

T. XXIII (2020) Z. 1 (57)
 ISSN 1509-1074
 DOI 10.24425/rhpp.2020.133414

**ROCZNIK
 HISTORII PRASY POLSKIEJ**

**Polska prasa dla dzieci
 w latach 1824–1918:
 próba syntetycznego
 spojrzenia**

**Polish children's
 press 1824–1918:
 an attempt
 at a synthetic
 look¹**

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SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:
 prasa dla dzieci, historia, Polska

KEY WORDS:
 A children's magazines, history, Poland

ABSTRAKT

Artykuł zawiera syntetyczną prezentację rozwoju czasopisma dla dzieci na ziemiach polskich od ich powstania do zakończenia I wojny światowej. Przedmiotem badań są czasopisma dla młodszych i starszych dzieci (do 15. roku życia) wydawane w języku polskim na etnicznych i historycznych ziemiach polskich w języku polskim.

ABSTRACT

The article is a synthetic presentation of the development of children's magazines in Poland from their creation to the end of World War I. The study focus on magazines for younger and older children (up to 15 years of age) published in the Polish language across the ethnic and historical Polish territories.

¹ This article was written as a part of the project 'Polish press for children and adolescents until 1918' financed by National Science Centre (NCN, OPUS 6/HS2, ID 2385790).

Streszczenie

Celem opracowania jest syntetyczna prezentacja rozwoju czasopism dla dzieci na ziemiach polskich od ich powstania do zakończenia I wojny światowej. Głównym przedmiotem badań są czasopisma dla młodszych i starszych dzieci (do 15 roku życia) wydawane w języku polskim na etnicznych i historycznych ziemiach polskich w języku polskim. Pominięto zaś periodyki wydawane na tym terenie w innych językach (niemieckim, rosyjskim, białoruskim, ukraińskim, litewskim, jidysz czy hebrajskim), jednodniówki i kalendarze, pisemka szkolne, harcerskie i etyczne oraz prasę młodzieżową i studencką. W toku badań ustalono, że w badanym okresie ukazywało się ogółem 177 tytułów przeznaczonych dla młodego odbiorcy, z czego latach 1824–1863 wychodziło ich 25, zaś w okresie późniejszym 152.

Summary

The purpose of the study is a synthetic presentation of the development of children's magazines in Poland from their creation to the end of World War I. The main focus of interest and research are magazines for younger and older children (up to 15 years of age) published in the Polish language across the ethnic and historical Polish territories. Periodicals published in this area in other languages (German, Russian, Belorussian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Yiddish, and Hebrew), one-days and calendars, school magazines, scouting and ethical magazines, and of course youth and student press were omitted. In the course of the research, it is established that 177 titles addressed to young recipients appeared in the examined period, 25 of which were published in the years 1824–1863, and 152 in the subsequent period.

Introduction

The purpose of the study is a synthetic presentation of the development of children's magazines in Poland from their creation to the end of World War I. The main focus of interest and research are magazines for younger and older children (up to 15 years of age) published in the Polish language across the ethnic and historical Polish territories. Periodicals published in this area in other languages (German, Russian, Belorussian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Yiddish, and Hebrew), one-days and calendars, school magazines, scouting and ethical magazines, and of course youth and student press were omitted¹. In the research conducted so far by historians of literature, press and education scientists, this area was almost completely untouched by research (beyond its earliest phase), which was encouraged by the enormous dispersion and significant incompleteness of individual press collections. To gain research material, queries were carried out in Poland, in the libraries of Krakow, Warsaw, Poznan, Wroclaw and in other countries: in Vilnius and Lviv. As a result, a digital database was created. It records the empirical data in the form of scans of a total of 633 titles (except for the 177 children's magazines, also school, scouting and ethical gazettes, on top of youth and student magazines): a total of 1827 years' issues with a total volume of approx. 2,100,000 pages. This database, in its part relating to magazines for children, became the basis of the below findings.

Traditions and predecessors

While the first Polish magazine for children appeared in the mid-1830s, we can look for its predecessors much earlier. In Europe, similar attempts were made already in the mid-eighteenth century, and since the early 1880s, Polish versions and compilations thereof were published. This periodical was an element of a broader process of developing original literature for children and young people under the

¹ See: W.M. Kolasa, M. Rogoż, K. Woźniakowski, S. Kwiecień, *Polish Press for children and youth up to 1918 year (Assumption of a research project)*, "Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia ad Bibliothecarum Scientiam Pertinentia", vol. 15 (2017), pp. 309–321, DOI: 10.24917/20811861.15.22.

auspices of the Enlightenment pedagogy. In essence, it was intended to broaden the teaching of natural sciences, to move away from scholastics in favor of observation and experience, to provide young people with positive moral models and to replace corporal punishment as the main means of education with the idea of treating children seriously and dealing with them as with a rational human being. Researchers of literature for children agree that the most important creators of periodicals for children and young people in the eighteenth century are the four: John Newbery (1713–1767), Johann Christoph Adelung (1732–1806), Christian Felix Weisse (1726–1804), and Arnaud Berquin (1747–1791).

Weisse's and Berquin's periodicals quickly saw their re-releases in numerous books and in many translations. Already in the years 1782–1786, a four-volume selection from the content of *L'Ami des enfants* translated by Anna Narbutt was published in Vilnius, and again in the early nineteenth century, a new four-volume edition by Amelia Jelska Sapieha was released by the Lviv publisher, J.J. Piller, in the years 1819–1820. In the years 1789–1792, the Polish translation of *Der Kinderfreunde* by Ch.F. Weisse came out. The translation and editorial work were performed by Izabella Plater and her family. The Polish edition was printed by the Missionary Fathers in Warsaw, specializing in religious, scientific and pedagogical publications.

The Polish edition of Weisse's *Przyjaciół* consisted of five volumes covering 59 issues, while each volume counted approx. 300 pages. The periodical was directed to children of all ages, from the point at which they begin to read, until their entry into adolescence (14–15 years old). The main purpose of the magazine was to educate. It aimed to teach geography, history, poetry and natural history, ethics and religion².

Cheap book series had a definitely greater range and impact on the development of Polish literature for children and young people. A characteristic example of this type of publications are editions of the Wrocław publishers, the Kornes, including small volumes by Joachim Heinrich Campe, e.g. the 1808 *Biblioteka geograficzna i inne wiadomości* [Geographic library and other information]. A similar system was used by most Polish literature (including magazines) intended for young readers printed before 1831.

The years 1824–1831

In 1815, when the Kingdom of Poland was established and given a liberal constitution which guaranteed civil rights, including the inviolability of persons and property, freedom of religion and freedom of printing, optimistic prospects for national cultural development emerged. The Commission for Religious Denomina-

² B.E. Łaszewska-Radwańska, „Przyjaciół Dzieci” Christiana Feliksa Weisego: zagadnienia autorstwa, przekładu i wydania polskiego z lat 1789–1792, „Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Bibliotekoznawstwo” iss. 21 (1998), pp. 131–146.

tions and Public Enlightenment (KWRiOP) started to fight illiteracy; in 1816, Warsaw University was opened (the second one after Vilnius University) and activities within the Society of the Friends of Science were intensified, inspiring a number of scientific and literary works. The constitutional principle of freedom of printing announced the successful development of Polish books and magazines. Unfortunately, these hopes turned out to be illusory. Neither the monarch nor his subordinate government took into account the liberal provisions of the constitution. In 1820, the progressive KWRiOP Minister, Stanisław Kostka Potocki, was removed from his position. Police terror intensified, and in 1819, preventive censorship was introduced, under the supervision of a close associate of Nikolay Novosiltsev, Józef Kalasanty Szaniawski, a proponent of absolutism, known for his reactionary views.

In these circumstances, in 1824, the first original Polish periodical for children and youth entitled *Rozrywki dla Dzieci* [Entertainment for Children] (Warsaw, 1824–1828) was born, starting a series of new initiatives. The founder of the magazine, its editor and the author of almost all texts was Klementyna née Tańska Hoffman. The periodical included texts on broadly understood narrative aimed at moralizing, anecdote and pedagogical advice. *Rozrywki dla Dzieci* had no predecessor, so all the editorial and literary solutions applied by Klementyna Hoffmann had a significant impact on the further development of Polish children's and youth magazines. She was undoubtedly a pioneer in the field of small forms (comedies, jokes and games). She introduced fake letters from readers (anecdotes) and created the first Polish novel for young people. Not all the solutions she applied proved to be durable. Her successors rarely made use of the compositional models she developed, and above all, they avoided intrusive moralizing³.

In the years 1822–1830, five more children's magazines appeared in Congress Poland. Most of those were general type magazines published in Warsaw, including: *Rozmaitości Ofiarowane Dzieciom przez Życzliwych* [Miscellanea for Children from Benefactors] (1828–1829), edited by Fr. Jakub Zebedeusz Falkowski; *Tygodnik dla Dzieci* [Children's Weekly] (1829), edited by Ignacy Kajetan Chrzanowski⁴; *Dziennik dla Dzieci* [Children's Daily] (1830) by Stanisław Jachowicz⁵, and *Ziromysł* (1830), established by Jan Kanty Chrucki. *Skarbiec dla Dzieci* [Treasury

³ I. Kaniowska-Lewańska, *Twórczość dla dzieci i młodzieży Klementyny z Tańskich Hoffmanowej*, Opole 1964; L. Libera, „*Rozrywki dla Dzieci*” jako czasopismo narodowe, „*Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej*” 1982, 1, pp. 5–16; J. E. Dąbrowska, *Klementyna: rzecz o Klementynie z Tańskich Hoffmanowej*, Białystok 2008.

⁴ B. Szymańska, „*Tygodnika dla Dzieci*” Ignacego Kajetana Chrzanowskiego — jedno z pierwszych czasopism dla młodych Polaków, „*Ze Skarbcza Kultury*” vol. 48 (1989), pp. 111–151.

⁵ L. Żarow-Mańszewska, „*Dziennik dla Dzieci*” Stanisława Jachowicza, „*Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty*” vol. 4 (1961), pp. 125–176; I. Kaniowska-Lewańska, *Nowatorstwo codziennego periodyku dla dzieci Stanisława Jachowicza*, [in:] *O literaturze dla dzieci i młodzieży*, H. Skrobiszewska, ed., Warszawa 1975, pp. 93–125.

for Children], published in Puławy (1830) and connected with the Czartoryski duke's court, with a clear popular scientific profile, stood out against this background⁶.

The years 1832–1864

The fall of the November Uprising in the autumn of 1831 was a serious blow to the political and cultural life in Congress Poland and adversely affected the relations with the other partitions. The former Congress Poland was the scene of the Paskevich Night, which lasted more than two decades, during which political repressions, economic sanctions and the liquidation of national institutions intensified. Universities and scientific institutions were closed, their collections were ransacked and taken deep into Russia, and all cultural activities banned. The book and press market (including children's) was hit by censorship, which was tightened up and organized according to Russian models. The bad situation was aggravated by the human factor, as many artists were involved in the insurgent action and for fear of repressions, they decided to emigrate. As a result of the outflow of intelligentsia, the Kingdom almost completely lost its intellectual and artistic elite. Despite the limitations, Polish society found means and ways to overcome or avoid bureaucratic barriers and repressions used by the invaders.

Despite the difficult political conditions, Warsaw remained the largest center of children's press, where 8 titles were published in various periods. The Prussian partition (5) and the Austrian partition (4) showed similar activity, where children's press editions were established not only in the district capitals (three in Poznań, three in Lviv, and one in Kraków), but also across the country (two in Leszno); single attempts were also recorded among the exiles (2). In total, 19 titles for children were published in the analyzed period, of which 15 had all the attributes of press, and 4 performed the function of press (so-called *cryptoperiodicals*). The weakness of the press of that period was that it was largely ephemeral. The vast majority of magazines did not survive on the market for more than a year (6 titles) or 2 years (7). There were few exceptions from this. Only five magazines enjoyed a more permanent place in the history of the press: the Warsaw *Przyjaciół Dzieci* (survived for 54 years); both editions of the Lviv *Przyjaciół Dzieci* (4 and 6 years) and two magazines edited by Estkowski (*Szkółka dla Dzieci* later continued as *Szkółka dla Młodzieży* — 6 years in total).

⁶ M. Pękalska, *Popularnonaukowe czasopismo „Skarbiec dla Dzieci” (1830)*, „Rocznik Historii Prasy Polskiej” 2006, vol. 2, pp. 5–19.

Congress Poland

Until the end of the 1850s, short-lived initiatives and the so-called crypto-periodicals prevailed, i.e. book series modelled on magazines, which did not require special censorship consent. The exception to this was *Magazyn dla Dzieci* (1835–1836). Its first issue was published on January 8, 1835 as a supplement to *Magazyn Powszechny*, a popular weekly published since 1834 by Jan Glücksberg's publishing company. Since the beginning of 1836, Leon Rogalski was the editor-in-chief. The magazine was filled with articles on the broadly understood natural history, which was complemented by stories and historical texts. After *Magazyn dla Dzieci* was suspended, no regular children's magazine would appear in the former Congress Poland. It was only in 1843 that the situation changed for a short time, when *Zorza* [Aurora] (1843–1844) was founded. It was edited by two writers, Paulina Krakow and Walentyna Trojanowska⁷. Another magazine, *Motyl dla Młodzieży* [The Butterfly for Youth] (1844) was edited and published by Józef Żochowski. Żochowski's magazine apparently was a popular science magazine, since its columns were mainly filled with articles on natural history and physics, but the approach presented there was peculiar. The editor's goal was to show that the principles of physics were congruent with the teachings of the Catholic faith.

Besides these magazines, a few publications, which served as periodicals appeared even though they were not periodicals in the strict sense, but the so-called cryptoperiodicals, with certain characteristics of book editing: *Noworocznik dla Dzieci* [Children's New Yearly] (1838), *Rozmaitości Obrazkowo-Opisowe dla Dzieci* [Children's Text and Picture Varia] (1853–1858), *Zabawy Przyjemne i Pożyteczne dla Młodego Wieku* [Pleasant and Useful Entertainment for the Young Age] (1856–1857) and *Rozrywki dla Młodocianego Wieku* [Entertainment for the Young Age] (1857–1863).

A significant change on the capital's press market was brought about by the appearance of *Przyjaciel Dzieci* in 1861, which turned out to be a permanent undertaking that set the standards for the Polish children's press for many years. Jan Salomon Minheimer (Minheymer, Munchaimer) was the first publisher of *Przyjaciel Dzieci* and probably its initiator. The creator of the magazine's concept was Fryderyk Henryk Lewestam. The content of the weekly was very rich and varied. The editors attached the greatest importance to literature and history. Further priorities were: natural history, anecdotes and poems. The Warsaw *Przyjaciel Dzieci* was the second (apart from *Magazyn dla Dzieci*) magazine in which a wide range of illustrations were used.

⁷ N. Kapuścińska-Kmieciak, „Kto garstką ziemię nosi, góry się doczeka” — problematyka wychowawcza na łamach czasopisma „Zorza. Dziennik młodemu wiekowi poświęcony” Pauliny Krakowowej i Walentyny Trojanowskiej, [in:] *Działalność instytucji wydawniczych na rzecz oświaty i edukacji w XIX i na początkach XX wieku*, I. Michalska, G. Michalski, eds., Łódź 2014, pp. 281–298.

Galicia

Until the mid-1840s, the publishing movement in Galicia and the Free City of Krakow was modest. However, a clear revival was brought by the Spring of Nations, as a result of which the number of titles and their diversity increased dramatically. The first Galician magazines addressed to children and youth were *Przyjaciel Dzieci* (Lviv, 1848–1852), founded by Franciszek Ksawery Bełdowski⁸ and *Dzwonek* [The Bell] (Lviv, 1850–1851), edited by Walentyna Trojanowska⁹. In the years 1860–1866 Lviv and Krakow press grew very markedly. In March 1860, a paper for young people appeared every 10 days, entitled *Czytelnia dla Młodzieży* [Reading Room for Youth], and in July 1861 a biweekly for children, the second *Przyjaciel Dzieci* was published. The founder and editor of the new *Przyjaciel Dzieci* was Aniela Zawadzka (née Zimmerman), and the magazine survived until 1866. Besides the three discussed periodicals in Lviv, in Galicia also appeared yet, *Skarbczyk Domowy* [Home Treasury] (1863), which was edited in Krakow, also appeared in Galicia. It was founded by a Krakow journalist and writer Gustaw Czernicki.

Prussian partition

In the first half of the 19th century, the Polish press developed very slowly under the Prussian occupation. Its wider development took place in the 1840s and was the result of the liberal policy of Frederick William IV, who softened the censorship. The modernization trend later intensified during the Spring of Nations, as the Prussian Constitution of 1848 guaranteed the freedom of printing. The favorable conditions did not last long, however, as from the beginning of the 1850s the occupant introduced legislation to hinder publishing activity (including obligatory high deposits), resulting in a decreased number of Polish periodicals. These actions did not halt the development of the Polish press, as it had managed to broadly expand and solidify beforehand.

In the period under consideration, five magazines addressed to a young audience were issued in the Prussian partition. The first was the *Magazyn Powieści dla Dzieci* [Children's Stories Magazine] published in the years 1836–1837 by Teodor Scherk. In Leszno, *Gwiazdka dla Młodzi Katolickiej* [The Star for Young Catholics] (1846–1848) was issued, whose publisher was Ernest Wilhelm Günther.

⁸ A. Mamulska, *Oddziaływanie wychowawcze XIX-wiecznej prasy dla dzieci na przykładzie tygodnika „Przyjaciel dzieci” (1848–1852)*, „Scripta Comeniana Lesnensia. Miscellanea”, vol. 5 (2007), pp. 115–116.

⁹ G. Gzella, „*Dzwonek: pismo młodemu wiekowi poświęcone*” (Lwów 1850–1851), [in:] *Kraków – Lwów, książki, czasopisma, biblioteki*, H. Kosętko, ed., vol. 7, Kraków 2005, pp. 376–384.

Periodicals edited by Ewaryst Estkowski, *Szkółka dla Dzieci* [Children's School] (1850–1853) and *Szkółka dla Młodzieży* [Youth's School] (1854–1855) presented a far higher quality¹⁰. After the fall of *Szkółka*, no magazine for children appeared in the partition of Poland under the Prussian rule for over a decade. The only exception was the ephemeral quarterly *Światelko. Pismo matkom i dzieciom poświęcone* [The Light. A magazine for mothers and children], edited in 1862 by Emma née Knurowska Puffke.

The Great Emigration

With the collapse of the November Uprising, over 50,000 of its participants found themselves in exile. The history of emigration magazines for children is associated with the name of Klementyna née Tańska Hoffman, who was deeply involved in the affairs of the Uprising with her husband and on October 14, 1831 she left Warsaw. The Hoffmans initially stopped in Dresden, where Klementyna completed editorial materials and announced a new volume of *Rozrywki dla Dzieci* (i.e., a re-division). This issue appeared in Poznań by the effort of J.A. Munk bookstore. Tańska made another attempt to revive the magazine in Paris, where in January and June 1834, she published two volumes of *Nowe Rozrywki dla Dzieci* [New entertainments for children]. The publisher of this edition was Aleksander Jełowicki. However, *Nowe Rozrywki dla Dzieci* was not a completely failed initiative. Over the years, the whole edition was sold and already in 1840 a reprint was prepared, which appeared in the Berlin bookshop of B. Behr.

The years 1864–1890

In the years 1864–1890, 27 children's magazines were published on the Polish territory in the Polish language, including 5 under the Russian partition in the Congress Poland, 8 under the Austrian rule (almost exclusively in Galicia) and 14 under the Prussian rule (in Poznań, West Prussia and Silesia). Among them, 19 were independent magazines, 6 were additions for press directed to adults, and 2 were

¹⁰ I. Kaniowska-Lewańska, „*Szkółka dla Dzieci*” Ewarysta Estkowskiego, [in:] *Rozprawy z historii literatury dla dzieci i młodzieży*, K. Kuliczowska, ed., Wrocław 1858, pp. 10–91; S. Truchim, „*Szkola Polska*” Ewarysta Estkowskiego, „*Przegląd Nauk Historycznych i Społecznych*” vol. 7 (1956), pp. 86–138, idem, *Czasopismo „Szkola Polska” w latach 1850–1852 pod redakcją E. Estkowskiego*, „*Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. Series 1, Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne*” vol. 27 (1962), pp. 137–168; idem, *Ostatni okres istnienia czasopisma „Szkola Polska” 1853*, „*Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. Seria 1, Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne*” vol. 30 (1963), pp. 103–122.

additions later transformed into independent magazines¹¹. Most of them were weeklies with a magazine profile and with very diverse editorial possibilities, combining the publication of literary texts addressed to the young audience with the popularization of various fields of knowledge (mainly natural sciences and geography), and technical knowledge, didactic and educational lectures, as well as elements of play and entertainment. They were created mostly by journalists and writers born in the 1830s, usually with a bourgeois and petty nobility backgrounds, usually with a high school education and, which is especially interesting, who identified with the then-dominant ideology and aesthetics of positivism only to a very limited extent (i.e., paradoxically: children's magazines in the era of positivism were actually created by non-positivists). Magazines for children were distributed almost exclusively through subscription. They appeared in different editions depending on the number of subscribers, ranging from a few hundred to 3,000 copies. The different circumstances in individual partitions (especially relating to the attitude of the specific invader to the Poles, the general framework for the functioning of the press in the given state and its educational system) resulted in significant differences in the development of contemporary press for children.

Congress Poland

The most important factors influencing the existence of children's magazines in the former Kingdom of Poland, now deprived of any remnants of autonomy after the fall of the January Uprising, became, firstly, drastic changes in the entire system of supervision and control of the press (since 1867, fully subordinated to the decisions of the Central Press Board and the Warsaw Censorship Committee operating under its authority)¹², and secondly, equally drastic changes in the educational system, with Russian as the language of instruction since 1873¹³. However, the few quantitative periodicals in the Kingdom (exclusively based in Warsaw) in that unfavorable reality and with all censorship restrictions reached a high editorial level, in many respects becoming model magazines for all Polish lands, and at the same time the most representative for the whole epoch, at least closest to the most important dominating ideological and artistic slogans of the era of positivism. The long-lived *Przyjacieł Dzieci* weekly (1861–1915), which was established before the January Uprising, played an important role in this respect, especially while edited by Jan Kanty

¹¹ All figures relating to children's magazines in the years 1864–1918 are provided on the basis of a comprehensive register of press published at that time in Poland: *Bibliografia historii Polski XIX i XX wieku*, vol. 3: 1865–1918, vol. 1: Warszawa 2000; vol. 2: Warszawa 2010; vol. 3: Warszawa 2017.

¹² Z. Kmieciak, *Prasa polska w Królestwie Polskim i Imperium Rosyjskim w latach 1865–1904*, [in:] *Prasa polska w latach 1864–1918*, J. Łojek, ed. Warszawa 1976, pp.11–12.

¹³ R. Wroczyński, *Dzieje oświaty polskiej 1795–1945*, Warszawa 1987, pp. 136–141.

Gregorowicz (1867–1890), who made it the leading children's periodical of the whole epoch. Although personally reluctant to positivism, the editor-in-chief highlighted the role of the realistic prose in writing that was close to the main tendencies of the period (to a very large extent historical fiction, which for censorship reasons, in principle not going beyond the limits of the 17th century) and the popularization of natural sciences. He eliminated almost all fantasy and fairytale literature from the magazine with a vengeance (which he considered harmful to children for educational and cognitive reasons) and, which was perhaps his greatest achievement, for the first time in the Polish press for young audiences, he created and significantly expanded the columns for editorial correspondence with readers. The biweekly and later the weekly *Świat* [The World] (1876–1881, from 1877 edited by Adam Wiślicki)¹⁴ did not gain the popularity and inter-partition fame of *Przyjaciół Dzieci*. In its ideological and artistic assumptions and implemented program, it was definitely the closest to Warsaw's positivists, discussing the science of biology and physics, yet in the field of literary matters it did not share Gregorowicz's aversion to fairy tales and fantasy. The true competitor of *Przyjaciół Dzieci* was the almost equally long-lasting weekly *Wieczory Rodzinne* [Family Evenings] (1880–1914)¹⁵, created almost exclusively by Maria Julia Zaleska until 1889, who liked to propagate travel writings, geographical and sightseeing descriptions along with natural sciences texts. The literary works presented in the magazine, in contrast to *Przyjaciół Dzieci*, were dominated by prose of manners on contemporary topics.

Galicia

In 1862, a press law was introduced in Galicia, a system which abolished the previously existing concession system, making the existence of the press subordinate only to courts and the penal law, and preferring in principle repressive censorship instead of preventive censorship¹⁶. The transformation of the Austrian Empire into a dual Austro-Hungarian union state (1867) and Galicia's gaining a relatively broad internal autonomy as land within the Austrian Empire, i.e. the Cisleithania, with Polish as the official language and a gradual introduction of a Polish education system at all levels¹⁷, were another important element of the contemporary

¹⁴ Z. Kmieciak, *Prasa warszawska w okresie pozytywizmu (1864–1885)*, Warszawa 1971, pp.185–187; K. Kuliczowska, *Literatura dla dzieci i młodzieży w latach 1864–1918: zarys monograficzny: materiały*, Warszawa 1975, pp. 27–28.

¹⁵ Z. Kmieciak, *Prasa warszawska...*, pp. 187–188; K. Kuliczowska, *Literatura dla dzieci...*, pp. 28–31; S. Grabowski, „*Wieczory Rodzinne*” daleko od baśni, [in:] idem, *Na przyszły pożytek: z dziejów polskiej prasy dla dzieci 1824–1939*, Pułtusk 2001, pp. 66–83.

¹⁶ A. Dziadzio, *Cenzura prasy w Austrii (1862–1914): studium prawnohistoryczne*, Kraków 2012, pp. 25–26.

¹⁷ R. Wroczyński, *Dzieje oświaty polskiej...*, pp. 209–231.

development of children's magazines, which was taking place from then on (almost exclusively in Lviv) in conditions of considerable freedom, incomparable to the realities of the Russian and Prussian partitions of Poland. Galician magazines were allowed to touch upon problems of national liberation censored in other partitioning districts (especially those of anti-Russian character), but they did not reflect to a large extent the positivist slogans of work ethics and science seen in the magazines of Congress Poland. The most important of the 8 Polish Galician magazines of that time was the Lviv 10-days paper edited by Władysław Bełza, which was later transformed into the weekly *Towarzysz Pilnych Dzieci* [Comrade of Diligent Children] (1876–1883, from 1882 titled *Towarzysz*), focusing mainly on literary work with patriotic motifs and bringing knowledge about the national past. As time passed, however, the editor-in-chief began to take the easy way, by simply reprinting, without proper references, many texts from old or contemporary issues of Warsaw children's magazines, which did not escape the attention of literary critics and which probably, apart from a sudden drop in the number of subscribers, was the reason why the title was closed down. Also noteworthy was the biweekly (later published every 10 days) *Światelko* [The Light] published initially in Stanisławów (modern-day Ivano-Frankivsk — transl.) and later in Lviv (1883–1892), where Szczęśny Zahajkiewicz played a very significant role as the editor-in-chief and at the same time a very active author in the Lviv period. The magazine tried to combine patriotic and civic education with full demonstration of loyalty to the power of the Austro-Hungarian Habsburg house. The Lviv *Mały Światek* [Little World] published every 10 days had a long history (1887–1939) in the history of Galicia¹⁸. It was created and edited by Anna Lewicka, who especially focused on fiction connected with the history of Poland.

Prussian partition

In the federal German Empire, which was established in 1871, the Kingdom of Prussia played the leading role. Within its area, ethnic Polish territories were included (as provinces of East Prussia, West Prussia, Poznan and Silesia). The Prussian press law of 1874, which finally closed the system of repressive control formed from 1848¹⁹ and the so-called “Kulturkampf” (from 1872), which resulted in the years 1872–1887 (depending on the region) in a gradual removal of the Polish

¹⁸ Życiorys „Małego Światka” (z powodu czterdziestolecia istnienia), „Mały Światek” 1928, iss. 1–2, p. 2.

¹⁹ G. Gzella, *Pruskie prawo prasowe w drugiej połowie XIX wieku*, [in:] *W kręgu prasy (przeszłość — terażniejszość — przyszłość)*, G. Gzella and J. Gzella, eds., vol. 2, Toruń 2001, pp. 40–42; idem, *Obrażające i podburzające pismo „Lech. Gazeta Gnieźnieńska” (1895–1914)*, Toruń 2015, pp. 14–17; M. Rajch, *Cenzura pruska w Wielkopolsce w latach 1848–1918*, Poznań 2004, pp. 36–37.

language from education²⁰, were the basic factors determining the local existence of Polish children's magazines. However, they also had additional specific features which made their situation different from that in the other partitions: ephemerality and discontinuity of the individual titles, lack of a dominant press and publishing center, one-person editing (and often almost one-person authorship of texts), functioning to a large extent only in the form of additions to periodicals for adults readers, particularly strong emphasis on the role of Catholicism in the national life combined with an emphasis on work ethic which was close to positivism²¹. The more significant titles in Western Prussia are initiatives related to Józef Chociszewski (in simplified terms: *Przyjaciel Polskich Dzieci* (Gdańsk 1865–1866), *Przyjaciel Dzieci* (Pelplin–Chełmno 1866–1867), *Przyjaciel Dzieci i Młodzieży* (Chełmno–Poznań 1869–1873); and Ignacy Danielewski (also in an outline only: *Niania* [Nanny] 1868 and 1870, *Gazetka dla Dzieci* [Gazette for Children] (Toruń 1883–1889). In the Poznań area: *Dzwon Wielkopolski* [The Wielkopolska Bell] by Józef Chociszewski (1878) and *Nasza Gazetka* [Our Little Gazette] created by Piotr Paliński (Strzelno 1887–1891). In Silesia, the monthly *Aniol Stróż* [The Guardian Angel] by Fr. Antoni Sarnes (Katowice 1886–1888) appeared.

Around 1890, in all three partitions, the market of children's magazines was transformed (for various reasons) which constituted a kind of a distinct caesura and heralded the next developmental phase, connected with the next new era of Polish culture. Let us mention the death of the actual editor of *Wieczory Rodzinne*, Maria Julia Zaleska (19 April 1889), the closing of Toruń's *Gazeta dla Dzieci* (December 1889), the death of Jan Kanty Gregorowicz (16 September 1890) who was, the editor of the Warsaw *Przyjaciel Dzieci*, and the merger of the Lviv *Światelko* and *Mały Świątek*.

The years 1891–1914

The new development phase, chronologically concurrent with the era of modernism in Polish culture (but subject to the influence of new ideological and artistic trends only to a very limited extent) was characterized by a very significant

²⁰ *Historia wychowania*, Ł. Kurdybacha, ed., vol. 2, Warszawa 1967, pp. 561–569.

²¹ W. Frąckowiak, *Pedagogiczne aspekty polskiego czasopiśmiennictwa dla dzieci i młodzieży na Pomorzu Nadwiślańskim i Kujawach Zachodnich w okresie rządów Bismarcka (1862–1890)*, Bydgoszcz 1979; S. Kwiecień, *Poznańskie czasopisma dla dzieci i młodzieży do 1918 roku*, „Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia ad Bibliothecarum Scientiam Pertinentia”, vol. 14 (2016), pp. 254–273; I. Socha, *Polskie czasopisma dla dzieci i młodzieży na Śląsku pruskim*, [in:] *Regionalna prasa na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1848–1996: materiały sesyjne*, conference papers selected by J. Gołębiowska and M. Kaganiec, Katowice 1999, pp. 42–51.

quantitative development (the number of titles more than tripled to 94, of which 27 periodicals were issued under the Russian, 29 under the Austrian and 34 under the Prussian occupation). Numerous new editing venues emerged (in the Russian partition, across the so-called Western Krai, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire — the Austrian Silesia, and in Germany — Berlin and Westphalia. We also note children's press in the United States. Children's supplements to magazines for adult readers, previously characteristic only for the Prussian partition, started to appear also under the remaining partitions. Editorial teams became increasingly expanded (with the exception of Prussia) and were joined by younger editors, most often born in the 1860s and 1870s. The level of education of the authors of children's magazines rose (often higher education) as did the activity of women in editorial offices.

Former Congress Poland and Western Krai

Under Russian rule, certain changes in the functioning of the press system took place, influenced by the revolutionary events of 1905. Despite the fact that the 1905 freedom of speech law was withdrawn after just a few weeks with the introduction of martial law in the period of 1905–1908, it became easier to establish new titles, and to some extent it was also possible to touch upon historical subjects from the history of Poland, or even related to the Polish struggle for independence that were censored before²². As a result of a school strike of 1905, the authorities lost some control over the spontaneous development of private schools, self-organization of educators and the rapidly progressing national awareness of children and youth²³. These factors influenced the content of the existing press and — above all — the development of new titles, for the first time outside Warsaw.

Przyjaciół Dzieci continued to be published (the editorial term of Jan Skiński in 1892–1911 is particularly noteworthy), which to a limited extent tried to keep up with the new cultural tendencies of the epoch. From 1914 it was divided into two twin periodicals: *Przyjaciół Dzieci* for younger audiences and *Przyjaciół Młodzieży* for adolescents. Similarly, they carefully tried to keep pace with the new *Wieczory Rodzinne* (the editorial term of Władysław Umiński, 1909–1912, stood out), which at the end of its existence in 1914, unfortunately became dominated by the nationalist Catholic and anti-Semitic orientation of Fr. Ignacy Kłopotowski, that caused complete replacement of existing authors and a sharp drop of the magazine's quality.

Among the new initiatives, the Warsaw weekly *Moje Pisemko* [My Little Magazine] (1902–1915) deserves special attention. It was the first independent periodical for the youngest children in Poland. The illustrated weekly *Nasz Świat*

²² Z. Kmieciak, *Prasa polska w zaborze rosyjskim w latach 1905–1915*, [in:] *Prasa polska w latach 1864–1918*, J. Łojek, ed., Warszawa 1976, pp. 60–63.

²³ R. Wroczyński, *Dzieje oświaty polskiej...*, pp. 245–266.

[Our World] (1910–1918) edited, among others, by Aniela Szcówna and Maria Buyno-Arct, addressed to older children, was distinguished amongst others by the propagation of the theory and practice of photography, and by a significant interest in the matters of scouting. Possibly most significant new title was the weekly *Z Bliska i z Daleka* [From Near and Far] (1913–1914), chiefed by Janina Mortkowicz and Stefania Sempołowska, with an above-average quality, that published information and comments on current political events, emphasizing contemporary and current literary world, consistently breaking with the model of writing addressed exclusively to minor readers. Outside Warsaw (usually in the form of supplements) small magazines for children appeared also in Częstochowa and Sosnowiec. For the first time a similar attempt was made in the Western Krai belonging directly to Russia, which ushered the Vilnius *Aniol Stróż — Opiekun Dzieci* [Guardian Angel of the Children] (1906–1910).

Galicja and Cieszyn Silesia

In 1893, *Mały Świątek* and *Świątelko* created by Anna Lewicka in Lviv were merged and the latter title was transformed into an editorially independent addition to the first one. In the same year, the biweekly *Wiek Młody* [Young Age] (1893–1904?), a magazine edited by two Mrozowicka sisters, Irena and Zofia, appeared, specializing in fiction on contemporary social and moral themes, while demonstrating a tendency to avoid the fashionable technical and invention issues. It is worth mentioning the short-lived monthly and then weekly magazine *Promyk* [Ray of Light] (1904–1905) by Jadwiga Czajkowska, which popularized, among others, the topic of hygienic and health problems extremely rarely discussed in children's magazines, and the biweekly *Jutrzenka* [The Dawn] (1905–1908, from 1905 entitled *Jutrzenka Polska* [The Polish Dawn]) edited by Stanisław Tokarski, which closely cooperated with the Folk School Society and the Polish Pedagogical Society). An interesting initiative was the nominally cross-partition Krakow–Warsaw biweekly (later weekly), *Promyk* (1909–1910), which at the end of its history was often involved in conflicts with the censorship, which was rare for a Galician children's magazine, because of the materials connected with the January Uprising, which were too controversial for Russia. The short magazine *Nasz Towarzysz* [Our Comrade] (1913–1914) was in turn a special abridged mutation of Anna Lewicka's *Mały Świątek*, without the national-patriotic accents, which was designated for distribution in the Prussian partition, which did not in fact protect it from confiscations and from problems with dissemination in Germany.

Among the first periodicals appearing in the Cieszyn Silesia (to a large extent addressed, due to the local specificity, to the children of the Evangelical faith), the mainly religious *Przyjaciel Dzieci* [Friend of Children] edited by pastor Franciszek

Michejda was of greater importance (Nawsie–Cieszyn 1906–1909) along with the monthly Cieszyn magazine *Jutrzenka* (1911–1914), headed by teachers Klemens Matusiak and Alojzy Milata. In contrast to Galician magazines, it did not publish any historical, national or patriotic materials.

Prussian partition

Rapid exacerbation of the situation in education caused by new decisions of the authorities concerning eradicating the remnants of the Polish language from education (religion lessons) after 1898 resulted, among others, in the famous children's strike in Września in 1901. The second wave of school strikes took place in the Poznan region, Pomerania and Upper Silesia in 1906²⁴. It brought about a need to re-create all the titles none of them survived Bismarck's times. However fundamental elements of the context for the development of children's press preserved its characteristics²⁵. In Poznan, the religious *Opiekun Dzieci* [Guardian of the Child] (1897–1926?), referred in a veiled way to school strikes. The Bydgoszcz *Mały Posłaniec* [Little Messenger] (1908–1914) emphasized the necessity of reading and speaking in Polish. There was also the Inowrocław *Przyjaciół Dzieci* (1913–1918?). On the territory of West Prussia there was, among others, the Pelplin *Przyjaciół Dzieci* (1891–1919), the Gdansk *Anioł Stróż* (1894–1914), the extremely popular Grudziądz *Przyjaciół Dzieci* [Friend of Children] (1898–1918?) and the *Szkółka Polska* (1900–1914) in Toruń. Amongst Silesian journals²⁶ it is worth noting the Bytom *Dzwonek* (1894–1914) published under the care and partly edited by Adam Napieralski or *Promyk* (1904–1905) actually edited by Janina Omańkowska, also in Bytom, intended primarily to help readers in acquiring the skills of correct writing and reading in Polish. Outside ethnic Polish territories, the first magazines for children appeared in communities of contemporary Polish migrants — in Berlin, and Bochum, Westphalia.

The years 1914–1918

The First World War did not cause a break in the continuity of Polish children's magazines, although it seriously affected their history and content. Apart from

²⁴ R. Wroczyński, *Dzieje oświaty polskiej...*, pp. 204–207.

²⁵ These issues are discussed in detail in the monograph by W. Frąckowiak, *Pedagogiczne tendencje pomorskiej i kujawskiej prasy polskiej dla dzieci i młodzieży w latach 1891–1920*, Bydgoszcz 1981.

²⁶ I. Socha, *Polskie czasopisma...*, pp. 42–51.

difficulties characteristic for the entire press market of the time (war censorship, material, technical and personal problems), the previously non-political children's magazines were forced to define their place in the conflict in some way, as they now functioned on different sides of the front lines (periodicals of the Russian partition on the one hand and magazines published in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the German Empire on the other). When the War broke out at the turn of July and August 1914, there were a total of 42 titles, 22 of which, having encountered various problems and breaks, stayed more or less permanent, and 9 magazines were created during the War. In 1914–1918, there were 31 Polish children's magazines in total (15 in the former Congress Poland and in the Western Krai, noting that in the years 1915–1918, these areas were under German-Austrian occupation; 3 in Galicia and Cieszyn Silesia; 11 in the German Empire and 2 in the United States).

Former Congress Poland and Western Krai (1915–1918 occupied by Germany and Austria) New legal regulations of the Russian authorities of July 1914 required editorial staff to obtain permits for further existence²⁷ and only some of the children's periodicals in Warsaw, such as *Przyjaciel Dzieci*, *Przyjaciel Młodzieży*, *Moje Pisemko*, and *Nasz Świat* received them. Generally introduced to the market with some delay and subjected to Russian wartime censorship, they tried, on the one hand, to continue the existing models and content, and on the other hand, to add information about the war and its realities adequate to the perceptual capabilities of the recipients. Between 1914 and 1915, anti-German themes were underscored and, avoiding clear declarations of loyalty to Russia, it was suggested that war could bring benefits to the Polish nation (which was combined with the manifesto of Grand Duke Nicholas, the commander-in-chief of the Russian army, who promised to unite the Polish lands under the Russian scepter in August 1914).

The occupation of the former Congress Kingdom by the German-Austrian army, the act of 5 November 1916 and the creation of a new Kingdom of Poland by the Germans (1917–1918) changed the situation because the authorities liquidated the existing titles (except for *Nasz Świat*, which had managed to evacuate to Kiev and existed there still in the years 1915–1918), however, they agreed on the creation of new ones. Their common feature thereof became the use of educational and cultural freedoms created by the German authorities for Poles, while avoiding official support the central states and exposing the tragedy of Poles fighting on both sides of the front lines. Bi-weekly *W Słońcu* [In the Sunshine] (1916–1926) under the direction of Stefania Sempołowska and Janina Morkowiczowa was an experiment introducing full equality of rights for children and educators in didactic matters and (for the first time in children's magazines) aiming to comment regularly on the current state of national and international politics from the patriotic and democratic

²⁷ R. Godlewska, *Prasa warszawska w pierwszym roku I wojny światowej*, „Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1962, vol. 1, pp. 251–252.

point of view²⁸. A permanent place in the later history of children's magazines was occupied by the biweekly (later weekly) Rozalia Maria Brzezińska and Maria Karwatowa's *Płomyk* [Flame] and its independent supplement for younger readers, *Płomyczek* [Little Flame] (both founded in 1917). Under the German rule, additions for children also appeared in Częstochowa, Plock, Sosnowiec and Łomża. As events unfolded, all the magazines tried to prepare children for the upcoming national independence.

Galicia and Cieszyn Silesia

The fate of Galicia (partly occupied by Russians in 1914–1915) meant that the war press for children could only develop here after the Russian army was driven out of Lviv. In 1916, Anna Lewicka's *Mały Świątek* was reissued, the outstanding feature of which was unambiguous support for the idea of the Legions and Józef Piłsudski, expressed through journalistic and literary texts, thanks to which the biweekly became a peculiar phenomenon among all the other wartime periodicals for children, which avoided siding with a specific political or military option. Further history of the reactivated *Mały Świątek*, is connected with the history of its supplement for the youngest, *Świątelko*, which was resumed almost at the same time in 1916.

In Cieszyn Silesia, there was an ephemeral attempt to continue *Iskierka* [The Sparkle] (1915), which was loyal to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the home of the Habsburgs.

Prussian partition

The outbreak of war in Germany brought about a new legal situation of the press, the abolition of constitutional regulations on freedom of speech and the introduction of mutually complementary military and civil censorship (the Main Office of Censorship, the War Office of the Press)²⁹. Polish children's magazines — after obtaining appropriate permissions — basically continued their activity, introducing war information adapted to the age of the recipients, emphasizing the fratricidal character of the struggle for Poles and avoiding explicit support for Germany³⁰. In Poznań, the most important role was played by *Przyjaciel Dzieci* from Inowrocław,

²⁸ J. Mortkowiczowa, *O postępowych czasopismach dla dzieci i młodzieży w latach 1909–1926*, [in:] *Rozprawy z historii literatury dla dzieci i młodzieży*, K. Kuliczowska, ed., Wrocław 1958, pp.191–194.

²⁹ M. Rajch, *Cenzura pruska...*, pp. 184–186; *Przepisy dla gazet podczas stanu wojennego*, "Wielkopolanin" 1914/180, p. [2].

³⁰ These issues were partially discussed in the monograph of W. Frąckowiak, *Pedagogiczne tendencje...*

which mainly focused on the propaganda of learning to read and write in Polish. In Western Prussia, among others, the Pelplin-based *Przyjaciół Dzieci* and the Grudziądz-based *Przyjaciół Działowy* carried on, and publishing e.g. instructions for children on how to behave during the war and avoiding praising the actions of the partitioning powers and criticizing the Entente states. A newly established title was Toruń's *Żebraczek Bezdomnych* [Beggars of the Homeless] (1916–1919), dedicated to children, but often containing materials addressed rather for adult readers, as an unofficial organ of the Toruń branch of the Poznań Relief Committee in the Kingdom of Poland. In Silesia, *Przyjaciół Działowy* continued its activities started in 1903, a local mutation of the children's addition to *Gazeta Grudziądzka*.

Transformations of the magazine. A summary

Children's magazines appeared in Poland in a period where no independent Polish state existed. The first ones emerged in the 1820s, which indicates a delay of about 70 years in relation to both Western Europe and Russia. The rhythm of their developmental was determined primarily by successive important historical milestones and general legal-organizational or technical regularities of the press market as a whole, but to a much lesser extent by the development of literature (and within it, children's literature, traditionally always "delayed" in relation to the literature for adults). The diverse realities in particular partitions also played a significant role here as well (as sometimes also did their individual regions). In the Russian partition from 1824, with all the limitations, the most historically significant periodicals appeared. In the Prussian one, from 1836, the situation was the most difficult and the children's magazines were the most isolated from the other districts. In the Austrian one, from 1848, and after the declaration of Galicia's autonomy in 1867, this type of press had the greatest freedom. Publishers and editors mainly represented the Romantic generation (the oldest being Stanisław Jachowicz, 1796–1857), and later, the second generation of positivists, and both generations of modernists (the youngest being Janina Porazińska, 1882–1971), while the first generation of positivists contributed very little in this respect. The generational affiliation of publishers and editors did not mean, however, a direct influence of the subsequent artistic and literary orientations on the content of the periodicals, which introduced selected elements of literature and culture of the Enlightenment, Polish romanticism and positivism adapted to the cognitive level of the audience, combined with a didactic message (which decreased beginning with the turn of the 20th century). Translations of foreign writers, mostly French and English prose, were present to a small extent. Individual titles tried to build up teams of permanent

collaborators, and in the case of literary works, only very rarely were these authors active also in the mainstream literature. With the exception of some authors writing for the various children's magazines, co-author of such works hardly extended beyond the partition borders.

In terms of organizational and logistic issues, a slow evolution can be observed from "one-man" magazines (one person as publisher, editor and usually the sole or main author of all texts), to periodicals with more extensive and internally specialized editorial teams, formed already in the second half of the 19th century, with individual editors dealing with literary issues, popularization of knowledge, didactic and educational issues, or decoration and typographical and graphic design. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the need for intellectual differentiation of audiences began to be appreciated, as well as the need to separate sections, columns or supplements for younger children (up to 10 years of age), later evolving towards independent titles (Warsaw's *Moje Pisemko*, 1902–1915). As far as possible from the technical point of view, the book format of one-galley system was slowly dropped. Around 1830, illustrations appeared (woodcuts, lithographs — a special role was played here by the Puławy *Skarbiec dla Dzieci* in 1830 and then by the Warsaw *Przyjaciół Dzieci* in 1861–1915). From the beginnings of the 20th century, also photographs and sporadic attempts to introduce color emerged sporadically. To encourage customers and increase the number of subscribers, some of the most dynamic and affluent magazines applied a system of adding extras for regular customers (sets of illustrations, designs and sewing patterns for girls, book bonuses).

The contents of the periodicals (almost exclusively with a magazine profile emphasizing literary texts and popular science) varied depending on the capabilities of individual editors (and preferences of the main editors), but also from the general conditions of the supervision and control of the press, completely excluding certain areas, especially the native history and geography (hence we see, especially in the Russian partition, a peculiar "hypertrophy" of issues relating to ancient history and the history of Poland until the seventeenth century, etc., publications of travel accounts were also abundant, relating only to remote and exotic regions, a trend that began to fade only near the turn of the 20th century). Since the times of Kulturkampf, magazines in the Prussian partition of Poland were mainly devoted to the necessity of children's self-education in speaking, reading and writing in Polish after school, and to the publication of appropriate supportive materials. At the end of the 19th century, some periodicals began to introduce elements of previously absent political news, such as boxes or columns with "world news" or selected world press trivia reviews, which for obvious reasons was significantly intensified during the war years of 1914–1918. Issues of health and hygiene emerged only incidentally. Following the models created by Jan Kanty Gregorowicz of *Przyjaciół Dzieci*, from the 1860s, in many magazines, columns or boxes for the young readers' letters, who were also activated through various competitions, prizes and social actions, appeared. In the twentieth

century, some magazine columns grew to become outlets for orphanages and schools (especially the case of the Lviv-based *Mały Świątek*, which in 1906 created a school in Kuliki in 1906 mainly out of children's contributions).

Some of the periodicals survived until Poland's declaration of independence in 1918, and some were still published. However, apart from *Płomyk*, *Płomyczek*, *W Słońcu* and *Mały Świat*, they did not play a significant role in the history of Polish children's magazines in 1918–1939.

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