

A CRITIQUE OF NEWSPAPER HISTORY

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ABOUT TWO YEARS AGO I became unhappy with the structure of some recent newspaper histories I had been reading. They seemed neither to fully explain the significance of newspaper growth and the technology that made it possible, nor why and how the growth of each publication was different. Most historians seemed to concentrate on demography, politics and the editorial attitudes of a newspaper in forming public opinion.¹ In these writings, characteristically the yardstick of a newspaper's 'success' or 'failure' was circulation, but even these figures were interpreted in dissimilar ways, usually reflecting the author's original background training. On the one hand a large circulation, like that of the Melbourne *Sun* (since changed to the *Herald Sun*), was seen as proof of 'success' because it is large, but on the other hand the smaller circulation of the *Age* was also claimed as a 'success' because the *Age* had more influence as a 'quality' publication.

Both opinions, on the face of it, may be tenable as historical statements. But in this study it will be argued that these writings are not only misleading as newspaper history, but also that they are incomplete as an account of the people involved in the whole of the newspaper industry.

The first major historical problem is to present an appropriate definition of newspaper growth. After looking at comparative circulation figures and the number of mastheads, both of which have fallen over the last few years, there have been suggestions that newspapers in Australia are 'declining' in comparison to other media. Yet, according to Dr Tony Wilkins, the manager of News Ltd., Environmental Secretariat,² newsprint consumption in Australia has risen from about 350,000 tonnes in 1964 to 625,000 tonnes in 1990.

Circulation alone is therefore not an accurate description of growth in the newspaper industry; it is only one of the factors involved. The number of pages within most newspaper editions has also increased over the years. This growth in edition size is the factor that is least remarked upon by historians, even though it is readily apparent from the most cursory glance at a selection of the bound newspaper files held by libraries and publishers.

To print more newspapers means either longer or faster running of a single pressline, or an increase in the number of presslines and press and publishing room staff. But to print more pages in each edition means an increase in every department of the newspaper enterprise, it almost always means extra staff, machinery and even land. It also offers a potential for more, perhaps a greater variety of reading matter for the buyer. But, how these increasingly large paging newspapers were produced is very rarely addressed. Thus conclusions drawn by historians from circulation figures alone are unsound, not only as an explanation of newspaper growth itself, but also both in their assessment of the emphasis

owners placed upon technology and in their understanding of the effect it had upon their businesses. Some of the sociological, class and political assumptions made by historians on buying and readership surveys of newspapers based only on circulation may well be erroneous. Some historians, by simply not understanding the minimum requirements of the subject, may have written some very poor history.

Ernest Hynds, a formidable writer about American newspapers,³ speaks of growth on the *New York Times* under Adolph Ochs in the following manner: 'Daily circulation rose from about 9,000 when he took it over [in 1896] to roughly 330,000 in 1921. The growth brought considerable revenue . . .'⁴ Henry Mayer, in his book *The Press in Australia*, showed a table of circulation figures ranging over twenty years.⁵ One would suppose, even though Mayer's book is mainly a study of class politics in the press, that the table of figures quoted was to show newspaper growth, since it and other tables are mentioned in that context. But if Hynds and Mayer thought that the figures they presented showed the historical basis of newspaper growth then the picture they showed was incomplete, misleading and significantly understated. It is of great significance that, in spite of the title, Mayer's book does not mention printing presslines at all.

But then neither does R.B. Walker,⁶ who, writing in the same vein after heading a chapter 'Printers, Journalists, Readers', does not discuss printers except to say that they were admitted to the compositors' trade union in the early 1900s. Simon Jenkins, an English journalist-turned-historian, who as an ex-editor of the London *Evening Standard* should really know better, on the one hand claims that 'most British newspapers since the war [WWII] have been in a slowly declining market',⁷ but on the other writes of 'the tremendous expansion of newspaper paging in the last twenty years'.⁸

To take in detail another example of this shortcoming; when writing about David Syme, no explanation is given by C.E. Sayers of the comment that Syme, then sole proprietor of the *Age*, had purchased 'a sextuple Hoe' capable of 72,000 copies per hour,⁹ installed in 1899 and one of a printing strength of five machines.¹⁰ At the time the circulation of the *Age* was given as '120,000 copies a day'.¹¹

Why, one is tempted to ask, would five machines be needed when the new Hoe machine could ostensibly do the job in one hour and forty minutes? That Sayers did not ask that question is as significant as not asking the other obvious question of how many pages there were in each copy, any increase in which would have at least involved the productive capacity of the typesetting battery. And although Sayers does not comment one would suppose that David Syme would have been personally concerned with such a large purchase, which also involved a major enlargement of the *Age* printing site over newly acquired property in central Melbourne.¹²

A sextuple Hoe — and it is questionable if it was such a machine¹³ — or to give it its full name, a Hoe Six-cylinder Type Revolving Printing Machine,¹⁴ printed one side of a sheet of paper at a time. There were six hand feeding stations, so that a single revolution of the very large printing cylinder produced six copies of two or four broadsheet pages printed on one side of a sheet. The sheet was fed through again, after a change of type, for the reverse side to be printed. The central type-carrying cylinder, which had to have a diameter of around two metres so that type could be mounted directly upon it, would have reached a peripheral speed of 76 kilometres an hour to achieve the figure of 72,000 impressions an hour.¹⁵

David Syme & Co., 'The Age' Office Melbourne, signed a contract with R. Hoe & Co., Mansfield St., London, in 1888 for a press. It was one of their latest improved printing and folding machines, known as 'The Inserting' or 'Supplement' Patented Stereotype Perfecting Printing Machine. Maximum 'working speed' was '48,000 folded copies per hour'; at this speed the number of pages produced was 4 broadsheet. If editions of larger paging numbers were needed the production speed dropped to '24,000 for 8 page and 12,000 for 16 page, folded copies per hour'. The price was Stg £6,500 delivered and installed.¹⁶ It would seem from this contract that owners did have a vital understanding of the technical side of the business.

Perhaps all newspaper historians should first read the early history of the world's first modern newspaper, *The Times*.¹⁷ This newspaper was first published by James Walter in 1788. His son, James Walter II, installed the first steam-powered flat-bed sheet-fed press in 1814, with a speed of 1,100 sheets an hour, later improved to 2,000. Circulation rose to 7,000, and, on the days when enough advertising was available, paging rose to 8 pages. Further circulation pressure produced a four-cylinder flat-bed machine that could take four sheets at once; this gave an output speed of 4,000 sheets an hour.¹⁸

In 1848 a new eight-cylinder rotary machine was installed. It produced 8,000 sheets an hour, although it still printed only one side of the sheet at a time. This press was the first of its kind anywhere. By this time, circulation of *The Times* was three times that of its nearest competitor, and paging had reached 24 broadsheet. These presses were built by the engineers Applegarth and Cowper expressly for and at the instigation of John Walter II. His son, John Walter III, who took over as owner of *The Times* in 1847, first looked for a way to improve the method of attaching type to the central cylinder of this press. The type had a curved base, called 'turtled', and was mechanically attached to the press cylinder in curved chases.

Curved stereotyping, the production of curved printing plates each an exact replica in metal of an area of type, was invented at *The Times* office in 1857. After the invention of this stereotyping method, James Walter III and his engineers designed the machine known as the Walter press of 1866. This was the first rotary perfecting press that printed both sides of the sheet consecutively

from a roll of paper. It delivered sheets cut off but not folded at 12,000 copies an hour. The combination of this press and stereotyping and increasing paging made possible the economical use of multiple press-lines. Type matter had to be set only once to be speedily available as stereotypes to any number of presses.

Whereas for more than 250 years after its invention printing had changed little, in the years 1812-1866 the owners of *The Times*, John Walter II and his son John Walter III, 'had sponsored inventions that increased by at least 50,000 per cent the efficiency of the printing press'.¹⁹

The activities of News Ltd. during this latter part of this present century, in Australia and around the world, have at least one similarity with those of the Walters. They attest that to gain an understanding of the technology of newspaper production is an obsession of all successful newspaper owners and managers.

The rewards of such knowledge were and still are great: in the early 1900s Lord Northcliffe reduced production costs on the Daily Mail by 30 per cent by using French- and American-designed equipment.²⁰ If further confirmation of the owners' and senior management's concern about presslines was necessary an example can be provided by the history of the Goss newspaper press company.²¹ This company, in making presses, has formed close relationships with newspaper owners such as James Gordon Bennet of the *New York Times* in 1895,²² D.C. Thomson, 'who ran a large group of metropolitan and suburban newspapers in Scotland',²³ Lord Northcliffe, R.R. McCormick of the *Chicago-Tribune*,²⁴ Joe Patterson of the *New York Daily News*²⁵ and currently Rupert Murdoch of News Ltd.²⁶ The highest corporate level of the industry has always been keenly interested in presslines and related technology.

In a purely practical sense it is obvious that the principal of a company would be concerned with its largest purchases, when control of production costs made the difference between profit and bankruptcy. It is remarkable that few writers about newspapers have noted this fact.²⁷

Another of the basic realities usually ignored by most writers about newspapers is that editions of the majority of daily newspapers generally vary from day to day, in both page totals and run length. It follows that the largest normal edition predicated the number of staff and the size of the plant.

R.B. Walker touches the subject, then misses it: 'The [Sydney] *Sun* swelled and shrank according to the exigencies of the commercial week. In August 1939 it began on Monday with 16 pages, grew daily until it reached 40 on Thursday, then dwindled away to a mere 16 on Friday and 10 on Saturday.'²⁸ Given the awards and that each working shift was the same length of time, how did they do it? Walker makes no mention of staff size or run length variation. Since the five- or six-day working week has been the norm from the beginning of the twentieth century, the dilemma for publishers has been to have enough people to handle the peaks of production, but not too many on the payroll to send the paper broke in the troughs.²⁹

There is a way to evaluate this problem by using both circulation and paging figures to give a growth factor. There are still traps. Page dimensions have become smaller, but so have gutters, margins and the sizes of typefaces; copy is now well packed into a page to save paper. But then the conventional straight circulation calculations have always ignored those changes as well.

The pages referred to in the following calculations are those usually typeset³⁰ and actually printed by the newspaper on its own presses. The conventional term is 'run of press', usually referred to as ROP. Pre-printed inserts, which also increase paging, are not included in these calculations, because they do not have an effect on press or typesetting capacity in a newspaper's production department.

To illustrate the previous argument, there follows a combined analysis of circulation, during the April to September semester, and paging, in the month of May, for a number of newspapers over 42 years.³¹

In 1948 the *Border Morning Mail*, a regional daily newspaper published at Albury since 1903, had a daily net paid circulation of 10,146; in 1990 the circulation was 27,383. This difference is easier to see in tabulated form:

Year	Circulation
1948 September semester	10,146
1990 September semester	27,383

Hynds', Jenkins' and Mayer's methodology for measuring this growth would give a growth rate multiplier of 2.7.³²

However, the number of tabloid pages (paging) also increased in May from 332 in 1948 to 1364 in 1990, a further growth multiplier of 4.1.

A combination of these two multipliers:

Year	Circulation	Paging
1948	10,146	332
1990	27,383	1,364
Growth Factor	2.7	4.1
		total 11.07

In other words, the total growth factor at the *Mail* was not the conventionally given 2.7 but really 11.07. Using this combined way of measuring growth and tabulating the figures in the same way, the *Sun*, Melbourne shows the following result:

Year	Circulation	Paging
1948	393,477	392
1990	556,130	2,352
Growth Factor	1.4	4.2
		total 5.9

The *Courier Mail* at Brisbane shows a similar pattern:

Year	Circulation	Paging
1948	170,000	170
1990	246,653	1,563
Growth Factor	1.45	9.2
		total 13.34

The *Age* at Melbourne shows a comparable tendency:

Year	Circulation	Paging		
1948	119,024	256		
1990	230,100	1,938		
	Growth Factor	1.93	7.57	total 14.6

A more thorough assessment of growth in newspaper production thus shows a massive increase in printing and typesetting capacities alone, far greater than the increase shown by plain circulation figures. There is then this latent history of newspaper growth that can be known only through a proper understanding of the subject.

In the instance of the *Mail*, in edition terms the largest newspaper in May 1948 had 32 pages, with a probable print run of 11,000 copies, and would have taken between seven and eight hours to run off. In May 1990 the largest paper of 104 pages, with a print run of 35,805, took two hours and 25 minutes to print. Put another way, between 1948 and 1990 it can be seen in the *Mail's* largest editions that typesetting and plate making capacity had more than tripled. In the pressroom paging capacity had increased seven times and running speed had increased at least six times.

Control of this increase in activity is reflected in the operating structure of a regional daily newspaper, which usually contains five major departments. These are literary or editorial, advertising, administration, production and circulation. As the newspaper grows these departments increase in size or complexity. Advertising, to a great extent, creates the opportunity for the paging increases mentioned above, although the demand for advertising is not the same every day.

Newspapers operate on a budgeted proportion of news copy to advertising copy, although there is usually a limit to the amount of news copy a literary department can handle in one day. Similarly there is usually a daily minimum number of news pages required by the reader which, if not supplied, will eventually result in lost circulation sales. This means that the ratio of space devoted to news and advertising will vary from day to day.

In financial terms advertising generates three or four times more revenue than circulation sales. Any increases in advertising revenues generate more work for the administration operation. The decisions that have to be made, whether to add more people or increase the complexity of machinery in the business office, are not unlike those necessary for the production department.

There is usually a small general management operation which may be seen as a part of administration, but conventionally it is separate from the accounting function. All of these divisions are interdependent in the sense that all must function efficiently and in their proper sequence for a newspaper to fill its immediate role, which is to be read by a reader as soon as possible after it has been printed. All these departments have a history too, and so do the great

supply houses and manufacturers, national and international, that cannot be separated from the mainstream of newspaper history.

Another important concept to be grasped, if newspaper history is to be understood, is that of a newspaper's prime circulation area (PCA). The PCA of a regional daily is best described as a geographical area the newspaper can dominate. It is subject to the physical limitations of distance, and time, from the point of printing. This PCA is also the centre of local news gathering and advertising sales activities as well as circulation.

There is a reciprocal geographical qualification to this notion of a regional PCA. It is that advertisers waste money by advertising in newspapers whose readers do not shop in the town that is the centre of the PCA. A regional newspaper's PCA is thus paradoxically narrowed by its readers' shopping habits.

The PCA for a metropolitan newspaper of fairly large circulation and paging, like the Melbourne *Sun* or *Age*, has to have not only the physical component of delivery, but also a demographic component. These demographic considerations are based mainly on age, earnings, education, marital status and family size. Advertisers draw from these statistics perceived information about the reader's disposable income, editors draw information about the reader's interests. Just as the editorial content of the *Age* is distinct from that of the *Sun*, the product advertising in the *Sun* is different from that in the *Age* — for example, grocery supermarkets in the *Sun*, and wine merchants in the *Age*.

It is possible to substantiate the statement that a regional daily's PCA is based on geography and not demography. There is not one supra-regional daily in Australia: they are all based on a single central focus.³³

The economic consequence of this geographical restriction is a constraint on circulation growth. And, since advertising rates are usually based on circulation, in a regional daily newspaper those rates are also determined by the same geographical limitation.

In the case of a daily paper with a PCA based mainly on demography, or class, an increase in circulation caused by subsidy or promotions³⁴ generally brings few extra sales to advertisers. Any attempt to raise advertising rates on circulations inflated by these methods is usually resisted, either by a refusal to pay the extra or by withdrawal of advertising because the new readers may not be 'in the class or category the advertisers want to reach'.³⁵

In two years following 1966 in Britain, *The Times* increased its circulation by 50 per cent through discounts to students, advertising promotion and better distribution. It lost money on every copy it sold because this extra circulation was not supported by new advertising revenue. The new readers were not those the advertisers wanted.³⁶

Since advertising income usually provides 60-80% of total revenue, it follows that extra circulation without advertising support will always run at a loss. A similar economic stricture applies to circulation revenue. If it costs more to

transport a newspaper to a point of sale than the sum of circulation and advertising revenue then increased circulation is not *sustainable* growth.³⁷

In a regional daily an awareness of the limitations posed by the PCA and a desire to embrace the whole of the readership's demographic structure leads to the idea of the 'one paper buy'. This concept seeks to provide a newspaper that contains enough news and advertising information so that the majority of its readers do not feel the need to buy another daily newspaper, but without sending the publisher into bankruptcy by over-servicing.

The second major historical shortcoming in newspaper history to be addressed is more difficult to position than that of growth, but it arises from it. There always seems to be an acknowledgement that there was a change in literacy, in England and Australia, caused by the Education Acts of the middle to late nineteenth century and that this somehow 'caused' the popular press. Mayer disagrees, but does not wholly reject that hypothesis.³⁸

He quite properly points out that price and availability of newspapers had much to do with the advent of 'mass circulations', although he does not use that particular phrase. During this period there was a change in the price of newsprint due to a change in the base material. In the USA the price of rag-based paper was US\$440 per ton in the 1860s, but the price of wood-based newsprint had fallen to US\$42 per ton by 1899.³⁹

Geoffrey Barraclough⁴⁰ recognised that mass democracy evolved with the growth of the first mass technological society⁴¹ and, further, that society developed in the way it has because of mass technology.⁴²

However, there seems to be little recognition by newspaper historians, of either the social or the economic genre, that the literacy levels and the content expectations of newspaper readers have changed since the early twentieth century. Thus, the growth in paging and the requisite technology to both garner and print and distribute the ever expanding data base of news information has gone comparatively unremarked.

The third major historical issue to be addressed in this work is that of circulation itself. Listing the average daily numbers of papers sold on a semester basis, and citing that number as an indication of either the industry's, or an individual newspaper's, growth (or contraction), as though buyer acceptance was the only reason, is too simplistic. There may be other reasons — for example the year-long industrial dispute at London that affected the circulations of *The Times* and the *Sunday Times* in 1978. It should be remembered that through industrial action alone Fleet Street publishers lost over 100 million daily and 25 million Sunday papers in 1977.⁴³

Newspaper distribution in Australia, during the twentieth century, has generally been through the 'tied newsagency system'. Since the early 1980s the Trade Practices Commission has been reviewing these arrangements between publishers and newsagents, on the grounds that such monopoly arrangements are contrary to the public interest.

One facet of this issue related to growth and not usually addressed by historians is that of returns. Returns are unsold newspapers sent back to the publisher for a credit. In France the press as a whole, through a different distribution system, has an average return rate of 30%;⁴⁴ the *Mail*, through the tied newsagency system, had a returns rate of 5.65% over the 3 years 1987-90, a not uncommon rate within the industry. If there is a breakdown of the present distribution system and the return rate rises throughout Australia, this increase will cause a significant and deleterious environmental impact through increased and wasteful demands on paper.

There are claims that the newsagency system has stifled growth in the industry, although that depends of course on how growth is measured. In the circulation area of a regional morning daily newspaper the retail sale of the newspaper is made in two major ways, the first by home delivery, the other by sale across the counter.

Home delivery has always been thought of as the most desirable method of sale, and most newspapers have to be taken six days a week. PCA home delivery must be completed before 7a.m. under most agency agreements, perhaps earlier for some of the metropolitan newspapers. Time analysis shows that delivery to the agent has to be made two or three hours before 7a.m., even earlier for very large newsagencies.⁴⁵ If one adds to that time the interval between printing the paper and conveying it to the newsagent, then the press start deadline can be forecast.

For home delivery, a circulation area is thus physically circumscribed by the distance, which translates to time,⁴⁶ from the point of printing, to the newsagent and then to the reader. Anecdotal evidence suggests that there has been a drop in home delivery rates purportedly linked to the tied newsagency system. The argument is that newsagents want shop traffic in order to sell their other lines of merchandise. In this writer's opinion this argument has already been shown as unsustainable in the context of real growth.

A recent paper presented at the 1991 PANPA Conference examined the situation in Japan⁴⁷ and suggested another dimension to the argument about the changing ratio between home delivery and counter sales. There is a (statistical) penetration rate of 97 to 98% of all Japanese households by daily newspapers;⁴⁸ 93% of newspapers are home delivered. But Japanese newspapers are small by western standards, having a range of only 32-40 pages. Japanese housing density is very high compared to Australia's. As well Japanese publishers also use lightweight newsprint. But it may well be physically impossible to continue with this high rate of home delivery without radical changes to the existing delivery arrangements, if Japanese newspapers reach the paging size and physical weight of their U.S., British and Australian counterparts.

Other hypotheses could be advanced about variations in circulation levels that are linked to the combination of pages and circulation outlined above. In Britain, after the cessation of newsprint rationing in 1956, the habit of buying more than

one newspaper diminished as readers found that one title gave them enough to read: 'People were reading more newspaper, if not more newspapers'.⁴⁹ So, in line with the British experience, another suggestion is that Japanese circulations may fall anyway with larger paging, because more pages means more to read.

Circulation growth is then not only a function of cover price, excellent journalism, compelling advertising, or ingenious production techniques, it may also be a function of edition size, too many pages may also make growth subject to the law of diminishing returns.

The quality of a newspaper, that essence that makes people buy it, is a very difficult thing to define. I would argue that a successful newspaper has a number of important qualities. The significant quality that sells a newspaper is the vitality and relevance of its content, and that mostly comes from its journalists;⁵⁰ the efficiency and dedication of its production and circulation departments enable it to be purchased. The dynamism and creativity of a newspaper's advertising staff create the major proportion of its revenue, and the advertisers' success depends upon circulation, accuracy and readership. The expertise of the senior management structure in understanding growth not only allows those qualities to flourish, but also helps guard the newspaper's continued existence. Historians, and newspaper companies, forget that at their peril.

Albury

NOTES

1. In highlighting the technological aspect of newspaper history this writer acknowledges 'the beam in his own eye'. The comments are made as the general manager of a regional daily newspaper.
2. Wilkins T. Letter to the author dated 20 January 1992.
3. Ernest Hynds, *American Newspapers in the 1980s*, New York, 1980.
4. *Ibid.*, p.74.
5. Henry Mayer, *The Press in Australia*, Melbourne, 1968, p.40. There are a number of tables; number 13 is the most relevant. The fact that it is the only one is also significant.
6. R.B.Walker, *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales, 1803-1920*, Sydney, 1976.
7. Simon Jenkins, *Newspapers*, London, 1979, p.65.
8. *Ibid.*, p.52. The period he was referring to was 1960-79.
9. C.E.Sayer, *David Syme A Life*, Melbourne, 1965, p.221.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. The archives of the *Age* have not yet revealed the identity of this machine. Letter from J. Jennison, *Age* Production Manager, to G.R. Beavan. 10 July 1991.
14. *A Century of Journalism*, Sydney, 1931 p.723. But this machine was installed in 1859.
15. Or indeed double that figure if both sides of the sheet had been printed simultaneously.
16. All these details are taken directly from the original contract, which was kindly made available by *The Age*. They do raise the question, should Sayers have been referring to a 'Supplement Hoe'? In this writer's opinion, very likely.

17. *The Times. The past and present of the Newspaper*, London, 1952.
18. *Ibid.*, p.11.
19. *Ibid.*, p.13. It should be noted that most of the information referred to in the four preceding paragraphs is taken from this publication.
20. G. Munster and G. Korporaal, *Rupert Murdoch — A Paper Prince*, Ringwood, 1987, p.19.
21. H. Kogan, *Goss*, Chicago, 1985.
22. *Ibid.*, p.23.
23. *Ibid.*, p.24-6.
24. *Ibid.*, p.44.
25. *Ibid.*, p.49.
26. *Ibid.*, p.79.
27. Gavin Souter is one of the exceptions.
28. R.B. Walker, *Yesterday's News*, Sydney, 1980, p.184.
29. Printing an afternoon paper as well as a morning paper from the same pressroom helps to cut unit costs.
30. Full page advertisements supplied ready to print from the advertiser are not typeset. They do not form a large number and have to go through the platemaking process in any case.
31. May was chosen because it is a 31-day month and, in Australia, usually without public holidays.
32. There was some recognition of this paging difficulty by Mayer in the second edition of his book, *The Press in Australia*. However, he was writing as a political scientist and drawing conclusions from readership surveys without fully understanding the paging growth in the newspapers he was surveying and the changing reading habits that may have resulted from such growth. Hynds and Jenkins, as professional newspaper men, have no such excuse.
33. Richard Grunberger, *A Social History of the Third Reich*, Harmondsworth, 1986, p.492-506, an interesting discussion about the circulation areas of newspapers in a large country, with a federal and state political structure and national, metropolitan and regional daily newspapers.
34. Bingo is a good example.
35. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p.66.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Well, not for a privately owned newspaper company.
38. Mayer, *op.cit.*, p.1-3.
39. Munster and Korporaal, *op.cit.*, p.19.
40. G.Barraclough, *An Introduction to Contemporary History*, Harmondsworth, 1973.
41. *Ibid.*, p.124.
42. *Ibid.*, p.43-64.
43. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p.107.
44. Martin Walker, *Powers of the Press*, London, 1982, p.76.
45. The papers have to be rolled, runs allocated etc.
46. This assumes that all delivery trucks keep to the speed limits.
47. Frank Jurenka, 'Trends and Developments in Japanese Newspaper Pressrooms', given at the 1991 PANPA Conference, Broadbeach, Queensland.
48. Some households may buy more than one paper, others none.
49. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, p.32.
50. Advertising is especially important in this context. For example, legal notices, funerals, marriages, births and deaths, to name a few, are advertising AND hard news.

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