGRESS.

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##### Article I—Name.

This organization shall be known as the Press Congress of the World.

##### Article II—Object.

Its object shall be to advance by conference, discussion and united effort the cause of journalism in every honorable way. The sessions of the Congress are to be open to the consideration of all questions directly affecting the press, but discussions of religion, politics and governmental policies will not be permitted.

##### Article III—Membership.

Workers in every department of journalism, in every country, who are engaged in promoting the highest standards and largest welfare of the press, are eligible to membership.

##### Article IV—Officers.

The officers, who with the exception of the Honorary President to be chosen by the Governing Committee, shall be elected at each session of the Congress as follows:

An Honorary President.

A President,

Two Vice-Presidents from each country holding membership,

A Secretary-Treasurer,

A Governing Committee consisting of the President, Secretary-Treasurer and thirteen additional members, which shall have general direction of the activities of the Congress.

The members of this Committee shall have power of substitution, and may designate an Executive Committee of Five. Vacancies shall be filled by the Governing Committee upon recommendation of the countries affected.

#### Article V—Meetings.

The times and places of meetings shall be determined by the Executive Committee.

#### Article VI—Amendments.

This constitution may be amended at any meeting under provisions to be established by the Executive Committee.

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#### DELEGATES AND GUESTS AT HONOLULU SESSIONS.

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Agee, Mrs. Hamilton P. (Fanny Heaslip Lea, pen name), short story writer, 2256 Oahu avenue, Honolulu, T. H.—Delegate.

Allen, Mrs. Henry J., Beacon, Wichita, Kansas, U. S. A. (Temporary Address: Topeka, Kansas)—Delegate.

Allen, Riley H., Star-Bulletin, Honolulu, T. H.—Delegate.

Bailey, H. U., Republican, Princeton, Illinois, U. S. A.—Delegate.

Bailey, Mrs. H. U., Princeton, Illinois, U. S. A.—Guest.

Beteta, Virgilio Rodriguez, Spanish Press Association, Central American Press Association, Guatemala City, Guatemala. (Temporary Address: Waldorf Astoria, New York City.)—Delegate.

Blain, Thomas J., Daily Item, Port Chester, New York, U. S. A.—Delegate.

- Blain, Mrs. T. J., Port Chester, New York, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Bowen, L. H., Lincoln County Times, Brookhaven, Mississippi, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Breede, Adam, Daily Tribune, Hastings, Nebraska, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Bridgman, Herbert L., Standard Union, Brooklyn, New York, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Bronson, E. S., American, El Reno, Oklahoma, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Brown, James Wright, Editor and Publisher, New York City, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Brown, Mrs. James W., New York City, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Bunker, F. F., Pan-Pacific Union, Honolulu, T. H.—Delegate.
- Burney, Ivan T., Journal and Courier, Little Falls, N. Y., U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Cain, J. Byron, News, Belle Plaine, Kansas, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Canavan, Mrs. Nancy B., El Reno, Oklahoma, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Chien, P. Y., Social Welfare, Tientsin, China.—Delegate.
- Childress, E. H., Wayne County Press, Fairfield, Illinois, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Chung, Henry, Korea Review, 905 Continental Trust Building, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Clark, H. J., Herald, Venice, California, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Clark, Mrs. H. J., Venice, California, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Clarke, Mrs. Adna G., Kamehameha Boy's School, Honolulu, T. H.—Delegate.
- Cody, Frank J., Daily Post-Herald, Hilo, Hawaii.—Delegate.
- Cohen, Mark, Star, Dunedin, New Zealand.—Delegate.
- Cohen, Sarah, Dunedin, New Zealand.—Guest.
- Coutoupis, Thales, Nea Ellas, Athens, Greece.—Delegate.
- Cross, A. A., Kentucky Press Association, Benton, Kentucky, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Davies, Herbert Arthur, Australian Journalists Association, Melbourne, Australia.—Delegate.
- Dean, Mrs. S. Bobo, Metropolis, Miami, Florida, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Dean, Miss Dorothy, Miami, Florida, U. S. A.—Guest.

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- DeRackin, S. E., Evening Outlook, Santa Monica, California, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- DeRackin, Mrs. S. E., Santa Monica, California, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Dotson, C. L., 420 Riverside Drive, New York City, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Dow, B. C., Argus-Leader, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Dow, Mrs. B. C., Sioux Falls, South Dakota, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Dunn, Andrew, Morning Bulletin, Rockhampton, Queensland, Australia.—Delegate.
- Easton, William, Times, Dunedin, New Zealand.—Delegate.
- Edgecombe, Frank O., Nebraska Signal, Geneva, Nebraska, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Edgecombe, Mrs. Frank O., Geneva, Nebraska, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Elder, Orville, Evening Journal, Washington, Iowa, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Evans, Miss Margaret, 520 Menzies St., Victoria, B. C.—Delegate.
- Fogg, Charles H., Times, Houlton, Maine, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Fogg, Mrs. Charles H., Houlton, Maine, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Ford, Alexander Hume, Pan-Pacific Union, Honolulu, T. H.—Delegate.
- Farrington, Wallace R., Star-Bulletin, Honolulu, T. H.—Delegate.
- Frear, Mrs. W. F., 1434 Punahou Street, Honolulu, T. H.—Delegate.
- Frye, Miss Helen M., League of American Pen Women, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.—Guest.
- Glass, Frank P., American Newspaper Publishers Association, Birmingham, Alabama, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Glass, Mrs. Frank P., 2030 Quinlon, Birmingham, Alabama, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Glass, Frank P., Jr., World, New York City, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Glass, Mrs. Frank P., Jr., New York City, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Goldthwaite, S. G., News-Republican, Boone, Iowa, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Goldthwaite, Mrs. S. G., Boone, Iowa, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Gordon, Marshall, Missouri Press Association, Columbia, Missouri, U. S. A.—Delegate.

- Gordon, Mrs. Marshall, Columbia, Missouri, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Greason, W. D., Miami Republican, Paola, Kansas, U. S. A.—  
Delegate.
- Grisson, Miss Maybel Louise, Michigan Woman's Press Association,  
Grand Ledge, Michigan, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Hadley, Charles C., Kennett News and Advertiser, Kennett  
Square, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Hadley, Mrs. Charles C., Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.  
—Guest.
- Hale, H. B., Gazette, East Hartford, Connecticut, U. S. A.—  
Delegate.
- Hale, Mrs. H. B., East Hartford, Connecticut, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Hall, Frederick P., Journal, Jamestown, New York, U. S. A.—  
Delegate.
- Harris, Mrs. Ralph A., Herald, Ottawa, Kansas, U. S. A.—  
Delegate.
- Heenan, David, Jr., 250 Kaiulau avenue, Honolulu, T. H.—  
Delegate.
- Herrick, John P., Bolivar Breeze, Olean, New York, U. S. A.—  
Delegate.
- Herrick, Mrs. John P., Olean, New York, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Hersey, Miss Mary S., Milton, Mass., U. S. A.—Guest.
- Hodges, W. R., Herald-Dispatch, Sleepy Eye, Minnesota, U. S.  
A.—Delegate.
- Hornaday, William D., School of Journalism, University of Texas,  
Austin, Texas, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Hsu, Jabin, China Press, Shanghai, China.—Delegate.
- Iles, Harry, Southwest Builder and Contractor, Los Angeles, Cali-  
fornia, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Innes, Guy, Herald, Melbourne, Australia.—Delegate.
- Innes, Mrs. Guy, Melbourne, Australia.—Guest.
- Johnston, F. H., Review, Hermosa Beach, California, U. S. A.  
—Delegate.
- Johnston, Mrs. F. H., Hermosa Beach, California, U. S. A.—  
Guest.
- Johnston, Miss W. Valeria, Hermosa Beach, California, U. S. A.  
—Delegate.

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- Junkin, J. E., National Editorial Association, Miami, Florida, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Junkin, Mrs. J. E., Miami, Florida, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Kelly, Eugene, Tribune, Sioux City, Iowa, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Kelly, Mrs., Eugene, Sioux City, Iowa, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Kern, Frank L., Worth While Magazine, 1021 S. Berendo street, Los Angeles, California, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Kessell, John Henry, Gladstone Observer, Gladstone, Queensland, Australia.—Delegate.
- Kessell, Mrs. J. H., Gladstone, Queensland, Australia.—Guest.
- Kettle, William R., Evening Star, Greymouth, New Zealand.—Delegate.
- Kettle, Mrs. W. R., Greymouth, New Zealand.—Guest.
- Kettle, Miss Viola, Greymouth, New Zealand.—Guest.
- Kim, Dong-sung, Dong-A Daily, Seoul, Korea.—Delegate.
- Kline, Gardiner, Evening Recorder, Amsterdam, New York, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Klock, Jay E., Daily Freeman, Kingston, New York, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Kriegesman, George W., News-Times, Webster Groves, Missouri, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Langley, Doris H., Herald, Tippecanoe City, Ohio, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Lawson, Col. Edward Frederick, Daily Telegraph, London, England.—Delegate.
- Lawson, Mrs. E. F., London, England.—Guest.
- Lazo, Agustin, Havana Reporters Association, Herald of Cuba, Havana, Cuba.—Delegate.
- LeFavour, Mrs. Helen, Amsterdam, New York, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Lennon, Mrs. C. W., Sioux City, Iowa, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Logan, Daniel, National Magazine, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Mayrand, Oswald, La Presse, Montreal, Canada.—Delegate.
- Medary, Edgar F., Democrat, Waukon, Iowa, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Mezquida, Mrs. Anna Blake, League of American Pen Women, 969 Pine street, San Francisco, California, U. S. A.—Delegate.



A THIRD VIEW OF THE LUCAT IN THE ARMORY AT LAHAINA, MAUI.





- Mills, Frank M., On the Cars, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Mills, Mrs. Frank M., Sioux Falls, South Dakota, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Mitchell, Miss Frances C., Centralia Courier, Columbia, Missouri, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Morris, John R., Japan Advertiser, Tokyo, Japan.—Delegate.
- McAdams, Mrs. A. G., Dallas, Texas, U. S. A.—Guest.
- McClatchy, V. S., Bee, Sacramento, California, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- McClatchy, Mrs. V. S., Sacramento, California, U. S. A.—Guest.
- McCullough, William, Thames Star, Thames, Auckland, New Zealand.—Delegate.
- McKeown, Mrs. Lillian, Sun and Evening Telegram, San Bernardino, California, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- McMaster, C. H., Tribune, Galveston, Texas, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- McMaster, Mrs. C. H., Galveston, Texas, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Ness, John F., Honolulu Press Club.—Delegate.
- Nevin, C. E., Advocate, Laurel, Nebraska, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Nieva, Gregorio, Philippine Review, Manila, P. I.—Delegate.
- Nolen, Miss Anna E., News, Monroe City, Missouri, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Orcutt, Reginald W., Linotype Bulletin, 1219 Madison avenue, New York City, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Orcutt, Mrs. Reginald W., New York City, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Patton, H. W., special writer, Hoquiam, Washington, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Perry, Miss Eugenie, Canadian Women's Press Club, Victoria, B. C.—Delegate.
- Petrie, Thomas, South China Morning Post, Hongkong, China.—Delegate.
- Petrie, Mrs. Thomas, Hongkong, China.—Guest.
- Pierce, Henry Douglas, Vinton-Pierce Building, Indianapolis, Indiana, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Powell, H. J., Journal, Coffeyville, Kansas, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Powell, Mrs. H. J., Coffeyville, Kansas, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Reed, Mrs. Emma Livingston, Southern California Woman's Press Club, Los Angeles, California, U. S. A.—Delegate.

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- Richardson, J. A., Sunflower Tocsin, Indianola, Mississippi, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Rhodes, Mrs. John F., Hutchinson, Kansas, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Saxe, Ludvig, Verdens Gang, Christiania, Norway.—Delegate.
- Schuler, Mrs. Maud, Gadsden, Alabama, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Shaw, Mrs. Mabel S., Evening Telegraph, Dixon, Illinois, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Smith, C. Stanley, Evening Star, Dunedin, New Zealand.—Delegate.
- Smith, Mrs. C. Stanley, Dunedin, New Zealand.—Guest.
- Smith, William J., Daily Sun, Waukegan, Illinois, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Soga, Y., Nippu Jiji, P. O. Box 897, Honolulu, T. H.—Delegate.
- Southern, William, Jr., Daily Examiner, Independence, Missouri, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Southern, Miss Caroline, Daily Examiner, Independence, Missouri, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Stone, John I., Honolulu Press Club, Honolulu, T. H.—Delegate.
- Sturgis, H. S., Times, Neosho, Missouri, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Sturgis, Mrs. H. S., Neosho, Missouri, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Sugimura, K., Asahi Shimbun, Tokyo, Japan.—Delegate.
- Temple, Mrs. Oda M., Republican, Mountain Home, Idaho, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Thorpe, Mrs. George C., Quarters A. Marine Barracks, Pearl Harbor, T. H.—Delegate.
- Thurston, L. A., Advertiser, Honolulu, T. H.—Delegate.
- Tong, Hollington K., North China Star, Peking, China.—Delegate.
- Townsend, Mrs. Georgina S., 5703 Victoria avenue, Los Angeles, California, U. S. A., (President, Southern California Woman's Press Club.)—Delegate.
- Traer, Mrs. Louise M., Eagle, Vinton, Iowa, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Underhill, Edwin S., Leader, Corning, New York, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Wang, K. P., Shun Pao, Shanghai, China.—Delegate.
- Wang, T. M., Shun Pao, Shanghai, China.—Delegate.
- Ward, Miss Etta I., Courier, Winchendon, Mass., U. S. A.—Delegate.

- Warren, Mrs. John Trenholm, Honolulu Press Club, Box 769, Honolulu, T. H.—Delegate.
- Watts, Arretta L., Long Beach, California, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Wilke, Will, Gazette, Grey Eagle, Minnesota, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Wilke, Clyde S., Gazette, Grey Eagle, Minnesota, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Williams, Walter, Dean School of Journalism, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Wong, Hin, Star, Canton, China.—Delegate.
- Woodring, Mrs. Charlotte, Journal, Peru, Indiana, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Woods, G. A., Boomer, El Reno, Oklahoma, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Xanders, Mrs. Amanda L., League of American Pen Women, York, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Yamagata, I., Press, Seoul, Korea.—Delegate.
- Zerbey, Maj. J. H., Jr., Republican, Pottsville, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.—Delegate.
- Zerbey, Elizabeth, Pottsville, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Zerbey, Mildred, Pottsville, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.—Guest.
- Zumoto, Motosada, Herald of Asia, Tokyo, Japan—Delegate.

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IN THE EDITORIAL "CROW'S NEST"

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By JOE MITCHELL CHAPPLE,

*Editor, National Magazine, Boston, Massachusetts, U. S. A.*

Nations are figuratively referred to as "Ships of State," sailing on oceans wide. Longfellow's allusion to the United States during the dark days of the Civil War sounded the clarion call of world union: "Thou, too, oh Ship of State, sail on, sail on!"

In these days of revolutionary typhoons the tides of the "Seven Seas"—confined to Aegean shores in ancient days—have extended their ebb and flow to all nations of the earth. The swift currents and course of human events have merged and turned the tides of world thought toward the discovery of a great common sea of humanity.

## 516 *The Press Congress of the World*

It is fitting that the World Press Congress, meeting in the mid-waters of an ocean christened because of the placid view it first presented to Balboa on the heights of Darien, should consider the Pacific question in its broadest sense as the great problem of the hour.

From the earliest time that a sail carried man and cargo far over seas, the man in the "crow's nest" has been the one to warn of danger, or give the joyful shout of "land ho!" or "ship ahoy!" Whether a crude galley of ancient days or the modern leviathan, the man in the lookout remains indispensable as an assurance that the "port of safety" will be reached.

Since the days of Gutenberg and the invention of movable types, the editor or the writer has been in the "crow's nest" of the "ships of state." Statesmen rise to imperishable fame or sink into oblivion—leaders come and go—from reckonings determined by the man in the "crow's nest." The reference to the editor in the lookout is not merely a matter of professional praise, for he has often been wrong as well as right. It indicates how the log of the Ship of State is made up from the estimate of new leaders appearing on the horizon, crystalized into biographies which constitute the chronicles of peoples, nations, and events.

The history of the United States is interwoven with the files of its newspapers, which have always been a vital factor in the every day thought and activities of our national life. From the time that the first newspaper was printed in the western hemisphere—when the Boston News Letter came out of the press damp and limp—the "Voice of the People," shouting from aloft, through contributor's columns, editorials, or blazing headlines, have represented the dominating influence of public opinion, reflected in the American newspapers.

Even the thought that their ideas would be further exploited and heralded in the newspapers may well have inspired the impassioned addresses of Patrick Henry and James Otis and other crusaders for liberty in critical colonial days.

The American press has ever taken cognizance of the doings of the humblest individual, whether it be John Jones painting his barn, or Sally, the society queen, powdering her nose. A nation of one hundred million humans, distinct as individuals in

some way, at some time, come within personal survey of the editor's "crow's nest." Newspapers are, in fact, the people. They constitute the very soul of our body politic.

The editor in the "crow's nest" may give the warning, but on the deck below, holding a firm hand on the helm, is the master of the ship, a representative of the people, in a representative republic. The captain on our "Ship of State" at this time is President Warren G. Harding, backed by the suffrage of a score of millions of voters. He is also the Honorary President of this Congress. As an editor, he has occupied the "crow's nest." His glasses have been intensified with a range widened into the scope of world affairs. His calm poise at this time, when heavy seas are rolling, calls to mind Walt Whitman's tribute to Lincoln.

"O Captain! my Captain!

The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,

While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel firm and daring."

Here, indeed, we find a poetic and appropriate setting for deliberations outlined in the thought of the great discoverer who rapturously cried "The Pacific!" Even the name suggests the object of the discussion. The world is looking forward to the limitation of armament as a means of establishing enduring peace. The Pacific question is the great problem of the world future. The European situation involves problems of yesterday. Peace treaties of London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin have in the past accomplished cessation from war, but never have they reached a determination on the Limitation of Armament as a prevention of bloodshed, nor did they quell the lust for territorial gain and the revenge of racial hatred.

Nations now join in a cry for peace, a peace that will preserve rather than destroy. Centuries have swung around and the Orient is being rediscovered; China with its most ancient of civilizations; Japan with its millions of virile people; India, Egypt, Persia, Siberia, and Russia all seeking their new destiny in the solution of the Pacific question. The waters of the Pacific have never been reddened by a great naval battle for conquest. The Orient gives back to the Occident ideals of an ancient civilization, which may have suggestions for a future of world happiness. China, the very country where gunpowder was first manufactured, but

never used for destruction of life—where with their original mariner's compass it was first discovered that the world was round, but the knowledge not utilized for conquest—may furnish a new angle from the ancient arts of peace, as practised in those cycles of Cathay.

Thus all the powers of civilization, old and new—all the energies of the united world thought, are concentrated today upon building enduring temples of peace. Here in Hawaii, where volcanoes have erupted with wild fury, leaving around them this Paradise of beauty, with its soft, witching tone color, in a climate suggestive of poise and content, soothing thoughts conducive to sane decision should ensue.

Honolulu, one of the fairest monuments to modern civilization, may become the friendly meeting place as the "house by the side of the seas," where new ideals of the friendship of men may flower. The welcome to the World Press Congress expresses ideals of Pan-Pacific unity that are inspiring. Editors who here foregather have occupied the "crow's nest" in all parts of the world, and have had all points of view, but all will agree that this metropolis of the cross-roads of the Pacific may become another Hague tribunal, triumphant in uniting the nations in the bonds of the encircled golden garlands of the lei, which comes with the welcome to wonderful Hawaii.

Significant in the trend of recent events is the fact that the League of Nations, presumed by some to be in conflict with the ideals of the Washington conference for the limitation of armament which meets in November, has sent greetings to that assembly, asking them to grapple this fundamental proposition of the Limitation of Armament. This reflects the desire of all nations drawing closer together in consideration of these problems. The doors of the Pan American Building in Washington, owned by twenty-six nations of the Americas, have been thrown wide open to discuss and settle the great question of the hour. With the skylight of the patios of this building drawn aside, the conference may convene under the canopy of heaven, without reflection from such as the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. The spectres of designing diplomats, and rife intrigue, playing with peoples as pawns in a game of war and peace, will not shadow



the promised blessing of the great Source of sunshine and perfect peace. Here will prevail the supreme object of drawing the fangs of armament and preventing the sowing of the dragon's teeth for future wars. The whims of "war lords," whether of royal birth or commercial power, can never again bring a deluge of human blood, leaving behind a waste and gruesome misery.

There to record and chart the destiny of nations, the editors in the "crow's nest" will be on watch. No longer may a trifling incident be used to fan a revolution or a declaration of war. Those pricking quills, inspired by greed, intrigue, ambition, and hate, must be disarmed before the floodgates of war can be closed. There have been men in the "crow's nest" who served as free-booters, sailing under banners shadowed with the pirate's grisly emblem of the skull and crossbones.

The editorial "crow's nest" cannot be fouled with its own ambition and lust of power if the happiness of the world is to be attained.

In my modest editorial "crow's nest" there has appeared to me one great anchor of Hope. In personal observation on fields of battle overseas during the darkest days of the World War—in the day of tension following the armistice, when dawned the pure white light of promised peace—in a trip across the continent of my own country in contact with the people day after day, there has appeared to me this one harbinger of hope.

It is woman!

Woman's entrance into the real affairs of the world will, in my judgment, save the race. In the United States, Canada, England, and other divisions of the British Empire she has the ballot, but the influence of women's voice and power extends to every nook and corner of the world. She has become a part of the warp and woof of our economic fabric. Wherever the word "home" is understood or idealized, the influence and power of mothers and women is being felt. The primal instinct of protecting her young and refusing longer to furnish her own flesh and blood to feed the maw of war, makes woman a dominant factor in the destiny of nations. Her instinct is preservation of the race.

With her power of the ballot she seeks to protect her own

and her home from the ravages of commercial greed which had often led to wars. The economic question involved in providing food for her young, whom she has oft seen dying of starvation in her arms, while armament and wars increase, is now a problem for all nations.

Motherlands have supplanted fatherlands. The mother's intuition has been awakened. Woman has stood at the sacrificial altar of wars, century after century, giving of her treasure—her own flesh and blood. She has been the vicarious atonement for the sins of men. The world-wide maternal influence is glorified, yes, deified—more than ever before in the history of the world since the days of Mary and the Manger. The Star of Bethlehem guided the men of the East, not to a throne supported by might or relying upon military armament to maintain life and power, but to a lowly manger, o'er which hangs the eternal halo of a mother's love.

The guiding influence of the editor in the "crow's nest" is an intuitive and composite knowledge of humanity. The vision he commands encircles all activities and phases of life. He knows about laws and courts and recognizes the home as the bulwark of enduring happiness. He knows industry in its demands; and the whirl of wheels is music if attuned to the labor of the fields. He is familiar with the ideals of the church and the cabaret, the gentle soul of love and the jarry jazz. He rambles with the rich man, ponders with the poor man—in all cases he seeks first the common ground of an understanding of human beings. The editor in the "crow's nest" at sea has a counterpart in the editor of the sanctum. He lives in the "house by the side of the road" and sees the procession of men pass by. But never can he sit in the scorner's seat, for he knows that amid all the rush and jar of life the greatest achievement of man comes with the prayer:

"Write me as one that loves his fellow-man."

The name of Abou ben Adhem was written first in the book of gold and led all the rest because he loved his fellow-man. Responsive to the heart impulse of the people, the editor knows what makes sunny days enduring and dark days endurable.

Whether in the dangers that threaten in prosperity, or the blows and blights of adversity, he knows that the heart must reign supreme.

In shadow and sunshine, storm and tempest, the editor in the "crow's nest" will stick to his post with a conviction that the old Ship of State carries the sheet anchor of Hope for "man born of woman"—and that the Port of Humanity is the one haven big enough to ensure enduring peace and happiness for all the race.

That harbor surely affords safe anchorage for all of God's children.

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## JOURNALISM IN KOREA

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By DONG-SUNG KIM,

*Representative of the Dong-A Daily, Seoul, Korea.*

Journalism is nothing new in Korea. The Official Gazette, which was not unlike the modern official organ of a government, was started in the tenth century. The movable metal type was invented by our ancestors long before it was known in Europe. But the real modern newspaper began its publications quarter of a century ago. To be exact the Independent News which lived but a short life under the old regime was published in the year of 1894. The Capital News succeeded it until the time of Japanese annexation, 1910. There were several minor papers which were stopped simultaneously with the annexation.

With the annexation came the suppression of free press. The first Korean periodical that appeared since was a literary magazine called Chung-chun or The Youth, edited by Choi Nam-sun, later known as the author of the famous Korean Declaration of Independence. The Youth was the guiding light in a stormy sea. Although it was supposed to be a monthly magazine, only fifteen numbers appeared during its existence from September, 1914, to the time of Mr. Choi's arrest in 1919. The reason was that the manuscripts had to be submitted to the censor, who might keep them for months as he turned over pages in search of some "dangerous thoughts" or undesirable articles. In

case he found anything that was in any way not in accord with the policy of the government; he would blue-pencil that particular section or the entire manuscripts for the month. In those days hardly a page of manuscript was OK'ed by the censor as it was turned in to him.

In order to obtain the necessary permit for his publication, it is said that, Mr. Choi had to visit the Government offices every day for about three years until finally he was given a permit to run his press. His personality and enthusiasm induced even the authorities of that time to give him a permit, which was regarded as nothing less than a miracle. Nevertheless, it was a credit to the Japanese authorities in those dark days.

Of newspapers, there was for several years only one semi-official organ, the Maill-Shinpo. This was the paper formerly owned by the late Mr. E. T. Bethell, a British subject. It was purchased by the Japanese government in Korea and turned into a semi-official organ. The public had to take news through this medium whether they liked it or not, and it enjoyed the distinction of being the only newspaper printed in Korean language until the time of Mansei demonstrations in 1919. As a direct result of that disturbance, Korea has now three daily papers besides the semi-official organ, and twenty odd magazines mostly on general culture.

Baron Saito, the new Japanese Governor-General, has done many things worth while for the welfare of the Korean people, one of which was the permission he gave on January 6th, 1920, to publish three daily newspapers in Korean. Evidently he realized that it would be far better for all concerned to give the people some opportunity of expressing their grievances than to suppress thoughts which might generate more agitation. Heretofore the people had been compelled to be blind, deaf and mute.

Among the three hundred and forty thousand Japanese in Korea, there are twenty-three dailies, three weeklies and eight monthlies, all published in Japanese, besides four news agencies. The Seoul Press is an English edition.

Among the eighteen million Koreans in Korea, there were three but now only two dailies permitted. Shisa-Shin-moon or The Times is already a thing of the past. It was the organ of

the National Association, the head of which was the late Min Won-shik. The policy of this journal was the assimilation of two races, Korean and Japanese, by declaring a new Japanism.

The paper stopped soon after the death of Mr. Min without any visible hope of being run again under the same management. For the time being the people are content with two papers out of the three that were permitted under the new Governor-General.

The second of these three is Chosun-Ilbo or The Korea Daily, which was under the management of the Peers Club, although the management has now been transferred to Count Song Byung-shun, who was a member of the Cabinet at the time of the annexation. In spite of its pro-Japanese ownership, the paper has had thirty-seven issues suppressed, and almost three months suspension since it began publication eighteen months ago. In actual number of suppressions this paper leads, due to its strong utterances sometimes in disregard of police warnings. Yet the people look upon it merely as the organ of the peers, for whom they have not much respect. The paper claims to have a circulation of ten thousand and the policy is generally neutral with regard to political affairs.

Last but not least is the Dong-A Daily, which is already known internationally as the voice of Korea. It turns out fifty thousand copies every day in the year, when it is not suspended by the powers that be. It is really in a sense the successor of the old Hwang-sung-Shin-moon or the Capital News, the editor of which, Ryu Keun, was imprisoned at the time of annexation. Mr. Ryu was editor of this new daily until he died a few months ago. The present editor, Chang Duk-soo, is a young man of twenty-seven, who was exiled to a lonely island away from his political activities but was released to accompany Mr. Lyu from Shanghai to Tokyo, upon the invitation of the Japanese Government after the Independence agitation. On account of the personnel of the editorial staff, one Japanese contemporary called it "a den of anti-Japanese," which was an unjust comment for a paper which advocates the rights of the people, whether they are Japanese, or Koreans. It claims that it is not anti-Japanese but anti-militarist.

The stock of the Dong-A Daily Company was subscribed by the people all over the country. Its aims are (1) to be the organ

of the people, (2) to stand for democracy, and (3) to foster the enlightenment of the nation. It began its publication April 1, 1920, and suffered sixteen suppressions during six months up to September 25, when it was suspended for four months. Then the paper reappeared in February this year, since then it has suffered seven suppressions. Two of the issues suppressed during the month of August simply contained items translated from Japanese papers. On the sixth of August it was suppressed for news about the border situation that appeared in a Japanese contemporary in Seoul, while on the twenty-third August it was suppressed for reporting the activities of Dr. Syngman Rhee, whom the Koreans claim as their president. This last item for which the paper suffered suppression was a translation of what had appeared in the *Tokyo Asahi*. Thus the paper stands in a rather delicate position between the authorities and the people, and it is a difficult task to please everybody in spite of the precautions of the editors. Suppressions often result from the authorities misinterpreting or misunderstanding the editor's aim. Sometimes, when it is suppressed, the paper may be printed as an "extra" after eliminating the "obnoxious item." The *Dong-A Daily* has a paid subscription of fifty thousand which is the largest in Korea.

The periodicals in Korea are quite numerous, including religious journals under foreign supervision. The actual number of magazines published is twenty-three; all of them are non-political. Among these *Kai Byuk*, or *The Creation*, is one of the best with the largest circulation. It is under the management of the followers of the new religion, called the Heavenly Path, the head of which, Song Byung-hi, was also the leader of the thirty-three signatories of the Korean Declaration of Independence on March 1, 1919.

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## THE PRESS OF SWITZERLAND

By EDOUARD CHAPUISAT,

*Journal de Geneve, Geneva.*

La presse suisse a des états de services déjà fort anciens et que pourraient lui envier de nombreux pays infiniment plus importants par leur étendue.

C'est en l'année 1610 que l'on signale déjà, pour la suisse de langue allemande, un journal qui paraissait à Bâle chaque semaine. A Zürich dès 1663 se publie aussi une gazette et, au commencement du XVIIIème siècle, on mentionne plusieurs journaux à Coire, à Berne, à Schaffhouse et à Lucerne et St-Gall.

La suisse de langue française est venue plus tard que la suisse de langue allemande au journalisme. C'est en 1634 que parut à Geneve pour la première fois une publication périodique intitulée *Le Mercure Suisse*. Dès la fin du XVIIème siècle le journalisme littéraire fait son apparition, ce qui n'est pas surprenant dans une ville qui s'honorait d'être pour des causes diverses, et en particulier à la suite de persécutions contre les protestants, un refuge de savants et d'érudits.

La suisse de langue italienne peut, dès l'année 1746, revendiquer aussi l'honneur d'avoir eu des publications périodiques. Jusqu'à cette époque elle paraît avoir bénéficié presque exclusivement des journaux de l'Italie, si proche du Tessin.

Le fait même que nous mentionnons sous trois rubriques spéciales les dates des premières publications de journaux, marque la difficulté de la tâche de la presse suisse, mais aussi le rôle considérable qu'elle est appelée à jouer dans ce pays.

Composée de 22 cantons distincts—états souverains—qui ne bénéficient pas d'un même langage dont les populations sont issues de races très différentes et dont les moeurs sont parfois dissemblables, la suisse présente sur la surface du globe un exemple caractéristique. Il a été trop souvent mis en évidence pour que nous y revenions ici, mais on conçoit que la presse soit un agent de liaison non seulement utile, mais absolument nécessaire pour que tous ces petits peuples, qui ont décidé de vivre ensemble, ne vivent pas seulement du point de vue d'un intérêt matériel com-

mun, mais aussi d'une même conception en ce qui concerne les idées générales à la base du pays.

La suisse n'ayant jamais connu d'autre régime que la démocratie—à part quelques petits états qui eurent des organisations aristocratiques très vite dissipées—doit s'employer à maintenir cet esprit démocratique. Toute sa presse s'y consacre et l'on peut affirmer que si, malgré des divergences d'opinions parfois importantes, aucune scission n'est possible en suisse, c'est parce que la démocratie, pivot central de sa politique, n'a jamais été contestée.

Mais si la presse suisse a une expérience très grande de la démocratie, elle varie aussi dans ses idées sur l'application du principe et c'est là qu'apparaît son rôle qui, tout en discutant les théories, la ramène constamment au principe essentiel et commun.

Les suisses se préoccupent beaucoup de politique et l'instruction très généralement répandue leur permet d'y vouer une attention spéciale. Il n'est pas sans intérêt de constater que pour une population de 4 millions d'habitants environ, la suisse compte 1500 journaux ce qui fait un journal pour un peu plus de 2000 habitants. C'est, si nous ne nous trompons, la plus forte proportion connue et cela encore donne à la presse suisse une importance particulière. On peut s'en rendre compte d'une façon spéciale lorsqu'il s'agit de questions soumises au referendum ou qui nécessitent l'intervention directe du peuple par voie de plébiscite. Un exemple frappant est celui du vote du peuple suisse relatif à la Société des Nations. Alors même que le cas fut tout à fait particulier, le peuple suisse a estimé que c'était lui et non pas ses magistrats qui devait décider de son entrée ou non dans la Société des Nations et l'on se souvient que le peuple a adhéré à une énorme majorité au nouveau principe humanitaire inauguré par la Société.

Sur le nombre de journaux que nous venons de signaler, il est évident que tous ne sont pas quotidiens. Leur tirage, il va de soi, n'équivaut pas non plus au grand tirage de vastes pays. Pourtant tous subsistent et vivent malgré les difficultés résultant, dans la période actuelle, du coût du papier, déjà sensiblement amélioré, et des augmentations importantes consenties aux typographes.

Si la plupart des journaux traitent principalement des ques-



tions de politique intérieure, tous renseignent aussi sur la politique extérieure. Beaucoup même y vouent un intérêt spécial comme, par exemple, le Journal de Geneve, la Nouvelle Gazette de Zurich, la Gazette de Lausanne.

L'étranger veut bien faire l'honneur à la presse suisse d'attacher une importance particulière à ses avis car elle a une réputation d'honnêteté qui est le plus précieux de ses trésors. D'autre part la neutralité du pays permet de supposer que sa presse n'est pas inféodée à tel ou tel état et que par conséquent les jugements qu'elle porte lui sont toujours dictés par un sentiment de justice et de droiture.

L'un des caractères principaux de la presse suisse, est son indépendance. Indépendance vis-à-vis de l'étranger, indépendance aussi à l'intérieur. Aucune loi sur la presse ne bride ses élans. Elle reste donc d'une façon absolue seule juge des circonstances politiques qui se déroulent autour d'elle. Il n'y a pas d'organe officiel ni officieux du Gouvernement suisse, sans doute tel ou tel magistrat peut avoir des relations plus particulières avec tel ou tel journal et le prendre plus volontiers pour confident. Mais ce sont là des faits tout à fait personnels et même isolés. On ne saurait dire que tel journal représente la pensée du Gouvernement pris dans son intégralité. Nous y voyons une force pour avancement des idées à l'intérieur du pays. Le jeu de la libre critique est essentiel dans une démocratie.

D'après ce que nous venons de dire, on voit que la presse suisse est plus particulièrement portée à étudier les questions politiques. C'est peut-être pour cette raison que les directeurs (éditeurs) des grands journaux ont le plus souvent commencé leur carrière dans le droit avant de s'adonner d'une manière complète au journalisme.

Il ne faudrait cependant pas croire que les intérêts scientifiques, agraires, littéraires et artistiques sont négligés. De nombreuses publications spéciales traitent des divers sujets auxquels nous faisons allusion et la plupart des journaux quotidiens aussi—en tous cas les plus grands—ont des rubriques ou ces questions sont traitées par des spécialistes. Il est bon de signaler ce fait dans ce pays où trois cultures sont juxtaposées, car cela permet de marquer l'interpénétration de ces cultures sur un espace à

vrai dire restreint mais où un public instruit est capable d'en profiter. Les traductions en français, en allemand, en italien, où vice versa, sont fréquentes dans les journaux des trois langues et assurent une collaboration qui permet en fin de former une pyramide particulièrement intéressante pour tous ceux qui croient que l'esprit des hommes doit un jour se rencontrer sur les sommets.

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Les journalistes suisses ont plusieurs associations. La plus importante au point de vue professionnel est l'Association de la Presse suisse fondée le 16 juin 1884 à Lucerne et qui groupe 700 membres.

Dans plusieurs des cantons (états) existent des associations de presse cantonales (Association de la Presse genevoise, Association de la Presse vaudoise, etc. etc.) Les associations cantonales ont un but surtout amical tandis que l'Association de la Presse suisse, qui permet aux journalistes des diverses langues de se recontrer et d'échanger des idées, a plutôt une tendance à sauvegarder les intérêts professionnels. C'est le cas aussi du Syndicat de la Presse romande dont le siège est à Lausanne.

A côté des ces organisations il s'est constitué à Geneve, dès l'an dernier, un Cercle de la Presse, (siège, 1 Place du Lac,) qui prit tout de suite une certaine envergure étant donné le nombre important de journalistes étrangers qui sont venus se fixer à Geneve, siège de la Société des Nations et de plusieurs institutions internationales, afin de suivre le développement de ces entreprises. Le Cercle de la Presse, en effet, accepte dans son sein les journalistes de tous les pays et nous croyons bien qu'actuellement il en est peu qui ne comptent pas des représentants au sein du Cercle qui a été fondé principalement pour créer un centre journalistique facilitant la tâche des professionnels et les mettant en rapport quelle que soit leur nationalité.

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A côté de ces organisations qui concernent plus particulièrement les journalistes, nous devons mentionner une autre association, la Société des Éditeurs de journaux, d'ordre professionnel, mais qui permet aussi aux directeurs (éditeurs) des périodiques suisses de se rencontrer sans tenir compte de leurs langues diverses.

La presse suisse est desservie, comme partout ailleurs, par des agences.

L'Agence télégraphique suisse est l'organisation la plus importante de ce genre. Elle a son siège à Berne, capitale de la Suisse, mais a des succursales dans les villes principales.

Une société de télégraphie sans fil vient aussi de se constituer, dans l'idée surtout de servir la presse, qui compte deux représentants dans son Conseil d'administration, M. Usteri (de Zürich) président du Conseil d'Administration de la Nouvelle Gazette de Zurich et M. Chapuisat (de Geneve) directeur (éditeur) du Journal de Geneve.

Comme adjuvant de la presse nous pensons qu'il convient aussi de signaler l'existence d'un Argus suisse de la Presse, (siège à Geneve) qui donne les coupures de tous les journaux du monde.

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C'est en Suisse que le Bureau de Propriété intellectuelle a son siège. Il est situé à Berne et, sans être spécialement affecté à la défense des droits du journalisme, il est, comme on s'en doute, bien loin d'être étranger à ses efforts.

C'est à Berne aussi que fut constitué le Musée Gutenberg suisse au sujet duquel nous joignons à ce rapport une notice explicative. Le Musée Gutenberg, fondé en 1894, recueille tout ce qui concerne la Presse.

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Y a-t-il des principes communs à la presse suisse? Certainement, et ils sont fixés par le règlement de l'Association de la presse suisse. Sans vouloir entrer ici dans trop de détails, on peut affirmer que la base essentielle est l'honnêteté. Un exemple: la Presse suisse n'accepte pas de réclame payante dans le texte du journal de façon que l'on ne puisse pas dire que tel ou tel article a été inséré contre rémunération.

Nous ne pouvons songer à entrer ici dans tous les détails relatifs au journalisme helvétique.

Nous pensons en avoir assez dit pour montrer son importance. Nous n'oublions pas d'ailleurs qu'en 1902 il se tint en Suisse un Congrès international de la Presse et nous serions particulièrement heureux de penser qu'un jour ou l'autre il pourrait de nouveau se tenir dans ce pays.

En terminant, qu'il soit permis au rapporteur d'exprimer les sentiments de sympathie les plus sincères de ses confrères suisses pour leurs confrères étrangers. Les journalistes suisses savent que, placés au centre de races diverses, ils ont une véritable mission à remplir, mission d'union et d'entente. S'ils savent aussi que, suivant le vieux dicton latin "rien de ce qui est humain ne doit leur être étranger," ils savent encore que dans la carrière souvent difficile, remplie d'écueils, qu'ils ont embrassée, il y a une jouissance suprême à pouvoir faire preuve de solidarité humaine et confraternelle.

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### THE PRESS IN INDIA

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By RUSTOM N. VATCHAGHANDY,

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The history of the Press legislation in India extends over a period of a hundred years. That legislation was at first directed against the Anglo-Indian press. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Indian press was practically non-existent. The few papers that were published had a very small circulation not exceeding three hundred copies and exercised very little influence over the public and the Government. The press that really counted was the Anglo-Indian press. Of course it did not represent the interests of the Indian people but of the small non-official Anglo-Indian community. As John Stuart Mill said: "English newspaper press in India is the organ only of the English society and chiefly that part of it unconnected with the Government. It has little to do with natives and with the great interests of India." It was in a state of constant antagonism to the Government and severely criticised its policy and measures. The early policy of the Government of India towards the press was characterised by extreme severity. In 1799 Lord Wellesley passed some regulations for the better control of the press. Every paper was to be inspected by a censor before publication and immediate deportation for Europeans was the penalty for offend-

ing against the regulations. Marquis of Hastings softened these regulations but the general policy towards the press remained unchanged. The press was still prohibited from publishing "animadversions" on public measures and discussions tending to alarm the Indian people. Many Anglo-Indians defied these regulations and suffered punishment for their opinions. It was in 1822 that the question of the freedom of the press in India came to the front. In that year Sir Thomas Munro then Governor of Madras wrote in his minute on the subject under the heading "Danger of a Free Press in India." This minute was all the more surprising as Sir Thomas Munro was one of the most liberal-minded men of his time. His standpoint, however, was that if the liberty of the press was allowed in India the British Government would not be able to keep its control and domination over the Indian people. These views commended themselves to the Court of Directors in London. In spite of the protests of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the leading Indian of his time, these views prevailed and on the fifth of April 1823 a regulation was passed called "A Regulation for preventing the establishment of printing presses without license and for restraining under certain circumstances the circulation of printed books and papers." This regulation applied to Bengal only and therefore in January 1827, a similar regulation was passed by the Bombay Government. The principal provisions of these regulations were:— (1) No printing press was to be established and no book or paper was to be printed without a license from Government; (2) All books and papers printed under license were to be submitted to the Government for inspection; (3) The circulation of any newspaper or book might be prohibited by notice in the Government Gazette. Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his co-adjutors appealed to His Majesty the King against such a regulation and the way in which it was being worked. The memorial, however, proved unavailing and the Privy Council declined to comply with the petition, which was addressed to it. It will be seen from the above that these regulations introduced licensing as well as censorship of the press which are incompatible with a free press. These restrictions on the press continued in force till the fifteenth of September 1835. In that year, they were repealed and re-

placed by a new act, *viz.*, Act XI of 1835. Lord William Bentinck made no change in the law but gradually he allowed great freedom. Sir Charles Metcalfe removed all restrictions (1835) by the new act. This new act which was substituted for the old regulation was quite an innocent measure, its object being simply to make printers and publishers "accessible to the laws of the land." It was drafted by Macaulay on the lines of the corresponding English statute and was the first Press Act enacted for the whole of India. It abolished censorship and the system of licenses, and introduced in their place a system of registration. Every owner of a press and every printer and publisher of any book or periodical work was obliged, under penalty, to sign and file before a magistrate a declaration setting forth a true and precise account of the premises wherein his printing or publishing was carried on. Sir Charles Metcalfe's press policy was not approved of by the Court of Directors. No change, however, was made in the policy and the charter of freedom thus granted to the Indian Press remained in existence for about twenty-two years. After the mutiny of 1857, however, a bill was introduced for the better control of the press and passed on the same day, being known as Act XV of 1857. This Act applied to the whole of British India and re-enacted some of the provisions of the regulations of 1823. At the same time, the provisions of Act XI of 1835 were expressly maintained. It thus restored the old system of licenses without at the same time disturbing the system of registration then in vogue. In one respect, the new act was more liberal than the old regulation. There was to be no censorship of the press.

One of the most important provisions of the act was that it was to have effect only for one year; and it deserves to be noted that though the public excitement caused by the mutiny had not quite subsided, it was not renewed at the end of the period.

The next step in press legislation was Act XXV of 1867. It is still in force as amended by Act XX of 1890. It repealed and re-enacted with slight changes, the provisions of the Act XI of 1835. It had been originally intended to provide rules for the preservation and registration of books only, for which no provision had hitherto existed, but at a later stage, the bill was amended so as to include the provision of Act XI of 1835.

We now come to the year 1870. In that year, the famous section 124-A, dealing with the offense of sedition, as it stood before its amendment in 1898, was embodied in the Penal Code. The draft Penal Code was framed by Macaulay in 1837, but the Code itself was not enacted till 1860. The section dealing with sedition originally stood as Section 113 of the draft Code, but it came somehow to be omitted when the Code was passed. This omission has not been satisfactorily explained.

Neither the Act XXV of 1867 nor the inclusion of the sedition section in the ordinary law of the land interfered with the legitimate freedom of the press. The sedition section was drafted on the lines of its English prototype and, though in later days, particularly in the memorable Tilak trial of 1897, it received a very strict interpretation from the Bombay High Court, the section itself evoked no opposition when it was embodied in the Penal Code. So, with the exception of one single year, viz., that of the mutiny, the freedom conferred upon the Indian press by Sir Charles Metcalfe, continued to be enjoyed by it till 1878, when it was again partially suspended by the Vernacular Press Act. This act, as its name indicates, applied only to the vernacular press. It was passed in hot haste in one sitting without a single dissentient vote in the Imperial Council, where there were no elected members and where at the time only one Indian member was present. The object of the bill was to repress seditious writings in the vernacular newspapers and to check the system of extortion to which, it was alleged, native feudatories and native employees were at the time subjected by unscrupulous native editors. This act was strongly opposed not only in India but in England and was condemned in Parliament by a large majority amounting to over one hundred and fifty members. The late Mr. Gladstone who was then leader of the opposition, made a very strong speech opposing it. He said;

“They (the people of India) have or think they have plenty of causes of complaint. I am sorry to say, I regard this Press Act as one of the most salient among them; but as I observe most of all from reading extracts sent home in order to make a case for the act, all these complaints in India appear to me to be particular complaints. They complain of the errors of Government just as we complain of them in this country.” This act was

in operation for a little over three years, and was practically kept on the statute-book without being enforced. For about fifteen years after the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act there was no change made in the legislation affecting the Indian Press. But again there was a wave of reaction, and in 1898 material amendments were introduced in the law concerning sedition. None of the changes was approved of by the educated public but in spite of the opposition the amendment of section 124-A of the Penal Code and the enactment of the new section, viz., 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code was passed. For about ten years after these changes there was no fresh legislation for the press but on the eighth of June 1908 an Act was passed called "The Newspapers (Incitement to offenses) Act" which was followed within two years by the full-fledged Press Act of 1910. The Newspapers Act was a small act of only ten sections and designed for the prevention of incitements to murder and other offenses in newspapers. It has been truly said that neither the conduct of the newspapers nor the publication of books in India during all the period subsequent to the mutiny had been of such a character as to induce the British Government in India to reverse the entire policy followed in the past and go back upon the traditions of the British Jurisprudence so thoroughly as to enact a law licensing censorship of the Press. When the Indian Press Act of 1910 was therefore enacted, preceded as it was by a number of other repressive laws connected with the unrest of 1905-08, the first effort apparently made was to introduce the system of licensing and preventive control of the press by the executive. This act does not ostensibly purport to establish a system of licensing or censorship of the Indian press. It purports only to modify the law of press registration as defined in the Act of 1867 by starting with a demand for securities in all cases when a new registration and declaration of printing press or a newspaper has to be effected under the act. No security, however, it was declared in the statement of objects and reasons, "is to be given by existing presses until they offended the Government." The security as deposited becomes liable to forfeiture as also the press and newspaper concerned as well as further security taken under the act whenever the local Government finds any publica-



tion made by the papers or presses to be seditious or otherwise objectionable as defined in the act. Upon such orders for forfeiture, the act purports to provide what Lord Morley described as: "Appeal to a Court of Law in due form." All such safeguards and assurances which secured the consent of elected representatives of the people by the late Mr. Gokhale and also the then Liberal Secretary of State, Lord Morley, proved a mere hallucination when the act came to be practically worked by the bureaucracy. The tendency to treat the act as one investing the executive with the powers of control over the printing presses and newspapers soon expanded and developed in a manner which became a serious menace to the very existence of the Indian press in the country. The existing presses and papers were in fact always liable to a demand for security whenever they had to go to make a fresh declaration even on account of technical grounds like a change in the residence, etc. Since 1910 there has been a consistent opposition from the whole of the Indian people to this legislation and the arbitrary manner in which it was worked to put down the freedom and liberty of the Indian press. For one whole decade, however, the Government of India remained obtuse to all such appeals and representations showing how very little popular voice counts in the administration of this country. It was only in the last March that a sub-committee of the Imperial Council was appointed to consider the Press Act and other legislative enactments and this committee has only recently reported that the Press Act must be repealed. It may be hoped that this report of the committee will be adopted by the Government and this repressive legislation removed from the statute-book altogether.

This short survey of the history of the press legislation in India will not perhaps be deemed complete unless I give a history of the press from the starting of the first newspaper in 1780 in Calcutta. This short history is given in Indian Year-book published by the Times of India and gives a pithy summary of the evolution of the Indian newspapers.

The newspaper press in India is an essentially English institution and was introduced soon after the task of organizing the administration was seriously taken in hand by the English

in Bengal. In 1773 was passed the Regulating Act creating the Governor-Generalship and the Supreme Court in Bengal and within seven years at the end of the same decade, the first newspaper was started in Calcutta by an Englishman in January 1780. Exactly a century and a third has elapsed since, not a very long period certainly, a period almost measured by the life of a single newspaper, *The Times*, which came into existence only five years later in 1785; but then the period of British supremacy is not much longer, having commenced at Plassey, only twenty-three years earlier. Bombay followed Calcutta closely, and Madras did not lag much behind. In 1789 the first Bombay newspaper appeared. *The Bombay Herald*, followed next year by *The Bombay Courier*, a paper now represented by the *Times of India* with which it was amalgamated in 1861. In Bombay the advent of the Press may be said to have followed the British occupation of the Island much later than was the case in Calcutta. In Calcutta the English were on sufferance before Plassey, but in Bombay they were absolute masters after 1665, and it is somewhat strange that no Englishman should have thought of starting a newspaper during all those hundred and twenty-five years before the actual advent of *The Herald*.

The first newspaper was called *The Bengal Gazette* which is better known from the name of its founder as *Hicky's Gazette* or *Journal*. Hicky like most pioneers had to suffer for his enterprising spirit, though the fault was entirely his own, as he made his paper a medium of publishing gross scandal, and he and his journal disappeared from public view in 1782. Several journals rapidly followed Hicky's though they did not fortunately copy its bad example. *The Indian Gazette* had a career of over half a century, when in 1833 it was merged into *Bengal Harkaru*, which came into existence only a little later, and both are now represented by *The Indian Daily News* with which they were amalgamated in 1866. No fewer than five papers followed in as many years, the *Bengal Gazette* of 1780, and one of these, *The Calcutta Gazette*, started in February 1784, under the avowed patronage of Government, flourishes still as the official gazette of the Bengal Government.

From its commencement the press was jealously watched by

the authorities, who put serious restraints upon its independence and pursued a policy of discouragement and rigorous control. Government objected to news of apparently the most trivial character affecting its servants. From 1791 to 1799 several editors were deported to Europe without trial and on short notice, whilst several more were censured and had to apologize. At the commencement of the rule of Wellesley, Government promulgated stringent rules for the public press and instituted an official censor to whom everything was to be submitted before publication, the penalty for offending against these rules to be immediate deportation. These regulations continued in force till the time of the Marquis of Hastings who in 1818 abolished the censorship and substituted milder rules.

This change proved beneficial to the status of the press, for henceforward self-respecting and able men began slowly but steadily to join the ranks of journalism which had till then been considered a low profession. Silk Buckingham, one of the ablest and best known of Anglo-Indian journalists of those days, availed himself of this comparative freedom to criticise the authorities, and under the short administration of Adam, a civilian who temporarily occupied Hastings' place, he was deported under rules specially passed. But Lord Amherst and still more Lord William Bentinck were persons of broad and liberal views, and under them the press was left practically free, though there existed certain regulations which were not enforced, though Lord Clare, who was Governor of Bombay from 1821 to 1835, once strongly but in vain urged the latter to enforce them. Metcalfe, who succeeded for a brief period Bentinck, removed even these regulations, and brought about what is called the emancipation of the press in India in 1835, which was the beginning of a new era in the history of the Indian press. Among papers that came into being, was the Bombay Times which was started towards the close of 1838 by the leading merchants of Bombay, and which in 1861 changed its name to the Times of India. The Bombay Gazette, founded in 1791, ceased publication in 1914.

The liberal spirit in which Lord Hastings had begun to deal with the Press led not only to the improvement in the tone and status of the Anglo-Indian Press, but also to the rise of the Native

or Indian press. The first newspaper in any Indian language was the *Samachar Durpan* started by the famous Serampore missionaries Ward, Carey and Marshman in 1818 in Bengali, and it received encouragement from Hastings who allowed it to circulate through the post office at one-fourth the usual rates. This was followed in 1822 by a purely native paper in Bombay called the *Bombay Samachar* which still exists, and thus was laid the foundation of the Native Indian Press which at the present day is by far the largest part of the press in India, numbering over six hundred and fifty papers.

From 1835 to the mutiny the press spread to other cities like Delhi, Agra, Gwalior, and even Lahore, whereas formerly it was chiefly confined to the Presidency towns. During the mutiny its freedom had to be temporarily controlled by the Gagging Act which Canning passed in June 1857 on account of the license of a very few papers, and owing still more to the fears of its circulating intelligence which might be prejudicial to public interests. The act was passed only for a year at the end of which the press was once more free.

On India passing to the crown in 1858, an era of prosperity and progress opened for the whole country in which the press participated. There were nineteen Anglo-Indian papers at the beginning of this period in 1858 and twenty-five native papers and the circulation of all was very small. The number of the former did not show a great rise in the next generation, but the rise in influence and also circulation was satisfactory. Famous journalists like Robert Knight, James Maclean and Hurriss Mookerji flourished in this generation. The *Civil and Military Gazette* was originally published in Simla as a weekly paper, the first issue being dated June 22, 1872. Prior to and in the days of the mutiny the most famous paper in Northern India was the *Mofussilite*, originally published at Meerut but afterwards at Agra and then at Ambala. After a lively existence for a few years in Simla the *Civil and Military Gazette* acquired and incorporated the *Mofussilite*, and in 1876 the office of the paper was transferred from Simla to Lahore, and the *Gazette* began to be published daily. During Lord Lytton's viceroyalty a reactionary policy was pursued towards the vernacular press which was re-

strained by a special act passed in 1878. With the advent of Lord Ripon in 1880 the Press Act of Lytton was repealed in 1882. The influence of the native press especially grew to be very great, and its circulation too received a great fillip. This may be said to have gone on till 1897, when India entered upon a disastrous cycle of years during which plague and famine gave rise to grave political discontent which found exaggerated expression in the native press, both in the vernacular and in English. The deterioration in the tone of a section of the press became accentuated as years went on and prosecutions for sedition had little effect in checking the sinister influence.

In 1910 Lord Minto passed a Press Act applicable, not like Lytton's Act, to the peccant part alone, but like Canning's measure, to the entire press. (*Vide infra* "The Indian Press Law.")

The press is a great factor in the progress of nations in the modern world. Whether the advent of the British in this country was a dispensation of Providence, as the late Mr. Gokhale put it, or whether it was quite the reverse, we have to judge the whole of the British administration from its early beginning to the present time by its attitude towards the evolution and growth of free institutions in this country. The press in India is considered by some as one of the glorious achievements of British rule in India. It must be said, however, and even the short summary given by me in the beginning of this paper is sufficient to prove it, that the press in India has evolved and developed in spite of, rather than because of the British connection. It appears it has been the aim of the administration as a whole to throttle and curb the liberty of the press rather than to allow freedom of action and a free atmosphere in the Indian press. The attitude towards the press of the viceroys and all the heads of different provinces may be sometimes different, some viceroys and governors being more liberal than others. The bureaucracy, however, as such, has never pretended to conceal its studied dislike of the Indian press and has manifested its hostility on all possible occasions. The repeal of the Press Act and other enactments now suggested by the Press Act Committee of the Imperial Council gives reasons to hope that with the dawn of representative institutions in this country which we had recently with the inaugura-

tion of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, we may have the same liberty of the press as is enjoyed in civilized Western countries. I have, however, my doubts on the point and believe that such a liberty in the full sense of the term, will not be forthcoming till India is placed in possession of full self-government.

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## JOURNALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

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By JAMES SCHERMERHORN,

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Here are a few "fat takes" from the hook of the latest Census Bureau report: There are 20,431 newspapers and periodicals in the United States, the aggregate yearly circulation of which is 15,475,145,102 copies.

There are 2,433 daily papers, putting out 32,735,937 copies daily, or five papers for every 16 people; 952 Sunday papers circulate 19,929,834 copies every Sunday.

Journalism has been described as "the vast shadow of the public mind." Its vastness is revealed by the value of its products in 1919, which was \$612,718,515, an increase of 116 per cent in five years.

Subscriptions and sales produced \$204,638,214, an increase for the five year period of 195.9 per cent. Advertising totalled \$407,760,301, an increase of 121.5 per cent. Out of every three dollars of revenue one dollar came from the reader and two dollars from the advertiser.

Journalism thus partakes of the prodigiousness of every human enterprise in the republic. The shadow is keeping up with the substance in all of its immensity, its almost unbelievable progress.

Circulation in one or two instances crowds a million daily. Advertising is just as close to a yearly total of twenty-five million lines in papers leading in metropolitan fields.

A New York morning paper that celebrated the completion

of twenty-five years under the present ownership in August last, offers an illustration of the wonders in American journalism. In twenty-five years it has grown from a net paid circulation of 9,000 copies to 352,000 copies. Its gross annual income is \$15,000,000.

But this is not the record for America. In two years the New York News, a picture paper of tabloid form, climbed from zero to over 400,000. You will not know the most astonishing fact in newspaper achievement in America until you wait to see what tomorrow brings forth.

Behold how great an illumination the colonial authorities of Massachusetts started in September, 1690, when they published their distaste and disallowance of a printed sheet entitled Publick Occurrences and promptly suppressed it. Publick Occurrences was the little candle that threw its beam down the centuries until it grew into twenty thousand torches; until its light was multiplied thirty-three million fold.

Tonnage of white paper of domestic manufacture consumed in 1919 was 1,324,000, valued at \$98,560,000. Imported paper brought this up to over 2,000,000 tons. The critical print situation during the world war compelled several publishers to make their own paper, taking over old mills or building new ones.

With the soaring price of white paper and labor costs came the era of the three cent price. In several cities the price has dropped to two cents since the print paper market has softened, but there is little likelihood that the one cent paper will ever come back.

With respect to news collecting and mechanical facilities, journalism in the United States has a story to tell quite as enthralling as its report of commercial expansion. The United States now feels itself next-door neighbor to the distant peoples of the earth, and the supplementing of three great news-gathering associations with services and syndicates organized by leading papers in this country insures such a thorough covering of the whole field as the American press never contemplated heretofore.

Mechanically it is hard to imagine what new marvel awaits newspaper-making. It is hard to think at all because an electric type-writer is pounding out the press dispatches just outside

the door as this is written. The telegraph operator who took the day's story from the clicking key is no more. The flimsy now comes straight from the unmanned typing machine. Science has given the sender in the bureau at New York or Chicago arms long enough to sit in his relaying station and operate a type-writing keyboard hundreds of miles distant.

First the mail-carrier on horseback; then the telegraph, telephone, wireless and airplane; and now the device that combines telegraphy and typing—that is how the collection of news is advancing.

And putting it into newspaper through linotype machines of enlarged capacity and through stereotyping and pressroom facilities of vastly improved technique—including the rich effects of the photogravure process—and finally getting the paper to the reader with a dispatch derived from twentieth century triumphs in transportation and organization, are operations facilitated by mechanical marvels no less thrilling than the newspaper methods.

Competition makes this up-to-date equipment necessary, and the installation of the same and increased scale of wages in all departments make it out of the question for a modern daily newspaper to live very long upon the favor of corporations or political candidates, or upon the grievance which someone may bear against a paper in the field. To launch a newspaper now is a serious business undertaking, and only ample capital and expense offer hope of survival. These fail likewise more often than they succeed against well-conducted publications that have been long entrenched. Of the publishing and printing establishments reporting to the Bureau of Federal Taxes in 1919 one-third showed no profits earned. In the larger cities the percentage of unprofitable publications is greater than this.

This is not quite as bad as the opinion of that experienced publisher who said the average newspaper venture is about as liable to declare a dividend as a church is; but it is enough to give pause to venturesome souls who rush in where angels fear to tread. From 1914 to 1919 there was a 10.2 per cent decrease in the number of newspapers and periodicals.

Publick Occurrences, the first newspaper to feel the displeasure of the authorities, was not the last one to call down pun-



ishment upon the publisher. James Franklin (an elder brother of Benjamin Franklin) was haled before the General Court for boldly reflecting upon His Majesty's Government in the *New England Courant*, in 1721. John Peter Zenger was acquitted of the charge of libeling the Colonial Governor, William Crosby, in the *New York Weekly Journal* in 1734, and he shared with Samuel Adams, one of the founders of the *Boston Advertiser*, the glory of having established the freedom of the press and given early expression to the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Nobody is trying to stop anybody from printing a newspaper in the United States nowadays. Nobody is trying to stop anybody from having newspapers in six or eight different cities or a newspaper league from having newspapers in twenty-five different cities. There are several strings of dailies in America.

What can be done is to stop newspapers from printing certain things. The libel laws of the states make it necessary for the newspapers to be ever vigilant lest they do injury to the reputation or feelings of a citizen through the publication of something that cannot be sustained in court. To the credit of American publishers be it said that instances of the collection of damages for libel are very rare.

Theodore Roosevelt, when President, directed the attorney general to bring suit against the *New York World* for slandering the government in its Panama Canal disclosures and just now Mayor Thompson is suing two Chicago newspapers for libeling the city in the mayoralty campaign of 1920. President Roosevelt's suit was quashed, as Mayor Thompson's will be.

The law has been invoked successfully, however, to keep unfit things out of the advertising columns of the newspaper. Private medical abominations, misleading mercantile advertisements and wildcat investments have been very generally eliminated through the enactment of honest advertising laws in thirty-seven states and blue sky laws in forty-three states. It is unfortunate that more reputable newspapers did not clean house before the advertising clubs of the country compelled them to do so. By continuing to sell space to charlatans and knaves they facilitated the nefarious schemes of these imposters and

left it to a few self-censored journals to fight the fight for clean advertising alone.

Thirty-two cities have Better Business Bureaus to enlist the co-operation of advertisers in keeping newspaper columns free from fraudulent copy.

Twice a year all newspapers admitted to the mails as second-class matter must file affidavits of circulation and give the names of the publisher, editor and business manager and of stockholders holding over one per cent of the stock; also the names of mortgagors, if any.

"The vast shadow of the public mind." The public mind is all business. It seeks to retrieve what it lost in the war or to make as much again as it made in the war. There is no question that the public mind was never more commercial than now.

The shadow is true to the substance. Journalism also is sordid. It was as ready as anybody to be self-forgetful when the shadow of autocracy was projected toward the United States, and now it is as ready as anybody to join in the revised hymn, "Bring forth the royal dividend, and crown it king of all."

There was at the outset a journalism of protest that put free press into the constitution. There followed a journal of advocacy that helped to forward abolition and emancipation. But protest and appeal have given way to thirty-three million daily—to a journalism of repetition. Whatever influence journalism has today springs from saying the same thing many millions of times.

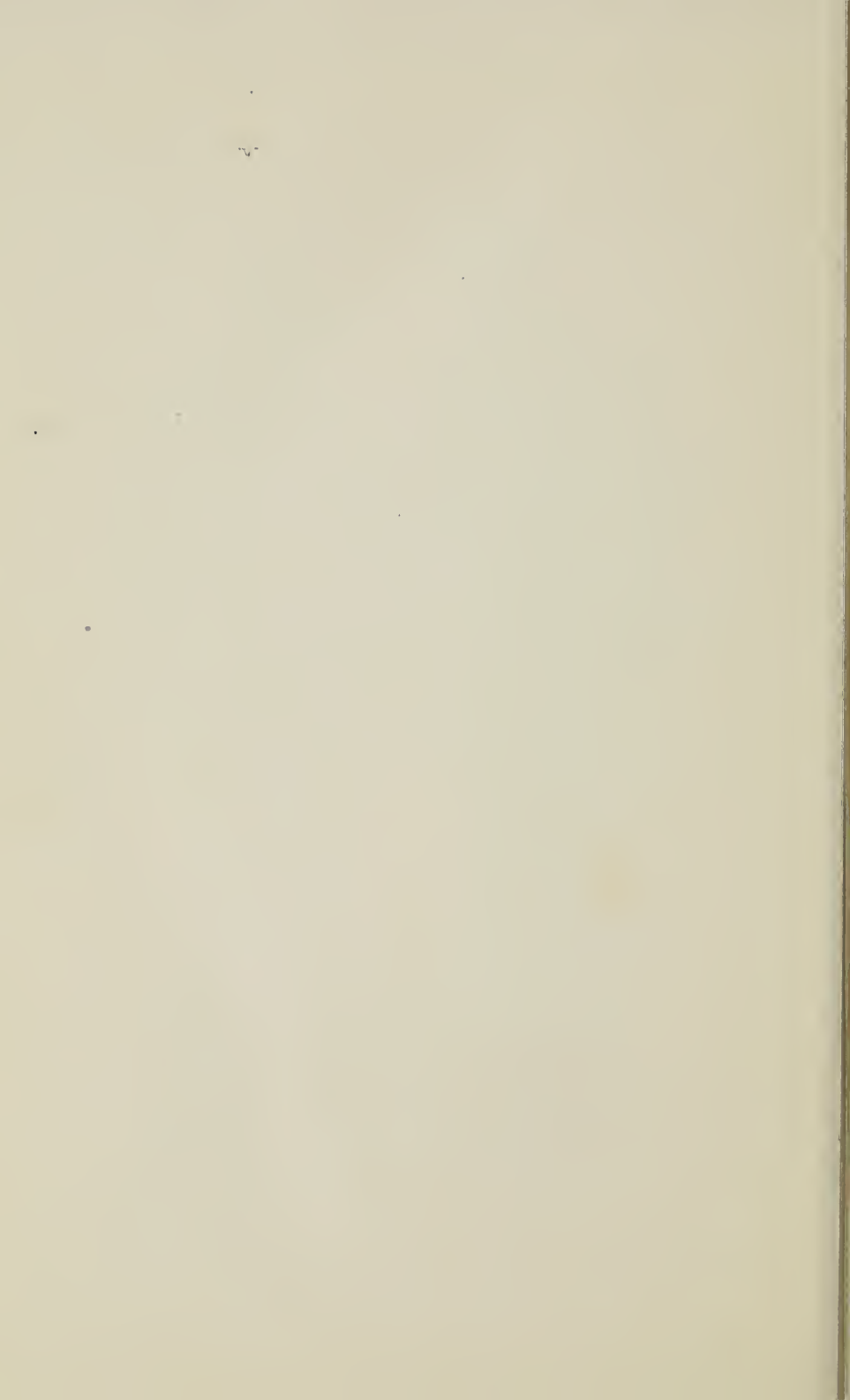
No great authority thunders from the editorial page. Nobody knows which member of the staff was responsible for the brilliant thing that took hold; indeed it may not have been anyone on the staff. It may have come in the syndicate stuff from outside the office, which enables many publications to be equally readable at one and the same time.

For the reason already given—the terrific expense of keeping a modern newspaper plant going—journalism in the United States is not an opinion-moulding journalism; it is a money-making journalism. It is a department store journalism; the voice of the full-page advertiser is the voice of God.

Not that the publisher gains the whole world (a page a day) and loses his own soul. Not that. He doesn't barter away his



PRESIDENT HARDING (left) HEARS FROM SECRETARY-TREASURER BROWN  
REPORT OF THE CONGRESS.



birth-right or change his convictions to get the department store business. He goes no further in commission or omission than anyone would go to cultivate one of his best customers.

But he knows that the large advertiser wants circulation and does not care particularly what kind of a paper the publisher makes in order to get it. He knows that the feminine readers of the paper take more interest in the store news than in all the other departments of the paper combined. The department store proprietor knows it, too, and he expects and gets a better rate than the buyers of smaller space pay.

The publisher must get from two to three dollars from the advertiser for every dollar from the reader. He must get the advertising of the majority of the big stores or he will not be able to make his paper pay. Therefore columns of flippant and pornographic stuff that pains the cultured reader but which the publisher justifies with the dictum: "We are giving the people what they want." Therefore the reluctance of editors to take up causes of doubtful popularity. The last two amendments—prohibition and equal suffrage—were put over in the face of the silence or the scoffing of the leading metropolitan journals of America. The success of these two great movements measured the decline of the influence of the journalism of America outside of the country press, where the personality of the publisher and his participation in social reforms have their effect upon community sentiment.

Civilization has conducted itself like a skulking campfollower since the guns of the World War sounded "cease firing." Terrible passions have been unloosed; homicide has become an industry of first rank. Hatred, intolerance, restiveness are rife. A journalism that must have the large advertisers, does more to reflect than correct this terrible aftermath of five years of wholesale blood-letting. The good of society demands that the hideousness of a world out of joint be kept down; the business office demands that circulation be kept up.

There are exceptions to the system of giving the people what they want. You can tell them by the small circulation with which they are credited in the newspaper annual. At the same time there are a few really great and successful journals that maintain

a high standard; that have souls above vulgar comics and the salacious testimony of orgies in de luxe hotels and divorces in high life. Journalism is no less commercial with these publications of character; they are serving a constituency that demands a higher quality of goods. Very fortunately they have found a field that is responsive to decency.

The journalism of the United States has been at its best in the critical junctures of the nation's history. It will be at its best when the next great emergency arises, no matter how the trail of materialism may be over all now.

That eminent political psychologist was right who said he could well dispense with editorial support or endure editorial dissent if the first page gave him a fair show. A journalism that can say the same thing thirty-three million times a day must be reckoned with as a great factor in the formation of public sentiment if what it says or reports inspires popular confidence; if it can cleanse itself of the stigma of excessive commercialism.

To do this a disadvertisement conference should be called. Make it a world's disadvertisement conference if you like. It is too much to expect that complete disadvertisement can be brought about or that it is desirable until all nations agree to disadvertise. But advertisements and newspapers can be limited in size, so that the daily prints shall not smack so strongly of the market place.

Disadvertisement should put an end to department store domination of journalism. A half page should be the maximum space allowed any advertiser. This would guarantee just as great visibility to the advertiser and should bring the newspaper just as much revenue as the old full-page spread. A higher rate for reduced space will relieve the over-emphasis now put upon circulation, and make economically possible a definite improvement in the content of American publications. There will be less smutting up. Modern efficiency will in good time demand a less bulky and awkward form; the time-saving tabloid sheet is as certain to come as heat and power from the sun.

Hope of a journalism not altogether stripped of idealism is heightened by the growth of schools of journalism in the great universities of the country. Columbia and the state universities

of Missouri, Minnesota, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin and Kansas are doing notable work in this line. They are giving to the profession competently-trained young men and women who bring with them a passion to serve their fellowmen. The big advertiser who would make a billboard of the newspaper page must be made to move over and give these eager recruits room and a chance to bring back a journalism of culture, constructiveness and influence.

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### THE AUSTRALIAN PRESS

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By GUY INNES,

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Australia's press, which meets, with enterprise and success, the news requirements of a nation of five and three-quarter million people occupying a continent rather larger in area than that of the United States, follows British rather than American traditions and methods, though in some cases American ideas are being gradually introduced. The more conservative morning journals, however, still adhere almost exclusively to the British model of the established type, the London Times and the Manchester Guardian being their ideal rather than the breezy, newsy, attractively displayed journal of the class whose best exemplar is the London Daily Mail. "Be brief and bright" is a motto which the evening papers rather than the morning papers prefer to obey. They avoid as far as possible the portentous and the ponderous; they are not afraid of the use of display headings (although the writing of headings as America understands them is an art largely to be learned in Australia); and there is a marked difference between the encyclopedic seriousness of the oldest Sydney morning paper, with its solid columns of type, and the lighter and more cheerful methods of the metropolitan evening dailies, which have learned the value of the "human interest" story as compared with the disquisition on politics or the conscientious report of a par-

liamentary debate. On the whole, it may be said that the Australian newspaper and the Australian newspaper man successfully challenge comparison with those of other countries.

There are nearly eight hundred and fifty newspapers in Australia, the leading organs being published in the capital cities of Melbourne (Victoria), Sydney (New South Wales), and Adelaide (South Australia), though Perth (West Australia), Brisbane (Queensland), and Hobart and Launceston, the chief cities of the island State of Tasmania, ably fulfill their part. From both the editorial and the commercial points of view, the papers are conducted with honesty, vigor, and ability, nor is there any case on record where corrupt motives have swayed the policy of an Australian journal. Though certain critics have said that a lack of humor is a feature of Australian journalism, seriousness is seldom pursued to the point of stodginess; yet in the endeavor to carry conviction by sheer earnestness there is sometimes on the part of some of the older papers a disposition to emphasize the portentously trite rather than to yield to the temptation inherent in the motto of one American city room: "Dare to be as funny as you can." Humor as such is therefore largely relegated to the professedly frivolous columns of the Australian press, the news and editorial sections preferring to be serious; although it must not be understood from this that a vivid, graphic news story does not receive the prominence to which it is entitled.

From the point of view of display, the evening papers are undoubtedly in advance of their morning contemporaries, which, amazing as it may seem to American readers, devote their front pages to advertisements and place their best news, both cabled and local, on what is known as the "open pages"—that is to say, the pages which are presented to the eye when the paper is opened midway, the editorials, personal column, and "star items" being on the left hand page, and the cables, other "star items," and leading local stories filling the page on the right hand. Nearly all the leading evening papers, however, put their best news on page one, right in the shop window, where one would logically expect to find it. The evening papers, too, are ahead of the morning papers in the frequent use of illustrations—the newsier the better.



A valuable review of journalism in Australia is to be found in a paper presented at the recent World's Press Congress by Mr. J. E. Davidson, a well-known Australian newspaper director and editor who gained his earlier press experience in the United States. He makes pointed reference to one characteristic of the Australian press which is beginning to disappear, except from those few journals whose conductors still believe that there is much to be said for the Stone Age; that dullness is safe, and seriousness profitable; and that innovations in the attractive presentation of news must be very gravely considered as detracting from that appearance of stability which is considered to be inseparable from a journal which has achieved success through conservative methods, and whose motto must be "As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end, Amen."

"The Australian newspaper reader," says Mr. Davidson with some truth, "likes his paper to have exactly the same appearance from day to day. He wishes to find its several features all in precisely the same part of the paper each day." This idea, however, is slowly losing its hold. Australians, who are ninety-eight per cent British born or of British stock, are eager newspaper readers. The standard of education is high, and the majority of the city dwellers read at least two newspapers daily. Mentally, they are Missourians—"you've got to show them;" but once they can be convinced that new methods are the best, they can be converted.

Hence, what is called the "lead" in American journalism, once unknown in Australia, is being more and more widely adopted as those who produce the newspapers become assured that the public wants to know the news as soon as possible, and prefers each item to be introduced by a compact paragraph summarizing the whole story rather than being compelled to wade through half a column of matter before being able to ascertain "what happened to Jones." It is no longer fully true, therefore, to say (as was undoubtedly the case until recently) that in Australia a newspaper story must start at the "beginning" and work up to a climax—that a police-court item must first set out when and where the court was held, the name of the accused man, and the charge; that the evidence must follow in the order in which

it was submitted, and the fate of the person concerned must be carefully concealed until the last paragraph is written—unless perhaps it is disclosed in the headline.

Before the Australian States federated in 1901, the newspapers devoted an undue proportion of their space to politics, giving parliamentary reports in stereotyped form, often to the extent of seven columns. As more than half the population of Australia is in the State capitals, this gave the metropolitan journals great political power, some of them being able to decide the fate of ministries. But after 1901, as Mr. Davidson points out, national matters began to overshadow State affairs. The real Australian spirit, which came to full maturity and splendor on the cliffs of Gallipoli and the stricken fields of France, was born. In the national arena a paper which had been politically supreme in its own State exerted but a modified influence, inasmuch as it could not influence the electors of other States where it had no circulation. Therefore general news began to come into its own. The world war, too, gave a tremendous impetus to the publication of cable news, services in this respect being amplified to an extent which has permanently increased the value of the Australian press as a purveyor of world intelligence. Cable rates are less costly than they were, and must be cheaper still before the Australian public has the supply of news from overseas which it has the right to demand. Excellent as is the present service, the general adoption of wireless transmission will improve it still more, and it is gratifying to learn that not only is the Australian Government planning for the adoption of a satisfactory system of news transmission by wireless from Imperial sources, but that more than passing attention has been given to a scheme for utilizing American radio as well.

As secondary industries began to grow and flourish in Australia—and to the success of these not only an adequate protective tariff, but the necessity imposed by the diversion to other channels for war service of many of the vessels in which goods had been imported, largely contributed—a large wage-earning population grew up in the big cities. Australia became a manufacturing as well as a pastoral, agricultural, and mining community, and the Labor Party rose to power. Against that power

both Conservative and Liberal newspapers ranged themselves, their attitude varying from direct opposition to armed neutrality; but the Labor Party eventually secured majorities not only in several of the State Legislatures, but in the Federal Parliament as well. Though it does not now occupy the Treasury Benches in the Commonwealth Legislature, it is a force to be reckoned with, and publishes five daily journals, none of which, however, are issued in the two principal capitals—Melbourne and Sydney, with respective populations of 723,500 and 792,700. But even ardent Labor supporters will concede, that none of these papers can compare, either as newspapers or as organs of public opinion, with even those in the third rank of the non-Labor press. Nor, say the working newspaper men, are they preferable as employers.

Peculiarly Australian are the weekly papers issued for the most part from the offices of the leading dailies. The Sydney Bulletin, which is world-famous, is one of the very few weeklies which is not published by a daily paper proprietary. It stands by itself in more senses than one. The others are about the size and format of the Saturday Evening Post, but contain about three times as many pages, and are published for eighteen cents a copy. They are a godsend in the "back-blocks"—the pastoral and agricultural regions more or less remote from the large towns, for they contain, in addition to admirable summaries of the cable, local, and interstate news of the week, comprehensive sections dealing with agriculture, the pastoral industry (Australia has ninety million sheep and twelve million cattle), fruit and vine-growing, mining (Australia has produced three billion dollars worth of gold), commerce and finance, sporting (Two hundred thousand people attend the Melbourne Cup, a horse-race held at Flemington, near Melbourne, as the chief event of the Spring Carnival, and from fifty to seventy thousand witness the League football finals, while thousands are present at the international and interstate cricket matches), and short and serial stories. These papers also contain excellent pictorial and photographic sections in which current events are portrayed on super-calendared paper.

Only in Sydney, New South Wales, and in Perth, West Australia, are Sunday papers published. Three Sydney Sunday

papers are excellent productions, largely on American lines, and at least one of them contains a comic section—a comparatively recent innovation. In Victoria the Police Offences Act forbids the publication of a Sunday paper, except on occasions of national importance, which must not exceed three in any one year. Sporting papers are numerous, the Sydney Referee being well-known outside Australia. The Melbourne Herald prints a special sporting edition every Saturday evening, copiously illustrated and dealing with all classes of athletics.

The law of libel, particularly in New South Wales, is far more strict in Australia than seems to be the case in America. Truth is not necessarily a defence, the principle adopted being that nothing must be printed which is calculated to hold a citizen up to offensive ridicule, or to injure or damage him in the eyes of his fellows. The regulations governing contempt of court, also, are rigorously administered. In Australia the personal note is not sounded in journalism to anything like the extent it is in America. To publish intimate details of a pending divorce suit, for instance, would not be thought of until the case was actually before the court, and the evidence was being given. Other legal restrictions forbid the publication of betting odds before a race takes place, although in the description of the race after it has occurred these may be given. No reference is permitted in the press of some of the States to Tattersall's Sweeps, a large racing "consultation" with its headquarters in Tasmania. It is popular all over Australia, and conducts sweepstakes on all the important races, in which the public purchase tickets on the principle of a lottery, the winners of first prizes receiving as much as \$25,000 each after the organization has deducted its commission. The sweeps are conducted with scrupulous fairness under Tasmanian government supervision, yet the Australian Commonwealth postal regulations forbid the carrying of mail matter addressed to Tattersall's. The object is, of course, to discourage gambling. Sweeping generalities have been published from time to time about the gambling tendencies of Australians, but these have been exaggerated. The Australian loves a horse, and loves to take a sporting chance—that is one reason why Australian Light Horse soldiers so distinguished themselves in Palestine during the

war. Let those who say the Australian is a gambler read the account, in the Australian Official War History, of the charge of General Grant's Queenslanders (light cavalry armed with rifle and bayonet) over the crowded Turkish trenches at Beersheba. And let him also ponder the fact that the savings bank deposits in Australia, quite apart from the deposits in banks of issue, represent two hundred and fifty dollars per capita for four million depositors out of a total population of five and three quarter million people.

A curious legislative enactment, passed by the Federal Parliament at the instance of the Labor Party in the hope of lessening the political influence of the papers which opposed it, is the section of the Electoral Act (which does not apply to purely State elections) providing that between the date of the issue of the writ for an election and the return of that writ to the Speaker after the election is over, every article in any paper commenting on matter relating to the election or on election issues must be signed by the man who wrote it. The idea was that the views of Potiphar M. Quad, for instance, published as such, would carry nothing like the weight or exert anything like the influence inherent in the same article appearing as the views of the powerful political organ in which it was printed. But, in operation, the provision, although more or less adhered to in the letter, became almost a joke. Its effect, if any, was to bring into deserved prominence and give weight in the eyes of the community to men whose identity had hitherto been undisclosed beyond the walls of the offices which employed them. Even this was not certain, for in some cases the article bore the name of everyone concerned in its genesis except the compositor who set it up. In others, it was announced at the foot thereof that it was "written, after consultation, to express the views of the Daily Reverberator by William Peter Thompson." The Sydney Bulletin overcame the problem by printing on certain of its pages a laconic statement to the effect that for any matter thereon requiring a signature in accordance with the Act S. H. Prior, James Edmond, David McKee Wright, and J. B. Dalley took the responsibility. If the copy-reader were in a frivolous frame of mind, he occasionally appended to a humorous paragraph on nature study, such as purported to ans-

wer the query "Do Barmaids Swallow Their Young?" a brief footnote to the effect that as their might be some lurking significance in the item, patent only to the trained political eye, which came under the purview of the act, wherefore the writer must be announced as John Smith, 16 Acacia Avenue, Mosman, N. S. W. Whereat no one was more surprised than John Smith.

Salaries, working hours, holidays, and sick leave of newspaper men in Australia are decided by law. The system has worked very satisfactorily in the eleven years during which it has been in operation. The maximum salary fixed by law is not necessarily the maximum actually paid, for a progressive paper will pay extra to retain a good man, or will induce him to leave another journal by the offer of a higher salary than he is receiving. Briefly, Australian working journalists are members of the Australasian Journalists' Association, to all intents and purposes a trade union registered under the Commonwealth Industrial Law. It has obtained by appeals to the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration awards fixing minimum salaries and hours and conditions of work.

The leading Australian daily papers are published in the capital cities of the various States, and though there are some provincial journals of importance, space forbids particularizing them.

The chief morning papers are:

Melbourne (Victoria)—The Argus, The Age.

Sydney (New South Wales)—Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney Daily Telegraph.

Brisbane (Queensland)—Brisbane Courier, Brisbane Daily Mail, Brisbane Standard (Labor).

Adelaide (South Australia)—The Register, The Adelaide Advertiser.

Perth (West Australia)—The West Australian.

Hobart (Tasmania)—The Mercury, The Post (Labor).

The principal evening dailies are:

Melbourne—The Herald.

Sydney—The Sun, The Evening News.

Brisbane—The Telegraph.

Adelaide—Evening Journal.

The majority of the Australian daily papers do not publish

their circulation figures. The circulation of the Melbourne morning dailies, however, is about 150,000 a day each, while that of the evening Herald has touched 230,000, though this is exceptional. The Sydney Sun (evening) lays claims to upwards of a million a week, but the Sydney morning papers make no categorical statement. Their circulation, however, is understood to be about that of the Melbourne morning papers, with some advantage in favor of the Sydney Morning Herald, an old-established organ which is in the nature of a public institution.

Without going into detail, which would be apt to be technical, of the organizations for supplying Australia with cable news, or of the internal economy of the newspaper offices and their staffs, which differ little, except in terminology, from those of the British and American papers, it must here be said that the chief need in Australia is a cheaper cable rate, and a cheap wireless service, particularly from America. These matters, as has been said, are the subject of constant consideration. To cable news to Australia of the Washington Disarmament Conference, from which the present writer dispatched from 750 to 1500 words daily to his home papers, cost (exclusive of overland telegraphic charges in Australia) sixteen cents a word at press rates, sixty-six cents for full rate, and 198 cents for urgent messages. This takes no account of the amount each paper must pay for cables from other parts of the world, notably London, New York, Vancouver, Tokyo and elsewhere. Until these charges have been reduced the Australian press cannot play to the full its part—and this part is vital in view of the fact that Australia and New Zealand, the southernmost outposts of the English-speaking race, have as their nearest white neighbor the United States more than six thousand miles away—in establishing for all time a patriotism of the Pacific. The basis of that patriotism must be, as Senator Pearce, the Australian delegate to the Disarmament Conference, pointed out in a recent speech delivered under the auspices of the English-speaking Union in New York, “a complete understanding, not merely between the United States of America and Australia, but between the United States of America and the British Empire.” To that understanding the Washington Conference has done much to contribute. American and Australian newspapers and public

men may aid in its complete accomplishment. To quote Senator Pearce again: "This continent (Australia) is garrisoned by a scant five and a half millions of white people. Within a day's steam of our shores there is one lone island that has a bigger colored population than the whole of Australia. Within five days' steam of our shores there are fifty millions of colored people, and within a fortnight of our shores they run into the hundreds of millions . . . But the Empire of which we are a part is . . . six weeks' steam by the fastest steamer. When we look across the Pacific, however, we are within three weeks' steam of this great white Republic of America. You will see, therefore, the angle from which Australia looks at America, and you will appreciate our desire that we should gain your interest, that we should retain your good-will."

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#### THE EVOLUTION OF THE NEW ZEALAND PRESS

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By MARK COHEN,

*Editor, The Star, Dunedin, New Zealand.*

To tell the story of the evolution of the press of our Dominion is to write in considerable degree the political history of our country, for the advent of the newspaper, using that term as popularly understood and generally accepted, dates from the commencement of the struggle by the pioneer colonists to secure for themselves and their immediate descendants what is now euphemistically termed the right of "self-determination;" in other words to work out their own political salvation.

You have, therefore, to charge your minds with the all-important factor that New Zealand was colonized by peoples with divergent aspirations, though in the main animated by one absorbing desire, viz. to better the conditions and modes of living under which they had existed in the lands from which they emigrated. Thus, to Auckland came people from all parts of Great Britain, while the outbreak of hostilities against the powerful warlike hapus or tribes in the North Island, dating from the war



of Hone Heke, who hauled down the British flag at the Bay of Islands, to the marauding gangs of bloodthirsty miscreants who under the leadership of Te Kooti and Tito Kowaru led to the importation of ten thousand disciplined British troops under Generals Cameron and Chute, reinforced by thousands of volunteers from Australia, who flocked to the Queen's standard under a system of land grants which were the means of partitioning among these irregulars the confiscated lands of the rebellious natives. Mid-Auckland, the Waikato, the King or Uriwera country, Taranaki, the East Coast of the North Island, Gisborne, the Wairarapa and the Wairau Valley (Marlborough in the South Island) were the scenes of many pitched battles or of awful massacres of pakcha families. Then, following on the revolutionary era in Central Europe bands of Lutherans, Scandinavians, Danes, and Austrians, fearful of the wrath of the military reactionaries of their own countries, fled to New Zealand as refugees from prescription on account of their religious faith or because of an alleged taint of treason. Even the hardy fishermen and seamen of the maritime provinces of Canada came to the Far North of Auckland, where they founded prosperous settlements. Port Nicholson, as it was then called, was an insignificant whaling village. All the possibilities of its harbor and the capabilities of its back country were recognized by a Royal Commission, selected in Australia, which was entrusted with the duty of removing the seat of government from Auckland and building it in a safe location "somewhere on Cook Strait." In 1864 that commission recommended in favor of Port Nicholson, and ultimately the seat of government was transferred from the shores of Waitemata to those of what is now known as Wellington, a city of more than one hundred thousand people. Nelson had been selected by the New Zealand Land Company with Colonel Gibbon Wakefield as its guiding spirit, as the future home of its band of emigres; Port Cooper (now Lyttleton) was the haven greeted after encountering the manifold dangers of the long voyage from the Old Land; and those who traversed the ocean in the first four ships when they crossed the range that separates the port from what is now Christchurch, were rewarded with the sight of a veritable Promised Land of fertile plains and rolling

downs stretching to the foothills of the mighty Alpine range, which is capped by Mount Cook (over twelve thousand feet) with its huge snow fields and glittering glaciers. These Canterbury Pilgrims were the bone and sinew—the very salt of the earth—of the midland counties and university cities of England. And farther to the southward the Calvinists and Covenanters—the men and women who rather than desert the church of their forefathers turned their backs on Bonnie Scotland, the land of their nationality, and in the year of the great disruption set their faces sorrowfully in quest of a Terra Incognita. In March 1848 they founded Dunedin, or a new Edinburgh, on what was then an Ultima Thule and Britain's farthest flung possession.

Before I proceed to discuss the rise and progress of our newspaper press, let me put it on record here as a matter absolutely beyond dispute that the first printer in our country was William Colenso (long since deceased) who was attached to the Church of England mission under George A. Selwyn, the first Anglican Bishop and who, with primitive presses and types of his day, published all the Scriptural leaflets circulated among the Maoris by that mission. That was many years before the advent of the earliest colonists. Colenso, who was a philanthropist and a man of letters, endowed the town of Napier, where he lived for some time before his death, with a valuable library.

The first broadsheet, though it can hardly be dignified with the title of newspaper, was the *New Zealand Gazette*. It was owned by the New Zealand Company, and was edited by Samuel Revans, who, with his family, settled in the Wairarapa. It made its first appearance in the Colony on April 18, 1840. It contained the draft of the Constitution for New Zealand; it was demy in size; and when the infant settlement of whites was shifted from the Wairarapa to Port Nicholson its title was changed to *New Zealand Gazette and Britannia Spectator*, but when the name of the embryo capital was changed to Wellington, *Britannia* was dropped. In October, 1841, it was issued twice instead of once a week.

It may not be out of place to mention here the name of another New Zealand colonist, who was intimately associated with Revans

both in our country and in Canada, where they collaborated. I allude to Henry Samuel Chapman, for a short time a judge of our Supreme Court, Colonial Secretary of Tasmania, and a short time Attorney General of the colony of Victoria (Aust.) One of his sons (Frederick Chapman) recently retired from the Supreme Court bench to take charge of the law drafting department of the Legislature. As far back as 1833 Chapman & Revans were journalistic partners in Montreal, where they started the *Daily Advertiser* which was a very small venture and soon became merged in a bigger paper. But it enjoyed the proud distinction, though I cannot find the fact recorded in any Canadian bibliography, of having been the first daily published in English North America. Chapman emigrated from Canada in 1834, proceeding to England as the unofficial representative of the Liberal party of the Parliament which was not then in session. Revans, however, remained in Canada, and in 1837 became involved in the Papineau rebellion, with the result that a price was put on his head. But he managed to get out of the country without the loss of his head. In 1839 the first batch of colonists sailed from England for Wellington, and Revans was among them, arriving in the *Adelaide*, which was not the first ship to cast anchor in Port Nicholson, though she was the first to do so with any considerable number of immigrants aboard. He brought his printing press with him, published his first tiny number in London, and printed the second issue on the beach at Petone, where today stands the factory of the Wellington Woolen Company, and is a busy thriving industrial suburb of the Capital City. It was intended to have located the future city at Petone, but in the end the present site was chosen and surveyed. Before the year was out Revans shifted his plant to Wellington, where it pursued its career as the organ of the Company. In Revans' hands the *Gazette* was a fiery paper, for he was very combative and always spoiling for a fight with the authorities.

Chapman's connection with the New Zealand press can be briefly told. In January, 1840, after the first ships had sailed from London, but long before news of their arrival had come to hand, he started the *New Zealand Journal* in London, and today it constitutes the most valuable compendium of New Zealand's

early history. There are said to be only four copies in existence—one in the possession of the Hon. F. R. Chapman; one in the Turnbull library at Wellington; a third in the Hockin library at Dunedin, while the fourth was stolen from the shelves of the General Assembly library, its present location being unknown to this deponent. The New Zealand Journal was later merged in the New Zealand and Australian Gazette. When Mr. Chapman was offered a judgeship in New Zealand he sold the Advertiser and with his wife and one child sailed for the Colony in the same vessel that conveyed Governor Fitzroy to the scene of his duties. They were respectively sworn in on the same day, December 26, 1843, at the gardens of the Government House—gardens that remain to adorn the city of Auckland.

To return to Revans. He edited the Gazette from 1840 till the arrival of the colony of William Fox, a London barrister, who had been appointed agent of the New Zealand Company and who rose afterwards to political eminence, becoming Premier of the Colony. He was equally caustic with his tongue as with his pen, and became a thorn in the side of the administration, which he rigorously and persistently attacked. But the settlers were not blessed with a plethora of ready cash, and while admiring Fox's philippics and praising his courage, did not provide him with the sinews of war, and in the issue of January 22, 1842, he told them bluntly that he could not carry on, heaping coals of fire on their heads by saying that some had never subscribed a single shilling since the paper started.

Nothing daunted by Fox's discouraging avowal, Richard Hanson, another London lawyer with experience of London journalism, brought out the Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser in 1842, and for a whole year this pair of legal buccaneers indulged in vituperation of the approved Eatonsville type. In 1843 Fox succeeded Colonel Gibbon Wakefield as attorney for the New Zealand Company, and vacated the editorial chair. The management of the Gazette was then placed on commission, a committee of control being elected every six months, but the companionship, alleging poor remuneration, appealed to Caesar, the public furnishing them with the means of acquiring the Gazette and buying a new plant in Sydney.

In April, 1844, on the ashes of the Gazette arose the Independent under the direction of Mr. Thomas W. McKenzie, who made a profitable sale to a syndicate. It was printed on the first flat-bed machine introduced into New Zealand, and had seen service under the Fairfaxes in Sydney. Undoubtedly the intention was to establish a metropolitan journal, on the lines of the Sydney Morning Herald and the Melbourne Argus, and it was whispered at the time that a former governor was responsible for the enterprise, which, however, failed in its purpose and cost a not inconsiderable sum. Then a Mr. Robert Stokes, of Hawkes Bay, issued the New Zealand Spectator and Cook Strait Guardian in the interests of Sir George Gray, and in its columns appeared a series of brilliant articles from the pen of Mr. Alfred Domett, then Colonial Secretary of New Munster, as the South Island was called, while Messrs. Fox, Featherston and Ian E. Fitzgerald—a powerful triumvirate of colonial politicians—wrote with even greater power and certainly with more circumspection in defense of democratic ideals. The literary duel was waged on both sides with much didactic skill and with great bitterness till the Constitution of the Colony was proclaimed in March, 1853. Among those who made their influence felt during these stressful times through the medium of the Independent were Dr. Evans (a member of the new Constitutional Government) Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Edward Jerningham Wakefield and Henry Sewell (attorney general in more than one Administration). Both the Independent and the Spectator were issued as weeklies, and generally appeared late in the afternoon. When no printing paper of the required size was obtainable on the market, these papers were printed on blotting paper, and when this article ran short, coarse wrapping paper had to be resorted to, and oft-times two sheets of demy had to be pasted together. And frequently, as the settlers had no ready money, the printer had to be content with the liquidation of his account per the medium of barter by way of firewood, farm produce, fish, etc.

Mr. Wakefield retired from the editorship of the Independent in 1856 to become confidential clerk to Isaac Earl Featherston, who was elected the first Superintendent of Wellington Province and later was selected as the first Agent-General for New Zea-

land in London. It was Wakefield who in an article published in the Independent at the close of the 1856 session, bestowed on Wellington the grandiloquent title of "Empire City," by which it is often known now.

John Knowles and Henry Anderson—names familiar to New Zealanders in the late fifties and early sixties—successively filled the editorial chair, both being capable writers. Again the compositors became troublesome and eventually started a paper of their own under the title of the Advertiser, demy size, which was distributed gratuitously for a while. In these days there was no registration of newspapers, and no compulsion to disclose the owners' names, but files of the Advertiser tell of Bull Brothers being its publishers and Mr. Wakefield as editor. Originally issued as a double demy weekly, and afterwards as a tri-weekly, it did so well that it seemed as if it were to become a permanent institution, but the gall with which Wakefield dipped his trenchant pen was spilt over the Speaker of the Provincial Council, who took out a writ for libel against the paper. Wakefield lost the action, was mulct in damages, and was ruined. A. F. Halcombe was the next editor, but did not improve the fortunes of the paper. Eventually, during the governorship of Sir James Ferguson, an effort was made to give it a metropolitan prestige like that enjoyed by the Melbourne Argus, the Sydney Morning Herald, the Brisbane Courier and the Adelaide Advertiser, to which end the new management gathered in Australia a staff of transcendent talent, which came and saw but did not conquer.

In 1874 the Independent having fallen on bad times, was acquired by a syndicate and Vogel, on taking charge, altered its name to the New Zealand Times. Robert J. Creighton, a journalist not unknown to the dwellers on the Pacific slope, for he was largely identified with the Webb line of steamers that ran under contract between San Francisco and visited monthly the ports of Auckland, Wellington and Port Chalmers (the deep water port of Otago) was given editorial charge, and he led a staff of experienced, versatile, and energetic men, filled with ambition to succeed where other venturesome spirits had failed to establish a true colonial journal. But though the war against provincialism was nearing the victorious stage, the spirit of Pro-

vincial independence was far from being subdued; and Creighton fared no better than the Australian importation. Then followed a series of lean years, the effects of which were only conspicuously shown in the reduced patronage of the Times' advertising columns. At one time it issued a well-illustrated weekly called the Marl but it also went into the limbo of forgotten publications when hard times set in. It was now recognized that the project of setting up a colonial journal was at least half a century in advance of the requirements of less than half a million people. Our railways were fragmentary; Cobb's coach was the one means of transporting paper parcels, and though the postal department (under the aegis of Vogel) gave free transportation through the mails, the telegraphic authorities of that day were decidedly unsympathetic and made the telegraphic tolls so burdensome that the wires had to be used sparingly.

When Seddon jumped into the ministerial saddle and ruled the country with a masterful hand which brooked no interference with his somewhat bizarre methods, he found it absolutely necessary to have an organ which would "boost" the Seddonian platform for all it was worth, and he was able ultimately to secure a controlling interest in the Times which became the recognized mouthpiece of Liberalism, according to its new high priest, and of the "trade" with distinct leanings towards a particular church. But there were too many interests, that often clashed, to be served. Managers came and departed with bewildering rapidity; there was never a semblance of a settled policy till Robert Loughnan, a scholarly writer and a genuine man of affairs, assumed editorial control. Though in the sere and yellow his critical forces are unimpaired and it is always easy to discern his well rounded periods and epigrammatic style in the unsigned articles that often adorn the Times' pages today. When the general election of 1908 showed that the Liberals had lost the confidence of the country, and that the banner of reform was likely to be carried to victory at the succeeding appeal to the constituencies those opposed to the regime of Seddon (who died dramatically at Sydney in 1906 in the zenith of his fame) and Ward, his natural successor in the Premiership, had the prescience to establish a morning paper under the title of the Dominion, in

which to preach the new evangel. Selecting as editor Charles W. Earle, who had served an excellent apprenticeship under Wesley Lukin on the *Evening Post* he was permitted to surround himself with some of the brightest intellects in the Dominion. So many of them have been among my closest personal friends, some have been trained under my own eyes in Dunedin, that it would be neither right nor fitting to individualise, but candor and truth compel me to avow that M. C. Keene (now editor-in-chief of the *Christchurch Press*) was *facilis princeps* among a devoted band of workers that set the Dominion on a solid foundation from the very start. And these men knew how to bring off a "scoop" early in their career. When our Parliament House was destroyed by fire early in 1908 they stopped the press, lifted in a new plate with a good "write-up" of the conflagration, illustrated the scene, and dispatched the extraordinary issue into the country districts far and wide, while the *Times* was silent as the grave over the deplorable incident.

Under the Liberal regime it was largely a case of spoils to the victors as far as government patronage by way of advertising is concerned, but the Reformers have instituted a publicity department, directed by H. B. View, an experienced pressman, which prepares and circulates all ministerial communiques to the press and distributes advertising matters on the basis of the public interest, gauged by largeness of circulation—the only real test of value of service—or in a cot or town with two or more papers having equal claims to conservatism their ministerial favors are apportioned alternately, according to departmental needs.

Wellington's first evening paper, in fact its first daily, was issued in February, 1865, by Henry Blundell, who on the decline of the goldfield at Wakamaeino, transferred his printing press from the township of Harelock, in Marlborough province, to Wellington. He lived long enough to see the *Evening Post* grow to be one of the most lucrative newspaper enterprises in the southern hemisphere. His eldest son John was in charge of the mechanical department. Henry (long since dead) directed the commercial and publishing branches, and Louis, the youngest, who began life as a humble scribe among the men who go down in ships, is today the sole representative of the original firm, the



eldest brother, John, now being permanently incapacitated. I served as its parliamentary hand way back in the early seventies, when it was printed on a Columbian hand-press, and was issued as a four-page demy sheet on the top floor of premises that were awash at neap tides which invaded the ground floor! Today its business premises off Willis Street are a common rendezvous, as the headlines of all cabled and special telegrams are displayed on its broad windows; while all the mechanical and literary departments are housed in the rear. Naturally, I have known all its editors, and served under quite a number of them. Those I remember most affectionately were Frank Gifford, erudite and accomplished; Henry Anderson, Charles W. Purnell, Chas. Rous Marten, E. T. Gillon, D. M. Luckie, and Wesley Lukin. Gifford the Incomparable and Lukin, the beloved "Commodore," who during his unique career, always fought for due recognition of journalism as a profession equal in importance to the bar, the forum, or the pulpit, and succeeded in obtaining for his literary staff a higher rate of pay than ruled elsewhere in the Dominion, were the outstanding figures in a gallery of men of intercolonial—nay, I am quite justified in saying international—repute. Its original circulation was about two hundred and fifty; Blundell senior, his two sons, and two boys constituted the "companionship;" today there is an installation of fifteen linos, and the establishment boasts of three rotary three-deckers capable of printing forty thousand copies of the twelve, and occasionally sixteen page (nine columns each) paper produced on rush days.

(I have not space nor a desire to recount the innumerable journalistic offshoots that cater for the advertising firms and supply the literary needs of the populations of Med-Wellington, Marlborough, Hawkes Bay, Taranaki, or the Far North of Auckland. Their name is almost legion, and some of them have been comparatively successful. At the very head of this list I have no hesitation whatever in placing the Wanganui Chronicle, which under the able editorship of John Ballance and managed by A. D. Willis, an enterprising printer, became a very powerful expression of public opinion, the remarkable articles that were the product of Ballance's well-stored mind having been responsible for turning the hide-bound Conservatives off the Treasury Benches,

altering the entire scheme of taxation from a tax on property to a direct tax on land and acquired wealth, and also for revolutionizing the land systems of the Colony. It is a matter of extreme regret that the alteration of this Congress' opening date was responsible for the absence from our body of Mr. Duigan, whose father was Ballance's first lieutenant in many a hard-fought campaign against the evils of absentee landlordism and the inequitable advantages enjoyed by vested interests.)

I have already indicated how the settlement of Otago came to be undertaken by Scotch emigrants sent out under the auspices of the Scottish Association in Edinburgh. The first ships that anchored in Koputai Bay (our Port Chalmers) in March 1848, had among their passengers the Moses and Aaron of the settlement in the person of Captain Cargill, who had taken part in the Peninsular War, and who had control politically of the colonists, while the Rev. Thomas Burns, a lineal descendant of the immortal bard, looked after and was responsible for their spiritual welfare. By an oversight they neglected to bring with them anyone capable of producing a newspaper; but the want was supplied on the arrival of the ship *Blundell* in September, 1848, when Henry B. Graham, a printer hailing from Carlisle, was accredited to them. He did not lose any time, and on December 13 following, issued the first number of the *Otago News*, which was published on every alternate Wednesday, sold for sixpence per copy, was foolscap size, and contained four pages of matter. Graham combined in himself the duties of editor, printer, and comp.

The career of the *News* was, however, a checkered one; its policy was unsatisfactory to the majority of settlers, and it had no literary merit, according to Hocken in his *Bibliography of Otago*. In the following June, it was enlarged to folio size, and was issued weekly, and on December 21, 1850 it succumbed with its ninety-first issue. Graham, who had been in indifferent health for some time, was forced to resign the editorship, but the settlers, in recognition of the sturdy independence and courage he had shown in opposing the bureaucratic tendencies of Governor Grey, presented him with a purse of sovereigns. But already the hand of death lay heavily on him, and in the follow-

ing February his earthly troubles were mercifully ended. Then the paper, with its meagre stock of type, etc., was bought for one hundred and fifty pounds by a small company which carried the paper on under the title of the Witness, installing as editor William H. Cutten, who was allied by marriage to the reigning or Cargill family. Cutten drew the magnificent salary of one pound per week. But he had a mind of his own, and refused to write "according to orders." The upshot of their differences was the dissolution of the company, who passed in their ten pound scrip, and handed the paper (lock, stock and barrel) over to Cutten, who secured the services as printer of Daniel Campbell, who came out from Scotland under a three years' employment. A. B. Todd, who finished his apprenticeship as a comp under Campbell, was paid three shillings a week. Hacken declares that Cutten "was undoubtedly able—full of caustic humor and smart satire—qualities often valuable in his onslaughts on the enemies of provincialism. But with all his ability, he was tiresomely careless and procrastinating, and his faithful compositor occasionally found it necessary to guard, or even lock him up, until the all-important leader was forthcoming." Cutten died full of years and honors. He sat in our Parliament during many sessions, and ultimately enjoyed the dignity of a well-remunerated civil servant, having charge of the administration of the waste lands of Otago. In these primitive days advertising was not regarded as essential to the success of a paper; indeed it was quite a negligible quantity, for all business in the infant settlement was done by way of barter. Then the circulation of the Witness was limited to one hundred and twenty per issue, half the number being dispatched to relatives and friends in Scotland; and the cost was six pence per copy. I am quite safe in saying that it circulates all over the world, is to be found in every town and hamlet in Otago and Scotland. One of its chief features has for many years been its weekly column of "Passing Notes," in which the foibles of the hour are caustically criticised with an entire absence of rancor and absolutely devoid of personality.

In similar fashion has the Star, the evening paper, had its "By the Way" column into which some of the most brilliant minds in our community have breathed the shafts of humor interspersed

with wise saws and modern sayings that have been racy of the soil. And during the all too brief careers of two other weeklies of more than ordinary merit—to wit, the Southern Mercury and the Saturday Advertiser the brilliant Vincent Pyke found time to write his novel “Wild Will Enderby” and in the other the genial and versatile but impertinent Thomas Bracken—much better known as the composer of “Not Understood” and other clever verses—won universal admiration for “Paddy Marky’s” racy weekly narratives.

But I am running away from my theme and must return to my muttons. Apropos of the Witness his fellow townsmen had elected Cutten to Parliament, which met in Auckland, involving at times a roundabout journey to Sydney and occupying five or six weeks. During his absence the paper was managed by William Hunter Reynolds and James Macandrew, who later wrote their names large on the scroll of New Zealand’s parliamentary record. They were brothers-in-law, but of vastly different temperaments. Macandrew was broad-visioned, far ahead of his generation, and full of big ideas. It was he who established steam communication with Victoria, and foretold the replacement of the small, slow sailer by fast steamers that would bridge the distance between Britain and Otago in less than sixty days. On the other hand, Reynolds was inclined to be ultra-Conservative and a drag on progress. Naturally, they disagreed about the policy of the paper, with the result that on Boxing Day, 1856, Macandrew brought out an opposition weekly under the title of the Colonist. For eight years it preached the gospel of progress and immigration according to Macandrew, and was ultimately amalgamated with the Telegraph and Colonist edited by Fred I. Moss, who years later became New Zealand’s first administrator of the Cook Islands. That was the only time that the supremacy of the Witness was really seriously challenged, for Macandrew’s was a name to carry on with. All subsequent attacks were easily repulsed and today the Witness has an unrivalled and deep-seated hold on the affections of the people of Otago and the Southland.

The year 1861, when the discovery of a paying goldfield in the Paupeka district by a shepherd named Gabriel Read, after whom the field was named and who received the government

reward of one thousand pounds, witnessed an inundation of adventurous spirits from Australia, mainly from Victoria, determined to try their fortunes in the newest El Dorado. Many of them had exploited the rich placer fields of California; they had likewise worked on the deep leads, but "missed the bus" at Bendigo, Ballarat, Stawell, Clunes and on the earlier fields of New South Wales. They earned the soubriquet of "New Iniquities," and were the very antitheses of the "Old Identities," the cognomen applied to the original British settlers. Among this horde were two men who were destined to exercise an enduring influence on the destinies of this still Arcadian village. One was Julius Vogel, educated in London as a metallurgist, but failing as a digger took up journalism at Bendigo; the other Benjamin Farjeon, graduate in the university of the world's experience. Both were of Jewish up-raising, but neither was orthodox, and gradually drifted away from the faith of their fathers. Vogel joined Cutten in the ownership of the Witness and promptly threw himself into the vortex of local politics, ranging himself in opposition to Macandrew. Realizing that the time was ripe for giving Dunedin the benefit of a daily paper Vogel and Farjeon laid their plans accordingly, and on November 15, 1861, launched the Otago Daily Times. It speedily became a bright constellation in the firmament of New Zealand journalism, and a beam light of well-reasoned, judicially-balanced public opinion. In the domain of journalism, as in that of general politics, Vogel had a wonderful faculty for selecting strong men, and during the many years that he controlled the Times' editorial columns he was surrounded by a disciplined staff of capable, earnest and most devoted writers, most of whom later achieved distinction, in the Senate, or attained high positions in the Civil Service of the country. But Vogel, unfortunately, was a spendthrift, and threw away golden opportunities of becoming a rich man. And when he lost his partner Farjeon, who was tempted to embark on the troubled waters of ownership in England, lost what proved to be a gold mine when worked by keen business men on sound commercial lines. The Times passed into the hands of a limited liability company, and Vogel was succeeded in the editorial chair by George Barton, a graduate of Sydney University. Vogel

was a ready writer, of incisive power, possessing a world of imagination and wonderful fertility of resource, but, oh, what a vile penman! Even now I recall with a feeling of real horror the hours of misery which as a humble copy holder I put in trying to decipher those mystifying hieroglyphics. Well did the few trusted men of the companionship earn the extra pay (one chud) they drew for setting Vogel's "leaders." But neither the barlock nor the Remington had then been thought of. Much signal service came to the Otago community and to the colonists of New Zealand generally by the intrepid advocacy by the Times of Social Reform, but on no occasion was that duty performed more effectively or with more general and generous appreciation than when the paper came into the possession of the present Sir George Fenwick, who as editor initiated a crusade against the "sweating" dens of the tailoring and woolen trades in Dunedin. Aided on the platform and in the pulpit by men and women of light and leading, Robert Stout (now our chief justice, then just beginning to weave the laurel that was to adorn his intellectual brow) Rutherford Waddell, one of our ablest divines, who had as his congregation thousands of people beyond the pale of St. Andrews Church (Presbyterian) who still continue to read with avidity and profit spiritually those magnificent scholarly essays from his classic pen and deeply-stored memory of the writings of British and American authors of world-wide fame. Mr. Fenwick, helped by a band of enthusiastic and whole-souled social reformers, was enabled to gather such a mass of irrefutable testimony that Parliament was compelled by an outraged public conscience to take prompt measures for the eradication of the foul system. A royal commission enquired into the nefarious business and made drastic recommendations for coping with it effectively. These soon found their way on to our Statute Book, and the "sweating" evil, if not killed outright, has ceased to be a menace to the moral and physical well-being of that section of our workers who were directly concerned. Sanitation on approved principles is a *sine qua non* to registration of any such factory; our women operatives work shorter hours under better conditions and receive higher pay, which is regulated by conciliation councils where agreement as to "logs" has been reached by mutual forbearance,

if not, then the Council of Arbitration performs that duty; overtime, if needed, must be paid for on a higher scale, and the number of hours have to be sanctioned by an inspector of the Labor Department; a maximum of holidays has been granted on the basis of the regulation scale of pay; and the employer can no longer offer a "young" person just through her apprenticeship term a much reduced wage, with the alternative of what is commonly called the "sack." Forty-four hours per week of five and one half days are the statutory limitation, but the workers are now urging the Arbitration Council to reduce the period to forty hours, thus paving the way for a Dominion holiday on Saturday. Of course, the employers are in deadly opposition to the proposed innovation, but some industries and businesses are recognizing the handwriting on the wall, and the agitation is sure to grow in strength and intensity with the coming years. When the time comes for Sir George Fenwick to pay the debt of nature his labors as a philanthropist and worker for the betterment of his fellows may fittingly be rewarded with this simple epitaph: "I strove with all my might to uphold the cause of the weak, and I leave it to posterity to say with what measure of success I performed my task." And there will not be a worker,—man, woman, or child—in the Commonwealth, who will not in reply offer up this heartfelt prayer: "Well done, faithful servant: go to your eternal rest among the Blest."

In the natural run of other things, and in following the sequence of events bearing on my chosen theme I have now to tell you something about a newspaper with the fortunes of which I have been closely associated, as office lad, apprentice, then turning from the mechanical to the literary side on account of imperfect eyesight I successfully climbed every rung of the journalistic ladder, succeeding to the editorial chair in 1897 and retiring from it at the end of 1920, thus completing fifty-six years of continuous service under one firm, and putting up a record of which I am naturally most proud. I can honestly claim to be a modest man, wherefor it is necessary to push individual virtues right into the background, and I ask your pardon for having struck such a personal note. (In the characteristic letter which Sir George Fenwick has addressed to this Congress he recalls

the fact that as far back as 1864 he and I, being obliged to leave our schooldays behind us, entered the service of the Daily Times, he to learn the trade of compositor, I to go with the publicity department to be a copy holder to the printer of the Government Gazette issued from the same office. Those were the rollicking, riotous days of the gold rushes, and every kind of manual labor, unskilled as well as skilled, youthful as well as adult, commanded big money. In the publishing branch besides dispatching the mail parcels of the Daily Times and Witness per the medium of Cobb's coach, we lads had to work overtime on Farjeon's novels. He had been styled the Colonial Dickens, and his novels of "Grip" and "Shadows of the Snow" were the popular vogue. Encouraged by the greatest of England's novelists of the Victorian Era, Farjeon betook himself to England, where he settled permanently, and wrote many serial stories that found favor in the eyes of the great British reading public.)

I have taken up so much of your time in detailing the progress of a few of our metropolitan newspapers that I have left myself hardly any time whatever to tell you about other journals of first importance that have exercised considerable sway on our public policies in the past. At the head of this list I would place the Lyttelton Times, the managing director of which is Mr. Robert Bell, who at San Francisco in 1915 gave valuable assistance in launching the Press Congress of the World, is the founder of the only School of Journalism that New Zealand yet possesses, and with the shrewdness and business acumen that so often characterizes his fellow countrymen from beyond the Tweed has been the head and front of several successful enterprises. In my judgment you have done right well in deciding to avail yourselves of his great experience and well-balanced judgment. It is a great pity that those who guided the destinies of this paper in its earliest years should have obstinately resisted to march with the times; had they done so the chances are that Christchurch, like all the other centres of population, save the capital, would have been content with one morning, one evening, and possibly two weekly newspapers, to the advantages of the advertiser, and to the exceeding benefit of the reading public.

At one time negotiations to that desirable consummation had



progressed so satisfactorily that the goal aimed at was actually in sight; but the mistaken sentimentality of one of the prime negotiators who would not sacrifice the title of *Lyttelton Times* completely checked a well devised scheme of amalgamation. The *Lyttelton Times* first saw the light on January 11, 1851, and was published at Lyttelton or Port Cooper, the seaport of the province of Canterbury. It was a double foolscap sheet of eight pages; was issued once a week till 1854, when it became a bi-weekly, so continuing till 1863, and was first issued as a daily two years later. Its first editor was James Edward Fitzgerald, who filled that post in an honorary capacity for two years, and was relieved in 1854 when Ingram Shrimpton arrived from England, assumed proprietorship and controlled the editorial column. It is worth a passing remark that Thomas Culling, who was the first printer, many years later established at Matura (Southland) the largest and best appointed paper-making establishment in our Dominion, and also assisted to found one of the largest wholesale stationery businesses in New Zealand. When the bulk of the Canterbury Pilgrims made their future homes in Christchurch the *Lyttelton Times* transferred (in 1863) its plant to the embryo city, and I learned on searching the historic records of the office that there was a change of proprietorship in 1856 when Crosbie Ward and Christopher Charles Bowen purchased the property for five thousand pounds. In 1860 Welham Reeves acquired Bowen's interest in the paper. Some comment on these names and the part their owners played in shaping the political history of our country will be made by me later if an opportunity offers. Offshoots of the *Lyttelton Times* were the *Canterbury Times*, a well-arranged, finely edited, copiously illustrated family paper that paid special attention to agriculture which existed from 1865 to 1917, when to the regret of the people of Canterbury, it suspended and the *Star* (evening) started in 1868, which on Saturday nights enjoys a great vogue on account of its reliable and adequate sporting information, gathered from all parts of New Zealand, as well as from Australia. The first sub-editor of the *Lyttelton Times* was Francis Knowles (afterwards a canon in the Episcopal Church) to whom succeeded C. C. Bowen in 1856. Of its original editors I have already made passing reference to

Fitzgerald, who was followed by John Birch, till the arrival in the colony of Ingram. Crosbie Ward had a long reign from 1856 to 1867; eight years later came J. M. Smith, followed by R. A. Loughnan (1875), William Pemberton Reeves (1869); Samuel Saunders (1891) and M. L. Reading, the present incumbent. Political differences between Fitzgerald and Reeves, Senior, led to the starting of the Press, to which Bowen transferred his services till he was appointed to the magisterial bench. The Lyttelton Times was the recognized standard bearer of Liberalism, and under William P. Reeves' management espoused the cause of Ballance, Vogel, Stout and Seddon with such vehemence and courage that it was mainly responsible for Canterbury sending to the Colonial legislature a solid phalanx of men whose slogan was "The Rights of the Democracy and Justice to Canterbury." Reeves abandoned journalism for politics, in which he promptly made his mark, becoming Minister of Labor and Education in the Ballance and Seddon administration. He was the author of our system of compulsory arbitration for the settlement of industrial disputes; and to his influence in the Cabinet is due the distinct Socialistic flavor of the Liberal programme; and he gave a distinct fillip to the encouragement of technical education. He was our first High Commissioner in London, resigning that important post to become a member of the teaching staff of London University. When James E. Fitzgerald likewise abandoned active journalism to fill the important position of Controller-general, or first lieutenant of the Minister of Finance, he was succeeded in the editorship of the Press by I. Colborne Veel, a noted educationalist; after whom came J. S. Guthrie and W. H. Triggs, both promoted from the sub-editorial chair, and the last-named like myself is editor emeritus. We sit alongside each other in the nominated branch of the legislature.

Lastly, let me mention the great newspaper of Auckland. In the days of provincialism the New Zealander and the Southern Cross were powerful and well managed organs; the Evening News was a valuable property before the Allen family failed to recognize that newspapers, like most mundane things, must not simply mark time. The enterprise of Henry Brett, powerfully

helped as he was by that free lance of journalism, George M'Cullough Reed, an Irish Presbyterian clergyman, who had a positive love for libel actions, laid on sure foundations the fortunes of the Evening Star, which is a wonderfully lucrative concern and the business aptitude of A. G. Horton (erstwhile of the Timaru Herald) promptly saw that Auckland was to be a prosperous, progressive city, and to his organizing skill is due in large measure the proud position occupied by the Herald among the dailies of New Zealand. Both are strong financial concerns; are ably edited, and like yourselves know the value of "boosting" the products and industries of their districts.

Of our weekly papers it was my privilege on behalf of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association to submit for your criticism and inspection specimens of our best known publications. Of the weeklies the Witness (Dunedin), the Press (Christchurch), and the Herald will challenge comparison, I think most favorably, with journals of their class—no matter where published—for brightness of get up, for well-selected news and stories, for accuracy of information, and for excellence of illustrations. Among the less pretentious honorable mention may perhaps be made of the Farmer (Auckland), the Free Lance (Wellington), the Observer (Auckland), and the Sporting and Dramatic (also Auckland).

Other difficulties that our press labored under when cables were unknown, and when communication with the outside world was both intermittent and not unattended with danger, let Mr. Henry Brett, one of the founders of the Auckland Star and himself the hero of many an exciting adventure at sea, recount for your edification, some of the incidents which marked his progression from role of shipping reporter to the dizzy heights of opulent ownership, in which latter role he has done much, as patron of the fine arts and by encouragement of healthy sport of all kinds, to add to the enrichment of Auckland and to assist her to worthily maintain the title of "Queen City of the North." I append the short paper that Mr. Brett prepared for presentation to this Congress:

"In days when telegraphs were scarce and telephones were not invented the shipping reporter—they called him the 'marine

reporter' away back in the sixties—was the man who could make or break his paper's reputation. I had some exciting experiences when looking after the shipping column of the Southern Cross during the years 1863, 1864 and part of 1865, and later when I was on the New Zealand Herald in 1865. I was particularly well-fitted for a post offering plenty of scope of initiative and enterprise, for I pulled a strong oar, having been a successful amateur oarsman at my native town of St. Leonards-on-sea, England, and was possessed of enthusiasm and resource that frequently brought off scoops for my paper and caused despair in the rival offices. The news from all parts of the Dominion and from overseas came to Auckland either by sailing vessel or steamer, and while the regular traders from Australia generally brought files of the newspapers for the shipping reporters, it was the chance arrivals, such as the cattle and coal boats from the ports on the east coast of Australia that kept the reporters 'on the jump.' There was also a spice of adventure about the billet, and more than once there was a chance of seeing what sort of things 'Davy Jones' kept in that locker of his. (While waiting down the Rangitoto Channel one dark thick night in 1864 for the barque 'Kate,' one of the Circular Saw Line, I and my waterman saw her a good deal closer than we liked, as suddenly out of the blackness a huge hull swept by our little boat—so close we could have jumped aboard if she had not been booming along with the piping westerly that was blowing, and if we had not been so thoroughly scared at our narrow escape. On another occasion, when I was out meeting the brig "Papeete" from Tahiti, (this was also in 1864) there was a still north west breeze blowing and it did not look too safe to carry out the usual tactics of hooking on to the lee chains and scrambling aboard. But news must be got at all hazards, and the boatman hooked on to the brig which was then going at a good pace, and the reporter made a grab for a hold. 'For God's sake be quick; I can't hold on any longer!' cried out the boatman, and before the reporter could get a fair hold the boat shot out from under him. He could not climb up and he dared not let go. It was blowing half a gale of wind so no one on deck heard his call, and it was not until the brig tacked off Orakei Bay that anyone knew of his presence in the

chains, and by the time he was hauled on board he was just about at the end of his tether. Mr. Hart, the supercargo, plied the half-drowned newspaper man with a bosun's nip of good French brandy and put him to bed where he slept for three or four hours. Naturally after hanging on for such a long time in the chains the reporter had a nice pair of bruised hands for a week or so.

"As an instance of the risks the 'marine reporters' had to run in bad weather an adventure of Mr. W. Wilkinson may be recalled. He was then doing the shipping column on the Southern Cross. In after years he became proprietor of the Thames Advertiser and is still (1921) living in Auckland. Mr. Wilkinson was boarding the ship 'Water Nymph' in a gale of wind, and had just climbed out of his waterman's boat when she capsized, and was swept away. Captain Babot immediately lowered one of his lifeboats and managed to pick up one of the unfortunate watermen who was almost gone and took a long time to resuscitate, but the other poor fellow was drowned.

"There were two rival news agencies in the early days—the Grenville Telegram Company, which represented Reuter, and Holt and McCarthy. When the first Honolulu, San Francisco, and Auckland service was established in 1870 there was always a keen fight between the Auckland representatives of the rival agencies to get the summaries of European news away first on the wires for dispatch to the Southern centres of New Zealand. The first steamer in the service was the Wonga Wonga, a ten knot boat which left Sydney on March 12, 1870, called at Auckland, went up to Honolulu where she connected with a boat from San Francisco, and got back to Auckland on May 10. She took sixteen days between Honolulu and Auckland. Old newspaper men will recall that the man who got the telegraph wire first kept it until his 'copy' was all through. This led to an amusing ruse on my part as representing Holt and McCarthy."

Shortly after Mr. Brett started his own paper Geddis was put onto the shipping. It so happened that Geddis, then shipping reporter on the Auckland Star and now editor of the New Zealand Times had a bit of hard luck in getting beaten in the race to the wharf from the Frisco boat. Mr. Brett watching up on a point of vantage, saw Mr. Geddis coming in behind the Gren-

ville agent (it afterwards turned out that the trouble was due to a broken oar blade) immediately rushed to the Star office and got hold of an old copy of the European Mail and Home News, publications which made a feature of a summary of the news up to the time that the mail left England. From these he made up the first sheet of news ready to hand in to the telegraph office. The rival came along in due course, and looked a bit blank when he saw Holt and McCarthy's man at the door before him. 'Mr. Brett hasn't got the wires this time; I am first!' But the operator, who in those days also acted as clerk, refused to enter into an argument, and the rival reporter said he would go off and see his employer, which he immediately did. This was exactly what Holt and McCarthy's representative wanted, and before the other man could get back Mr. Geddis came along with the summary, which was made up in San Francisco, and the message of some four thousand words was put on the wires, Holt and McCarthy once more keeping up their reputation.

"Various ruses were adopted for beating the opposition when mail steamers arrived. At first I used to have relay runners on the wharf and to them he used to throw my messages as soon as he came up to the end of the old Queen street in his waterman's boat. During the small-pox scare in San Francisco the mail steamers were compelled to drop anchor off the North Head, about four miles from Auckland, and in order to get the usual monthly summary of news to the telegraph office first a fresh scheme had to be evolved, for every trip, as the 'enemy' followed each new plan of the Holt and McCarthy representative with monotonous regularity. After having swift runners on the wharf, the next dodge was to station a horseman on some convenient point down the harbour to which the shipping reporter would row as soon as he got his dispatches from the mail boat. Another successful plan was to provide the purser when leaving Auckland with a sealed can made like a buoy, into which upon the return trip he put the press messages and quietly dropped it over the stern of the steamer, while the rival pressman was in his boat alongside the steamer, waiting for the doctor's permission to get aboard. The opposition was quite mystified when it saw Mr. Brett's watermen putting their backs into it, as no one had

been allowed aboard, and there was much wrath when the story of the 'buoy trick' leaked out. The steamers running at the time of this incident were the Nevada and Nebraska, three thousand tonners, with huge beam engines that worked through the deck, and their spreading paddle wheels were a great source of bother and sometimes danger to the shipping reporters in the light watermen's boats. These steamers went as far as Honolulu, the mails being brought by another steamer from Frisco. The Nevada, the first of the side-wheelers to run in the Honolulu-San Francisco-Auckland service, arrived in Auckland on May 3, 1871. One of the 'wins' for the Holt and McCarthy concern was brought about by enlisting the support of the members of a local rowing club, who paddled down to the mail steamer in a racing whale-boat, and the chagrin of the Grenville agent was keen when he saw the Holt and McCarthy man as soon as he had got his package, pull alongside the whaleboat, jump in and make for the wharf at racing speed.

"One more incident when a bit of quick thinking told effectively occurred after 1870, by which time the telegraph wire was through to Tauranga and the southern messages could be put in at that office if it suited. As he was pulling ashore from the mailboat Holt and McCarthy's agent spotted the cutter Hero (Captain Moller) with sails up ready to sail for Tauranga. Meeting the cutter's skipper on the old Watermen's steps Mr. Brett said 'Give me twenty minutes to go up to the office and get my vides and you will have the honour of sending the English mail throughout the colony.' Moller said he could not afford to lose the nice westerly that was blowing, but at last agreed to wait a quarter of an hour—'not a minute longer.' Holt's agent got back just as the anchor was up. The Hero lived up to her name and reached Tauranga at eight o'clock the next morning, and Holt and McCarthy had a forty-eight hour start of the opposition which sent its messages by the steamer to Nelson—that being the port to which there was a regular time table steamer service."

As an instance of the need for a "live" man on the early New Zealand newspapers to look after the shipping it may be recalled that on one occasion in the sixties the "Alice Cameron" one of the fast Circular Saw liners, did the voyage from San Francisco

to Auckland in thirty-one days—which still stands as the sailing record between the two ports—and brought down English news (in the American papers) which was later than the latest English news that had come down by the regular mail channels—via Suez and Australia.

New Zealand's regular mails from Europe used to come via Suez and Sydney after the opening of the Suez Canal, and the Dominion also had a service which used the Panama Isthmus. In 1869 this Panama service broke down, a service with San Francisco was established in 1870, but the company had only a short life. A new company was formed at the end of that year, and started in 1871, with the Nevada and Nebraska. Both these services ran between Auckland and Honolulu where they transhipped mails and passengers and cargo to other steamers running between that port and San Francisco.

An adventure of quite a different nature is worth recording here: At this time the telegraphic regulations allowed a paper to "hold" the wires till it gets its messages through. One day there arrived at Forsant Street a mysterious looking craft, the movements of which gave rise to much speculation among the people of the Bluff (the port of Invercargill). What was going on there came to the ears of this deponent who, taking advantage of the aforesaid regulation kept the operators busily employed transmitting scriptural texts until the business of the stranger was definitely ascertained. The issue of the evening paper was delayed till after the local telegraph office was closed (at 5 p. m.) and then the public were startled with the story of how the ship *General Grant*, laden with gold shipped at Melbourne, Victoria, had been set by adverse currents into a huge cave at the Auckland Islands and had disappeared with the loss of all the gold and many valuable lives. The remnants of her crew were rescued by a small vessel, named the *Amherst*, I think, and brought to the Bluff. Next morning's paper, not being able to prove the story for itself, characterised the publication as a "cock and bull yarn," but, of course was obliged to make the amends when the facts became authentic. Several attempts have since been made to rescue the sunken gold, but all ended in dismal failure.



It will not be without interest if I proceed to outline how news—foreign and domestic—is gathered for and distributed among the newspapers of the Dominion. In the early seventies there were two rival press agencies, as explained by Mr. Brett. The one was owned by Holt and McCarthy, the other by the Grenville Company. Then at the end of 1878 representatives of the four principal dailies met in Dunedin and decided to form a co-operative organization that would exchange domestic news, and arrange for the supply to its constituent members of European and Australian intelligence. Thirty papers at once joined, and Mr. E. T. Gillon, of the Evening Post was made first manager. One of the articles of association enacted that only one journal in the same town should belong to the association, the object being, of course, to crush out rival journals. Papers of the standing of the Evening Post (Wellington), Press (Christchurch), Star (Auckland), and Star, (Dunedin) would not for a moment submit to despotism of that kind, and an opposition press association was the immediate outcome. Not only did they inaugurate their own service, but were the first to conclude arrangements for an independent supply of foreign news, since Reuter had already been “nabbed” by the other combination. Necessarily the rivalry thus engendered was responsible for a good deal of overlapping and entailed much wasteful expenditure. Negotiations for amalgamation were set afoot, and these resulted in the establishment in 1889 of the New Zealand Press Association, which has remained ever since the sole supplier and distributor of all domestic and foreign news. The area of its operations has in the interval been much extended, and it has its own office in Sydney, where an experienced English pressman collects and culls from all the messages received through the media of the Argus-Sydney Morning Herald combination, the Sydney Sun’s special London service, the London Times special cables. We likewise receive at Norfolk Island direct messages from various foreign sources, including the United States. All messages sent over the Pacific cable are received at Doubtless Bay (Auckland) and then retransmitted at specified times to the morning and evening papers. The constitution of the organization has also been materially altered, inasmuch as non-shareholders (i. e. papers that do not rank as

share owners) have a potential voice in the managements; the board of directors now comprises eight, of whom two specially represent the country press; and every paper of any consequence is now either a shareholder or a contributing member. When the first organization was started it was managed by Mr. Gillon with one assistant; the present manager is Mr. W. A. Attack who employs a staff of nine. Though complaint is often made by the visitor that the New Zealand papers exhibit an oppressive sameness about their cabled intelligence, it must be acknowledged by every impartial critic that the news is well-displayed without striving for effect, that it is fair and dependable, and that whenever comment is added that is done in a most impartial spirit. Though since the war the cable charges have been steadily advanced the directors of our Press Association have not thought it prudent to curtail the supply, which has grown apace, though some responsible directors of our press are disposed to complain of the undue prominence given to prize fights, divorce proceedings, and other unsavory intelligence. In 1913 more than half a million words, representing more than a million when the "skeleton" was extended into the ordinary language which a "sub," blessed with imagination knows so well how to display to the utmost advantage, were sent over the cables and I am well within the mark when I say that during the most exacting periods of the war the number of cabled words was between six hundred thousand and seven hundred thousand.

One of the most serious of the many problems now confronting the newspaper proprietors of New Zealand is how best to ensure an adequate and dependable stock of newsprint. Like most countries we were desperately hard pushed at times during the war to keep pace with demands. In some quarters it was a hand-to-mouth existence, and absolute breakdown was alone prevented by some papers that were fortunate to have obtained good stocks coming to the assistance of their less fortunate brethren. Mr. P. Selig, manager of the Christchurch Press Company, has been good enough to forward to me a short narrative of the steps that were taken to prevent a future paper famine, and you will hear with regret, I am sure, that the efforts of those who are co-operating with him in this most important matter ended in dismal failure. He writes:

"A syndicate, of which I was a member, took up from the Government leases of timber reserves on the West Coast of the South Island. After spending a considerable sum of money in procuring reports from English and other experts on the reserves, location, water power, etc., and estimates for the erection of mills and the necessary machinery for the production of 'newsprint,' we sent abroad a shipment of the different woods from the reserve in charge of a representative. Under his supervision the timber was made into 'newsprint' of better quality than has been imported into this Dominion. The various timbers were therefore proved suitable for pulping for newsprint.

"This was just prior to the war, when the flotation of a company with two hundred thousand pounds capital was decided upon. The war prevented this enterprise from being launched. After the war, machinery had gone up to such an enormous price that made necessary a capital that was not easily obtainable. Then we reached the stage when the money market, owing to the latest moratorium of the Government redepots, the stoppage of advances by the banks, and the drop in the price of wool and meat, was very difficult. There being no chance of raising the necessary capital, and the leases having expired, it was decided not to renew and the New Zealand Pulp and Wood Co. went into liquidation.

"It has been proved there are plenty of suitable timber on the West Coast of the South Island for the manufacture for many years of a fine quality of newsprint, which before the war could have been produced at a cost to profitably sell below the price being paid for imported paper."

Had not Mr. Easten (general manager of the Otago Daily Times Company) not been obliged by untoward circumstances to leave Honolulu before the real business of the Congress began he would have told you that during the war period the average cost to land newsprint in New Zealand was sixty-seven and ten one-hundredths pounds per ton, and that today it remains at the extravagant figure of thirty-two pounds.

When it was feared that the supply would break down, by reason of the difficulty in procuring "bottoms," from Canada the proprietors of the Mataura paper mills (situated in South-

land) contracted to supply twenty-five tons of newsprint for the Dunedin weekly. They were successful in turning out a good white paper, which printed well, but it was far too heavy in substance for use on rotary machines. But the Witness Company liked the product so much that they repeated two years later the order for twenty-five tons, but it took the paper manufacturer so long to execute this second order that it was obliged to go out and search for other lines, and to cancel the newsprint order. The Mataura paper mill then went in for the manufacture of art papers and brown wrapping paper, which paid it better to make, seeing that there was an acute shortage of all kinds of paper needed by the retailer. There are in New Zealand three mills capable of supplying such requirements, i. e., the New Zealand paper mill's main factory at the Woodhaugh (Dunedin) and a branch factory at Riverhead, near Auckland; also the Mataura mill—the largest of them all—near Gore (Southland). It is worthy of passing remark that so long ago as 1869 this same mill at Woodhaugh turned out a newsprint, on which it was intended that the Duke of Edinburgh, then paying an official visit to Dunedin, should print that day's issue of the *Star* on a new wharfdale imported by the then proprietor. But the Duke forgot his appointment, and the honor passed to a favorite actress of that day, who started the machine with the orthodox baptismal rites. The paper was said to be of excellent feature and of good color. It was made from *phorimium tenax*, a native plant, which is admirably adapted and largely used for rope making.

The newspaper proprietors are now taking concerted action to obviate any recurrence of the troubles of the past few years, and to that end propose to establish depots in some central places, or a single depot in one of the main centers of population where a full six months supply of newsprint for all of the newspapers of New Zealand will be stored.

Another organization that has considerable influence in determining the attitude of the proprietors towards the various activities that are more or less remotely associated with the press is another attempt at co-operation. The Newspapers Proprietors' Association, which was founded in 1898 and is also incorporated, deals almost exclusively with business issues and policies. It has

gradually grown in strength and influence until it is now regarded as the official mouthpiece of the trade, and as such deals directly with the administration and appoints representatives to appear before the Conciliation tribunal and the Arbitration Court whenever a dispute arises between the proprietors and any section of their employees. In 1920 the organization was reconstructed; it has transferred its headquarters to the capital where it has a resident secretary. At the time of penning this article seventy newspapers have enrolled under the banner of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association, and one is amply justified in saying that all the principal papers in our Dominion belong to this organization, while it is confidently anticipated that the number will increase as the advantages of combination for mutual protection are made manifest. One of the first steps taken by the new organization was to call for tenders for the bulk supply of all the newsprint required by the papers of the Dominion during 1922. These tenders were due at the end of September last, and when I left Wellington I learned from the association's secretary (Mr. L. J. Berry) that there was already evidence of keen competition among the newsprint manufacturers and it is hoped that a satisfactory contract will be the outcome. The association accredits certain advertising agencies which as a condition precedent must subscribe to a definite set of rules governing their acts or contracts. These agencies are paid by commission on all new business they place with the several newspapers, but no commission is paid for any business received through agencies other than the officially recognized ones.

On January 1, 1921, there were two hundred and forty-nine newspapers and magazines on the postoffice register but many of these are small monthlies. But there were sixty-one dailies, and of these forty-one are on the membership roll of the association. The remaining members include seven tri-weeklies, seven bi-weeklies, eleven weeklies and five monthlies. It should be added that the annual meetings of the Press Association, the Newspaper Proprietors', the Empire Press Union, and the Master Printers' Association, are held in February, when office bearers are elected, and general business transacted. In the past these meetings have been peripatetic, the feeling being that the social as well as the

business side of the newspaper and printing trades should be cultivated, but the disposition is growing to make the capital city the general rendezvous.

I will lay on the table, for the benefit of any who may feel interested, the latest available copy of our "Postal Guide," which supplies detailed information relating to the charges for cable and other news transmitted to the press; the rates of postage; the list of newspapers published in the Dominion, and the membership of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association, etc.

In bringing to a close this necessarily discursive paper, I would like to say that nothing has given so much unallowed joy as the virile, outspoken and wise criticism of modern journalism heard from the lips of Mrs. Warren (who has proved herself to be not only a forcible speaker but the embodiment of sound, common sense), Publisher H. L. Bridgman (of the Brooklyn Standard Union) and the veteran Frank Glass (of Birmingham, Alabama). The two last named, who received their professional training in the widest and best of all universities, that of the big world itself, are journalists of the old school, who have a natural distaste for screeching head lines, for sensationalism of all kinds, and for adventitious aids to make a paper sell. They want to see, as do the majority of us, I trust, the newspaper of tomorrow absolutely free from suggestiveness, the purveyor of clean, wholesome, reliable intelligence and the creator of a moral code which we shall live up to ourselves, instead of cultivating, as unfortunately happens in too many instances, a commercialism that is calculated to camouflage the truth. When the press rises to the full height of its great mission as the foremost factor in formulating a public opinion that shall be broadly based on the trinity of truthfulness, impartiality, and honesty of purpose, it may with justice claim (and only then) to be the real educator of the peoples in all the civilised countries of the world. Is not that a goal worth striving for? Like a goodly number of my colleagues, by whom I am surrounded today, I have enlisted in the big army of emeritus journalists—men and women who in their day and generation earnestly and faithfully worked for the realization of those ideals that were most dear to our hearts when we possessed the vigorous mind and the healthy body so

necessary to the accomplishment of our self-appointed tasks. Many of those aims yet await attainment, but none of them is beyond accomplishment if the desire to perform service burns as ardently in the breasts of those who will come after us as it did in those of the pioneers in this great upward and onward movement. Richelieu is credited with saying that "there is no such word in the lexicon of youth as fail!" That is a fundamental truth, as strong as any precept to be found in Holy Writ. Let it then inspire you of the younger generation of journalists to become like the Crusaders of old the standard-bearers of a Cross of Infinite Hope that will bring in its trail the blessings of peace, prosperity, and plentitude wherever the benign influence of an inspirational, honest, and humanitarian press can make itself felt.

Among the many great intellects that have shaped the policies of the newspapers of the United States that I am most familiar with there is no one for whom we men of British descent have a more profound respect than your Grand Old Man—Henry Watterson, editor-in-chief of the Louisville Courier-Journal. We know and admire him for the great courage with which he expresses his opinions; we recognize in him those qualities of mind and heart that make him a very solon among his fellows; and we revere him for the noble stand he took when after the Lusitania sinking, which was a foul outrage on all humanity, your country hesitated about ranging herself, as happily she ultimately did, on the side of the forces that were fighting to maintain the sacred cause of our common civilization. No finer lay-sermon was ever preached, in my humble judgment, than Colonel Watterson delivered to the pressmen of Canada in convention assembled recently, and as being germane to the debate we have listened to in this Congress I make no apology for asking you to let sink deeply into your inmost heart the pearls of wisdom that fell from the lips of one who, conscious that his life's labors are well nigh ended, has left to those who will evolve the newspaper policies of the future a magnificent legacy of perfected counsel. And what the Colonel begged of his Canadian friends to translate into effective action I beseech you in the last utterance that humanly speaking it will be my privilege to deliver to a Press

Congress of the World to make it your slogan of future duty. I would like to see these sententious words engraved on a tablet, which should occupy a place of honor in the editorial sanctum of every newspaper in every land:

“The newspaper is the history of yesterday. It is made to sell assuredly, but it is not a commodity like drygoods, like pork and beans, or hardware, or cutlery. It may not care to have any opinions; but, in case it does, it should seek and aim to be a keeper of the Public Conscience, an example and counsellor, nor a corner grocery man—to be level of head and kindly of heart, upright and elevated, always sincere and truthful, avoiding as it would avoid a pestilence or a famine the character of a scold. More and more will newspaper owners and makers discern that integrity and cleanliness will pay the best dividends. The scandal-monger will, in time, be relegated to the category of the unprosperous as well as the disreputable, and the detective be driven out of the newspaper service, where he should have no place, to the company of the police, where he properly belongs. Manly conduct and aspiration should be and is the rule—the brutal and vulgar be the exception—and the journalistic brand should be no less accepted and honorable than that of medicine, divinity, and jurisprudence.”

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## DUTCH JOURNALISM

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Comparing the Dutch daily papers with those of other countries, especially France, England and America, we are at once aware of a striking contrast. As we immediately observe, our dailies are much more sober in appearance in consequence of the very scant use of conspicuous headlines. Some efforts by the



newspaper press to propagate this use have failed. The Dutch reader is not to be enticed by an abundance of sensational headings. The contents of the Dutch dailies are sober and to the point, but consequently rather tedious and deep. The Dutch nature is mirrored in the character of the Dutch press. Patriarchal geniality, supported by old-fashioned orthodox religiousness or its reminiscence is prevalent and it is typically characteristic that many clergymen or former clergymen take to the press. They are the very last people in the world to exhilarate the newspaper-reading, but rather add to the dullness of the press.

We distinguish here neutral from political papers. The latter represent a political party, which but too often is connected with a religious sect; the former scrupulously abstain from all political and religious quarreling. Yet the difference is not so very great as their partiality is emphasised only in the leading articles which moreover are few. In the intelligence part great uniformity exists in all the papers, obviously consequent on the fact that they get their information from the same sources. For foreign intelligence there are Reuter, Havas, Wolff, and other general offices; for home intelligence two correspondence bureaux are working, which for the bigger newspapers are supplemented by local correspondents, who, however, as a rule send their intelligence to several papers and thus form small offices by themselves.

Only some of the greatest newspapers can afford correspondents of their own in the capitals at home and abroad. The small ones often combine and keep a correspondent among them. This co-operation cannot be avoided, because in a small country the papers have only a small sale. Anyhow this non-ideal principle is to be preferred to the cutting-and-copying-system which also is still yielding an existence to many smaller papers.

The immediate result of these circumstances is that the number of journalists in Holland is small. The number of newspapers amounts to eighty-two, the number of journalists to about five hundred, only three dailies are employing more than thirty journalists, two about twenty and the rest all remain under ten, while sixty even have only five or less. Besides there is a number of papers that appear twice or three times a week. They

are doing mostly without a regular journalist: a school-teacher, an official or the owner himself fills up the papers for the greater part with copied stuff. Of the eighty-two dailies some thirty show a certain political colour; the rest are neutral. This neutrality must not be underrated, for these papers confine themselves to news and an impartial summary of what happens in parliament and town-councils. They avoid any subject of quarreling as much as they can.

Nine papers only have an evening and a morning issue, while one paper has merely a morning—the rest only an evening—edition.

We can honestly declare that journalism here is in a very sound condition. Cases of excessive partiality, of bribing, of love of sensation, of being prejudiced, do not appear. This showed most clearly during the years of European War. One paper only positively sided with a certain group of belligerents, the others all stuck to the Dutch, i. e., neutral standpoint.

The commercial and intellectual part of the daily papers are strictly kept apart. An occasional effort to mix them up invariably meets with disapproval and is happily not imitated. The press is scrupulous in inserting news of a commercial tendency and merely of an odd paper it may be said that the mercantile leading is exceeding the limits and trying too hard to cultivate the intellectual side for the good of the commercial part. But those in my opinion pernicious endeavors are still far from being prevalent.

The greater number of the newspapers belongs to a company limited which has to appoint a manager for the commercial and a head-editor for the intellectual part. Another number—the smaller papers—is private property. With the latter business of course comes first. The owner will avoid everything that might make him suffer loss. The judgment of the press, however, causes this to remain within allowable limits.

Sometimes the functions of head-editor and manager happen to be united in one person. This is not a happy choice of system and as far as they belong to the employers' union those double functionaries have been shut out by the journalists from their society. This organization of managers and owners which is

wrongly calling itself "The Netherland Newspaper Press" includes nearly all managers and owners. Besides there is the "Journalistenbring" to which organization of the press the present writer is much honored to be secretary. With this general organization a small one of Roman Catholic members is always co-operating on a friendly footing.

Shut out by the "Bring" and discontented that they were allowed no more the sunny heights of journalism, some head-editors-managers established an organization of their own to which they also admitted the managers of smaller papers where there is no head-editor and who practically are hardly more than administrators. The barrier between the intellectual and the commercial part is thus broken down. The rigorously upheld separation is fairly gone. An occasional swell-head editor's feather in a poor manager's cap is looking too ridiculous though to harm the general respectability of the journalists' class.

Owing to the small number of the editorial staffs the journalists for the smaller papers do a hundred odd jobs. With the greater ones of course they are specialized. For the home, foreign, art, sport, and financial part special journalists are working. Next come the reporters who do not cover such a big field of labor, as the intelligence offices are already furnishing much.

The head of the editorial staff is the head-editor; the system of sub-editor or secretary to the editor, who has to manage the daily cares and troubles, e. g., the keeping in touch with the compositors room, the correspondence with the subscribers, etc., is not known here. On the smaller papers the head-editor has to do a greater share of the daily writing and is thus more filling up the place of first editor. On the greater ones this falls to the part of the heads of sections, while the head-editor writes leading articles only. With very few exceptions the newspapers are not great enough to stand in need of a special head-editor and so a great many of them happen to be serving as a sort of flag flying from the paper's pinnacle. Also many of them are not recruited for being an authority or having a title. On the political papers a politician-to-be or a politician-that-was often has the leading.

The "color" of the paper is shown only in the leading-articles and the Parliament and Town-Council Summaries. This part

and the intelligence part are strictly kept apart. Thus considering the small extent of the dailies it would be quite rational that the leading of political matters was in one hand and that an all-round journalist would see to the rest. This would make the paper less top-heavy as is often the case now. Evidently one head-editor cannot be supposed to be good at everything. Therefore he is mostly calling in the aid of experts outside the papers and anonymity, the great evil of journalism, covers up the assistance. The story of "le journal c'est un monsieur" comes in where the reality of many-sided information is lost sight of. Small wonder that the Dutch editors stand up for anonymity. With sophistries about "the paper being one" the wrong system is defended. In reality this being one is very problematic, the more so where the extent of the papers is greater, its number of co-operators vaster; anonymity supports the top-heavy leading. As a rule the foreign part in the Dutch papers is well taken care of, the intelligence service works well, foreign papers are carefully perused, the art of translating is flourishing and the leaders possess a profound knowledge of foreign affairs. In treating them they are given much more free scope than their colleagues for the home affairs. Nor is a hurry "to be up" deemed necessary. It is a pity that the "telegrams" cannot more properly be worked out. They are chaotically put together under one head, bearing the peculiar title of "telegrammen," peculiar in that the way the information is got is chosen as a title. There may have been sense in it in times when a telegram was an extraordinary way of corresponding; now that everyone is familiar with wires this title has fairly lost its psychological effect.

To the neutral papers foreign affairs regularly provide the right stuff for leading articles. There one need not be afraid to touch upon painful subjects which can easily be the matter when treating home affairs. Home intelligence as a rule is less got up than put together. What is sent the intelligence-offices, what is supplied by private correspondents and reporters is collected and arranged. Even there much is more simply communicatory than a regular report. Truth to tell all the newspapers have tried to give something more and by many journalists interesting work has been done in the general social line. A general, clear picture

of social life is not given by the papers. Club-life, the struggle in the different classes, is not mirrored in them. The professional papers are accomplishing this task better, but only very little of the leading articles is taken from them by the dailies. Again the editorial staffs are too small to write things out more properly and the office-journalists cannot possibly be equal to such a many-sided task as is left to them. Only a few heads can boast a specialist of their own: art, sport and finance. The first is limited to critique of the stage, music, literature and plastic arts; the second, in my opinion, is much too ample and not in keeping with the value of sport. Under this head many penny-a-liners are working and the reports of the matches are marked by bad style and extravagant praise.

Personally I am of the opinion that the papers are too much given to criticism, too little didactic; too much neutrally descriptive; too much individually critical on one side; too little instructive and too little informatory on the other. A daily should be an intellectual instrument, a pedagogical institution by which a nation is continually being educated and civilized.

In the Netherlands it has always been a great fault of the papers that they pay their journalists badly. The journalistic career never was attractive, because only to very few it could become of any importance. Toward the intellectual work done by the journalists the notorious mistake was made of "giving too little and asking too much." Up to this day many journalists' fees do not surpass those of the composers. Indeed much has been changed for the better since 1918, owing to the action of the "Journalistenbrugg," but what is necessary has not nearly been attained yet by all the papers. There is an unavoidable mutual connection between the spiritual elevation and the material reward. He that will create must be in high spirits, a poet once sung; he that is weighed down by cares cannot wholly develop his creative power. Beautiful theories may be set up of vocation and satisfaction in one's labor, if it is only granted that a journalist's calling is very many-sided and may be followed in other work also. Journalism will attract even more people that feel the call if the material satisfaction is greater.

Journalism and the press are no business of the state. There

is complete freedom of expressing one's thoughts apart from every one's responsibility toward the law. From experience this freedom has proved to be absolutely justified; seldom if ever it is misused; law-suits of offence hardly ever appear. Generally speaking the government does not always show yet a clear understanding of the importance of publicity.

Much depends here on the persons in authority individually but as a rule at the bureau they are very much given to privacy and mystery. The government does not sufficiently know how to get most out of publicity. One has got to wrest the news from it. However signs of improvement are showing here and there.

Dutch journalism is not in the least scandal-hunting; its earnest endeavors to give truthful information, its absolute unimpeachability are its very peculiar features. It is rather kindly disposed and smoothing than exciting and instigating. Only few papers are very decided in their opinion and (assuming their attitudes) in stating their position. Many of them are compelled by their neutrality to keep aloof from interesting problems.

Holland is not a country of sensational events and consequently a journalist's profession is not so full of variation and adventure as is usual in other countries. Travelling journalists are few in number; reporters frequent meetings and assemblies and are present at important events, but by all that, their time is not taken up all the year round. Local reporting does not amount to much in Amsterdam and Rotterdam it is well worth mentioning; here at the Hague the Dutch correspondence bureau has for the greater part taken this task upon itself. It stands to reason that at the Hague there are many parliament reporters whose only task it is to give a neutral report or summary. In those summaries the discussions of the "States-General" are treated from the paper's political point of view.

Criticism is what it mostly comes to. Many neutral papers give a minute account of the discussions without much display of criticism; smaller papers are content to give wired reports, sometimes augmented by weekly summaries. Private life is not discussed in the papers. It is not thought fair and even the slightest allusions are considered to be objectionable. The dailies are not illustrated. Recently a pictorial morning paper was pub-

lished and one of the greatest papers has inserted an illustrated page. Illustrated weeklies fill up this gap.

The weeklies as a rule are very good. They have got very good contributors and do much laudable work. It seems to me that the dailies by taking no account of a good many things have done much to further the development of the weeklies. The Dutch are very fond of reading. Much unfavorable weather often keeps them indoors and reading is one of the diversions they like best. Therefore it is desirable that the papers should furnish them with a good variety of reading, didactic and informatory about all the topics of the day. In this respect, considering the nature of the Dutch and their conditions of life, the Dutch dailies are rather falling short. Intelligence is too substantial, especially of foreign affairs too much detail is given. As a rule special correspondence from the capitals is superb. It is giving us a very clear picture of life and proceedings on the other side of our frontiers.

Compared with foreign papers the Dutch are very thorough, but also rather dull. Repeatedly the leaders tried to stir them up a little. However in Holland hardly any difference is made between jest and wit, and many writers are trying their hands at joking rather than at real humor. Only very few papers have succeeded in making up a special head of really good "hors d'oeuvres."

The Netherlands have produced many able journalists and even now many good writers are working for the press. We will not mention names to escape the danger of becoming unjust by being short. Every period has had its own masters and every period will still have them. Dutch journalism is not subject to many changes; only very slowly some ideas are altering. Of course here too there are innovators, who want to introduce many changes, but they can push their ideas by very slow progress only; even the public is not keen on novelties.

We may be said to have pointed out very candidly the better and the worse side of Dutch journalism, from which description we hope a good idea of it can be formed.

A great many circumstances are influencing journalism: the comparatively small sale, the great number of small papers, dis-

cord in politics and religion, but after all we think Dutch journalism has won a first place, even in the eyes of the public.

The Dutch press has a good serious conception of its task and as a rule understands the importance of publicity. Its association, the 'Nederlandsche Journalistenbring,' has always stood up for the respectability of the profession. It has had a hard task because there are so many sides to the profession and because of the heterogeneity of the press. In details, however, we are still far from being at one. Last year, e. g., at the first Dutch Journalistic Congress there appeared to be a great difference of opinion about the very important question of anonymity. We shall not expatiate here on this problem, but only state as our opinion that we consider the utmost limitation of anonymity of urgent necessity. Holland has shown by its history that it is ready to give up everything for its liberty; no feeling has ever grown so much into a passion as the love of liberty with the Dutch. But then they should make the most generous use of this liberty and give their opinion under their hand. We are proud of our honesty and the just endeavors of the Dutch press, a characteristic that is to be set off as by a golden frame by our own signatures under our own opinions. Anonymity is fraud and leads to deceiving. It is unworthy of the sincere.

As the result of the small extent of our country little literature on journalism is lasting. Only an odd booklet on this subject has been published. Now this is not so very bad, as foreign literature is open to the greater part of the better classes. The knowledge of foreign languages is essential to the journalist, as it enables him to keep abreast of all that is written abroad. Efforts to hold regular courses for journalism have failed. A course was held once, but too few people attended the lectures. In Holland not much is felt for an academic education for journalism. Practical exercise is esteemed much higher. Many a student after taking his degree has devoted himself to journalism; besides, however, many self-made journalists have held important posts. For journalism in Holland a broad general knowledge, a clear intellect and sober judgment are needed. Scientific cultivation does not necessarily imply fitness: we witnessed many very good scholars fail in journalism and we saw young men with a very simple school education climb to important posts.



As we mentioned before, journalists' salaries have not always been all that can be desired. A small group was paid well; the rest could hardly make both ends meet. In 1918 the "Nederlandsche Journalistenbring," which in the beginning was no more than a society of friends and did not care much what happened to the greater part of the journalists, started a strong salary action. It was successful even if it did not attain everything it had wished. The inviolable connection between ideal and material interests has often become apparent. By better salaries better hands will feel attracted toward the profession and its respectability and importance will grow in proportion.

The legal condition of the journalist has not been settled. In the Labor Act of 1919, which has not been quite enforced yet, provisions were made for the journalists also, but not of much moment. The association has still an important field of labor there, just as large as with regard to the care for old age and widows' and orphans' pensions.

Perhaps it will become necessary to introduce a newspaper-trade bill. Maybe protection of the intellectual labor, influence of all the intellectual laborers on the leading of the paper, the legal condition and the right to a pension, are petitions that can only be granted by an act. Some countries have already set an example and the Netherlands will have to consider the question.

Law clauses regarding journalism do not exist: we are enjoying the most complete freedom. Even in the critical years of the European War the government let us absolutely free and we can declare that only very seldom this privilege was misused.

Only a short time ago Mr. H. W. Massingham, head-editor of the *Nation*, declared that the Dutch journalism is better than the English, more serious and instructive. Indeed the Dutch journalism is not superficial like the French, not partial like the English, not sensational like the American. It has a character of its own, typically Dutch, thorough, dreamy though at the same time sober.

In the Dutch press there is place for serious, educated young men of high energy and spirits: they will not be wholly satisfied by it, but a grand and resultful career is open to them, if they

will never weary of developing themselves and having an interest in the evolution of intellectual and social life.

There is an old saying in Holland, spoken once by royal mouth, which runs: "A small people must be great in those things wherein it can be great." These words must also be applied to journalism in our little Holland. The "Nederlandsche Journalistenbring" is earnestly striving to make journalism great in Holland and each Dutch journalist is honestly trying to do his duty in this respect.

We shall all follow the discussions at the congress at Honolulu with great interest and know how to profit by them. Holland has always been on the look-out to get hold of and to bring into practice the best things of all the world. No immoderate nationalism, no self-consciousness, no improper notion of its won glory, has ever prevented it from accepting good things wherever it found them.

May you at your congress help to defend the international interest of journalism and to raise it. You may depend upon the Dutch for their readiness to accept and to apply all that is best.

"Orbi ex orbe" is the device the "Nederlandsche Journalistenbring" is bearing on its banner.

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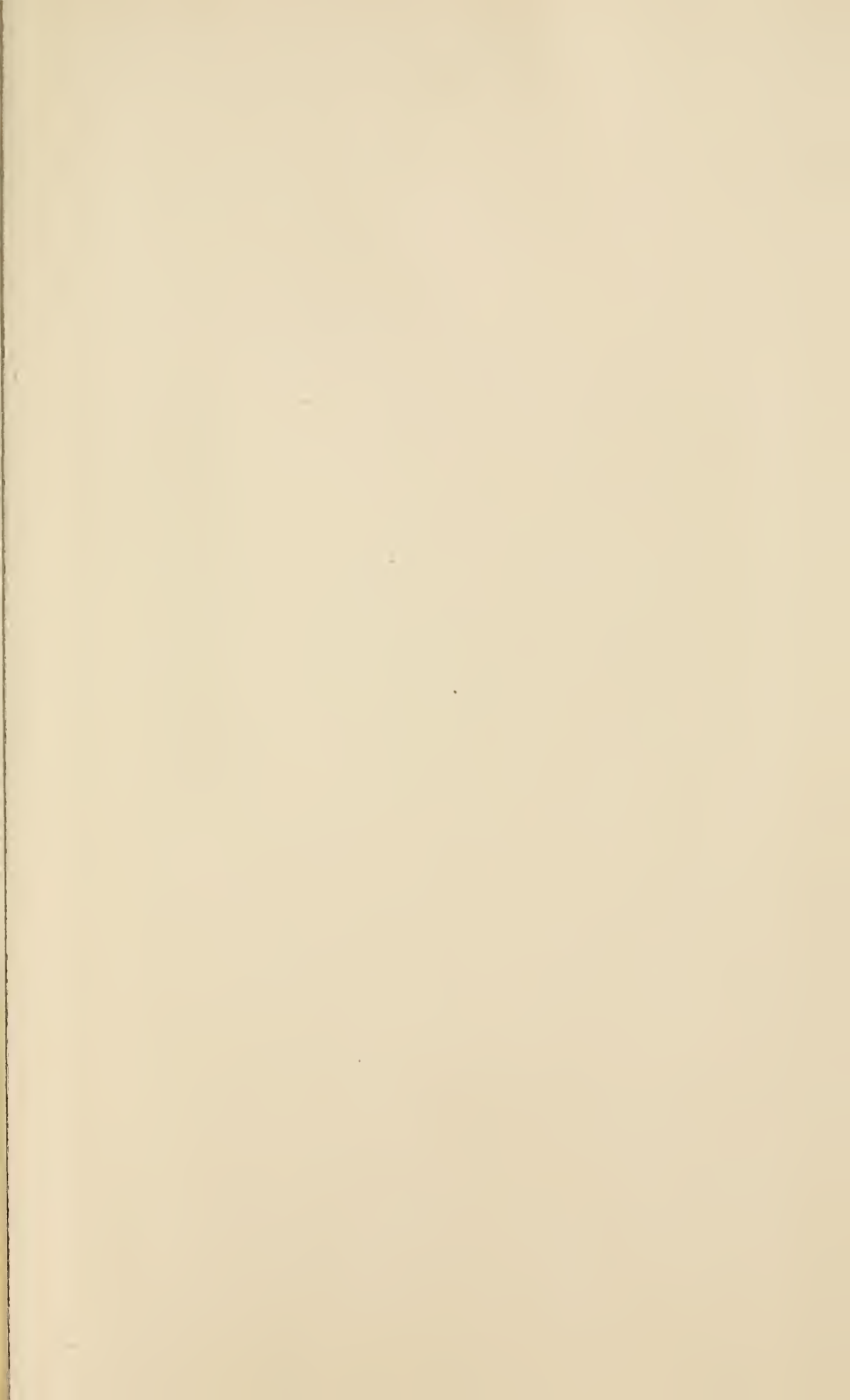
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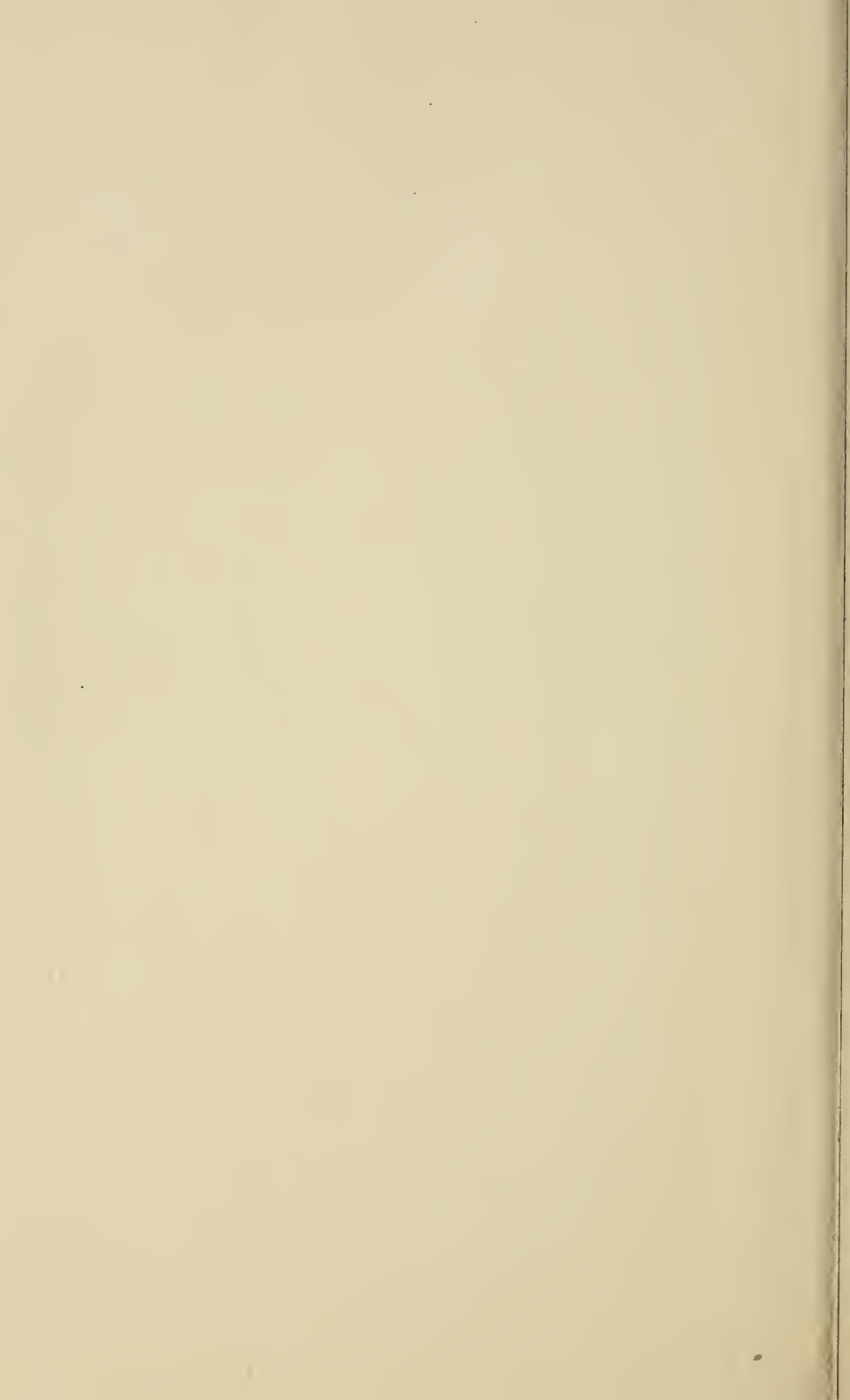
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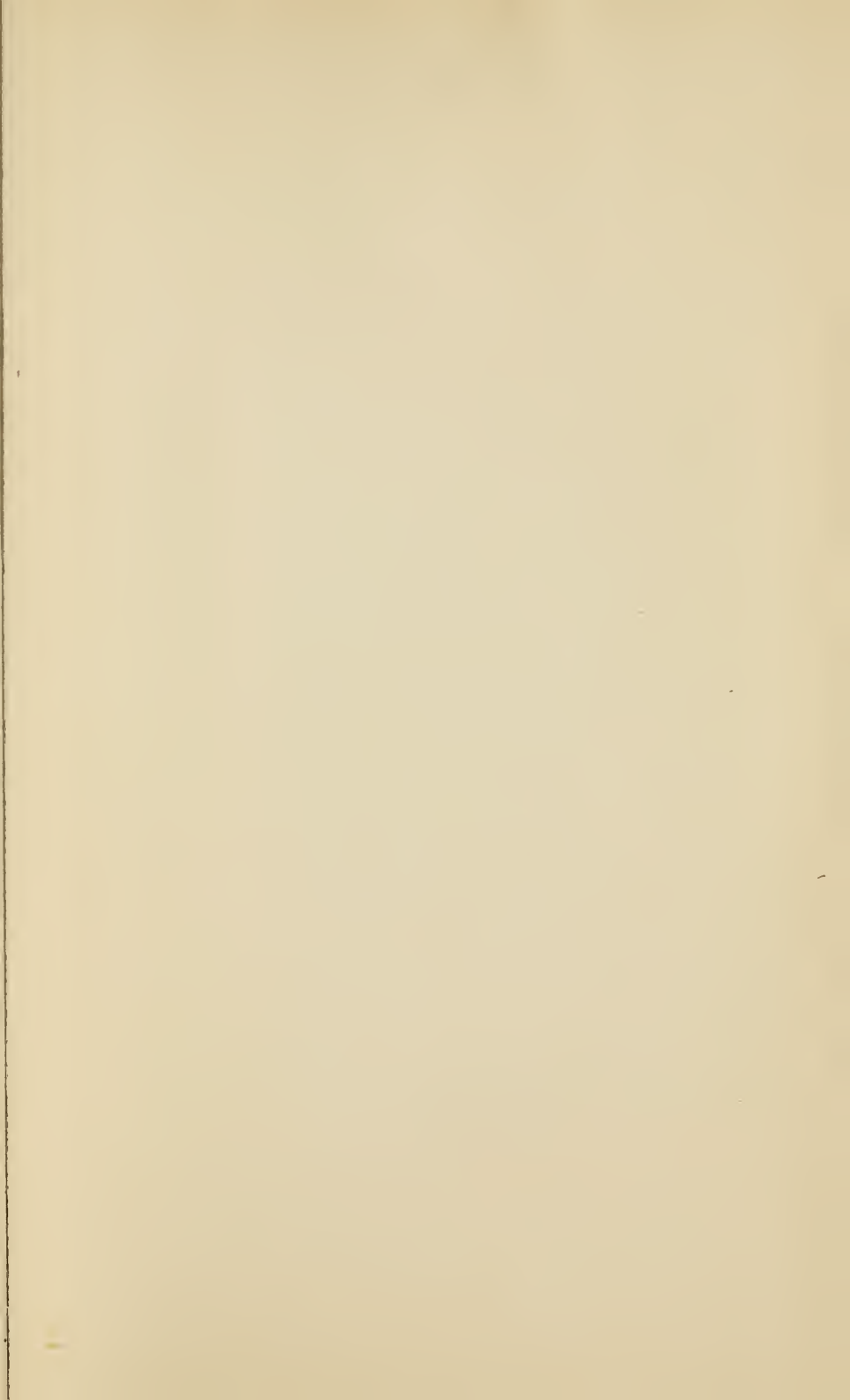


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