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## On the Statistics and Geography of the Polish Press in the Period between the Uprisings (1832–1864)<sup>1</sup>

Research on the history of the Polish press during the period of the Partitions of Poland has been quite advanced and has resulted in a number of studies; nonetheless, a statistical representation of the development of the Polish press is still poorly documented. Only the first period of the history of the Polish press (ca. 1831) has been sufficiently well studied, presented in a comprehensive work by Jerzy Łojek<sup>2</sup> (complemented by the works by Danuta Hombek over time<sup>3</sup>). Knowledge of the numerical development of the press in subsequent years remains incomplete, which is best evidenced by the relevant chapters of Vol. 1 of “Historia prasy polskiej” (“The History of Polish Press”), edited by Łojek<sup>4</sup>.

This situation may be in large measure explained by a lack of appropriate documentation, although an analysis of resources shows that this has not always been the main deterrent. In the case of the Polish press in the period between Uprisings, the relevant material had already been compiled by Bolesław Korczak<sup>5</sup> beginning as early as 1968; still, for unknown reasons, a proper analysis of these materials has never been performed. The bibliography created by Korczak, incomplete as it may be—the author neglected to include the Polish emigration press—was perfectly complemented by the pre-war work of Stanisław Zieliński<sup>6</sup>, from which it is

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the information in the article is based on the calculations used in the book: W. M. Kolasa, *Historiografia prasy polskiej (do 1918 roku). Naukometryczna analiza dyscypliny 1945–2009*, Kraków 2013.

<sup>2</sup> J. Łojek, *Statystyka prasy polskiej okresu 1661–1831*, „Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1965, no. 1, p. 5–22.

<sup>3</sup> See D. Hombek, *O potrzebie nowej bibliografii polskich gazet i czasopism*, „Rocznik Bibliologiczno-Prasoznawczy”, Vol. 2 (2010), p. 13–33; idem, *Prasa i czasopisma polskie XVIII wieku w perspektywie bibliologicznej*, Kraków 2001.

<sup>4</sup> *Prasa polska w latach 1864–1918*, ed. J. Łojek, Warszawa 1976 (Historii prasy polskiej, vol. 1).

<sup>5</sup> B. Korczak, *Bibliografia prasy polskiej 1832–1864*, Warszawa 1968.

<sup>6</sup> S. Zieliński, *Bibliografia czasopism polskich zagranicą 1830–1934*, Warszawa 1935.

relatively easy to select publications dating back to the years 1832–1864. As a result of merging these two sources, a coherent set of 626 titles was obtained, 476 of which originated from the work of Korczak and 150 derived from Zieliński's bibliography.

An analysis of both sources indicates that the Polish press in the era between the Uprisings recorded a considerable increase in both quantity and quality. During the three decades separating the November and January Uprisings, 626 press titles were issued on Polish lands and abroad, representing a wide typological spectrum. The greatest number of press titles originated from the area of the Kingdom and Taken Lands (185), while slightly fewer were issued in the Austrian (161) and Prussian (130) Partitions and in areas inhabited by emigrants (150). Although the number of simultaneous publications in the examined period was variable and subject to numerous fluctuations (Fig. 1), the overall growth was clearly noticeable.

At the beginning of the period in question, the number of publications was small, as the vast majority of periodicals were eliminated in conjunction with the downfall of the November Uprising. However, by 1832 the press market had already recovered and 47 titles were established or reissued. Out of that number, almost half (21) were issued in the Kingdom and in the Taken Lands, while only 6 were published in Galicia, including the Free City of Krakow, as well as 6 published in the Grand Duchy of Poznan; moreover, 14 magazines were printed abroad. At the end of the examined period (ca. 1860), i.e. before the emergence of underground publications, the total number of concurrent periodicals more than doubled, reaching an amount of 98 titles.

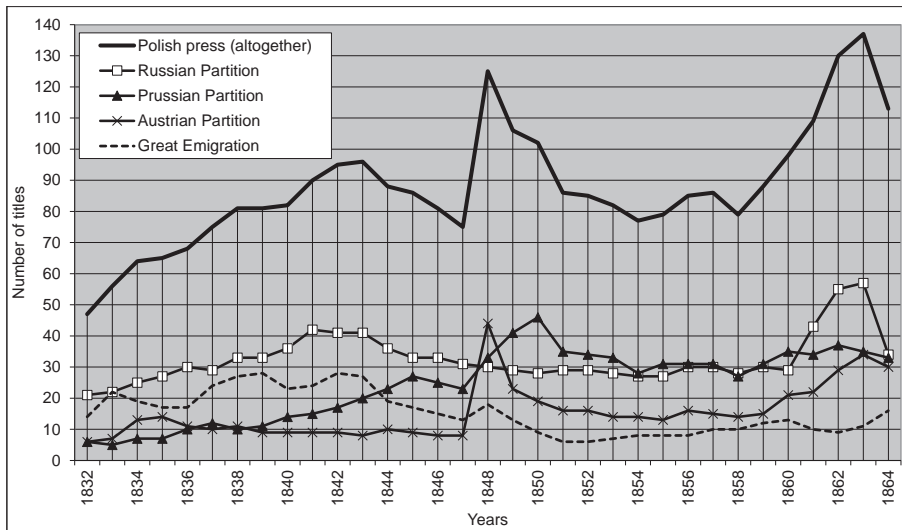


Fig. 1. Polish Press 1832–1864 (Number of Titles)

Own calculations based on: B. Korczak: *Bibliografia...*, op. cit; S. Zieliński: *Bibliografia...* op. cit.

However, the increase in the number of titles was uneven and appeared very differently across the particular Partitions and abroad. The press issued in the Russian Partition was subject to the smallest relative number of changes, as during the period in question it was strictly hampered by the bonds of censorship. At the beginning of the 1830s, despite the heavy losses that occurred after the fall of the Uprising, the press market in the Kingdom was soon reborn, and as early as in 1835 it achieved the number of 27 simultaneous publications. This situation (disregarding the minor fluctuations of the 1840s) remained the same until 1859. There was a significant quantitative increase at this point, and during a period of 3 years the number of publications almost doubled (reaching 57 in the peak year of 1863). This increase was a direct consequence of the changes in the Russian Empire after its defeat in the Crimean War (*Post-Sevastopol Thaw*). However, it is worth noting that the primary cause of this observed development was an apparent result of the explosion of an underground press, which stemmed from the widespread disappointment felt when hopes for internal reforms were lost. Underground publications from 1861–1864 accounted for a significant proportion of publications at that time (approx. 30–70%), and were the basis for 23 simultaneously issued titles in the peak year of 1863. The publications stability index (Table 1) provides more reliable data with which to evaluate the market.

**Tab. 1.** Permanence of Polish Newspapers and Magazines 1832–1864

	Up to 1 year		2 years		3 years		4 years		5 years and longer		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Russian Partition	67	36.2	34	18.3	17	9.1	10	5.4	57	30.8	185
Austrian Partition	89	55.2	29	18.0	16	9.9	5	3.1	22	13.6	161
Prussian Partition	41	31.5	25	19.2	15	11.5	7	5.3	42	32.3	130
Emigration	70	46.6	30	20.0	<b>16</b>	<b>10.6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>18.0</b>	<b>150</b>
Total	<b>267</b>	<b>42.6</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>18.8</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>10.2</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>23.6</b>	<b>626</b>

Own calculations

Out of the 185 periodicals published in the Russian Partition, almost 70% were short-lived: 67 titles were published for a period shorter than 1 year, 34 for 2 years, 17 for 3 years, and 10 for 4 years, with only 30.8% (57 titles) issued for five years or longer. When compared to other Partitions, this ratio is not the lowest (especially when compared to Galicia and abroad), but the data mainly shows that insignificant titles prevailed. Therefore, in the history of the press issued in the territory annexed by Russia, only a few newspapers, and between ten and twenty magazines—mostly in Warsaw—can be considered of long-term significance<sup>7</sup>.

The press issued in Galicia and in the Free City of Krakow was subject to much more significant fluctuations. Initially (until 1848), the publishing movement

<sup>7</sup> E. Tomaszewski, *Prasa Królestwa Polskiego i ziem litewsko-ruskich okresu międzypowstaniowego*, [in:] *Prasa polska w latach 1661–1864*, ed. J. Łojek, Warszawa 1976, p. 110–198.

was limited; only 9–10 titles were issued per year. It was only during the period of the *Spring of Nations* when the number of publications grew rapidly, reaching a peak of 44 simultaneously published periodicals in 1848. Still, this was a short-lived situation, as after the 7 months of freedom (March 15 – October 25, 1848) most of the titles collapsed and a multi-year regression was observed. Later on, throughout the 1850s, 15 simultaneous titles were issued annually on average in Galicia. Another change was associated with the situation in Austria after its military defeat in 1859 and the resignation of the cabinet of Alexander Bach as monarchical politics shifted towards federalism. The situation was invigorating for the entire press market, and as early as 1863 the number of Galician publications doubled (34 in 1863). It is worth noting that due to the large number of periodicals established as a result of the Spring of Nations, Galician publications were characterized by the largest percentage of ephemera (twice as high as in other partitions). The number of publications that lasted on the market for less than 1 year accounted for more than half of the titles here (89); there were also many magazines and newspapers issued for two (29) or three years (16), and only 13.66% (22 titles) were issued for more than 5 years.

The press under Prussian rule, which consisted of the vast majority of titles published in Wielkopolska (60%), had been quite limited until the end of the 1830s and oscillated between 6–10 concurrent periodicals. The first major change occurred at the beginning of the 1840s, and it was associated with the accession to the throne of the liberal-minded Frederick William IV, which resulted in the easing of censorship. In that period, the press market was revived; the number of titles doubled (27) in the peak year of 1845. Then, after a temporary slump related to the repression of the organisers of the failed uprising of 1846, the Spring of Nations arrived, which turned out to be a breakthrough for the entire Prussian press. The new Prussian constitution of December 1848 guaranteed freedom of the press. As a result, in 1850 the number of publications had already begun to increase significantly, reaching 47 simultaneously published magazines and newspapers.

More publications also appeared in the areas of East and West Prussia, as well as in Silesia. This trend, however, was soon slowed down thanks to the gradual introduction of legal regulations that hindered publishing (e.g. the system of high deposits); thus, in the 1850s the number of publications decreased again to an average of 30–35 annual titles. The last change resulted from a partial relaxation of censorship in 1858 after the ascension of Prince William, but it only concerned the Wielkopolska region. It is worth noting that under Prussian rule the press of Wielkopolska clearly dominated (78 titles), while in the lands of East and West Prussia the number of publications reached 39, and in Silesia only 13. The press in the Prussian Partition was characterized by an ephemeral ratio similar to that in the Russian Partition. For a long time (at least 5 years), only 42 publications (32.3%) were issued there, while the number of ephemeral newspapers and magazines (issued for 1 year or shorter) was 41 (31.5%); for publications issued for 2 or 3 years, the numbers were respectively 25 and 15 (19.2% and 11.5%).

The press of the Great Emigration in the first decade of its existence developed with great momentum. By 1833, it already included 22 titles, and 27 simultaneous publications by 1843. Then, however, it started to lose its momentum, accelerated by the unsuccessful efforts of the Uprising in 1846. By the 1850s, the emigration press was already in a state of stagnation, and only 10–12 titles were issued per year. It is worth noting that among the 150 emigration press titles only 27 (18%) can be considered long-lasting, i.e. published for at least 5 years. Yet occasional initiatives (100 titles) dominated, often copied in small editions through the use of the lithographic technique, out of which as many as 70 appeared for less than 1 year, and 30 for less than 2 years.

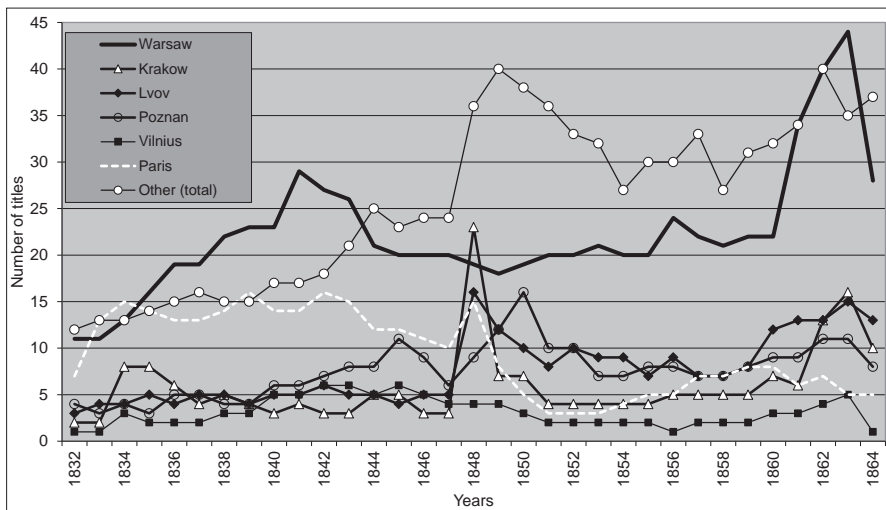


Fig. 2. Main Polish Press Centres 1832–1864

Own calculations based on: B. Korczak: *Bibliografia...*, op. cit; S. Zieliński: *Bibliografia...*, op. cit

In the period between the Uprisings, the process of the decentralization of the Polish press was also initiated on a wider scale (Fig. 2). While in 1832 the national press was clearly concentrated in 5 major publishing centres (Warsaw, Lvov, Krakow, Poznan, Vilnius), where 21 of the 33 titles were issued, the number of provincial titles doubled at the beginning of the Spring of Nations (from 12 to 25), and in 1849 it reached its apogee (40 simultaneous publications). Indeed, after this point there was a collapse in the number of press titles, but the total number was still relatively high—amounting to approx. 30 titles in the 1850s. Slowly, new publishing centres in Poland started to develop, in particular in Chelмно, where 9 press titles were issued, as well as Leszno (6), Cieszyn and Pisz (6 titles in each location), Elk (4), and Gniezno (3).

In the entire period of 1832–1864, the tone of the Polish press was set by the old publishing centres, where approx. 70% of the total number of titles were printed: Warsaw (136 titles), Lvov (73), Krakow (71), Poznan (47), and Vilnius (18).

Petersburg (11) was also of significant importance, and its role increased after the liquidation of Polish universities in the Kingdom. The dynamics of the press market in certain cities follows patterns for particular districts, which is clearly illustrated by the examples of Warsaw, Krakow, Lvov, and Poznan (Fig. 1 and 2). On the other hand, apparent downward trends in Vilnius and St. Petersburg emerged, where ephemera had mainly been published since the early 1850s. And finally, in the case of the press abroad, most newspapers and magazines were issued in Paris (93) and in several other cities, including London (10), Pointiers (9), and Brussels (9).

In addition to quantitative changes in the Polish press from 1832–1864, qualitative transformations also took place. There are two most typical aspects of the evolution of the press. The first one is the formation and the rapid development of new types of press, e.g. press for the people, political press, and illustrated magazines. The other is the transformation of newspapers.

The phenomena were manifested with varying intensity in particular Partitions. The folk press developed primarily in the Prussian Partition and Galicia<sup>8</sup>. Although the origins of its development date back to the decline of the 1830s (e.g. *Szkółka Niedzielną* [*Sunday School*] magazine, issued in Leszno at the beginning in 1837), a breakthrough in the field would take place only during the Spring of Nations, when newly emerging titles amounted to a number between ten and twenty. The political press, on the other hand, developed mainly in Galicia within the 7 months of the revolution. Although the response time was quick and most of the magazines and newspapers eventually collapsed, the polemical ground was well established. From the early 1860s, the political press of Krakow and Lvov, whose symbols became the conservative *Czas* (*Time*) and democratic *Gazeta Narodowa* (*National Paper*), rose to the heights of political journalism. Almost all newspapers and magazines published in exile were also political in nature. Slowly, other types of publications started to emerge, e.g. illustrated magazines, with the trend being initiated by *Przyjaciel Ludu* (*The Friend of the People*) in 1834, and then perfected by Ludwik Jenike editing *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* (*Illustrated Weekly*) since 1859. A number of literary and socio-cultural journals, the form of which was constantly evolving, were also of historical significance. The top achievement in that regard was *Dziennik Literacki* (*Literary Journal*), published in Lvov beginning in 1852<sup>9</sup>.

Much more profound change occurred in the daily press. The reforms in that field first took place in Warsaw journalism circles in the first half of the 1850s, but a few years later the transformations enveloped the entirety of the Polish press. The process began in the crowded market of the Polish capital city in 1851, and, most generally, it consisted of an undertaking of a variety of actions by the publishers of newspapers and magazines aimed at commercialisation. The very first of these changes was the introduction of royalties by *Gazeta Warszawska* (*Warsaw Paper*)

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<sup>8</sup> G. Gzella, „Pisma dla ludu” pod zaborami w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku, Toruń 1994, p. 5–10.

<sup>9</sup> M. Tyrowicz, *Prasa Galicji i Rzeczypospolitej Krakowskiej 1772–1850*, Kraków 1979, p. 138–167.

in 1851, which marked the beginning of competition and, at the same time, had numerous significant effects on the content of publications. The nature of these changes is well illustrated by the words of the leading researcher in this field, Eugeniusz Tomaszewski:

Thus the significant increase in the number of employees allowed for the considerable development of the newspapers' volume. That, in turn, there is a conditioned possibility of extending the scope of the topics discussed in the press that had been limited so far. The entire groups of issues, raised occasionally or incidentally to that point, were highlighted in the rapidly growing number of sections of press publications. The agricultural and industrial issues, the issues of transportation and trade, city news, cultural, scientific and technological topics, as well as national and foreign correspondence began to be discussed more extensively and carefully. In particular, a lot of space was given to literature and art [...] The editors could plan how to fill in individual sections, which was especially important due to the significant increase in the volume of newspapers. As a result, the articles on a given issue could be published systematically, often subdivided into instalments, often cyclically delivered by the authors [...] Owing to the official introduction of the system of buying and selling the works intended for press publication, the editorial staffs could accept articles of an appropriate level, as well as introduce appropriate changes. Raising the level of Warsaw dailies had an effect on the increase of their readership, the number of subscribers and thus on the increase of the revenue income of publishing houses [...]. A particularly important issue was the close cooperation of Warsaw dailies with novelists, as it was only possible thanks to the introduction of daily newspaper royalties. The cooperation was of a previously unobserved scale. High royalties attracted even the most popular Polish novelists to cooperate with the daily press [...]. The alliance with novelists also impacted significantly the image of daily literature at that time. If we add to that the fact that a number of articles and reviews of literature were published in newspapers at that time, it becomes apparent that the Warsaw newspapers of the period were more literary than socio-political in nature [...]<sup>10</sup>

As a result of these transformations, a number of improvements were introduced to the press's editorial sections, especially in the area of organisation – e.g. a collegiate model of editing was popularized and thematic specialisations were sectioned. Moreover, newspapers and magazines also grew significantly in volume; their layout was refined, and profit gained from advertisements also started to be of growing importance.

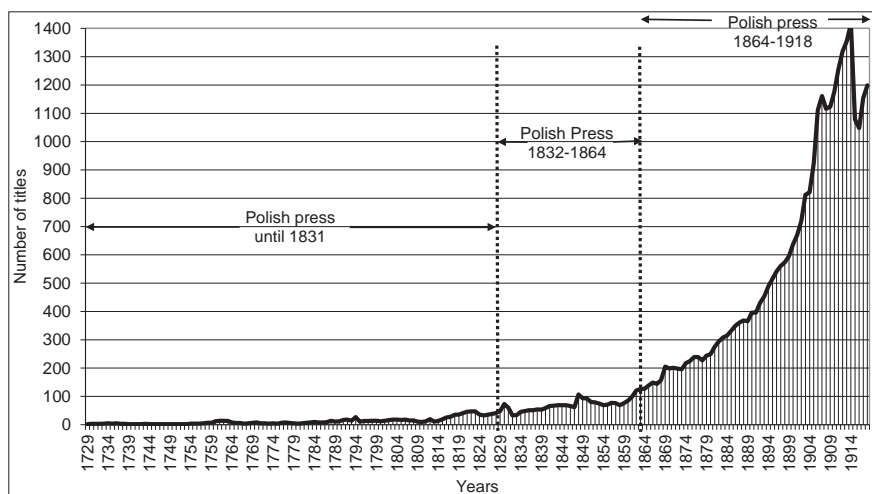
In order to fully understand the features of the press during the period between the Uprisings, it is worth analysing them in a wider comparative perspective (Fig. 3). An analysis of the data indicates that until the mid-nineteenth century, the Polish press was in its initial stage of development. It was characterized by its short range of content and dynamics. By the end of 1864, the number of concurrent titles

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<sup>10</sup> Own translation based on: E. Tomaszewski, *Wprowadzenie honorariów autorskich do codziennej prasy warszawskiej 1851–1861*, „Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1966, no. 1, p. 67–83.



was small, and their growth, though noticeable, was insignificant. Before 1815, no more than 20 concurrent publications had been issued, and no more than 50 in the era of the Congress of Poland. Only in the period between Uprisings—during a turning point in history—did their number slightly exceed 100 (68 titles on average).



**Fig. 3.** Polish Press in 1832–1864 as Compared to the Development of the Polish Press until 1918 – Number of Titles

Own calculations based on: J. Łojek, *Bibliografia prasy polskiej 1661–1831*. Warszawa 1965; B. Korczak, *Bibliografia...*, op. cit.; S. Zieliński, *Bibliografia...* op. cit.; *Bibliografia Historii Polski XIX i XX wieku*. Vol. 3, part 1, Warszawa 2001; *Bibliografia Historii Polski XIX i XX wieku*, Vol. 3, part 2, Warszawa 2010; M. Jakubek, *Prasa krakowska 1795–1918. Bibliografia*. Kraków 2004; J. Jarowiecki, *Prasa lwowska w latach 1864–1918. Bibliografia*, Kraków 2002; A. Garlicka, *Spis tytułów prasy polskiej 1865–1918*. Warszawa 1978; *Centralny Katalog Czasopism Polskich*, <http://mak.bn.org.pl> [dostęp: 03.06.2015].

In the following period (1864–1918), the dynamics of the market were several times greater and, additionally, achieved steady growth. This growth was exponential as a result, and the number of simultaneously issued titles doubled on average every 15 years<sup>11</sup>. In 1906, it exceeded 1,000, and on the eve of World War I it grew to 1,416 (thus, the real growth of the market for the years 1864–1918 was more than fourteen-fold). In this context, the less than two-fold increase in the number of publications during the period of 1832–1864, mentioned in the introduction, is merely a prelude to the transformations dating back to the post-Uprisings period.

Another characteristic feature of Polish press in the period before 1864 was its elitism, which directly translated into a relatively small number of published copies as compared to the era after the January Uprising. From the trace information available on the subject (as estimated by J. Łojek) it emerges that in 1780 the total one-time edition of the main Warsaw press publications amounted to approx. 1,100 to 2,000

<sup>11</sup> Number of titles in subsequent 15-year periods: 1865 – 139 titles, 1880 – 249, 1895 – 515, 1910 – 1176.



copies, and at its peak in 1791 reaching a number of approx. 3,000–4,800 copies<sup>12</sup>; three decades later, after a period of decline, it slowly grew again from 1,400 copies in 1815, through 2,200 copies in 1821 to 6,300 copies in 1830<sup>13</sup>. There is no precise data for the later period, but it is established that after the fall of the November Uprising the number of subscribers of Warsaw newspapers and magazines fell to approx. 3,000, and then, after returning to the same level of subscribers of the late 1820s, it only slightly increased for the following two decades. Rapid growth was recorded in the mid 1850s. Following the so-called “press war,” as early as in 1856 the number of subscribers increased to 15,000, and five years later it surpassed 25,000<sup>14</sup>. As a consequence, in 1830 every 19<sup>th</sup> adult citizen of Warsaw was a press reader, in 1856 every 15<sup>th</sup>, and in 1860 every 9<sup>th</sup>. Therefore, a dynamic, almost two-fold increase occurred only a few years before the January Uprising, initiating the phenomena that intensified in the next period (after 1864), when, as we all must remember, the press circulation increased to 269,000 copies in less than 30 years, i.e. an increase of 753%<sup>15</sup>.

Before 1864, the press was also characterized by many other features that differed from the later period. The issue of featured writers is one of the most distinctive aspects. At least until the mid-nineteenth century, the journalist’s profession was still in its infancy, both in terms of its organisation and technique. The relationships in editorial sections at that time are vividly described by Marian Tyrowicz:

[In the press of that time] there was usually a single-person editorial staff, being an individual initiator and manager of a magazine, whose individuality often set a stamp on the content and sometimes even the typographic character of a magazine [...] The strictly editorial activity began with collecting material from foreign press, much less often from the content delivered by mail or in person by the authors. Getting the news and gossip in cafes [...] [The skills were poor]. Long journalistic forms, such as editorials, essays, reportages, and feature articles, were entering the columns of our newspapers very slowly until 1848. Short journalistic forms, i.e.

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<sup>12</sup> Own calculations based on: J. Łojek, *Ze studiów nad czytelnictwem prasy w Polsce w końcu XVIII wieku (1780–1793)*, „Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1963, vol. 2, p. 27.

<sup>13</sup> J. Łojek, *Studia nad prasą i opinią publiczną w Królestwie Polskim 1815–1830*, Warszawa 1966, p. 142–143.

<sup>14</sup> E. Tomaszewski, *Prasa Królestwa Polskiego i ziem litewsko-ruskich okresu między-powstaniowego*, [in:] *Prasa polska w latach 1661–1864*, ed. J. Łojek, Warszawa 1976, p. 149; Z. Anculewicz, *Rozwój prenumerat gazet i czasopism w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1815–1864*, „Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej” 1987, no. 4, p. 5–21.

<sup>15</sup> J. Kostecki, *Czytelnictwo czasopism w Królestwie Polskim w drugiej połowie XIX w.*, [in:] *Problemy literatury polskiej okresu pozytywizmu*, series 2, ed. E. Jankowski, J. Kulczycka-Saloni, Warszawa 1983, p. 306.

press releases or current news, were delivered by the editors usually without titles, with no gaps, no paragraphs [...]<sup>16</sup>.

Though collegiality started to appear in the late eighteenth century, the phenomenon was quite incidental, as the custom of paying royalties was not known at that time. As a result, the then co-editors were usually recruited from clerical and literary circles, landowners, and clergymen, and they treated the job as a mission or did it for reasons dictated by ambition. According to the findings of Tadeusz Kupis, only for seven out of fifty “editors” known by name journalism was considered their primary source of income<sup>17</sup> as late as during the November Uprising.

Another problem consisted of economic issues. Despite the fact that the owners of newspapers and magazines were striving for profitability, and the vast majority of initiatives was commercial in nature and aimed at profiting from the sale of copies and the printing of advertisements, a substantial proportion of contemporary initiatives were based on patronage or subsidies granted by the authorities<sup>18</sup>. The combination of the aforementioned conditions meant that the majority of press publishing houses until the early 1850s were manufacturers in nature. The change in this area was brought about by the modernisation trend, which was inaugurated by the appearance of *Dziennik Warszawski* (*Warsaw Daily*) in 1851. The process of the commercialization of publishing companies that took place after that date quickly transformed the companies into modern press enterprises<sup>19</sup>, which began to fully develop in earnest only after 1864<sup>20</sup>. Censorship, introduced for the first time by the authorities of the Targowica Confederation (1792), followed by various legal regulations and activities of partitioning superpowers, also had an enormous impact on the entire press market. Except for the short periods of liberalisation, for example from 1815–1820 in the Kingdom or during the Spring of Nations, the model of prevention and concession dominated in almost all annexed territories, which effectively inhibited the growth of the press<sup>21</sup>.

Despite various difficulties, the Polish press of that period typologically diversified. Apart from a relatively well-developed market of newspapers, numerous types of magazines also appeared. It is worth noting that the phenomenon had already been initiated in the years 1815–1830, when in addition to 20 newspapers (12%), a number of literary and entertainment (63 titles, 40%), scientific and

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<sup>16</sup> M. Tyrowicz, *Organizacja redakcji w prasie i czasopiśmiennictwie polskim w I połowie XIX w.*, „Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1968, no. 2, p. 5–41.

<sup>17</sup> T. Kupis, *Zawód dziennikarza w Polsce Ludowej*, Warszawa 1966, p. 27.

<sup>18</sup> M. Tyrowicz, *Czynniki kalkulacyjne prasy polskiej w kraju 1772–1850 – przegląd zagadnień*, „Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej” 1981, no. 1, p. 5–21.

<sup>19</sup> E. Tomaszewski, *Kształtowanie się kapitalistycznych przedsiębiorstw prasowych w Warszawie (1851–1860)*. Warszawa 1968.

<sup>20</sup> D. Nałęcz, *Rozwój prasy a kształtowanie się zawodu dziennikarskiego na ziemiach polskich*, „Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej” 1980, no. 2, p. 85–93.

<sup>21</sup> J. Sobczak, *Dzieje prawa prasowego na ziemiach polskich*, Poznań 2009, p. 54–87.

professional (33.21%) and official (11.7%) magazines were published on the Polish lands. Although before the November Uprising other types of magazines (children's, advertising, satirical, political) were printed less frequently (20%), they slowly became more specialized and much more extensive in their form. Despite the poverty of the Polish press in the period between Uprisings, the process continued, resulting in the appearance of "press for the people," political press, or the first illustrated magazines established at the end of the period.

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## **On the Statistics and Geography of the Polish Press in the Period between the Uprisings (1832–1864)**

### **Abstract**

This article presents a brief description of the Polish press and its development during the years 1832–1864. The main objective of this study is to precisely define the press's quantitative growth and territorial distribution. The source of the study was data obtained from the analysis of all (including the most recent) documentary sources. As a result of the research, it was established that during the years 1832–1864 on the Polish lands and abroad, 626 press titles were published, out of which 185 were issued in the Russian Partition, 161 in the Austrian sector, 130 in the Prussian sector, and 150 abroad. The study also presents the main areas of qualitative transformation (typology, journalistic skills, organisation of the editorial office) and selected determinants shaping the development of the press market in the years 1832–1864 (legal, political, economic impulses). The study is concluded by a brief comparative analysis, where the press of the period between Uprisings is analysed as compared to the development of the Polish press in the years 1729–1819. The analysis indicates that until the mid-nineteenth century, the Polish press had been in its initial period of development. Rapid quantitative and qualitative changes in the press took place only in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century.

**Key words:** History of Polish press, Statistics of Polish press, Geography of Polish press, the 19th centuries

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