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**ROCZNIK
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Narodziny młodzieżowej prasy politycznej w Polsce (1899–1918)

The birth of young people's political press in Poland (1899–1918)*

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ABSTRAKT
Artykuł zawiera syntetyczną prezentację rozwoju młodzieżowej prasy politycznej w Polsce w latach 1899–1918. Przedstawiono jej genezę, uwarunkowania, geografie oraz typologiczne zróżnicowanie. Badania ujawniły, że na początku XX wieku dominowały dwa wyrównane systemy prasowe (młodych narodowców oraz socjalistów). Prasa innych młodzieżowych nurtów ideowych (ludowców, chadeków i konserwatystów) była wyraźnie słabsza.

ABSTRACT
This article presents an outline history of the Polish political press addressed to the younger generation of readers in the years 1899–1918. It contains a summary account of its origins, socio-political contexts, geographical distribution as well as its typological differentiation. The data show that at the beginning of the 20th century that market was dominated by two contenders, the nationalists and the socialists, while titles espousing other ideological and party-political options (the agrarian, the Christian Democrat, or the conservative) were trailing far behind.

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Summary

The aim of the study is to provide a synthetic presentation of the political youth press development in Poland from its beginnings (1899) to the end of World War I. In the following chapters its origin, conditions, geography and typological differentiation are presented. The research revealed that at the beginning of the 20th century, two equal press systems (young nationalists and socialists) were dominating. Although they differed in number (nationalists — 32 titles; socialists — 64), they had a similar number of influential titles, among which 9 nationalist periodicals (including “Tekka”, “Sprawa”, “Zarzewie”, “Wici”) and 7 socialist titles (including “Promień”, “Zjednoczenie”, “Młodość”) stood out. The other youth ideological trends were less visible. The young Christian Democrats and Conservatives had 10 titles (including “Prąd”, “Filareta”), and the peasant party 5 (including “Młodzi idą...” and “Drużyna”).

Streszczenie

Celem opracowania jest syntetyczna prezentacja rozwoju młodzieżowej prasy politycznej w Polsce od jej powstania (1899) do zakończenia I wojny światowej. W kolejnych rozdziałach przedstawiono jej genezę, uwarunkowania, geografie oraz typologiczne zróżnicowanie. Badania ujawniły, że na początku XX wieku dominowały dwa wyrównane systemy prasowe (młodych narodowców oraz socjalistów). Jakkolwiek różniły się one pod względem liczebnym (narodowcy — 32 tytuły; socjaliści — 64) dysponowały jednak podobną liczbą tytułów wpływowych, wśród których wyróżniało się 9 periodyków narodowych (m.in. „Tekka”, „Sprawa”, „Zarzewie”, „Wici”) oraz 7 tytułów socjalistycznych (m.in. „Promień”, „Zjednoczenie”, „Młodość”). Prasa innych młodzieżowych nurtów ideowych była wyraźnie słabsza. Młodzi chadecy i konserwatyści dysponowali 10 tytułami (m.in. „Prąd”, „Filareta”), zaś ludowcy 5 (m.in. „Młodzi idą...” i „Drużyna”).

1. The origins

The beginnings of Polish youth press date back to the early 1820s. In literature published on the subject, evidence can be found that first periodicals were created in manuscript and edited by students as early as in the very year 1820.¹ At the same time, student political magazines were being established of which “Dekada Polska” (Jan.1 – March 21, 1821), an agency of one secret academic organization, can serve as the first documented example.² With time, academic opinion magazines with intellectual aspirations appeared, the protoplast of which was the Wrocław-based “Znicz” (April 1851 – April 1852),³ as well as social and literary youth magazines, whose history begins with the Lviv-based “Czytelnia dla Młodzieży” (March 1, 1860 – Dec. 21, 1861).⁴

The decades to come saw their gradual development — at first, in foreign centers of Polish academic youth (Switzerland, Belgium, Germany — 9 titles), then in Polish university centers (Cracow, Lviv — 11 titles).⁵ Among other periodicals in this group, both issues of “Przyszłość” magazine (Geneva 1866; Zurich 1873–1874) made history, and so did several Cracow magazines, including “Przegląd Akademicki” (1880–1883), “Przyszłość” (1883–1884) and “Ognisko” (1898–1890). However, the common features of the afore-enumerated periodicals were their ephemerality and narrow range of impact, so they could not exert any considerable influence on young people’s opinions.

Despite their aforementioned limited range, the first academic periodicals played an important part in crystallizing the ideological face of Polish youth press. Already in the eighth decade of the 19th century, foreign student organizations began to integrate. In 1887, inspired by the clandestine Związek Młodzieży Polskiej “Zet” [The Association of Polish Youth “Zet” (hereinafter referred to as Zet)], a union was founded in Geneva called Zjednoczenie Towarzystw Młodzieży Polskiej Zagranicą

¹ A. Kamiński, *Polskie związki młodzieży (1804–1831)*, Warsaw 1963, p. 124.

² J. Skowronek, *Młodzież polska i jej organizacje w ruchu narodowym 1795–1864*, Warsaw 1994, p. 50.

³ E.J. Kuś, „Znicz” — *pismo zbiorowe młodzieży polskiej we Wrocławiu w latach 1851–1852*, “Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej” 1979, no 2, pp. 9–24.

⁴ J. Maciejewski, *Przedburzowcy: z problematyki przelomu między romantyzmem a pozytywizmem*, Kraków 1971, pp. 143–207.

⁵ A. Karbowski, *Młodzież polska akademicka za granicą 1795–1910*, Kraków 1910.

[The Union of Polish Youth Associations Abroad (ZTMPZ)]. In the initial period both organizations worked closely together. Until the end of the 19th century Zet and ZTMPZ united young people with different political views (both nationalists and socialists), who worked for the benefit of the broadly defined “Polish cause”. It was only in 1899 that a split occurred. Then Związek Polskiej Młodzieży Postępowej [The Association of Polish Progressive Youth] (ZPMP) emerged, which favored socialists, while the remaining part of ZTMPZ leaned towards more nationalist sentiments.⁶ This split coincided with the debut of two Lviv-based periodicals associated with the ideology of both sides: the progressive one (“Promień”, Feb. 1, 1899) and nationalist one (“Tekka”, Feb. 12, 1899). Upon their foundation, the academic periodicals changed their character, as the entire burden of political discussion shifted towards the popular sociopolitical youth press.

2. Conditions. Statistics

A characteristic feature of the Polish youth press at the beginning of the 20th century was its strong political commitment. The greatest influence was then exerted by Związek Młodzieży Polskiej [The Association of Polish Youth (the so-called Second Zet)], reacti vated in 1898, which brought together students with nationalist convictions. The organization also had an influence on the school youth, and its activities were carried out through secret youth clubs “Przyszłość” [“The Future”, PET] and their district counterparts, i. e. Organizacja Młodzieży Narodowej, “Czerwona Róża” [The National Youth Organization, “Red Rose”]. The second organization was “Promieniści” [“The Radiant”], who were disseminating socialist ideology. The movement headquarters was the editorial office of the Lviv-based “Promień” from where the activity of provincial circles was coordinated. Both indicated courses of activity were supported by foreign organizations, allied with the aforementioned, i. e. the nationalist ZMPZ and the progressive ZPMP.

With the development of youth organizations, the agitation campaign intensified and the number of published press titles increased. Initially, the growth was slow as the organizations were still in the formative phase. However, starting from 1905, their number began to grow rapidly. A total of 119 such periodicals were established between 1899 and 1918 (Table 1); among them, the most favored socialist (54.6%) or nationalist ideologies (26.9%). A lower support, calculated by the number of titles, was given to the Christian democratic and clerical movements (8.4%), and such was also the case with peasant ideology (4.2%).

⁶ P. Waingertner, *Ekspozytury i wpływy Związku Młodzieży Polskiej „Zet” w okresie zaborów (1886–1914)*, “Przegląd Nauk Historycznych” 2017, no 1, pp. 137–165.

Table 1

Typology and geography of sociopolitical youth press (1899–1918)

Type	The Austrian partition	The Russian partition	The Prussian partition	Partitioning countries	Foreign countries	In total	
						N	%
Nationalist	7	20	4	1	0	32	26.9
Progressive and socialist	11	44	0	7	3	65	54.6
Peasant	2	3	0	0	0	5	4.2
Christian democratic and clerical	1	2	3	0	4	10	8.4
Other	3	2	0	2	0	7	5.9
In total	24	71	7	10	7	119	100.0

Source: Author's own calculations.

Table 2

Sustainability of sociopolitical youth press (1899–1918)

Type	1 year and less		2–4 years		5 years and more		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Nationalist	12	37.5%	11	34.4%	9	28.1%	32	100
Progressive and socialist	42	65.2%	16	24.2%	7	10.6%	66	100%
Other	10	42.9%	8	38.1%	4	19.0%	21	100%

Source: Author's own calculations.

However, the range defined by the number of press initiatives is not a reliable method, as it is deformed by ephemera. Much better results shall be achieved by taking into account permanent periodicals (published for at least 5 years — see Table 2) as well as influential titles. The number of periodicals qualified according to this principle was much lower and amounted to 20 titles.

Young nationalists had the strongest press since they controlled 9 titles, the backbone of which comprised “Teka” (1899–1912), “Sprawa” (1912–1915), “Znicz” (1906) and “Baczość” (1907), “Pobudka” (1908–1914), “Dla Polski” (1910–1918) and “Brzask” (1911–1914) as well as 2 magazines by breakaway groups (or splitters) titled “Zarzewie” (1909–1915) and “Wici” (1911–1916). A slightly less numerous was the body of magazines belonging to the progressive and socialist groups (7), among which the most distinguished titles were as follows: “Promień” (1899–1912), “Zjednoczenie” (1905–1911), “Młodość” (1905–1906), “Mównica” (1906), “Jutro”

(1910–1912), “Ruń” (1913–1914), and “Głos Młodych” (1913–1914). The weakest press was that of the peasant and Christian democratic movements (2 titles each). In the group of magazines addressed to the youth, the dominant position was taken by “Młodzi idą...” (1911–1914) and “Drużyna” (1912–1915), while “Prąd” (1909–1915) and “Filareta” (1910–1915) led the way among the clerical ones.

In terms of geography, i. e. when mapping the publishing activity of the times, the centers in Galicia proved to be the leading ones. The most important magazines were published in Lviv (“Teką”, “Promień”, “Zarzewie”) and Cracow (“Sprawa”, “Zjednoczenie”). Although several important magazines appeared in Warsaw during the so-called Thaw period (1906–1907) as official and openly printed publications (“Znicz”, “Baczość”, “Młodość”, and “Mównica”), they would admittedly only come out for a short time. Only magazines printed in secret (“Jutro”, “Dla Polski”, “Wici”) survived a little longer, still their range was narrow, limited to members of the organization. Apart from the three centers indicated above, three more cities can be mentioned: Poznań (where “Brzask” and “Filareta” were published), Vilnius (“Pobudka”), and St. Petersburg (“Głos Młodych”). The press activity in other centers was much lower and limited to bulletins intended for local activists.

A lot of information is provided by a chronological analysis (Figure 1). The scale of changes evidences that the potential of nationalists and socialists to publish press was similar. In 1899–1901, both groups had one title each (“Teką” and “Promień”),

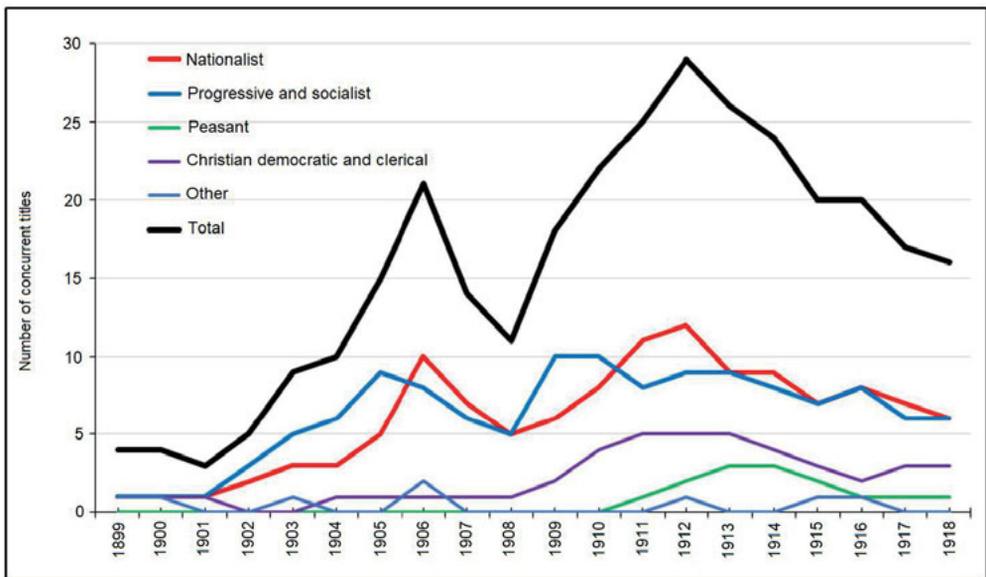


Figure 1
Sociopolitical and cultural youth press (1899–1918) — market dynamics

Source: Author's own calculations.

while during the school strike the number of publications of both movements oscillated between 8–10 titles. Although in 1908 their number dropped temporarily, in the following years it returned to the state of 1905 and even exceeded it (8–12). Not until World War I did a clear decline occur; as a result, in November 1918, both groups had 6 organs each. The activity of other groups was less dynamic. The Christian democrats and conservatives started a wider press initiative only after 1910 and continued it with a changeable luck until the outbreak of the war, while the peasant movement activists printed youth periodicals systematically only in the years 1911–1915.

3. Young nationalists' press

The body of youth magazines propagating nationalist ideas in the years 1899–1918 consisted of 32 titles, with the most influential titles published in Galicia. The district constituted a perfect location for the activity of the National Democratic Party (NDP), as from the mid-1890s it was the center of the main forces of the National League (NL). The leading ideologists among nationalists were located in Lviv or Cracow (Roman Dmowski, Jan Ludwik Popławski, Zygmunt Balicki). It was there that the major NDP papers were published (“Wiek XX” and “Słowo Polskie”) as well as LN periodicals (“Przegląd Wszechpolski”, “Polak”, and “Ojczyzna”). In Cracow, there was a permanent press transfer point behind the cordon, served by the local Zet.⁷ Galician high schools and universities also provided convenient operating conditions. The academics were gathered around the “Ogniwo” Association, while students in secondary schools were controlled by PET student clubs which existed in almost every junior high school. Although the number of Galician youth magazines with nationalist proclivities was not large (7), the most important magazines were published here: “Tekka”, then “Sprawa” as well as “Zarzewie” — the central organ of the breakaway groups (splitters).

“Tekka” was the most important paper of the movement. From the very first issue, the management of the editorial office was taken up by Adam Skałkowski who ran it together with Antoni Plutyński and Stanisław Stroński. Throughout the whole period of publication of the magazine, the editorial office did not disclose its composition, disclosing only the responsible editors, who usually changed every year. They were in turn: Edward Neumann, Jan Leszczyński, Jan Karłowicz, Antoni Plutyński, Bro-

⁷ S. Kozicki, *Historia Ligi Narodowej*, Londyn 1964, pp. 335–336; J. Myśliński, *Prasa wydawana przez Ligę Narodową w Krakowie przed 1905 rokiem*, “Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” vol. 2 (1963), pp. 32–56.

niśław Wirstlein, again A. Plutyński, Bolesław Bator, Józef Browiński, Edward Golachowski and Antoni Gałusza.⁸

The first issue of “Teka” was published on 15 February 1899. The monthly was developing rapidly and from the beginning of 1900 it was included in the press system of the National League. Therefore, it used the clandestine system of transferring the press to the Russian partition⁹ and received subsidies. Originally “Teka” was printed every two weeks (until 15 July 1899), then the frequency was changed to monthly. The periodical appeared regularly at these intervals until the end of 1905, usually providing readers with 12 issues a year, 50–70 pages each. The period of 1899–1905 was a time of peak development for the editorial office. At that time, the coverage and circulation increased, to reach the level of 1,000 copies from 1900. The total volume of “Teka” in the years 1899–1905 was 3,800 pages, filled with serious journalism and a rich information service. Later, the magazine lost its dynamics (in 1906 only one issue was published). In the years 1907–1908, corrective measures were taken and the monthly was published more frequently (a total of 758 pages were printed), but this did not prevent it from collapsing. In 1909, only one double issue was published; in 1910 — three, and the magazine fell silent. Although it revived in 1912 after a year-long break, in the face of the intensifying breakdown within the national movement, it did not win the readers’ approval and collapsed.

Throughout its existence, “Teka” had uniform content and layout. Admittedly, little can be said about its authorship, as journalistic texts were signed with code names or pseudonyms. The layout of each issue was logical and carefully thought out. The political section was constantly present, where program articles, commentaries and appeals were published. Scientific passages also occupied an important portion in the monthly, as well as reviews and the literary section, where poetry and prose were periodically printed. Much attention was also paid to information, systematically publishing correspondence, reports, a chronicle, and obituaries.

An analysis of the contents of “Teka” (Table 3) confirms the above remarks. Among journalistic texts, political issues (32% of the content), problems of education (12.1%) and literary criticism (8.9%) dominated, while within the information section — correspondence (23.7%) and chronicles (14.5%). The dominance of political texts was a natural phenomenon. In the years 1899–1905, when relations with NL were correct, political articles were a simple reflection of the nationalist agenda. The journalists of “Teka” wrote about national ideals, referred to the idea of the continuity of national life through the cult of historical tradition and commented on current events, guided by the nationalist *raison d’état*. Prior to 1905, “Teka” also featured

⁸ J. Hulewicz, *Udział Galicji w walce o szkołę polską 1899–1914*, [in:] *Nasza walka o szkołę polską 1901–1917*, vol. 2, ed. B. Nawroczyński, Warsaw 1934, p. 461.

⁹ J. Myśliński, *Grupy polityczne Królestwa Polskiego w zachodniej Galicji 1895–1904*, Warsaw 1967, pp. 174–175.

Table 3

“Teka” topics in 1902

Genre	Type / subject	Frequency		Content ratio			
		N	%	S	%	S	%
Journalism, passages	Politics. Ideology	29.0	16.7	178.5	32.0	308.3	55.3
	Education. Schools	13.0	7.5	67.3	12.1		
	Literary criticism. Reviews	9.0	5.2	49.5	8.9		
	Sciences	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
	Arts and social sciences	1.0	0.6	4.0	0.7		
	Religion	2.0	1.1	9.0	1.6		
Literature	Short story. Essay	2.0	1.1	14.0	2.5	16.0	2.9
	Poetry	3.0	1.7	2.0	0.4		
Information, letters	Correspondence	54.0	31.0	132.2	23.7	213.2	38.2
	Chronicles	41.0	23.6	81.0	14.5		
Other	Editorials	20.0	11.5	20.5	3.7	20.5	3.7
	Total	174.0	100	558.0	100	558.0	100

Source: Author's own calculations. On the basis of an exhaustive analysis of the issues published in 1902. N=174 statements, 558 pages.

a growing criticism of German and Russian culture and a tendency to emphasize original national artistic work. It was echoed by aversion to foreign, cosmopolitan currents and fighting the tendencies of tri-loyalism. The editors of “Teka” acted uncompromisingly against their political opponents. They fought socialism, which they described as “the epidemic of Marxism”. They equally criticized the conservatives, accusing them of being austrophilic and clerical, as well as the peasant movement they disliked.

From 1906, “Teka” lost its momentum. Numerous factors contributed to the loss of condition, the main impact of which was the school strike and the actions of R. Dmowski, who, having condemned the strike, entered active politics and took up a tactical political game, which resulted in the pursuit of an alliance with Russia. The steps taken by the NL leader caused bitterness in the ranks of Zet. In the years 1908–1910 “Teka” entered a period of decline. Zet's breakaway from NL (July 1908) meant that as early as in the spring of 1909 dividing movements intensified in its ranks. As a result, the Lviv weekly lost its support and funding.¹⁰ In the years 1909–

¹⁰ J. Hulewicz, *Udział Galicji w walce...*, p. 495.

1910, several volumes were published. From September 1910 until the end of 1911, the magazine was not published. In January 1912 it appeared once again. The new editorial office, led by Leon Niemczycki, managed to survive the mere three months and the issue number 3/4 finally ended the era of the magazine. It is worth adding that the last editorial office was not related to the dividers, nor the Zet. Enunciations on this subject came from the activists of the former Zet, who informed that the new "Tekka" was unjustifiably usurping the right to the title.

The Cracow-based "**Sprawa**", established in May 1912, was the official successor of "Tekka". The magazine was inspired by Zet and was to fill the gap left by the Lviv-based "Tekka" and the Warsaw-based "Znicz". Formally, the editor-in-chief was Tadeusz Dubiecki, but the actual editor was Kazimierz Wyszyński. The editors gradually distanced themselves from the ideology of the National Democratic Party and slowly fell under the influence of Józef Piłsudski. The journalism of the magazine was a reflection of this process, therefore, the content of "Sprawa" was dominated by attempts to reconcile the ideology of the nationalists with the political postulates of the pro-independence orientation.

The magazine was published as a monthly from May 1912 to May 1914. During that time, 19 substantial volumes with a total of over 900 pages were published. After a one-year break for the war, in April 1915 another issue was published, but it was the last one. The circulation of the magazine is unknown, but it was certainly close to this of "Tekka". This hypothesis is supported by both the central nature of the periodical and the fact that part of the edition was printed on the Bible paper and smuggled behind the cordon.¹¹ From 1913, "Sprawa" was also frequently confiscated, which was associated with passages presenting Galicia as "Polish Piedmont" that could represent all Polish affairs.¹²

"Sprawa" represented high standards. It constantly conducted serious, nationwide discussions, emphasizing them in the spirit of the former ideals of NL. Unlike "Zarzewie", it argued that the guiding principle in the independence policy, must be the notion of national interest, and that the weakest point of their program was the underestimating of the social issue. For this reason, the journalists of "Sprawa" paid a lot of attention to an in-depth analysis of social issues and considered it one of their main tasks.¹³ Contrary to "Tekka", the Cracow's "Sprawa" showed little interest in the problems of education, popularization of science and literary criticism. On the other hand, it did have an extensive, well-run information department.

The third influential periodical was the Lviv monthly "**Zarzewie**", published from November 1909 by the dividers. The magazine was inspired by the activists

¹¹ J. Myśliński, *Studia nad polską prasą społeczno-polityczną w zachodniej Galicji 1905–1914*, Warsaw 1970, p. 212.

¹² K.W[yszyński], *Kilka uwag o Piemencie polskim*, "Sprawa" 1913, no 2, pp. 65–69.

¹³ J. Hulewicz, *Udział Galicji w walce...*, pp. 496–497.

from the so-called independent Zet, which was formed as a result of the secession in 1909. The organization initially did not have its own doctrine. It was formed against the background of criticism of the tactical moves of NL and the National Democratic Party after 1906. Their ideology was in line with the old Zet ideology, but instead of the concept of “nation” the concept of “state” was emphasized. Since the main goal of the movement was to regain its own state, the journalists of “Zarzewie” called for the formation of its own military and the creation of a Polish armed force. Initially, the movement did not have an official name and among academic youth it operated under the name of the Union of Independence Youth (ZMN), only from 1913 it was called “Zarzewie” — the Union of Associations and Groups of Polish Independence Youth.

A showcase issue of “Zarzewie” was published near the end of 1909. It contained several passages, comments, reviews, correspondence, and a short chronicle. From the beginning of 1910, it was published as a monthly, was professionally edited and had a graphic design imitating “Teka”. The peak of its development falls on the years 1910–1911. 24 issues were published then, with a total volume of 722 pages. In 1912, the first symptoms of regression were evident, as only six issues were published, and from July onwards, the magazine fell silent. It reappeared in 1913, but only five lean issues (111 pages in total) were published. In 1914, before the war broke out, only two issues were published. Numerous materials on politics and military affairs, were printed in “Zarzewie”, which attracted the attention of censors, hence the magazine was often confiscated. Interferences intensified especially since 1912, which resulted in closing the periodical for six months. In the subsequent years, censorship confiscated almost every issue. The circulation of the magazine was relatively high. The first issue was printed in 1,000 copies; in 1910 and 1911 they were periodically reduced (500–750 copies), but then in 1912 they increased to 1,500 copies, a significant part of which was printed on thin paper and smuggled into the Kingdom¹⁴.

The monthly acted as a central organ, so a lot of space in it was devoted to program matters. The ideology of “Zarzewie” supporters, however, was not too profound compared to Zet, as this grouping was primarily a party of the deed. Most of the ideological texts were the editors’ collective work or were written by Feliks Młynarski (Jan Brzoza). The weakness of the “Zarzewie” ideology was its attitude to social issues. Although the ideologists of the movement tried to deepen this issue, they did not manage to go beyond general terms.¹⁵ Many texts were devoted to educational matters. Andrzej Małkowski, Henryk Bagiński and Mieczysław Neugebauer-Norwid contributed significantly to the development of these ideas, spreading the ideas of Polish scouting in “Zarzewie”, and then developing them in

¹⁴ J. Myśliński, *Nakłady prasy społeczno-politycznej...*, part 2, iss. 2, p. 93.

¹⁵ J. Hulewicz, *Udział Galicji w walce...*, p. 497.

the editorial of “Skaut.”¹⁶ In the initial phase, the “Zarzewie” monthly had a nationwide coverage. However, along with the expansion of the organizational structures in the Kingdom, it lost its importance. War events decided its fate. With the commencement of the frontline operations, most of the Lviv activists became involved in military operations, so the volume published in June 1914 turned out to be the last issue.

Apart from “Tekka”, “Sprawa” and “Zarzewie”, other magazines of young nationalists had much lesser importance. Four ephemera appeared in Galicia: two Lviv-based (“Nowe Hasła” 1906–1907 and “Wici” 1912) and two Cracow-based (“Młodzież” 1911, “Miesięcznik Młodzieży Polskiej” 1912). Also in Warsaw, before the outbreak of the war, the press activity was low. Except for clandestine periodicals, only three legal magazines had some significance (“Zarzewie” 1906 as well as “Znicz” 1906 and “Baczność” 1907). This state of affairs did not change during the wartime. Several publications were issued irregularly at that time, such as Zarzewie-related “Dla Polski” (1911–1918) and the organ of the National Youth Organization “Miesięcznik Młodzieży Polskiej” (1916–1921). Outside Warsaw, ephemeral magazines were also published in the provinces. Own organs, mainly manuscripts, were copied, among others in Lublin (2), Włocławek (1) and Łódź (1). Organizations in the partitioned territories and in the interior of the empire also showed some activity: Vilnius (2), Kaunas (1), and Moscow (1). In this group, only the “Pobudka” monthly (April 1908 – April/May 1914) stood out, which was printed in Vilnius for seven years. A separate phenomenon on the press map was the Poznań-based “Brzask” — published continuously in the years 1911–1914, and then revived after the war.

4. Progressive and socialist youth groups’ press

The body of youth magazines that propagated the left-wing ideology (the “progressive” as they defined themselves) totaled 65 titles, which means that it constituted the largest segment of the contemporary youth political press. This dominance however was apparent as the vast majority of titles were secret ephemeras or titles issued occasionally. Only 7 periodicals were of actual importance: two Galician periodicals (“Promień”, “Zjednoczenie”), four periodicals published in Warsaw (“Młodość”, “Mównica”, “Jutro”, “Ruń”) and one in Saint Petersburg “Głos Młodych”.

Contrary to the nationalists, who were under the protection of Liga Narodowa [the National League], the publishers of the progressive periodicals have had no

¹⁶ W. Potkański, *Polski ruch paramilitarny na terenie Galicji przed wybuchem wielkiej wojny w roku 1914*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny” 2009, no 2, pp. 175–196.

support from the side of political parties for a long time. Both the Polish Socialist Party [Polska Partia Socjalistyczna] and the Polish Social and Democratic Party of Galicia and Silesia [Polska Partia Socjalno-Demokratyczna Galicji i Śląska] have not been interested in creating youth organizations. It changed only in 1909 when the Polish Socialist Party — Revolutionary Fraction [PPS-Fracja Rewolucyjna] created Filarecja that is the Union of the Associations of the Polish Independence Youth [Unia Stowarzyszeń Polskiej Młodzieży Niepodległościowej]. The lack of support in the parties caused that the organizations of young socialist in comparison to the nationalists were weak and poorly organized. Due to its radical program the socialist ideology caused antipathy in many social circles. The conservatives were afraid of the social revolution slogan and of the fight of classes, whereas people of moderate worldview and in people's circles — of anti-clericalism. As a result, the proponents of progressive ideas were tolerated by the society worse than their peer nationalists.¹⁷

The first organizations of progressive youth were formed in Galicia. For many years they have been led by the organization “Promieniści” with its central point in the office of the Lvov newspaper “**Promień**” established in February 1899. The history of the magazine can be divided into two periods: the years 1899–1908 when it ran independent editorial policy and the years 1909–1912 when it was under the influence of the Polish Socialist Party — Revolutionary Fraction.¹⁸

In the years 1899–1900 the editorial office was managed by: Władysław Wolski, Leon Winfeld and Stefan Odrzywolski, then their obligations were exercised with breaks by: Janusz Stanisław Kachnikiewicz and Zygmunt Kisielewski (1901–1903), Marian Kukiel (1904–1905) and Jan Szczyrek (1908–1912). From the beginning of the periodical's existence, there was a rule established that for security reasons the position of the responsible editor was entrusted to persons other than those in the front line although the editorial office was in fact managed by the conspiratorial committee. In the following years, the magazine was signed by among others: Aleksander Wieleżyński, Władysław Matzke, J. S. Kachnikiewicz, Tadeusz Hartleb, Ostwald F. Dawid, Michał Wyrostek, again T. Hartleb and since 1908 by J. Szczyrek.¹⁹ At that time “Promień” was expanding almost uninterruptedly. One magazine was published regularly every month. In the years 1899–1900 there was a print of 250–260 pages annually; in the year 1901 — 340 pages and in the period of 1902–1905 — 400–540 pages. Such cycle was not interrupted even by frequent confiscations, which forced the editorial staff to print new editions. In the year 1900, 5 out of

¹⁷ A. Garlicka, *Niepodległość Polski w programach organizacji młodzieżowych przed I wojną światową*, “Pokolenia” 1968, no 4, pp. 7–14.

¹⁸ A. Garlicka, *Czasopisma filareckie 1909–1914*. part. 1, “Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1970, iss. 1, pp. 64–65.

¹⁹ M. Zaczyński, „Młodość jest rzeźbiarką co wykuwa żywot cały” — z dziejów ruchu niepodległościowego w Galicji (o lwowskim „Promieniu”), “Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historycznoliterackie” iss. 53 (1984), p. 145.

11 magazines (i.e. 45%) were confiscated, then in the following years adequately 1901 (63%), 1902 (100%), 1903 (72%), 1904 (90%), 1905 (54%) and 1906 (63%). Thanks to supportive work of field circles of “Promień”, which were active in majority of Galician middle schools [*gimnazja*], the monthly magazine was distributed on the area of the entire Galicia and it reached to majority of readers in the Polish Kingdom [*Królestwo*].²⁰ In the year 1899 its edition totaled 500 copies and in 1906 it increased up to 1200 copies.²¹

Table 4

Matters discussed in “Promień” in 1902

Genre	Type / subject	Frequency		Area			
		N	%	S	%	S	%
Journalism, articles	Politics. Ideology	29	14.4	142.4	26.2	294.6	54.2
	Education	7	3.5	34.8	6.4		
	Literary criticism. Reviews	13	6.4	59.4	10.9		
	Science	2	1.0	8.3	1.5		
	Human and social arts	7	3.5	47.2	8.7		
	Religion	1	0.5	2.5	0.5		
Fiction	Stories. Essays	8	4.0	29.7	5.5	31.7	5.8
	Poetry	2	1.0	2.0	0.4		
Information, letters	Letters	66	32.7	143.9	26.5	196.5	36.1
	Chronicles	45	22.3	52.6	9.7		
Other	Editorial	22	10.9	21.2	3.9	21.2	3.9
Total		202	100	544	100	544	100

Source: Author's own calculations. On the basis of the analysis of all numbers issued in 1902, N = 202 of utterances, 544 pages.

The analysis of the content of the monthly magazine (Table 4) shows that it used almost identical layout of the materials as the competitive “Teka” (see Table 3). The differences were insignificant and regarded only a little bit smaller amount of political texts (“Promień” — 26.2%, „Teka” — 32.0%) and educational texts (6.4% and

²⁰ S. Loewenstein, *Młodzież promienista w Galicji*, “Niepodległość” 1934, vol. 10, iss. 2, p. 229.

²¹ J. Myśliński, *Nakłady prasy społeczno-politycznej w Galicji w latach 1881–1913*, part 2, “Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1965, iss. 2, p. 93.

12.1%) and simultaneously a larger amount of articles in the scope of humanities (8.7% and 0.7%) and fiction (5.8% and 2.9%). The amount of information texts was almost identical.

In the years 1899–1904 the publicist activity of “Promień” focused on two matters: formulation of the ideological program and criticism of the Galician school connected with spreading of the idea of self-education. The political program was created slowly and propagated very discretely. Its maturing can be observed in the first two years of publishing the magazine when the editorial staff attempts “to awake the Galician youth from the nap” and to spread independence slogans. As of 1901 the program of “Promień” becomes clear. The editorial staff start to identify with the socialist ideology and in the pages of the magazine there appear demands of social reconstruction. In the years 1903–1904 “Promień” leaves the position of the well-wisher and becomes the zealous believer of socialism.²² More and more attention is paid to commenting on the doctrine and discussing socialist literature. With regard to political opponents the magazine presented a position typical for socialistic press: it resisted the attacks of the national democrat press, fought the conservatists and clerical objectives and was favorable for the people’s movement. The organization “Promieniści” fought the tri-loyalism and contraposed it the slogan of tri-partition solidarity.

A separate direction of activities of the editorial staff was the criticism of the Galician school system and educational policy. The authorities were accused of parsimony, hindering the access of folk to education, poor organization of schools and the throwing its weight about clerical system. It was also emphasized that the didactical program performed in middle schools was irrelevant to contemporary times and old-fashioned. In order to counteract the above, the editorial staff proposed their own self-education program, which focused mainly on natural and socio-economic education. The program consisted in independent acquisition of source literature and discussing the subjects at the meetings in secret circles. It is worth mentioning that the program developed by “Promień” significantly differed from the program parallelly published by “Tekka”, which appreciated more education regarding Polish matters — history and domestic literature.²³

The echoes of the events from the year 1905 were strongly reflected on the pages of “Promień”. At first the magazine welcomed with enthusiasm the revolution in the Polish Kingdom [*Królestwo*] with enthusiasm, which was perceived as an announcement of the new historic era, then it reported in detail the events of the school

²² M. Grzybowska, *W kręgu inspiracji niepodległościowych — ruch „promienistych” (publicystyka polityczna grupy młodzieży galicyjskiej okresu poprzedzającego I wojnę światową)*, “Studia Historyczne” 1980 iss. 1, pp. 31–47.

²³ H. Smyczyński, *Rozwój samokształcenia wśród uczniów gimnazjów galicyjskich na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, [in:] *Z tradycji kulturalnych Rzeszowa i Rzeszowszczyzny*, ed. S. Frycie et al., Rzeszów 1966, pp. 287–295.

strike. In the second half of 1906 and in 1907 “Promień” was not published, because many members of the editorial staff participated in the revolutionary actions in the Polish Kingdom [*Królestwo*]. In 1906 only 5 combined numbers were published and in 1907 the magazine was silent. The monthly magazine returned in the beginning of 1908 (2 numbers were published) and then there was a break again until June 1909, when one number was published. The editorial staff did not excuse themselves of the breaks. They only wrote that they had occurred due to “exhaustion of organizational forces” (1908, No. 1, p. 1). In the years 1907–1908 the “Promieniści” movement faded. Many well-wishers of the organization graduated schools; others became connected with political parties.

In December 1908 there was an attempt of organization reactivation. At a special meeting of the Central Committee a fusion of “Promieniści” and the organization “Życie” was performed. The actions undertaken had an informal connection with the activities of the Polish Socialist Party — Revolutionary Fraction [*PPS-Fracja Rewolucyjna*], which has been working for some time on the creation of own youth facilities, the so-called Filarecja. The next convention of “Promieniści” held in May 1909 was held under the aegis of the Polish Socialist Party — Revolutionary Fraction [*PPS-Fracja Rewolucyjna*] and the activists of the Union of Active Struggle [*ZWC, Związek Walki Czynnej*] participated in it. At the convention “Promieniści” adopted a new ideological declaration and submitted themselves under the care of the Polish Socialist Party — Revolutionary Fraction [*PPS-Fracja Rewolucyjna*]. A new resolution that recommended intensification of propaganda activities in the spirit of independence tradition was adopted and the necessity of further education was emphasized.²⁴ The activists of the Polish Socialist Party — Revolutionary Fraction [*PPS-Fracja Rewolucyjna*] had specific plans regarding “Promień”. The party’s management decided that “Promień” thanks to its area of influence could become a press body of the Progress and Independence Youth Union [*Związek Młodzieży Postępowo-Niepodległościowej*] that was created in the Russian Partition under the aegis of the Polish Socialist Party [*Polska Partia Socjalistyczna*]. The organization was to become a youth extension of the Fraction and an instrument of the party’s impact on young people in the Polish Kingdom [*Królestwo*]. The content of “Promień” was subject to the recommendations of the convention. Since January 1910, the monthly magazine has started to appear regularly in the circulation of 1000 copies and a large number of it was distributed at the area of the Polish Kingdom [*Królestwo*]. Its content was similar to the edition of 1905, however the accents changed. A lot of attention was paid to education and its horizon was spread to all Polish lands. Following close cooperation with the Union of Active Struggle [*ZWC, Związek Walki Czynnej*] the pages of the magazine included military matters.

²⁴ A. Garlicka, *Czasopisma filareckie 1909–1914*, part 1, “Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1970, iss. 1, pp. 58–62.

However, the new editorial policy did not bring the expected results. The future of the magazine was influenced by the separatist ambitions of the Warsaw youth of Filarecja organized in the Progress and Independence Youth Union [*Związek Młodzieży Postępowo-Niepodległościowej*]. The latter organization was under the impact of the activists of the future Polish Socialist Party — Opposition [*Polska Partia Socjalistyczna — Opozycja*] (Jan Cynarski, Feliks Perl and M. Niedziałowski). At the convention of the Progress and Independence Youth Union [*Związek Młodzieży Postępowo-Niepodległościowej*] in July 1910 it was decided that the organization should be independent of the Polish Socialist Party — Revolutionary Fraction [*PPS-Frakcja Rewolucyjna*] and “Promień” did not become its press body (as planned by the Polish Socialist Party — Revolutionary Fraction [*PPS-Frakcja Rewolucyjna*]). The press body became the magazine “Jutro” close to the ideas of the Polish Socialist Party — Opposition [*Polska Partia Socjalistyczna — Opozycja*].²⁵ After this decision “Promień” lost its dynamics once again. In the autumn 1910 two combined numbers were published, in 1911 — two separate numbers divided by a semi-yearly break. In the year 1912 two numbers were published again, the last one in May and the magazine went silent definitely.

After the fall of “Promień” there were several other magazines of Filarecja published, among others “Echa” (1912–1913), “Nasza Praca” (1912–1913) and “Nurt” (1913–1914).²⁶ However their reach was incomparable to that of “Promień” as they were addressed to local activists. The magazines of the extreme left-wing were published in Galicia with little success. The most important periodicals of this stream were “Zjednoczenie” published in Cracow (1905–1911) founded by Henryk Grossman and several titles dominated by the activists of the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania [*Socjaldemokracja Królestwa Polskiego i Litwy*] and the Polish Socialist Party — Left-wing [*Polska Partia Socjalistyczna — Lewica*] (“Głos Młodzieży Socjalistycznej”, 1910, and “Nasz Głos”, 1911–1912).

The development of young socialists’ press in the Russian Partition took its course at a difference pace. The rhythm was set by successive dates of: the school strike and thaw (1905–1908), reaction to governance of the Governor General Georg Karl de Scallon (1908–1914), the beginning of war (1914–1915) and German occupation (1915–1918). In this period there 44 magazines published on the above area, the most of it in Warsaw (18). The common feature of these periodicals was their ephemerality (over 75% was published for less than a year) and secret nature (79%).

²⁵ M. Grzybowska, *W kręgu inspiracji niepodległościowych — ruch „promienistych” (publicystyka polityczna grupy młodzieży galicyjskiej okresu poprzedzającego I wojnę światową)*, “Studia Historyczne” 1980 iss. 1, pp. 31–47; A. Garlicka, *Czasopisma filareckie 1909–1914...*, part 1, iss. 1, pp. 59–61.

²⁶ A. Garlicka, *Czasopisma filareckie 1909–1914*, part 2, “Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego” 1970, iss. 2, pp. 197–226.

As a result, the vast majority of them was not significant in terms of propaganda. Only 10 titles were permanently recorded in the press history.

Amongst the Warsaw periodicals of the strike period one should mention the secret bulletins published by the Socialist Youth Union [*Związek Młodzieży Socjalistycznej*], among others “Głos Młodzieży Socjalistycznej” (1904–1905) or “Biuletyn Warszawskiego Koła Młodzieży PPS” (1905). However, they reached only the activists of the Socialist Youth Union [*Związek Młodzieży Socjalistycznej*] and of the Polish Socialist Party [*Polska Partia Socjalistyczna*]. The journals published openly were of much greater importance (weekly “Młodość”, 1905–1905 and “Mównica”, 1906). However, they were short-time initiatives, because after a dozen or so numbers they were liquidated by the car’s censorship. Amongst the magazines founded in the years 1908–1914 the following two of Filarecja should be highlighted: the secret “Jutro” (1910–1912) and the open bi-weekly “Ruń” (1913–1914). In this period Filarecja was also active in the provinces. The local bulletins were published among others in Częstochowa (3), Lublin (1) and Płock (1). Simultaneously, the activity of the extremely left-wing provincial groups declined. Only one title close to the ideas of the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania [*Socjaldemokracja Królestwa Polskiego i Litwy*] was published and reproduced in Płock “Już Czas!” (1913). Just before the outbreak of war the progressive organizations on parted lands and in Russia activated slightly. Three magazines of Filarecja were published on these areas, especially an annex to “Dziennik Petersburski” — “Głos Młodych” (1913–1914), which presented a high level and was the only estimable exception on the press map of this area.

During the war and occupation, the socialists’ press activity on the area of the Russian Partition declined. In the first period, that is from the Russians’ withdrawal from the Polish Kingdom [*Królestwo*], the local groups of Filarecja published 6 titles, 2 of them in Warsaw and 4 in the provinces. During the German occupation, only the Progress and Independence Youth Union [*Związek Młodzieży Postępowo-Niepodległościowej*] showed broader activity and published two periodicals: the secret “Promień” (1916–1917) and the legal “Jutro” (1916–1918), which was reactivated after a four-year break. Own bulletins were also published, however with less success, by the Warsaw well-wishers of the extreme left-wing (e.g. “Głos Niezależny” 1918) and various provincial groups (in Lublin, Skarżysko Kamienne and Płock — 1 each). Certain activities could be also observed on the Borderlands and in Russia engulfed by war and revolution (4 magazines). The common feature of press of the period 1914–1918 was its instability. The vast majority of the magazines was published occasionally and was with almost no exceptions read by the local activists.

5. Other ideological movements' press

The press activity of other ideological movements was definitely weaker. Among 22 titles related to other options (cf. Table 1), only 5 periodicals promoted peasant ideology whereas 10 — Christian democratic or clerical ideology. In both groups, short-term titles dominated, therefore only two peasant titles are recorded in the press history (“Młodzi idą...”, 1911–1914, and “Drużyna”, 1912–1915) as well as two clerical periodicals (“Prąd”, 1909–1915, and “Filareta”, 1910–1915).

Prior to World War I, the Polish peasant movement did not have available political press comparable to socialists or Christian democrats. Nonetheless, its activists paid a lot of attention to the education of young people and printed youth periodicals. The first peasant periodical intended for the youth was a monthly “Młodzi idą” (March 1911–July 1914), issued as an addition to the weekly “Zaranie”. The editors of the magazine did not specify their social and political program, but the very fact of being published along with “Zaranie” defined its attitude.²⁷ The original magazine had implemented a radical program from 1907, the main focus of which was the struggle with the dominance of the parish and the manor in the social life of villages.²⁸

Formally, the editor-in-chief of the supplement was the founder of “Zaranie”, Maksymilian Malinowski, but as a matter of fact, the supplement was edited by Irena Kosmowska. The content of the supplement “Młodzi idą” differed from other youth periodicals since the rural reader (usually not that well educated) required easier material. The magazine focused on culture and education and the majority of articles concerned self-education. Correspondence and poetry were printed systematically, too. A lot of space was devoted to organizational issues. The youth were taught how to behave in social situations and develop forms of self-help work. The supplement „Młodzi idą” was issued for more than 4 years and due to the immense, for those times, circulation of 5,000 copies, it was one of the most popular youth magazines in Poland. In that period, 29 issues with a total volume of approx. 120 large-format pages were printed. Its publishing was discontinued in July 1914 because of the war. Half a year later, the Russians closed down also “Zaranie” (March 1915), whereas Malinowski and Kosmowska were arrested and exiled to Russia.²⁹

Another magazine for the rural youth was an illustrated bi-weekly “Drużyna”, issued in Warsaw in 1912–1915. The milieu creating “Drużyna” was at first apolitical

²⁷ Z. Kmieciak, *Młodzi Idą: z dziejów młodzieży zaraniarskiej*, “Biuletyn Komisji Historycznej KC ZMS” 1961, no 3, pp. 106–117.

²⁸ D. Pasiak-Wąsik, J. Gmitruk, *Polski ruch młodowiejski*, [in:] *Młodzi idą! Polski ruch młodowiejski*, ed. J. Gmitruk, D. Pasiak-Wąsik, vol. 1, 1911–1948, Warsaw 2011, pp. 7–38.

²⁹ W. Stankiewicz, *Czasopiśmiennictwo ludowe w Królestwie Polskim 1905–1914*, Warsaw 1957, pp. 74–76.

and it included young activists with various views. Apart from radical activists, such as those related to Narodowy Związek Chłopski (NZCh), there were also conservative members, influenced by the clergy and Christian democrats (e.g. Adam Chętnik). The changes took place in 1913. The editors of “Drużyna” became a group of Christian democrats called “Secesja” (i.a. Stefan Plewiński). As a result, the supporters of NZCh were removed and the magazine more frequently featured the subject of the so-called “junactwo” (brave youth), based on the rules and models of Drużyny Bartoszone.

Despite the changes, the magazine maintained the appearances of a non-political character. The editors were active most of all in the educational character, trying to gain the rural youth and encourage them to social activity. The magazine focused on educational matters and there were attempts to unite it around the struggle for national revival. The articles in “Drużyna” focused mainly on national and patriotic issues. Agrarianism was promoted, there were calls for the defense of homeland, and there were reports concerning the struggle of Wielkopolska people against Germanization. The history of Poland was one of the most common issues. The editors systematically printed problem-focused articles, reminded about anniversaries, and published profiles of national heroes.³⁰

At first, “Drużyna” was a bi-weekly (April 1912–Sep. 913), then a weekly (Dec. 1913–May 1915), which was restarted after a three-year break on July 20, 1918. An average issue included 16 large-formal pages, generously illustrated (including photos), which took 10–25% of the magazine space. Until the end of 1918, 103 issues were published, with a total volume of 1312 pages. At that time, various supplements were issued as well, such as “Zuch” (1914), “Teatr i Muzyka” (1914), and “Gwiazdka” (1913–1915; 1918). “Drużyna” was extremely popular among rural children and youth. Its circulation in 1914 reached 3000 copies, and it remained at that level also in 1918.³¹

The most important youth periodical representing Christian-nationalist ideology was a monthly “Prąd”, issued in Warsaw in the years 1909–1915. The periodical was an organ of the Warsaw Youth Friends’ Society (TPM), the goal of which was to take care of older male youth and spread Catholic values.³²

The first editorial board of the monthly “Prąd” included the writer Adam “Lach” Szymański, Tadeusz Błażejewicz, and Tadeusz Miśkiewicz. “Prąd” was no worse than “Tekka” and “Promień” in terms of its level and it was very popular, as 700 copies of it were printed. However, it differed from both in terms of its subject matter (cf. Tables 3 and 4). In contrast to the competition, editors of “Prąd” paid most

³⁰ Z. Kmieciak, *Prasa warszawska w latach 1908–1918*, Warsaw 1981, pp. 156–158.

³¹ M. Mioduchowska, „Drużyna” 1912–1921, “Roczniki Dziejów Ruchu Ludowego” no 12 (1970), pp. 115–151.

³² Z. Skrobicki, *Program odrodzenia katolicko-społecznego w Polsce w ujęciu czasopisma „Prąd” 1909–1939*, [in:] *Z dziejów katolicyzmu społecznego*, Lublin 1987, p. 343.

attention to current literary criticism (26.0% of the content), humanities (22.4%), and religion (12.6%). However, they avoided politics (6.1%) and they were not much interested in school matters (4.2%). So, it seems that the editors of "Prąd" identified journalism with literary criticism.³³ The low representation of politics and school matters proved that the editors lived detached from the current problems of the youth. It should be added that the authors unequivocally interpreted various problems, presenting them solely from the perspective of the Catholic point of view.³⁴ The magazine was professionally edited and printed systematically. A new issue appeared every month, 32–40 pages long, with a great amount of journalism and information. Supplements were published periodically, too, such as "Dział Młodzieży" (1910–1911), in which school-related content was published for younger readers. Between 1909 and 1915, a total of 61 issues and 2400 pages were published.

Similar values were expressed by a monthly published in Poznań, „Filareta” (1911–1913), which did not differ significantly in terms of content from other Poznań magazines (e.g. "Brzask"). However, it presented the issues solely from the church perspective. In 1913, however, a decision was made that the magazine did not satisfy the expectations vested in it and its formula should change. According to historians, the reason for its lack of major popularity was its intrusive "catholic-apologetic manner", which prevented the youth with other views from becoming interested in it.³⁵ In 1914, "Filareta" was replaced with "Ruch Kulturalny." The Editorial Board briefly informed that the new monthly is a continuation of "Filareta" and in its new formula it will be addressed to slightly older youth. It was not successful, though. After only 9 issues, the publisher decided that the magazine did not fulfill the expectations and the title was definitely closed down.

6. Conclusion

Sociopolitical youth magazines appeared in Poland at a unique stage of the country's history, i. e. at the turn of the century during the growing social unrest caused by the international situation and fueled by the revolution (1905), school strike and school boycott (1905–1908), followed by the formation of scout and paramilitary formations (1910–1912) and finally, the outbreak of World War I (1914). The time of their birth (1899) coincided with the debut of the press published in connection with mass political movements in Poland ("Przyjacieli Ludu"

³³ M. Jagiełło, „Prąd” 1909–1914, "Przegląd Powszechny" 1984, no 7/8, pp. 190–202.

³⁴ Z. Kmiecik, *Prasa warszawska w latach 1908–1918...*, pp. 149–150.

³⁵ I. Socha, *Czasopisma Związku Towarzystw Tomasza Zana*, "Rocznik Historii Prasy Polskiej" 2002, iss. 1, p. 68.

since 1889; “Naprzód” 1892; “Robotnik” 1894) with only a slight delay, as a result of which youth magazines were influenced by similar factors as their predecessors. Although their influence in individual partitions varied, they are well known in Polish historical literature.³⁶

The review of the titles conducted herein leads to the thesis that there was a strong polarization of attitudes in youth circles. In each ideological movement, organizational leaders quickly appeared on the scene. This role was most often played by the editorial boards in major periodicals, such as “Tekka”, “Promień” or “Zarzewie” and over time, they turned into a forge of political and intellectual cadres.

In the history of the nationalist youth movement the significance of “Tekka” can hardly be overestimated. For many years, their texts shaped the ideological image of the formation, which despite the internal divisions survived the war, and many of its members actively joined the fights in the Polish Legions. After the war, almost everyone from the “Tekka” editorial board held prominent positions, inter alia, at universities, in politics or press, industry and the army. Among those who chose university careers, one can enumerate Adam Skałkowski (historian), Stanisław Stroński (Romanist), Kazimierz Jarecki (Romanist), Józef Browiński (biochemist), Stefan Dąbrowski (biochemist, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs 1920–1922, MP), Edward Ignacy Dubanowicz (lawyer). In the world of politics and economy the activists whose names got inscribed in the then public conscience were i. a. Antoni Sadzewicz (publicist, parliamentarian), Wacław Mejbaum (historian, publicist, politician), Wawrzyniec Kubala (lawyer, vice-mayor of Lviv), Tadeusz Mikułowski (official in the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education), Tadeusz Gluziński (politician and publicist), Antoni Plutyński (publicist, industrialist), Stanisław Widomski (engineer, economist in the Ministry of Treasury), and Stefan Paślawski (military man, since 1928 Brigadier General of the Polish Army).

“Promień” imparted an equally strong influence on the intellectual map of the generation. After the outbreak of the war, the vast majority of “Promieniści” joined the Union of Active Struggle (ZWC) ranks and then joined the Legions, e. g. Marian Kukiel, Stanisław Krynicki, Marcei Krajewski, Tadeusz Wyrwa-Furgalski, Kordian Józef Zamorski, Leopold Lis Kula, Aleksander Wieleżyński, Antoni Pajdak, and others. “Promieniści” as an organization raised many of its member to be later active politicians, who — in the interwar period — represented various political formations: from communists (Karol Radek), through left-wing socialists (Bolesław Drobner, Jan Szczyrek, Adam Próchnik) to the Belvedere camp (Kazimierz Świtalski), the Non-partisan Bloc for Cooperation with the Government (Bezpartyjny Blok Współpracy

³⁶ J. Myśliński, *Polska prasa socjalistyczna w okresie zaborów*, Warszawa 1982, passim; U. Jakubowska, *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji w dobie zaborów ...*, passim; J. Dunin, *Czasopiśmiennictwo ludowe w Galicji*, Wrocław 1952, passim; W.M. Kołasa, *Historiografia prasy polskiej (do 1918 roku): naukometryczna analiza dyscypliny 1945–2009*, Kraków 2013.

z Rządem, Stefan Wyganowski), and the peasant movement (Stanisław Kot). Some of them continued their careers in the army or law: Marian Kukiel (historian, Brigadier General, Minister of National Defence in Exile), Kordian Józef Zamorski (Major General, Commander-in-Chief of the State Police), Michał Wyrostek (Lieutenant Colonel, politician), Mieczysław Orłowicz (lawyer, since 1919 ministerial official), and Antoni Pajdak (lawyer, later activist of the Polish Underground State).

To a lesser extent, editors of other youth magazines continued their political careers in the Second Polish Republic (commonly known as interwar Poland). Karol Popiel (from “Zarzewie”) and Tadeusz Błażejewicz (from “Prąd”) sat on the parliamentary benches on behalf of the Christian Democrats, while Irena Kosmowska (from “Młodzi idą”) represented the peasant movement in the parliament. Others, such as Adam Chętnik (from “Drużyna”), were periodically involved in politics or had an academic career, e. g. Maurycy Jaroszyński (lawyer), who started out in “Zarzewie”, later became a professor at the University of Warsaw.

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