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## **The major Polish newspapers published until the beginning of the First World War in context of heritage preservation (characteristics, research, resources)**

### **Introduction**

The ambitious goals of conference organizers are not easy to achieve in our paper.: to create a single while adequate synthesis of major issues regarding old newspapers, their editors and publishers is rather impossible, especially when trying to account for the topics that have not been fully researched yet or not researched at all. Nevertheless, we will attempt to present the outline of relevant research.

The first difficulty is the subject of research: given the convoluted history of the region, how to define precisely what is the Polish newspaper, or how the researchers define the terms? Abstracting from the popular terminology designating the press publication or publication in kind, the historical and new dictionaries define newspaper as *„periodical publication published at least twice a week, covering current news”*<sup>1</sup>. However, the parsimonious scientific approach requires more precise definition than that. The relevant definition is cited in *„Encyklopedia wiedzy o prasie”* (*„Press research encyclopaedia”*), where a newspaper is defined as *„A type of press publication implementing the criterion up-to-date to maximum extent (i.e. with small periodical amplitude, most frequently the daily papers with 2 or 3 editions a day) and universal content (with no peculiar target segment of population, oriented towards every possible reader) [...] popularly speaking: newspaper, daily newspaper”*. The author of the definition – S. Dziki – has also mentioned the information of interest to librarians: *„...in Polish publishing, bibliographical and statistical practice a newspaper is defined as every periodical publication published more frequently than once per week”*<sup>2</sup>.

This paper covers the newspapers defined as publications published from 2 to 7 times a week and perceived by the authors as historically important. We also review the titles published only to the extent that current knowledge of press history allows to cover in the

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<sup>1</sup> *Słownik współczesnego języka polskiego*. Ed. B. Dunaj. Warszawa 1996, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> *Encyklopedia wiedzy o prasie*. Ed. J. Maślanka. Wrocław 1976, p. 91.

adequate manner<sup>3</sup>, abstracting from the periodicals of publication frequency equal to or longer than a week. Careful analysis of historical sources allowed to select 147 of titles of this kind<sup>4</sup>, which will be presented in detail in the course of publication (in context of

<sup>3</sup> Selected summary papers: *Historia prasy polskiej*. Vol. 1, *Prasa polska w latach 1661-1864*. Vol. 2, *Prasa polska w latach 1864-1918*. Ed. J. Łojek, Warszawa 1976; J. Łojek, J. Myśliński, W. Władysław: *Dzieje prasy polskiej*, Warszawa, 1988; *Prasa, radio i telewizja w Polsce. Zarys dziejów*. Auth. D. Grzelewska [et al.], Warszawa 1999, J. Myśliński: *Kalendarium polskiej prasy, radia i telewizji*. Issue 2, Warszawa 2004; J. Kucharzewski: *Czasopiśmiennictwo polskie wieku XIX w Królestwie, na Litwie i Rusi oraz na emigracji. Zarys bibliograficzno-historyczny*, Warszawa 1911. Notable papers on selected press types: J. Myśliński: *Polska prasa socjalistyczna w okresie zaborów*, Warszawa 1982; U. Jakubowska: *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji w dobie zaborów*, Warszawa 1988; Z. Kmiecik: *Prasa polska w rewolucji 1905-1907*, Warszawa 1980; *Z dziejów polskiej prasy robotniczej 1879-1948*. Ed. J. Myśliński and A. Ślisz, Warszawa 1983. Selected research on press law: B. Szyndler: *Dzieje cenzury w Polsce do 1918 roku*, Kraków 1993; *Granice wolności słowa*. Ed. G. Miernik, Kielce 1999. Research on shorter periods or minor geographical regions are listed in footnotes for chapters. For extensive list of publications see: A. Notkowskiego: *Bibliografia (1661-1858/1878)*, [in:] *Prasa polska w latach 1661-1864...* op. cit. p. 356-379; A. Notkowskiego: *Bibliografia*, [in:] *Prasa polska w latach 1664-1818...* op. cit. p. 292-319; A. Garlicka: *Przegląd opracowań historii prasy polskiej [until 1960 r.]*, Warszawa 1961; *Polska Bibliografia Adnotowana Wiedzy o Środkach Masowego Komunikowania za rok...* [1965-1987]. Ed. S. Dziki, Kraków, 1969-1989; W. M. Kolasa, J. Jarowiecki: *Polska bibliografia prasoznawcza 1996-2001*, Kraków 2005.

<sup>4</sup> Alphabetic list of newspapers researched (the periods when the periodical was suspended and temporary title changes were omitted; the spelling of the titles was uniformized and modernized): „Czas” (Kraków; 1849-1939); „Dziennik Bydgoski” (1908-1939); „Dziennik Górnośląski” (Piekary Śląskie; 1848-1849); „Dziennik Kujawski” (Inowrocław; 1893-1939); „Dziennik Kujawski” (Włocławek; 1910-1914); „Dziennik Lwowski” (1867-1869); „Dziennik Łódzki” (1884-1892); „Dziennik Narodowy” (Lwów; 1848); „Dziennik Patriotycznych Polityków” (Lwów; 1792-1798); „Dziennik Polski” (Lwów; 1861-1862); „Dziennik Polski” (Lwów; 1869-1916); „Dziennik Polski” (Poznań; 1849-1850); „Dziennik Powszechny” (Warszawa; 1831-1837); „Dziennik Powszechny” (Warszawa; 1861-1864); „Dziennik Powszechny Krajowy” (Warszawa; 1828-1931); „Dziennik Poznański” (1859-1939); „Dziennik Śląski” (Bytom; 1898-1922); „Dziennik Tygodniowy Departamentu Bydgoskiego” (1811-1815); „Dziennik Warszawski” (1851-1856); „Dziennik Warszawski” (1864-1875); „Dziennik Wileński” (1906-1907); „Echa Kieleckie” (1906-1907); „Gazeta 2 Grosze” (Wilno; 1910-1911); „Gazeta Bydgoska” (1810); „Gazeta Codzienna” (Lwów; 1908-1939); „Gazeta Codzienna” (Warszawa; 1831-1861); „Gazeta Codzienna” (Wilno; 1911-1914); „Gazeta Codzienna Narodowa i Obca” (Warszawa; 1818-1819); „Gazeta Częstochowska” (1909-1918); „Gazeta Gdańska” (1891-1939); „Gazeta Górnośląska” (Bytom; 1874-1884); „Gazeta Grudziądzka” (1894-1939); „Gazeta Handlowa” (Warszawa; 1864-1905); „Gazeta Kaliska” (Kalisz; 1893-1939); „Gazeta Kielecka” (1870-1939); „Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego” (Warszawa; 1797-1830); „Gazeta Krajowa” (Warszawa; 1794); „Gazeta Krakowska” (1796-1849); „Gazeta Kujawska” (Włocławek; 1906-1913); „Gazeta Lecka” (Giżycko; 1875-1892); „Gazeta Lubelska” (1876-1905, 1910-1911); „Gazeta Ludowa” (Ełk; 1896-1902); „Gazeta Lwowska” (1811-1939); „Gazeta Narodowa” (Lwów; 1848, 1862-1915); „Gazeta Narodowa i Obca” (Warszawa; 1791-1792); „Gazeta Olsztyńska” (1886-1939); „Gazeta Opolska” (1890-1921); „Gazeta Polska” (Poznań; 1848-1850); „Gazeta Polska” (Warszawa; 1826-1831); „Gazeta Polska” (Warszawa; 1861-1907); „Gazeta Południowo Pruska” (Poznań; 1794-1806); „Gazeta Poranna” (Lwów; 1910-1935); „Gazeta Poranna” (Warszawa; 1837-1841); „Gazeta Poranna 2 Grosze” (Warszawa; 1912-1925); „Gazeta Powstania Polski” (Warszawa; 1794); „Gazeta Powszechna” (Lwów; 1848); „Gazeta Poznańska” (1806-1815); „Gazeta Radomska” (1884-1917); „Gazeta Rządowa” (Warszawa; 1794); „Gazeta Rządowa Królestwa Polskiego” (Warszawa; 1838-1861); „Gazeta Toruńska” (1867-1921); „Gazeta Warszawska” (1774-1935); „Gazeta Warszawska Patriotyczna” (1794); „Gazeta Wieczorna” (Lwów; 1910-1935); „Gazeta Wielkiego Księstwa Poznańskiego” (1815-1865); „Gazeta Wolna Warszawska” (1794); „Głos” (Lwów; 1860-1861); „Głos” (Lwów; 1907-1912); „Głos Narodu” (Kraków; 1893-1939); „Głos Śląski” (Gliwice; 1903-1921); „Goniec” (Lwów; 1908-1912); „Goniec Codzienny” (Wilno; 1910-1911); „Goniec Częstochowski” (1906-1939); „Goniec Krakowski” (1828-1831); „Goniec Lubelski” (1905-1906); „Goniec Łódzki” (1898-1906); „Goniec Polski” (Lwów; 1907-1908); „Goniec Polski” (Poznań; 1850-1851); „Goniec Poranny” (Warszawa; 1901-1918); „Goniec Wieczorny” (Warszawa; 1901-1918); „Goniec Wielkopolski” (Poznań; 1877-1932); „Goniec Wileński” (1908-1910); „Górnoślązak” (Katowice; 1901-1933); „Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny” (1910-1939); „Iskra” (Sosnowiec; 1910-1919); „Jutrzenka” (Kraków; 1848-1849); „Kaliszanin” (Kalisz; 1870-1892); „Katolik” (Chełmno; 1868-1931); „Korrespondent Krajowy i Zagraniczny” (Warszawa; 1792-1793);

development of Polish press until 1914). The Warszawa publications (46 titles) are salient in the material; major ambitious cities also marked their presence: Lwów (23), Kraków (16), Poznań (13), Wilno (9). Forty major newspapers were being published in total until 1914.

### Occasional newspapers

The first historical developments of press publications happened in the form of occasional, non-periodical news publications published around the time important events took place that aroused general interest. However, regular newspapers provide systematic coverage of news, while the occasional newspapers depended on transitory interest serving satiating curiosity only. The “information-oriented” newspapers could arguably include „Pocztą Królewiecką” that has been published systematically since August 6, 1718 in the form of typical newspaper covering the news from the entire Europe as well (mostly reprints from Vienna and Hamburg newspapers). The paper was owned by J. D. Cenkier, the owner of printing house located in Królewiec; however, the mainspring behind the initiative was Protestant pastor J. Rekuć. The paper was initially published once a week, but in 1719 it switched to publishing twice a week<sup>5</sup>.

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„Korrespondent Narodowy i Zagraniczny” (Warszawa; 1794-1796); „Korrespondent Warszawski” (Warszawa; 1831-1834); „Kraj” (Kraków; 1869-1874); „Krakus” (Kraków; 1822-1823); „Kronika Codzienna” (Kraków; 1823); „Kronika Wiadomości Krajowych i Zagranicznych” (Warszawa; 1856-1860); „Kurier Codzienny” (Warszawa; 1965-1905); „Kurier Litewski” (Grodno; 1796-1840); „Kurier Litewski” (Wilno; 1760-1764); „Kurier Litewski” (Wilno; 1905-1915); „Kurier Lubelski” (1865-1878); „Kurier Lwowski” (1883-1926); „Kurier Łódzki” (1906-1911); „Kurier Polski” (Warszawa; 1729-1760); „Kurier Polski” (Warszawa; 1829-1931); „Kurier Polski” (Warszawa; 1898-1939); „Kurier Poranny” (Warszawa; 1881-1939); „Kurier Poznański” (1872-1939); „Kurier Śląski” (Katowice; 1907-1922); „Kurier Warszawski” (1761-1764); „Kurier Warszawski” (1821-1939); „Kurier Wileński” (1841-1864); „Kurier Wileński” (1910-1911); „Kurier Zagłębia” (Sosnowiec; 1907-1922); „Merkury” (Warszawa; 1830-1831); „Monitor Warszawski” (1824-1828); „Naprzód” (Kraków; 1892-1939); „Nowa Gazeta” (Warszawa; 1906-1918); „Nowa Reforma” (Kraków; 1882-1928); „Nowiny” (Kraków; 1905-1914); „Nowiny” (Warszawa; 1877-1883); „Nowiny dla Wszystkich” (Kraków; 1903-1905); „Nowiny Raciborskie” (Racibórz; 1889-1921); „Nowy Kurier Łódzki” (1911-1918); „Orędownik” (Poznań; 1871-1922); „Orzeł Biały” (Warszawa; 1819-1820); „Polak” (Katowice; 1905-1926); „Polak-Katolik” (Lublin; 1906-1929); „Polska” (Lwów; 1848-1849); „Postęp” (Lwów; 1848); „Przedświt” (Lwów; 1901-1903); „Przegląd Polityczny, Społeczny i Literacki” (Lwów; 1885-1914); „Pszczółka Krakowska” (1819-1823); „Rozwój” (Łódź; 1897-1914); „Ruch Katolicki” (Lwów; 1897-1901); „Słowo” (Warszawa; 1882-1914); „Słowo Polskie” (Lwów; 1895-1934); „Uprzywilejowane Wiadomości z Cudzych Krajów” (Warszawa; 1729-1760); „Wiadomości Handlowe” (Warszawa; 1830); „Wiadomości Warszawskie” (1765-1774); „Wiarus” (Poznań; 1849-1850); „Wiek” (Warszawa; 1873-1898); „Wiek Dwudziesty” (Lwów; 1901-1902); „Wiek Ilustrowany” (Warszawa; 1899-1906); „Wiek Nowy” (Lwów; 1900-1939); „Wielkopolanin” (Poznań; 1848-1850); „Wielkopolanin” (Poznań; 1883-1939); „Wieści Poznańskie” (1851-1852).

<sup>5</sup> J. Łojek: *Prasa polska w latach 1661-1831*, [in:] *Prasa polska w latach 1661-1864...* op. cit.; J. Łojek: „Pocztą Królewiecką” *Jana Dawida Cenkiera*, „Kwartalnik Prasoznawczy” 1957, no. 3; J. Lankau: *Prasa staropolska na tle rozwoju prasy w Europie 1513-1729*. Kraków 1960; D. Hombek: *Prasa i czasopisma polskie XVIII wieku w perspektywie bibliologicznej*, Kraków 2001.

## Polish newspapers until 1795 <sup>6</sup>

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Poland the press market was restricted by the license-based, monopolistic system of regulations. The publishing privilege was granted to Pijar Order. Taking advantage of that right, J. Naumański started to publish the first regular information-oriented newspaper. Initially his publications were two weekly periodicals: „Nowiny Polskie” (since Jan 4 1729) covering the domestic news and „Relata Refero” (since Jan 8 1729) covering the foreign news. A few months later the titles were changed to „**Kurier Polski**” (21 Dec 1729) and „**Uprzywilejowane Wiadomości z Cudzych Krajów**” (Jan 1730), respectively. Circulation was probably about 1000 copies. The newspapers were distributed in Warszawa as well as in other cities via post. Unlike other European newspapers focusing mostly on foreign news, „Kurier Polski” covered mostly the then-current domestic news, thus this particular paper can be seen as important historical resource of 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 1736 Pijar Order has lost publishing privilege<sup>7</sup> which was reassigned to Jesuit Order. The new editors of „Kurier” were M. Ławisz (until 1760) and later F. Bohomolec. The latter editor has significantly reorganized the newspaper. In years 1761-1764 „Kurier” was printed on Saturdays (it was published as „**Kurier Warszawski**”), and „Wiadomości Uprzywilejowane Warszawskie” were printed on Wednesdays. The two publications were merged in the following years and published from 1765 to 1774 using the title „**Wiadomości Warszawskie**”<sup>8</sup>. After liquidation of Jesuit Order in 1773, Rev. S. Łuskiński gained the permanent and exclusive publishing right for covering news, who became editor and publisher of „**Gazeta Warszawska**” since 1774 which became his lifetime occupation (until 1793). At the time the paper was published twice a week (Sat, Wed), with circulation of 500 to 1500 copies. The paper covered mainly domestic news, but it delivered the foreign news section as well, the publishing standard of which easily matched the leading European newspapers. The editor’s views were mainly conservative and he often expressed such views in the paper: he attacked the Enlightenment philosophers, fought against the masonry and against the secularization of society while simultaneously supporting pro-Russian policies (he was

<sup>6</sup> Notable papers: J. Łojek: *Prasa polska w latach 1661-1831...* op. cit. p. 18-45, 53-59; J. Łojek: *Dziennikarze i prasa w Warszawie w XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1960; J. Łojek: „Gazeta Warszawska” księdza Łuskińskiego (1774-1793), Warszawa 1959; W. Giełżyński: *Prasa warszawska 1661-1914*, Warszawa 1962; M. Tyrowicz: *Prasa Galicji i Rzeczypospolitej Krakowskiej 1772-1850*, Kraków 1979; I. Łossowska-Zaporowska: „Korespondent Warszawski” w latach 1792-1796. *Zarys monograficzny*, Warszawa 1969; 250 lat „Kuriera Polskiego”. Ed. W. Sachs, Warszawa 1983.

<sup>7</sup> Since that time the Order has published only two newspapers: „Gazette de Varsovie” (1758-1794) and „Warschauer Zeitung” (1757-1763).

<sup>8</sup> W. Gramatowski: *Franciszek Bohomolec - wydawca, prefekt drukarni i redaktor „Wiadomości Warszawskich”*, „Roczniki Biblioteczne” 1970, no. 3/4, p. 531-572.

supporter of Catherina II), supporting Targowica and arguing against Four-Year Parliament (Sejm Czteroletni). A year after Łuskina passed away, „Gazeta” has changed the title to „**Gazeta Krajowa**” and subsequently „**Gazeta Wolna Warszawska**”. The newspaper had become the publishing title of Kosciuszko Uprising undertakers<sup>9</sup>. Since 1791 the reform party has published „**Gazeta Narodowa i Obca**” twice a week (ed. J. U. Niemcewicz, T. Mostowski and J. Weysenhoff) which defended 3<sup>rd</sup> of May Constitution articles and has been closed by Targowica authorities in 1792. Other titles of importance included „**Korrespondent Krajowy i Zagraniczny**”<sup>10</sup> (1792-1793) edited by K. Malinowski and published three times a week. The press started developing quickly during this period not only in Crown (Korona) region; „**Kurier Litewski**” was a major newspaper published by Jesuit Order in Wilno in years 1760-1764.

During Kościuszko Uprising a few titles published by the reform party are also worth mentioning: „**Gazeta Powstania Polski**” edited by T. Podlecki published three times a week, „**Gazeta Obywatelska i Patriotyczna Warszawska**”<sup>11</sup> edited by Rev. J. Meier (twice a week) and the very first daily newspaper „**Gazeta Rządowa**” edited by F. K. Dmochowski and Rev. F. K. Siarczyński.

### **Polish newspapers 1795-1815** <sup>12</sup>

The development of the press languished after the failure of Uprising. In 1794 only two newspapers were being published in Warszawa: „**Gazeta Warszawska**” (A. Lesznowski) and „**Korrespondent Narodowy i Zagraniczny**”<sup>13</sup> (ed. K. Malinowski) who debated furiously each other. The respective circulations of those papers were relatively low and achieved from 500 to 800 copies. A fact worth noticing is that the Warszawa press has been the most significant one in the areas dominated by Russia. Other regions of Partition have been barely able to develop any press at all. The only notable titles published outside Warszawa titles were „**Kurier Litewski**” (1796-1840) started up by T. Włodek and published in Grodno (later in Wilno) and J. Maj’s „**Gazeta Krakowska**” (1796-1849) that has become

<sup>9</sup> J. Łojek: „*Gazeta Warszawska*” księdza Łuskiny... op. cit.

<sup>10</sup> Several version of title: „Korrespondent Kraiowy y Zagraniczny”, „Korespondent Warszawski i Zagraniczny” and others.

<sup>11</sup> Another mutation: „Gazeta Warszawska Patriotyczna” (1794).

<sup>12</sup> Notable papers: J. Łojek: *Prasa polska w latach 1661-1831*...op. cit. p. 60-69; W. Giełżyński: *Prasa warszawska 1661-1914*... op. cit.; K. Ossowski: *Prasa Księstwa Warszawskiego*, Warszawa 2004; A. Słomkowska: *Prasa rządowa Księstwa Warszawskiego i Królestwa Polskiego 1807-1838*, Warszawa 1969.

<sup>13</sup> Previously: „Korrespondent Warszawski...” (1792-1793), subsequently „Gazeta Korespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego” (1797-1830).

the main information-oriented paper of Galicja<sup>14</sup>. The paper published by J. Maj was highly successful thanks to the rich news section and the notable literary section. The history of newspapers published in Lwów has been started by W. Dzieduszycki with „**Dziennik Patriotycznych Polityków**” (1792-1798) published twice and then six times a week (the newspaper didn't last long). It wasn't until 1811 when the first long-lived „**Gazeta Lwowska**” has been started (it lasted till 1939) which were published 3-4 times a week and covered the domestic and foreign news in addition to printing government announcements. The most significant newspaper of Poznań was „**Gazeta Poznańska**” (1806-1815) edited by I. S. Raabski (it had its German-language counterpart titled „Posener Zeitung” edited by J. S. Kaulfuss). The newspaper was created by transforming „**Gazeta Południowo Pruska**” (1794-1806, German version titled „Südpreuussische Zeitung”) and after its liquidation in 1815 another newspaper, „**Gazeta Wielkiego Księstwa Poznańskiego**” was started in its place (published till 1865, German version „Zeitung des Grossherzogthums Posen”). Other initiatives from Prussian Partition included three transitory newspapers in Bydgoszcz: „**Dziennik Doniesień Rządowych i Prywatnych Departamentu Bydgoskiego**” (1808-1809); „**Gazeta Bydgoska**” (1810, German version „Bromberger Zeitung”) and „**Dziennik Tygodniowy Departamentu Bydgoskiego**” (1811-1812). Since 1806 the distinguishing feature of the press of this period was almost cult-like status of Napoleon, who epitomized the hope of achieving sovereignty for the Polish nation. On the other hand, the strict censorship was a salient feature of publishing at the time<sup>15</sup>.

### **Newspapers published in the Kingdom of Poland and in the area of Russian partition 1815–1830**<sup>16</sup>

In years 1815-1830 (i.e. during the Constitutional period of Kingdom of Poland) press had been developing quickly. Bibliographies describe 156 titles including 29 news-oriented papers published in Polish. The press of Warszawa has dominated the Russian partition during nearly the entire historical period of Partitions. In Warszawa alone 7 daily papers were

<sup>14</sup> W. Bieńkowski: *Jan Maj – założyciel i pierwszy redaktor „Gazety Krakowskiej” w latach 1796-1831*, „Prasa Współczesna i Dawna” 1959, no. 1/2.

<sup>15</sup> More extensively: A. Słomkowska: *Prasa rządowa Księstwa Warszawskiego ...* op. cit.; T. Lępkowski: *Propaganda napoleońska w Księstwie Warszawskim*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 1962, no. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Notable papers: J. Łojek: *Prasa polska w latach 1661-1831...* op. cit. p. 69-81; W. Giełżyński: *Prasa warszawska 1661-1914...* op. cit.; A. Słomkowska: *Prasa rządowa Księstwa Warszawskiego...* op. cit.; J. Łojek: *Studia nad prasą i opinią publiczną w Królestwie Polskim 1815–1830*, Warszawa 1966; N. Gąsiorowska: *Wolność druku w Królestwie Kongresowym 1815-1830*, Warszawa 1916; Z. Anculewicz: „*Kurier Warszawski*” w latach 1821-1868, Olsztyn 1997; W. Pusz: *„Nowy Parnas” przedromantycznej Warszawy. Bruno Kiciński i grono jego współpracowników*, Wrocław 1979; J. J. Lipski: *Warszawscy „Pustelnicy” i „Bywalscy”*. Vol. 1, *Felietoniści i kronikarze 1818-1899*, Warszawa 1973; A. Słomkowska: *Dziennikarze warszawscy. Szkice z XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1974.

printed in 1830, with total annual circulation of 2.2 million copies.<sup>17</sup> A highly liberal constitution introduced by Alexander I which guaranteed the freedom of speech was probably a cause of the development; however, the reactionary government circles of Kingdom did not uphold the constitution, which resulted in restoring preventive censorship after a few years<sup>18</sup>.

The Warszawa press market was dominated by two old news-oriented papers, „Gazeta Warszawska” and „Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego”. Other important titles included „Gazeta Codzienna Narodowa i Obca”, „Orzeł Biały”, „Kurier Warszawski”, „Monitor Warszawski”, „Powszechny Dziennik Krajowy”, „Gazeta Polska”, „Kurier Polski” and „Wiadomości Handlowe”. The eldest newspaper was aforementioned **„Gazeta Warszawska”** published since Jan 1774 thanks to the privilege granted to Rev. S. Łuskinia. After his death the newspaper was published by T. Włodek, while A. Lesznowski started „Gazeta Warszawska” again after the failure of Kosciuszko Uprising. In spite of conflict between A. Lesznowski with T. Włodek, „Gazeta” was finally acquired in 1796 in possession of Lesznowski family and remained their property until 1906. Initially A. Lesznowski was an editor who formed conservative and loyalistic views of the newspaper and fought against the liberal press of the Kingdom. Many aspects of the newspaper were highly attractive to the readers, including good cultural journalism and criticism (e.g. the theatre play reviews of Towarzystwo Iksów were published), as well as due to its up-to-date value, for it was published seven times a week. **„Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego”** had been published in Warszawa since 1797 by a publishing company. The paper was edited by K. Malinowski (until 1830). Previously, it was published under title „Korespondent Krajowy i Zagraniczny” (1794-1796). The paper’s political profile was highly patriotic; foreign news, administration’s announcements as well as and private announcements were large part of the content. That paper was competing against Lesznowski's "Gazeta”, who was involved in lawsuits in which he attempted to acquire the press monopoly rights. In 1818 **„Gazeta Codzienna Narodowa i Obca”** started being published in Warszawa 6 times per week and quickly gained competitive advantage over other titles. B. Kiciński was publisher and editor of the paper. Kiciński had highly liberal views and was associated with masonry circles and progressive youth of Warszawa. Together with T. Morawski they have edited “Gazeta” up to high publishing standards; the circulation was growing slowly finally achieving 1600 copies. The domestic and foreign news were published and quite a lot of space was devoted to issues related to freedom of press and civil rights. The

<sup>17</sup> J. Łojek: *Prasa polska w latach 1661-1831...* op. cit. p. 70-71.

<sup>18</sup> W. Caban: *Cenzura w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1815-1915*, [in:] *Granice wolności słowa...* op. cit. p. 8-9.

published views of the paper were highly critical of authorities which finally resulted in restoring preventative censorship; the paper was finally liquidated in June 1819. The liquidation was caused by article titled *On abuses committed by police in the constitutional country*. B. Kiciński and T. Morawski have started another publication in its place several months later, titled „**Orzeł Biały**” and published three times a week. The political profile of the paper was close to that of „Gazeta Codzienna...”. The paper has continued publishing patriotic texts, liberal ideas and criticism of the authorities, which caused numerous censor interventions and liquidation of the paper in Sept 1820.<sup>19</sup> Finally, in 1821 Kiciński has started publishing „**Kurier Warszawski**”, which managed to survive until 1939. In 1826 the daily newspaper „**Gazeta Polska**” was founded in Warszawa by K. Bronikowski i M. Mochnacki, with profile of „daily political and literary newspaper”. During the November Uprising the paper had supported the moderately democratic stances, while after the Uprising failed (since 29 IX 1831) the title was changed to „Gazeta Codzienna Krajowa i Obca”; the paper was subsequently edited by D. Dzieżyński, A. Kamiński et al. The newspaper survived until 1861.<sup>20</sup> The development of independent press has led J. K. Szaniawski who was the main censor of Kingdom to create the informational daily financed and controlled by Komisja Rządowa Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego (Government Committee of Religious Creed and Public Enlightenment). „**Monitor Warszawski**” was published 2-5 times per week since 1824; the paper was edited by A. T. Chłędowski. Most of the time the paper published the foreign reprints fighting the liberal ideas. This put the readers off and the circulation was gradually diminishing and in 1828 the paper was liquidated and replaced by „**Powszechny Dziennik Krajowy**” (1828-1831)<sup>21</sup> edited by the same staff. The content was modified, however: the government section was reduced in favour of numerous political, cultural and economic news. The paper has attracted young writers promoting the Romanticism and attacking Enlightenment and classicist ideas. The similar views were expressed in „Gazeta Polska ” founded in 1826 and edited by T. Gąbka since 1835; M. Mochnacki and J. N. Janowski who held liberal and patriotic views have co-edited the paper. The editors have also published in another daily newspaper - „**Kurier Polski**” (1829-1831) founded in 1829; M. Mochnacki, A. Cichocki and K. Bronikowski have published their articles there. „Kurier” was highly successful and marked its presence in history as the main publication where the debate of romanticists with classicists. The Bank of Poland has

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<sup>19</sup> J. Łojek: *Prasa polska w latach 1661-1831...* op. cit. p. 75-76.

<sup>20</sup> More extensively: W. Giełżyński: *Prasa warszawska...* op. cit.

<sup>21</sup> During 1830-1831 published under title: „Dziennik Powszechny Krajowy”.



published „**Wiadomości Handlowe**” since 1830 (also „**Merkury**” 1830-1831). The paper was published 3 times per week and delivered extensive foreign news on politics and commerce. Since the political developments at the time led towards the Uprising, the foreign news section was perceived as especially important. Most of the European countries at the time underwent revolutionary upheavals and social and political conflicts; the news reaching Poland gave rise to the hopes for success of uprising.

Outside Warszawa the press was published only in Wilno at the time, which was second in importance after Warszawa in terms of cultural and scientific activity. „**Kurier Litewski**” (1796-1840) was still being published as well as other weekly and monthly news-oriented newspapers published in Russian were present there.

### **Newspapers of Kingdom of Poland and Lithuanian-Russian lands 1832-1864**<sup>22</sup>

During the period between uprisings in Kingdom of Poland and Lithuanian-Russian lands 185 titles were published. That number constitutes 39,6% of all the titles registered by „Bibliografia prasy polskiej 1832-1864” (476)<sup>23</sup>, which means that in comparison to 1815-1830 the number of newspapers was reduced significantly. During the previous period of the period the factor was 71,7% of the entire publishing market (156). The highest number of titles was published in Warszawa (130), Wilno (22) and Petersburg. The information-oriented papers have suffered detrimental changes: only three daily newspapers have survived from the 22 papers published before and during the October uprising. the mainstays of „Gazeta Warszawska” and „Kurier Warszawski”<sup>24</sup> were present as well as administration’s „Powszechny Dziennik Krajowy”. „Gazeta Polska” was replaced by „Gazeta Codzienna”, while „Gazety Korespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego” was replaced by „**Korespondent Warszawski**” (1831-1834). The information-oriented papers have been published only in Warszawa; the few local titles were no longer published. The new and saved daily newspapers were still being edited in spite of censorship limitations and many

<sup>22</sup> Notable papers: E. Tomaszewski: *Prasa Królestwa Polskiego i ziem litewsko-ruskich okresu międzypowstaniowego (1832-1864)*, [in:] *Prasa polska w latach 1661-1864...* op. cit. p. 110-150; W. Giełżyński: *Prasa warszawska 1661-1914...* op. cit.; A. Słomkowska: *Prasa rządowa Księstwa Warszawskiego...* op. cit.; E. Tomaszewski: *Kształtowanie się kapitalistycznych przedsiębiorstw prasowych w Warszawie 1851-1860*, Warszawa 1968; Z. Anculewicz: „*Kurier Warszawski*” w latach 1821-1868... op. cit.; J. J. Lipski: *Warszawscy "Pustelnicy" i "Bywalscy"*. Vol. 1... op. cit.; A. Ślisz: *Henryk Rzewuski. Życie i poglądy*, Warszawa 1986.

<sup>23</sup> E. Tomaszewski: *Prasa Królestwa Polskiego i ziem litewsko-ruskich...* op. cit. p. 110-111, 115; B. Korczak: *Bibliografia prasy polskiej 1832-1864*, Warszawa, 1968.

<sup>24</sup> *Kurjer Warszawski. Książka jubileuszowa ozdobiona 247 rysunkami w tekście (1821-1896)*. Warszawa 1896; Z. Anculewicz: „*Kurier Warszawski*” w latach 1821-1868... op. cit.

talented and experienced publishers and reporters leaving the country. „**Gazeta Warszawska**” was still owned by family of Lesznowski; only the editor-in-chief were changing (J. Wilkoszewski, J. N. Krupski, F. Gworecki, A. Lesznowski). The newspaper's status was rising and falling in time, which was reflected by shifting circulation and subscribers. „**Kurier Warszawski**”, still edited by L. A. Dmuszewski, was popular at all times. The local news dominated the paper; the literary content was adapted to the less sophisticated readers. Administration's „**Dziennik Powszechny**” (1831-1837)<sup>25</sup> was owned by family of T. A. Chłędowski; however, replacing the editors who criticised the authorities of Kingdom and publishing the materials conflicting with Russian politics have resulted in closing the publication in 1837. „**Gazeta Poranna**” was created in its place in 1837 (it was published until 1841 r.)<sup>26</sup>. The paper was edited mainly by A. Dobek and H. Skimborowicz, but the editorial staff also included A. Szabrański and L. Pietrusiński. The editors of „Gazeta Poranna” have maintained the liberal stance of the paper, changing its previous characteristics; the administration's section and local authorities announcements were deleted. The latter information was published in a new, bilingual publication founded in 1838 by authorities „**Gazeta Rządowa Królestwa Polskiego**” (until 1861) and subsequently in „**Dziennik Powszechny**” (1861-1864).

The forties have brought the development of ephemerid daily newspapers in Warszawa: in 1842 „Gazeta Powszechna” was founded (edited by K. Witte). In 1843 the same publisher attempted founding another daily paper, titled „Dziennik Krajowy”, publishing of which was ceased after a few months. Beginning with 1850 a new situation developed: the publication of „**Dziennik Warszawski**” (1851-1856)<sup>27</sup> edited by H. Rzewuski was an important event in the publishing market. Previously, Rzewuski was highly active in „Tygodniki Petersburski” (1830-1858) known for loyalist-conservative views. Rzewuski managed to obtain a permission for publishing a conservative paper thanks to his association with Russian authorities. „Dziennik” was received with general interest thanks to the paper covering a wide range of topics and high publishing standard. It featured a lot of information regarding social, cultural and economic life of the country and extended „Varia” section has ensured large numbers of subscribers. The editorial staff consisted of competent journalists, including . A. Wilkoński, J. Bartoszewicz, W. Szymanowski, J. B. Wagner, J. Korzeniowski, K. W. Wójcicki et al. The decade has witnessed deep changes in publishing. The high-profile

<sup>25</sup> Previously: „Dziennik Powszechny Krajowy”, „Dziennik Powszechny Krajowy” (1828-1931).

<sup>26</sup> In 1841 r. H. Skimbrowicz changed the title of „Gazeta Poranna” to „Czas” (1841).

<sup>27</sup> In period 1856-1860 the line of the newspaper was continued by daily „Kronika Wiadomości Krajowych i Zagranicznych” (Warszawa; 1856-1860).

competition of two papers, „Dziennik Warszawski” and „Gazeta Warszawska” was taking place. „Gazeta Warszawska” supported itself by cooperation with renown writers, including: J. I. Kraszewski, J. Korzeniowski (Conrad), J. Kaczkowski; the new printing techniques were being introduced and the author fees issues were regulated which spawned readership and influence of newspapers. „**Gazeta Codzienna**” owned by E. Miaskowski since 1850 has also joined competition. The editorial staff included: J. K. Gregorowicz, J. Pracki and F. H. Lestwan. To compete effectively, the paper has also contracted renown critics and authors: W. A. Maciejowski, F. Skarbek, J. Korzeniowski, J. I. Kraszewski, K. Koźmian, E. Odyniec et al. In 1853 Miastkowski’s „Gazeta” was bought out by A. Przeździecki and then by A. Niewiarowski who improved the paper’s publishing standard, but failed to improve its financial position. Finally, in 1859 he sold the paper to L. Kronenberg, who set J. I. Kraszewski as the editor. Thanks to the skills of Kraszewski the paper has quickly gained in attractiveness and managed to get many successful authors to cooperate and the patriotic position of the paper helped to expand the readership (in 1860 there were 6000 subscribers and circulation was 7000).

„**Kurier Litewski**” (1796-1840) was still published in Wilno. It had become bilingual paper of the government since 1834 and it was printed 2 or 3 times per week. The new version featured the title of „Kurier Litewski. Litovskij Vestnik” edited by A. Marcinkowski. Since 1841 the newspaper was published as „**Kurier Wileński**” (1841-1864).

## **Newspapers of Kingdom of Poland and Russian partition 1865-1914**<sup>28</sup>

After the failure of January Uprising, the Polish press in Kingdom had been developing quickly in spite of political situation and repressive laws (license system, preventive censorship). As of 1864, 20 titles were published in the Kingdom, but in 1885 the

<sup>28</sup> Notable papers: Z. Kmieciak: *Prasa polska w Królestwie polskim i Imperium Rosyjskim w latach 1865-1904*, [in:] *Prasa polska w latach 1864-1918...* op. cit. p. 11-57; Z. Kmieciak: *Prasa polska w zaborze rosyjskim w latach 1905-1915*, [in:] *Prasa polska w latach 1864-1918...* op. cit. p. 58-113; Z. Kmieciak: *Prasa warszawska w okresie pozytywizmu 1864-1885*, Warszawa 1971; Z. Kmieciak: *Prasa warszawska w latach 1886-1904*, Wrocław 1989; Z. Kmieciak: *Prasa warszawska w latach 1908-1919*, Warszawa 1981; W. Giełżyński: *Prasa warszawska 1661-1914...* op. cit.; Z. Anculewicz: „*Kurier Warszawski w latach 1821-1868*”... op. cit.; Z. Anculewicz: *Świat i ziemie polskie w oczach redaktorów i współpracowników "Kuriera Warszawskiego" w latach 1868-1915*, Warszawa 2002; H. Bałabuch: *Nie tylko cenzura. Prasa prowincjonalna Królestwa Polskiego w rosyjskim systemie prasowym w latach 1865-1915*, Lublin 2001; *Stara i młoda prasa. Przyczynek do historii literatury ojczystej 1866-1872*, Warszawa 1998; *Publicystyka okresu pozytywizmu 1860-1900. Antologia*. Ed. S. Fita, Warszawa 2002; A. Adamczyk: *Cztery epoki prasy Kielecczyny 1811-1956*, Kraków 1991; J. J. Lipski: *Warszawscy "Pustelnicy" i "Bywałscy"*. Vol. 1, *Felietoniści i kronikarze 1818-1899*. Vol. 2, *Felietoniści i kronikarze 1900-1939*, Warszawa 1973; M. Adamczyk, J. Dziemiakowska: *Ludzie prasy Kielecczyny w XIX i XX wieku. Indeks biograficzny*, Kielce 2000; J. Walicki: *Dziennik Łódzki - nasze 115-lecie*, Łódź 1999; Z. Kmieciak: *Program polityczny "Głosu Warszawskiego" (1908-1909) i "Gazety Warszawskiej" (1909-1915)*, Warszawa 1980; K. Olechowicz: *Ćwierć wieku z "Kurierem Warszawskim" 1914-1939*, Kraków 1974.

number has reached 80 and subsequently 140 in year 1904. While the market was dominated by daily and weekly publications before 1864, after failure of uprising the mainstay has moved to weekly, monthly and annual publications covering various topics. The main publishing centre was Warszawa, which has released 95% of all the newspapers of the country<sup>29</sup>. Various new daily newspapers were founded besides the old surviving periodicals published before 1864. „**Kurier Warszawski**” founded in 1821 continued publishing (it managed to accumulate almost 118 years of continuous existence). Initially it was published six times a week and then seven times per week (since 1827). It delivered concise, short news and announcements; it was readable and easily available by lower strata of society. It was the first newspaper publishing local news for the inhabitants of capital city. Initially it was edited by B. Kiciński, who in 1821 sold the publishing house to renown actor and play writer L. A. Dmuszewski, who transformed it into a tabloid oriented towards poorer readers. „Kurier” was the cheapest newspaper of the Kingdom (it cost 40 zloty per year). The publication contained a good deal of sensationalism and “street news”, which still did not get it significant readership. This situation and the status of the paper was changed by editor W. Szymanowski, whose editorial staff included writers and graduates of Main School and got experienced journalists to cooperate (including F. Fryze, W. Gomulicki, T. Czapelski, T. Jeske-Choiński, B. Prus, M. Gawalewicz, A. Michaux, H. Sienkiewicz, B. Prus). After the transformation the typical tabloid content was replaced by a better and more extensive literary content. The circulation increased from 5000 to 12000 and in year 1883 “Kurier” was published twice a day. The development of the paper was greatly helped by establishment of its own field reporters and contracting the services of telegraph agencies. The subsequent editors were W. Szymanowski, F. Olszewski, W. Korotyński, F. Hoesik; since 1887 the paper was owned by S. Lewental. In 1905 the paper was taken over by Olchowicz family. In 1896 the newspaper’s circulation has achieved impressive 25,000, further increasing to 33,000 in 1908, while during the period of Second Republic exceeded 50,000 copies.<sup>30</sup>

The main competition of „Kurier Warszawski” was „**Kurier Codzienny**” published from 1865 to 1905. It was edited by K. Kucz i J. Hiż and it evolved into one of the most important periodicals covering politics and news (circulation was 5000-6000). A rich cultural and literary sections was delivered as well as the coverage of important religious events and

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<sup>29</sup> Z. Kmieciak: *Prasa polska w Królestwie polskim i Imperium Rosyjskim...* op. cit. p. 13; H. Eile: *Prasa warszawska przed stu laty i współczesna jej ocena*, Warszawa 1929.

<sup>30</sup> Z. Kmieciak: „*Kurier Warszawski*” – *organ mieszczaństwa warszawskiego (1908-1915)*, „Przegląd Humanistyczny” 1978, no. 7/8, p. 91-107; Z. Anculewicz: *Bibliografia prozy na łamach "Kurierza Warszawskiego" w latach 1868-1939*. Olsztyn 2000.

economic issues. Some shares in the newspaper were owned by Orgelbrand family, and from 1889 Gebethner and Wolf were the partial shareholders. In 1896 the newspaper was taken over by S. Libicki only to be subsequently bought out in 1905 by J. Grodecki (from that moment on it became the main newspaper of PPS, or Polish Socialist Party). „**Kurier Poranny**” founded by F. Fryze and F. Basiński in 1881 had similar characteristics.<sup>31</sup> Except covering events taking place in Warszawa, its main content was focused on sensational news. It was being published until 1939 except for 1907-1908 period. After resuming publishing in 1909 the circulation reached 24,000 copies.

The long-lived „**Gazeta Warszawska**” was still published, providing impeccably edited content on political and social events. It has covered the news as well as printed articles about history of Poland. The paper featured political editorial, news delivered by telegraph agencies, chronicles, economic news and the novel episode. Since 1794 "Gazeta" was in continuous possession of Lesznowski family; the paper was edited by J. Kenig after 1864 and later by S. Lesznowski. In 1906 the newspaper became controlled by proponents of National Democracy (edited by S. Kozicki), in 1915 it was closed for three years. Another notable newspaper was „**Gazeta Handlowa**” published in Warszawa in years 1864–1905. It was the first Polish newspaper devoted mainly to issues of commerce, industry and economy; the paper published numerous reviews of economic publications and economic reports. R. Okręt was the founder and the editor of newspaper. After 1877 „Gazeta Handlowa” has expanded cultural-literary section and contracted writers such as A. Świętochowski, H. Sienkiewicz and J. Czarnowski to cooperate with it. In 1906 the newspaper was transformed into socio-political publication; it became the main publication of Związek Postępowo-Demokratyczny (Progressive Democratic Union) with title „**Nowa Gazeta**” (until 1918). It was edited by S. A. Kempner i J. Lorentowicz (since 1912 the paper established relations with Polish Socialist Party). „**Gazeta Polska**” (1861-1907) also acquired high status among the information-oriented; the newspaper continued the line of „Gazeta Codzienna” published by L. Kronenberg (1831-1861). In years 1858-1863, when the newspaper was edited by K. I. Kraszewski, it has edited the highest circulation in its lifetime<sup>32</sup>. After removing the writer from Warszawa by Z. A. Wielopolski, E. Sulicki has become an editor, who has reduced the scope of political and economic news in favour of literature and arts critique. However, that

<sup>31</sup> Previously published as „Kurier Codzienny Antrakt” (1877-1881).

<sup>32</sup> E. Sulicki: *Działalność J. I. Kraszewskiego jako redaktora „Gazety Polskiej”*, [in:] *Książka jubileuszowa dla uczczenia 50-letniej działalności literackiej J. I. Kraszewskiego*, Warszawa 1880, p. 455-482; J. I. Kraszewski, L. Kronenberg: *Korespondencja 1859-1876*. Ed. M. Dynowska, Kraków 1929; W. Danek: *Publicystyka Józefa Ignacego Kraszewskiego w latach 1839-1872*, Wrocław 1957.

didn't keep the newspaper from losing significant number of subscribers. In 1875 Sulicki was replaced by J. Sikorski, who managed to restore past popularity of the newspaper. The next editor E. Leo has managed to increase further the readership. Leo managed to acquire B. Prus and H. Sienkiewicz as newspaper writers. The circulation of the newspaper has increased from 2400 in 1870 to 12000 in 1906. In year 1906 the newspaper has become the main publication of National Democracy (R. Dmowski), and a year later it was closed. „**Wiek**” daily newspaper was published in years 1873-1906 (since 1899 titled as „Wiek Ilustrowany”), first edited by H. Lestwam, and then by K. Zalewski. The newspaper was addressed to the less affluent landowner segment of society; besides domestic and foreign news, a lot of space was devoted to covering social and cultural matters. At the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century the newspaper had developed circulation of 4800, which grew in 1904 to 19000. Since 1877 the Warszawa market of daily newspapers was expanded by „**Nowiny**” (1877-1883), whose first editor was E. Piltz (the paper was owned by F. Sulimierski, then by the Kronenberg family). The paper was built on basis of small add-on „Nowiny Niedzielne” (1876-1877) published together with „Wiek” newspaper however, it was quickly transformed into the paper of the Polish positivists and it had significant impact on the public opinion. The executive position in the editorial staff was held by A. Świętochowski (1878-1881) and later by B. Prus (1882-1883)<sup>33</sup>. However, the most significant success was enjoyed by another daily newspaper oriented towards political news and important events: „**Słowo**” (1882-1914). A. Zaleski was the publisher and H. Sienkiewicz took the post of the editor-in-chief. Sienkiewicz managed to get dozens of renown journalists, writers and scientists to work with the paper (including A. Rolle, W. Bełza, W. Olędzki, Z. Chełmicki, J. Kleczyński, J. Mycielski, J. Rostafiński, W. Szymanowski). Extensive news section, publishing large number of political articles and printing important literary works (e.g. *Ogniem i mieczem*, written by H. Sienkiewicz) and the coverage of news from Polish lands remaining in other partitions had ensured ongoing success of the paper (circulation was up to 12000). The followers of Sienkiewicz have also contributed to the success of the newspaper (W. Olędzki, M. Godlewski, L. Wortnowski, A. Donimirski). In 1901 two entrepreneurs, J. Gronowski and R. Mieszczankowski have founded in Warszawa another popular newspaper published twice a day: „**Goniec Poranny**” (published in the morning) and „**Goniec Wieczorny**” (published afternoon). The newspaper quickly acquired high circulation (50000 copies in 1904, 25000 in 1909) and about 6000 subscribers, for whom the paper sent free issue every quarter (the newspaper was published

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<sup>33</sup> M. Brykalska: *Aleksander Świętochowski. Biografia*. Vol. 1-2, Warszawa 1987; W. Sonczyk: *Bolesław Prus. Publicysta - redaktor - teoretyk prasy*, Warszawa 2000.

until 1918). A separate class of government newspapers could be distinguished, **„Dziennik Warszawski”** (1864-1875) among others, which also has been published in Russian version under title *„Warszawskij Dniownik”* (1864-1915).

After 1905 in Russian partition the preventive censorship was abolished, which resulted in rapid increase of number of newspapers. At the same time, the prolonged martial law and the repressive censorship (numerous confiscations and closing newspapers) had made those titles transitory. Frequent changes of titles had been characteristic of this period. A significant fraction of those changes were related to attempts of circumventing the censorship. At the same time the press regulations in Kingdom after 1905 were more liberal than before and press could express the views in a relatively open manner. National Democracy had the most significant representation among the huge number of political newspapers that were being published after 1905 revolution. The newspapers from before revolution that have survived and changed its characteristics were still dominating the market, e.g. **„Gazeta Polska”** (until 1907), **„Goniec Poranny i Wieczorny”** (until 1918), **„Gazeta Warszawska”** (until 1939 r.) and numerous transitory titles, e.g. *„Trybuna Ludowa”* (1905) and radical **„Gazeta Poranna 2 Grosze”** (1912-1925), which was publication of National-Democratic Party (ed. P. Mączyński, A. Sadzewicz). Socialists were highly active in the press. While their main title of *„Robotnik”* was printed underground, the transformed **„Nowa Gazeta”** as well as numerous transitory titles openly represented that option (until 1918 r.). During the revolution the conservatives have lost the dominant political position; only the newspapers **„Słowo”** E. Pilz (until 1914 r.) and **„Kurier Polski”** (1898-1939)<sup>34</sup> have represented them, while the folk press did not have notable representatives in the region. Only two large commercial newspapers have distanced themselves from the politics and acquired apolitical stance: the long-lived **„Kurier Warszawski”** (until 1939 r.) taken over in 1905 by Olchowicz family and **„Kurier Poranny”** published by F. Fryze (published until 1915 and during 1918-1939)<sup>35</sup>. This structure of market has lasted until 1918 with only minor changes.

After the January Uprising the Poles living in the western lands of the partition have been deprived of the right to publish local newspapers, while in the Kingdom those had the transitory character with a few exceptions<sup>36</sup>. The dynamic development of local press has started after the revolution. in 1905 – 22 titles were present; 1909 – 41 titles; w 1914 – 79 titles. The largest number of newspapers of this kind were published in Łódź: 40 Polish

<sup>34</sup> Temporarily published as *„Dziennik Polski”* (1913-1915).

<sup>35</sup> Z. Kmiecik: *Prasa warszawska w latach 1908-1918...* op. cit.; J. Łojek, J. Myśliński, W. Władysław: *Dzieje prasy polskiej...* op. cit., p. 61-65, 77-79.

<sup>36</sup> H. Bałabuch: *Nie tylko cenzura. Prasa prowincjonalna Królestwa Polskiego...* op. cit.

newspapers, 12 Russian newspapers, some German newspapers; the most significant ones were „**Dziennik Łódzki**” (1884-1892), „**Goniec Łódzki**” (1899-1906) and „**Rozwój**” (Łódź; 1897-1914). The most significant newspaper was „**Kurier Łódzki**” (1906-1911) that descended from „Goniec”. The newspaper was hounded by the censorship, suspended, and then changed the title to „**Nowy Kurier Łódzki**” (ed. S. Książek) in 1911. „**Kurier Lubelski**” (1865-1878) was published in Lublin. The newspaper was taken over by „**Gazeta Lubelska**” (1876-1905; 1910-1911) which in years 1905-1906 was published under the title „**Goniec Lubelski**” and Christian-Democratic „**Polak-Katolik**” (1906-1929) moved to Warszawa in 1908. In Częstochowa the first daily newspaper – the National-Democratic „**Goniec Częstochowski**” – was founded in 1906. In 1909 the second title has appeared on the market: „**Gazeta Częstochowska**”. In Sosnowiec „**Kurier Zagłębia**” (1907-1922) and daily „**Iskra**” (1910-1919) were printed. In Kielce „**Gazeta Kielecka**” has been published twice a week continuously since 1870, as well as „**Echa Kieleckie**” (1906-1907). In Radom „**Gazeta Radomska**” (1884-1917) has been published twice a week as well. In Włocławek „**Gazeta Kujawska**” (1906-1913) published 3 times a week was highly popular as well as National-Democratic „**Dziennik Kujawski**” (until 1914). In Kalisz the „**Kaliszanin**” newspaper (1870-1892) was published, which later changed the name to „**Gazeta Kaliska**” (1893-1939). The provincial press of the time featured two main political stances: liberal-democratic and national-democratic one, while the socialist and folk press was relatively poorly represented.

The press published in Wilno needs to be distinguished separately; since in the Wilno was the second largest publishing centre after Warszawa<sup>37</sup>. Initially, after the failure of Uprising no newspaper was published there, and „**Kurier Wileński**” (1841-1863) present on the market before uprising was replaced by Russian newspaper „**Vilenskij Vestnik**” (since 1864). However, new situation arose since the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. The legal reform of 1905 that introduced equal rights of press published in other languages with Russian language press was very significant. At first „**Kurier Litewski**” (1905-1910; 1912-1915) representing the conservatives was founded; it was edited by Cz. Jankowski and later W. Baranowski, while the literary section was ran by E. Orzeszkowa. In 1910 the newspaper was suspended and replaced by „**Kurier Wileński**” (1910-1911), while in 1912 it changed back to its old title under which it was published until 1915 r. The national-democratic stance was represented by „**Dziennik Wileński**” (1906-1907), which was subjected to multiple

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<sup>37</sup> Z. Kmieciak: *Prasa warszawska w latach 1908-1918...* op. cit., p. 95-97.



confiscations and it was suspended several times, which resulted in frequent title changes. Since 1908 it was published under title „**Goniec Wileński**” (1908-1910) and then „**Goniec Codzienny**” (1910-1911). In 1911 the editorial staff of „Goniec” was merged with “Kurier Wileński” as result of political alliance of national democrats and conservatives. The newspaper was published under common name of “Kurier Litewski”. „**Gazeta 2 Grosze**” (1910-1911) edited by the priests distanced itself from politics. It was the third major newspaper published in Wilno; after confiscation in 1911 it was published under title „**Gazeta Codzienna**” (1911-1914).

### **Newspapers of Kraków in years 1815-1846** <sup>38</sup>

Between Vienna Congress and the October Uprising the so-called "Free City of Krakow" constituted autonomous Republic of Krakow. The number of titles published in the area was only slightly lower than the respective number in the Kingdom. A Significant number of titles was exported to the Kingdom. Obviously, admitting the newspapers printed in Krakow into the Kingdom was dependent on Warszawa censorship. The newspapers of interest include „**Gazeta Krakowska**” (1794-1849) published by J. Maj. In years 1827-1830 the standards of the newspaper was below those typical of Warszawa, which led to significant changes in the newspaper in 1830. „Gazeta” was published 6 times a week, and hired K. Majeranowski. Majeranowski was an exceptional journalist, but he also was a censor suspected for collaboration with secret police of the Kingdom. He was also known as the publisher of „**Pszczółka Krakowska**” (1819-1823) published twice a week. The publication complementary to „Pszczółka” was news-oriented „**Krakus**” (1822-1823) published five times per week. Both titles finally got the Warszawa’s censorship into motion, which led to collapse of those titles. In 1823 Majeranowski began publishing „**Kronika Codzienna**” daily newspaper 7 times per week; however, the paper was not very successful and after less than a year the enterprise collapsed. In 1827 the untiring publisher has founded another newspaper, „**Goniec Krakowski**” (1828-1831) that featured extensive literary section printed three and later six times per week. The newspaper featured subtitle „Political, historical and literary daily". The role of Majeranowski was exceptional in the development of the press since he was editor and publisher of 15 local newspapers of various types. Other enterprises of Krakow of the time were highly transitory, e.g. „Dziennik Krakowski” (1832) edited by J. Wyleziński,

<sup>38</sup> Notable papers: J. Łojek: *Prasa polska w latach 1661-1831*...op. cit. p. 92-97; I. Homola: *Prasa galicyjska w latach 1831-1866*, [in:] *Prasa polska w latach 1661-1864*...op. cit. p. 199-204; M. Tyrowicz: *Prasa Galicji i Rzeczypospolitej Krakowskiej*... op. cit.; K. Bąkowski: *Dziennikarstwo krakowskie do roku 1848*, Kraków 1906; *Kraków – Lwów. Książki, czasopisma, biblioteki XIX i XX w.* [Vol. 2-6]. Ed. J. Jarowiecki, Kraków 1996–2003; J. Jarowiecki: *Studia nad prasą polską XIX i XX wieku*. Vol. 2, Kraków 2006.

or „Kurier Krakowski” (1834-1835) edited by A. Tessarczyk. The only daily newspaper that has survived haphazard history of Republic of Krakow was loyalist „Gazeta Krakowska”. After the death of J. Maj since 1831 the newspaper was published and edited by S. Grzeszkowski and later by Majeranowski (1840-1847). At the time „Gazeta” has changed its character from being semi-government newspaper into a modern daily printing foreign news and literary, scientific and artistic texts. During 1846 revolution „Gazeta Krakowska” was temporarily published as „Dziennik Rządowy Miasta Krakowa” (1846, ed. A. Tessarczyk), while in 1849 it was liquidated<sup>39</sup>.

### **Newspapers published in Galicja 1815-1866** <sup>40</sup>

Lwów was the dominant press publishing in Galicja. It is worth stressing that the role of Lwów in press development was underappreciated until recently in the history of press, even though the first attempts of daily newspapers printed in Lwów were undertaken as far back as 18<sup>th</sup> century, e.g. "Dziennik Patriotycznych Polityków” (1792-1798).<sup>41</sup> During the time under discussion the main newspaper of Galicja was „Gazeta Lwowska” founded in 1811 by the Austrian clerks, the Kratter brothers. The main revenue of newspaper was supplied by government announcements, for printing which the newspaper was granted monopoly in 1814. Initially the newspaper was printed twice per week. (since 1816 it was published 3-4 times per week and since 1848 it was a daily) and since 1817 the weekly cultural and scientific „Rozmaitości ...” add-on was distributed as well, which helped expand the interest. After the failure of October Uprising the newspaper was edited by M. Michalewicz and J. N. Kamiński, who introduced reprints from German and Austrian press and ensured cooperation of editorial staff with journalist and writers (incl.. F. Chotomski, S. Jaszowski et al.). The important change in the newspaper was made in 1848, when „Gazeta Lwowska” was bought by the government to become the main publication of Governnorship. From that time on significance of the newspaper has visibly degraded, though as the sources claim, the Kratter brothers have become very wealthy in the process. While the paper was being published without interruption until 1939, it can be seen as historical chronicle of Lwów, but its circulation was not very impressive (in 1881 it was 2200 copies

<sup>39</sup> J. Jarowiecki: *Prasa w Krakowie – tradycja i współczesność (część pierwsza do roku 1918)*, [in:] J. Jarowiecki: *Studia nad prasą polską XIX i XX wieku*. Vol. 2... op. cit. p. 11-41.

<sup>40</sup> Notable papers J. Łojek: *Prasa polska w latach 1661-1831*...op. cit. p. 97-101; I. Homola: *Prasa galicyjska w latach 1831-1866*...op. cit. p. 199-246; M. Tyrowicz: *Prasa Galicji i Rzeczypospolitej Krakowskiej*... op. cit.; *Kraków – Lwów. Książki, czasopisma, biblioteki XIX i XX w.* [Vol. 2-6]... op. cit.; *Stulecie „Gazety Lwowskiej” 1811-1911*. Ed. W. Bruchnalski [et al.] Vol. 1, part 1 - Vol. 3, part 3, Lwów 1911-1913 (9 vol.).

<sup>41</sup> J. Jarowiecki: *Lwowska prasa przed powstaniem styczniowym*, „Annales Academiae Paedagogicae Cracoviensis, Studia Ad Bibliothecarum Scientiam Pertinentia” Vol. 3 (2005), p. 63-88.

and in 1907 – 4400 copies). During the Spring of Nations several important political newspapers were published in Lwów. The national-democratic stance was represented by „**Dziennik Narodowy**” (published since 1848) edited by L. Korecki, A. Bielawski, K. Szajnocha and W. Pol. The newspaper devoted a lot of space to reform issues, but the views expressed on social problems were rather guarded (e.g. with regard to peasant land reform). The newly created in 1848 Central National Council has founded its own newspaper „Rada Narodowa”, quickly changing the title to „**Gazeta Narodowa**”. The newspaper edited by J. Dobrzański quickly gained popularity in Galicja. Extensive local news, legal acts, sensational news and patriotic articles have ensured “Gazeta Narodowa” a major position on the press market of Galicja. After bombardment of the city by Austrians the newspaper was suspended; after its publishing was renewed in 1862 it was being published until 1915. The liberal-democratic press was represented by daily „**Postęp**” (1848) founded by L. Rzewuski. The newspaper was edited by K. Widman and J. Zachariasiewicz; while its continuation was „**Gazeta Powszechna**” (1848). Conservative „**Polska**” (1848-1849) founded in Krakow by B. Trentowski and published by Stowarzyszenie Ziemiaństwa (Landowner Society) had been polemicizing with “Postęp”. Other daily newspapers have appeared in Lwów only after 1861, incl. „**Dziennik Polski**” (1861-1862) of liberal profile; it was edited by F. Ziemiałkowski, M. Pawlikowski, F. Smolka et al. The newspaper was propagating the views supporting "fundamental development" as well as autonomy of Galicja, calling upon the citizens to demonstrate, which resulted in suspending it by authorities<sup>42</sup>.

After the fall of Kraków Revolution in October 1846 the Free City of Kraków was merged into Austria. One of the consequences was that two competing cities existed in Galicja since 1846 – Kraków and Lwów. In Kraków the only newspaper that survived the revolution was „**Gazeta Krakowa**”, that had been published three more years after 1846, competing with „**Jutrzenka**” (1848-1849), only to be liquidated. Another important newspaper was long-lived conservative „**Czas**” (1849-1939). The newspaper was meticulously edited – it featured good informational section, printing foreign and domestic views as well as balanced coverage of important events. The high publishing standard of „Czas” was result of competent editorial staff (incl. M. Mann, A. Szukiewicz, K. Sobolewski, K. Kłobukowski, L. Chrzanowski) and weekly add-ons have helped it in gaining popularity. The only competition for „Czas” was daily conservative „**Głos**” (1860-1861) published in Lwów and edited by Z. Kaczkowski.

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<sup>42</sup> Ibidem.

## Newspapers published in Galicja 1867-1914 <sup>43</sup>

During period of Galicja autonomy the press underwent rapid development in spite of Austrian press law (17 XII 1862) and its regulations. The 1867 constitution has resulted in partial freedom of press within the limits set by law, but it has removed the license system and since July of 1894 the stamp fees were eliminated as well. Available statistical data confirms the rapid development: in 1860 J. Myśliński has recorded 159 titles in 9 Galicja cities; in 1881 there were 107 titles, in 1890 - 128, in 1900 – 234, in 1910 – 322<sup>44</sup>; while the calculations of J. Jarowiecki reveals that in period of 1867-1918 a total number of 1119 titles was published in Lwów <sup>45</sup>, and 1091 titles in Kraków<sup>46</sup>. The scale of operation was immense. The political and information-oriented newspapers played major role on the market.

In Lwów three daily newspapers supporting the conservative views were present in period of autonomy: government's „**Gazeta Lwowska**” (1811-1939) bought in 1848 by administration from the Kratter family; the paper was perceived as official newspaper Austrian partition's authorities. The newspaper has constantly evolved. At the time the newspaper was edited by M. Sartyni, M. Michalewicz and J. N. Kamiński. Editor W. Łoziński (1873 r.) has contributed to the newspaper by expanding correspondent section and started add-on „Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki” (1873-1921). While its circulation was not high (3000-3500 copies), nearly all famous writers and journalists have published there<sup>47</sup>. In 1862 „**Gazeta Narodowa**” (until 1915) has resumed publishing. The editors included: H. Stupnicki, J. Dobrzański, K. Gromann, W. Smochowski, P. Kostecki, A. Vogel et al. Initially the newspaper supported democratic movement in Lwów by supporting Governor A. Gołuchowski who was associated with Vienna liberals, but later it changed its orientation towards conservatives, esp. with its extremist faction, so called "Podol Party" („partia podolska”). The political stance of the newspaper was influenced by J. Dobrzański, who took it over together with W. Smoluchowski in 1863 and adapted it in an arcane manner. J. Lam

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<sup>43</sup> Notable papers: J. Myśliński: *Prasa polska w Galicji w dobie autonomicznej (1867-1918)*, [in:] *Prasa polska w latach 1864-1918...* op. cit. p. 114-176; J. Myśliński: *Prasa Galicji w dobie autonomicznej 1867-1918*, Warszawa 1972; J. Myśliński: *Studia nad polską prasą społeczno-polityczną w zachodniej Galicji 1905-1914*, Warszawa 1970; *Kraków – Lwów. Książki, czasopisma, biblioteki XIX i XX w.* [Vol. 2-6]... op. cit.; *W "naprzodowym" stylu. Materiały z sympozjum w 110 rocznicę ukazania się krakowskiego "Naprzodu"*. Ed. H. Kosętko and A. Toczek, Kraków 2004; Cz. Lechicki: *Krakowski "Kraj" 1869-1874*, Kraków 1975; *Stulecie „Gazety Lwowskiej” 1811-1911...* op., cit.

<sup>44</sup> J. Myśliński: *Prasa polska w Galicji w dobie autonomicznej...* op. cit. p. 119.

<sup>45</sup> J. Jarowiecki: *Prasa lwowska w latach 1864-1918*. Bibliografia, Kraków 2002.

<sup>46</sup> J. Jarowiecki: *Prasa w Krakowie – tradycja i współczesność...* op. cit. p. 24; see also: M. Jakubek: *Prasa krakowska z lat 1867-1918. Studium statystyczne*, „Studia Historyczne” 1997, no. 1, p. 45-59; according to A. Garlicka, 753 periodicals were published in Kraków at the time (compare: A. Garlicka: *Spis tytułów prasy polskiej 1865-1918*, Warszawa 1978).

<sup>47</sup> *Stulecie „Gazety Lwowskiej” 1811-1911...* op. cit.; J. Jarowiecki: *Prasa lwowska w latach 1864-1918...* op. cit.

has worked with the newspaper, whose editorials and chronicle has helped in gaining many subscribers (circulation 3500 copies). The conservative groups were represented by „**Dziennik Polski**” (1869-1916), edited by J. Lam, H. Rewkowicz and J. Rogosz, who have strongly supported Gołuchowski. „Dziennik” inherited its structure after the previous newspaper representing city-dweller segment of society and published under the same title was closed by censorship in 1862. After „Dziennik Polski” was taken over by A. Sapieha in 1878 the newspaper has expressed the views typical for moderate liberal democrats. The popularity of the newspaper as well as its circulation varied, oscillating between 1600 to 6000 copies. The conservatives were also supported by two other newspapers of L. Masłowski published in Lwów: „**Przegląd Polityczny, Społeczny i Literacki**” (1885-1914; circulation 4000-7000). The newspaper represented so called „Podolak” group; later, the function was taken over by daily „**Przedświt**” (1901-1903; circulation 3500)<sup>48</sup>. The most important representative of conservatives, however, was „**Czas**” published in Kraków (1848-1939) which enjoyed relatively high circulation (4000-7000 copies) and was distributed throughout all the partitions. The newspaper was edited by A. Kłobukowski (1867-1892), M. Chyliński (1892-1899), A. Beaupré (1899-1901) and R. Starzewski (after 1901). It has acquired many important associates and published writings of authors such as S. Smolka, L. Dębicki, S. Estreicher, I. Chrzanowski, L. Siemieński, P. Popiel, A. Potocki, J. Szujski and E. Koźmian. The main issues the newspaper covered were traditional values, religion, history and political and cultural subjects<sup>49</sup>. The loyalist „**Gazeta Poranna**” i „**Gazeta Wieczorna**” (1910-1935) edited by J. Konarskiego and founded by R. Battaglia on request of Governor M. Bobrzyński was published twice a day in Lwów. Its main objective was fighting against national-democratic political orientation.

The democrats also had their own press. The political fight against conservative press was conducted by liberal-democratic „**Kraj**” (1869-1874) published in Kraków and founded by A. Sapieha. The newspaper was edited by S. Służewski, K. Chłapowski<sup>50</sup> and

<sup>48</sup> J. Jarowiecki: Prasa ugrupowań politycznych we Lwowie w okresie autonomii galicyjskiej (1867-1918), [in:] J. Jarowiecki: *Studia nad prasą polską XIX i XX wieku*. Vol. 2... op. cit. p. 42-93.

<sup>49</sup> J. Jarowiecki: *Prasa w Krakowie – tradycja i współczesność...* op. cit. p. 25; *Księga pamiątkowa na dziewięćdziesięciolecie dziennika "Czas" 1848-1938*, Kraków 1938; K. Adamek: *Geneza i wstępny program krakowskiego „Czasu”*, „Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej” 1980, no. 1, p. 19-34; J. Drobiszewski: *Serwis informacyjny dziennika „Czas” w latach 1848-1865*, „Zeszyty Prasoznawcze” 1968, no. 1, p. 74-86; J. Drobiszewski: *Kręgi czytelnicze „Czasu” w latach 1848-1865*, „Studia Historyczne” 1969, no. 3, p. 377-394; J. Myśliński: *Z dziejów prasy konserwatywnej w Krakowie przed pierwszą wojną światową*, „Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1966, no. 1, p. 117-131.

<sup>50</sup> C. Lechicki: *Pierwszy rok krakowskiego „Kraju”*, „Biuletyn Naukowy Zakładu Badań Prasoznawczych” 1956, no. 10; C. Lechicki: *Prasa galicyjska u progu walki o autonomię. Wstęp do monografii dziennika krakowskiego „Kraj”*, „Biuletyn Naukowy Zakładu Badań Prasoznawczych” 1957, no. 1; J. Gos: *Profil*

L. Gumplowicz, respectively. The editorial staff included A. Asnyk, M. Bałucki, K. Chłędowski, W. Dzieduszycki, J. I. Kraszewski, K. Libelt, M. G. Pawlikowski, J. Szujski and J. Starkel. The paper has supported „fundamental development” ideas and supported Polish-Ukrainian cooperation as well as assimilation of Jews. The daily „**Reforma**”, which changed the title to „**Nowa Reforma**” (1882-1928) after several months, has been supported financially by Pawlikowski family from Medyka. The newspaper fought against conservatives in general and against “stańczyk” party in particular, whom they called the “grave-diggers of the national state”. The editorial staff included A. Asnyk, T. Rutowski, T. Romanowicz and M. Pawlikowski, and after 1894 r. – M. Konopiński and K. Srokowski. The newspaper represented democrats of Krakow, while since 1912 it became the publication of Towarzystwo Demokratyczne (Democratic Association), while during the First World War it supported “Naczelny Komitet Narodowy” (“General National Committee”). „**Nowiny dla Wszystkich**” (1903-1905) edited by L. Szczepański were of similar character; they were perceived as the first daily newspaper published in Krakow covering sensational news. In 1905 the title changed to „**Nowiny**” and collapsed in 1914 due to competition of „Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny”. The democratic circles of Lwów has controlled the high-circulation „**Słowo Polskie**” (1895-1934) founded by S. Szczepanowski. When the founder died five years after 1902, the newspaper has been taken over by national-democratic movement and changed the political orientation. The newspaper was edited by Jan L. Popławski and Z. Wasilewski and supported ideology of R. Dmowski, becoming the determinant of political goals for significant fraction of Galicja intellectuals. The newspaper had major scope of influence; it had been published twice a day and printing up to 20 thousand copies per day. After buyout of „Słowo Polskie” by „Liga Narodowa” (National League) the „**Wiek Nowy**” (1900-1939) newspaper had become the new most important newspaper of the democrats. It was supporting Polskie Stronnictwo Postępowe (Polish Progressive Alliance) directed by J. Krzysztofowicz and B. Laskownicki. It managed to entice many readers thanks to short, quick style of delivering information, often with sensational content, which makes „Wiek Nowy” widely acknowledged as the first Polish sensational newspaper (circulation 4500-30000). It was based on the idea behind Vienna „Kronen Zeitung”. „**Dziennik Lwowski**” (1867-1869) representing Towarzystwo Narodowo-Demokratyczne (National-Democratic Association) was also highly popular. It was a progressive newspaper of F. Smolka supporters and

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*literacki krakowskiego "Kraju" pod reakcją Stanisława Szczęsnego, „Prace Polonistyczne” Y. 27 (1971), p. 135-145; H. Kozłowska-Sabatowska: Ideologia pozytywizmu galicyjskiego 1864-1881, Wrocław 1978; Cz. Lechicki: Krakowski "Kraj"... op. cit.; I. Zaremba-Piekara: Idee pozytywistyczne w "Kraju" Ludwika Gumplowicza, „Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1970, no. 1, p. 17-32.*

propagated the ideas of “freedom of the people”, support for the uprising, resistance against the partitioners and upholding patriotic stances; the newspaper distanced itself from positivist program. After 1871 the stance was supported by bi-weekly „Przegląd Lwowski” (1871-1883). The national-democratic stance was also present in „**Goniec Polski**” (1907-1908) and then „**Goniec**” (1908-1912) owned by S. Tokarski. It was a daily newspaper edited by S. Brandowski (circulation 16000-7000 copies). The last important newspaper associated with national movement was „**Wiek XX**” (1901-1902) published in Lwow; the staff was directed by B. Laskownicki and J. Pawłowski<sup>51</sup>.

The Catholic current in Galicja (also known as „Christian-social” current) had several titles associated with it; the most important newspaper among them was „**Głos Narodu**” (1893-1939) published in Krakow and founded and edited by J. Rogosz, later by K. Ehrenberg, A. Beaupré et al. The newspaper's views were highly clerical and antisemitic; it was directed mainly towards the lower city dweller strata<sup>52</sup>. The circulation varied from 1800 to 8000 copies (the first issues had 40000 circulation). The editorial staff directed by Beaupré was involved in supporting the Christian-social movement of Rev. S. Stojałowski. In Lwów „**Ruch Katolicki**” (1897-1901) edited by S. Waśniewski and W. Zawadzki was the main newspaper of Stronictwo Katolicko-Narodowe (Catholic-National Association). The newspaper attacked the liberals and socialists as well as promoted antisemitism. The similar ideology was shared by „**Przedświt**” (1901-1903) edited by M. D. Teodorowicz. „**Gazeta Codzienna**” (1908-1939) supporting the Christian Democrats and edited by F. Thumen continued the earlier line of „**Goniec Polski**” (1907-1908); it was an important element of the press market.

Among the newspapers supporting the socialist views „**Naprzód**” (1892-1939)<sup>53</sup> was the first one; it was edited by I. Daszyński, Z. Marek, A. B. Matejko, K. Kaczanowski et al. An attempt of publishing socialist daily was also undertaken in Lwów; its title was „**Głos**” (1907-1912) and it belonged to Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (Polish Socialist Party). It was edited by T. Hartleb and J. Szczurek. It was marketed as "inexpensive folk daily” with circulation of 4000 to 5000 copies and co-edited by Polish and Ukrainian activists. Since 1912 it became a mutation of Krakow's „Naprzód”. The folk had its representation in form of „**Kurier Lwowski**” (1883-1926) edited by B. Wysłouch.

<sup>51</sup> J. Jarowiecki: *Prasa ugrupowań politycznych we Lwowie...* op. cit. p. 50-52; U. Jakubowska: *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji...* op. cit. p. 15-22, 28-53; A. Wysocki: *Sprzed pół wieku*. Issue 3, Kraków 1974

<sup>52</sup> J. Myśliński: *Prasa polska w Galicji w dobie autonomicznej...* op. cit. p. 123

<sup>53</sup> Initially it was published irregularly; it became a weekly later (1895-1899), since 1900 it turned into a daily newspaper.

Another title had appeared on the Krakow press market a short time before beginning of the First World War the „**Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny**” (1910-1939) edited by M. Dąbrowski information and sensational news oriented daily, which became the most popular newspaper of the country a few years later<sup>54</sup>.

### **Polish newspapers in Prussia partition 1815-1914**

The history of Polish press in the Prussia partition is much more limited than in other partitions. The press of Poznań had the most extensive tradition in the region<sup>55</sup>. The first period of development of Wielkopolska press (1815-1830) the political situation, social conditions and the Prussian censorship did not make the development of Polish press difficult in Wielkopolska; however, it seems that the development of intellectual life did not support it. Only the publishing enterprise of F. F. Rosenstiel published „**Gazeta Wielkiego Księstwa Poznańskiego**” (1815-1865) twice a week and its German language counterpart. „*Zeitung des Grossherzogthums Posen*” (1815-1848) edited by I. S. Raabski. „Gazeta” reliably delivered news from all the partitions as well as foreign news. Historians’ view is that both newspapers are important historical source of the period<sup>56</sup>. After 1819 the decree of King of Prussia introduced the preventive censorship that was designed to prevent social disturbances from taking place. „Gazeta Wielkiego Księstwa Poznańskiego” has changed its operation mainly to delivering announcements and decrees of Prussian authorities, especially actions of Governor A. Radziwiłł; it also published short local information and news from other European countries. The change of formula has become salient after the editorial staff was changed in 1831. The post of Raabski was taken by the following editors: A. Wannowski, J. Rymarkiewicz, N. Kamiński. Numerous periodicals with different ideological and political orientations have made up for lack of other newspapers. It was the year 1848 that has created

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<sup>54</sup> P. Borowiec: *Jesteśmy głosem milionów. Dzieje krakowskiego wydawnictwa i koncernu prasowego Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny (1910-1939)*. Kraków 2005; P. Borowiec: *Między sensacją a nauką. Obraz produktów krakowskiego wydawnictwa i koncernu prasowego Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny (1910-1939)*. Kraków 2005; A. Bańdo: *Nie tylko krew na pierwszej stronie. Problematyka kulturalna na łamach „Ilustrowanego Kuriera Codziennego” w latach 1918-1939*. Kraków 2006.

<sup>55</sup> Notable papers: J. Łojek: *Prasa polska w latach 1661-1831*...op. cit. p. 100-102; W. Jakóbczyk: *Prasa polska w Wielkopolsce w latach 1832-1858*, [in:] *Prasa polska w latach 1661-1864*...op. cit. p. 247-259; W. Jakóbczyk: *Prasa w Wielkopolsce (1859-1918)*, [in:] *Prasa polska w latach 1864-1918*...op. cit. p. 177-201; G. Kucharczyk: *Cenzura pruska w Wielkopolsce w czasach zaborów 1815-1914*, Poznań 2001; *Z dziejów prasy wielkopolskiej XIX-XX wieku*. Vol. 1-5. Ed. M. Kosman, Poznań 1994-2003; *Prasa dawna i współczesna*. Vol. 1-4. Ed. B. Kosmanowa, Poznań, 2000-2003; S. Karwowski: *Czasopisma wielkopolskie*. Vol. 1, 1796-1859, Poznań 1908; J. Data: *Tendencje pozytywistyczne w czasopiśmiennictwie wielkopolskim w latach 1848-1870*, Warszawa 1975.

<sup>56</sup> E. Słabecka: *Dzieje „Gazety W. Ks. Poznańskiego” w latach 1815-1865*, „Kronika Miasta Poznania” 1935, no. 4; M. Michałowska: „*Gazeta Wielkiego Księstwa Poznańskiego*” do 1830 r., „Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej” Vol. 2 (1966), p. 264-288.



new opportunities for the daily newspaper publishing market. That year the first issue of „**Gazeta Polska**” (1848-1850) was published; the newspaper was edited by H. Cegielski and published by the printers working for W. Stefański bookstore owner. The newspaper was the publication of Liga Polska and it is acknowledged as the first modern political daily newspaper of Wielkopolska. Editing the newspaper was also done by W. Bentkowski, R. Berwiński, E. Estkowski, J. Moraczewski and M. Motty. The newspaper represented the liberal orientation and stance of „fundamental development”. The paper argued for equal political, cultural and educational rights for the Polish community and supported economic development, encouraging Polish industry and commerce and published decisions of Komitet Narodowy<sup>57</sup>. The enterprise was continued by „**Goniec Polski**” (1850-1851), the daily newspaper edited by W. Bentkowski and representing moderate liberals. „**Dziennik Polski**” (1849-1850) founded by democrats belonging to nobility and represented by K. Libelt, J. Moraczewski and R. Berwiński was in opposition to both of the previous newspapers. The newspaper proclaimed the necessity of social liberation of the masses and restoring political freedoms to the Polish, but it distanced itself from revolutionary slogans. The press „for the people” included „**Wielkopolanin**” (1848-1850) unofficially associated with Liga Polska; it was edited by Rev. A. Prusinowski and published by W. Stefański twice per week. The newspaper supported „social solidarity”, cooperation of the folk with nobility, and stressed the role of the Church and Catholic religion. After taking the post of editor-in-chief by Stefański, the orientation of the newspaper was slightly changed - the editor has started fighting the Prussian „collaborating” newspaper edited in Polish under title „Przyjaciel Chłopów” (1849-1850) directed to the peasantry. Rev. Prusinowski has continued his national-catholic and messianic program in newly founded newspaper „**Wiarus**”; it has published articles supporting the unity of the people of Śląsk with the Polish nation<sup>58</sup>. „**Wieści Poznańskie**” (1851-1852) were of transitory nature; it was published twice a week and edited by L. Sławczyński. It was a local newspaper printing mostly the metropolitan news.

During the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century the scope of freedom of press in Wielkopolska has been expanding slowly. In 1848 the preventive censorship was abolished, while in 1885 the stamp fees were eliminated which were the main economic obstacle in the development of press. This period on the market of Poznań has created five lasting newspapers of different political orientations. In 1859 r. H. Cegielski has founded new liberal newspaper with title

<sup>57</sup> T. Jankowski: „*Gazeta Polska*” 1848-1850, „*Kronika Miasta Poznania*” 1961, no. 3.

<sup>58</sup> W. Jakóbczyk: *Prasa polska w Wielkopolsce w latach 1832-1858...* op. cit. p. 255-256.

„**Dziennik Poznański**” (1859-1939) addressed towards the landowners and intellectuals. The editorial staff was directed by M. Waligórski, W. Kosiński, F. Dobrowolski and K. Puffke; during uprising the newspaper has represented the orientation close to so called "whites" and strongly supported "fundamental development", promulgating the Polish culture and fighting the Germanisation; the newspaper has initiated Towarzystwo Oświaty Ludowej (Folk Education Society) in 1872 and Towarzystwo Czytelni Ludowych (Folk Readership Society) in 1880. At the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century „Dziennik Poznański” had circulation of over 3000 and has become one of the most important publications in the country. In 1871 another liberal newspaper was founded; its title was „**Orędownik**” (since 1884 it became a daily and it was published until 1922). The newspaper was oriented towards the small landowners. It was founded by the renown activists of Wielkopolska: S. Chłapowski and M. Jackowski; the editorial staff was directed by R. Szymański until 1908. Just like “Dziennik”, „Orędownik” held the moderate line, supported defending the Polish culture and faith and involved itself in development of cooperatives. In years 1871-1906 the newspaper had circulation from 3000 to 13000 copies. „**Kurier Poznański**” (1872-1939) was in opposition to both newspapers. "Kurier” was edited by T. Żychliński and Rev. A. Kantecki, who supported so called "ultramontans”; it fought against socialism, liberalism and Warszawa positivism, while simultaneously supporting „fundamental development”, loyalty towards Prussia and close relations to the Catholic church. At the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century the liberals (T. Chłapowski, M. Mielżyński) acquired control of the newspaper, while in 1906 it was taken over by national-democracy (ed. M. Sejda). In 1877 another newspaper published in Poznań was founded by L. Rzepecki - „**Goniec Wielkopolski**” (until 1932). The newspaper argued against loyalists as well as against liberals, supporting „fundamental development”, while after First World War it has associated itself with the folk movement (PSL Piast). The last important newspaper on Poznań market was „**Wielkopolanin**” (1883-1939 r., daily since 1885) founded by J. Chociszewski and directed towards the folk. Still, the newspaper was associated with the landowner circles and it fought both the socialists and the liberals while maintaining Catholic-patriotic stance.

The press of Warmia and Mazury has developed in vein similar to that of Poznań, albeit with a lot smaller intensity<sup>59</sup>. In this market the periodicals, especially weeklies, were

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<sup>59</sup> Notable papers: T. Cieślak: *Prasa polska na Śląsku, Pomorzu i Mazurach w latach 1832-1870*, [in:] *Prasa polska w latach 1661-1864...* op. cit. p. 260-271; T. Cieślak: *Prasa w zaborze pruskim (Śląsk, Pomorze, Warmia, Mazury) w latach 1871-1918*, [in:] *Prasa polska w latach 1864-1918...* op. cit. p. 202-214; M. Strzyżewska: *Prasa polska na Warmii i Mazurach 1718-1939*, Olsztyn 1964; *Z dziejów prasy Prus Wschodnich w XIX i XX wieku (do 1939 roku)*. Ed. B. Koziello-Poklewski, Olsztyn 1988; S. Mierzyński:

the most important publications. The daily press was not published as extensively. Many counties, however, published administrative newspapers with Polish counterparts (esp. after year 1840, when the censorship was relaxed). The main objective was reaching the readers who knew only Polish language. The weekly periodicals in region of Mazury had included „Tygodnik Obwodu Oleckiego – Das Oletzköer Kreisblatt” (1843), „Tygodnik Obwodu Jańsborskiego – Das Johannisburger Kreisblatt” (1843) and „Przyjaciel Ludu Łecki” (1842-1845, Ełk). The editors included G. Gizewiusz and K. Mrongowiusz. In seventies „**Gazeta Lecka**” (1875-1892) edited by M. Gierss and published twice per week has appeared in Giżycko (called Lec at the time, German Lötzen). Ten years later „**Gazeta Olsztyńska**” (1886-1939) has started operation, initially as a weekly, since 1891 it was published twice per week and since 1900 three times per week. Initially the newspaper (circulation 1000 copies) was edited by J. Liszewski; in 1891 the newspaper was acquired by the Pieniężny family. „Gazeta” has played important role in resurgence of national awareness and it was the main publication of the Polish Catholics in Warmia; after 1887 it was in opposition to the German Catholic party Centrum and in 1920 it was associated with “Związek Polaków w Prusach Wschodnich” (Polish Association of East Prussia)<sup>60</sup>. At the end of the century Evangelic „**Gazeta Ludowa**” (1896-1902, ed. K. Barke) was published twice per week. The newspaper was associated with Mazurska Partii Ludowej (Mazury Folk Party); for defending the right of the people to their language it was hounded by Prussian authorities and collapsed in 1902.<sup>61</sup>

In Pomorze and Kujawy<sup>62</sup> the most important newspaper was „**Gazeta Toruńska**” (1867-1921) with numerous add-ons. The newspaper has continued the line of weekly „Nadwiślanin” from Chełmno (1850-1866) and „**Gazeta Gdańska**” (1891-1939). „**Gazeta Grudziądzka**” (1894-1939) edited by W. Kulerski had exceptional position. While the first two publications were rather moderate towards the issues of social and political conflicts as well as some inclination towards making compromises, „Gazeta” of Kulerski has supported social activism and demonstrating resistance against Germanizing policies of authorities.

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*Wędrowki z tytułem "Gazeta Olsztyńska", Olsztyn 2001; A. Staniszewski: Ojców mowy, ojców wiary. Historia i współczesność na łamach "Gazety Olsztyńskiej" 1886-1939, Warszawa 1989; J. Chłosta: Wokół spraw warmińskich. Rzecz o redaktorach "Gazety Olsztyńskiej" (1896-1939), Warszawa 1986.*

<sup>60</sup> A. Staniszewski: *Ojców mowy, ojców wiary...* op. cit.

<sup>61</sup> T. Cieślak: *Prasa w zaborze pruskim...* op. cit. p. 203-204.

<sup>62</sup> Notable papers: T. Cieślak: *Prasa polska na Śląsku, Pomorzu i Mazurach...* op. cit. p. 260-271; T. Cieślak: *Prasa w zaborze pruskim...* op. cit. s. 202-214; *Prasa gdańska na przestrzeni wieków*. Ed. M. Andrzejewski, Gdańsk 1999; J. Banach: *Prasa polska Prus Zachodnich w latach 1848-1914, Gdańsk 1999; W kręgu prasy*. [Vol. 1-3]. Ed. G. Gzella, Toruń 1999-2004; T. Cieślak: *Z dziejów prasy polskiej na Pomorzu Gdańskim w okresie zaboru pruskiego*, Gdańsk 1964; A. Romanow: *Gdańska prasa polska 1891-1920*, Warszawa 1994; „*Gazeta Gdańska*” - 100 rocznica powstania. Ed. A. Romanow, Gdańsk 1991; *Szkice z dziejów piśmiennictwa pomorskiego XVI-XIX wieku*. Ed. B. Woźniczka-Paruzel, Toruń 1999; W. Pepliński: *Czasopiśmiennictwo kaszubskie w latach zaboru pruskiego*, Gdańsk 2002.

„Gazeta Grudziądzka” had the largest circulation in the country which at times managed to reach 128500 copies (1914 r.)<sup>63</sup>. At the time more of local Polish newspapers were created as well, e.g. in Brodnica, Kościerzyna, Stargard, Świecie, Gdańsk. The political newspapers distributed in the entire country were also created, e.g. anti-Semitic „**Dziennik Bydgoski**” (1908-1939) or national-Catholic „**Dziennik Kujawski**” (1893-1939) published in Inowrocław<sup>64</sup>.

The situation in Śląsk was similar<sup>65</sup>. The periodicals have started the publishing market<sup>66</sup>, while the first newspapers appeared around the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century. In June of 1848, after the censorship was abolished, „**Dziennik Górnośląski**” (1848-1849) directed towards the folk started publishing twice a week in Piekary Śląskie. The newspaper was printed by printing house of T. Heneczek; the first owner and editor was Jan A. Mieczkowski. Later it was edited by J. Łepkowski, J. Lompa and E. Smółka<sup>67</sup>. Fighting for the Polish language constituted the main ideology of the newspaper; the newspaper printed patriotic and historical literary works and proclaimed revolutionary ideas. „Tygodnik Katolicki” of Rev. A. Fick as well as Prussian administration fought against „Dziennik Górnośląski”. Absence of daily newspapers in Śląsk was substituted by numerous more or less progressive periodicals, often with religious or pro-government position (e.g. „Telegraf Górnośląski” or „Gazeta Wiejska dla Górnego Śląska”). The most important place on the market was occupied by two newspapers: weekly „Zwiastun Górnośląski” published in Piekary Śląskie (since 1868) and „**Katolik**” (1868-1931) published in Chełmno; initially it was a weekly, and later it was published twice a week and since 1893 three times a week. The newspaper was bought in 1869 by K. Miarka from the previous owner J. Chociszewski and it was published in Królewska Huta. K. Miarka while defending the basic rights of the Polish nationals, was also often surprisingly loyal towards Prussia. The newspaper often associated the national interest

<sup>63</sup> Z. Walczak: „Gazeta Grudziądzka” pod zaborem pruskim. *W stulecie powstania*, „Rocznik Grudziądzki” Vol. 11 (1994), p. 55-69; E. Borkowska: „Gazeta Grudziądzka” wobec sprawy niepodległości Polski w okresie pierwszej wojny światowej, „Zeszyty Naukowe WSP w Opolu. Historia”, Vol. 22 (1985), p. 45-57.

<sup>64</sup> E. Mikołajczyk: *Stulecie założenia „Dziennika Kujawskiego”*, „Ziemia Kujawska” Vol. 10 (1994), p. 143-146

<sup>65</sup> Notable papers: T. Cieślak: *Prasa polska na Śląsku, Pomorzu i Mazurach...* op. cit. p. 260-271; T. Cieślak: *Prasa w zaborze pruskim...* op. cit. p. 202-214; J. Glensk: *Bibliografia opracowań prasy śląskiej*. Vol. 1, *Do roku 1945*, Opole 1973; J. Glensk: *Ograniczenia wolności prasy polskiej na Górnym Śląsku na przełomie XIX i XX w.*, Opole 1989; *200 lat prasy polskiej na Śląsku*. Ed. J. Glensk, Opole 1992; J. Glensk: *Diariusz prasy polskiej na Śląsku*. Vol. 1, *Do 1945 roku*, Opole 1993; F. M. Marek: *Najdawniejsze czasopisma polskie na Śląsku 1789-1854*, Opole 1972; M. R. Gerber: *Die Schlesischen Provinzialblätter 1785-1849*, Sigmaringen 1995; M. Czapliński: *Adam Napieralski 1861-1928*, Wrocław 1974; J. Glensk: „*Nowiny Raciborskie*” w latach 1889-1904, Opole 1970; M. Kalczyńska: *Wydawnictwo prasowe „Gazety Opolskiej” w roli edytora i popularyzatora książki polskiej w Opolu (1890-1923)*, Opole 1994; Bronisław Koraszewski 1864-1924. Ed. E. Mendel, Opole 1979.

<sup>66</sup> 200 lat prasy polskiej na Śląsku... op. cit. ... p. 12-32.

<sup>67</sup> According to T. Cieślak the newspaper was printed in Bytom, compare op. cit. *Prasa polska na Śląsku, Pomorzu i Mazurach...* op. cit. p. 263.

with the Church; however, it was often denouncing the Germanizing policies of the clergy in Śląsk. The newspaper demanded respecting the rights of inhabitants of Górny Śląsk to using Polish language in the public life and to developing its own culture, which exposed the newspaper to numerous confiscations<sup>68</sup>. In 1899 the ownership title was transferred to A. Napieralski, who was the most important person in the press market of Śląsk. The folk „**Gazeta Górnos Śląska**” (1874-1884) was published twice a week in Bytom by F. Pszyczyński<sup>69</sup>. In January of 1898 Napieralski, who systematically acted for strengthening Polish national awareness in Śląsk, had founded „**Dziennik Śląski**” (1898-1922) in Bytom. The newspaper was edited by J. Siemianowski. „**Głos Śląski**” (1903-1921) founded by Napieralski in Gliwice featured similar line. The newspaper consequentially resisted Prussian politics and fulfilled the informational role. However, the activity of Napieralski was often criticised for his peculiar deals with German “Centrum” which infringed on Polish national interests. In Opole „**Gazeta Opolska**” (1890-1921) was published four times a week. The newspaper was founded using the funds of Liga Polska and it was edited by B. Koraszewski. The newspaper was a major asset in fight for defending the rights of Polish nation; it has been fighting for electing Polish representatives to parliament of Prussia. It was an important source of local news and it published several add-ons, which increased its scope and readership<sup>70</sup>. In Racibórz „**Nowiny Raciborskie**” (1889-1921) were published two or three times a week and edited by J. Eckert; the newspaper continued intensive national agitation, stressing the historical and ethnic relation of inhabitants of Śląsk with the Polish nation<sup>71</sup>. The conciliatory tone and the compromises were often expressed in newspapers owned by A. Napieralski and i B. Koraszewski, which aroused opposition towards them directed by W. Korfanty, who fought against any and all agreements of the Poles with German „Centrum”, supporting the greater autonomy of the people of Śląsk. This opposition resulted in founding „daily illustrated newspaper” with title „**Górnos Ślązak**” (1901-1933) printed in Katowice. Other newspapers supporting either Korfanty or Napieralski have joined the debate: „**Polak**” (1905-1926) and „**Kurier Śląski**” (1907-1922) and „**Głos Śląski**” (1903-1921)<sup>72</sup>. In October

<sup>68</sup> 200 lat prasy polskiej na Śląsku... op. cit. ... p. 18.; F. German: *Stulecie "Katolika" na Śląsku 1869-1969*, „Novum” 1970, no. 2, p. 52-96; A. Bar: *Karol Miarka jako redaktor "Katolika". Fragment z dziejów prasy polskiej na Górnym Śląsku*, Katowice 1935.

<sup>69</sup> E. Całka: *Druki i czasopisma polskie w Gliwicach*, „Zeszyty Gliwickie” Vol. 6 (1968), p. 165-180.

<sup>70</sup> M. Tobiasz: *Bronisław Koraszewski – wydawca „Gazety Opolskiej” 1864-1922*, Warszawa 1948; *Bronisław Koraszewski 1864-1924...* op. cit.

<sup>71</sup> J. Glensk: „*Nowiny Raciborskie*”... op. cit.; J. Glensk: *Jan Karol Maćkowski jako redaktor "Nowin Raciborskich"*, Opole 1966.

<sup>72</sup> M. Tobiasz: *Wojciech Korfanty. Odrodzenie narodowe i polityczne Śląska*, Katowice 1947.

of 1910 the agreement between rivals was reached and the enterprise of Napieralski has acquired the monopoly status in Śląsk.

### **Available resources and bibliographical information regarding Polish newspapers published in years 1729-1914**

It is difficult to unambiguously describe availability of the newspapers under discussion. On one hand none of the newspapers mentioned has been irrecoverably lost; on the other hand, no library has completed works available, and the problem is exacerbated by incomplete bibliography and the limited central directory. While several sources exist, the practice indicates they complement each other. Still, the central directory *Centralny katalog czasopism polskich (CKCP)*<sup>73</sup> deserves to be severely criticized, for while the directory includes the titles published until 1950 which in spite of being the largest source (over 32000 titles), it has two major disadvantages: the bibliographical records are oversimplified, incomplete and sometimes erroneous, while the references of the resources under discussion are often incorrect. Siglas of the libraries mentioned are the only advantage of the directory. As result the CKCP can only be used as complementary source for the relevant bibliographies.

For the newspapers published until 1831 the most complete and reliable source is bibliography created by J. Łojek<sup>74</sup>, which when combined with *CKCP* gives satisfactory results. The 1832-1864 period of uprisings with bibliography created by B. Korczak<sup>75</sup> deserves similar evaluation. The problem of newspapers printed after 1864 is complex, since a single extensive source is missing: while a sizable annotation of A. Garlicka<sup>76</sup> exists, it is far from perfect. A researcher has to look for other solutions. The three regional bibliographies, of Warszawa (K. Zawadzki)<sup>77</sup>, Lwów (J. Jarowiecki)<sup>78</sup> and Kraków (M. Jakubek)<sup>79</sup> and to an extent other bibliographies<sup>80</sup>, are invaluable in this regard, because they combine benefits of

<sup>73</sup> *Centralny katalog czasopism polskich [1661-1950]*. Biblioteka Narodowa. Instytut Bibliograficzny.: <http://mak.bn.org.pl/w3.htm> [2006.07.30]

<sup>74</sup> J. Łojek: *Bibliografia prasy polskiej 1661-1831*, Warszawa, 1965

<sup>75</sup> B. Korczak: *Bibliografia prasy polskiej 1832-1864*, Warszawa 1968

<sup>76</sup> A. Garlicka: *Spis tytułów prasy polskiej 1865-1918*, Warszawa 1978

<sup>77</sup> K. Zawadzki: *Bibliografia czasopism warszawskich 1579-1981*. Vol. 1, *A-D*–Vol. 3, *M-Q*, Warszawa 1994–2001.

<sup>78</sup> J. Jarowiecki: *Prasa lwowska w latach 1864-1918. Bibliografia*, Kraków 2002.

<sup>79</sup> M. Jakubek: *Prasa krakowska 1795-1918. Bibliografia*, Kraków 2004.

<sup>80</sup> Np. H. Wolska: *Katalog czasopism lubelskich*, Lublin 1974; W. Pazura: *Katalog czasopism lubelskich*. [Vol. 1], *A-F*, Lublin 2004; W. Kaszubina: *Bibliografia prasy łódzkiej 1863-1944*, Warszawa 1967; M. Adamczyk, J. Dzieniakowska: *Prasa Kielecczyzny w latach 1811-1989. Bibliografia*. Vol. 1, *1811-1945*, Kielce 1995; M. Przywecka-Samecka, J. Reiter: *Bibliografia polskich czasopism śląskich (do 1939 roku)*, Wrocław 1960; D.

correct bibliography with partially fulfilling the role of centralized directory thanks to featuring siglum, and sometimes they contain the complete resource (J. Jarowiecki). On the other hand, the catalogues of periodicals owned by selected libraries are often very helpful; in particular, the records of Biblioteka Jagiellońska<sup>81</sup>, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie<sup>82</sup> and Ossolineum<sup>83</sup> frequently turn out to be very helpful. The bibliography of K. Estreicher<sup>84</sup> deserves special attention, especially in regard to its second and integrated edition, which in the 3rd volume lists the titles (3360 records), while the other volumes register particular titles. The main value of Estreicher's bibliography is listing complete composition of editorial staff and other additional data as well as shortened bibliography of the contents. This allows finding the following information for majority of the newspapers mentioned in our article: exact listing of authors, newspaper issue printing their texts (unfortunately without the titles of their texts), the authors of translated texts and the very reliable listing of the cooperating authors; the list is often very extensive and becomes a substitute of content bibliography, e.g. „Gazeta Warszawska” (vol. 8, p. 273-280). This aspect is very important in context of very rudimentary state of research on content bibliography of the Polish newspapers published in 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>85</sup>.

Securing resources in the form of microfilms deserves another consideration. Thanks to the comprehensive program of Biblioteka Narodowa (National Library of Poland) conducted since 1962 over 4 thousand of the Polish newspapers have been microfilmed, including most of the newspapers important for the Polish culture. The newspapers published in Warszawa (83 titles) and Kraków (15)<sup>86</sup> are the largest groups in the records. Another library that delivered significant contribution is Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich (National Ossoliński Institute) – until 2003 it managed to microfilm 600 titles<sup>87</sup> (most of which are

Dębicka, K. Dolinowska: *Prasa socjalistyczna w Polsce 1866-1918. Katalog*, Centralne Archiwum KC PZPR, Warszawa 1982.

<sup>81</sup> *Katalog czasopism polskich Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*. Vol. 1-8, Kraków, 1974-1982.

<sup>82</sup> *Katalog czasopism polskich Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie*. Vol. 1-5, Warszawa 1984-1989.

<sup>83</sup> *Katalog czasopism polonijnych XIX i XX wieku w zbiorach Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich*. Ed. E. Jagielska, Wrocław 1996.

<sup>84</sup> K. Estreicher: *Bibliografia polska XIX stulecia*. Issue 2. Vol. 1-17, Kraków 1959-2000

<sup>85</sup> Some works record the complete contents, e.g. immense *Stulecie „Gazety Lwowskiej” 1811-1911*. Vol. 3, part. 1-3... op. cit.; some volumes of the series: *Spis Zawartości Prasy Wielkopolskiej* (np. K. Jazdon: *„Wielkopolanin” 1848-1850*, Poznań 1997) and topic bibliographies, e.g. Z. Anculewicz: *Bibliografia prozy na łamach „Kuriera Warszawskiego”*... op. cit.; A. T. Tyszka: *Nekrologi „Kuriera Warszawskiego” 1821-1939*. Vol. 1-2, Warszawa 2001-2004; D. Wańka: *Kalisz i ziemia kaliska na łamach „Gazety Kaliskiej” w latach 1893-1914. Bibliografia*, Kalisz 1998.

<sup>86</sup> Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie [Zbiory/Mikrofilmy]: <http://www.bn.org.pl/> [2006.08.02].

<sup>87</sup> Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich [Dział Mikroform]: <http://www.oss.wroc.pl/> [2006.08.02]; *Katalog mikroform Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich. Czasopisma*. Vol. 1. Ed. J. Piechowski i A. Zemelka, Wrocław 1992.

polonicas and Polish records from libraries of Ukraine). As of 1994<sup>88</sup> 79 of 147 (i.e. 53%) titles mentioned in the article were microfilmed in Biblioteka Narodowa and it is expected that in the upcoming years the number will grow. It is possible to say then that most of the major Polish newspapers has been secured on the optical media, even if the resources in question are not complete and some damaged and unrestorable issues are missing from the microfilms.

Unlike the microfilming issue, the digitization of Polish periodical resources is still in the initial stages of work. Only two repositories from all the existing ones contain significant sets of Polish newspapers published until First World War. The largest resource is delivered by Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa (Digital Library of Wielkopolska)<sup>89</sup>, where periodicals are 56% of objects [10814 items]. Until 2006 selected titles of Wielkopolska have been made available in whole or in part: „Gazeta Polska” (1848-1850), „Orędownik” (1871-1922), „Wiarus” (1849-1850), „Dziennik Poznański” (1959-1939), „Kurier Poznański” (1872-1939) and the complete set of notes of „Gazeta Rządowa” (1794). The second largest library is maintained by Kujawsko-Pomorska Biblioteka Cyfrowa (Kujawsko-Pomorska Digital Library)<sup>90</sup> – 3932 items in total, which is 37% of its records. At the moment the core of the resource are three newspapers from region of Kujawy: „Dziennik Kujawski” (Inowrocław; 1893-1939), „Gazeta Bydgoska” (1922-1927) and „Słowo Pomorskie” (Toruń; 1921-1939). Other digital libraries do not deliver important newspapers of 19<sup>th</sup> century. In spite of declarations of Polska Biblioteka Internetowa (Polish Internet Library)<sup>91</sup> none of the titles described in the article are available there, even if for unclear reasons large volumes of provincial press have been made available there: „Gazeta Polska” (1883-1926) printed in Bukowina region, „Słowo Pomorskie” (1921-1939) printed in Toruń and „Dziennik Kijowski” (1906-1920). The only other notable resource is the test resource of Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Jagiellonian Library)<sup>92</sup> providing Kraków’s „Naprzód” (1895-1939) which at the moment of writing contains the items created up to 1905; and two annual sets of Warszawa’s daily „Kurier dla Wszystkich (1914-1915) delivered by Cyfrowa Kolekcja Czasopism Polskich<sup>93</sup>.

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<sup>88</sup> Calculations based on: *Czasopisma*. [Part 3], Ed. T. Szczęśna, Warszawa 1994 (*Katalog Mikrofilmów Biblioteki Narodowej*; no. 22).

<sup>89</sup> Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa: <http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra> [2006.08.02]

<sup>90</sup> Kujawsko-Pomorska Biblioteka Cyfrowa: <http://kpbk.umk.pl/dlibra> [2006.08.02]

<sup>91</sup> Polska Biblioteka Internetowa: <http://www.pbi.edu.pl/> [2006.08.02]

<sup>92</sup> Zbiory specjalne Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej: <http://www.bj.uj.edu.pl/pbi/> [2006.08.02]

<sup>93</sup> The project is common undertaking of Biblioteka Narodowa and Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie: <http://www.buw.uw.edu.pl/zasoby/ckcp.htm> [2006.08.02]



The presented overview of Polish press and its development until the First World War covers the most important titles, editors and publishers in the period independent Poland and the partition lands as well as the state of research and resources available. This overview is not deprived of its own shortcomings, since it is the very first attempt of this kind; some titles of important press enterprises had to be omitted. However, it can be useful within the scope of its objectives. It outlines the effort that need to be undertaken by Polish libraries entering digitalization of the historical press and securing an important part of the heritage of national culture. The effort will be only made greater when another stage of securing the historical resources is entered, that is recording the product of Polish press published in two decades of sovereign Poland between world wars. In this period the number of publications has increased in significant degree. The estimations indicate about 7500 press titles published in the period, including at least several hundred newspapers; in 1938 about 200 daily newspapers of varying scope, geographical location and political orientation were published. However, this issue will be the topic of a separate research that lies ahead.

*Translated from Polish by Marcin Król*