

## Joseph Heco and the Origin of Japanese Journalism\*

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Joseph Heco, with the original Japanese name of Hamada Hikoza, played an active role in the diplomatic, economic, trade, and cultural interactions between the United States and Japan in the 1850s and 1860s. Being rescued from a shipwreck by an American freighter and taken to San Francisco in the 1850s, Heco had the chance to experience the advanced industrial civilization. After returning to Japan, he followed the example of the U.S. newspapers to start the first Japanese newspaper *Kaigai Shimbum* (*Overseas News*), introducing Western ideas into Japan and enabling Japanese people under the rule of the Edo bakufu/shogunate to learn about the great changes taking place outside the island. In the light of the historical background of the United States forcing Japan to open up, this paper expounds on Joseph Heco's life experience and *Kaigai Shimbum*, the newspaper he founded, aiming to explain how Heco, as the "father of Japanese journalism", promoted the development of Japanese newspaper industry.

*Keywords:* Joseph Heco (Hamada Hikoza), *Kaigai Shimbum*, origin of Japanese journalism

Early Japanese newspapers originated from the "kwaraban" (瓦版) at the beginning of the 17th century. In 1615, this embryonic form of newspapers first appeared in the streets of Osaka. This single-sided leaflet-like thing was printed irregularly and was made by printing on paper with tiles which was carved with pictures and words and then fired and shaped. The "kwaraban" mainly recorded various social events as well as earthquakes, fires, child prodigies, and other anecdotes. Because the vendors would read the content while crying their wares along the street, the official name was "yomiuri kwaraban" (読売瓦版, "read while sell" kwaraban) (Zheng, Cheng, & Wang, 2008, p. 401), but the publisher and the compiler could not be traced. The Edo bakufu (1603-1867, also known as the Tokugawa bakufu) paid no attention to the general social news published in the "kwaraban", and it was strictly banned only when news that offended the shogunate authority was published. The "kwaraban", as an unofficial "illegal" publication (Ning, 1981, p. 2), remained its existence in Japan for more than 300 years and was not replaced by modern newspapers until around the Meiji Restoration in the 1860s.

The modern Japanese journalism originated from the foreign newspapers during the social transformation from the end of the Edo period to the beginning of the Meiji Restoration period. The Edo bakufu issued its first

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order of national isolation (鎖国, sakoku) in 1633, excluding foreigners and forbidding Japanese people to go abroad. By 1639, orders of national isolation were issued for five times. During the seclusion period, the shogunate only allowed *The Dutch Report* (荷蘭傳聞書) offered by Holland to be secretly passed around for perusal among a small number of high-ranking officials. On July 8, 1853, the Commodore of the East Indian Squadron of the U.S. Navy, Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794-1858), led four black warships to Uraga, near the entrance of Edo Bay (present-day Tokyo Bay). Perry's purposes were twofold: to present to the Edo administration the message from Millard Fillmore (1800-1874), the 13th President of the U.S. requesting diplomatic relations and trade with Japan; or to make Japan open its ports by force if the Edo government refused the request. On March 31, 1854, Japan was forced to open the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate by signing the *Treaty of Kanagawa* (日米和親条約, *Treaty of Peace and Amity Between Japan and the U.S.*) which also allowed the U.S. to set up consuls in both ports and enjoy the most-favored-nation treatment. In Japanese history, this incident was called the "Arrival of the Black Ships" (黒船来航), which marked the end of the isolation era (1639-1853) and the beginning of the modernization of Japanese society.

Under the circumstances at home and abroad, the Japanese shogunate was forced to innovate. In order to obtain more overseas news, the shogunate established an official translation agency "Bansho Shirabesho" (蕃書調所) in 1856, which was renamed as "Yosho Shirabesho" (洋書調所) in 1862, "Kaiseisho" (開成所) in 1863, and "Kaisei Gakko" (開成学校) after the Meiji Restoration. In 1862, the shogunate directed the "Yosho Shirabesho" to gather overseas news and selectively translate it into Japanese and started *The Official Batavia News* (官板バタビヤ新聞). Japan had made great strides since the Meiji Restoration. The development of journalism was so surprising that Japan was able to keep abreast of the developments in Europe and the U.S. In 1868, *Chugai Shimbun* (中外新聞, *Domestic and Overseas News*) appeared as a newspaper run by the Japanese... Journalism in Japan had grown ever since (Huang, 2011, p. 149). On August 10 the same year, a Dutch-American named Eugene Miller Van Reed (1835-1873) started a newspaper named *The Moshioyusa* (もしほ草, full name 横浜新報もしほ草) at the Yokohama foreign settlement.

In the 1860s, foreign newspapers and periodicals operated by foreigners in Japan were targeted at foreign nationals. Among these were *Shimbunshi* (新聞誌), founded by an American-Japanese interpreter at the U.S. Consulate, Joseph Heco in 1864, renamed as *Kaigai Shimbun* (海外新聞) in 1865; *Bankoku Shimbunshi* (万国新聞紙), a monthly periodical founded by an English minister, Michael Buckworth Bailey in Yokohama in 1867, discontinued in 1869; *London Shimbunshi* (倫敦新聞紙) compiled by a British in 1867; and *Kakkoku Shimbunshi* (各国新聞紙), founded by a British in Osaka in 1868. The most influential newspaper was Joseph Heco's *Kaigai Shimbun* which was the first non-official Japanese newspaper aimed at spreading foreign culture to the Japanese, including both news and advertisements, but it stopped publication after 10 issues, with a circulation of less than one hundred copies (Weill, 1934, p. 381).

Newspapers such as *Enkin Shimbun* (遠近新聞), *Naigai Shimbun* (内外新聞), *Meiji Shimbun* (明治新聞), and *Rokugo Shimbun* (六合新聞) did not come into being until the government law permitted newspaper publication in the second year of Meiji, but these were sold poorly because of the restrictions on the content imposed by the government. By the third year of Meiji, all of them were on the decline (Guan, 1943, p. 85). In December of the same year, Japan's first modern daily newspaper *The Yokohama Mainichi* appeared in Yokohama. In the fifth year of Meiji, three major newspapers *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun* (東京日日新聞), *Yubinchochi Shimbun* (郵便報知新聞), and *Nisshin Shinjishi* (日新真事誌) were founded in Tokyo, marking

the rise of the Japanese daily newspapers. After the promulgation of Japan's constitution, various political organizations began a debate over Osaka's *Azumo Shimbun* (東雲新聞), *Kansai Nippo* (関西日報), and the three major daily newspapers in Tokyo, which promoted the development of Japanese political newspapers at that time. In the 20s of the Meiji period, commercial newspapers such as *Nippon Shimbun* (日本新聞), *Kokumin Shimbun* (国民新聞), and *Asahi Shimbun* (朝日新聞), signified the stage of modernization for Japanese newspaper journalism.

In discussions about Japanese journalism, the frequently mentioned well-known names include Noma Seiji (1877-1938), the "king of magazines" of Japan, Kikuchi Kan (1888-1948), Japanese novelist, dramatist, and newspaper activist, Tokutomi Soho (1863-1957), Japanese writer, journalist, historian, and critic, Murayama Ryohei (1850-1933), "king of journalism" and founder of *Asahi Shimbun*, and Kitoyama Hikoichi (1853-1932), president of *Mainichi Shimbun* (毎日新聞). The name of Hamada Hikozo (1837-1897), "father of Japanese journalism", however, is rarely seen.

Xie Liu-yi (1936) gave a brief account of the historical development of Japanese journalism and the agencies in his article "The Press in Japan" (日本の新闻事业). When discussing the early non-official Japanese newspapers and the newspapers founded by foreigners in Japan, he did not mention Hamada Hikozo or *Kaigai Shimbun*.

In the early days in Japan, there were newspapers operated by one person or several people, such as *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun* run by Jono Denpei, Nishida Densuke and Ochiai Ikujiro, *Yubinchochi Shimbun* run by Maejima Hisoka, and *Nisshin Shinjishi* run by an English man J. R. Black. (Guan, 1943, p. 103)

Joseph Heco, with the original Japanese name of Hamada Hikozo, founder of *Kaigai Shimbun*, drifted to the United States after a shipwreck in a time when the U.S. was forcing Japan to open its trade ports and returned home after experiencing the American politics, economy, culture, and social contacts. With a seaman background, Heco led a legendary life in the U.S. He met with three U.S. presidents and was active in the diplomatic, trade, and cultural interactions between the U.S. and Japan in the 1850s and 1860s. He was regarded as the "father of Japanese journalism" by introducing Western newspaper ideas and culture into Japan.

At present, a systematic study on Joseph Heco and *Kaigai Shimbun* was lacking in China. In research concerning the history of Japanese journalism, the fragmentary records on Joseph Heco and his founding of *Kaigai Shimbun* were concise and similar, with some inaccuracy. Joseph Heco was even regarded as a Chinese American in some literature (Wang, 1999, p. 62).

Song Shan-liang made a serious mistake about Joseph Heco and *Kaigai Shimbun* when translating *Le Journal: Origines, Évolution et Rôle de la Presse Périodique* written by G. Weill (published by the Commercial Press in China in 1940): When the U.S. forced Japan to open its trade, one Japanese person failed and went to the U.S. to experience the American life and later returned to his hometown of Heco. In 1864, he set up a daily newspaper for information and advertising, but the circulation was under one hundred copies and the newspaper was discontinued after the tenth issue (Weill, 1940, pp. 374-375). In Song's translation, Hamada Hikozo's English name Heco was mistranslated as the name of a place, thus the whole idea of this paragraph deviated from the original text. *A Collection of Historical Materials on Journalism During the Republic of China (Vol. III)* (Huang, 2011) edited by Fang Han-qi copied the translation without revision. The translation in *Le Journal: Origines, Évolution et Rôle de la Presse Périodique* (世界报刊史, 2018) by Kang Zhi-hong and Wang Hai was revised, with Hamada Hikozo's name printed in Japanese as "浜田彦藏".

This paper, by analyzing Joseph Heco's role in Japan's interactions with the U.S. after opening up and his activities in founding *Kaigai Shimbun*, explores how Joseph Heco, as a Japanese American who started the first non-governmental Japanese newspaper, had influenced the emergence and development of Japan's newspaper industry.

### **Joseph Heco's Residence in the U.S. and His Role in the Cultural Interaction Between the U.S. and Japan**

With Japan's island culture, Joseph Heco grew from a humble seaman into an active translator, trader, and pioneer of Japanese journalism in the late bakufu period and early Meiji period, and with his indomitable character achieved successful transformation and advancement of life.

In 1837, Hamada Hikozo, also called Banshu Hikozo, was born in Harima town, Hyogo Prefecture in Japan. His childhood name was Hikotaro, and his English name later was Joseph Heco. He was called Amehiko (アメ彦) after returning to Japan from the U.S. Hikozo lost his father when he was still a child, and his mother remarried Kichiemon in the adjoining town of Hamada and raised Hikozo together with the son of Kichiemon called Unokichi. Under the influence of his stepfather who made a living as a seaman on a freighter, and his brother who often described the adventures on the sea, Hikozo dreamt of becoming a seaman himself someday. For safety concerns, however, Hikozo's mother did not support him but sent him to a temple school to continue studying for nearly two years. In 1850, Hikozo's cousin persuaded his mother to allow him to go to sea. For the first time, Hikozo arrived in the island of Shikoku on an old-fashioned Japanese wooden boat and visited the Temple of Kompira. Hikozo's mother suddenly died of a disease when he was 13 years old.

The same year, Hikozo's stepfather took him and other seamen to set sail to Yedo (i.e., Edo, present-day Tokyo) on his junk, and Hikozo went aboard another junk Eiriki-maru on the way. The ship was caught in a storm at Totomi, Kii Peninsula and had been drifting in the Pacific for 52 days when they were found and rescued by the US merchant ship "Auckland" near Japan's easternmost island in February the next year. A dozen of days later, the 17 crew members rescued were taken to the city of San Francisco. According to *Japan and the United States, 1853-1921* written by Payson Jackson Treat (1879-1972), the 17 people were the first Japanese to arrive in California.

Hikozo's fate was closely influenced by the Japan-U.S. relationship at that time and the development of the philosophy of "Sonno Joi" (尊王攘夷, respecting the Emperor and expelling foreigners) within Japan. In 1851, in order to set the scene for establishing diplomatic relations with Japan, the U.S. government asked Hikozo and the other Japanese to return to Japan. In May 1852, Hikozo left San Francisco and arrived in Hong Kong. He was planning to return to Japan on the ship of Matthew Perry, but learned while the ship called at Hong Kong for repairs that it was not the best time to return to Japan, so he went back to the U.S.

Towards the end of the bakufu period, the purpose of the U.S. overseas expansion was to explore trade routes and gateways to China and other East Asian countries, with Japan as a "staging post". Before the opening-up of Japan, the American fleet sailed from the east coast of the U.S., crossing the Atlantic, passing the Cape of Good Hope in Africa, and across the Indian Ocean to East Asia, then through Hong Kong to Japan. This route was so long and almost crossed the hemisphere that it took about four to six months. As a result, the U.S. began to explore the route from San Francisco on the west coast across the Pacific Ocean to countries in East Asia, stopping off the coast of Japan for fuel reserves and fresh water supply. For this route to work, the U.S. must make Japan stop secluding the country and open up.

The incident of the “Arrival of the Black Ships” shocked the Japanese. The *Treaty of Kanagawa* forced Japan to open the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate, where American ships could coal and get water and food supplies. Soon, the U.K., Russia, Holland, and other countries followed suit and signed similar treaties with the Japanese government. In consequence, the shogunate’s image in the eyes of the Japanese people was damaged.

After returning to San Francisco, Hikozo worked as a hotel clerk and ran into Mr. B. C. Sanders, Collector of Customs of the U.S., who did not have any child of his own and adopted Hikozo and took him to live in Washington and New York. In 1853, a California Senator William Gwin (1805-1885) invited Hikozo to Washington to work as his secretary. In Washington, Hikozo was introduced to meet Franklin Pierce (1804-1869), the 14th President of the U.S., being the first Japanese to meet a U.S. President. In 1854, Hikozo was baptized a Christian with the name of “Joseph Heco”, and received a democratic education in the United States. Heco had a chance to meet James Buchanan (1791-1868), the 15th President of the U.S., in 1857. By this time, the American gunboats had already opened the gate of Japan, and Heco had become the interpreter for Townsend Harris, the first U.S. consul to Japan, but he was not given much favor, and his homesickness grew stronger. In 1858, the *Treaty of Amity and Commerce* was signed between Japan and the U.S., the first treaty on free trade and commerce, opening the ports of Kanagawa, Nagasaki, Niigata, and Hyogo. Japan issued the first seclusion order in 1633: Any stowaway would be executed, and the ship with stowaways as well as the ship owner would also be detained. In 1635, a third seclusion order was issued: All Japanese abroad were forbidden to return to the country. As a consequence of this, foreign born Christians in the U.S. were not allowed to go to Japan. Heco became the first Japanese to be naturalized as a U.S. citizen in 1858. The U.S. social system and its advanced infrastructure such as trains, telecommunications, and gas were an eye-opener for Heco and made him determined to apply what he had learned to the modernization of Japan.

The shogunate was shocked to learn that the army of Qing Dynasty was defeated by the Anglo-French Allied Forces in the Second Opium War, and that the Qing Court was forced to sign a series of unequal treaties with Western powers. The shogunate came under increasing pressure from the West to open the country. Townsend Harris forced Ii Naosuke (1815-1860), the Tairo (Japanese feudal lord), to open trade and sign the *Treaty of Amity and Commerce* without the Emperor’s permission. The shogunate then concluded almost identical treaties with countries such as Canada, Russia, Britain, and France. Objectively speaking, the treaties signed by the shogunate and Western countries accelerated the process of Japan’s opening and its formal trade with foreign countries. However, the shogunate’s policy of opening the country to foreign countries was severely criticized by all circles in Japan, which greatly undermined the authority of the shogunate. The opening of Japan caused chaos in the country, and Japanese people lived in hardship, thus arousing their resistance. It was generally believed in Japan then that the social disorder was caused by the trade with foreign countries and that foreigners should be expelled.

In 1859, Heco was appointed as the interpreter of Kanagawa prefecture’s consulate by Harris, the U.S. consul to Japan. He arrived in Nagasaki and entered the port from Kanagawa. After eight years since 1851, he finally returned home. In 1860, Heco resigned from the job at the consulate to open a trading house.

It was the climax of the “Ansei no Taigoku” (安政の大獄, 1858-1860, suppression of extremists by the shogunate) in Japan. Ii Naosuke killed more than one hundred officials, nobles, and Daimyo who were opposed to opening the country to the outside. As a result, the forces opposing the dictatorship of the shogunate expanded rapidly. The idea of “respecting the Emperor” which centered on uniting the country headed by the emperor, and the idea of “expelling foreigners” both spread widely. Foreigners and foreign-related Japanese

became the targets of attacks by extremists. Later, the *Kobu Gattai* (公武合体, alliance between the imperial court and the shogunate) further provoked people who supported “respecting the Emperor and expelling foreigners”. Feeling a life-threat in Japan, Heco was made to return to the U.S. in 1861.

Heco had met three different U.S. presidents, President Franklin Pierce (1804-1869) in 1853, President James Buchanan (1791-1868) in 1857, and President Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) in 1862. By meeting the presidents, Heco came into contact with the democratic political institutions of the U.S., which laid the foundation for his later proposals for the formation of the political institutions of Japan.

In order to go back to Japan again, Heco paid a visit to the Secretary of State William Henry Seward (1801-1872). Seward took the opportunity to introduce Heco to the 16th U.S. President, Abraham Lincoln. The knowledge that a U.S. naval officer was Japanese with an American name of Joseph Heco aroused President Lincoln’s interest in Heco and Japan. In March 1862, President Lincoln received Heco at the White House, a year before he delivered the Gettysburg Address. Heco was the only Japanese to have met Lincoln. He wrote in his diary,

the President walked towards us and we rose from our seats ... The President stretched out a huge hand, saying he was glad to meet one coming from such a far-off place as Japan ... he made a great many inquiries about the position and affairs in our country. (Heco, 1895, p. 301)

After the assassination of President Lincoln in April 1865, Heco sent a letter to Seward expressing his deep condolences. In 1862, Heco returned to Yokohama, Japan, where he once again worked as a consular interpreter.

Heco died of a heart attack at the age of 60 at his home in Tokyo in 1897, with no children. He hoped to be naturalized back as a Japanese after his death, but as there was no legal basis for this back then, Heco was eventually buried in the foreign section of the cemetery in Aoyama with characters of “浄世夫彦之墓”, meaning “the tomb of Joseph Hiko”. Next to the main entrance of the Harima Civic Centre was a bronze statue of Heco inscribed with Japanese words meaning “father of journalism”. Heco was the author of the books *Record of a Castaway* (漂流記, 1863) which was about his experience in the U.S., and *The Narrative of a Japanese: What He Has Seen and the People He Has Met in the Course of the Last Forty Years* (edited by James Murdoch, 1895), an autobiography. In 1932, *アメリカ彦蔵自叙伝: 開国逸史* translated by Hijikata Hisaakira and Fujishima was published; in June 1964, the Japanese version *アメリカ彦蔵自伝 (全2巻)* translated by Nakagawa Tsutomu was published by Heibonsha (平凡社).

### **The Founding of *Kaigai Shimbun* and the Introduction of Western Journalistic Ideas Into Japan**

The newspaper *Kaigai Shimbun*, founded and operated by Joseph Heco, was the first of its kind in Japan. In 1863, Heco quit his job as an interpreter at the consulate and set up businesses in the foreign settlements of Kobe and Nagasaki, intending to stay in Japan for the long term. On November 19 the same year, in honor of the soldiers who died in the Battle of Gettysburg, President Lincoln delivered the Gettysburg Address, proposing the idea that “all men are created equal”. President Lincoln’s view that “a government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth” was published in the *New York Times* and quickly spread to Japan. As an avid reader of newspapers, Heco felt strongly about the power of cheap newspapers in American people’s life.

When Heco returned to Japan for the third time, the domestic situation had changed. While the shogunate had signed treaties with the U.S., Britain, Russia, and other countries one after another, the public opinion in Japan was still against foreigners. The shogunate, in order to maintain its rule, could not engage in armed conflict with foreigners. In order to unify the thoughts of people, the shogunate used newspapers as a tool for political propaganda. “Yosho Shirabesho” selectively translated foreign newspapers and periodicals, and guided foreign trade and exchanges. The official newspapers at that time had an influence among the upper and middle-class and intellectuals, but the masses of the lower class were still in a closed and ignorant state. Both the early official newspapers and the newspapers founded by foreigners in Japan were translating and reprinting foreign newspapers, being like “imported goods” (Ning, 1981, p. 8). The newspapers were influenced by European and American newspapers, focusing on foreign news, with very little domestic news.

As a Japanese American to first publish a Japanese newspaper, Heco was well versed in the English language and the U.S. culture. The purpose of founding a Japanese newspaper as a foreigner was to introduce Western civilization to the Japanese. He believed that people had a right to know, but the shogunate kept the information to itself, strictly monitored the common people, and banned news covering activities. Heco was even regarded by people who supported “respecting the Emperor” as a “ronin” and a dangerous person who introduced the U.S. culture. In 1863, the Choshu domain shelled foreign vessels and closed the strait. In 1864, Britain, France, the U.S., and Canada formed a joint fleet to attack and occupy the Choshu fort. This event reflected the hatred the Japanese bore towards the U.S. and other Western countries. Heco, in spite of the life threat, still held on to a strong belief that he could touch the people by telling them the truth in the right way, and decided to start a modern newspaper in his native country.

#### **Founding *Kaigai Shimbun* With Collaborators**

As Heco left Japan at the age of 14 to live and study in the U.S., he was not able to read or write Japanese, which became a big problem in the preparation and operation of newspapers. Heco needed help from others to run the newspaper. Kishida Ginko (1833-1905) was fluent in Chinese and English. He first worked as a journalist, then became an entrepreneur, and served as a spy for Japan (Fang, 2014). The Lok Sin Tong Pharmacy (乐善堂药店) he operated in China provided important intelligence for Japan to invade China. In 1863, Kishida Ginko studied English with James Curtis Hepburn (1815-1911), a U.S. missionary and linguist, and helped compile the *Japanese-English Dictionary* (和英辞典). Heco often paid visits to Hepburn when he was compiling the dictionary, thus soon developing a deep friendship with Kishida Ginko. Honma Kiyoo (1843-1923) came to Yokohama to study English. When Heco asked the owner of the laundry he often went to for help with looking for a note-taker who could write and record the news, the owner knew Kiyowho was looking for an opportunity to go abroad, and recommended Kiyoo to be hired as a reporter for the newspaper. Later, Kiyoo became a diplomat in the Meiji period.

The dialogue among Heco, Ginko, and Kiyoo preparing to run a newspaper was recorded in “新聞事始め” by Sugiura (杉浦). One day, Heco suggested, “how about the three of us publish a newspaper together?” Ginko certainly wanted to start a newspaper, and young Kiyoo also agreed, “trade will prosper in the future, and we can’t do business well without knowing prices and the political situation. Running a newspaper must be good for society” (Inoue, 2019, p. 59).

Although Heco could not write Japanese, he was able to verbally communicate in Japanese. As a result, after discussion and Heco’s dictation, Ginko composed the writing style, and Kiyoo wrote down the news.

In 1864, Heco, together with Kishida and Kiyo, founded the first Japanese-language non-official newspaper *Shimbunshi* (新聞誌), which was block-printed, originally in the form of hand-written messages, published every 10 days with Japanese-style binding. One issue contained four to six pieces of news. The site of publishing was near Heco's residence, 141 Yokohama Foreign Settlement (where there is a monument now). In 1865, the name of the newspaper was changed to *Kaigai Shimbun* (海外新聞). The newspaper printed about one hundred copies per issue. There were only two regular subscribers (Inaba & Arai, 1985, pp. 4-25). The fee was 500 mon per year, and 1 lyo and 2 fun was paid in advance. This price was far from enough (Inoue, 2019, p. 63). In fact, many newspapers were given away for free. In 1866, the newspaper was closed because of the small circulation, with a total of 26 issues. The cover of *Kaigai Shimbun* was a bird-view picture of the junks at the Yokohama port and the Fuji Mountain. The existing copies of *Kaigai Shimbun* include Issues No. 1 which was translated from the newspaper brought to the port by the English ship in 1865 to No. 24 brought to the port the next year.

There are disputes about the record of the name of *Kaigai Shimbun*. Heco, in his autobiography, called the newspaper he founded *Kaigai Shimbun*, and Ginko told the journalist Nakamura Haruki that it was called “新聞紙” rather than “新聞誌”. Both of them said it was first issued in 1864. In September of the 19th year of Meiji, the book department of the General Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Japan published a catalogue for newspapers and magazines (図書課目録新聞雜誌部), which clearly stated *Kaigai Shimbun* was formerly named “新聞誌”.

### Orientation and Characteristics of Trans-editing

**Integrated overseas information and social news.** It was stated in Issue No. 2 of *Kaigai Shimbun* that the newspaper was edited in a way that even children could understand. The newspaper translated into Japanese the English newspapers the British ships brought to the port of Yokohama twice a month, and reprinted the political and economic news of Britain and the U.S., providing more information than official newspapers (Yamamoto, 2007, p. 7). In each issue, the exact date of the arrival of the mail ship was recorded. For example, at the beginning of the first issue were these words, “on March 13, the second year of Genji, the British ‘courier ship’ (飛脚船, a regular sea-going vessel carrying postal mails, cargos, and passengers) arrived at the port and we got the latest newspapers”. The central section of *Kaigai Shimbun* covered politics, diplomacy, trade, and events in Britain, the U.S., and other countries, particularly the America Civil War, and closely followed the assassination of President Lincoln.

The sections were clearly divided by country, the U.S., Britain, France, Spain, Italy, and Holland. For example:

[Warfare] Item No. 6 (May 26, the first year of Keio, arrived by ship mail)

The U.S.: April 6, the South defeated the North in the Civil War. About 50,000 soldiers including 5 generals and 14 artillery pieces were captured.

[Diplomacy] Item No. 3 (April 12, the second year of Genji, arrived by ship mail)

Spain: March 2, Moses Robles (摩西罗伯斯) said that the Edo Hyojosho (評定所, the highest judicial body in the Edo period, i.e., the supreme court) and Peru had begun discussing the conclusion of a treaty and the submission of written documents.

[Politics] Item No. 1

Prussia: The people of Prussia suffer from heavy taxation, as seen from the trials of the judicial officials.



[Social events] Item No. 26 (September 28, the second year of Keio, arrived by ship mail)

Britain: A steam boiler exploded on a ship of an oil refinery at the Clock Tower. Two people died on the spot, and a total of 30 people were injured (some careless person in charge was said to be responsible for this because the boiler was left boiling dry).

**Attention to business information and advertising.** *Kaigai Shimbun* had published a number of news about the changes of raw silk price in China, Japan, and Western countries. Statistics showed that all the 26 issues of *Kaigai Shimbun* had reported on the raw silk price, except for three issues (No. 2, 13, and 24). Among them, No. 3, 5, 6, 8, 11, 15, 16, 17, 19, 23, and 26 reported on the raw silk price in China. At that time, Japan had a dramatic increase in its raw silk export because of the prevalence of the silkworm disease in France, the main producer of silk in Europe, in the 1850s and 1860s, while high-end silk merchants were looking for cheaper raw materials. Thus the demand for raw silk production rose in Asia. As a result of the Opium War and the Taiping Rebellion, the quality of Chinese raw silk declined while the quality of the goods exported overseas remained well, news item No. 5 on the raw silk price read, “the price of high-quality raw silk in China has been persistently high. So is the price of raw silk in Japan” (Inoue, 2019, p. 69).

*Kaigai Shimbun* valued the authenticity of news, and also timeliness and advertising. The newspaper advertised the trade and overseas markets of foreigners staying in Japan, which was of great interest to the local people of Yokohama and the foreign merchants staying there. Issue No. 2 stated “the newspaper can accept and translate the hikifuda (引き札, advertisements for the opening of a store or for sales and promotion) from foreigners living in Yokohama”. Issue No. 18 opened a hikifuda section for placing advertisements. The pioneering practice of advertising in *Kaigai Shimbun* was of great significance to the development of Japanese newspapers at its early stage and later. In 1875, Kishida Ginko put advertisements in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* six days in a row for Japan’s first Western-style eye medicine “Seikisui” (精錡水).

**Domesticating translation of proper nouns.** *Kaigai Shimbun* translated the names of political organizations and official positions in Western countries all with Japanese ideas. The “parliament” was translated as “評定所” (the assessment office), the “prime minister” as “大老” (Tairo, the great elder), the “minister of state” as “時務宰相” (Jimu Saisho, prime minister of affairs), and the “governor” and other local officials as “大名” (daimyo). This way of domesticating translation was intended to facilitate the newspaper reading of the Japanese. This could be a suggestion by Ginko (Inoue, 2019, p. 66). In Issue No. 16 (November 21, 1865, the first year of Keio), there appeared two translations of “America”, one as “米利堅” and the other “アメリカ”.

The news in *Kaigai Shimbun* was written in hiragana (平仮名), katakana (片仮名), and kanji (漢字). In modern Japanese, the sentence “英の11月10日の新聞紙ニ(に)記載せしニハ(には)此国の大老……” was not written correctly. The katakana “ニ” as an auxiliary word to indicate time or place should be written as “に”, and the katakana “ハ” should be written as the hiragana “は”.

### **Introduction of the Western Journalism Concept by *Kaigai Shimbun***

After Heco arrived in the U.S., everything there was quite different from what he had known before. In his autobiography, he described the foreigners he saw, their eating habits, and the way they lived. The Americans also told Heco and the other Japanese with him about their country and about China across the sea from Japan. In the eighth chapter of Volume I of Heco’s autobiography, he wrote:

The next country he pointed to was a small spot; he said “Japan,” and “Jeddo,” and pointed at us. This we did not understand exactly, but supposed that he meant this to be our country, although the name he used was wrong, for we never

knew our country by such a name, and the spot on the chart seemed altogether too small for Dai Nippon (since we were told and taught to believe that our country was large). He then pointed out a large tract of land, West of “Japan,” and pronounced the name “China.” We did not understand what country he meant, because we never had heard of such a place as “China,” for amongst our common people, and in fact amongst all Japanese, the names by which we called China were “Kara,” “Nanking,” or “Tō-goku.” (*The Narrative of a Japanese*, 1895, Vol. I, Chapter VIII, p. 66)

In the sixth chapter of his autobiography, Heco described the different scenes between the U.S. and Japan:

In about 10 or 15 minutes we had landed and walked up to the town. Here for the first time I saw what a foreign city was like. The streets were broad and paved with stones and tiles, with side-walks for foot passengers, and the centre of the way for horses and wheeled traffic. The houses were much larger than in our own country, some of them two or three storeys high, built of brick and stone, and though some of them were of wood, still even they were large and spacious. There were numerous shops of all kinds, with goods displayed in large glass windows, hotels, restaurants, drinking places, horses, carts and carriages. And all the people looked busy and the place seemed lively and prosperous. And in fact it appeared to me much like the City of Yedo with the exception of the carts which were here drawn by horses instead of by men or cows and bullocks as they are in our country. (*The Narrative of a Japanese*, 1895, Vol. I, Chapter IX, p. 89)

In the fourth chapter of Volume II of Heco’s autobiography, he mentioned the background of founding *Kaigai Shimbun*. The Shogun returned from Kyoto, and the control over newspapers was loosened, so Heco had the chance to publish a newspaper:

June 28th. The Yedo public are keeping high holiday in celebration of the Shogun’s safe return (by water) from Kioto. In the course of this month I began the publication of the *Kaigai Shimbun*, a Japanese newspaper printed with wooden type and containing a summary of foreign news. This was the first newspaper ever printed and published in the Japanese language. It continued to be issued from this date until I left for Nagasaki—a period of about two years. (*The Narrative of a Japanese*, 1895, Vol. II, Chapter IV, p. 53)

*Kaigai Shimbun* laid the foundation for non-official Japanese newspapers, and the newspapers published later all took *Kaigai Shimbun* as an example. The newspapers and periodicals published before the Meiji Restoration were the germ of Japanese newspapers, which prepared the necessary human resources, experiences, and equipment for modern Japanese newspapers. In 1868, Kishida Ginko founded a brochure-style newspaper, *Yokohama Shinpo Zuihitsu* (横浜新報随筆, 新報随筆 for short), to introduce domestic and international situations with popular and easy-to-understand news reports. The articles were clear and plain, aiming to serve the common people (Honda, 2004, p. 285), trying to make the news understandable to every reader, which was in line with *Kaigai Shimbun*’s idea that “even children could understand”.

Starting with *Kaigai Shimbun*, many newspapers were oriented to introduce the social conditions in European and American countries. With the assistance of English-speaking Japanese, modern newspapers and periodicals were published one after another, such as *Bankoku Shimbunshi* (万国新聞紙, *The International Newspaper*, first published in 1867), *Kakkoku Shimbunshi* (各国新聞紙, *The World Newspaper*), and *Yokohama Shinpo* (横浜新報, first published in 1868), *Kanban Kaigai Shimbun* (官板海外新聞, *The Official Overseas News*, first published in 1870), and *Nisshin Shinjishi* (日新真事誌, first published in 1872). *The Overseas News* published by the Translation Bureau in 1873 and *The Overseas News* published by the non-governmental organization Tokyo Hiroyoshi Housein 1876 were well-known newspapers in Japan at that time. In 1870, the first Japanese daily newspaper *Yokohama Mainichi* was founded and published in Yokohama, printed on foreign paper in type. The newspaper was gradually regarded by the Japanese as a fashionable thing from the Western civilization and became popular (Ning, 1981, pp. 9-11), and the social position of the newspaperman was greatly improved.

Before the Meiji Restoration, it was very difficult for Heco to run a newspaper because the idea of “respecting the Emperor and expelling foreigners” prevailed in Japan. At that time *Kaigai Shimbun* did not have a wide readership, and the circulation was far from Heco’s expectation. As the newspaper was published at Heco’s residence, the foreign settlements, it was naturally rejected by Japanese people. For more than two centuries of Japan’s isolation, the shogunate, in order to maintain the unity of the country, had been shaping the image of foreigners as barbarians through diplomacy, foreign trade, and international communication, thus many Japanese were hostile to foreigners and even Japanese associated with foreigners, treating them as invaders. In the early years of Japan’s opening up to the outside world, some foreigners were assassinated, because the conservative class of Japanese society had a strong ideology of expelling the “uninvited guests” (foreigners residing in Japan). Although the intellectual ability or professional interests of a small number of Japanese drove them to read foreign newspapers, ordinary people were reluctant to communicate with foreigners, let alone read foreign newspapers. Like other foreign-language newspapers founded by foreigners, *Kaigai Shimbun* had a small circulation, and changes of the overseas situation were an important reason. From the time when the shogunate was forced to open the country to the Meiji Restoration period, the pressure from Western powers and the defeats of the Qing Dynasty in the two opium wars greatly influenced Japanese people’s way of thinking, and most of them were hostile to foreigners.

### **Heco’s Spreading Western Culture to the East and the Origin of Japanese Journalism**

At the end of the shogunate era when the idea of “rejecting foreigners” prevailed, the overseas news, free thoughts, local conditions and customs of European and American countries published by Heco in *Kaigai Shimbun* conveyed facts of the world and changes of the times, exerting positive influence on Japanese people with the ambition to open the country, and contributing to the civilization and modernization of Japanese society. Heco’s newspaper activities were not profit-seeking and broadened the horizons of Japanese people at the end of the shogunate era.

After Heco stopped running newspapers, he moved to Nagasaki in 1866 and made contributions to the Japanese government’s response to the rapidly changing international environment, foreign trade, and foreign affairs. In the economic aspect, Heco was devoted to the establishment and development of Japanese industry. Based in Kobe and Nagasaki, the centers of foreign trade and international negotiations, Heco was engaged in coal mining in Takashima, building Kobe export trade port and supporting an electric light company. In 1869, Heco took part in the building of the Osaka Mint. In 1872, he entered the Ministry of Finance and under the leadership of Shibusawa Eiichi compiled the national banking regulations involving the export of tea and the operation of milled rice companies, making every effort for the modernization of the newly-born Japan.

Heco’s overseas life experience had a great influence on Japanese politicians and their policies during the Meiji period. In 1867, the samurai and politician Kido Takayoshi (1833-1877) who was one of the three giants of the Meiji Restoration who led the movement to overthrow the shogunate, and his follower Ito Hirobumi (1841-1909), a politician and one of the nine genro of the Meiji period, paid a visit to Heco in Nagasaki to ask about the history, culture, state system, and political development of the U.S. and Britain, and learned about the democratic political institutions Heco directly heard from President Lincoln.

Nakagawa Tsutomu, the Japanese translator of Heco’s English autobiography, wrote in an article “幕末の漂流者濱田彦蔵の自伝を読んで”: When I studied at the University of Tokyo, my teacher Ono Hideo once said Heco was the first publisher of the Japanese newspaper. Ono Hideo (1885-1977) was the founder of

modern journalism research and education in Japan, and was the author of *The History of the Development of Japanese Journalism* (日本新聞発達史), *The Origin of Journalism* (新聞原論), and *The History of Japanese Journalism* (日本新聞史). Chikamori Haruyoshi, a Japanese historian and the author of *Joseph Heco* (ジヨセフ = ヒコ) and *People in the History of Japanese Journalism* (人物日本新聞史), called Heco “the father of Japanese journalism” (Chikamori, 1963, p. 2). *Kaigai Shimbun* was a milestone in the history of Japanese journalism.

Before he started the newspaper, Heco had a strong belief that in the world situation at that time, one must know what was going on in the world, so newspapers were indispensable. The newspaper was intended to promote the civilization and enlightenment of Japan, and opened the door for Japanese people to the new knowledge from Europe and America before the Meiji Restoration. After the Restoration in 1868, the Japanese government realized that newspapers could help to promote the civilization and enlightenment policy. The government document to the newspaperman in 1871 showed the government’s position on newspapers: Newspapers should aim at enlightening people; for that purpose, newspapers must break down the stubborn and narrow-minded way of thinking, and act as the pioneer of civilization (Uchikawa & Arai, 1986). Japanese people began to enjoy reading newspapers, as the popular folk song went: We rely on newspapers to promote enlightenment; reading newspapers is the shortcut; we should abandon all the bad habits, and continue to be enlightened every day (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, April 21, 1876).

By reviewing Joseph Heco’s experience in running a newspaper, tracing back to the origin of the Japanese journalism, it can be pointed out that newspapers have played an important role in the modernization of Japan by enlightening people’s mind and conveying official policies. Joseph Heco’s life experience in the U.S. for a long time enabled him to be familiar with the political system, foreign trade policies, and ways of journalism and communication of Western countries. Through the newspaper running activities, Heco took the lead in spreading Western culture and enlightening Japanese people.

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