

Evelina Kristanova

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4935-7417>

University of Economics and Human Sciences in Warsaw, Poland

Accessing the Political Press of the Second Polish Republic on the Internet

Abstract

Digital libraries provide an easy and convenient source of data for journalistic academic research. In this paper, the author answers the question of whether the most well-known socio-political Polish press titles published between 1918 and 1939 are available online and to what extent they are fully digitised and accessible in digital libraries. Through media content analysis and the press content analysis methods of Walery Pisarek, all the digital resources available for an ordinary Internet user were browsed. The main role of the analysis was to establish which journals and periodicals were published weekly and as daily newspapers. Also, the nature and political leanings of press publications were taken into consideration (each press title was usually associated with a particular party). At the same time, the texts were profiled as regional, national, Catholic, etc. Finally, an attempt to develop a typology of the given titles is made.

Keywords

media studies, press studies, Polish political press (1918–1939), digitised press.

1. Introduction

As the most important form of mass media in the Second Polish Republic, the public press played a crucial role in political communication.¹ Politically oriented periodicals were of great significance for the social and party life, since they promoted ideas, programmes, political foundations, and individual politicians and their groupings. Simultaneously, the same journals discredited political opponents and opposition parties. Political journalism in the initial period before the May Coup of 1926 took a relatively aggressive and severe approach, as can be illustrated with statements published by Stanisław Stroński in *Rzeczpospolita* and aimed at Gabriel Narutowicz, the first President of Poland. Stroński was later recognised as being morally responsible for the president's assassination. What also characterised the discussed period was the fact that journalists were actively involved in politics.

Apart from their informative role, the periodicals of that time also served political, propaganda, economic, educational, cultural, religious and entertainment purposes. Frequently, published statements would be of a polemical nature, entering into debate with opposing political camps. The politically-oriented press will be understood here not only as a platform for exchanging opinions expressed by various parties, but also as an official state-controlled media outlet which focused on political issues 'at various levels of politicisation'. And within this category, Andrzej Paczkowski distinguished, for instance, serious and sensational dailies.² Thus, their content included political, social, generally informative and party-related articles, which were collectively referred to as the political and informative press.³

¹ B. Dobek-Ostrowska (ed.), *Comparative Media Systems. European and Global Perspectives*, Budapest 2010; B. Dobek-Ostrowska, *Polish Media System in a Comparative Perspective. Media in Politics, Politics in Media*, Berlin 2019; A. R. Douglas, *Congress, the Press, and Political Accountability*, Princeton, New York 2004; D. C. Hallin, P. Mancini, *Comparing Media System. Three Models of Media and Politics*, Cambridge, New York 2004; J. Hasty, *The Press and Political Culture in Ghana*, Bloomington 2005; K. H. Jamieson, P. Waldman, *The Press Effect*, Oxford 2003; R. M. Perloff, *Political Communication: Politics, Press, and Public in America*, New York, London 2008.

² A. Paczkowski, *Prasa codzienna Warszawy w latach 1918–1939*, Warszawa 1983: PWN, pp. 94–96.

³ T. Mielczarek, *Od Monitora do Gońca Częstochowskiego. Dzieje prasy częstochowskiej (1769–1994)*, Kielce 1996: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna im. Jana Kochanowskiego, p. 55.

This paper is an attempt to address the question regarding the online availability of digitalised, politically-orientated periodicals published in Poland between 1918 and 1939, including the manner by which they can be searched on the Internet. At the same time, the article discusses difficulties in their online accessibility, and the usefulness of the different ways they are presented, seen from the user's perspective (student or scholar), since older newspapers are present in the digital world thanks to numerous sponsored projects and grant programmes. Not only is digitalisation a means to protect and commemorate them, but it also creates an opportunity for researchers to easily access source press materials. The analysis herein is of a preliminary nature and is a continuation of a series of articles regarding digitalised Polish periodicals of various kind. A similar study on literature-oriented periodicals has been conducted by Kristanova.⁴ However, the research issue of the digital availability of the former Polish press has not been examined before, since most studies focused on the analysis of the content of such periodicals and on the process of digitalisation itself.

Media Content Analysis was applied to view the resources of Polish digital libraries, in search of individual titles of the political press during the Second Polish Republic, which were – on numerous occasions – referred to by recognised Polish experts in press studies. Other useful tools were online search engines, title indexes, and all other data accessible on the Internet, often connected with news and information unrelated to the matter of this study. The issue in question was presented upon careful reading of the available subject literature and after outlining the general situation of the press in the analysed period. The main purpose of systematising numerous press initiatives in liberated Poland is to demonstrate the selected, and thus, most useful typologies of political periodicals.

2. The general situation of the political press in the interwar period

Thorough studies in the political press of the Second Polish Republic date back to the period of the Polish People's Republic. Polish experts in press studies

⁴ E. Kristanova, *Polskie czasopisma literackie w Internecie – dostępność, sposoby upowszechniania i próba typologii*, "Zeszyty Prasoznawcze" 4 (2018), pp. 807–824.

are familiar with compilations by Andrzej Paczkowski⁵, Andrzej Notkowski⁶, Urszula Jakubowska⁷, and Wiesław Władyka.⁸ After 1989, a new perspective was applied to research on interwar periodicals, and among the latest publications it is certainly worth mentioning the excellent study by Rafał Habielski⁹, who analysed the intricacies, conditionings and development of press laws and regulations in interwar Poland, and the short compilation study by Tomasz Mielczarek.¹⁰

In the last twenty years, the literature on the subject has expanded with several monographs and articles regarding the political press of the discussed period. Quite a few experts have analysed the language of the press¹¹, while others compiled comparative monographs on the regional aspect¹², devoted their attention to a selected title, e.g., *Mysł Narodowa*¹³, the conservative Lviv-based

⁵ A. Paczkowski, *Prasa polska 1918–1939*, Warszawa 1980: PWN; A. Paczkowski, *Prasa codzienna Warszawy w latach 1918–1939*, Warszawa 1983: PIW.

⁶ A. Notkowski, *Polska prasa prowincjonalna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej 1918–1939*, Warszawa 1982: PWN.

⁷ U. Jakubowska, *Oblicze ideowo-polityczne Gazety Warszawskiej i Warszawskiego Dziennika Narodowego w latach 1918–1939*, Warszawa 1984: PWN.

⁸ W. Władyka, *Krew na pierwszej stronie: sensacyjne dzienniki Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 1982: Czytelnik.

⁹ R. Habielski, *Wolność czy odpowiedzialność. Prasa i polityka w II Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 2013: Oficyna Wydawnicza Aspra-JR.

¹⁰ T. Mielczarek, *Prasa w systemie politycznym Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej (1918–1939)*, Sosnowiec 2009: Oficyna Wydawnicza Humanitas.

¹¹ I. Kamińska-Szmaj, *Judzi, zożydza, ze czci odziera. Język propagandy politycznej w prasie 1919–1923*, Wrocław 1994: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Polonistyki Wrocławskiej; M. Karamańska, *Słownictwo polityczne drugiej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w latach 1926–1939*, Kraków 2007: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej.

¹² M. Figura, *Konflikt polsko-ukraiński w prasie Polski Zachodniej w latach 1918–1923*, Poznań 2001: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie; J. Lachendro, *Prasa województwa krakowskiego w latach 1918–1939*, Kraków 2006: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze Historia Jagellonica; M. Żuławnik, *Polska prasa polityczno-informacyjna na Mazowszu Północnym w latach 1918–1939*, Warszawa 2011: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej.

¹³ P. Jastrzębski, *Z rynku prasowego Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej. Odbiorcy i zasięg oddziaływania Myśli Narodowej w latach 1921–1939*, "Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Librorum" 16 (2010), pp. 269–284; P. Jastrzębski, *Mysł Narodowa 1921–1939. Studium politologiczno-prasoznawcze*, Warszawa 2012: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej.

*Słowa*¹⁴, and researched specific themes and topics discussed by the press.¹⁵ The pool of knowledge related to the period has also been expanded by articles on local journals and periodicals. In one of his studies, for instance, Jerzy Jarowiecki compiled and presented the results of research on Kraków-based press¹⁶, while Marek Kolasa and Grzegorz Nieć pointed to the insignificant number of publications on the press of the Polish Peasant Movement, as indicated in their bibliographical analysis.¹⁷ Other noteworthy publications include studies referring to bibliographically unknown or forgotten periodicals of Pomerania¹⁸, Płock-based communist press¹⁹, journals in Ropczyce²⁰, the figure of Józef Piłsudski and his political statements in Rydzyna's press²¹, the coverage of the Polish Coup and the Brest Trials in Łódź-based periodicals and the Upper Silesian daily entitled *Polonia*²², the creation of the political life in interwar Łomża on the basis

¹⁴ M. Wojtacki, "Słowo" Stanisława Cata-Mackiewicza. *Dziennik konserwatystów wileńskich w latach 1922–1939. Monografia pisma*, Torun 2009: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Kultury Społecznej i Medialnej; J. Gzella, *Między Sowietami a Niemcami: koncepcje polskiej polityki zagranicznej konserwatystów wileńskich zgrupowanych wokół Słowa (1922–1939)*, Torun 2011: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika.

¹⁵ A. Bańdo, *Nie tylko krew na pierwszej stronie: problematyka kulturalna na łamach Ilustrowanego Kuriera Codziennego w latach 1918–1939*, Krakow 2006: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej; J. Seniów, *W kręgu piłsudczyków: poglądy ideowo-polityczne Gazety Polskiej 1929–1939*, Krakow 1998: Uniwersytet Jagiellonski.

¹⁶ J. Jarowiecki, *Prasa wydawana w Krakowie – przedmiotem badań nad prasą lokalną*, "Rocznik Historii Prasy Polskiej" 1–2 (2011), pp. 57–88.

¹⁷ M. Kolasa, G. Nieć, *Badania nad prasą polskiego ruchu ludowego – rekonesans*, "Gospodarka, Rynek, Edukacja" 2 (2013), pp. 11–21.

¹⁸ M. Lempart, *Zapomniane bądź nieznanne tytuły prasowe z terenu Pomorza do 1918/1939 r.*, "Toruńskie Studia Bibliologiczne" 1 (2010), pp. 71–85.

¹⁹ M. Żuławnik, *Polska prasa polityczno-informacyjna na Mazowszu Północnym w latach 1918–1939*, Warszawa 2011: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej.

²⁰ G. Woźny, *Czasopiśmiennictwo Ropczyc w latach Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, "Rocznik Historii Prasy Polskiej" 1 (2017), pp. 5–41.

²¹ S. Kalinowski, *Organizacje społeczne i prasa w akcji promocji legendy Józefa Piłsudskiego w powiecie radzyńskim w okresie II Rzeczypospolitej*, "Radzyński Rocznik Humanistyczny" 11 (2013), pp. 19–45.

²² M. Hrycek, *Dzień po dniu... Przewrót majowy w łódzkich dziennikach publikowanych w języku polskim*, "Studia Medioznawcze" 1 (2010), pp. 129–150; A. Lis, *Polonia wobec najważniejszych wydarzeń politycznych w Polsce w okresie międzywojennym: zamachu stanu w 1926 r. i procesy brzeskiego*, "Rocznik Historii Prasy Polskiej" 3 (2016), pp. 75–90; M. Patelski, *Krakowski Czas i Głos Narodu wobec przewrotu Józefa Piłsudskiego i represji pomajowych (1926–*

of *Wspólna Praca*²³, and the work of Lublin-based tabloids in the political and regional context.²⁴

Researchers have also scrutinised the press of ethnic minorities published between 1918 and 1939, including Jewish²⁵ and Ukrainian titles.²⁶ Some experts focused on presenting relatively unknown political periodicals such as the conservative weekly *Na Dobie*.²⁷ Undoubtedly, further studies on the Polish press have been inspired by the Kraków-based *Zeszyty Prasoznawcze* and *Rocznik Historii Prasy Polskiej*, and by the conference ‘Politics and Politicians in the 19th and 20th Century Press’, held annually in Białystok. Meanwhile, women’s participation in the political life of interwar Poland and its coverage in the press is promoted by *Czasopismo Naukowe Instytutu Studiów Kobiety*, issued by the same scientific centre in Białystok.

Even if 1918 was a turning point in the history and political life of Poland, marking the restoration of the state’s sovereignty, the year was by no means a breakthrough for the national press. Numerous titles continued to be published from the late 19th century, with some dating back as far as the 18th century. Broadly speaking, the development of the press between 1918 and 1939 can be divided into general and more specific factors. The former included political, socio-cultural, and economic conditions, while the latter involved press laws and regulations, and technological conditionings related to the development of new titles and their distribution. Before the unification and standardisation of the penal code in 1932, the country witnessed considerable legal diversification, stemming from its previous division into three partitions. The discrepancies in the press law continued even longer, i.e., until as late as 1938. Freedom of the press was

1927), in: *Kraków – Lwów. Książki, czasopisma, biblioteki XIX i XX wieku*, ed. by J. Jarowieckiego, vol. 6, 2 (2003), pp. 251–259.

²³ M. Bauchrowicz-Tocka, *Wpływ prasy na kreowanie życia politycznego i społecznego międzywojennej Łomży na przykładzie “Wspólnej Pracy”*, in: *Polityka i politycy w prasie XX i XXI w.*, ed. by M. Dajnowicz and A. Miodowski, Białystok 2016, pp. 215–228.

²⁴ H. Wojtysiak, *Lubelska prasa sensacyjna: medialne obrazy codzienności międzywojennego Lublina*, “*Folia Bibliologica: biuletyn Biblioteki Głównej UMCS*” 60 (2018), pp. 141–163.

²⁵ A. Uljasz, *Z dziejów prasy lokalnej w II Rzeczypospolitej. Żydowski Przegląd Rzeszowski z 1927 i 1932 roku*, “*Przegląd Nauk Historycznych*” 1 (2016), pp. 129–154.

²⁶ M. Szumiło, *Rola prasy w działalności ukraińskiego ruchu narodowo-demokratycznego w Polsce (1919–1939)*, in: *Komunikowanie i komunikacja w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym*, ed. by K. Stepnik, M. Rajewski, Lublin 2010.

²⁷ M. Wojtacki, *Na Dobie. Monografia zapomnianego tygodnika konserwatywnego z okresu międzywojennego*, “*Toruńskie Studia Bibliologiczne*” 2 (2015), pp. 55–74.

warranted by the Constitution of the Polish Republic of 21st March 1921, while the press law was based on the rejection of preventive censorship, which was substituted with a repressive counterpart. It meant that printed materials could be confiscated upon publication. At the same time, the Constitution still referred to specific regulations of the countries responsible for the partitions of Poland, and such regulations remained in force even after 1918 as they were relatively liberal. A significant year for the periodicals of the time was 1926, since repressions greatly intensified after the May Coup, resulting in frequent confiscations of printed materials. The date also marked the end of the liberalisation of press bodies. The second act (of 23rd April 1935) ever introduced in the interwar period contained no article on the freedom of the press, while the Press Decree of 1938 implemented a direct restriction of press liberty, which made it subject to severe criticism.²⁸ Nevertheless, the instability of the political scene, combined with transformations and fusions of political parties, still allowed for various press initiatives to emerge.

The country's socio-cultural situation after the First World War was relatively difficult, mainly due to the effects of Poland's territorial division, the impoverishment of society, low income rates, overall illiteracy, initially low numbers of well-educated citizens, and the general intellectual unpreparedness of the nation as such. Naturally, these factors did not contribute to the promotion of readership. Another issue was the poor technical conditions of press production, resulting from the high prices of imported paper, a lack of machinery, and poor communication infrastructure. What is more, the technologies used in the paper and printing industry were outdated.

The development of the most important form of mass media – alongside the book and the radio – of the time was possible owing to the intense political life, which caused basically all press titles on the market to become politically oriented (even if they declared otherwise). Each party was represented by one or more periodicals, which became the propagators of their political ideas. The political life in Poland was dominated by a plurality of intellectual formations and characterised by the diversity of parties and groups. A vital role was played by the press of the National Movement related to Roman Dmowski²⁹ and the

²⁸ R. Habieliski, *Wolność czy odpowiedzialność. Prasa i polityka w II Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 2013: Oficyna Wydawnicza Aspra-JR.

²⁹ A. Dawidowicz, *Rola prasy w rozwoju Narodowej Demokracji (1893–1939)*, in: *Polityka i politycy w prasie XX i XXI wieku*, ed. by M. Dajnowicz i A. Miodowski, Białystok 2016, pp. 229–240.

so-called Endecja³⁰, represented by *Gazeta Warszawska* (after 1935: *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*), the daily *ABC*, *Dziennik Kujawski*, *Głos Lubelski*, *Gazeta Bydgoska*, *Ilustracja Polska*, *Kresy Zachodnie*, *Kurier Poznański*, *Orędownik Wielkopolski*, *Pielgrzym*, *Słowo Pomorskie*, and the Lviv-based *Słowo Polskie*. At the same time, there were a considerable number of titles that supported Endecja and yet were ideologically unrelated to the movement, such as *Kurier Warszawski* or *Podbipięta*. On the other side of the political stage stood left-wing parties that advertised their programmes in such periodicals as *Nowa Kultura* (1923–1924), *Dźwignia* (1927–1928) and *Lewar* (1933–1936).

Approximately twenty thousand periodicals were published in the Second Polish Republic³¹, and a vast majority of journalists dabbled in politics and campaigned on behalf of specific political parties or options. Here, it must also be noted that the press of the time was the most important form of mass media, and its role could not even be abated by the radio in the 1920s, as newspapers remained *one of the most crucial instruments of political impact*.³²

In the course of the quantitative analysis, the following periods were distinguished: an initial and swift increase in the number of titles (1918–1920), followed by a slump and a quantitative drop (1921–1923), and then a period of gradual reconstruction (1924–1928). The years to follow were dominated by crisis and stagnation (1929–1934), and finally, the period between 1935 and 1937 brought a sudden growth in the number of titles. Among the characteristic features of this era, one should list the brevity and high ‘death rate’ of the press (70–75%). Over half of the periodicals closed within the first five years, and a third operated for a maximum of two years. Moreover, the press was also characterised by ephemerality (a few issues were published, and then the periodical was shut down), the simultaneous presence of long-lasting titles on the market (6% of all periodicals), and from 1924/1925, also by the appearance of mass publications. The swift growth in the number of titles during the first years of Poland’s regained independence was followed by a period of increasing circulation, even though the majority of titles were low budget enterprises. Between 1919 and 1928, the most dynamic development was recorded among weeklies and biweeklies,

³⁰ The name, which refers to National Democracy, was coined from its abbreviation (ND).

³¹ A. Paczkowski, *Prasa polska 1918–1939*, Warszawa 1980: PWN.

³² W. Pepliński, *Prasa pomorska w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej, 1920–1939: system funkcjonowania i oblicze społeczno-polityczne prasy polskiej*, Gdańsk 1987: Wydawnictwo Morskie.

whereas the golden age of dailies was between 1926 and 1931 (approximately 100 titles in total). At the same time, the informative and political press was expanding most dynamically, amounting to nearly 25% of all published periodicals.³³

Socio-cultural and literary periodicals between 1918 and 1939 played a crucial role in shaping public opinion (including political issues) even if they did not exceed 5% of the total number of all titles and had a relatively limited circulation of fourteen thousand copies. The perfect example to illustrate this phenomenon is *Wiadomości Literackie* (1924–1939), edited by Mieczysław Grydzewski, a popular and revolutionary periodical that contributed to numerous journalistic initiatives of opposing nature. There were quite a few titles that emerged as an opposition to *Wiadomości*, including the Endecja-oriented *Prosto z Mostu* (1935–1939), *Pion* (1933–1939), which supported the Sanation Movement, the leftist *Sygnaly* (1933–1939), and the Catholic *Kultura* (1936–1939) and *Tęcza* (1927–1939). Between 1919 and 1924, the dominating role was reserved for opinion-forming periodicals, and yet, from 1925 there was a visible shift to specialist press (female, military, sports, religious, scientific and youth magazines). One example of a cultural and literary title is the aforementioned weekly entitled *Mysł Narodowa* (1921–1939), which supported the National Democracy party, while *Podbipięta* (1936–1937) and *Zet* (1932–1939), edited by Jerzy Braun, represented the class of right-wing, socio-political and literary periodicals.

The publishing geography of the press was characterised by significant regional disproportions. The production of periodicals was most advanced in the central and western territories. The greatest concentration of titles (63–76%), including political magazines, was reported in Warsaw, which was followed by Kraków, Poznań, Lviv, Vilnius, Lublin, Katowice, and Łódź. Additionally, it is noteworthy that these centres agglomerated approximately 76% of all political periodicals. In comparison, one must also pay attention to the cultural serial publications (of an artistic or literary nature), which dominated mainly in Warsaw and Kraków. The capital could boast eighty socio-cultural, literary, theatrical and popular-science periodicals, including *Bluszczy* (1865–1938), *Świat* (1906–1939), *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* (1859–1939), *Przegląd Powszechny* (1884–1939), *Scena Polska* (issued intermittently between 1919–1938), and *Skamander* (1920–1928; 1935–1939).

The major publishers of the political and informative press were the Warsaw-based /consortium of *Prasa Polska SA*, and *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*,

³³ A. Paczkowski, *Prasa polska 1918–1939*, Warszawa 1980: PWN, pp. 29–31.

a syndicate run by Marian Dąbrowski in Kraków, which operated between 1910 and 1939 and distributed a high volume daily under the same name. State-controlled companies that are worth mentioning were *Republika* in Łódź, *Pomorska Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza* in Toruń, and *Drukarnia Polska* in Poznań (where *Kurier Poznański* had a circulation of thirty thousand).

3. The typology of the political press in the Second Polish Republic

The typological order of the discussed periodicals in interwar Poland, arranged by various criteria, can be presented in a simple or more complex manner, which is reflected by the classifications provided by Polish press experts. The most straightforward approach, proposed by Andrzej Paczkowski and taking into account the political option, divides the press into right-wing, left-wing and centrist titles³⁴, while the party-based criterion distinguishes progovernment, opposition and liberal-democratic periodicals. Meanwhile, Rafał Habielski provided a typology of political press based on the origins of the periodicals, dividing them into older titles, i.e., those which continued (from the 19th century or even earlier) and new ones, mostly mono-ideological (founded between 1918 and 1939). As a separate class, he proposed periodicals of political debate, including titles run by Jerzy Giedroyc. This final category, represented by *Bunt Młodych* (1931–1937) and later transformed into *Polityka* (1937–1939), presented a new fashion of reacting to the political reality. Such periodicals would not limit their focus to a single party, but they would opt for a broader and more open discussion on the issue of the changeability of the political life, foreign policy, and geopolitical reflection. At the same time, Habielski also divided the press into partisan, nonpartisan and sensationalist titles. Another approach was taken by Tomasz Mielczarek, who applied the criterion of communicative degree, dividing periodicals into three classes. The first consisted of theoretical and political titles, including opinion press, the second was formed by the informative and journalistic press, and the third by popular periodicals and local magazines.³⁵ Taking into consideration the topics raised in the press, Jerzy Jarowiecki distinguished general informative titles from socio-political ones.

³⁴ A. Paczkowski, *Prasa polska 1918–1939*, Warszawa: PWN, p. 5.

³⁵ T. Mielczarek, *Prasa w systemie politycznym Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej (1918–1939)*, Sosnowiec 2009: Oficyna Wydawnicza Humanitas, pp. 5–6.

Within this simple classification, the latter type dominated among Lviv-based titles.³⁶ Another area was researched by Andrzej Notkowski, who provided evidence for the predominance of the political and informative press in Mazovia, as it amounted to 37% of all periodicals published in the region between 1918 and 1939.³⁷ Regarding the same class of regional periodicals in Mazovia, Mariusz Żuławnik proposed another, more detailed typology with a clearly emphasised turning point in 1926, which seems to be well-grounded. Analysing the initial period of parliamentary domination between 1918 and 1926, Żuławnik distinguished titles supporting the National Democracy camp, the liberal and democratic circles, the Peasant Movement, socialists, and communists. In the era of the Sanation Movement and its government, Żuławnik listed the progovernment press (including titles that represented the Labour Party, the Nonpartisan Bloc for Cooperation with the Government, and nonpartisan pro-Sanation periodicals) as well as a more extensive segment of opposition press, consisting of representatives of National Catholicism, Christian Democracy, and communist publications classified together with those forming a uniform political front. An exception which did not fit into any class was the 1926 ephemeral creation of an extreme right-wing movement, entitled *Nacjonalista Mazowiecki*.³⁸

Summarising the typological issues, it must be stressed that prior to the 1926 May Coup, the press system was heavily pluralised, and after the event, it was divided mainly along pro-government and opposition lines.

4. Digitised political press

The simplest way to conduct an online search of digitised interwar political periodicals in Poland is to type a given title into Google, realising that the relevant returned result may not be the first or second link on the page. For some Polish journals, references to their online versions are provided in the Union

³⁶ J. Jarowiecki, *Typologia i statystyka prasy lwowskiej w latach 1918–1939*, <https://rep.up.krakow.pl/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11716/2285/PM258--20--Typologia-i-statystyka-prasy-lwow-Jarowiecki.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> (23.02.2021).

³⁷ A. Notkowski, *Polska prasa prowincjonalna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej 1918-1939*, Warszawa 1982: PWN, p. 205.

³⁸ M. Żuławnik, *Polska prasa polityczno-informacyjna na Mazowszu Północnym w latach 1918–1939*, Warszawa 2011: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, pp. 57–62, 69–200.

Catalogue of Polish Research Library Collections (NUKAT).³⁹ Unfortunately, this is not a rule, most likely because the database is not updated regularly. Greater accuracy is offered by the search engine of the Polish Digital Libraries Federation (FBC).⁴⁰

For the purposes of this paper, the analysis was performed through a case study method, and the research took into account the majority of recognised politically-oriented press titles between 1918 and 1939, which presented various political preferences and worldviews, and had a considerable impact on different audiences, significantly shaping public opinion of the time. It is also worth noticing that some periodicals were published under an unchanged title from the 18th and 19th century. They underwent editorial transformations and mergers, they changed owners and, at times, even their political profile. The process of digitisation usually involved the whole operation period of a given periodical, which means that some parts of this article must go beyond the applied chronological period of interwar Poland. Importantly, the author took interest in the effects of digitisation and the resultant user-related availability, and not just in projects, programmes and grants under the framework of which the digitising process had been conducted.

For the sake of clarity and orderliness, the selected periodicals were reviewed and classified by the supported political option or profile that they fit. The author developed her own typology, even though some periodicals could not be assigned to just one category. The researched publications were classified by their political orientation and divided into classes of periodicals connected with National Democracy (Endecja), supporting Sanation and Josef Pilsudski, associated with Sanation and pro-government movements, as well as press related to conservatives, socialists, and the Peasant Movement. A separate class (*Miscellaneous*) was generated for periodicals which may have matched no category above, due to their fundamentally different nature (e.g. socio-cultural journals) but still had a substantial share in shaping public opinion. In some cases, changes in the press policy implemented by editors-in-chief at various stages of operation, together with an affiliation to different political factions made it impossible for the author to unambiguously assign a given title to a specific class.

³⁹ Polish: Narodowy Uniwersalny Katalog Centralny (NUKAT).

⁴⁰ Polish: Federacja Bibliotek Cyfrowych (FBC).

Press associated with National Democracy (Endecja)

For National Democracy, the most important periodical was the long-lived daily *Gazeta Warszawska* (1774–1935), now available in several digital repositories. The issues published between 1774 and 1925 can be easily accessed within Crispa – the Digital Library of the University of Warsaw⁴¹ – whereas the Digital Library of the University of Łódź (DLUL) only offers its 18th century issues from 1776 to 1798.⁴² In 1925, *Gazeta Warszawska* merged with *Gazeta Poranna 2 Grosze* (of which all 1912–1925 issues are also available in Crispa) and some collections of a year's issues were also digitised separately (1915 and 1920 within the Mazovian Digital Library – MDL, and 1928–1929 in Crispa).⁴³ Upon the merger, the daily was published as *Gazeta Warszawska Poranna*, whose individual year's issues can also be viewed in other libraries (e.g. 1925 in the National Digital Library Polona – NDLP, and 1926 in the Radom Digital Library – RDL).⁴⁴ In 1935, *Gazeta* was suspended by state authorities and later re-established as *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*. All its 1935–1939 issues are available online in Crispa and the Jagiellonian Digital Library (JDL)⁴⁵, as indicated in NUKAT, while the 1939 issues can also be viewed in the Chelm Digital Library (ChDL).⁴⁶ When conducting a query, the user should be aware that the National Digital Library Polona also provides 19th century issues of a locally distributed and completely different newspaper published under the same title, which may be misleading. Therefore, *Gazeta Warszawska* with its variously titled incarnations might pose

⁴¹ Crispa. Warsaw University Library, *Gazeta Warszawska*, <https://crispa.uw.edu.pl/object/files/370178/display/Default> (5.01.2020).

⁴² Digital Library of the University of Łódź, *Gazeta Warszawska*, <https://bcul.lib.uni.lodz.pl/dlibra/publication/73070/edition/64968#structure> (6.01.2020).

⁴³ Mazovian Digital Library, *Gazeta Poranna 2 Grosze*, <http://mbc.cyfrowemazowsze.pl/dlibra/publication?id=48598&from=&dirids=1&tab=1&lp=1&QI=> (6.01.2020); Crispa. Warsaw University Library, *Gazeta Poranna 2 Grosze*, <https://crispa.uw.edu.pl/object/files/181469/display/Default> (6.01.2020).

⁴⁴ National Digital Library Polona, *Gazeta Warszawska Poranna*, https://polona.pl/search/?query=Gazeta_Warszawska_Poranna&filters=public:1 (6.01.2020); Radom Digital Library, *Gazeta Warszawska Poranna*, <http://www.bc.radom.pl/dlibra/publication/10862/edition/10388#structure> (10.01.2020).

⁴⁵ Jagiellonian Digital Library, *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*, <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/publication/246448/edition/234686#structure> (6.01.2020).

⁴⁶ Chelm Digital Library, *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*, <http://cyfrowa.chbp.chelm.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=5529&from=publication&tab=1> (6.01.2020).

a rather formidable challenge for the user, and it is advisable to gain a basic knowledge of its history prior to trawling for its digital version.

Stored in the repositories of the Digital Library of Wielkopolska (DLW)⁴⁷, *Mysl Narodowa* (1921–1939) is yet another noteworthy, socio-cultural and political⁴⁸ journal associated with National Democracy, together with the Warsaw-based daily *ABC* (1926–1939), all issues of which are available in JDL and will impress the user with the legibility of their meticulously compiled format. Several *ABC* issues can also be viewed in the Digital Library of the Catholic University of Lublin (DLCUL)⁴⁹ and RDL, while some of the daily's front pages can be found in the Multimedia Library – Teatr NN. As for JDL, it also contains 1895–1934 issues of the Lviv-based daily *Slowo Polskie* (1895–1946), established in the late 19th century and ranked among the most prestigious periodicals supporting National Democracy in the interwar period (after 1926, the paper turned towards Sanation).⁵⁰

As far as regional journals are concerned, some titles are also worth mentioning. JDL grants access to issues of the daily *Goniec Krakowski* (1918–1926), the editorial board of which was associated with National Democracy, while the popular *Dziennik Kujawski* (1893–1939) has a link in Wikipedia, directing the user to repositories in the Digital Library of Inowroclaw (DLI) with all its issues digitised there.⁵¹ Another interesting publication is *Glos Lubelski* (1913–1939), which cannot, however, be accessed via the link provided by the Polish Digital Libraries Federation (FBC), as it only directs the user to an article on the daily, authored by Ewa Maj and stored in the UMCS Digital Library.⁵² In this case,

⁴⁷ Digital Library of Wielkopolska, *Mysl Narodowa*, <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/139207/edition/149175#structure> (6.01.2020).

⁴⁸ Cf. P. Jastrzębski, *Mysl Narodowa 1921–1939. Studium politologiczno-prasoznawcze*, Warsaw 2012: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej; M. Domagalska, *Antysemityzm dla inteligencji?: kwestia żydowska w publicystyce Adolfa Nowaczyńskiego na łamach "Myśli Narodowej" (1921–1934) i "Prosto z mostu" (1935–1939): (na tle porównawczym)*, Warsaw 2004: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny.

⁴⁹ Digital Library of the Catholic University of Lublin, *ABC*, <https://dlibra.kul.pl/dlibra/publication/1973/edition/6934#structure> (6.01.2020).

⁵⁰ A political movement created in the interwar period (Polish: Sanacja).

⁵¹ Digital Library of Inowroclaw, *Dziennik Kujawski*, <http://dlibra.bmino.pl/dlibra/publication?id=8192000&from=pubindex&dirids=983041&tab=1&lp=19> (6.01.2020).

⁵² E. Maj, *Glos Lubelski 1918–1939*, "Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska" 2 (2010), pp. 53–69, <http://dlibra.umcs.lublin.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=6007&from=publication> (6.01.2020).

quickest access is again granted through Wikipedia, which refers us to a complete digitised version within the Digital Repository of the Hieronim Lopacinski Regional Public Library in Lublin.⁵³ Other noteworthy titles include *Gazeta Bydgoska* (1922–1933), with all issues easily accessible in the Kujawsko-Pomorska Digital Library (KPDŁ)⁵⁴, and the Poznań-based *Ilustracja Polska* (1930–1939), stored in DLW and easily accessed via Google (again, an FBC link does provide a direct access to the digital library). What is more, some 1935 and 1936 issues are available in the UMCS Digital Library. Apart from *Ilustracja Polska*, DLW contains *Kresy Zachodnie* (1924–1930), defined by its subheading as ‘a periodical devoted to the protection of national interests in the western territories of Poland’, and *Kurier Poznański* (1872–1939), with direct links to both periodicals embedded in FBC and NUKAT. The same library also grants access to 1933 issues of the daily *Ore-downnik Wielkopolski* (1922–1933), including complete, digitised versions of its predecessors and a continuation entitled *Ore-downnik*. Similarly, the Lviv-based daily *Slowo Polskie* is partially (1895–1934) available in JDL.⁵⁵ Wikipedia also refers us directly to another everyday newspaper associated with National Democracy – *Slowo Pomorskie* (1921–1939).⁵⁶ An unusual case is the digital version of the politically-oriented weekly *Podbipieta* (1936–1937), which can be found in as many as three different libraries: DLCUL (all issues), ChDL (1937 only), and JDL (selected issues).⁵⁷

On the interwar Polish press market, publications associated with National Democracy constituted an abundant group of periodicals, which played a crucial role in the country’s political sphere. Therefore, it is good news that this fact is fully reflected by the scale of digitisation, as evidenced by the aforementioned examples of most prominent periodicals of the period.

⁵³ Digital Library of Hieronim Lopacinski Regional Public Library in Lublin, Głos Lubelski, <http://bc.wbp.lublin.pl/dlibra/publication/2418?tab=1> (6.01.2020).

⁵⁴ Kujawsko-Pomorska Digital Library, *Gazeta Bydgoska*, <http://kpbc.umk.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=18407&dirids=1&tab=3> (6.01.2020).

⁵⁵ JDL, *Slowo Polskie*, <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/publication/5862#structure> (6.01.2020).

⁵⁶ KPDŁ, *Slowo Pomorskie*, <http://kpbc.umk.pl/dlibra/publication?id=2126> (6.01.2020).

⁵⁷ DLCUL, *Podbipieta*, <https://dlibra.kul.pl/dlibra/publication/19611#structure> JDL, *Podbipieta*, <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/publication/398124/edition/377731#structure> (6.01.2020).

Press fully supporting Sanation, and periodicals associated with Sanation and pro-government movements

The Warsaw-based daily *Kurier Poranny* (1877–1939), whose editorial board supported Josef Pilsudski and his political camp, can be viewed in Crispa, and some selected years are also available in ChDL. The periodical played a vital political role in the period preceding the May Coup, publishing numerous statements and letters by Pilsudski. Another title was the evening newspaper *Przegląd Wieczorny* (1915–1930), all issues of which can be accessed in Crispa⁵⁸, with reference links also in FBC. What is more, issues from January and February 1919 are also digitised as microfilms in the Library of Congress (LOC).⁵⁹ Interestingly, another recognised Warsaw-based Sanation-oriented daily *Gazeta Polska* (1929–1939) is not listed online either by FBC or by any other sources.

Among the periodicals supporting Pilsudski, there were also several military journals aimed at wider audiences, e.g. the Warsaw-based weekly *Rząd i Wojsko* (1916–1920), which is available both in the UMCS Digital Library and DLCUL. Its 1919 issues can also be viewed in the Silesian Digital Library (SDL)⁶⁰, whereas the 1921 continuation is stored by MDL. A digitised form of the weekly is not only replicated in two digital libraries but also greatly dispersed. *Rząd i Wojsko* was transformed, by Wojciech Stpiczynski, firstly into *Głos* and *Głos Opozycji*, and then into *Głos Prawdy* (1923–1929). Due to the scathing style and controversial statements, the latter was subject to frequent confiscations.⁶¹ In 1926, the periodical was converted into one of the largest information and political dailies. NUKAT offers two links to all issues⁶², while the UMCS Digital Library contains years 1925–1928, and SDL 1927. Importantly, the periodical should not be confused with the regional Protestant journal published under the same title between 1925–1939, and available within the public domain of SDL.

⁵⁸ Crispa, *Kurier Poranny*, <https://crispa.uw.edu.pl/object/files/148394/display/Default> (6.01.2020).

⁵⁹ Library of Congress, Catalogue, *Przegląd Wieczorny*, <https://catalog.loc.gov/vwebv/search?searchCode=LCCN&searchArg=sn%2098059023&searchType=1&permalink=y> (24.12.2019).

⁶⁰ Silesian Digital Library, *Rząd i Wojsko*, <https://www.sbc.org.pl/dlibra/publication/10223/edition/9579> (6.01.2020).

⁶¹ Cf. J. Pietrzak, *Radykalny pilsudczyk. Biografia Wojciecha Stpiczyńskiego (1896–1936)*, Warszawa 2001: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper.

⁶² NUKAT, *Głos Prawdy*, <http://katalog.nukat.edu.pl/lib/item?id=chamo:293945&fromLocationLink=false&theme=nukat&locale=EN> (7.01.2020).

In 1922, the literary and cultural *Droga* (1922–1937) was established, initially as a biweekly, and – from 1923 – as a monthly, with Adam Skwarczynski as editor-in-chief. The periodical, aimed at building the programme of Sanation through heated debate⁶³, is partially (1922–1936) available in the digital libraries of Chelm, Malopolska and Opole, with links in the FBC search engine. The movement was also supported by the socio-literary weekly *Pion* (1933–1939), which published postulates for a national cultural programme; all its issues are stored in ChDL. Regional press supporting Sanation also included such fully digitised titles as *Kurier Wilenski* (1927–1936), available in JDL, and the Katowice-based weekly *Polska Zachodnia* (1926–1939), which is duplicated in SDL and the Digital Library of University of Wrocław (DLUW).⁶⁴ In 1929, Adam Koc founded the pro-government *Gazeta Polska* (1929–1939) in Warsaw, which replaced *Głos Prawdy* and *Epoka* and was distributed nationwide. Fully digitised and stored in Polona, it must not be confused with another journal published under the same title (1920–1939), defined by its subheading as a 'Polish Catholic daily newspaper for all classes', and listed in DLW.

Conservative press

The conservative press was extremely powerful and influential in the interwar period. Polona⁶⁵ contains a digital version of *Rzeczpospolita* (1920–1932), a traditionalist publication of the Christian National Party, initially owned by Ignacy Paderewski, and later by Wojciech Korfanty. However, searching through Polona's electronic repositories is extremely difficult even for an expert. Initially published in Cracow, and then (from 1935) in Warsaw, *Czas* (1848–1939) is another respectable current affairs and political daily, fully digitised in the Digital Library of Malopolska (DLM).⁶⁶ Since the vast majority of its issues are also available in Polona, it is yet another periodical that has been reproduced in two

⁶³ D. Nałęcz, *W poszukiwaniu niechcianej ideologii (Adam Skwarczyński)*, "Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej" 3–4 (1992), pp. 117–125.

⁶⁴ Digital Library of the University of Wrocław, *Polska Zachodnia*, <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/7739?language=en#structure> (20.12.2019).

⁶⁵ National Digital Library Polona, *Rzeczpospolita*, <https://polona.pl/search/?query=Rzeczpospolita&filters=public:1> (7.01.2020).

⁶⁶ Digital Library of Malopolska, *Czas*, <http://mbc.malopolska.pl/publication/20747> (7.01.2020).

electronic repositories. Next, there is the conservative Vilnius-based weekly *Slowo* (1922–1939), edited by Stanisław Cat-Mackiewicz⁶⁷, and stored in JDL, while KPDL⁶⁸ contains an electronic edition of the traditionalist Pelpin-based *Pielgrzym* (1869–1939). This informative Catholic periodical played a crucial political role in Pomerania and can be accessed via the link embedded in its Wikipedia entry. What is more, issues from 1832–1833 can also be found in Crispa, which makes it another partially doubled source material.

Socialist press

In interwar Poland, the leftist faction was an important sector of the press market, and every socialist party wanted to have its own periodical, with some published officially and others secretly. The highest standards were maintained by the major publications of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) – *Robotnik* (1894–1939) and the Cracow-based *Naprzód* (1892–1939), whose 1892–1934 issues can be viewed in JDL. The former was often subject to confiscations and censorship.⁶⁹ Even though *Robotnik* lasted for as long as 45 years and was edited by the prominent politician Mieczysław Niedziałkowski throughout most of its lifespan, it has yet to have an electronic edition, as opposed to *Przedświt* (1881–1920), initially published by the International Social Revolutionary Party ‘Proletariat’, and later under the aegis of the Polish Socialist Party. *Przedświt* has been fully digitised and can be found in DLUL⁷⁰, with selected issues also available in the UMCS Digital Library.⁷¹ The class of digitised socialist periodicals also includes the socio-political *Głos Kobiet* (1908–1939), aimed at female workers and representing the Central Women’s Division of the Polish Socialist Party. *Głos Kobiet* was

⁶⁷ Cf. M. Wojtacki, *Słowo Stanisława Cata-Mackiewicza. Dziennik konserwatystów wileńskich w latach 1922–1939. Monografia pisma*, Toruń 2009: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Kultury Społecznej i Medialnej.

⁶⁸ KPDL, *Pielgrzym*, <http://kpbc.umk.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=82758&from=publication> (7.01.2020).

⁶⁹ Cf. O.S. Czarnik, *Ideowe i literackie wybory “Robotnika” w latach 1918–1939*, Warszawa 1996: Biblioteka Narodowa.

⁷⁰ DLUL, *Przedświt*, <https://bcul.lib.uni.lodz.pl/dlibra/publication/55031#structure> (7.01.2020).

⁷¹ UMCS Digital Library, *Przedświt*, <http://dlibra.umcs.lublin.pl/dlibra/publication?id=28719&tab=3> (7.01.2020).

a supplement to *Robotnik Slaski* (1903–1939), which is also fully digitised in SDL.⁷² Another socio-democratic daily *Glos Poranny* (1929–1939) was published in Lodz and can be viewed in the repositories of the Lodz Regional Digital Library, which also contains *Glos Polski* (1918–1929)⁷³, another Lodz-based daily from the 1920s.

The authorities of the Polish Socialist Party, just like leaders of other political groups, recognised the importance of local newspapers, supporting and facilitating their publication. This group includes the weekly *Wyzwolenie Spoleczne* (1920–1929) in Biala, *Czestochowianin* (1929–1930) in Czestochowa (both available in SDL)⁷⁴, *Dziennik Ludowy* (1918–1934) in Lviv (accessible in JDL, with 1918 issues missing)⁷⁵, *Lodzianin* (1915–1939) in Lodz (available in DLUL), and the prominent Poznan-based *Glos Poznanski* (1924–1925), which can be found in DLW.⁷⁶ This class also includes the weekly *Niedola Chlopska* (1918–1919), *Tygodnik Ludowy* in Poznan, and *Trybuna Robotnicza* in Piotrkow, none of which can be accessed online. Several of the periodicals were distributed nationwide, and yet they primarily remained local publications, which should prompt the user to search for them in Polish regional digital libraries.

Press related to the Peasant Movement

Between 1918 and 1939, a politically significant role was also attributed to the Peasant Movement, even if its periodicals could not be classified among the key players on the market. The importance of the political press was aptly specified by Wincenty Witos, a major figure in the ranks of the Peasant Movement, who served three times as the Prime Minister of Poland: ‘It serves the interests

⁷² SDL, *Robotnik Slaski*, <https://www.sbc.org.pl/dlibra/publication/20549?language=en#structure> (22.09.2019).

⁷³ Lodz Regional Digital Library, *Glos Poranny*, <https://bc.wimbp.lodz.pl/dlibra/publication/75310/edition/71876#structure>; Lodz Regional Digital Library, *Glos Poranny*, *Glos Polski*, <https://bc.wimbp.lodz.pl/dlibra/publication/13614?language=en#structure> (7.01.2020).

⁷⁴ SDL, *Wyzwolenie Spoleczne*, <https://www.sbc.org.pl/dlibra/publication/85307?language=en#structure>; SDL, *Wyzwolenie Spoleczne*, *Czestochowianin*, <https://www.sbc.org.pl/dlibra/publication/128181/edition/120340#structure> (7.01.2020).

⁷⁵ JDL, *Dziennik Ludowy*, <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/publication/259001?language=en#structure> (7.01.2020).

⁷⁶ DLW, *Glos Poznanski*, <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/137247/edition/146667#structure> (7.01.2020).

of the party and its members, highlights the truth, combats deceit, unmasking hypocrisy, eradicates malpractice and abuse, gives hope, provides entertainment, and expands our knowledge. It constitutes an indispensable link between the Movement and its supporters.⁷⁷ The Warsaw-based weekly *Wola Ludu* (1921–1931) and *Włoscianin* (1919–1920, 1927–1928), published in Poznań six times a week, represented the Polish Peasant Party ‘Piaś’. The former has not been digitised, while the latter can easily be found in DLW.⁷⁸ Another periodical supporting the Peasant Movement⁷⁹ was the Warsaw-based monthly *Młoda Mysł Ludowa* (1932–1934), which focused on metropolitan peasant intelligentsia and can be found in ChDL.⁸⁰ On the one hand, these periodicals fully supported the ideals of the political party they represented, thus becoming regular political press bodies. On the other hand, however, they were also aimed at peasant families and covered their everyday life.

Similarly to the aforementioned groups of periodicals, this publication class also includes a considerable number of local and regional titles. The Peasant Party was supported by *Slaska Gazeta Ludowa* (1930, 1932–1939), digitised in SDL, and *Gazeta Grudziadzka* (1899–1929), available in KPDL. Another fully digitised publication in JDL is *Piaś* (1913–1939), which was presented as: ‘a political, social, educational and economic weekly, devoted to the matters of the Polish nation’. At the same time, Polona grants access to a digitised version of *Wyzwolenie* (1917–1937), while the Poznań-based daily *Goniec Wielkopolski* (1877–1932) is available in DLW.⁸¹ The former⁸² also includes two years of the Cracow-based *Gazeta Chlopska* (1936–1937), a supreme publication of the Peasant Agrarian Union. Another incompletely digitised publication is the morning daily *Kurier Lwowski* (1883–1935), a newspaper associated with peasant intelligentsia that supported the Polish Peasant Party ‘Piaś’ before 1930. The issues published

⁷⁷ A. Paczkowski, *Prasa polityczna ruchu ludowego (1918–1939)*, Warszawa 1970: PWN.

⁷⁸ DLW, *Włoscianin*, <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/549582#structure> (7.01.2020).

⁷⁹ A. Paczkowski, *Rola prasy w działalności masowej Stronnictwa Ludowego (1931–1939)*, “Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1 (1967), pp. 79–104.

⁸⁰ ChDL, *Młoda Mysł Ludowa*, <http://cyfrowa.chbp.chelm.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=8249&dirds=1&tab=3> (7.01.2020).

⁸¹ DLW, *Goniec Wielkopolski*, <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/254549/edition/211286#structure> (8.01.2020).

⁸² NDŁ Polona, *Gazeta Chlopska*, https://polona.pl/search/?query=gazeta_ch%C5%82opska&filters=public:1 (8.01.2020).

between 1883 and 1926 can be found in JDL, and those between 1883 and 1926 in Polona. Oddly, its earlier issues (1885–1918) are available in the Austrian National Library.⁸³ Another opposition periodical of the Polish Peasant Party ‘Piaśt’ – operating after 1926 and subjected to frequent confiscations between 1932 and 1935 – was *Zielony Sztandar* (1931–1939)⁸⁴, which can be accessed in Polona.

For this class, the list of undigitised publications consists of less known periodicals such as *Chłopski Sztandar* (1931–1932), *Ludowiec Wielkopolski* (1932–1933, EIC: Bernard Milski), *Codzienny Gонец Ludowy* (1934–1935), *Obrona Rolnika i Osadnika* (1933), *Głos Wsi i Osady* (1932–1933), as well as the Naprawa-based socio-literary monthly *Wies* (1933–1934), which gained the reputation of being a leftist and anti-Sanation journal, and its continuation entitled *Nowa Wies* (1935–1936). Other publications unavailable online are *Piaśt Wielkopolski* (1928–1935), a press body of the Peasant People’s Party edited by Leon Ossowski, and *Echo Warszawy*, an unofficial organ of the Polish Peasant Party ‘Piaśt’.

The Peasant Movement was rather poorly represented in Greater Poland, which was dominated by the conservative press, while some peasant titles also demonstrated traces of anti-clericalism, e.g. *Gazeta Ludowa*, *Piaśt*, and *Wyzwolenie*. An analysis of its numerous publications shows again that the most prominent titles have already been digitised, at the expense of ephemera and less important regional newspapers and magazines.

Miscellaneous

In Warsaw, *Kurier Warszawski* (1821–1939) was an important daily newspaper, besides the aforementioned *Przegląd Wieczorny*. Initially, its editorial board strived to maintain a centrist profile, only to turn towards the Right in 1918. *Kurier Warszawski* began to be associated with the Christian National Party, and nowadays all its issues can be easily accessed via Crispa.⁸⁵ Another national and

⁸³ Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Kurier Lwowski*, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=klw> (8.01.2020).

⁸⁴ Cf. M. Krysiak, Na cenzurowanym – prasa opozycji lat 30. XX wieku na przykładzie *Zielonego Sztandaru*, *Konflikty* 2010, <http://www.konflikty.pl/historia/1918-1939/na-cenzurowanym-prasa-opozycji-lat-30-xx-wieku-na-przykladzie-zielonego-sztandaru/> (8.01.2020).

⁸⁵ Crispa, *Kurier Warszawski*, <https://crispa.uw.edu.pl/object/files/394223/display/Default> (8.01.2020).

Christian democratic periodical that deserves to be mentioned is the Cracow-based daily *Głos Narodu* (1893–1939), which can be viewed in JDL.⁸⁶

In 2011–2013, all the issues of *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny* (1910–1939)⁸⁷ were digitised by the Digital Library of Malopolska. The high-volume political and current affairs daily was edited by Marian Dabrowski, who went to great lengths to man his editorial board with experts of various worldviews and political orientations. Another prominent newspaper of the 1920s was *Kurier Polski* (1898–1939), which can be accessed in the Mazovian Digital Library. An example of a more liberal approach is *Kurier Wilenski* (1927–1936), whose editorial board did not openly support any political faction. The periodical is fully digitised in JDL, with several issues also available in the Warmia-Mazury Digital Library.⁸⁸ Another partially digitised daily is the Warsaw-based *Express Poranny* (1922–1939), which was associated with Sanation from 1931. It can be viewed in the Radom Digital Library⁸⁹, and its 1939 issues are also available in Polona and ChDL.

Digitised in Crispa and described by its subheading as ‘a literary and artistic weekly’, Stanisław Piasecki’s *Prosto z Mostu*⁹⁰ (1935–1939) supported the national movement. The Katowice-based *Polonia* (1925–1939), edited by Wojciech Korfanty, has been made available in SDL. An example of a socio-cultural periodical with specified political preferences is the liberal *Wiadomosci Literackie* (1924–1939), whose editorial board revealed some Sanation inclinations. All its issues can be viewed in the Digital Library of Malopolska and ChDL. What is more, some articles are available in an attractive graphic form on the Retro Press website, which additionally grants access to a selection of texts originally published in other prominent 1920s periodicals.⁹¹

⁸⁶ JDL, *Głos Narodu*, <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/publication/5858?language=en#structure> (9.01.2020).

⁸⁷ Digital Library of Malopolska, *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, <http://mbc.malopolska.pl/publication/33326> (12.10.2019).

⁸⁸ Warmia-Mazury Digital Library, *Kurier Wilenski*, <http://wmbc.olsztyn.pl/dlibra/publication/883?tab=1> (9.01.2020).

⁸⁹ RDL, *Express Poranny*, <http://bc.radom.pl/dlibra/publication/4657#structure> (9.01.2020).

⁹⁰ Cf. B. Piasecki, *Prosto z mostu*, Warszawa 1934: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze “Rój”, <http://dlibra.ujk.edu.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=1311&from=publication> [a selection of articles on literature, published in the daily *ABC*]; *Entuzjizm: antologia publicystyki tygodnika “Prosto z mostu” 1935–1939*, ed. A. Lubicz, Warszawa 2000: Fronda; S. Piasecki, *Prosto z mostu: wybór publicystyki literackiej*, ed. M. Urbanowski, Krakow 2003: Arcana.

⁹¹ Retro press, <http://retropress.pl/category/wiadomosci-literackie/page/2/> (9.01.2020).

In interwar Poland, the reader also had access to communist periodicals, the distribution of which was semi-legal. Their position was not strong, and many would be shut down rather eagerly by administrative authorities. Those worthy of note include *Nowa Trybuna*, the very first daily *Sztandar Socjalizmu*, *Przełom*, *Czerwony Sztandar*, *Żołnierz-Robotnik*, and *Kolejarz-Komunista*, none of which have been digitised and made available online.

5. Conclusions

The press constitutes an invaluable source of knowledge about bygone Poland, historic events of national and regional importance, and past trends and novelities. The analysis of the selected political periodicals establishes that the major 1920s titles have already been digitised, with the exception of several socialist journals (e.g. *Robotnik*) and communist ephemera. Essentially, the most important publications have been converted digitally, which greatly facilitates the work of researchers studying the press and mass media of the period.

In some cases, however, a query in FBC may return an inaccurate result, and a given periodical can be found online more quickly through a link in its Wikipedia entry or via Google, which refers the user directly to its digital version. In other cases, it is NUKAT that proves to be more effective. Searching for a newspaper whose title was changed due to a merger or transformation (as aptly illustrated by the example of *Gazeta Warszawska*) is by no means an easy task, since the searcher should not only have an extensive knowledge of its history but should also be familiar with its bibliographic data to avoid confusing it with a completely different journal with the same title. Another concern is the issue of 'doubled' materials that are created in the process of digitisation. This results in certain titles being listed in several digital libraries, which undeniably stems from a lack of coordination on a nationwide scale.

Finally, what also deserves to be mentioned is the numerous online indices of periodicals, which will prove extremely useful for researchers. The Digital Library of Wielkopolska offers a digitised list of political press publications from 1921 to 1925.⁹² An interesting registry entitled *Press in Digital Libraries* is also

⁹² *Pierwszy Polski Spis Gazet i Czasopism Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dodatkiem prasy polskiej zagranicą 1921 R. I*, <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/metadatasearch?action=AdvancedSearchAction&type=-3&val1=Title:Pierwszy+Polski+Spis+Gazet+i+Czasopism+Rzeczypospolitej+Polskiej+z+dodatkiem+prasy+polskiej+zagranic%C4%85+1921+R.1;Spis+gazet+i+czasopism>

available on the website of the Library of the Catholic University of Lublin.⁹³ Internet forums such as historycy.org⁹⁴ contain posts written by users looking for links to old periodicals or information about blogs on pre-war specialised press (stamp collecting, film, women's magazines, etc.) that include front cover images.⁹⁵ These materials can be found in repositories of digital libraries, which are also supplemented by digital archives, e.g. the National Digital Archives, which, inter alia, boasts a collection of over 188,000 photographs of *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*.⁹⁶ Other solutions include digitised catalogues of old newspapers⁹⁷ and lists of periodicals within a given collection.⁹⁸ Even though the aforementioned sources of information on interwar Polish press are meant to facilitate modern research, they may also prove beneficial to other users of the Internet, i.e. university students, hobbyists, and old press aficionados.

Bibliography

- Czarnik O.S., *Ideowe i literackie wybory "Robotnika" w latach 1918–1939*, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawa 1996.
- Dobek-Ostrowska B. (ed.), *Comparative Media Systems. European and Global Perspectives*, CEU Press, Budapest 2010.
- Dobek-Ostrowska B., *Polish Media System in a Comparative Perspective. Media in Politics, Politics in Media*, Peter Lang, Berlin 2019.
- Douglas A. R., *Congress, the Press, and Political Accountability*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New York 2004.

Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej oraz poradnik reklamowy. Rocznik trzeci 1924/25 rok, <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/edition/52951?id=52951&from=publication> (9.01.2020).

⁹³ Library of the Catholic University of Lublin, *Prasa z bibliotek cyfrowych*, http://www.bu.kul.pl/prasa-z-bibliotek-cyfrowych,art_47123.html (9.01.2020).

⁹⁴ Historycy.org, <http://www.historycy.org/index.php?showtopic=31099> (9.01.2020).

⁹⁵ Informatorium, <http://informatorium.ksiaznica.torun.pl/tag/gazety-przedwojenne/> (9.01.2020).

⁹⁶ National Digital Archives, <https://www.nac.gov.pl/archiwum-audiowizualne/zasob/spis-zespolow/> (9.01.2020).

⁹⁷ Wrocław University Library, *Zdigitalizowany katalog czasopism*, <https://www.bu.uni.wroc.pl/katalogi/zdigitalizowany-czasopism> (9.01.2020).

⁹⁸ *Kopie cyfrowe czasopism ze zbiorów bibliotecznych Archiwum Państwowego w Łodzi*, <http://www.lodz.ap.gov.pl/cyfrowecz.pdf> (9.01.2020).

- Habielski R., *Wolność czy odpowiedzialność. Prasa i polityka w II Rzeczypospolitej*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Aspra-JR, Warszawa 2013.
- Hallin D. C., P. Mancini P., *Comparing Media System. Three Models of Media and Politics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York 2004.
- Jamieson K. H., P. Waldman P., *The Press Effect*, Oxford 2003.
- Mielczarek T., *Prasa w systemie politycznym Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej (1918–1939)*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Humanitas, Sosnowiec 2009.
- Notkowski A., *Polska prasa prowincjonalna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej 1918–1939*, PWN, Warszawa 1982.
- Paczkowski A., *Prasa codzienna Warszawy w latach 1918–1939*, PIW, Warszawa 1983.
- Paczkowski A., *Prasa polityczna ruchu ludowego (1918–1939)*, PWN, Warszawa 1970.
- Paczkowski A., *Prasa polska 1918–1939*, PWN, Warszawa 1980.
- Perloff R. M., *Political Communication: Politics, Press, and Public in America*, Mahwah Taylor and Francis, New York, London, 2008.
- Żuławnik M., *Polska prasa polityczno-informacyjna na Mazowszu Północnym w latach 1918–1939*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warszawa 2011.