

From Stead's *Daily Paper* to Murdoch's *Daily App*:
The rise and fall of mass media

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W.T. Stead: Centenary Conference for a Newspaper Revolutionary

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The end of the “Century of Mass Media”

We are coming to the end of a 100-year-old economic model for the media industry, as mass media give way to fragmented media choices. We now are in an era in which new and old media are competing for our attention, in which we have the luxury of both the “mainstream” and the “alternative”. But that may be transitory, and we have to consider what the “alternatives” might look like if, or when, the “mainstream” is gone or much diminished.

At a time of such profound change, it is useful to look back as well as forward, and to consider some of the business models that were tried in the past, and that may be tried in the future.

W.T. Stead’s attempts to start a daily newspaper [in London], from the late 1880s to the early 1900s, took place during the formative period for the economic model that now is coming to an end.¹ And Rupert Murdoch’s current experiment with *The Daily* – an app for the iPad – is an attempt by an established media company to anticipate how the new economic model might develop. While each of those attempts can be related to the personalities and ambitions of the people behind them, those initiatives must also be seen in the context of the economic models for the media in their times.

In the 20th Century, media were intermediaries, connecting content, consumers, and advertisers. (See Figure 1.) That role was influenced by the limited number of media players – a function, at least in part, of capital costs in print and regulatory considerations in broadcast. So the economic structure for many media was based on what might be called a “coincidence of oligopoly”. At the same time, it was reasonably possible to maintain borders and protect copyrighted content. So, in the 20th Century, the media business evolved as a business based on “protectable scarcity”.

But the fundamental reality about media in the early 21st Century is that technology now threatens to challenge traditional media’s role as intermediary – because media from other places, content-producers, other consumers and advertisers will all be able to send media-like content directly to consumers. (See Figure 2.)

We are consuming more – and different – media than ever before. And consumers are not only receiving media from many sources, but are also modifying what they receive and redistributing to others. This, too, is a fundamental change from the way media have operated: *For the first time in history, on a mass scale, the means of production and distribution for information and entertainment products are finding their way into the hands of the consumers.*

¹ William Thomas Stead (July 5, 1849 - April 15, 1912) found fame and controversy as an investigative journalist in London in the 1880s, and went on to use his journalism to advocate numerous causes. He perished on the maiden voyage of the RMS *Titanic*.

Figure 1. The traditional media model:

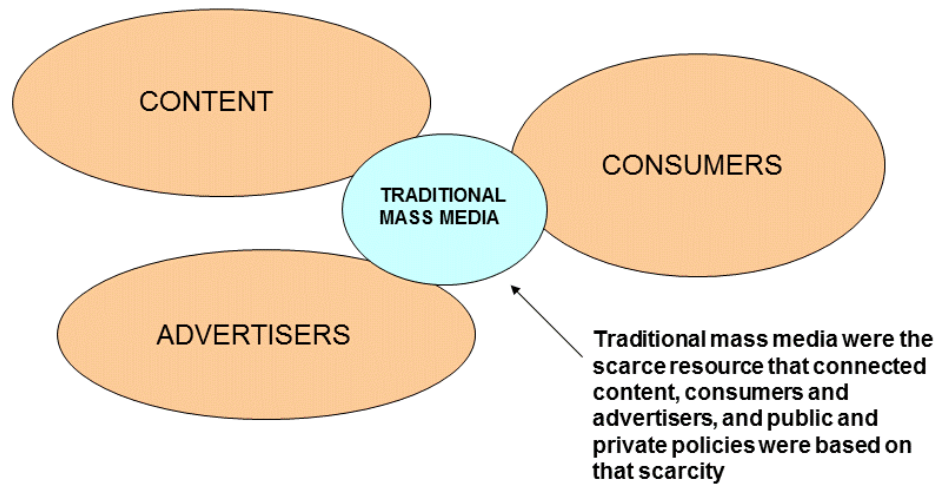
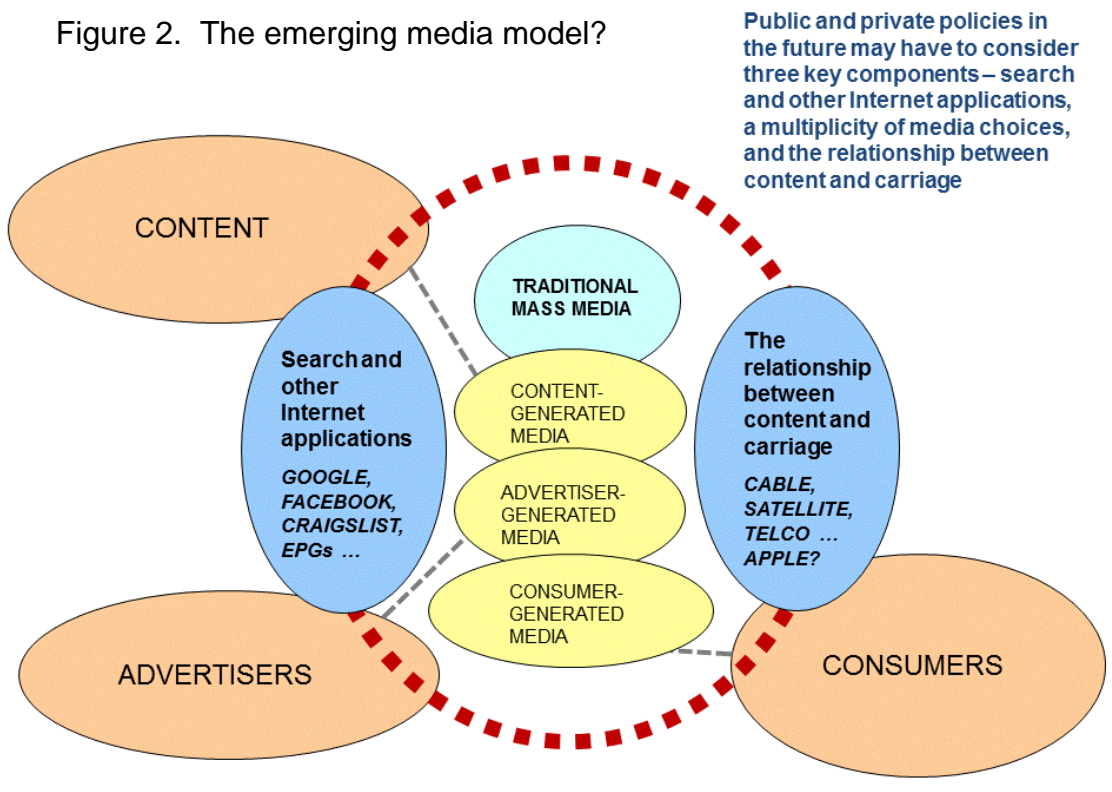


Figure 2. The emerging media model?



And where does journalism fit in all of this? It is important to remember that media's role as an intermediary based on scarcity led to its development as a "bundled" or "packaged" product. And, in most cases, journalism existed within, and was subsidized by, those bundles or packages.

However, as *The Economist* observed in 2009, because of technology, "the package is ... being picked apart."²

Marshall McLuhan put it more starkly in 1964, in his book, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*:

The classified ads (and stock-market quotations) are the bedrock of the press. Should an alternative source of easy access to such diverse daily information be found, the press will fold.³

How quickly that may happen is open to debate. But we cannot ignore the fact that, for the past 100 years, journalism has lived within a bundled product called media, and that bundle now is beginning to unravel.

While it is true that a medium can use new technology to extend its reach, the same is true for all other media, so outlets that once counted their competitors in tens (or less) now count their competitors in hundreds (or more).

Fragmentation puts downward pressure on unit costs

The result for the media is that fragmentation puts downward pressure on unit costs. In 1950, Canada's great economic historian, Harold Innis, made an important observation in his book, *Empire and Communications*. Referring to the economic development of the North American continent, Innis wrote:

As the costs of navigation declined, less valuable commodities emerged as staples – precious metals ... timber ... and finally wheat ...⁴

In other words, Innis saw a relationship between the cost of transportation and the value of the staples that were being transported. We moved from limited and high-cost transportation that could only be justified if the staples were also high in cost, to modern transportation carrying low-cost staples in high volumes.

Here is the lesson for the media. Technology now allows us to lower the cost of "transporting" channels. And that is already putting pressure on the staple those channels carry – programming, or content.

² "The rebirth of news", *The Economist*, May 16, 2009, p. 15.

³ Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (McGraw-Hill), 1965, p. 207 (originally published in 1964).

⁴ Harold A. Innis, *Empire and Communications* (University of Toronto Press), 1972, p. 6 (originally published in 1950).

Figure 3. The print continuum value chain for much of the 20th Century:

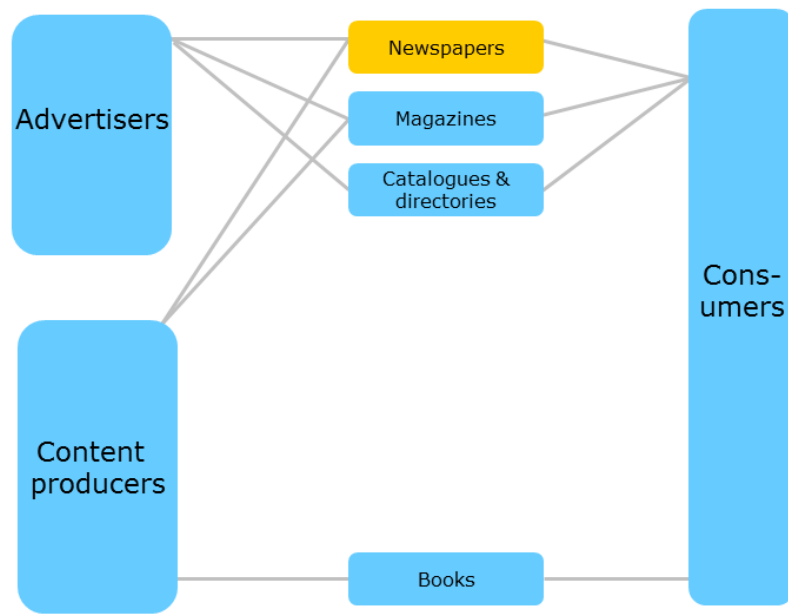
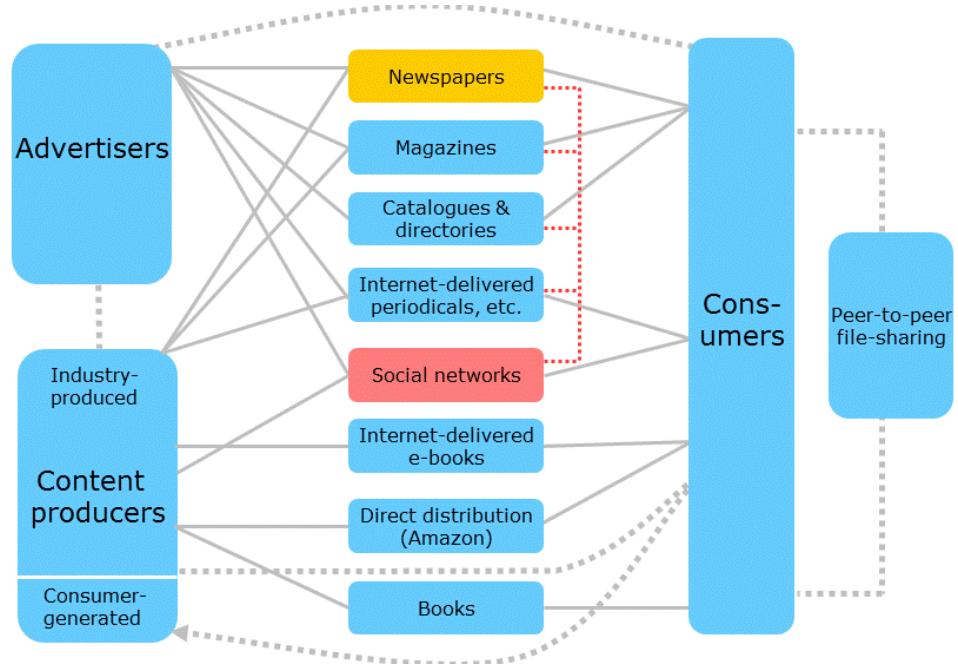


Figure 4. The print continuum value chain, early 21st Century:



All media are facing this pressure on unit costs, because fragmentation can be seen as a phenomenon both within and across the various media. Thus, at precisely the time that new alternatives are being developed for consumers and advertisers, the fragmentation of media markets makes it more difficult for local or even national media to produce content that will continue to attract large audiences.

The fragmentation of markets can also be seen in changing value chains for print media. Figure 3 illustrates the value chain in effect for most of the 20th Century, while Figure 4 illustrates the current value chain for print media.

Stead's attempts to start a daily newspaper from 1889 to 1904

The period in which W.T. Stead was attempting to start a daily newspaper – from the 1880s to the early 1900s – coincided with a period of mechanization for print media, involving the introduction of new machinery for setting type, as well as high speed printing presses capable of producing newspapers and magazines in much higher volumes. That mechanization required capital investment.

Unfortunately for Stead, he was unable to access capital in proportion to either his ambitions or his ego. Yet his attempts to start a daily newspaper do provide an interesting overview of different publishing models.

From 1889 to 1904, Stead was in an almost continuous search for a way to start his own daily paper; four of those attempts will be discussed here.

1889: A narrow escape from a possible scandal

Stead kept a diary, and on April 15, 1889, he wrote about:

... the strange development that has come in relation to my dreams of the future paper. Mr Chandor and I had a long talk about the paper one evening in March. I agreed that he would be necessarily in the concern as a buffer between Mrs BM and myself.⁵

Stead then went on to note that he (Stead) had subsequently discovered that Chandor had engaged in immoral conduct, and Stead concluded that the paper could not proceed based on financing from that source, despite Chandor's promise of \$2 million.⁶

Who was Chandor? And who was "Mrs BM"? Chandor was John Arthur Chandor, and "Mrs BM" was Mrs. Clara Bloomfield-Moore, a wealthy American.

It appears that Chandor had ingratiated himself with Mrs. Bloomfield-Moore, until she, too, discovered unsavoury details about his past. She then wrote letters

⁵ Stead's Diary, April 15, 1889, W.T. Stead Papers, Churchill Archives Centre, Cambridge. (Stead was editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* at the time.)

⁶ *Ibid.*

disclosing those details, and that, in turn, resulted in a lawsuit for libel brought by Chandor against Mrs. Bloomfield-Moore.⁷

Based on the subsequent revelations, it seems unlikely that Chandor would ever have delivered monies to Stead for a new daily paper, and Stead may well have saved himself considerable embarrassment by refusing the offer from Chandor.

Later in Stead's diary entry for April 15, 1889, Stead goes on to describe a meeting with "the man who seems much more likely to play the role of paper founder. Cecil John Rhodes of South Africa." Stead asked Rhodes for £250,000, but Rhodes was able to promise only £20,000.⁸

However, for a brief time in the Spring of 1889, Stead believed that he would be able to launch his own daily newspaper.

The *Review of Reviews*

At the end of 1889, Stead left the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and shortly afterward started the *Review of Reviews*, a monthly magazine. There are a number of articles in which the *Review of Reviews* is compared to the *Reader's Digest*, but a more recent development may actually be closer to a modern version of Stead's *Review of Reviews* – *The Huffington Post*.

In fact, there is an interesting comment about the *Review of Reviews* in the November 25, 1893 issue of a publication called *The Christian Weekly*:

The *Review of Reviews* is a wonderful sixpennyworth. It gives all the good things of the month which Mr. Stead can beg, borrow, or scissors.⁹

The *Review of Reviews* had considerable early success, and Stead was able to expand its reach through separate editions in the United States and in Australia.

Stead had a management crisis at the *Review of Reviews* in December 1890, because part of an over-optimistic circulation run had not been sold. That led to Stead's recruitment of Edwin H. Stout as business manager. Stout, who had been Stead's private secretary at the *Pall Mall Gazette*, joined the *Review of Reviews* in February 1891, and served as business manager until 1913.¹⁰

Perhaps ironically, it was Stout's ability to keep the *Review of Reviews* afloat that gave Stead more time to dream about his daily paper.

⁷ "A West-End Libel Case: Remarkable Revelations", *The Manchester Guardian*, October 11, 1889, p. 6; "The West-End Libel Case", *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, November 24, 1889, p. 8. (Mrs. Bloomfield-Moore was found not guilty.)

⁸ Stead's Diary, April 15, 1889, W.T. Stead Papers, Churchill Archives Centre, Cambridge.

⁹ "About Books", *The Christian Weekly*, November 25, 1893, p. 429.

¹⁰ J.O. Baylen, "W.T. Stead as Publisher and Editor of the "Review of Reviews", *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Summer, 1979), p. 75.

1893: A daily magazine financed by its readers

Stead's next daily newspaper attempt occurred in 1893. On July 10, 1893, Stead wrote to Albert Shaw, the editor of the *American Review of Reviews*:

I have been thinking about our Christmas number, and the subject I intend to take at present, is the topical story, that is to describe an ideal newspaper established in London.¹¹

But a hoped-for investment – this time from W.W. Astor – did not materialize, so Stead came up with a much more imaginative scheme – he would get his capital investment from his future subscribers.¹²

The October 1893 issue of the *Review of Reviews* included an article with a provocative headline: “An Offer Of £100,000 To My Readers”. In that article, Stead set out his reasons for wanting to start *The Daily Paper*, and then went on to describe how the capital might be raised – if, by December 31, 1893, 100,000 people would each pay 26 shillings in advance, they would each receive a year's worth of the paper, and a debenture for £1, redeemable at Stead's option.¹³

Stead produced a complete specimen issue of *The Daily Paper*, which was distributed with a subsequent issue of the *Review of Reviews*. The paper was the same size as the *Review of Reviews*, and was, in fact, more like a daily magazine.

The November and December 1893 issues of the *Review of Reviews* also had pages devoted to the proposed *Daily Paper*, and the December issue included a novella of about 100 pages, titled “Two And Two Make Four”, which featured *The Daily Paper* as one of the central characters.

And then, in the January 1894 issue of the *Review of Reviews*, it all came to a halt. Written from Chicago, and dated December 18, 1893, the article on page 3 was headed: “Exit The Daily Paper”. Stead said that because his target of 100,000 subscribers had not been reached, he had received his “marching orders”.¹⁴

He went on to thank “the thousands of friends and subscribers who showed their confidence in me and their desire to support my scheme by sending in their subscriptions.”¹⁵

¹¹ Letter from W.T. Stead to Albert Shaw, July 10, 1893, Albert Shaw Papers, New York Public Library.

¹² The possibility of Astor supporting Stead's daily newspaper ambitions is referred to in correspondence between Stead and Shaw, and between Stead and Andrew Carnegie, in July and August of 1893.

¹³ “An Offer Of £100,000 To My Readers”, *Review of Reviews*, October 1893, pp. 347-350.

¹⁴ “Exit The Daily Paper”, *Review of Reviews*, January 1894, p. 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

THE DAILY PAPER.
 Edited by W. T. STEAD.

Vol. I.] WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1893. [No. 1.

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EDITORIAL OFFICE:
 MOWBRAY HOUSE, NORFOLK STREET, STRAND, W.C.
 ONE PENNY.

4 THE DAILY PAPER. [OCTOBER 4, 1893.]

SUMMARY OF TO-DAY'S NEWS.

THE CHANCES OF AVOIDING A COLLISION BETWEEN THE METABELE AND THE TROOPS OF THE CHARTERED COMPANY IN MASHONALAND ARE DIMINISHING. Large imps are reported to be on the borders of Mashonaland, and are believed to be making for Fort Charter. Lobengula is said to be engaged at the south theta of the Mashona. Mr. Rhodes has not yet arrived at the front. Mr. Selous is at Tuli. The scouts have fallen back on Fort Charter before the advancing impi. The Chartered Company have 300 mounted men at each of their three forts, well-armed and equipped, with machine guns on galloping carriages. Each fort has, besides this movable column, a garrison of 200 men.

MELILLA, A SPANISH TOWN ON THE MOROCCO COAST, WAS ON THE END THE SCENE OF A BLOODY EFFRY. The Spaniards offended the susceptibilities of the Moors by erecting a fort in a position which overlooked the burial-ground of a mosque. Seven thousand Kabyles therefore flung themselves upon the fort, and after a day's hard fighting drove out the garrison, which fell back upon Melilla, with a loss of eighteen men and two officers killed and thirty-five wounded. The Spaniards from their fort in the town then played upon the Moors with artillery, causing great slaughter. The Spanish garrison of three hundred men is to be reinforced, and reinforcements addressed to the Sultan of Morocco.

BRITISH NEWSPAPERS RECENTLY SENT A COMPLIMENTARY TELEGRAM TO THE RUSSIAN PRESS ABOUT THE VISIT OF THE RUSSIAN FLEET TO TUDIN. For this attempt to give political significance to a visit of courtesy, their representatives were commended before the court, and punished for their pains. They were told that their respective nations were most improper, as the representation of Russia rested in other hands than theirs.

IN THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC THE INSURRECTIONARY MOVEMENT LED BY DR. ALON, THE RADICAL LEADER, HAS BEEN COMPLETELY SUPPRESSED. Dr. Alon was arrested after the surrender of Rosario to the National troops.

NO SUCH GOOD NEWS IS TO BE HAD FROM BRAZIL, WHERE ANASTAS DE MELLO IS PREPARING TO BOMBARD THE CITY OF RIO. The provinces are revolting against Admiral Patrois, who, however, keeps his hold upon the capital, with an army of 8,000 men. Each side telegraphs as usual, that they are on the eve of success, but the Admiral with his fleet seems to have the best of it.

SIR MONTAGUE DE LAUNCEY, WITH THE BRITISH MISSION, WILL ARRIVE AT CAIRO TO-DAY. During the whole of the journey the Anzer has provided magnificently for the comfort of the Mission.

THE DEADLOCK IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE ON THE SILVER QUESTION CONTINUES, THE PRESIDENT HAVING RECENTLY INSISTED UPON THE UNCONDITIONAL REPEAL OF THE PURCHASE LAW.

THE BAPTIST UNION HELD ITS FIRST ANNUAL MEETING AT BOSTON YESTERDAY, BEGINNING WITH A MISSIONARY BENEDICTION. The Baptist Missionary Society appeals for an extra £25,000 a year.

THE 3RD CHURCH CONGRESS BEGAN ITS SITTINGS, YESTERDAY, AT BIRMINGHAM, THE BISHOP OF WORCESTER BEING PRESIDENT. There was a reception by the Mayor, and after the sermon the Bishop delivered his inaugural address, dealing with Parish Councils, Hill, Disestablishment, the Birmingham Diocese, and the Obligation of the Church. All the evening meetings the presence of the Episcopate and Lord's Day observances were discussed.

LAST NIGHT MR. GOSCHEN REPLIED TO MR. GLADSTONE'S RECENT EDINBURGH SPEECH BEFORE THE UNIONIST DEMONSTRATION IN THE SCOTCH CITY. Mr. Goschen defended the action of the Lords, glorifying the Unionist Party, and challenged Mr. Gladstone to say what he meant to do.

THE COAL STRIKE CONTINUES, AND YESTERDAY THE COUNCILMEETING AT THE WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL DECIDED TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL MADE BY THE MAYORS OF LEEDS, SHEFFIELD, HULL, NOTTINGHAM, BIRBY, AND BARNSELY, FOR A JOINT CONFERENCE AT SHEFFIELD ON THE 9TH INST. Representatives of the coal-owners will therefore attend. Their demand unanimously that no settlement could be made that did not include a reduction of wages.

LOUIS SALZBERG HAS WRITTEN A LETTER TO A CORRESPONDENT, EXPRESSING HIS DEEP REGRET AT THE PROGRESS OF THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE COAL-OWNERS AND MINERS. He fears the injury done to both sides will be profound and lasting, and regrets that no opportunity was given for a discussion of the question in the House of Commons; but he is not aware that any plan has been suggested by which legislators could avert or mitigate the injuries under which this industry is suffering.

OWING TO THE INCREASE IN THE PRICE OF COAL AND THE EXPECTED RISE IN THE COST OF GAS, THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD WILL OPEN THEIR SCHOOLS AT 1.30 INSTEAD OF 2 O'CLOCK, AND CLOSE HALF AN HOUR EARLIER.

A SMALL CROWD OF THE UNMOUNTED MARCHED FROM THE TOWER, YESTERDAY, TO ST. LUKE'S VESTRY HALL, BUT THE VESTRY REFUSED TO SEE THEM. They then went to St. Andrew's Vestry, where they were allowed to visit the public gallery, but they behaved themselves so badly that they had to be turned out by the police.

THE ANTI-PARLAMENTARY SOCIETY OF RAILWAY SERVICANTS HOLD THEIR ANNUAL CONFERENCE AT GLASGOW, YESTERDAY, AND REPORTED AN INCREASE OF 40 BRANCHES AND 755 MEMBERS DURING THE YEAR.

SIR STEPHEN BLACKWOOD, THE SECRETARY OF THE GENERAL POST OFFICE, AND WELL KNOWN AS A LEADING EVANGELICAL, DIED AT HIS HOME AT HAREFIELD, ON HIS HOMeward JOURNEY FROM THE CONTINENT. He was in his sixty-second year, and died from the after effects of influenza.

THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL MET YESTERDAY FOR THE FIRST TIME AFTER THE RECESS. They decided (1) to introduce a bill dealing with the safety of theatres, (2) to inquire into the best means of obtaining information on the question of locomotion in London, and then (3) refused to take any action in the matter of the Albert Palace, on account of Mr. FRANCIS EDWARDS' refusal to contribute the sum which he had promised for its purchase.

THE RESULT OF THE BRIGHTON SCHOOL BOARDS ELECTION WAS ANNOUNCED LAST NIGHT. There were twenty-three candidates for fifteen seats. The new board will consist of six Unitarians, five Churchmen, and four Independents. The schoolmaster with a grievance went in at the head of the poll with twenty thousand, thirteen thousand more than those recorded for the next.

THE CHAIRS ARE DYING OUT IN HAMBERG, SO FEW CHAIRS WERE REPORTED YESTERDAY. In Palermo the deaths from chairs average one per hour. Only two chairs were reported in England to-day before yesterday—none at Hull and the other at Rochester.

Pages 1 and 4 of the sample issue of *The Daily Paper*, dated October 4, 1893. (Page size was about 16.5 cm. x 24.5 cm.)

How many people actually did sign up in 1893? In a letter to Shaw dated November 29, 1893, Stout put the total at 1,759, as of that date.¹⁶

In that same letter, Stout offered this opinion:

The moral of it all, in my opinion, is that people do not want philanthropic daily papers. They want a good pennyworth of news for their penny, and they do not care a brass button whether the proprietor is going to regenerate mankind, or not.¹⁷

¹⁶ Letter from Edwin H. Stout to Albert Shaw, November 29, 1893, Albert Shaw Papers, New York Public Library.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

1899: The “endowed newspaper”, or “Dear Mr. Carnegie ...”

Five years would go by before Stead made another serious attempt to start a daily newspaper. And that attempt would involve a plan for an “endowed newspaper”, with Stead’s preferred endower to be Andrew Carnegie.

The idea of an endowed newspaper goes back to at least the 1880s. Although he did not use the precise term, Stead’s article on “The Future of Journalism” in *The Contemporary Review* in November 1886 certainly described many of the elements of an endowed newspaper. The idea became the subject of considerable debate in the United States starting in 1889, with a number of educators and reformers arguing that an endowed newspaper would solve what they believed to be problems with the newspapers of the day – bias, advertiser influence, and sensationalism.¹⁸

Stead was clearly aware of this ongoing debate. In the very first issue of the *Review of Reviews*, he had included a summary of an article on the endowed newspaper, from the *North American Review*, with the title: “Wanted an Ideal Newspaper! A Chance for a Millionaire.”¹⁹

On May 18, 1899, Stead wrote to his friend Andrew Carnegie and asked Carnegie to consider the funding of a newspaper and a news agency.²⁰

Carnegie replied on May 23, 1899:

I do not believe in subsidized organs. They never affect public opinion.²¹

Stead was not discouraged. In the December 1899 issue of the *Review of Reviews*, he published a character sketch of Carnegie, excerpted from a longer work titled “Mr. Carnegie’s Conundrum. £40,000,000. What Shall I Do With It?” That longer work contained a chapter titled “The Endowed Newspaper”.²² Stead wrote

¹⁸ Numerous U.S. examples could be cited, including: Henry E. Rood, “A Chance for Millionaires”, the *North American Review*, December 1889, pp. 761-762; W.H.H. Murray, “An Endowed Press”, *The Arena*, October 1890, pp. 553-559; Edmond Kelly, *Evolution and Effort* (D. Appleton and Company), 1895, pp. 229-236.

¹⁹ “Wanted an Ideal Newspaper! A Chance for a Millionaire”, *Review of Reviews*, January 1890, p. 49.

²⁰ Letter from W.T. Stead to Andrew Carnegie, May 18, 1899, Andrew Carnegie Papers, Library of Congress.

²¹ Letter from Andrew Carnegie to W.T. Stead, May 23, 1899, Andrew Carnegie Papers, Library of Congress.

²² At about the same time as Stead was promoting the idea of the endowed newspaper, he also appears to have been interested in the possibility of using a free distribution model for that newspaper. On December 27, 1899, Stead wrote to a Mr. W.V. Cook at *The Brighton Herald*. Stead’s letter to Cook appears to have been in response to a letter that Cook had asked Stead to forward to Andrew Carnegie. Stead declined to do so, but then went on to ask the following of Cook: “May I ask whether you have any experience as to the value of the advertisements which can be obtained for a paper distributed gratis? If you have any data bearing upon that subject, I should

to Carnegie on December 2, 1899, drawing Carnegie's attention to that chapter. Stead went on to say that "it would be perfectly possible to start a first-class paper on £250,000", but suggests "a possible expenditure of £500,000 with a reserve fund of the same amount, to be drawn upon in case of need." In a postscript to the letter, Stead offered to send Carnegie copies of the Christmas Number featuring Carnegie.²³

Carnegie replied on December 12, 1899:

Cannot agree with you about supported newspapers to support an idea.
They never amount to anything.²⁴

The correspondence with Carnegie raises a serious question of journalistic ethics. Should a journalist be publishing a profile of a famous person while simultaneously asking that person for half a million pounds for the journalist's own venture?

1904: *The Daily Paper* catastrophe

The catastrophe of Stead's 1904 *Daily Paper* is the best known of all of his attempts from 1889 to 1904. The paper was announced in the Fall of 1903, and first published on January 4, 1904. Stead's *Daily Paper* of 1904 was more conventional in size than his 1893 daily magazine, but it was unconventional in a number of other respects. It was neither a morning nor an evening paper, but was issued mid-morning. It was supposed to be a newspaper for the family. And it was tied to a distribution system that appeared designed to be a social service organization.²⁵

In a letter dated October 16, 1903, Carnegie had warned Stead that *The Daily Paper* scheme would not work.²⁶ *The Daily Paper* ceased publication on February 9, 1904.

According to one source, Stead put his net loss on the 1904 *Daily Paper* at £35,000, which appears to indicate a venture that was operating at a fraction of the level that Stead himself had previously proposed to Carnegie.²⁷

be very glad if you would place me in possession of them." (Source: Letter from W.T. Stead to W.V. Cook, December 27, 1899, Albert Shaw Papers, New York Public Library.)

²³ Letter from W.T. Stead to Andrew Carnegie, December 2, 1899, Andrew Carnegie Papers, Library of Congress.

²⁴ Letter from Andrew Carnegie to W.T. Stead, December 12, 1899, Andrew Carnegie Papers, Library of Congress.

²⁵ The features of Stead's *Daily Paper* scheme were described in two advertisements Stead placed in *The Times* in December 1903 (see next page).

²⁶ Letter from Andrew Carnegie to W.T. Stead, October 16, 1903, W.T. Stead Papers, Churchill Archives Centre, Cambridge.

²⁷ Frederic Whyte, *The Life of W.T. Stead*, Volume II (Garland Publishing), 1971 (originally published in 1925), p. 233.

THE DAILY PAPER,
 A NEW EVENING PENNY JOURNAL FOR THE HOME,
 WILL APPEAR ON MONDAY, JANUARY 4, 1904,
 AT 10 O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING,
 And will be delivered at any house in the London District at
LESS THAN ONE HALFPENNY PER DAY
 If ordered for the year and paid for on the instalment plan at
ONE SHILLING PER MONTH.

TO INTRODUCE THE DAILY PAPER

there will be given away to subscribers,
 on the payment of the first monthly subscription of
ONE SHILLING,

A PORTFOLIO OF SIX PICTURES,
 reproductions in Colour of Oil and Water-Colour Paintings by
 European and American Artists.

THESE PICTURES ARE NOW SELLING IN LONDON AT ONE SHILLING EACH, AND
 WHEN MOUNTED AND FRAMED THEY ARE FIT TO HANG UPON THE WALLS OF
 ANY HOME.

SIR PHILIP BURNE-JONES,

Writing from 9, St. Paul's Studios, Hammersmith, on Dec. 14, 1903, says:—

"I have the very greatest pleasure in expressing my admiration for the high standard of excellence attained in the coloured reproductions of paintings which I had the opportunity of seeing the other day, and I wish them all the success they so undoubtedly deserve. Sir Edward Poynter, when I showed them to him, was very much pleased with them."

N.B.—A sample copy of one of these pictures mounted on linenette, enclosed in tube, will be sent by post to any one sending [3d.] THREEPENCE to the Art Department, THE DAILY PAPER, 21, Essex-street, Strand, W.C.

THE POLITICS OF THE DAILY PAPER.

THE DAILY PAPER will be a Paper for the home. While it will be of necessity a political paper as well as a social paper, it will not be a partisan paper. Its dominant note will be an appeal to the Home. Its primary idea is not so much to get voters to the polling booth for one party or the other as to brighten the Home, and to add fresh interest to family life. It is the Home rather than the individual class, the city, the State, or the Empire that will be the unit of its appeal. Its politics will be the politics of the Home. All papers which appeal primarily to the voters appeal almost exclusively to men. The Home is the only unit of organization in which the woman holds her rightful place. The Home is neither male nor female, but is representative of the whole of humanity, and in the germ-cell of our slowly evolving civilization a little child holds the leading place.

The following Manifesto, which will appear in the first number, sets forth the bearing of the Politics of the Home upon the burning questions of contemporary politics:—

The politics of THE DAILY PAPER are the politics of the Home.

That does not imply that this paper is to be non-political; still less that it is to be indifferent to the true Imperial ideal which recognizes all English-speaking lands as the Home of our Imperial race.

It will not be a partisan paper, written by party men in the interests of a party, but it will pursue an independent course, appealing to members of all parties and of none, for the furtherance of all that contributes to the well-being of the Home—at home and beyond the seas.

Our programme, dictated by the Home and its interests, places the Home far above the individual on one side, and above the State on the other. It is the Home which humanizes both.

"Homes, more Homes; that is what I work for!" was the exclamation of Cecil Rhodes as he stood on the summit of the Matoppos, where so soon he was to be laid to rest. "Homes, more Homes," happier Homes for our children, and our children's children; that is what all true Empire-builders work for. The Empire that is not based upon the Home will perish.

To enable our people to fulfil their great destiny, we must begin with the Home, for, as Lord Rosebery has declared, "In the rookeries and slums an Imperial race cannot be raised." "The Home," said Mr. Moody, "was founded before the Church; and you in Britain stand more in need of homes than you do of churches." The more impressed we are with a conviction of the magnitude and importance of the work of the English-speaking race in its world-scattered Colonies, States, and territories, the more zealous must we be to promote everything that tends to strengthen, purify, and brighten our Home Life.

It is in the Home we shall seek the clue to the solution of all political problems. Peace, which a Conservative Foreign Minister declared to be the greatest of British interests, is the atmosphere of Home. In foreign politics, therefore, we shall always cultivate a spirit of friendly brotherhood, and when disputes arise, our watchword will always be To The Hague! where disputes between nations may be settled by the International High Court of Arbitration.

Yielding to none in our desire to foster a living sense of Imperial unity, the experience gained in the domestic circle teaches us to avoid any attempt to impose any restraint or to exercise any authority over the self-governing Commonwealths, in which the children sprung from our loins have set up homes for themselves. The condition of family unity is the absence of any bond save the silken tie of affection; even the potent instinct of self-preservation will fail to keep together our independent sister-nations if preferences begot jealousies, or any attempt were made to limit their fiscal or political liberties.

India to us is a hundred millions of homes in which many millions go hungry all their lives. We shall shoulder the White Man's Burden, not dump our share upon our starveling wards.

On the question of Imperial defence our position is very simple. We are for the Home, and we are against the Barrack. We need a supreme Navy, if only to save the sons of our homes from the curse of Conscription. And having that supreme Navy, we can provide old age pensions for the outworn veterans of industry by reducing our bloated military estimates to reasonable dimensions.

The Fiscal question is pre-eminently one to be decided from the point of view of the Housewife. It is a cupboard question. Until the House-Mother—the Leaf Giver—is represented in Parliament we shall offer uncompromising opposition to any proposal to tax her children's bread.

On the Education question we are for the Home.

THE DAILY PAPER,
 THE FIRST NUMBER OF WHICH WILL APPEAR
 ON JANUARY 4TH, 1904,
 is not only a DAILY PAPER, it represents
A NEW DEPARTURE IN JOURNALISM.

It is an attempt to Unite,
 By means of a Newspaper,

Hundreds of thousands of Subscribers in

A GREAT CO-OPERATIVE PARTNERSHIP
 for the Achievement of Common Ends, to make the newspaper itself, not merely a nerve centre for the collection and distribution of news, but an active instrument for the inspiration, direction, and organization of the moral, social, political, and intellectual force of the whole community.

HOW CAN THIS BE DONE?

The newspaper, as it exists, even if it has a circulation as the sands of the seashore for multitude, has to admit that its subscribers also resemble the sands in that they are indistinguishable one from the other, and are without any means whereby the various grains can be supplied with the principle of cohesion.

Hence, the first thing to be done is to establish a more permanent nexus of organization, between the newspaper and between the subscribers themselves than the casual purchase of separate issues from a newsboy. Therefore, THE DAILY PAPER appeals for

ANNUAL OR MONTHLY SUBSCRIPTIONS

as the indispensable foundation for such an organization.

The Members of

THE DAILY PAPER BENEFITS ASSOCIATION,

to reap the full advantages of the Association, must be members for the year, though they may pay their subscriptions by instalments. By the co-operation of 200,000 subscribers in the London district, which the DAILY PAPER renders possible on the simplest basis, each would secure many social conveniences and literary advantages, at present hopelessly beyond their reach, and the community, as a whole, would be more of a Home for all its members.

THE DAILY PAPER BENEFITS ASSOCIATION

is the simplest form of organization.

NO RELIGIOUS TESTS,

NO SOCIAL CASTE,

NO PARTY POLITICS.

The Payment of

One Guinea a Year, or

Two Shillings a Month,

secures to each subscriber

A penny daily evening paper, delivered at his home every morning.

The Service of the Girls' Messenger Brigade,

The Use of the District Depot or Local Centre of

Social Co-operation

with its TELEPHONE,

POSTE RESTANTE,

READING AND REST ROOM,

EMPLOYMENT BUREAU,

LENDING LIBRARY, &c.

An INSURANCE POLICY of £100 against death by accident, in tram, train, &c.

The REVIEW OF REVIEWS, which every month provides a survey and a digest of the periodical literature of the world.

The AMERICAN CENTURY HOME, the latest monthly American Sixpenny Home Journal, and

The PORTFOLIO of Twelve beautifully coloured Pictures.

THE MESSENGER BRIGADE.

The fact that a messenger from a common centre must, in order to deliver THE DAILY PAPER, call at the house of every subscriber and return to the centre facilities

the COLLECTION of TRADESMEN'S ORDERS,

and the Combination of the Messenger Brigade with

The FREE TELEPHONE SERVICE

Enables every subscriber to enjoy the benefit of the Telephone system.

The Establishment of

CENTRES OF SOCIAL CO-OPERATION

and their full equipment is necessarily a work of time.

With the New Year

SIXTEEN OF THESE CENTRES

will be open in the following districts:—

RAVSWATER

Portions of advertisements for *The Daily Paper*, from *The Times* – the advertisement on the left appeared on Tuesday, December 15, 1903, and the advertisement on the right appeared on Thursday, December 17, 1903.

2011: Murdoch's *Daily* app

Let's jump ahead 107 years, to February 2011, when Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation launched *The Daily* – a daily magazine app delivered to your iPad, which actually harkens back in some ways to Stead's original specimen *Daily Paper* from 1893. When *The Daily* app was first launched, it was estimated that it would need 500,000 subscribers to break even. A year later, it had about 100,000 subscribers.²⁸

From a consumer perspective, *The Daily* app is visually attractive, but it does not appear to fill any identifiable niche. *The Daily* app also does not appear to have taken full advantage of the technology available to it – a year after launch, it still did not have either “search” or “archive” features.

Unlike Stead, however, Murdoch and News Corporation are not worried about being under-capitalized.

Differences and similarities

So the availability of capital is obviously the major difference between Stead's ventures from 1889 to 1904 and Murdoch's *Daily* app today. The motivations are also different. Murdoch is seeking a profitable business model, which may or may not support causes or movements. Stead was seeking to start a newspaper and a movement at the same time.

Yet there are two factors in which Stead and Murdoch are remarkably similar. The first is that each chose the most generic name possible. The second deals with the question of control of a media venture.

In recent months, there has been considerable criticism of News Corporation because Rupert Murdoch controls the voting shares even though he does not have more than 50 per cent of the equity. One might think Stead would have opted for a more democratic structure. But then one finds, in the November 1893 issue of the *Review of Reviews*, Stead's outline of the corporate structure he had in mind:

Whenever the shareholders are called together I have a clear majority of the ordinary shares, but in case this should not be sufficient, it is expressly stipulated in the articles of association that my shares shall always confer upon me the right to ten more votes than the aggregate votes conferred upon all the other shares.²⁹

²⁸ Jeff Sonderman, “The Daily turns 1 with 100k subscribers, but may be years away from profit”, www.poynter.org, February 2, 2012 (accessed on February 2, 2012).

²⁹ “The Daily Paper Company, Limited”, *Review of Reviews*, November 1893, p. 463.

The return of the “endowed newspaper” idea?

While Stead’s attempts to start a daily newspaper did not succeed, it is still useful to study different business models from different eras, if only to stimulate discussion about what business models might work in the future. In that context, one might note that the debate about an endowed newspaper may also have relevance today – not in the old context of a competing alternative, but as a possible way to help some forms of journalism survive in the future.

Indeed, there was an article in the *Guardian* media section on April 1, 2012, about the *Independent*, which stated:

No doubt the Lebedevs have deep pockets ... but the Independent is running up losses of £20m a year. ... That may not matter if the family want to write cheques, but losing money is not always fun.³⁰

On April 9, 2012, in *The New York Times*, columnist David Carr discussed the recent purchases of distressed newspapers by wealthy individuals:

... In each instance, the buyer was motivated, at least in part, by the fact that the newspapers faced an existential threat: but for the new owners and their deep pockets, they might go away.³¹

Perhaps, after all these years, one or more versions of the endowed newspaper may have arrived.³²

³⁰ Dan Sabbagh, “With Sarah Sands taking over at the Standard, it’s time for a rethink”, www.guardian.co.uk, April 1, 2012 (accessed on April 9, 2012).

³¹ David Carr, “Newspaper Barons Resurface,” *The New York Times*, April 9, 2012, p. B1.

³² Update: Subsequent to the presentation of this paper on April 16, 2012, there have been a number of developments that might be regarded as additional forms of endowment. For example, on May 17, 2012, *The Wall Street Journal* reported that: “The Ford Foundation has given a \$1 million grant to the Los Angeles Times to expand the paper’s news coverage in certain areas, its first grant to a major for-profit newspaper.” (Keach Hagey, “Ford Foundation Funds News Coverage”, online.wsj.com, May 17, 2012; accessed on May 19, 2012.) Also on May 17, 2012, it was announced that Warren Buffett’s Berkshire Hathaway had purchased 63 newspapers from Media General (Jeff John Roberts, “Why Warren Buffett is buying newspapers”, paidcontent.org, May 17, 2012; accessed on May 19, 2012.) On May 21, 2012, in the U.K., in testimony to the Leveson Inquiry into the Culture, Practice and Ethics of the Press, Labour Peer Lord Mandelson raised the interesting possibility that the *Guardian* could be regarded as a type of endowed newspaper, with this comment: “... is it adequate that the *Guardian* is now effectively a charity ...?” (Witness Statement of Lord Mandelson to the Leveson Inquiry; accessed at levesoninquiry.org.uk on May 22, 2012.)