



THE POLISH PRESS IN FRANCE DURING THE JULY MONARCHY (1830-1848)

La prensa polaca durante la Monarquía de Julio [1830-1848] en Francia

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Krystian Klekot

Sorbonne Université/CNRS, Paris, France

krystian.klekot.pro@gmail.com  0009-0003-5071-8619

ABSTRACT *The year 1831 was marked by the mass exile of the Polish intellectual elite to Paris, following the failure of the November Uprising (which wanted to restore part of Polish autonomy in response to the conservative policy of Tsar Nicholas I). Arriving in Paris, the Poles began to write and thus the first Polish newspapers were born, written in their native language, published in France. King Louis-Philippe, being afraid of the French and Polish press, established harsh laws that constrained the birth and publication of newspapers and magazines. In this context, we will be interested in newspapers written in Polish but published in France under the July Monarchy. Who read them and what was their purpose? These are only the starting questions for this reflection. We will observe the methods of overriding legal laws by the first journalists, but also how these newspapers were promoted and financed, among other things.*

KEYWORDS *July Monarchy (France), Polish Press, Great Emigration, ephemerides, Poles in Paris, XIX century.*

RESUMEN El año 1831 estuvo marcado por el exilio masivo de la élite intelectual polaca a París, tras el fracaso del levantamiento de noviembre, mediante el cual se pretendía restaurar parte de la autonomía polaca en respuesta a la política conservadora del zar Nicolás I. Al llegar a París, los polacos comenzaron a escribir sobre la situación política de su país y comenzaron a publicar los primeros periódicos polacos en Francia, escritos en su lengua materna. El rey Luis Felipe, temiendo a la prensa francesa y polaca, estableció leyes duras que restringían el nacimiento y publicación de periódicos y revistas. En este contexto, nos interesa analizar periódicos escritos en polaco, pero publicados en Francia bajo la Monarquía de Julio. ¿Quién los leía y cuáles eran sus propósitos? Estas son sólo las preguntas iniciales de esta reflexión. Asimismo, observaremos los métodos con los que los periodistas intentaron eludir los límites legales y el modo en que estos periódicos fueron promovidos y financiados, entre otros factores.

PALABRAS CLAVE Monarquía de Julio (Francia), prensa polaca, gran emigración, efemérides, polacos en París, siglo XIX.

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1. Introduction and methodology

A lot of articles and monographs seem to be dedicated to the press of the Polish Great Emigration. The beginning of the press and the different newspapers are well known nowadays. But this article is an attempt to enlarge the analysis by a study of a longer period, the whole July Monarchy 1830 – 1848. It will enable me to focus on changes in the trends of the press written in Polish but published in France.

The birth of the Polish press abroad is a conclusion of two events that both took place and inspired each other: the establishment of the July Monarchy and the phenomenon of the Polish Great Emigration. Indeed, in 1830, July 27-29, a second French revolution took place, following the restoration, which abolished the regime of Charles X by establishing a new constitutional and parliamentary monarchy. Louis-Philippe became the King of the French. On July 25, 1830, King Charles X published the ordinances of Saint Cloud. The first order suspends freedom of the press, reestablishes censorship and prior authorization of publication (Miquel, 1976: 336). These new directives were published the next day in the press, notably in the *Moniteur*¹, thus provoking a revolution in Paris. Indeed, on July 26, a so-called protest of 44 journalists occurred. Led by Adolphe Thiers the journalists published a protest article in several main newspapers which ignited the powder. The barricades were built to the east of the city and the people of Paris dominated the streets by July 28.

Inspired by this movement, the Poles revolted in 1830. From 1795, they had to struggle for independence. This year was marked by the third, and the last, partition of Poland. Indeed, the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania which has existed since the XVIth century, was divided between Russia, Prussia and Austria. The internal politics problems of the Polish government weakened its position on the international scene. Therefore, Poland has lost its independence for 123 years and was placed under Prussian rule (Zdrada, 2015: 3).

Nevertheless, some attempts to reestablish at least a part of the autonomy were undertaken. In 1814, during the Congress of Vienna, the Polish question was vividly discussed. At this occasion, Russia received a part of the Polish territories – it gave birth to the Kingdom of Congress, or so-called Kingdom of Poland, a semi-autonomy country, under Russian rule. The Tsar of Russia became the King of this Kingdom (Zdrada, 2015: 95). A new constitution was implemented. Accusing Tsar Nicholas I of abuse of power concerning the constitution (increasing censorship, beginnings of Russification, non-compliance with the promises of 1815), the Poles attacked the Belweder, the residence of Duke Constantine, responsible for the army, on November 29, 1830 (Zdrada, 2015: 131). At the same time, the Warsaw insurgents with the help of the local people attacked the Arsenal, where the firearm was located, which they regained. The revolt was led first by the military, then joined by the Polish nobility and the people. Although currently it is believed that the insurrection belonged to the nobility,

1. The *Moniteur universel* was the official newspaper of the French government since its creation in 1789. Louis Philippe tried to have a control over it immediately after the revolution.

but it can be thought that the peasants also participated, to a lesser extent, in the revolt. The Russian reaction, although late but ultimately effective, arrived in February 1831 when the Russian army returned to the Kingdom of Poland.

Thus, the defeat caused the departure of the Poles towards the West, especially France but also Belgium, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. An entire class of *intelligentsia* who actively participated in the insurrection has left Polish lands, ennobled and impoverished, with no possibility of return. This class was conceptualised during the Polish partitions and described the educated people, often linked with the patriotic bourgeoisie, who struggled by culture. Their education and culture would serve to the political leadership in the Kingdom, in opposition to the Russian cultural development and russification. For many Poles it was the last time they saw their homeland.

The movement of emigration towards France would be under study. It is important to talk about the beginnings of this emigration to understand its cultural needs. According to estimates, between 9,000 and 10,000 Poles left Polish lands. Around 7,000 settled to France (Kalembka, 1971: 89). First, the men left, especially the soldiers. It was a male and young emigration (Witkowska, 1997: 32): the insurgents and the soldiers were part of the young Polish nobility.

The situation in France considering the press was not better with time: in 1835, the king implemented press laws. The third text of this legislation, considered by historians as a significant attack on freedom of the press, aimed to prevent discussions on the king, the dynasty, the constitutional monarchy, because the government considered that the opposition press, through its incessant attacks against the person of the king, has prepared the ground for Giuseppe Fieschi's attack which preceded them by a few weeks².

Some research has already focused on this context. The last general studies laid by Ludwik Gocel et Louise Rapacka in the 1960's enumerated titles and their issues. Lastly, I could observe some trend to analyse each newspaper as a whole and in its specific context but often only main and important newspapers were under the study. At the most they were written in Polish – therefore they are often unknown in science abroad. Maria Straszewska, a literary historian of the end of the XXth century, focused on the beginning of literary life between 1831 and 1840 in her book, so only the first decade of the Polish exile. Somehow, my analysis would go further and focus on the needs of the Polish press and also on the changing trend in a new decade of the 1840's. I will focus on Paris, the main centre of the political and literary French and Polish life. Another article of mine was dedicated to the Polish press in the 'depot', therefore a focus on Paris is more interesting. The quoted authors are mainly used in this work but actually Władysław Marek Kolasa draws the panorama of the research in his famous article *Press of the Great Emigration (1832–1870) in the Polish Press Studies*. The

2. Fieschi's attack: July, 28 1835, Giuseppe Fieschi use the infernal machine in order to kill the King. Eighteen dead and forty wounded were victims of the attack, including the former President of the Council, Marshal Mortier. Louis-Philippe escaped. Fieschi was convicted and guillotined with his two accomplices in 1836. In September, repressive laws against the Republican opposition were adopted.

large catalogue of the Polish press in France is digitalised, therefore the access is easier. The National Libraries of both countries are the main centres of press conservation.

The main methodology used in this study is the sociology of literature. In fact, I will focus on the history of media – the press – and the history of its edition, its distribution and its evolution during the July Monarchy. The same school was recently developed by Gisèle Sapiro, Jean-Yves Mollier or Roger Chartier, very important researchers for this methodological line. Therefore, the article will analyse the history of the emigration press written in Polish but published in France in order to better understand the importance of this medium for Polish culture and the influence that daily life, culture and politics can have on the written word.

2. The beginning of the Polish press

Between 1831-1863 about 150 different titles appeared in Paris (Kolasa, 2013: 390). Its development was very high until 1848, in 1833 there were around 22 titles and in 1843 – 27. Then, the number reduced, perhaps because of new insurrections in 1846 and 1848 – the number stagnated around 10/12 main titles (Kolasa, 2013: 390). A lot of them were ephemerides. This term means, in this work, newspapers which had an impact or an important role in emigration but which only survived a few months, or at most a few years. Without wanting to make a catalogue of the Polish press in emigration in the 1830s, I want to list the newspapers issued in 1830's and 1840's known nowadays (Rapacka, 1969: 59-71):

1830s³

- Babin na Obcej Ziemi (Paris 1832),
- Brukowiec (Paris 1834),
- Całoroczne Trudy Komitetu Narodowego Polskiego (Paris 1831–1833),
- Czas (Mont-de-Marsan 1833),
- Feniks (Paris 1833),
- Gazeta Narodowa w Zakroczymie (Paris 1834),
- Kraj i Emigracja (Paris 1835–1843),
- Korespondent Emigracji Polskiej (Paris 1838–1839)
- Kronika Emigracji Polskiej (Paris 1834–1839),
- La Brise du Nord. Keepsake Polonais (Paris 1838),
- La Pologne Historique, Littéraire, Monumentale et Pittoresque (Paris 1835–1836),
- Le Polonais – Journal des Intérêts de la Pologne (Paris 1833– 1835),
- Wiarus Polski (Dijon 1833),
- Młoda Polska (Paris 1838–1840),
- Naród Polski (Paris 1836),

3. Cited documents were a basis to the attempt of collection all the titles appeared between 1830 – 1848. The proposed division and some corrections of titles are proposed by the author of this article. The list can be incomplete.

- Pospolite Ruszenie (Paris 1835),
- Postęp (Paris 1834),
- Północ (Paris 1835),
- Polska (Paris 1836),
- Polak (Paris 1837–1839),
- Pamiętnik Emigracji (Paris 1832–1833),
- Przegląd Dziejów Polskich (Poitiers–Paris 1836–1843),
- Przyszłość (Paris 1834),)
- Pielgrzym Polski (Paris 1832–1833),
- Pamiętnik Polski (Paris 1838),
- Okólnik Towarzystwa Demokratycznego Polskiego (Poitiers 1832–1838),
- Polacy we Francji. Tygodnik Awenioński (Avignon 1832),
- Pismo Wzajemnego Oświecenia/Tygodnik Bezansoński (Besançon 1832–1833),
- Nowa Polska (Paris–Versailles 1833–1837),
- Nowe Rozrywki dla Dzieci (Paris 1834),
- Sybilla Tułactwa Polskiego (Paris 1833–1835),
- Scènes Politiques de la Révolution Polonaise (Lyon–Avignon 1832),
- Rocznik Emigracji Polskiej (Paris 1836),
- Skarbiec Historii Polskiej (Paris 1839–1842),
- Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie (Paris 1832–1833, 1836–1841),
- Tydzień (Avignon 1834–1835),
- Tygodnik Emigracji Polskiej (Paris 1834–1837),
- Wiadomości Krajowe i Emigracyjne (Paris 1837)

1840s

- Baba – Bezimienny Karteluszek (Paris 1840),
- Demokracja Polska XIXw. (Paris 1845–1846),
- Demokrata Polski (Poitiers, Paris 1837–1849),
- Dziennik Narodowy (Paris 1841–1848),
- Echo Miast Polskich (Paris 1843–1845),
- Emigracja Polska (Paris 1842),
- La Mode Nouvelle – Reuve Politique et Littéraire (Paris 1841),
- Narodowość (Paris 1840–1842),
- Polska Chrystusowa (Paris 1842–1843, 1846),
- Przyjaciół Prawdy (Versailles 1842–1843),
- Pszonka (Strasbourg, Paris 1841–1844),
- Pamiętnik Towarzystwa Demokratycznego Polskiego (Paris 1841–1844),
- Pismo Towarzystwa Demokratycznego Polskiego (Poitiers–Paris 1841–1844),
- Ojczyzna (Paris 1848),
- Okólnik Towarzystwa Demokratycznego Polskiego (Paris 1838– 1849),
- Noworocznik Demokratyczny (Paris 1842–1843)
- Plotkarz (Versaillels 1842),
- Nowa Polska (Paris–Versailles 1839–1845),

- Pamiętnik Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Przemysłu (1844),
- Szubrawiec (Paris 1842),
- Teraźniejszość i Przyszłość (Paris 1842–1845, 1847–1848),
- Trzeci Maj (Paris 1843–1848),
- Sławianin (Paris 1841–1843),
- Wiarus (Paris 1847),
- Zbratanie (Paris 1847–1848),
- Zjednoczenie (Paris 1841–1844),
- Zorza (Paris 1848)

This table raises a portrait of the emigration press and proposes some typography. The curious thing is the map of the publications: the whole of France is concerned and the main centre of emigration can be observed; Poitiers, Paris and the different *dépôts* such as Besançon. It is in the *dépôts*⁴ that the publications have begun. The first very developed trend in the 1830's and in the 1840's was the political one. The Poles wanted to inform the emigration about what was happening in Poland, inside the emigration and in France. According to their political faith, they informed how the Polish question was approached abroad – it was the case for *Feniks* (*Phoenix*), *Pamiętnik Emigracji Polskiej* (*The Diary of the Polish emigration*), *Trzeci Maj* (*May, the Third*); other newspapers were focused on emigration and the internal situation such as *Czas* (*The Time*), *Demokrata Polski* (*The Polish Democrat*), *Nowa Polska* (*The New Poland*), *Zorza* (*The dawn*) etc. The different political fractions tried to promote their vision of politics and the battle for independence. But also the informative aspect was highly important: some newspapers wanted just to inform about different events, for instance *Wiadomości Krajowe i Emigracyjne* (*The News from the country and the emigration*), *Tygodnik Emigracyjny* (*The weekly of emigration*), *Dziennik Narodowy* (*The national daily*), *Emigracja Polska* (*The Polish emigration*) or *Sybilla Tułactwa Polskiego* (*Sybil of Polish wandering*). *Sybilla* was edited between 1833 and 1836 by Franciszek Grzymała in Pinard's printing house. It would be written by the editor himself and 6 notebooks would have come out. The newspaper had an informative purpose on the problems of emigration but also of education, that is to say, to remind the young generation of Poles of the different struggles of the nation for independence since the partitions.

Another important trend was the cultural one. This trend began even before the political one, in Avignon with *Bard Nadwiślański nad Brzegiem Duransy i Rodanu* (*The Bard from the Vistula's banks on the banks of the Durance and the Rhone*), a monthly newspaper edited by Antoni Alfons Starzyński. It became a genuine collection of patriotic poems of the epoch. This literary aspect was very present in the press – the Poles believed that they would survive if their culture remained alive. In almost each newspaper there was a literary or historical, often poetic, section. The newspapers written in French highlighted this aspect to promote Polish literature and culture in the French monarchy.

4. *Dépôts* is the word used to talk about the place where the Poles were gathered upon their arrival. Modelled on military depots, they were set up by the Ministry of War in order to control emigration. They were dissolved in 1833.

It was also a particularity of this migration movement: they tried to write in French. Those newspapers will not be analysed in this article, but it is important to name them. Indeed, the Polish intelligentsia often spoke French – it was a political language used at the Polish royal court. So, the French language was spread in the Polish elite, which massively emigrated to France. So, in the 1830's and in the 1840's, I can enumerate some newspapers written in French by the Poles, often in collaboration with known French writers: *La Brise du Nord*, *Keepsake Polonais*, *La Pologne Historique, Littéraire, Monumentale et Pittoresque*, *Le Polonais*, *Scènes Politiques de la Révolution Polonaise*, *La Pologne du 1848*. There are the most known newspapers of the Polish Great Emigration written in French.

From the beginning the sarcastic press was also very famous and tried to criticise, in a humoristic way, the politics and the emigration. Interestingly, the Great Emigration came back to the tradition of the Babin Republic - a humorous state within a state, founded in the 16th century by Stanisław Pszonka and Piotr Kaszowski. It was an upside down state with its offices, titles, organisation, mostly based on humour and absurdity. Its activity lasted until 1677, until the death of the founder's grandson Adam Pszonka, who continued his grandfather's work. Its members referred to the traditional European carnival games and humorous literary works. It was a group of nobles. Thus, two newspapers followed this sarcastic tradition (Kacprzak, 2022: 226): *Babin na Obcej Ziemi* (*Babn on the Foreign Land*) in 1832 and *Pszonka* in 1841-1844 (Dźedżyk, 1977: 6). Others were *Brukowiec* (*The Journal of the pavement*), a democratic-radical satirical newspaper edited by Władysław Dąbrowski in 1834 in Paris; one issue of *Pospolite ruszenie* (*A common uprising*) in 1835 in which the editor was Jan Kazimierz Ordyniec. *Baba – Bezimienny Karteluszek* (*Baba – the nameless little cartel*) was edited by Hipolit Klimaszewski whose artistic pen name was Ba-Ba. This émigré edited some satirical and humoristic newspapers in the 1840's. In 1842, he started to publish *Plotkarz* (*The Gossip*), named *Przyjaciel Prawdy* (*The truth's friend*) from the sixth issue (Dźedżyk, 1977: 10). The criticism was directed against all political parties and often took the form of short poems or dissertations. In 1842, *Szubrawiec* (*The Scoundrel*) was also a sarcastic newspaper (Dźedżyk, 1977: 10). As it can be seen, it was an important type of the Polish press in France.

Two new dimensions appeared in the 1840's and they depict new visions of emigration and politics but also a new trend in the position of Poland and Poles. Firstly, the growing catholicism. The most famous newspaper dedicated to this theme was *Polska Chrystusowa* (*Poland of the Christ*) by Ludwik Królikowski in 1843, 1844 and 1846. Thus, Królikowski spread his interpretation of the Bible: a messianic vision of a future, religiously justified communism, which was to be the Kingdom of God on Earth. This religious vision of communism was also developed in his another newspaper *Zbratanie* (*The Brotherhood*) in 1848. I will comment in detail later. The second new trend was panslavism. The idea to gather all Slavonic peoples together was spread and developed in *Sławianin* (*The Slav*) between 1841 and 1843. I will also give more details further.

It was a short attempt at drawing a typography of the Polish press during the July Monarchy. Some focus on important newspapers will be given further, however, I should say that the ephemeral nature of the newspapers can be explained by problems that publishers had

to face in the 1830s. The Ministry of War, which was responsible for controlling emigration (Mondonico-Torri, 2000: 732), imposed fairly high deposits on publishers - this made it possible to limit the creation of newspapers which could have had a political significance and therefore could have become dangerous. The press was a real opposition force and a real political force against the July Monarchy, by deduction, the Ministry feared emigration publications. The second difficulty was caused by postage costs – they were higher for the press than for letters (Straszewska, 1970: 280). The aim would be to discourage subscribing to newspapers because of its cost. The Poles, receiving fairly low subsidies, could not afford this purchase, which could also cause the publishing company to go bankrupt. A Polish difficulty was also printing characters with the diacritics of the language. A solution was quickly found: before the November insurrection there existed the Imprimerie Barbezat, printer of all the works of Ignacy Krasicki and three volumes of Adam Mickiewicz's poems (Straszewska, 1970: 23). Then, it was bought by the famous Pinard, who made its characters accessible and became the main printer of the Poles and the place of publication of the first newspapers. The last known problem that the emigrant publishers had to face, in particular Januszkiewicz, the head of the Polish bookshop and printing house, was the cost of the typographic composition of the French. The French typographers of the time took 11 sous for a typographic composition of 1000 characters in French – for the same work in Polish, they received 15 sous (Straszewska, 1970: 194). This led to an increase in the price of the newspaper, otherwise it risked going bankrupt.

To start this specific study the two first newspapers should be analysed: *Pamiętnik Emigracji* and *Pielgrzym Polski* (*The Polish Pilgrim*), the first with Michał Podczaszyński at the head and the second with Eustachy Januszkiewicz. Created in 1832, *Pamiętnik Emigracji* is considered as the first Polish emigration newspaper. It took as its title the names of illustrious Polish princes and kings. It immediately enjoyed great success, attracting a significant readership despite its fairly high price (1 franc 50 sous) – this was due to the lack of competition. Finally, 36 issues were published. The published articles, signed by famous names, talked mostly about current politics, the Polish question and affairs which affected emigration. Even Eustachy Januszkiewicz has published some translations and articles. Thus, the announced objectives in the first issue were mostly respected. The newspaper was printed in Pinard's printing house using the *mignonne* character. Three volumes of twelve issues appeared: the first one had 137 subscribers, the second 179 and the third in 1833 – 108. This decrease can be explained by expeditions to Poland, Switzerland and Germany, the new policy which aimed at the dissolution of *dépôts* and the internal migration of Poles in France. However, the newspaper remained quite famous – probably because there was not some opponent.

Januszkiewicz's *Pielgrzym Polski* appeared between November 4, 1832 and March 25, 1833, 24 issues in total, each named after a famous Polish personality. It was also printed in Pinard's printing house and cost actually five francs for six issues, as a subscription. It is interesting to comment on the subtitle of *Pielgrzym Polski – Pismo polityce i literaturze narodowej poświęcone* (*Pielgrzym Polski*, n°. 1, 04/11/1832). The creation of this newspaper should allow Poles to be informed, on the one hand, because they did not have the possibility of purchasing and reading foreign newspapers, then, on the other hand, to be interested in the Polish cause. This

information role has helped those who did not know the language, translating certain laws, certain decisions of the Ministry of War. I suppose that Januszkiewicz, who knew Podczaszyński and has published in his newspaper, should not agree with his articles and the political dimension. He brought with him Adam Mickiewicz and it began a genuine journalistic debate. When Maurycy Mochnacki's articles appeared in *Pamiętnik Emigracji*, Mickiewicz or Januszkiewicz answered them in *Pielgrzym Polski* etc. The differences of opinions, even if these newspapers claimed to be apolitical, should be interesting to be developed on another occasion.

The policy of naming each number differently, used by both editors, is noteworthy. Indeed, this demonstrates the attempt to override the laws applied for the sale and mailing of newspapers. This stratagem allowed the journalist several things: first, to circumvent the bail. He counted on the ignorance of the French and the lack of knowledge of the Polish language to pass off each issue as a separate brochure, published non-periodically, so it could not be a newspaper which should be periodical. The law of Count d'Argout did not apply to this case. Likewise, secondly, he managed to bypass postage, sending a simple letter to subscribers, without paying the expected cost for press subscriptions.

2. The politicised press as the mirror of internal division

The existence and tensions between both newspapers depict the internal argument of the Great Emigration. They were concentrated around two main factions: Hotel Lambert and the Polish Democratic Society (Towarzystwo Demokratyczne). Created in 1833 by Prince Adam Czartoryski, Hotel Lambert was a conservative and monarchic political camp. It mostly gathered the Polish elite. Politically, it was based on the Constitution of 3 May 1791. They counted on the intervention of Western countries in the Polish question. A lot of institutions such as The Polish Library or the Polish School of Batignolles would be linked with this camp. On the opposite side, Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie (The Polish Democratic Society) was a democratic-republican organisation. It was the largest democratic group of Polish emigration, similar to a political party. They intended to rebuild the Republic of Poland using the force of Poles. Personalities such as Jan Nepomucen Janowski, Tadeusz Krępowiecki or Kazimierz Pułaski were associated with this camp (Żaliński, 1968: 28). They had a representative newspaper named *TDP*, after the first letters of their Polish name (Żaliński, 1968: 26). The acronym was to allow the newspaper to spread without mentioning the word *Demokratyczny*, which is too similar to the word *Démocratique* in French and which, therefore, could be censored by the government. However, this newspaper only existed for two years, from 1832 to 1834. The faction would have difficulty to recreate a review because of its variable memberships, its actions as emissaries on Polish lands and a lack of editors.

Very quickly the members of the TDP once again proposed a newspaper entitled *Demokrata Polski*. It was published in 1838 for the first time in Poitiers then moved to Paris in 1841

where it was issued until the end of its existence in 1863. The title was no longer hidden under an acronym despite the fact that the newspaper was very politicised. It was printed in Bourgogne & Martinet printing house in Paris. Four volumes were published by year, each of them contained nineteen issues – the subscription for one volume cost 2 francs 50 centimes (*Demokrata Polski*, n°. 1, 1841). An interesting fact is that if the newspaper did not please the reader, it could be returned back to the editor but it had to be sent back with the reversed first page – so as the title cannot be seen. *Demokrata Polski* reported on information concerning emigration, it was a real place for debate. Its subtitle, *pismo polemiczne (polemical revue)* showed its controversial political line. It was headed in the 1840s by Kazimierz Tomkiewicz, then Wojciech Darasz and then by Feliks Okorski, who were the most important leaders in the early days of this journal. Many members were placed as its editors. It existed for 25 years and became a strong organ of the opposition at the Hôtel Lambert and represented the vision of the TDP, which was increasingly numerous and present.

This example shows the beginning of the stagnation and continuity of newspapers. The press laws were, to some extent, fragilized and freer and the Polish question remained for years without any specific measure. The atmosphere of fear but acceptance dominated Paris which became the centre of Polish emigration. The late 1830's and the early 1840's saw the birth of the first Polish institutions, such as the Polish bookshop in 1835, the Polish Library in 1838 or the Polish School of Batignolles in 1842. So, new possibilities of printing, editing and associations have appeared.

From the beginning the press was highly politicised. As I just demonstrated, the TDP had their own newspaper such as two other great opponents: Adam Czartoryski and the democratic camp (Straszewska, 1970: 111). The first has developed his political vision of the independence of Poland in the newspaper called *Feniks*. Only eight issues appeared, each of different patriotic titles which was also the title of the main dissertation. Some examples are: *May the Third; Poland is not yet lost*, among others. It appeared during the spring and the summer of 1833, printed in Pinard's printing house. It cost 75 cents so the price was low – I suppose that it was to attract more readers. Its main director was Ksawery Bronikowski, a famous journalist. He had some journalistic experience in Poland, then on emigration with *Feniks*, *Kronika Emigracji Polskiej*, *La revue slave* or *Pamiętniki Polskie*. Later, he became the head teacher of the Polish School of Batignolles. He was an important character of emigration. Back to the newspaper, I have to say that there is one regular scheme of the organisation. First, a main dissertation is presented, often about some national aspect; then, news from Poland and news from emigration. It was there that Czartoryski's politics was exposed: the newspaper talked a lot about what was happening in England's parliament about the Polish question. Czartoryski believed in the help of the Western countries in the fight for Polish independence. The newspaper has always finished with some political events thanks to which the emigrants were informed what was happening in France, Poland and Europe. It enabled them to stay aware and steady for the battle in a good moment.

On the opposite side was *Nowa Polska*, published between 1833 – 1837 (and then 1839-1846), printed in Badouin's printing house. Its editor and publisher was Jan Ludwik Zukowski and

Józefat Bolesław Ostrowski; it represented, especially in the first period of its existence, the democratic faction of emigration. It attacked the right camp for contributing to the defeat of the November Uprising and for trying to impose the wrong course of action on emigration. Ostrowski contributed mainly with pamphlets and lampoons. In 1840's, he attacked various émigré figures, including Adam Mickiewicz (especially as a lecturer at the Collège de France). He saw literary romanticism as a way to engage in political struggle. Newspaper's second title is interesting: *dziennik polityczny i naukowy* (*political and scientific newspaper*); I can assert that it aimed at the intellectual part of the emigration and the political elite. It was opposed to the religious dimension of emigration and to the aristocratic vision of independence (Straszewska, 1970: 200).

At this time, in this first period of the Great Emigration, the Polish question was highly important and defended. The press enabled the Poles to maintain their language and culture but also to exist in the public literary sphere. The trend has changed a bit when the Polish question is reduced in the public debate and the Poles have to find other ways to talk about their pain and existence.

3. The ephemerides of the 1840's

Ten years after the first steps of the Great Emigration in France, the Poles seemed to be well settled in Paris. They founded the Polish School of Batignolles, the Polish Library and the Polish Bookshop, central cultural places. They understood that the battle was not over and their main weapons were culture and language. Thus, new trends have appeared in the emigration politics and vision of independence: catholicism, mysticism and panslavism.

Since 1842, some moral and religious movements have spread in emigration: the most known is God's Cause Circle, founded by Andrzej Towiański. According to his doctrine, society is seen as a community which should imitate Jesus Christ – it changed a vision of Poland into its representation as Christ of the nations, as a martyr who actually survived and will resurrect. It was impossible to change reality for the better while fighting with a weapon in a hand, resulting from hatred towards another person. In parallel, catholicism, which has already been an important element of Polish patriotism, was also in the foreground. The Polish bookshop's name was changed into Polish Catholic bookshop after its repurchase by Karol Królikowski.

Concerning the press, an interesting newspaper was published in 1842 by Ludwik Królikowski, entitled *Polska Chrystusowa*. The newspaper was mostly written by the editor and was published once by year in 1843, 1844 and 1846 (Kuligowski, 2015: 78). The character of the journalist is interesting in this case. He was a representative of utopian socialism; he developed the role of Polish and Jewish nations as those which should liberate the peoples. Under his religious activity he spread his political and philosophical ideology. Already during the November Uprising, he wrote for *Gazeta Polska* (*The Polish Journal*), in which he conducted social criticism and religious propaganda. He arrived in Paris in 1839 and joined

Zjednoczenie Emigracji Polskiej (The Union of the Polish Emigration) - he wrote their representative press entitled *Zjednoczenie*. In 1842 he bought the *Slavonic Bookshop*, where he published the annual *Polska Chrystusowa* in 1843, 1844 and 1846. In 1847 he tried to write the revue *Zbratnienie*, without success. As I tried to demonstrate this émigré, a bit forgotten nowadays, had a huge experience of journalism during the analysed epoch.

In *Polska Chrystusowa* he presented a very radical vision of the battle, based on christianism and independence. It was implemented in his first article in which he placed himself against the tsar, the monarchy and the old order, which was disapproved by God and had to be replaced by a new one (*Polska Chrystusowa* n°. 1, 1842). In the previous issue from 1843, he gave some specific illustration of his vision of battle and patriotism. The idea of unity was highlighted and it is not surprising because the Great Emigration believed at the epoch that the unity of emigration and of the Polish people will give them independence (Kuligowski, 2015: 82). Dominated by fraternity and moralism, this utopic vision was very radical and aimed at the establishment of the new family where each person had its own role – individualism was still rejected (Kuligowski, 2015: 83). This idea was criticised for its exclusive dimension creating a closed circle of people who respect some specific rules.

It was an illustration of Catholic socialism, born among the emigration in 1840's. Królikowski's ideas were commented on by, among others, Adam Mickiewicz during lectures at the Collège de France - this new course opened in 1840 and reflected the increasing interest for the Slavonic letters in France. This newly created curriculum at Collège de France marked another new trend in the Polish emigration's mind - panslavism. This vision was also mostly utopic: the differences of religion and tradition between different Slavonic states made the union difficult (Straszewska, 1970: 359).

This idea has found its reflection in a newspaper *Sławianin* edited by Alfons Adolf Starzyński. He was already known among emigrants, thanks to his first newspaper *Bard Nadwiślański nad Brzegiem Duransy i Rodanu*, a genuine collection of patriotic poems from 1832. He settled in Paris in 1837 and followed his journalistic adventure with *Sławianin* (Pezda, 2004: 451-452). Four issues were published between 1841 and 1843: one in 1841, two in 1842 and one in 1843. They were quite long, always around 125 pages. It was always opened by a poem which promoted the main idea of Slavonic brotherhood. The first page was interesting, it represented a man, probably an insurgent with a Polish flag and the slogan "For our freedom and yours". The first issue was printed in Bourgogne & Martinet printing house; the three others in Maulde & Renou's one but it was specified that all the publications were financed by the author. One issue cost 2 francs (*Sławianin* n°. 1).

Concerning the content some main themes can be seen. The first issue opens with an introduction which is in reality some call for brotherhood and unity of Slavonic peoples. Nevertheless, Poland has the leading role in this movement and, behind this idea, is hidden the battle for independence of Poland and those little nations, mostly oppressed in the 1840's - their resurrection can be observed during the Spring of Peoples in 1848. A long dissertation is developed throughout the four issues entitled *Treściorys historyczny Sławianii i*

jej różnoczesnych rozbiorów (*The Historical trait of Slavia and its diferent partitions*) analysing the political history of the Slavonic zone. Three main themes dominated the first issue: about the battle in the forests, about the battle in the countryside and about the artillery and the army. The second issue was mostly focused on the origins of Slavonic peoples analysing different ancestral tribes and on the legislation and jurisdiction of Poland and Lithuania in the XVII century. Identical themes were in the centre of the third issue, but it seemed to be a continuation of the previous one: other peoples were analysed and, concerning the legislation, it was mostly focused on the political organisation of the Kingdom. The celebration of the 11th anniversary of the insurrection was also recalled and described. The last issue was mostly military, about different tactics and battles in the mountains. It also analysed other peoples in the Slavonic zone (*Sławianin* n°. 4) in the continuation of the previous issues.

As demonstrated, the main scheme and themes were similar in the four issues. Even if the Slavonic affairs were claimed as the main subject of the newspaper, the description of Polish battles and history dominated. It highlighted the idea that Poland was leading this movement. Concerning the press at this time, in 1843, the Polish emigration counted about 27 different titles of newspapers (Kolasa, 2013: 390) at the same time but until 1848 this number decreased little by little.

The atmosphere of 1840's changed with the new political events which occurred. In 1846 Wielkopolska uprising gathered an important number of émigrés who departed for Poland. It was a planned military insurrection by Poles in the land of Greater Poland against the Prussian forces. It aimed at the reconstruction of a new democratic Poland, breaking with the tradition of the kingdom of the nobility. 254 insurgents were charged with high treason, an important part of this number were from Paris⁵. Two years later the idea of a Slavonic uprising could be realised in the springtime of nations. It was a series of revolutions, essentially democratic and liberal in nature, with the aim of removing the old monarchical structures and creating independent nation-states, as envisioned by romantic nationalism. It spread through the whole Europe and gave some new faith to Poles who struggled mostly besides the Hungarian army. Another uprising took place in the Greater Poland region⁶.

At this occasion, a trend of occasional press can be observed in emigration. I will analyse the example of *Zorza* created in 1848 to comment on recent events. The need for this type of political newspaper, underrepresented compared to the 1830s, was caused by the springtime of nations. Only three issues were published and the author's approach was quite original and interesting. The author was Tadeusz Dubiecki. The first two issues were written by hand and had as a second title: "dedicated to the cause of Poland independence" (*Zorza*, n°. 1 & 2,

5. Wielkopolska Uprising was a planned military insurrection by Poles in the land of Greater Poland against the Prussian forces, designed to be part of a general Polish uprising in all three partitions of Poland, against the Russians, Austrians and Prussians (Zdrada, 2015 [2005]: 334-336).

6. Springtime of nations were a series of revolutions throughout Europe over the course of more than one year, from 1848 to 1849. The revolutions were essentially democratic and liberal in nature, with the aim of removing the old monarchical structures and creating independent nation-states, as envisioned by romantic nationalism (Zdrada, 2015 [2005]: 355-402).

24/05/1848-01/06/1848). The third issue was printed in Martinet printing house and its second title was: “a political and scientific ephemeride which exclusively relates Polish and Slavonic affairs”. The first issue published on May 24, 1848, had a classic form which gave the basis of objectives and role. The reader learnt that the aim of the newspaper was to “unite national aspirations, to support abilities, energy and good intentions and to rebuke ambitions, indifference and egoism”. *Our taste is independence of Poland, progress, justice and order* (Zorza, n°. 1, 24/05/1848). Thus, it was a highly political revue. In the same issue, a dissertation about diaristics as a new form was published, the author spoke also about journalism. I have to remember that the border of different literary forms which emerged in the XIXth century was still vague. Politically, the Polish legions were discussed. The financial aspect was interesting. The author claimed that a newspaper to be read should pay the reader and not the opposite. So, the reader can choose the amount to pay but the recommendation was to pay in exchange for some diary about the Polish nation or emigration. In deduction, it should be based on volunteering and an anti-capitalistic system. Therefore the newspaper was written by hand - it enabled the author to save money (Zorza, n°. 1, 24/05/1848).

The second issue was published in the same form on June 1, 1848. It talked about the national government, the affairs which divided emigration and thoughts on how to save Poland. It was a short newspaper of some five pages (Zorza, n°. 2, 01/06/1848).

The third and last issue is very interesting. It was published on July 8, 1848. It was the first printed issue. The reader learnt two interesting things from the beginning: first, the prices. One issue cost 15 centimes, twelve 1.50 francs, on the province 3 francs and abroad 5 francs because of the post charges (Zorza, n°. 3, 08/07/1848). I suppose that maybe the previous issues could also cost 15 centimes, but it was not indicated in the newspaper because of its manuscripted form; secondly, the indication on the collection of diaries was remembered in exchange for the reception of *Zorza* (Zorza, n°. 3, 08/07/1848). The Polish and Slavonic diaries were accepted. A warning was also expressed for those who will not pay for an issue – they will not receive the following. The change of form, from the manuscript to the print, involved the change of the second title and finance, as described previously. The main articles talked about Europe and its history; then about the preoccupation of émigrés: the recent French revolution, the project of a central committee and a desire to avoid mistakes from the 1830s. The author said that émigrés should be ready to collaborate “because Emigration has already come out of its infancy” (Zorza, n°. 3, 08/07/1848). It was a strong statement which gave some new vision of emigration as an establishment, an entity which really existed and should evolve.

Those examples illustrated very well the new trends in Polish emigration politics and ideas. The institutions accompanied this new fashion: the Polish Bookshop in the 1840's is named: The Polish Catholic Bookstore; Ludwik Krolikowski became the director of the Slavonic Bookstore at the same time. Adam Mickiewicz occupied the Slavonic chair in the Collège de France. Compared to the 1830s, this “adult” emigration established a new tactic of struggle for independence.

4. Purchase and aftermath

Indeed, scattered throughout France, the Poles had to face economic problems. The readership as well as the number of emigration did not increase, in particular because of the prices of newspapers that I can compare with the subsidies received monthly by Poles, described by Sławomir Kalembka:

A general then received 250 francs; members of parliament and a major general 200 francs; a brigadier general and a deputy 100 francs; for civil servants and senior officers 60 francs were planned; a junior officer was to receive 45 francs; and non-commissioned officers and soldiers received 22 francs. (Kalembka, 1971: 275)

This differs in Ewelina Tarkowska's article from 2021 - she describes the subsidies of the Poles in Besançon in 1832/1833:

The amount of the allowance depended on military rank – generals received 3 fr. per day, senior officers – 2 fr., captains, lieutenants and second lieutenants – 1.5 fr., non-commissioned officers and soldiers less than 1 fr. per day. (Tarkowska, 2016: 21-22).

Thus the acquisition of magazines, with the additional cost of sending them, can be a difficult burden to bear. Readership and the press were thus gradually centralised in Paris where the main literary institutions existed.

After 1848, the Polish press experienced some time of stagnation and reduction: about 10-12 titles were published each year. It would be actively reborn in the 1860's before and after the January Insurrection (Kolasa, 2013: 390). Emigration to Paris, in general, also stagnated between 1848 - 1851 - it was the case for the Poles (Grandjonc, 1974: 63). The laws concerning freedom of the press would evolve throughout the century and impose new constraints or give new freedoms with the new regimes put in place, however, the Polish press would remain quite unstable and ephemeral. A huge exception was discussed in this article and it was *Demokrata Polski*. The emigration was constantly renewed with new expeditions and new émigrés who arrived in Paris. The Poles had to face the new French regimes and were more and more established in the capital of France.

5. Final conclusions

The July Monarchy has seen the birth and the prosperous times of the Polish Great Emigration press. Even if the most of them were ephemerides and did not survive more than a few months, In the 1830's, the emigration tried to politically organise itself, it constructed the basis of the struggle: Polish culture and literature. It was reflected by the press – the first Polish newspaper, *Bard nadwiślański nad brzegiem Duransy i Rodanu*, was dedicated to poetry and music, then some informative pages were added, ten years after the establishment of Poles in Paris,

new trends have appeared among emigration: catholicism and panslavism. Some religious groups were created at this time, unity and brotherhood of Slavonic peoples were highlighted in order to struggle for the Motherland together with a pure soul.

The Polish press was a mirror of political and cultural life on emigration. Nowadays, it gives some idea about the émigré's daily life. Thanks to the press, researchers can focus on internal relations among these young people and on their links with Poland. It would make the knowledge about the Polish history of exile richer. So, the context has in this case a huge influence on publications, despite some governmental attempts to control the press. It would be interesting to comment on arguments that appear in the emigration press, mostly provoked by the surrounding context, for the further development.

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