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Galician Periodicals for Children and Adolescents
in the Time of Positivism

In the period before the January Uprising, the literary activity for children and youth in Galicia, under the Austrian rules, was not as dynamic as it was in the Congress Kingdom of Poland, where it had begun¹. However, some initiatives, found only in Lviv, which constituted the local tradition, are worth mentioning: "Przyjaciel Dzieci" ("Children's Friend" – edited by Franciszek Ksawery Bełdowski and then by Hipolit Witowski (1848–1852), "Wianki" ("Wreaths") by Julia Goczałkowska (1849, 1852), "Dzwonek" ("The Bell") by Walentyna Horoszkiewiczowa (1850–1851) and "Czytelnia dla Młodzieży ("The Reading Room for Adolescents") by Karol Cieszewski (1860–1861).

The second part of the century, when the previously monolitic Austrian Empire was reorganized into the dualistic and federal country called Austria-Hungary, a union of Austria and Hungary, each retaining its identity, united by the mutual monarch, foreign policy as well as military, monetary and customs union; and Galicia, as the crown land inside the Austrian part (i.e. Cisleithania) was granted a relatively wide internal autonomy, including its own national parliament and Polish recognized as the official language. All that brought about many transformations concerning the existing educational and press policy, which were significant for the further development of the literary activity for children and youth.

First of all, even before the proclamation of the dual monarchy and announcing the autonomy of Galicia, on the back of the liberal revival, new labour law was introduced in the form of the so-called press law of 1862, changing the hitherto existing regulations from 1852 based on a licensing system and the model of preventive censorship:

The primary assumption [...] was abolishing any administrative measures of state control over the press and establishing judiciary supervision over press matters. Thus, the freedom of the press was to be limited only by regulations to the penal law. Such a declaration was clearly included in the contents of the first paragraph of the penal law. The

¹ The article was written on the basis of queries and financial research within the framework of the grant by the National Science Centre nr UMO-2013/11/B HS2/02589, ID 23859: *Polish press for children and adolescents until 191*8

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new press law abolished the licence to issue periodicals, cautionary preceedings, the right to confiscate printed materials for clearly political reasons or an administrative possibility of withdrawing the given concession. The withdrawal of concession, usually for the period of one year, could be issued by the criminal court. [...] Nevertheless, the press law of 1862 did not eliminate completely all administrative methods of ristricting the freedom of the press. [...] Some mandatory copies were to be obligatorily sent to the local administrative authorities and to the prosecutor the moment when the periodical was being shipped. If the materials had fewer than 5 pages, the rule was that the publisher had to present a mandatory copy at least 24 hours before shipping. It was then a kind of preventive censorship. The security authorities could suspend a periodical if the legal conditions had not been fullfilled which should have been the intention of its publication. [...] The press law of 1862 maintainded the obligation to pay the deposit by the publisher of a periodical, which was not abolished until the legislation of 1894. At the dawn of the second era of Austrian constitutionalism, a system of press law using repressive censorship, yet with some elements of the preventive censorship, was introduced².

Significant changes had also taken place in the educational sector, of which the most important, closely associated with the launching autonomy of Galicia and taking into consideration many ideas put forward by Józef Dietl in his work O reformie szkół krajowych ("On the reform of the state schools" 1865–1866), is the Act of 1867 regarding the national official language at folk and secondary schools as well as the establishment of the National School Council (Rada Szkolna Krajowa), de facto operational from 1868, which managed the education in Galicia. The Act of 1873 regarding the establishment and maintenance of state folk schools introduced compulsory education. The Polish language was introduced as the language of instruction in secondary schools (gimnazja) and lower secondary schools (szkoły realne) as well as in the vocational education. Finally, in the year 1861, the Galician State Parliament introduced polonization of the Jagiellonian University (fully implemented after 10 years) and of the Lviv University (implemented after 14 years)3. All the events could not but have an impact on the trends of the literary activity for children and youth as, at least partially, they were actually no longer the sole promoters of the mother tongue and the vehicle of content which had hitherto been absent in the official teaching. The settings of the international politics and relations between Austria-Hungary and Russia let it possible, obviously within the framework of the censorship control guarding the interest of the monarchy, to touch upon at least certain national aspects which could never be taken up by the periodicals in the Congress Kingdom of Poland.

² A. Dziadzio, Cenzura prasy w Austrii (1862–1914). Studium prawno-historyczne, Kraków 2012, pp. 25–26.

³ See: R. Wroczyński, *Dzieje oświaty polskiej 1795–1945*, Warszawa 1987, especially pp. 209–231.



Galician periodicals of the period in question⁴ were neither prestigious nor "representative" in their scope like, often imitated at that time, Warsaw periodicals (first of all "Przyjaciel Dzieci" ["Children's Friend"] when edited by Jan Kanty Gregorowicz in the years 1867–1890, "Świat" ["The World"] edited by Adam Wiślicki in the years 1876–1881 and "Wieczory Rodzinne" ["Family Evenings"] when in actual fact edited by Maria Julia Zaleska in the years 1880–1889) nor as numerous as the ones though short-lasting in the Prussian partition. Nonetheless, they retained their own specific character and identity. Seven periodicals for children were published in

⁴ Although in Positivism, among the countries of Austria-Hungary densely populated by Polish people, periodicals for children and adolescents appeared only in Galicia (in the Duchy of Upper and Lower Silesia did not appear until 1898), it is worth mentioning, as a curiousity, the ephemeral effort to launch a Polish periodical in ... the Duchy of Styria, where in "Stary Targ at Windischgrätz" (Windischgrätz is today Slovenj Gradec in Slovenia), certain Józefina Jurik (nickname Ciocia Józia) self-published and edited the bi-weekly "Ogród Niebiański. Czasopismo ilustrowane dla świata dziecięcego" ["The Heavenly Garden. An Illustrated Periodical for the Children's World"], but printed, perhaps due to lack of Polish fonts in Styria, in Opawa (Troppau in German) in the Duchy of Upper and Lower Silesia. The first issue of this periodical (maybe the only one that came out) is dated 1 January 1888.

OPIEKUN

POLSKICH DZIECI.

WIP. 1

dnia 24 lipca 1867.

Rocznik I.

O SŁOWIANACH.

Od hardzo dawnych czasów, więcej niż tysiac lot temu, był wielki naród nawany od postromych Słowianami, a to dla tego, iż się mógł między sobą za mocą jednej mowy czyli słowa porozumieć. Był to lud łagodny, gościnny, prawity i wielce szczery. Głównie zajnował się uprawą roli i pasterstwem. Oprócz go znał się na pszczelnictwie, sadownictwie i wyrabianiu płótna, a niejednego tych zatrudnień nauczyli się sąsiadujący Niemcy, naród będący ówcześnie bardzo ziki i srogi, i napastujący często Słowian.

Słowianie milowali nad życie wolność i w jej obronie nie szczędzili życia, a niłując wolność, nie wydzierali jej innym, t. j. nie czynili najazdów na obce im ady, nie uprowadzali jeńców, i nie posługiwali sie niewolnikami.

W pieczetnych czasach byli Słowienie — jak i inne narody, bałwochwalcami; sch om swyne hożyszcza, jednak wierzyli w jednego tylko najwyższego Bogaaro ciel po nan prawdziwa wiarę chrześciańską, stali się gorliwymi jej wyznaami. Św. sarw mężowie Cyryl i Metody byli pierwszymi apostołami Słowian; iniej s. Wojciech, s. Bonifacy i kilku innych przyczynili się do utwierdzenia ześciaństwa w ziemiach słowiańskich.

Słowianie nie tworzyli nigdy jednego osobnego państwa, tylko dzielili się na edyńcze plemiona, które rozmaite miały nazwy. W razie niebezpieczeństwa łaty się te pojedyńcze plemiona słowiańskie w jedność, i tak powstawały z tego ze czyli większe narody. Od tych to rzesz dawnych Słowian, pochodzą Połacy, si, Rusini, Serbowie, i t. p., którzy z biegiem czasu ukształtowawszy się w potężne stwa, w późniejszych wiekach zostały przez nieprzyjaźne im innoplemienne nay ujarzmione — t. j. mocą oręża zawojowane. Niemcy, Warego-Russy i Turcy i lat przetrwali na zwalczaniu Śłowian, co się im też powiodło, albowiem Słonie nigdy nie łączyli się w jedną całość, któraby potrafiła nietylko odeprzeć, i zgnieść każdego napastnika.

total, though almost all of them (6 out of 7), like in the earlier period, were associated with Lviv – the capital of the crown land.

The earliest of them, though launched in the pre-autonomous period and based on the soon abandoned press law regulations of 1852, but towards the end of its short existence distinctly correlated to the history of the literary activity concerning the phase of the autonomy, was the Lviv's bi-weekly "Przyjaciel Dzieci" ("Children's Friend", 1 July 1861 – 30 June 1866)⁵, published and edited first by Aniela Zawadzka née Zimmerman, from 15 Nov. 1864 edited by Stanisław Nowiński, from 1 Oct. 1864 published and edited by Stanisław Nowiński again, and finally from 1 March 1865 signed by Władysław Zawadzki as the publisher and Stanisław Nowiński as the editor responsible. In the editor's forward, not questioning the young readers' love to God and parents as the most important, it was pointed out that the matter of children's feelings should also be, though not mentioned directly, "our fatherland", inseparably associated with parents and their place of living:

Dear children, what can be dearer for all of us than this land of ours? Don't you agree? If you were to leave far away, your eyes would be full of sad tears, and if you were coming back home after a long absence, how much love would that be, how many greetings with every little tree, every familiar corner!⁶

The editor declared that through the contents of that periodical they will be concentrated first of all on shaping the desired patriotic feelings and bringing up their readers as citizens useful for their country:

You will find here various stories, descriptions of different countries, cities and peoples, you will find accounts of various events from the Polish history, lives of the saints and other famous men, you will find out how to behave and what to learn in order to be loved and praised by adults and be comfort for your parents, that you may grow up to virtuous and respectable people and become useful for our fatherland⁷.

Practically all articles of "Przyjaciel Dzieci" were first published anynomously, the authorship of some chosen ones was only revealed in the annual indexes. Historical publications (much exposing anti-Russian themes, like the Bar Confederation, the Kościuszko Uprising, the Napoleonic War with Russia, or the November Uprising) were provided by, among others, Bernard Kalicki, Karol Szajnocha, Lucjan Tatomir or Władysław Zawadzki; among the author's poems (only from the 19th century) were for example Stanisław Jachowicz, Edmund Wasilewski, Franciszek Morawski, Teofil Lenartowicz, Józef from Bochnia (Józef Chmielewski), Maria Ilnicka or, particularly readily printed, Wincent Pol; among novelists were for example Paulina Wilkońska, Józefa Prusiecka or Władysław Łoziński.

It seems that a particular feature of the Lviv weekly was an almost instantaneous reaction to the outbreak of the January Uprising in the Congress Kingdom in the literary texts. In May 1863 "Przyjaciel Dzieci" published *Pieśni obozowe*

⁵ J. Jarowiecki, *Prasa lwowska w latach 1864-1918. Bibliografia*, Kraków 2002, pp. 342–343, position 726.

⁶ *Kochane dzieci!*, "Przyjaciel Dzieci" 1861 No 1, p. 2.

¹ lbidem, p. 3

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["Camp Songs"]) by Wincenty Pol (No 9, among others widely known afterwards Sygnał ["The Signal", including W krwawym polu srebrne ptasze ["In the bloody field a silver little bird"] and started publishing a serialized story by Władysław Łoziński Spotkanie ["The Meeting", No 10-12), the action of which was placed in January 1863 and treated about a young volunteer who joins the Langiewicz troops with his old servant. During one of the skirmishes he incidentally liberates from the Russian captivity his own father, considered long dead, a former November insurgent and an exile. "Przyjaciel Dzieci" returned to Uprising issues in July (No 13, the poem Pieśń bojowa ["The Military Song"] by Prz. L. glorifying sacrifices for the motherland and then in October (No 19, Chłopiec z depeszami ["Boy with Messages"], a rhymed story signed by K. about a young and altruistic member of an insurgent team. In 1864 the pro-Uprising engagement of the weekly crossed the border allowed by the Austria-Hungarian censorship: No 2 was confiscated and was to be submitted for the second time, whereas No 10 was published with delay "for reasons beyond our control". The articles, which reached the reader between January and March, consisted of descriptions and short prosaic texts emphasizing young people joining the Uprising and texts expressing children's understanding for the fighting: Pierwsze chwile powstania ["The First Moments of the Uprising"] No 1-2, 4; Synowie wdowy ["Sons of a Widow"] No 1; Szkółka wiejska ["Rural School"] No 5; as well as solemnly martyrological poems Msza Żałobna ["Funeral Mass"] No 1, about the insurgent colonel Marcin Borelowski fallen in September 1863 and Skowronek i dzwonek ["A Lark and a Bell" (from prison) by Wincenty Pol (No 3). Another step that "Przyjaciel Dzieci" made was publishing the poem Z pieśni więźnia. Ranek w ogrodzie więźniów ["From Prisoner's Songs. A Morning in the Garden of Prisoners" No 10 by Pol in May, which treated about fighting in the Congress Kingdom. The last time that the periodical returned to the Uprising, which had finished by then, was in September 1865 when it published Obrazek z niedawnej przeszłości ["A Picture from the Recent Past"] by somebody signed K., concerning Galician children's current knowledge about the Uprising defeat.

According to Piotr Chmielowski, who for understandable reasons was silent about the Uprising themes – so representative for the Lviv "Przyjaciel Dzieci" (and who was actually distancing himself from the bi-weekly's inclinations because "the articles were too fervent, sometimes permeated with reckless patriotism"), the basic weakness of the periodical was "the too naive tone [...] in fiction", and not adapting popular publications to the child's mind. On the positive side, he enumerated two writers, Józef Chmielewski and Stanisław Nowiński, who, despite some artistic inadequacy, constantly specialized in writing for (mainly younger) children, and their work was present in the periodical. The other positive element, perhaps distinguished for the first time, was the editor's attention to clear print as well as big and sharp font, friendly to the young reader⁸. As a curiousity, one may say that it was just in "Przyjaciel Dzieci" that the original version of the only later famous poem by Michał Bałucki *Dla chleba* (["For Bread"], inc. *Góralu, czy ci nie żal...* ["Highlander, do you not regret..."], 1866 No 11). The periodical, not bothered by the censorship in the last two years of its activity, did not, however, survive on

⁸ P. Chmielowski, *Czasopisma polskie dla młodego wieku* [in] *Encyklopedia wychowawcza*, vol. 3, Warszawa, 1885, pp. 147–149.

the market. In the 30 June 1866 edition, it was not clearly announced that the periodical was temporarily suspending its activity due to, as they put it, "unpredictable events which negatively affected all relations in ourcountry", which probably just meant poor circulation and financial loss. Besides, such complaints had been made in the periodical before.

Complicated internal events characterized the chronologically second Lyiv publication introduced into the market: "Opiekun Polskich Dzieci" ["The Guardian of the Polish Children" (24 July 1867 - 23 Dec. 1873), but the thorough and precise recreation of these complications is difficult due to the lack of publications. Its activity is divided into two periods. It was created by the then nestor of the Galician journalists Hipolit Stupnicki, who also signed them as the publisher and the editor responsible to the end of March 1869 (from January to March of this year it was the name K. Stupnicki which was placed in the footer, but it seems to have been a typesetter's mistake). The structure of "The Guardian" contained mainly sections typical for other children's periodicals, with some innovations. The weekly had, however, two historical sections (Cześć dziejowa ["Historical Part"] was a short and systematic lecture on the Polish history including partitions¹⁰ and selected elements concerning ancient and mediaeval events; Starożytności polskie ["Polish Antiquities" however, mainly stressed the history of customs, material and economic history) and two nature sections: Wiadomości przyrodnicze ["Nature News"] referred to inanimate nature; Wiadomości z historii naturalnej ["News of the Natural History" to biology first of all. Literary works (poems and prose) was printed in "Opiekun" only anonymously. The new elements introduced by Stupnicki were Rady dla kochanych dzieci ["Advice for Lovely Children"] – little practical advice of all sorts, from the methods to kills bugs through cooking potatoes or eggs to cough remedies or ways to deal with skin calluses and numerous patterns ready for copying in various situations.

On the 5 April 1869 Hipolit Stupnicki handed over the function of the publisher and editor to Aleksander Kisielewski who in his inaugural word vaguely declared to make "an effort to combine teaching with entertainment and to educate the young generation in the national spirit of this periodical"¹¹. In the history of the periodical, this started, on one hand, a period of instability concerning several modifications of the title (from May 1873 "Opiekun Dzieci Polskich" ["The Guardian of the Polish Children"], from November [?] 1871 "Opiekun Dzieci Naszych" ["The Guardian of Our Children"], from February 1873 "Opiekun Dzieci Naszych" [The Guardian of Our Children"] and from September 1873 again "Opiekun Dzieci Naszych" [The Guardian of Our Children"]¹² and the declared frequency of circulation (from February 1872 the periodical was transformed into a bi-weekly, from February 1873 it appeared on the market on the 5th, 15th, and 25th of every month) which was not always kept due to

⁹ *Od Redakcji*, "Przyjaciel Dzieci" 1866, No 13, p. 207.

¹⁰ It is worth noticing that the lecture, completed to the end of the Polish State, mentioned (in plural) partitions and partitioners, though mentioned only Russia by name.

¹¹ *Od Wydawnictwa*, "Przyjaciel Dzieci" 1869, No 10, p. 69.

¹² According to the latest findings by J. Jarowiecki (see: J. Jarowiecki, *Prasa lwowska w latach 1864–1918. Bibliografia*, op. cit., pp. 292–293, position 575 and *Dzieje prasy polskiej we Lwowie do 1945 roku*, Kraków-Wrocław, 2008, pp. 162–163) we assume that they were variants of the same periodical. In the earlier literature of the subject (P. Chmielowski, op. cit., p. 149) for unclear reasons "Opiekun Dzieci Naszych" was treated as separate title.

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growing financial problems. On the other hand, when Kisielewski was the editor, the level of writing increased. The new editor did away with the most childish Rady dla kochanych dzieci and best wishes models, introduced to the literary sections poems by Władysław Syrokomla, Teofil Lenartowicz (some of them were sent by the poet himself from Florence). Władysław Ludwik Anczyc and Władysław Bełza (and also "the childlike comedy in two acts from the Kościuszko times" entitled *Biczyk* ["The Little Whip"], No 11-15, by Apollo Nałęcz-Korzeniowski in 1869) as well as profiles of selected Polish writers (like, for example, Ksawery Godebski, Kazimierz Brodziński, Klementyna Hoffmanowa, Józef Kremer, Władysław Syrokomla). The nature section was transformed into cyclical Przechadzki po polu i ogrodzie ["Walks in the Field and the Garden"] (1869–1872), the geographical section – first of all a long cycle Z Krakowa do Gdańska Wisłą (wspomnienia z podróży) ["From Kraków to Gdańsk by the Vistula River" ("Memories from a Journey") (1869-1872) and a similar one entitled Porzecze Wisły ["The Basin of the Vistula"] (1871-1872) signed by A. K. (the editor himself). Within the scope of the declared "upbringing in the national spirit" Aleksander Kisielewski's periodical paid a lot of attention to the demonstration of the unity of the Polish nation scattered by borders (by the way, also emphasizing privileges and powers to preserve the Polish identity in the autonomous Galicia, as an opposition to the situation under the Russian or Prussian partition), the example of which could be Karol Libelt's, a well-known activist from the Wielkopolska region, extended account of his stay in Lviv on 11 April 1869 (A.K., Przyjazd i powitanie Karola Libelta we Lwowie ["The Arrival and Greeting of Karol Libelt in Lviv"], 1869 No 11-13) or the so-called Lviv "Polish family reunion" (13-15 August 1871) with the participation of the enthusiastically welcomed representatives of Poles living in the Poznań region, Silesia as well as from Kraków (Zjazd polskiej rodziny ["Polish Family Reunion"], 1871 No 8/9). The above event was also celebrated in the periodical with a characteristic bilingual Polish-Ukrainian poem Braci naszej od Zachodu na powitanie["Greeting our Brothers from the West"] by Platon Kostecki. Editor Kisielewski, working alone, and over time personally fulfilling of necessity virtually all editions, which were published with bigger and bigger delays or breaks, was unable to stabilize the periodical or get a bigger circulation. Piotr Chmielowski summarized the "Guardian" with a tinge of irony:

All this is kind-hearted and cordial, but poorly elaborated, and the language, as far as its purity is concerned, leaves much to be desired¹³.

The last editon was published in December 1873, the periodical went bankrupt due to financial reasons (Kisielewski often complained about the lack of prepayment and subscription, which made it difficult to pay the printing house) and lack of sufficient interest from the public.

"Promyk" ["The Ray"] (10 Jan. – 27 Nov. 1872)¹⁴, a periodical by Władysław Bełza, did not stay longer on the Lviv's market for the same reasons as "Opiekun". Bełza was entering the Galician market after an unsuccessful effort of publishing his previous publication, also entitled "Promyk", in the Poznań region (1871).

¹³ P. Chmielowski, op. cit., p. 149.

¹⁴ J. Jarowiecki, *Prasa lwowska...*, pp. 314–315, position 654.

Incidentally, on the front cover of "Promyk" bound volume 1 for the year 1872 was (not published in the previous editions) a note concerning a double, Lviv and Poznań, place of publication, however, in practice, all the editorial work was conducted entirely in Lviv. Might Bełza have shown in this way a symbolic continuity in relation to its Poznań predecessor? Formally, the editor of the new periodical, "responsible for the editorial office" at the same time, was bookseller Franciszek Henryk Richter, Bełza himself was described in the footer or under the periodical's title as "the main collaborator", "the manager of the periodical", finally as "the editor". In the introductory words (also supported by a poem by Bełza) it was declared that, inter alia:

"Promyk" programme includes: the history of the motherland, the holy history, novels and stories, popular tales, eventually poems and fairy-tales applied to the concepts of children 15.

In practice, Lviv "Promyk" paid most attention to the literary section, in accordance with editor's competencies and interests, treating the other sections much more briefly and casually (though it published for example a cycle of short profiles of domesticated and wild animals, commencing with the goat and terminating with the bat). The periodical mainly published serial social stories by Paulina Wilkońska (like Wojtuś-gregorianek ["The Lazy Bertie"] – propagating the necessity of education, No 4-8, or Kawałek tortu ["A Piece of Cake"], No 22-27) or by Wołody Skiba (Pudełeczko ["The Little Box"], No 10–14), and comedies by Emil Deryng ("for boys" Duch Hamleta ["The Spirit of Hamlet"], No 4-8, "for children" Niespodzianka ["A Surprise"], No 11-15). Many pages of the periodical were dedicated to Bełza's literary activity, mainly a lot of didactic short poems, but also the prose story Antoś Piaskarz ["Tony the Sandman" (No 19-20). Sporadically the periodical published fairy-tales by Ignacy Krasicki, Seweryn Goszczyński or the Galician teacher-versifier Józef Chmielewski, and also, treated as aphorisms, selected short cuts from the works of Adam Mickiewicz called here "thoughts". A specific dialogue with her readers was conducted by Paulina Wilkońska in the cycle Listy do młodych przyjaciół ["Letters to Young Friends"] (No 11, 14, 20, 23), emphasizing the necessity of preserving a good knowledge of the Polish language and the Polish history. An interesting guidance-like undertaking was Teatrzyk dzieciecy ["The Children's Theatre"] (No 24-25), a series of practical hints about how to create an amateur home theatre. As far as the patriotic behaviour is concerned, "Promyk" celebrated, by means of a special prayer publication equipped with the appropriate commentary and a mournful frame, occurring on 5 Aug. 1872, a centenary of the first partition of Poland (W stuletnig rocznice. Modlitwa dzieci do Matki Boskiej Korony Polskiej ["On the 100th anniversary. A Children's Prayer to Our Lady of the Polish Crown"]. In the 30 Nov. 1872 issue Bełza was obliged to announce "the suspension" of the periodical due to financial reasons"16 and bid farewell to the young readers with an appropriately casual poem entitled Żegnajcie dzieci ["Farewell Children"]. It was not a definite farewell, however, because after some time it was possible to restart the periodical, which was published in the second phase of its existence from 1 Oct. 1873 to 15 March 1874

¹⁵ *Od Redakcji*, "Promyk" 1872, No 1, p. 1.

¹⁶ *Od Redakcji*, "Promyk" 1872, No 27, p. 216.

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by Gustaw Seyfarth and Damian Czajkowski, with Julian Strzelecki as the editor responsible (until the end of 1873, then this function was taken over by the editors) and Władysław Bełza who edited the periodical. In the summary on this subject Piotr Chmielewski wrote:

In the year 1873 Władysław Bełza tried to restart [...] the periodical [...] and by two quarters he published it. Apart from his own poems (the beginning of the poem *Zaklęte dzwony* ["Enchanted Bells"]), he published excellent letters by Wilkońska to young friends, a story *Dwaj nieszczęśliwi* ["Two Unhappy Ones"]) by Sabowski, historical articles by Kazimierz Kantecki [...], [Kazimierz] Górski [...] Lucjan Tatomir [...] The character of the periodical was mostly fictional, life sciences not much included. At the end of its publication, "Promyk" had no more than 70 subscribers: continuation turned out to be impossible¹⁷.

The most important Lviv periodical connected with the name of Władysław Bełza as the editor, which stayed longer on the market, was "Towarzysz Pilnych Dzieci" ["The Companion of Diligent Children"] (1 Oct. 1876 – 15 Feb. 1883)¹⁸, first published by W. Bełza's own bookshop, then from 1 July 1880 by F. R. Richter's bookshop. At the beginning, the periodical was issued every ten days, from June 1881 became a weekly, and in the last phase, from March 1882 shortened its title to "Towarzysz" ["Companion"]. In the editor's introductory words, specifically (and probably demonstratively) ignoring the situation in the Congress Kingdom, not without reason, it was underlined that the new title, when entering the market, was "the only periodical for the youth in the whole Galicia and Grand Duchy of Poznań":

The editorial programme is short and clear. Our task will be to transform, with time, today's $c \ h \ i \ l \ d \ r \ e \ n$ into $\ p \ e \ o \ p \ l \ e$ with full dignity and human objectives. We will not neglect anything that would take us to our destination. Our strength is our experience in this field and help from popular and well-respected writers who gathered around "Towarzysz" editorial office¹⁹.

Similarly to the earlier published "Promyk", the new Bełza's periodical put the most emphasis on the literary content but, as rightly pointed out Piotr Chmielowski, alert and not accepting the editor's behaviour, sometimes (both at the beginning and especially towards the end of the periodical's life) it simplified the task too much by just reprinting, without the appropriate information, a number of texts from the old or then contemporary periodicals for children taken from Warsaw's yearbooks (like, for example, from "Rozrywki dla Młodocianego Wieku" ["The Entertainment for the Young Age"], "Przyjaciel Dzieci" ["The Children's Companion"] or "Wieczory Rodzinne" ["Family Evenings"]) or from books published before²0. Taking into consideration texts written particularly for "Towarzysz", the critic noticed that the most successful

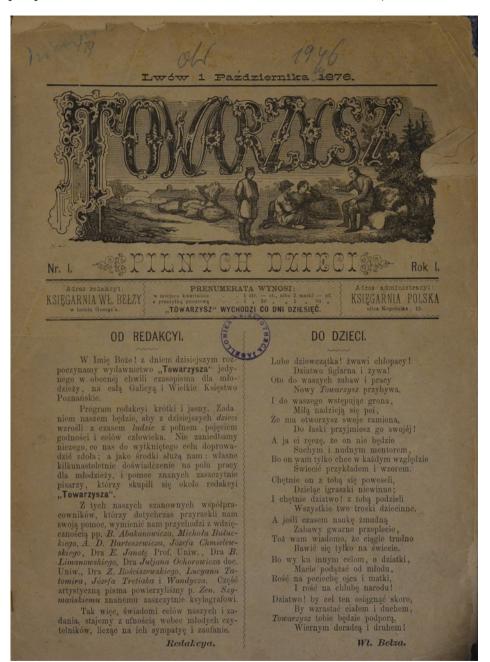
 $^{^{17}\,}$ P. Chmielowski, op. cit., pp, 149–150. See also: J. Jarowiecki, *Dzieje prasy polskiej we Lwowie...*, p. 163.

¹⁸ J. Jarowiecki, *Prasa lwowska...*, p. 413, positon 951.

¹⁹ *Od Redakcji*, "Towarzysz Pilnych Dzieci", 1876, No 1, p. 1 (underlines original)

²⁰ P. Chmielowski, op. cit., p. 150.





and at a decent level, at the same time very discreet in its didactic message, were the serial stories *Poczciwe psisko* ["Good Doggie"] (1876, No 1–3) by Michał Bałucki about a friendship between a boy and a crippled dog he found; *Wakacje Henrysia* ["Harry's Holiday"] (1877, No 29–31) by Helena Darowska presenting a young urban boy's ethical maturity process, learning to distinguish good and bad deeds in rural realities; *Sen panicza* ["Young Master's Dream"] by Albert Wilczyński (signed as "the author of the *Kłopoty starego komendanta*"), mocking selfishness and a conviction of state superiority of a young count (1878 No 19–21); or *Historia o strasznym potworze* ["The Story of a Terrible Monster"] (1881, No 7–20) by Julian Horain, a somewhat "polonized" version of the beauty and the beast, whose action was moved to the conventional years before the partition of Poland. "Towarzysz" only incidentally introduced foreign writers, nonetheless played some role in popularizing short works by Charles Dickens (*Whittington and his Cat*, 1878, No 18; *The Lost Child*, 1879, No 34–36).

In the field of poetry writing, Belza tried to introduce, which also concerned his own writing, patriotic tones and facts about the national past (for example, the poem Skarby polskiego dziecka ["Treasures of the Polish Child"] 1877, No 28 or the rhymed sequence of the Polish rules and kings printed in 1879). Especially for these purposes was, signed with the initials I.P., a longer cycle of occasional nursery rhymes, though not much worthy of artistic value, with appropriate contextual explanatory information, dedicated to anniversaries in olden days or prominent figures from the past, printed in the years 1877-1879 (for example Olszynka (20 lutego 1831), 1877, nr 5; Odsiecz wiedeńska (12 września 1683)["The Battle of Vienna (12 September 1683)"], 1878, No 27; Psie Pole (20 września 1109), 1879, No 27). "Towarzysz" was given poetry texts, most often casual ones, concerning the alternation of seasons and nature, the school year and traditional festivities, by, among others, Władysław Ludwik Anczyc, Maria Bartusówna, Jan Chęciński, Józef Chmielewski, Deotyma, Walentyna Horoszkiewiczowa, Maria Ilnicka, Władysława Izdebska, Teofil Lenartowicz, and also Wincenty Pol, Władysław Syrokomla, Karol Świdziński, and later also occasionally Jan Kochanowski, Kazimierz Brodziński, Adam Mickiewicz, Aleksander Fredro, Lucjan Siemieński. Bełza's periodical adulated Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, publishing his poems and fairy-tales for children, and also in the year 1879 texts connected with the writer's jubilee (No 28-29).

Similarly to other periodicals for children, "The Companion" did not avoid comedies and theatrical trivialities by, among others, Helena Darowska, Maria Mirkowska or Władysława Izdebska.

In the section of publications which popularized the Polish history, a cyclical *Historia Polski opowiedziana pięcioletniej Jadwisi przez jej mamę* ["The History of Poland told a five-year-old Jadwisia by her Mother"] addressed to the youngest readers drew attention (1877–1878), brought almost to contemporary times, that is to the defeat of the January Uprising (yet with directing attention only to the Russian aggressor – typical for the post-partitions period) and a series of well-known historical figures *Obrazki historyczne* ["Historical pictures"] (1877). Separately, in a particularly extensive way, the figure of Tadeusz Kościuszko and his activity was presented, but the study *Tadeusz Kościuszko* (1877) stood out, longer but uncompleted though running until the national hero's death, signed by Janek Płakań, but under that pseudonym hid Bolesław Limanowski. Władysław Bełza's periodical also solemnly celebrated the 50th anniversary of the November Uprising (1880, No 34)

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in the form of specially single-issue editions as well as, first and foremost, the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Vienna (1883, No 1–4).

The nature section, as it happened before in "Płomyk", was pushed into the background, and was issued more systematically only in the 1870s, but the publications it contained were most often unsigned, so it is difficult to verify the cheap publicity declarations by Bełza about starting cooperation with distinguished professors, sometimes from the University of Lviv. Among others, in the years 1876-1877, the periodical issued a series of animals and birds, illustrated with local and exotic examples, culminated with the biological "portrait" of man as the "crown of creation". As far as the vegetable world is concerned, we can point out the series called *Przejażdżka za miasto (o życiu roślin)* ["A Ride out of Town (about the Life of Plants)"] (1877) by Zofia Rudnicka. The series called *Pogadanki ojca z dziećmi o tym, co w świecie widzimy i czego nie widzimy napisane przez Pszczółkę*) ["Talks between Father and his Children on what can and what cannot be seen in the world written by the Bee"] (1878) was a slightly novelized nature talk.

Władysław Bełza's periodical, despite many repeated, even a few times a year, appeals by the editor-in-chief, did not get, as the earlier periodical "Promyk", enough support from the readers, which meant financial problems. In the No 4 edition of "Towarzysz" of 15 Feb. 1883 we can read the following bitter words of farewell:

The present issue of "Towarzysz" is the last one.

Severe financial losses, lack of any support and interest in this periodical made the editorial staff finish the publication of "The Companion" and finish all further efforts, which would lead to no end.

When we were setting up the periodical eight years ago, we had 43 subscribers in the first quarter, today, after all those years, its number has risen to only 93.

During these eight years, the undersigned fulfilled, free of charge, the duties of editor, author, translator and proof-reader of "Towarzysz", and as a reward for his altruistic work has now a debt of a thousand and few hundred zlotys. But definitely, "Towarzysz" has been for years the only periodical for children in Galicia. If the editor were losing, with a number of a few hundred subscribers he would have at least this moral satisfaction that a few hundred children were using his work, and by that he would feel rewarded for his efforts. But so few subscribers, though I thank them too, is no comfort to him.

Closing today the periodical's activity, we bid farewell to such a meagre number of subscribers and apologize them for this failure [...]

Władysław Bełza²¹

In March 1879 a specialistic periodical appeared on the market. It was, now only partially preserved, the Krakow monthly "Przyjaciel Zwierząt" ["Animals' Friend"] (March 1879 – June 1880), subtitled "a nature magazine for the youth and the people", published and edited by Bronisław Gustawicz. From 1880 it changed into a bimonthly and became the official body of the Krakow Animal Protection Association²². In the inaugural issue, the editor wrote:

²¹ *Od redakcji*, "Towarzysz" 1883, No 4, p. 25.

²² See: M. Jakubek, *Prasa krakowska 1795–1918 Bibliografia*, Kraków 2004, p. 307.

The lack of popular nature periodical for both the youth and the people in our country, which would teach our children and peasants in an absorbing and accessible way about the world of animals, its usefulness and harmfulness, its reason and resourcefulness, which would show how to treat domestic animals [...], which would instruct the youth and the people with legislation protecting the animal world from cruelty, complete destruction or annihilation [...], which would prevent the youth and the people from various harassments [...] and would lead to thinking about the world of God, about how wonderfully arranged the world is [...] and it was the main reason that made us take the decision to commence the publication of "Przyjaciel Zwierząt"²³.

The periodical consisted of, like nature sections of typical children's periodicals, first and foremost, clearly approached examples of particular animal species with information concerning their appearance and behaviour. Moreover, it also included columns concerning more specialistic knowledge, like <code>Zmyślność zwierząt</code> ["Animals' Creativity"], <code>Z zakresu ochrony zwierząt</code> ["From the Field of Animal Protection"], <code>Prawodawstwo</code> ["Legislation"]), or even <code>Przyroda w pieśni</code> ["Nature in Songs"] (poems on animals).

The break in publishing continuity of popular Galician periodicals for children and adolescents caused by the liquidation of "Towarzysz" did not last so long as at the end of the year in which Władysław Bełza's "Towarzysz" disappeared from the market, a new title called "Światełko" ["The Light"] (May [?] 1883 – Dec. 1892), preserved until today, unfortunately with extensive shortages²⁴ and that is why it is impossible to reconstruct its history and contents. The periodical commenced to be published, which needs to be underlined, in Stanisławów as a bi-weekly by Franciszek Kański and edited by Stanisław Tokarski, a teacher of the local folk elementary school. The editorial office was probably moved to Lviv and it was then when personal changes must have taken place because new names appeared in the footer: Szczesny Parasiewicz as the "owner, editor and editor-in-chief" and literary man Szczesny Zahajkiewicz as the "editor responsible". From 1888 (and perhaps earlier?) "Światełko" changed from a bi-weekly into tri-weekly appearing on the 1st, 10th and 20th of every month. At the end of the time period in question, that is from the 10 Oct. 1889, due to Szczęsny Zahajkiewicz leaving the country for good (he was appointed as head of Polish school in Chicago), Parasiewicz started signing periodical's issues as the only "publisher and editor", but as early as from 10 December of the same year, he became again the "owner, publisher and editor-in-chief", while the vacant function, when Zahajkiewicz left, of the "editor responsible" was taken by Zofia Mrozowicka, a teacher from one of the Lviv's primary schools. She held the post until the end of 1891.

Lack of sufficient issues of "Światełko" from its Stanisławów period do not allow us to make any reliable analysis and evaluation of this phase of the periodical, but

²³ Od Redakcji, "Przyjaciel Zwierząt", 1879, No 1, p. 1.

²⁴ Among others, complete lack of years 1883 and 1886, 1885 only incomplete, and from 1887 only a single issue nr 36 is preserved. What is more, there are lacks in other years (for example, from 1892 only the second part is available). In the casual text *Od Redakcji* announced on 15 May 1884 (1884, No 10), the first anniversary of publishing "Światełko" is mentioned, hence the speculation that it appeared from May 1883, and not, as probably misinforms J. Jarowiecki in *Prasa lwowska...*, pp. 406–407, position 929 – from 1882 (also erroneous 1890 as moving the editorial staff to Lviv)

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as far as the articles and the editorial team are concerned, this phase was distinctly weaker than the Lviv one. The reason must have been connected with the fact that the periodical was published outside of the two main cultural centres of Galicia and also the periodical's editorial staff was directed by a modest folk school teacher without the necessary extensive contacts and influences. Editor Stanisław Tokarski seems to have distinctly much supported the literary section at the expense of the other segments of the periodical, but obtained more or less regular cooperation only from the third league versifiers writing principally to younger children and known from many other periodicals, like especially Józef Chmielewski, Franciszek Marzec or Julian Nowakowski (whose was, among others, printed in series a longer poem entitled Historia małej szkółki ["The history of a Little School"], 1884, No 6/7-13). the prose of that time was represented by for example Franciszek Żmudziński (Opowiadanie z dawnej przeszłości ["The Story from the Distant Past"], 1884, No 6/7-9, which was based on the mediaeval battles with the Tartars) or Bolesław Maruszewski (Za miłość ziemi ojczystej ["For the Love of Native Land"], 1884, No 16–19, creating "Polish warriors" in clashes with an unspecified adversary. The Stanisławów "Światełko" did not by any means avoid traditional folk stories (for example Waligóra i Wyrwidab by Franciszek Żmudziński, 1884, No 14-15; Smok wawelski. Podanie ludowe ["The Wawel Dragon. A Folk Tale"] by Aleksander Borucki, 1884, No 17-19; Dziad-król, baśn z opowiadań piastunki ["Beggar-King, a Fairy Tale from Nanny's Stories"] by Szczęsny Zahajkiewicz, 1885, No 1) or stories taking advantage of an insect's antropomorphistic grasp combining humorously adventure elements with natural knowledge (Pamietnik mgdrej muchy ["The Diary of a Wise Fly"] 1885, No 4-12). An anonymous short story Ostatnia lekcja. Z pamiętników dziecięcia polskiego ["The Last Lesson. From the Diary of a Polish Child" (1885, No 16) talked about the school ban on teaching Polish introduced under the Prussian partition; the equally anonymous Krwawa ofiara ["The Bloody Sacrifice"], 1885, No 16-18, presented repressions for national and religious reasons under the Russian partition. It is worth noting that in the Stanisławów period of "Światełko" we may also find, probably completely forgotten today, the first literary fruits of Wilhelm Feldman, later known as a critic and historian of Polish literature (among others, *Przed trzystu laty* ["Three Hundred Years Ago"], 1884, No 19-22). The periodical as a rule did not publish foreign works, but made an exception to Ivan Turgenev's Przepiórka ["Quail"] (1884, No 13), reminiscences of childhood memories. Similarly to other periodicals for the young reader, some chosen classical figures of national literature were presented (Jan Kochanowski, Ignacy Krasicki) as well as important writers for children (Klementyna Hoffmanowa, Stanisław Jachowicz). When Tokarski was the editor-in-chief, the non-literary section was poorly represented: we can distinguish natural talks (the series Obrazki z życia zwierząt ["Pictures from animals' life"] or the series Morze. Obrazek z natury ["The Sea. A Picture from Nature"] by Aleksander Borucki), novelized historical sketches (like Tadeusz Rejtan, 1884, No 21-24) and a series of texts on religious issues and the life of the Catholic Church conducted by Father Juliusz Kamiński.

Moving the publishing office and editorial staff to Lviv (probably, as written above, in 1886) and its new staff caused significant changes in "Światełko", that is a new and stable, even monopolizing the contents of the periodical, team was formed, and its authors were active in various domains, like, among literary texts writers the editor-in-chief himself (very active as a writer), Szczęsny Zahajkiewicz, the

Rok I.

Marzec 1879.

Nr. 1.

rie na początku każ-dego miesiąca.

Przedpłata roczna wynosi

60 cnt.

Pisemko przyrodnicze dla

młodzieży i ludu.



Od Redakcyi.

"Szczęść nam Boże!"

Brak popularnego pisemka przyrodniczego w kraju naszym tak dla młodzieży jak dla ludu, któreby w sposób zajmujący i przystępny pouczało dziatwe naszę i chłopka naszego o świecie zwierzecym, jego pożyteczności i szkodliwości, jego rozsądku i zmyślności, któreby wskazywało, jak należy obchodzić się z zwierzetami domowymi, tymi przyjaciolmi, towarzyszami i powiernikami naszymi, któreby obznajamiało młodzież i lud z ustawami bioracymi świat zwierzęcy w obrone przed dręczeniem, zupełnym wyniszczeniem i wytepieniem jego, by ta przyroda Boża nie została do szczetu odartą z téj najpiękniejszéj swéj ozdoby, któreby pozbawiało lud i młodzież naszę przeróżnych zabobonów, przesadów i urojeń i doprowadzało ich do zastanawiania się z rozsądkiem nad światem Bożym, nad cudownym jego urządzeniem i nad porządkiem zaprowadzonym w nim przez samego Boga, był głównym powodem skłamającym nas do podjęcia się wydawania pisemka: "Przyjaciela zwierzat"

"Przyjaciel zwierząt" wychodzić będzie na poczatku każdego miesiąca. Przedpłata roczna wynosi tylko 60 ct. Członkowie krakowskiego Stowarzyszenia ochrony zwierzat otrzymywać będą "Przyjaciela Zwierząt" bezpłatnie.

Do "Przyjaciela zwierzat" dołączać będziemy od czasu do czasu ryciny, o ile na to fundusze zezwola. Jeżeli liczba członków krakowskiego Stowarzyszenia ochrony zwiy rzat, jakotéż liczba prenumeratorów "Przyjaciela zwn. rząt" znacznie wzrośnie, Redakcyja jego nie omieszky Arzone ...



Od redakcyi.

Z powodów niezależnych od redakcyi, zmuszeni byliśmy zmienić drukarnię "Światelka" — wskutek czego numer 6. wychodzi dopiero dzisiaj, wraz z numerem 7.

Rozpoczynając nowy kwartał, przepraszamy kochanych naszych czytelników za to spóźnienie, zapewniając, że dalsze numera bedą jak najregularniej każdegó 1-go i 16-go wychodziły.

Zalegających nam z przedpłatą, prosimy o łaskawe odnowienie takowej, a tym, którzy pobierają dotąd "Światełko" a nie czują się w obowiązku płacenia, przypominamy, że nie udawali się do nas wcale z prośbą, byśmy im bezpłatnie "Światełko" posyłali, że więc uważamy ich jako naszych dłużników, działających ze szkodą innych prenumeratorów.

Prosimy więc po raz ostatni tych wszystkich odbiorców pisemka o wyrównanie cachunku i nadesłanie przedplaty, a przemawiając do ich sumienia, oczekujemy pomyślnego wyniku. Redakcya "Światelka". publisher Szczęsny Parasiewicz, Seweryna Duchińska, Joanna Sedlaczek, Wojciech Dzieduszycki, Bolesław Marczewski; among popularizers of the geographical, natural and historical knowledge: Aleksander Borucki, Hipolit Parasiewicz, Franciszek Parasiewicz, Karol Winnicki, Walenty Kowalówka, Michał Kleindienst; and Father Juliusz Kamiński continued his religious publications.

The striking feature of "Światełko" from the Lviv period was, and it was the Galician autonomy that made it possible, a strong emphasis on civil and patriotic education, formation of conscious feeling and pride of Polishness in children. To this purpose was principally written a wide series of theoretical essays entitled *0 tym*, co nasze, świete i drogie dzieciom polskim opowiedział...["On what Is Ours, Holy and Precious to Polish Children by..."](1888, No 8-10) by Bolesław Marczewski, which underlined the role of religious faith and love for motherland, Polish speech and national history in the creation of the sense of national identity; and also some blatantly agitating poems, like, for example, the repeated in print in 1890 no fewer than three times (!) the cocky work of Szczesny Zahajkiewicz *Ja się chlubie, żem Polakiem!*) ["I boast I'm Polish!"] (vol. I No 10, vol. II No 2, 6) or, in the same year, Do Ojczyzny ["To the Motherland"] by Franciszek Marzec (vol. I No 14). At the same time, the periodical tried to prove its full and parallel loyalty to the Austria-Hungarian authorities and the House of Habsburg, publishing, among others, a commemorative poem on the 40th anniversary of Franz Joseph I's accession to the throne entitled *Gniazdo* Habsburgów ["The Nest of Habsburg"], accentuating Poles' gratitude to the monarch for introducing freedoms in Galicia, especially for the possibility of learning Polish at schools. In the poem (signed, which seems significant, not by the author's name, but by the editor), we read the following [in rough translation]:

A clear pearl in this family A crystalline diamond as well The leader who rules the nation Our Franz Joseph I

He's been in power for forty years Leading all his nation Been spreading happiness for forty years Not shunning work nor effort

He also loves our nation
Wants to lead it to happiness
Has given the land to the peasant
And Parliament to the nation

He made it possible that now everywhere We can all speak Polish At home, at school and in the office We all hear the Polish language 25.

²⁵ Redakcja "Światełka", *Gniazdo Habsburgów. W czterdziestą rocznicę wstąpienia na tron Najjaśniejszego Pana*, "Światełko", 1888, vol. II, No 16, p. 121.

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It cannot get unnoticed that editor Zahajkiewicz used his position in the periodical to expose mainly... his own literary activity, both in poem and in prose, partially also his own popular texts: practically each issue included even a few publications written by him. For example, only taking into consideration the bigger, in terms of volume, adventurous novels printed in episodes, we can enumerate (often bearing in mind the Indian motives that evidently fascinated the author long before he left for the USA) in 1888 – Wśród Indian ["Among Indians"] vol. I, No 1–16 and Przygody Bartka ["Bartek's Adventures"], vol. II, No 3-18; in 1889 - W Kalifornii ["In California"], vol. I, No 1–18 and O własnych siłach ["On One's Own"], vol II, No 8–14; in 1890 - Sassacus, wódz Pecquodsów ["Sassacus, the Leader of the Pecquot"], vol I, Nor 2-18. When Zahajkiewicz left the editor's chair, he still sent correspondence describing his observations and remarks from his transoceanic trip to the USA. In fragmented prose, on historical and patriotic issues specialized first and foremost Janina Sedlaczek (among others, in 1888 – Z bojów hetmana, Opowiastka z czasów Stefana Czarnieckiego ["From Hetman's Battles. A Tale from the Times of Stefan Czarniecki"]. vol. I, No 4–5; Kosynier. Opowiadanie z roku 1794) ["A War-Scythe Soldier. A Story from the Year 1794"], vol. I, No 6-7; in 1890 - Maly konfederat ["Little Confederate"], vol. II, No 2-14). The periodical also printed folk or author's tales usually grouped in a regular column Bajki i opowiastki ["Fairy-tales and Stories"], and also novels from the Greek or Roman mythology by Wojciech Dzieduszycki.

In the field of poetry, a very significant fact for "Światełko" in the Lviv period was very distinct avoidance by the editorial staff to popularize Polish classics for children and to publish only the contemporary authors as far as children's literature was concerned. Similarly to the Stanisławów period of the "Światełko", the most prolific writers in this respect were above all Józef Chmielewski, Franciszek Marzec as well as, discovered by the editorial staff, but not representing by any means a better literary level and completely forgotten these days, Maria Otylda Stadnicka or Jadwiga Zubrzycka.

An interesting self-advertising undertaking was to include "a stage scene" called Światełko, written by the "versatile" Zahajkiewicz, the subject of which was the Lviv periodical, beloved, as they claimed, by children and its role in the formation and successes of young readers.

In comparison with the earlier phase, the non-literary sections of the periodical were much extended, however, there was not any clear division into authors according to particular disciplines, often the same above mentioned-names (mainly teacher related, as it seems) appeared in front of publications from the field of geography, history or natural sciences, and to the writers who most regularly published we must include Walenty Kowalówka, Szczęsny Parasiewicz, Karol Winnicki. Somewhat bigger in terms of size and its exoticism was, sent directly to Lviv and printed irregularly under different headlines, the longer series of live stories by Father Norbert Golichowski from his expedition to the Holy Land (1888–1890). What is more, the author, apart from the most important religious aspects for a clergyman who he was, also tried to take into consideration, in a broad way, some geographical, etnographical and historical information as well as descriptions of places and historical buildings worth visiting and likewise information about practical details, useful for a traveller.

Probably from the year 1887, as it may be figured out, but bearing in mind the lack of periodical's issues today (so, already in the Lviv period), "Światełko" started its "Dodatek" ["Supplement"], which appeared rather irregularly, but without a

distinct profile and not directed to a separate reader, the aim of which must have been just to increase the volume of the periodical from 8 to 12 pages.

From January 1892, the function of the "editor responsible" was handed over from Zofia Mrozowicka to Stefania Kossowska, and from January 1893 a significant change of status took place in "Światełko" because, in a sense, it lost its independence after being transformed into (although keeping its title, editorial staff and some editor's identity) a supplement, distinctly directed to the youngest children, of the youngest Galician periodical for children in Positivism – "Mały Światek"²⁶. Nonetheless, further events belong to the next era.

"Mały Światek" ["The Little World"], mentioned before, (18 Nov. 1887 – 1939)²⁷ was the youngest of the Galician periodicals for children set up in the epoch of Positivism and, at the same time, as the history shows, one of the most lasting. It was printed every 10 days, on the 1st, 10th and 20th of each month. The first editor of the periodical was formally Joanna Rossowska, a young poet, and the role of "responsible for the editorial staff" belonged to Anna Lewicka who, with some technical help from Joanna's husband Stanisław Rossowski (a journalist and a poet), virtually took the brunt of managing the periodical together with its financing. Anna Lewicka was really the creator of the periodical and its *spiritus movens*²⁸. After the death of seriously ill Joanna Rossowska (18 April 1889), from 1 May 1889 her husband, mentioned above, Stanisław Rossowski and so far the closest collaborator of Anna Lewicka, took over the function of the editor.

The first, though much general, poem opening the first free promotional issue of "Mały Światek" addressed to "zealous children", accentuated the intention of professing in the new periodical first of all religious and patriotic values. An anonymous author wrote, among others [in rough translation]:

We wish to plough in your fields
God's truths, oh little world
And many virtuous values
That they bear much fruit.
The love for the country, long-lasting and strong
We want to see implemented into hearts
That it becomes half of the soul
And vitalizes like the soul does to the womb

Let the rule of obligations
Transform onto blood, into deeds
That the society, the country demands from us
And what we should demand from ourselves²⁹.

The editorial staff distinguished in "Mały Światek" such (not always constant, clear and divisible) sections as, we follow the annual list of contents which also

²⁶ See: S. Parasiewicz, S. Kossowska, Kochani Czytelnicy, "Światełko", 1893, No 1, p. [3].

²⁷ J. Jarowiecki, *Prasa lwowska...*, pp. 255–256, position 451.

²⁸ See: Życiorys "Małego Światka" (z powodu czterdziestolecia istnienia), "Mały Światek", 1928, No 1–2, p. 2.

²⁹ Mały Światek, "Mały Światek" 1887, No 1 (free promotional issue), p. 1.

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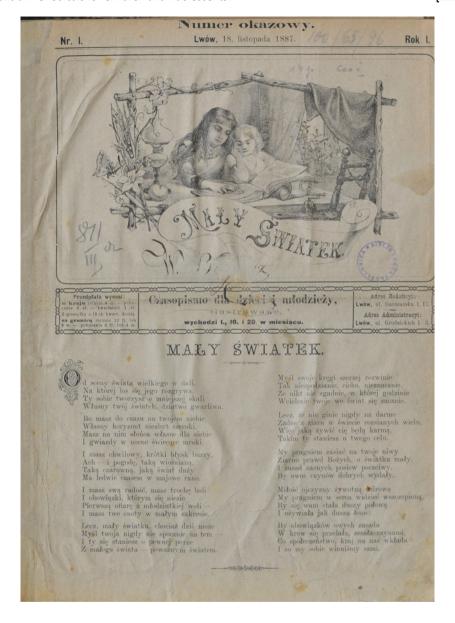
indicated the editor's hierarchy, the following: "Historical Novels", "Sketches and historical pictures", "Novels, tales and stories", "Biographies and pictures of famous people", "Geographical articles", "Poems", "Comedies", "Fairy-tales and legends", "Talks", "Articles on scientific topics", "From the field of inventions", "Commemorative articles", "Scientific plays and activity games". In practice though, at least in the period in question, literary works dominated, the other texts (also preferring in the form of light fiction) were evidently in the background.

In the years 1887–1890, the striking feature of "Mały Światek" became, which somewhat corresponded to the programme of the periodical, an exceptionally high number of historical and patriotic articles, both popular articles or loose talks about the past as well as, even to a greater degree, fiction emphasizing the history of Poland. The editorial staff tried so energetically to inspire children to read about the history of Poland that it non-stop organized competitions concerning historical novels for them. The obligation to know the history of their own country was additionally accentuated in the somewhat complementary manifesto announced in the 3rd issue of the new periodical³⁰. The reader of the Lviv periodical obtained there more and more works awarded on special competitions organized by the editorial staff, but the novels, as a rule using distant history material, lacked long-lasting artistic achievement and well-established literary figures (in the periodical were printed, for example, the works by E. Zorjan [Edward Sedlaczek] entitled Za wiarę i ojczyznę. Powieść historyczna z XVII wieku ["For Faith and the Country. A Historical Novel from the 17th Century"], 1887, No 4 and 1888, No 25; by Anatol Rogalski W krzyżackiej niewoli ["In the Teutonic Slavery"], 1888, No 27–39 and Korona Bolesława Chrobrego ["Boleslaus the Great's Crown"], 1890, No 10–26: by H. Strożyńska Sieciech i królewicze ["Sieciech and the Princes"], 1889, No 1-26, or by T. Zieliński Miłosz. Powieść historyczna osnuta na tle dziejów Polski ["Miłosz. A Historical Novel Based on the History of the Pre-Christian Poland"], 1890, No 1-8).

Longer forms of writing were accompanied by shorter pieces, even "in series", delivered by the most active collaborators in this field: Janina Sedlaczkówna and Bolesławicz (Bolesław Eulenfeld's nickname). Some writings also concerned history and national uprisings of the 19th century as well as (mainly Russian) oppressions when Poland was partitioned (for example, *Józef Sowiński. Obrazek z powstania listopadowego* ["Józef Sowiński. A Sight from the November Uprising"] by Janina Sedlaczkówna, 1889, No34; *Noc 29 listopada 1830 roku* ["The Night on 29 November 1830"] by Bolesławicz, 1890, No 34). The January Uprising and the fate of its participants were commemorated in occasional poems *W 25 rocznicę* ["On the 25th Anniversary"] by Bolesławicz and *Odpoczynek w kopalniach Sybiru* ["Rest in the Mines of Siberia"] by J. R. (Joanna Rossowska) (1888, No 7).

Much attention was given, both in the form of sketches or talks as well as popular texts introducing fiction which coloured the message, to the yearly anniversaries of the Constitution of the 3rd May and to the character of Tadeusz Kościuszko, treated as the most representative national hero (among others, *Tadeusz Kościuszko w szkole rycerskiej* ["Tadeusz Kościuszko in the Corps of Cadets"] by Mieczysława Śleczkowska, 1890, No 4 or *Pogrzeb Kościuszki (w rocznicę jego zgonu)* ["The Funeral of Kościuszko (On the Anniversary of his Death)"] by Janina Sedlaczkówna, 1890, No 31).

³⁰ A. Machczyńska, Dzieje ojczyste, "Mały Światek", 1887, No 3, pp. 17–19.



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"Mały Światek" willingly and in big numbers published fairy-tales and legends of all sorts, starting from literary essays concerning folk tales or historical legends through adaptations or modifications (but not translations) of Andersen's fairy-tales to the literary fairy-tale activity of the collaborating authors, the most active of whom were Sedlaczkówna (for example *Księżna Wanda. Opowiadanie z dziejów bajecznych* ["Princess Wanda. A Story from Fabulous History"], 1889, No 33; *Złota rybka. Baśń ludowa* ["Gold Fish. A Folk Tale"] 1890, No 9) and Bolesławicz (among others, *O dwunastu zbójcach i nabożnym kmiotku* ["About Twelve Robbers and a Pious Rustic"], 1888, No 7; *O wielkim królu i małym pastuszku* ["About a Great King and a Little Shepherd"], 1888, No 19).

Attention was paid to introduce chosen elements of the literary and historical knowledge, with special emphasis on the authors who created for the young reader, sometimes then already falling into oblivion. So, for example, apart from popular known and appreciated children "classical" writers, like Klementyna Hoffmanowa née Tańska or Stanisław Jachowicz, in 1889 the character Felicja Boberska née Wasilewska and her literary activity was much extensively treated (No 5-7). And one more work is worthy attention: the longer and detailed study called Król bajek (Jan Krystyn Andersen)["The King of Fairy-Tales (Hans Christian Andersen") editor Anna Lewicka (1889, No 27–31). Nonetheless, "Mały Światek" first and foremost actively joined in the somewhat national holiday-like event which was repatriation of the remains of Adam Mickiewicz to the Wawel Cathedral (4 July 1890), organized money collection among children for the editor's wreath and, above all, on that occasion, a special issue of the periodical was printed virtually a day before the ceremony. It was a monographic issue (1890, No 20), dedicated to Mickiewicz, mainly with biographical sketches by Sedlaczkówna and Bolesławicz as well as some chosen fragments of the poet's works *Powrót taty* ["Dad's Return"] and a fragment of *Pan Tadeusz* ["Sir Thaddeus"].

Non-literary and non-historical parts of the Lviv periodical were, as mentioned before, distinctly in the background of the editor's preferences, nevertheless, some systematics singled out the natural sciences section stood out (mainly, sometimes signed by Anna Lewicka but mostly unsigned, the descriptions of domestic and exotic animals, with a special emphasis to birds) and the section "From the field of inventions", describing everyday objects to children (like needle, pin, horseshoe, paper, nib pen, matches) and, especially extensively, the history of writing and printing. Some attention was also given to customs and traditions of the ritual year (Corpus Christi, Christmas, All Souls' Day). However, any adventurous and geographical themes were completely absent in the periodical.

It is worth mentioning the absolutely unconventional, when regarding children's periodicals of that time, initiative of "Mały Światek" editor, which proved the editorial staff's sense of humour and the willingness to surprise their readers. It was a unique 4-page (instead of 8) issue of 1 April 1899: it consisted only (apart from a casual nursery rhyme) of ... blank pages with a red note "Prima Aprilis". In order to recompense the reader not having delivered the expected reading material and neutralize a potential discontent of some readers not accepting the editor's specific sense of humour, the next edition, printed on the 10 April, was extended with a special supplement whose number of pages correlated to the number of blank pages in the April Fool's issue.

As it was mentioned before, in January 1892, formally speaking, "Mały Światek" and "Światełko" became one periodical, the latter becoming an editorially separate supplement, for younger readers, to the former, which became more directed to older children. That move gave Anna Lewicka's periodical the dominant position on the market. Thus, in the history of "Mały Światek" a new phase had begun. The characteristic thing is that "Światełko", inaugurating a new stage in its history, informed its readers about the transformations and about being dependent on "Mały Światek", whereas the latter remained silent about such significant changes. "Mały Światek", the youngest Galician periodical for children in Positivism, turned out to be finally the only one which survived its epoch and continued its activities.

Far unsatisfactory scientific knowledge concerning the Polish literary activity for children and adolescents of the second part of the 19th century allows us, in reference to the period under investigation - Positivism, to formulate only roughly a few remarks summarizing the Galician experience in this field. The seven Galician periodicals, which were the subject of our interest, were somewhat overshadowed by the exemplary, representative for the epoch and taking into consideration all specification of the press and literature for children and adolescents, the Warsaw periodicals, like "Przyjaciel Dzieci", "Świat" and "Wieczory Rodzinne", which were relatively closest to the main ideas and artistic tendencies of the years 1864-1890. Nonetheless, the Galician periodicals preserved their distinct features, which were mainly the result of the fact that their activity took place in the realities of the Galician autonomy within the Habsburg Monarchy and the possibilities of developing the education in Polish at all levels (these freedoms were unknown for people under the Russian nor Prussian partition) as well as some special character of Positivism in local conditions. It seems that the following features of the Galician periodicals can be enumerated:

- a) a similar situation in the Congress Kingdom, and completely different from the realities of the Prussian partition the publishing centralization in the capital Lviv (the only exception was the initial Stanisławów period in the history of "Światełko" and the publication of, somewhat marginal, "Przyjaciel Zwierząt" in Kraków),
- b) a relative instability of the publishing initiatives due to, above all, inadequate, to keep the title, interest of the audience and hardly any money from prepayments which constitutes the basis of existence for any periodical (especially Władysław Bełza's periodicals); it was not until the eighties of the 19th century that periodicals, which stayed longer, with time in the local reality, on the market (like "Światełko" and "Mały Światek") became comparable in this respect to the long-lasting periodicals of the Congress Kingdom and lasted until 1914,
- c) lack of supplements in the children periodicals addressed to the youngest readers, which was quite popular in the Congress Kingdom (the irregular "Dodatek" of the "Światełko" did not fulfill this function) as well as the lack of, typical for the Prussian partition, periodicals for children in the form of supplements attached to the adult press,
- d) far less, compared to the realities of the Russian and Prussian partitions, trouble with censorship which would not allow some politically sensitive publications

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(nevertheless, there were problems in this field, like the confiscation and subsequent delay of the issue of Lviv "Przyjaciel Dzieci"),

e) greater prominence was given, first and foremost, to literary and historical issues (especially, completely censurable in the Russian and Prussian partitions, the Polish tradition and struggles for the national liberation as well as the latest events, like the January Uprising), however, at the same time, popularization of scientific knowledge and geographical, adventurous or sightseeing themes were pushed into the background,

f) programmed acceptance of, as far as literary texts are concerned, fairy-tale writing and all kinds of fantasy writing (which was unacceptable for the Warsaw "Przyjaciel Dzieci" at that time), as well as hardly any interest of translations concerning foreign literatures (among others, complete absence of Jules Verne's works, so fashionable in the Congress Kingdom).

Further development of the Galician literary activity for children and adolescents of the period 1891–1914 brought about a lot changes and innovations, which, however, requires a separate analysis.

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Galician Periodicals for Children and Adolescents in the Time of Positivism

Abstract

This article presents seven periodicals for children published in Galicia in Positivism ("Przyjaciel Dzieci" 1861-1866, "Opiekun Polskich Dzieci" 1867-1873, "Promyk" 1872, "Towarzysz Pilnych Dzieci" 1876-1883, "Przyjaciel Zwierząt" 1879-1880, "Światełko" 1883-1892 and "Mały Światek" 1887-), demonstrating their specification (in relation to analogical periodicals of that time in the Russian and Prussian partitions), which stemmed above all from the realities of the Austrian press law of 1862 and the autonomy of this country, from 1867, within the Austria-Hungary political structure. What is more, literary and popular, concerning the field of national history, texts could legally be printed in Galicia, which was forbidden in the Russian and Prussian Partitions. Nevertheless, practically all periodicals struggled with lack of interest from the audience, hence financial problems.

Keywords: Polish periodicals for children 19th cent., Polish press in Galicia 19th cent.

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