

Zarys statystyki
prasy polskiej 1864–1918

**An Outline
of the Statistics
of the Polish Press
1864–1918***

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ABSTRAKT

Artykuł zawiera zwięzłą charakterystykę rozwoju
oraz prasy polskiej w latach 1864–1918.

Celem opracowania jest określenie
jej ilościowego wzrostu oraz terytorialnego
rozमieszczenia. W wyniku badań ustalono,
że w latach 1864–1918 ukazało się aż 5886
tytułów drukowanych w języku polskim.
Najwięcej pism ukazywało się w Galicji (2323),
nieco mniej w zaborze rosyjskim (2018),
zaś najmniej w prowincji pruskiej (613);
ponadto 371 tytułów drukowano w głębi
państw zaborczych oraz 561 na emigracji.

ABSTRACT

This article presents a concise description of
the development of the Polish press in the years
1864–1918. The main focus of the work is on the
quantitative growth and territorial distribution of
the press. The study shows that over 5,886 Polish
titles were being published in the years 1864–1918.
The largest number of newspapers appeared in Galicia
(2,323), a slightly lower number in the Russian
Partition (2,018), and the lowest amount in the
Prussian Partition (613); what's more, around 371 titles
were being issued on the territories belonging to the
partitioning powers, and 561 titles by émigrés.

* Some information in this article is based on the calculations used in the book: W.M. K o l a s a,
Historiografia prasy polskiej (do 1918 roku). Naukometryczna analiza dyscypliny 1945–2009, Kraków 2013.

Summary

This article presents a concise description of the development of the Polish press in the years 1864–1918. The main focus of the work is on the quantitative growth and territorial distribution of the press. The studies were based on an analysis of all documentation sources (including the most recent ones). The study shows that over 5,886 Polish titles were being published in the years 1864–1918. The largest number of newspapers was being issued in Galicia (2,323), a slightly lower number in the Russian Partition (2,018), and the lowest amount in the Prussian Partition (613); The Polish press was also being issued on the territories belonging to the partitioning powers (371), of which 197 were published in the Russian Empire, 125 in Germany, and 49 in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Additionally, newspapers were being published in 15 other countries (561 in total), of which the majority were being published in the United States (387), France (48), Switzerland (43), Brazil (28), and England (25). The article also shows the main factors that shaped the press market during the years 1864–1918 (legal, political, economic, and social) as well as some selected aspects of changes in press quality (typology, journalistic skills, editing).

The period concerning the history of the partitioned lands of Poland, lasting from the collapse of the January Uprising to November 1918, constitutes a closed era in the development of the Polish press. It is noteworthy that the boundaries of this period are ultimately derived from political history and do not reflect the changes to the press itself at the beginning and end of this era. Changes in journalism evolved gradually, and a breakthrough in the development of the Polish press — commercialisation — had already taken place a decade prior¹. However, some aspects of these changes would occur during the entire second half of the 19th century. They included the introduction of various technical facilities into communications (telegraph, telephone) as well as in printing and manufacturing (high-speed paper cup machine, monotypes), the evolution of journalistic sources of information (correspondents, press agencies), and last but not least, the diversification of journalistic genres and an increase in the number of readers. The latter occurred primarily in the last decade of the 19th century.

There is still much to be studied about the statistical image of the development of the Polish press in the post-uprising period. The best evidence of this comes from a close reading of the second volume of *Historia prasy polskiej (The History of Polish Press)* [hereafter HPP2]², where individual chapters seem to be incoherent, a comparative background is completely non-existent, and worst of all, there is no chapter devoted to generalisations that concern the entirety of the Polish press market during the years 1864–1918. All of these issues largely result from insufficient documentation. Let us recall that the only source of data for the authors of HPP2 was the work record kept by Aleksandra Garlicka in the Department of the History of the Polish Press in the 19th and 20th centuries in the Polish Academy of Sciences. The record was only completed in 1974, and its final edition, under the working title *Spis tytułów prasy polskiej 1865–1918 (The List of Titles in the Polish Press in 1865–1918)*³, was published in 1978. Consequently, this material has never been fully interpreted⁴. There are two reasons for this non-development: on the one hand

¹ E. Tomaszewski, *Kształtowanie się kapitalistycznych przedsiębiorstw prasowych w Warszawie (1851–1860)*, Warszawa 1968.

² *Prasa polska w latach 1864–1918*, ed. J. Łojek, Warszawa 1976 (*Historia prasy polskiej*, vol. 2).

³ A. Garlicka, *Spis tytułów prasy polskiej 1865–1918*, Warszawa 1978.

⁴ The exception is article: J. Myśliński, *Próba określenia miejsca i roli prasy w dziejach społeczeństwa polskiego doby powojennej*, „Dzieje Najnowsze” 1978, no. 3, pp. 5–27, the author briefly presents the results there (pp. 7–8).

there was not enough motivation, as *The List* was published just two years after the works of the HPP2 (1976) had been completed; on the other hand, the quality of the provided data was controversial. The publication was amateurish (the existing biographies constituted the primary, and in most cases sole source of information, while only around 33% of titles were analysed) and comprised simplified bibliographical descriptions that were limited to identification elements. A long-time study being conducted by the Polish Academy of Sciences since the second half of the 1980s changed the way that documentation was handled. As a result, two volumes of *Bibliografia Historii Polski XIX i XX wieku (The Bibliography of the History of Poland in the 19th and 20th Centuries)* were published [vol. 3, part 1 issued in 2000, and vol. 3, part 2 issued in 2010]⁵. Despite the fact that no volumes have been published on the subject of Galicia or the Polish press in foreign lands, there are some credible sources⁶ that allow for a quantitative analysis of the development of the Polish press in 1864–1918 to be performed.

This paper presents an in-depth analysis of all of the available documentary sources (including the most recent ones) as well as a concise statistical analysis of the development of the Polish press. The presentation of the data follows a detailed overview of the factors that affected the development of the press, for their impact on the interpretation of the data is crucial. An analysis of the Polish press has to reflect the strong territorial diversification in the period covered, for the different partitions fostered various legal and political conditions as well as different opportunities for newspaper publishers. Moreover, it is not easy to answer the following question: which factor was the most significant driving force behind the changes occurring in the Polish press during this time? Scholars have divided views on this issue, despite the existence of advanced studies on press relations in the period 1864–1918. According to Jerzy Myśliński, “social and cultural changes were more significant than the censorship and publishing restrictions which they were trying to defy”⁷. There is ample evidence to indicate the accuracy of this conclusion; however, its full verification is hardly feasible, for the lack of statistical data makes it difficult to accurately evaluate how readers changed over time in the individual territories⁸. Data

⁵ *Bibliografia Historii Polski XIX i XX wieku*, Vol. 3, part 1, ed. S. Sokołowska, Warszawa 2000; ibidem, Vol. 3, part 2, Warszawa 2010.

⁶ I. a. J. Jarowiecki, *Prasa lwowska w latach 1864–1918. Bibliografia*, Kraków 2002; M. Jakubek, *Prasa krakowska 1795–1918. Bibliografia*, Kraków 2004; S. Zahradnik, *Czasopiśmiennictwo w języku polskim na terenach Czechosłowacji w latach 1848–1938*, Opole 1989; S. Zieliński, *Bibliografia czasopism polskich zagranicą 1830–1934*, Warszawa 1935 and others.

⁷ J. Myśliński, *Prasa polska w dobie powstaniowej*, [in:] J. Łojek, J. Myśliński, W. Władyka, *Dzieje prasy polskiej*, Warszawa 1988, p. 86.

⁸ See, J. Berger, *Źródła, publikacje i organizacja badań statystyki demograficznej na ziemiach polskich w okresie 1795–1918*, [in:] *Historia Polski w liczbach. Ludność, terytorium*, Warszawa 1993, pp. 51–65. Chapter [VI] in the monograph J. Myśliński, *Studia nad polską prasą społeczno-polityczną*

for the year 1897, presented below, can shed some light on the issues in question (Tab. 1). We should add that in the Russian Partition, reliable data was only available for 1897 when a population census was performed throughout the Russian Empire. The problem of insufficient data concerning readers proves especially important when we realize that the press was becoming highly democratic in the period covered. It follows that the number of recipients of the press was gradually growing and would eventually include the common people and working classes. Thus, unlike in former periods when readers were represented by the enlightened classes and lower middle classes (as well as the manor house and the rectory), the press of the post-uprising period had a much greater group of recipients.

Table 1

Population of the Lands of the Former Republic of Poland in 1897 as well as its Readership Index

	Russian Partition			Austrian Partition		Prussian Partition			Total
	The Congress Kingdom of Poland	Lithuania, Byelorussia	Ruthenia	Galicia	Cieszyn Silesia	West Prussia	The Grand Duchy of Posen, Opole Silesia	East Prussia	
Population [in thousands]	9,402	10,064	9,566	7,047	434	3,365	1,772	2,006	43,656
	29,032			7,481		7,143			
Percentage of Polish population [%]	73.8	11.5	11.5	46.5	60.7	46.4	24.5	13.9	
Polish population [in thousands]	6,938	1,157	1,100	32,76	263	1,561	434	278	15,007
	9,195			3,539		2,273			
Literacy rate [%]	30.5	26.5	16.9	41.3	66.3	95.0	99.0	N/A	
Number of literate people (potential readers) [in thousands]	2,116	306	185	1,353	174	1,483	429	N/A	6,046
	2,607			1,527		1,912			

Source: Own calculations based on: *Zarys historii Polski w liczbach*, Warszawa 2012, Tab. 14 (89), Tab. 14 (242). Population in East Prussia (1895) — *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich 1900*, Berlin 1900, p. 1, Tab. 1; Population in Cieszyn Silesia (data for the year 1911 — A. Krzyżanowski, K. Kumanięcki, *Statystyka Polski*, Kraków 1915, p. 2, Tab. 1). Category “literate”: the Prussian Partition — data for 1911, Cieszyn Silesia — data for 1910; Percentage of Polish population — P. Eberhardt, *Między Rosją a Niemcami*, Warszawa 1996; J. Buszko, *Wielka historia Polski*, Vol. 4, part 2, Kraków 2003, p. 355 (Fig. 2).

w *zachodniej Galicji 1905–1914*, Warszawa 1970, pp. 352–400, is one of the few exceptions pertaining to this subject; the author estimates there the number of readers in the western Galicia.

However, regardless of the various objections, there is no doubt that political factors played a key role in the development of the press. The partitioning powers' policy decisions affected the established law of the press, and consequently shaped censorship and bureaucracy. Additionally, politics influenced the educational conditions and the wealth of the common people. Thus, it seems that in the period 1864–1918, the history of the Polish press can be interpreted in the context of political censorship. The unification of dating *ante quem* for individual provinces and emigration causes numerous problems. The year 1864, after all, mainly revolved around the Russian Partition. It is noteworthy that various important political processes took place in the 1860s. In the 19th century, these processes also reached the remaining provinces and the occupying monarchies (the systemic reforms in Austria and German reunification, among others). Eventually, at the beginning of the 1870s, the entirety of the Polish press found itself in an entirely new position.

The harshest conditions for the development of the press may be observed in the Russian Partition. In the Congress Kingdom of Poland, after the collapse of the January Uprising, all traces of former Polish autonomy were removed, the policy of Russification was intensified, the majority of Polish institutions were closed, and the remaining ones, including the press, were made subject to strong supervision. Until 1905, the development of the press had been hindered by preventive censorship and the concession system, and the situation was further hampered by the deregulation of the Russian law based on circulars, which allowed the tsarist officials to abuse the existing procedures. These restrictions were lifted during the revolution, which led to the explosion of new initiatives. However, this freedom did not last long, for permanent martial law allowed the invader to control the press through various different means. Conditions were only to change during the First World War, when the Central Powers introduced their legal systems within the annexed territories (quite separate from wartime censorship).

It is worth emphasising that the Congress Kingdom was the largest market for Polish papers and magazines, compared to other provinces (Tab. 1). At the beginning of the 20th century, this region was populated by over 2 million literate people, which represented about 34.9% of potential readers from all of the Polish territories, despite there being no sanctioned Polish schools and the permanent issue of the Russification policy. Let us add that a large percentage of these people lived in Warsaw, whereas only some inhabited the lands of Western Krai (which were annexed during the partitions of Lithuania, Byelorussia, and Ruthenia); Polish titles would only arrive in these lands after 1905. Additionally, the demand for the press in the Congress Kingdom was influenced by the levels of wealth, higher than that of Galicia, as well as by the fact that this territory (not including Silesia) was inhabited by a rather large group of tradesmen — around 15.4% of the population. Moreover, the press of the Russian Partition was also influenced by the fact that before 1905, political opinions could not be openly expressed. In spite of these prohibitions, numerous

secret newspapers were being published throughout this territory or imported from Galicia (e.g. the monthly magazine “Polak” [“A Pole”] — circa 3,000–5,000 copies).

A completely different situation was taking place in the Austrian Partition. The changes occurring in the Austrian Empire in the 1860s resulted from international political developments. Following the Austrian defeat in the war against France and Piedmont in 1859, the monarchy was in great need of fundamental change. Some reforms had already been introduced at the beginning of the 1860s, including the Diet of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria (beginning in 1861). The implementation of reforms was a rather slow process, but the Austrian defeat in the Battle of Königgrätz (1866), as well as the fact that Germany had gained hegemony in Prussia, accelerated these changes. The weakened Austrian Empire underwent extensive political revolution and transformed into the Austro-Hungarian Empire (through the constitution of December 21, 1867). This transformation also affected the political system in Galicia, whose autonomy increased — as early as 1869 the Polonisation of the administrative system had started. These new circumstances created relatively favourable conditions for the development of the press. Freedom of the press was guaranteed by Article XIII of the December Constitution, which stipulated the following: “everyone has the right to express their opinion in speech, in writing, in the press, and in pictures, within the boundaries defined under this bill.” Additionally, the constitution forbade preventive censorship and a rationing system. The bill stated that “the press can be neither censored nor hindered by rationing system.” In 1867, newspaper publishers were controlled by repressive censorship, which at first provided strict controls over populists and socialists; however, with time, as the monarchy was becoming more and more democratic, censorship practices also became more lenient. In 1894, the system of publishing deposits was cancelled, and six years later (1900) the stamp duty was abolished. Polish schools, universities, and numerous social and scientific organizations were established rather quickly in Galicia; by the end of the century, many political parties had developed there as well.

The favourable publishing conditions in Galicia soon resulted in an increase in the number of magazines. Although this territory was populated by a considerably smaller number of potential readers compared to the Congress Kingdom (Tab. 1), Galicia had been a leader in terms of the number of its publishing companies since the first years of its autonomy, and it maintained its leading position until the outbreak of the First World War. Open political life, which had been growing since the 1890s, had a strong influence on political relations in the Austrian Partition. This activity was symbolized by the fact that the leading newspapers represented all political parties, such as the conservative “Czas” (“Time”), liberal “Nowa Reforma” (“New Reform”), populist “Przyjacieli Ludu” (“Friend of the People”), socialist “Naprzód” (“Forward”), “Słowo Polskie” (“The Polish Word”) aligned with the National Democrats, and “Głos Narodu” (“The Voice of the Nation”) aligned with the Christian Democrats. Despite the favourable political atmosphere, Galicia was troubled by various social

issues, the two most serious among them being the low standard of living among the common people (the so-called “Galician poverty”) and the equally-low level of elementary education, especially in the eastern provinces. Other problems included the overpopulation of villages — as early as 1900 they were inhabited by 76.8% of all citizens — as well as low levels of industrialisation (in 1900, tradesmen represented only 8.0% of the population). Strong territorial and ethnic polarisation also had an impact on these issues. The Polish press was concentrated in western Galicia (inhabited mostly by Poles), with its centre in Cracow, whereas in the eastern provinces, inhabited mostly by Ukrainians, it was significantly less developed. Lviv constituted an exception, as the percentage of Poles was visibly higher there (e.g. in 1900, Polish was spoken by around 76.8% of residents)⁹.

The first symptoms of changes in the Prussian Partition date back to the reign of Wilhelm I beginning in 1858. In 1859, “Dziennik Poznański” (“Poznań Daily”), one of the most famous newspapers in the Grand Duchy of Posen, was established. This paper, though initially liberal, became moderately conservative at the turn of the 1860s and 1870s, and started to promote the ideas of “organic work.” For a decade it acted alone, with a breakthrough coming only at the beginning of the 1870s. Simultaneously, important changes were occurring in Prussia; they began in 1862, when Otto von Bismarck became Prime Minister. The prescient diplomatic decisions made by the future chancellor, and most of all, his military victories in wars against Denmark (1864), Austria (1866), and France (1870), led to the unification of Germany under Prussian rule (1871). Sometime earlier (1867), the Grand Duchy of Posen had lost the remains of its autonomy, and the programme of Germanisation was intensified throughout all Prussian provinces. In 1874, a new press bill came into effect (Reichspressgesetz), unifying the previously established law. It confirmed the abolition of preventative censorship as well as upheld repressive censorship, which had been in effect for the previous 20 years. The only difference, compared to previous regulations, was that more responsibility was placed on the legal system, instead of on the police. Consequently, in the Prussian Partition, control over the press was mostly exercised by the courts. Let us emphasise that in this field, such practice was rather common. This is confirmed by the numerous (and often high-profile) court trials of editors and publishers¹⁰. However, the repressiveness of the Prussian press system should not be overestimated. According to Witold Molik, “repressions practised by the Prussian authorities, however inconvenient, did not pose a serious threat to the development of the Polish press. Furthermore, fines and prison sentences

⁹ J. Jarowiecki, *Dzieje prasy polskiej we Lwowie do 1945 roku*, Kraków 2008, pp. 54–55.

¹⁰ G. Gzella, “Przed wysokim sądem”. *Procesy prasowe polskich redaktorów czasopism dla chłopów w zaborze pruskim*, Toruń 2004; J. Glensk, *Ograniczenia wolności prasy polskiej na Górnym Śląsku na przełomie XIX i XX w.*, Opole 1989 and others.

ordered for journalists were generally hardly effective”¹¹. Nevertheless, courts were not the only means of exerting pressure on publishers. The whole Prussian state system was mobilised against Polish editors, including officials in regencies, county commissioners, local government officers, and gendarmes as well as teachers, the press, and German organisations.

Despite the fact that the group of Poles living under Prussian control was the smallest compared to other partitions (in 1897, slightly above 2.2 million), they comprised a strong community of readers. At the end of the 19th century, there were hardly any illiterate people remaining in this sector (1–5%), hence the demand for the press was relatively high. The level of wealth — higher than in other partitions — as well as the large percentage of people living in cities had a beneficial impact on reading. In the Prussian Partition, the press was strongly decentralized when compared to the other provinces. Although Poznań aspired to be the centre of Polish publishing, numerous smaller cities also boasted their own dynamic publishing companies. Additionally, the Prussian Partition offered good infrastructure, which allowed for the reliable delivery of the press. It is noteworthy that the press in the Prussian Partition remained under the pressure that resulted from the economic and political rivalry between Poland and Germany throughout the entire period covered. This competition was reflected in numerous publications, and resulted as well in the unification of the ideologies represented by the local newspapers. Consequently, it is difficult to categorize the political press of the Prussian Partition in a traditional way. Andrzej Chwalba outlines this problem as follows: “the Polish-German rivalry sanctified national solidarity, which created a lack of room for policies that accentuated the diversification of class interests of people from both cities and villages. The national rivalry also blurred the boundaries between major political factions, such as liberals and conservatives, and later National Democrats”¹².

Moreover, some new phenomena occurred within the émigré population. After the collapse of the January Uprising, a rather large group of former insurgents (around 10,000) joined the existing refugees and caused a boom in journalistic activity (around 30 titles), which ultimately did not last very long¹³. The beginning of the 1870s is the time when post-uprising political emigration stopped and its press was terminated. Meanwhile, since as early as the first half of the 19th century, a new process — economic immigration — had been developing. Its culmination occurred in the years 1890–1914, when the gradual economic transformations of the partitioned lands of Poland, combined with the liberal migration policy of the United States,

¹¹ W. Mołik, *Dziennikarze polscy pod panowaniem pruskim 1890–1914. Próba charakterystyki*, [in:] *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku*, vol. 3, ed. R. Czepulis-Rastenis, Warszawa 1983, p. 118.

¹² A. Chwalba, *Historia Polski 1795–1918*, Kraków 2000, p. 449.

¹³ S. Kałembka, *Czasopiśmiennictwo emigracji popowstaniowych XIX wieku*, [in:] *Prasa polska w latach 1661–1864*, ed. J. Łojek, Warszawa 1976, pp. 337–338.

ushered in a period of mass migration across the ocean. According to estimates, between 1880 and the First World War close to 3.5 million people left the Polish lands, of whom 1.9 million departed for the United States, 100,000 for Brazil, 68,900 for Argentina, and 33,000 for Canada. If we include continental migration in these estimates, then the statistic increases to 4.3 million Poles living beyond the borders of Poland in 1918 as the country was being restored¹⁴. These estimates should also comprise the wartime victims from the First World War, which, in total, amounted to nearly 2 million people. Nearly every single Polish settlement started to issue its own papers, and in some American cities the Polish press developed very strongly (e.g. Chicago 95 magazines, New York 42 magazines). This press was operating in isolation from the country, which allowed it to assume a variety of unique forms. The press published in the partitioned sectors, especially during the First World War, should be treated as separate from the press of the political émigrés (e.g. socialists), for its connections with the country remained very strong.

The political factor explains the many processes that were influencing the Polish press throughout 1864–1918; however, the global, social, and cultural processes happening at that time should not be ignored. The observation of the changes in the foreign press confirms such assumptions. At the time, an unprecedented development within papers and magazines was occurring in most developed countries (including those in Europe and North America). During the first three decades of the second half of the 19th century (1850–1880), the number of titles in the United States increased by a factor of four (from 2,521 to 11,207), in Great Britain by eight (from 550 to 4,082), and in the Austro-Hungarian Empire by over ten times (from 176 to 1,803). Moreover, the quality of the press changed and its distribution increased, mostly due to the high-volume tabloids that entered the market. The Parisian “Le Petit Journal” constitutes the symbol of these changes; in as early as 1865, it had a circulation of 350,000 copies, and in 1895 it exceeded a daily circulation of 1 million copies. Andrzej Paczkowski states that these events were triggered by a combination of social and cultural factors (urbanisation, industrialisation, colonial expansion, popularisation of education, mass migration, and others) as well as by technical developments¹⁵. Perhaps some of these processes affected the Polish press, but their influence was insignificant. In the west, technical novelties soon became popular and enabled a faster and easier printing process, distribution, and communication. However, their impact was rather limited in Poland. The Polish press was operating under unique circumstances and had an existing compensating function, hence to only a small extent did it want to, or was able to, emulate any foreign models. Until the beginning of the 20th century, with the exception of a few Warsaw papers (e.g. “Kurier Warszawski” [“Warsaw Courier”], “Kurier Poranny”

¹⁴ E. Kołodziej, *Wychodźstwo zarobkowe z Polski 1918–1939*, Warszawa 1982, pp. 28–31.

¹⁵ A. Paczkowski, *Czwarta władza. Prasa dawniej i dziś*, Warszawa 1973, pp. 67, 71–76.

[“Morning Courier”]), there were no papers in the country that would be published on a mass scale. As follows, there was no real need to involve efficient machines and most publishing companies continued to use traditional methods. There were only few exceptions, which included wealthy or prestigious publishing companies (“Couriers,” “Tygodnik Ilustrowany” [“The Illustrated Weekly”]).

Demography had a much stronger influence on the development of the press. The period under consideration coincided with the time when Poland was experiencing a demographic explosion. Annual population growth was 1.5% beginning in 1861, and from 1861–1911 the population of the former Poland had doubled¹⁶. This increase, however, had a limited effect on the development of reading, due to many factors. A significant number of Poles had left the country and emigrated (from the Grand Duchy of Posen, Galicia), and a large number of those who remained had no access to a Polish education as a consequence of the efficient actions taken by the partitioning powers (the Kingdom, Western Krai). The citizens of Galicia were in a more favourable situation, but the emancipation of the common people was hindered by universal poverty and low levels of elementary education, which differed considerably from the western models. Other factors shaping the development of the western press (urbanisation, industrialisation) had a limited influence on the press in the partitioned lands of Poland. Only a few cities could have aspired to be considered as metropolises (Warsaw, Lviv, Cracow), and the development of entire provinces was taking place rather slowly when compared to Western Europe. From 1872–1909, the urban population in the Congress Kingdom increased from 16.2% to 33%, and from 28% to 34.4% in the Grand Duchy of Posen between 1861 and 1910. Silesia was the only one to have rates similar to those of Western Europe, for in 1910 the percentage in Silesia reached 57.7% (compared to 54.4% in Germany). Galicia had the poorest results; in 1910, the percentage of the urban population amounted to 19.8% (of which the vast majority lived in Lviv and Cracow)¹⁷. The rate of industrialisation was also unevenly distributed. Industry was concentrated in a few larger settlements (Warsaw, Łódź, Silesia) and comprised a small percentage of the population. In all three sectors in 1900, the total number of people working in industry, crafts, and trade remained at 25.8%; this result is very telling when compared to the rate in England (67.7%).

¹⁶ I. Gieysztorowa, *Ludność*, [in:] *Encyklopedia historii gospodarczej Polski do 1945 roku*, Vol. 1, ed. A. Mączak, Warszawa 1981, p. 433; *Zarys historii Polski w liczbach. Społeczeństwo, gospodarka*, ed. C. Kukło, Warszawa 2012, p. 113, Tab. 14 (89).

¹⁷ I. Gieysztorowa, *Ludność...*, pp. 438–439.

Table 2

The Polish Press 1864–1918 (Number of Titles)

Language	Poland			The Partitioning Powers			Emigration	Total
	Russian Partition	Austrian Partition*	Prussian Partition	Russia	Austria	Germany		
Polish	2,018	2,323	613	197	49	125	561	5,886
	4,954			371				
Yiddish**	231	52 (u)	2	0	0	0	0	285 (n)
Other languages	393	226 (u)	5 (u)	1	N/A	N/A	56	686 (n)
Total	2,642	2,601	618	198	56	125	617	6,857 (n)
	5,861			379				
Data source	A	C, D, E, F	B	A	G	B	G	

Explanations: * including Cieszyn Silesia; ** including Yiddish; (u) — understated data; (n) — not confirmed or understated data. Data source: A, B, C, D, E, F, G — see footnote 19.

The evaluation of the number of titles published in Polish lands and by émigrés is limited by a lack of sufficient data. There is no single coherent source; hence, 7 various documentary publications were applied (marked A–G in Tab. 2)¹⁸, and from the publications, only the titles with elements typical for the press were used (duplications were not allowed). According to the most recent data, 5,886 Polish titles were being issued on the lands of the former Poland and beyond its borders in the years 1864–1918 (Tab. 2). If we added to this number the papers published in other languages, total circulation would probably exceed 7,500. However, insufficient data prevents the accurate evaluation of all foreign papers. The only reliable data is in reference to the Congress Kingdom; 231 Jewish papers and 393 foreign papers

¹⁸ A (the Russian Partition) — *Bibliografia Historii Polski XIX i XX wieku*. Vol. 3, part 1, ed. S. Sokołowska, Warszawa 2000; B (the Prussian Partition and Germany) — *Bibliografia Historii Polski XIX i XX wieku*, Vol. 3, part 2, ed. S. Sokołowska, Warszawa 2010; C (Cracow) — M. Jakubek, *Prasa krakowska 1795–1918. Bibliografia*, Kraków 2004; D (Lviv) — J. Jarowiecki, *Prasa lwowska w latach 1864–1918. Bibliografia*, Kraków 2002; E (other cities in Galicia) — A. Garlicka, *Spis tytułów prasy polskiej 1865–1918*, Warszawa 1978 as well as database *Centralny Katalog Czasopism Polskich* [<http://mak.bn.org.pl>]; F (Cieszyn Silesia) — S. Zahradnik, *Czasopiśmiennictwo w języku polskim na terenach Czechosłowacji w latach 1848–1938*, Opole 1989; G (emigration, except for Russia and Germany) — S. Zieliński, *Bibliografia czasopism polskich zagranicą 1830–1934*, Warszawa 1935. Due to the fact that it was not possible to separate papers inspired by Polish circles and published in the invaders' languages (Russian, German, Lithuanian, Byelorussian), they were not included in the calculations. This rule was applied to papers published in Eastern Borderlands as well as to titles listed in the volume concerning the Russian Partition; the whole publication includes the titles published in the Congress Kingdom.

(mostly in Russian and German) were being issued there. The data with reference to Galicia is definitely understated, as it is more than certain that the number of Jewish papers was higher than 52; the same can be said about other foreign titles — mostly Ukrainian papers (226)¹⁹.

The largest amount of papers was being issued in Galicia (2,323 titles), a slightly lower amount in the Russian Partition (2,018), and the lowest in the Prussian Partition (613). Some number of papers was also being issued in the occupying countries (371), of which the largest numbers were being published in the Russian Empire (197) and Germany (125), and the smallest in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (49). Additionally, newspapers were being published in 15 other countries (561 in total), of which the majority were being published in the United States (387), France (48), Switzerland (43), Brazil (28), and England (25). The numbers unequivocally demonstrate that the press depended on both legal and press-related circumstances, but also on social factors. This is illustrated by the situation in Galicia, which surpassed all other sectors in terms of the number of publishing companies — despite being the poorest province populated by the smallest number of literate Poles, compared to the Congress Kingdom of Poland or the Russian Partition.

An analysis of the dynamics of the press market provides a detailed description of the changes that occurred (Figure 1). In the years 1864–1918, the amount of papers was gradually increasing; however, this growth was uneven and could be divided into four phases²⁰: 1870–1890; 1890–1907; 1907–1914; and 1914–1918. The entire Polish press had continued to develop at a moderate rate (on average 10 new titles per year) until approximately 1890. This is when the circulation of papers doubled and reached 400. Let us emphasise that this increase was generated by Galicia and the Prussian Partition, whereas in the Congress Kingdom the press was experiencing stagnation.

¹⁹ The data on the press in the years 1881–1913, collected by J. Myśliński, confirms this hypothesis: Ukrainian (78 titles); Yiddish (70), German (5), Russian (2), French (1) — J. Myśliński, *Nakłady prasy społeczno-politycznej w Galicji w latach 1881–1913*. Part 1, „Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1965, no. 1, p. 117.

²⁰ Excluding the initial years (1864–1870) which can be considered a transition period.

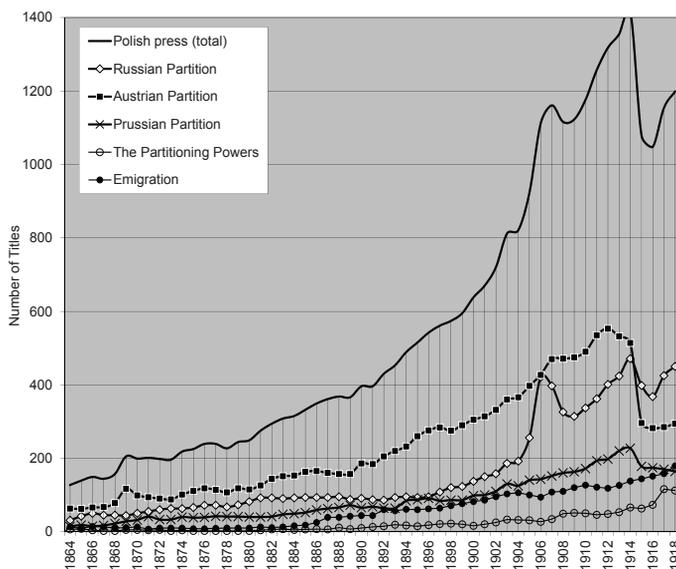


Figure 1

The Dynamics of the Polish Press Market 1864–1918 (Only Titles in Polish)
Own calculations. Data source see footnote 19.

Since the beginning of the 1890s, when mass political movements were coming to life, the press market had been dynamically increasing — exceeding 812 titles in 1903 — and continued to grow until it reached 1,112 papers published in 1906. Initially, the market was growing at a moderate rate (around 27 new titles per year), and only during the time of revolution did a large increase occur (over 120 titles in 1905). Additionally, in this period the Polish press was being influenced by that in Galicia (increasing from 205 to 470); however, after the revolution, the publishing companies from the Congress Kingdom occupied a leading position and their number doubled within the following two years (from 192 to 421). In the period after the revolution and before the First World War, the Polish press remained at a very high level and, with just a few exceptions, continued to grow — from 1,116 papers (1908) to 1,416 papers (this number was reached on the eve of the outbreak of war). 1914 constituted the peak moment throughout the entire period covered, as the Polish press was only able to reach similar levels at the turn of 1924, as well as in 1925 in the reborn Poland.

The press market during the last pre-war years was mostly affected by publishing companies from Galicia and the Russian Partition. Despite a temporary recession, papers in the Austrian Partition were gradually growing until the outbreak of war (reaching 553 papers in the peak year of 1912) — similar to the press published in the province under the Romanovs, though here the dynamics were stronger. In

the Congress Kingdom, after some decreases resulting from the post-revolution repressions (326 titles in 1908), the market rallied and picked up fast, reaching 471 titles in 1914.

An analysis of the press during the war provides a rather convoluted image. The Polish press suffered the most severe decrease during the first year of war, due to military action (there were 1,079 titles by the end of 1915, and slightly fewer in 1916 — 1,048). However, as the fighting on the eastern front became less severe (1917), more and more initiatives were starting to emerge and the number of Polish titles was increasing once more: 1,154 in 1917, and exceeding 1,199 on the eve of regaining independence. During this period, the press in Galicia suffered the greatest decrease (it lessened by half in 1915 and did not recover from this fall until the end of the war). A similar situation occurred in the Prussian Partition, which suffered a relatively large decline in 1917 — from 227 to 170. In the Congress Kingdom, however, the press had been increasing since 1916, and on the eve of November 1918 it reached 450 titles. The statistics were also affected by a significant increase in the number of publishing initiatives being undertaken on the territories belonging to the partitioning powers. Nevertheless, it still remained rather small (66 papers) until the outbreak of war. During the war, these lands experienced a sudden growth of the press — up to 116 papers by 1917. This was largely influenced by the fact that many Polish publishers were evacuated to Russia, together with the retreating Russian army. The émigré press, however, was developing in total isolation from the events that were taking place in the country; it had been growing rather steadily since 1871 (7 titles) until 1918, when it soared to 179 papers. The press in the Prussian Partition proved invulnerable to the aforementioned factors, for it continued growing — rather slowly, but at a relatively even rate. Following some observed declines in the year when the Second Reich (1871) was proclaimed, the press market started to gradually expand and reached totals of 40 papers in 1874, 63 papers in 1887, and 100 papers in 1901. Later, it would accelerate even more, and on the eve of the outbreak of war, there were 227 publishing companies overall.

Table 3

Polish Press Market Turnover 1864–1918 (Only Titles in Polish)

	Russian Partition		Austrian Partition*		Prussian Partition		Total	
	Titles	%	Titles	%	Titles	%	Titles	%
1864	31	1.54	63	2.71	14	2.28	108	2.18
New	1,987	98.46	2,260	97.29	599	97.72	4,846	97.82
Closed	1,568	77.70	2,029	87.34	449	73.25	4,046	81.67
1918	450	22.30	294	12.66	164	26.75	908	18.33
Existing in 1864–1918	2,018	100.00	2,323	100.00	613	100.00	4,954	100.00

Own calculations; * including Cieszyn Silesia.

The statistical description of the Polish press becomes more intelligible when we include the turnover rate (Tab. 3). For the sake of clarity, we focus on Polish press published in the partitioned lands of Poland (without the emigration press and the press printed in the territories belonging to the partitioning powers). In the period covered, there were a total of 4,954 papers of this type. Initially, their number was small; in 1864 there were only 108 papers altogether (i.e. 2.18% of the total number). However, the market was growing dynamically, and in just a short while, 4,846 new papers (97.82%) had appeared; however, at the same time a significant number of them — 4,046 — disappeared from the press map in its entirety (81.67%). In 1918, there were only 908 titles remaining, i.e. 18.33% of all existing titles in the period covered. Although the turnover was high, the press market increased by eight times during this time (from 108 to 908). The Polish press was not much different from its Western European counterparts in this respect; the British press reached similar rates at that time (an increase from 550 to 4,082)²¹.

The exchange processes happened with different intensities in individual provinces. In the post-uprising press, nearly 81.67% papers were cancelled or suspended, while the highest rate of liquidation was reported in Galicia — around 87.34% of papers went bankrupt. Around 20 titles were liquidated there each year in the 1870s and 1880s, whereas in the 1890s, this number doubled (around 40). These liquidations were mostly caused by poor financial situations or unsuccessful publishing initiatives, as the cases when a company was suspended by a court ruling were rare. This probably resulted from frequent confiscations, but it apparently did not affect daily newspapers — illustrated by the case of “*Naprzód*” [“Forward”], one of the most frequently confiscated titles in Galicia²². In other provinces the confiscation rate was lower. The press in the Congress Kingdom during the revolution was the only exception here. In the peak year of 1906, around 186 papers were suspended, and one year later, 153 more. In the Russian Partition, papers were mostly ended by censorship, courts, or police; however, it should be added that liquidation due to financial instability was also common. The lowest liquidation rate (73.25%) could be observed in the Prussian Partition (only 5–10 papers per year). In most cases, this rate concerns new initiatives, as papers that had existed on the market for a longer period were able to find ways to successfully avoid liquidation. Despite numerous court trials and high fines, permanent liquidations happened relatively rarely.

The aforementioned observations are confirmed by an analysis of the durability of the press (Tab. 4). The largest number of ephemera was published in the Congress Kingdom, which was largely caused by the revolution. Intense changes on the market, happening after 1905, resulted in a great number of local papers being suspended

²¹ A. Paczkowski, *Czwarta władza. Prasa dawniej i dziś*, Warszawa 1973, p. 67, Tab. 2.

²² J. Buszko, *Walka „Naprzodu” z cenzurą (1892–1914)*, „Zeszyty Prasoznawcze” 1960, nr 5/6, pp. 120–129.

or having their name changed (44.1% did not last for even a year); at the same time, the former Congress Poland was issuing the smallest number of long-lasting papers, i.e. lasting longer than 11 years (8.8%). At the other extreme were papers from the Prussian Partition, where ephemera constituted only 25.7% (comparing to average 39.4%), while the number of long-lasting papers reached a record 25.2%.

Table 4

The Durability of Papers and Magazines 1864–1918 (Only Titles in Polish)

	1 year		2 years		3–5 years		6–10 years		11 and more		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Russian Partition	890	44.1	408	20.2	363	17.9	178	8.8	179	8.8	2,018
Austrian Partition	913	39.3	402	17.3	397	17.0	279	12.0	332	14.2	2,323
Prussian Partition	158	25.7	93	15.1	129	21.0	78	12.7	155	25.2	613
Total	1,961	39.5	903	18.2	889	17.9	535	10.7	666	13.4	4,954

Own calculations.

In the pre-war period, the Polish press was becoming increasingly decentralised. The largest amount of newspapers — around 3,408 titles, i.e. over 68% of all titles — was still being published in the old newspaper centres (Warsaw, Lviv, Cracow, Poznań), but at the same time, the role of other centres was growing. In the Congress Kingdom, among the front-runners were: Łódź (86), Lublin (81), Płock (44), Radom (34), Piotrków (33), Częstochowa (32), Włocławek (32), Kielce (28), and Sosnowiec (22). In Western Krai, the leading position belonged to Vilnius (110), where the press was reborn after 1905. In the Austrian Partition: Tarnów (52), Przemyśl (48), Stanisławów (40), Kołomyja (26), Nowy Sącz (26), and Jarosław (20); in Cieszyn Silesia: Cieszyn (39) and Biała (31). In the Prussian Partition: Bytom (31), Katowice (30), Toruń (25), Grudziądz (22), Opole (22), Królewska Huta (19), Bydgoszcz (16), Gdańsk (15), and Pelplin (15). A few American cities also counted among the largest centres of the Polish press: Chicago (95), New York City (42), Milwaukee (33), and Buffalo (26). Additionally, many titles were being published on the territories belonging to the partitioning powers, including St. Petersburg (62), Kiev (57), Vienna (41), and Berlin (40).

In the period covered, readers could have been distinguished based on the contact they had with the press. Undoubtedly, social conditions (e.g. levels of wealth and education) had a crucial impact on this phenomenon, resulting in strong territorial differences. The analysis of frequency based on territorial distribution sheds some light on this issue (Tab. 5). The readers from the Prussian Partition had the strongest contact with the press. This sector was issuing only 100 papers (daily newspapers as well as magazines published more than once a week), but they constituted

nearly 16.31% of all titles there. For comparison, in the Russian Partition, this percentage was by lower one third (11.1%), while in Galicia, it was two and a half times lower (6.07%). These correlations are reflected in the information regarding circulation. For instance, in 1900, “Katolik” [“The Catholic”] had a circulation of 20,000 copies, whereas in the Great Duchy of Posen, a single circulation of any paper would comprise 125,000 copies²³. In the Congress Kingdom, the circulation of daily newspapers was high, but at the same time, it was directed at a significantly higher number of recipients (e.g. 119,700 copies were printed daily in Warsaw in 1901)²⁴. In Galicia, the circulation was on average only half as high (in 1901, daily newspapers had a circulation of 63,000 copies, of which 45,600 were issued in Lviv and 17,400 in Cracow)²⁵.

Table 5

The Polish Press 1864–1918, by Frequency

	Russian Partition		Austrian Partition		Prussian Partition	
	Number of titles	%	Number of titles	%	Number of titles	%
Newspapers (2–7 times a week)	224	11.10	141	6.07	100	16.31
Weekly magazines/ biweeklies	692	34.29	953	41.02	264	43.07
Other	1,102	54.61	1,229	52.91	249	40.62
Total	2,018	100.00	2,323	100.00	613	100.00

Own calculations.

In the period under consideration, the quality of the press would change dramatically. The changes manifested themselves in various ways; however, the development of several new types of papers had the greatest impact on their distribution and circulation. The political and party-political press played a major role. It carried a great responsibility due to the absence of Polish institutions (as well as the absence of representative institutions in two sectors), for as J. Myśliński rightly said, the press started to serve as a Polish parliament and a connector²⁶. Galicia was the cradle of the political press, and conservatives, liberals, and democrats would first publish

²³ Own calculations based on: J. Głenski, *Nakłady prasy polskiej na Śląsku (1789–1939)*, „Studia Śląskie. Seria Nowa” Vol. 34 (1978), p. 147; J. Myśliński, *Prasa polska w dobie powstaniowej*, [in:] J. Łojek, J. Myśliński, W. Władyka, *Dzieje prasy polskiej*, Warszawa 1988, p. 51.

²⁴ Own calculations based on: Z. Kmiecik, *Wydawnictwa periodyczne w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1868–1904*, „Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1965, no. 2, pp. 149–150.

²⁵ Own calculations based on: J. Myśliński, *Nakłady prasy społeczno-politycznej w Galicji w latach 1881–1913*. Part 1, „Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1965, no. 1, pp. 122–123.

²⁶ J. Myśliński, *Polska prasa socjalistyczna w okresie zaborów*, Warszawa 1982, p. 8.

their newspapers there. Since the beginning of the 1890s, the gradual development of mass movements (populist, socialist, and nationalist) had been in progress and was soon followed by the establishment of their publishing organs. In the Congress Kingdom, this process was delayed (excluding illegal papers and compromisers), yet in 1905 it commenced there at full strength. The process had also been developing in the Prussian Partition since the turn of the century, though in a less obvious form. However, in this province it assumed a unique character, for political divisions were overshadowed by national solidarity shared in the fight against an invader. The second half of the 19th century was also a time when a large number of papers appeared that were directed at villagers. They came in different types and forms, for example: solidarity papers “for the people” (e.g. “Zorza” [“Aurora”], titles accepting the empowerment of the peasants (e.g. “Gazeta Niedzielna” [“Sunday Paper”], the newspapers of the peasant parties (“Przyjaciel Ludu” [“Friend of the People”], “Zaranie” [“Dawn”])), as well as papers representing various other ideological trends (e.g. “Krakus”). The process of introducing papers to villages was seriously hindered by both financial conditions and literacy rates. Thus, the greatest amount of progress could be observed in the Prussian Partition and in some parts of Galicia.

Daily newspapers were undergoing some gradual changes as well. At this time, mass papers started to emerge (popular in the West and relatively unknown in the country). Their development was pioneered in the 1870s by the Warsaw papers “Kurier Warszawski” (“Warsaw Courier”) and “Kurier Poranny” (“Morning Courier”), though their dynamic expansion only began at the beginning of the 20th century, “Goniec Poranny/Wieczorny” (“Morning/Evening Messenger”), and last but not least, “Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny” (“Illustrated Daily Courier”). Various changes also appeared in the so-called “serious” papers. At the forefront of these changes were the papers connected with the compromisers: “Czas” (“Time”), “Dziennik Poznański” (“Posen Daily”), and “Słowo” (“Word”), although some papers of various other factions also boasted high quality (e.g. “Słowo Polskie” [“The Polish Word”] linked to the National Democrats, and the socialist “Naprzód” [“Forward”]).

The evolution of layout should be emphasised among the very many changes that occurred during this period; at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, it evolved from a “sectional layout,” presenting one section as a whole, to a “title-section” format in which some concrete information was highlighted²⁷. Additionally, new journalism genres started to gradually appear, such as the column, interview, short commentary, and periodical event summaries. What is more, graphic design would evolve as well. Bartłomiej Golka aptly describes the changes in papers at the beginning of the 20th century: “they were printed in big formats (e.g. *Kurier Codzienny*

²⁷ J. Myśliński, *Z badań nad układem zawartości polskiej prasy na przełomie XIX i XX wieku. Prasa ugrupowań konserwatywnych i partii socjalistycznych*, „Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1973, no. 2, pp. 187–210.

[*Daily Courier*] around 40 cm by 55 cm) and in four columns, with a symmetrical block layout, and with an equal number of columns in each article. Titles were normally column-wide, thus, resembled today's subheadings [...] However, each year advertisements would refresh the look of a paper more and more, and at the end of the first decade, they would take up quite a lot of space in papers."²⁸ At the same time, content was expanding and diversifying. Satirical and illustrated papers became as popular as science and professional magazines. Let us add that the latter welcomed scientists from all sectors, hence science magazines had more of a national character compared to other types of papers.

The processes started in the first half of the 19th century (commercialisation, specialisation, an increase in the role of advertising and marketing) would develop throughout the whole post-uprising period. The demand for specialisation would trigger the need to identify a uniquely qualified group: professional journalists. In the second half of the 20th century, the terms "journalist" and "writer" were no longer considered synonyms. According to Daria Nałęcz, the changes begun in the 1970s and they largely affected the big daily papers²⁹. Unquestionably, Polish journalists considered promoting national values their ethos, but as J. Myśliński says, apart from this ideological concept, some criteria of skills, indispensable for this line of work, were also being formulated³⁰. In large publishing companies, a clear division of work (commentator, columnist, correspondent, and reporter, among others) and thematic specialisation (urban section, politics, economy, sport, etc.) could be observed. Organised forms of cooperation began to evolve as well — the first convention of Polish journalists took place in Cracow in 1868, and the second one in Lviv in 1894. The first self-aid organisations were being established — first in Lviv (1892), and then in other provinces (in 1899 in Warsaw and in 1905 in Poznań) — as well as the first trade unions: the Society of Polish Writers and Journalists in Warsaw (1905), the Syndicate of Cracow Journalists (1912).

On the eve of the outbreak of the First World War, the Polish press had reached a relatively high level of development. In 1914, the press of the three sectors and émigrés contained 1,416 titles, diversified in terms of their type and ideology. According to J. Myśliński, in some regions (especially in larger cities in the Prussian Partition) the press was so popular that the overall situation resembled that of the period between the wars³¹.

²⁸ B. Golka, *Rozwój drukarstwa prasowego i układu graficznego prasy polskiej do roku 1939*, „Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1971, no. 3, pp. 289–299.

²⁹ D. Nałęcz, *Rozwój prasy a kształtowanie się zawodu dziennikarskiego na ziemiach polskich*, „Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej” 1980, no. 2, pp. 85–93.

³⁰ J. Myśliński, *Próba określenia miejsca i roli prasy w dziejach społeczeństwa polskiego doby powojennej*, „Dzieje Najnowsze” 1978, no. 3, p. 17.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

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