

The Persistence of Advertising Culture: Commerce and Consumers
in Multi-Ethnic Galicia, 1911-1921

By
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Submitted to the graduate degree program in History and the Graduate Faculty of the University
of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

Despite tremendous change and instability during the second decade of the twentieth century due to modernization, war, and political reconfiguration, some elements of everyday life in Cracow and Lemberg maintained a remarkable measure of superficial resilience. This study explores the resilience of newspaper advertising culture despite the violence and turmoil experienced during and after the First World War. It seeks to explain the ways in which advertising proved adaptable and the ways that it subtly, but significantly, changed. Both newspaper culture and advertising as a mode of social communication survived the war years and the unstable years in the early interwar period. This is a testament to their integral nature in the character of the modern cities of Cracow and Lemberg. The system of newspaper advertising had been in place for over a decade before the war broke out; and the level of its usage in the immediate years preceding the war is evidence of its familiarity, utility, and acceptance among the populations of Cracow and Lemberg. Though some areas of modern life suffered lapses that seemed to arrest the effects and benefits of modernization, newspaper advertising survived the war because it was an established part of urban culture prior to this period, and because it was able to adapt to the needs of advertisers during times of conflict. Further, as a reflection of the urban culture in Cracow and Lemberg, advertising as a mode of social communication serves as a lens to highlight changes in class and gender dynamics during the period from 1911 to 1921.

Acknowledgements

No one completes a dissertation alone. I am thankful to the History Department and the Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies at the University of Kansas for providing travel support to conduct the necessary research for this study. Academically, my journey to a doctoral program in history began during my first few semesters at McMurry University, where Dr. Donald Frazier brought history alive as a possible profession. A change of majors and two transfers later, Dr. Aliza Wong and Dr. David Fisher were influential in developing me as a historian while at Texas Tech. At KU, Dr. Eve Levin has always helped guide me in my research and matters of professionalism, more than that, she has always been a friend, and free in providing myself (and many other graduate students) with chocolate. Dr. Svetlana Vassileva-Karagyozova graciously put up with me while I attempted to learn Polish, and Dr. Erik Scott and Dr. Marie-Alice L'Heureux have been influential in my understanding of empire and urban history since my coursework days. Dr. Andrew Denning has always provided an ear to run ideas past, and a keen eye on early drafts. Last, but certainly not least, my advisor and friend, Dr. Nathan Wood, has been influential in my development as a scholar and as a person since I first met him in 2006 during my MA program. I would not be where I am today without his support and guidance. Countless other scholars in the field have been kind to me in my journey, be it in classes, as their teaching assistant, at conferences, on trains, in coffee shops in Cracow, or through email.

Personally, I have been encouraged and supported by my parents, Becky and Charlie Burks, from whom I get not only my looks, but also my tenacity and work ethic. My brother, Kyle (the first doctor in the family) is more of a role model for me than he will ever know. My

longtime friends Beau Brown and Erick Arellano have been constant pillars for me to lean on throughout the years. Most importantly, I have long been supported and encouraged by the most gracious and strong wife I could ever have hoped for. I dedicate this work to her. Lizette, you are my rock.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	vi
Introduction: Newspaper Advertising during a Tumultuous Period	1
The Habsburg, Urban, and Galician Nature of this Study	3
World War I and the Early Interwar Period	5
A Brief Overview of Cracow and Lemberg, 1911 to 1921	8
Advertising and Consumer Culture.....	13
The Structure of this Study.....	17
Chapter 1. The Visual Page: A Qualitative Assessment of Commercial Advertising in Cracow and Lemberg	22
Textual Urban Galicia.....	24
The Press in Cracow and Lemberg	25
The Nature of the Titles	27
The Relative Costs of Advertising	29
What Readers Saw	36
1912: Before the War.....	36
1916: In the Midst.....	39

1918: On the Edge of Collapse	42
1921: In the New Nation-State.....	45
Brands and Trends	49
Conclusion	52
Chapter 2. A Turbulent Decade: Quantitative Advertising Trends in Urban Galician Newspapers	64
Method.....	66
Advertising Trends from 1911 to 1921	67
The Calm.....	67
Turbulent Times.....	74
A Shortage of Food (Advertising).....	84
Comparative Trends and General Observations	97
Conclusion	99
Chapter 3. Advertising, Piano Culture, and the Changing Middle Class in Urban Galicia.....	103
Defining the Cultural Significance of Pianos in Galicia	105
Advertisements for Pianos	115
Commercial Piano Markets in Cracow and Lemberg.....	121
Classifieds and the Private Piano Market.....	126
The Changing Middle Class and Pianos.....	134

Conclusion	139
Chapter 4. Looking for Love(?): Urban Galician Marriage and Marriage Advertisements from 1911-1921	142
Marriage in Galicia and Contemporary Europe	144
The Phenomenon of Marriage Advertising.....	147
Marriage Advertising in Galicia, 1911-1921	152
Age in Marriage Advertisements	156
Seeking Financial Stability	158
Beauty in the is in the Eye of the Reader	160
The Advertisers	162
The Occasional Cases of Companionship Advertising	164
The Institution of Marriage and its Importance	166
Conclusion: Women, Marriage Culture, and Advertising	168
Conclusion: Persistence amid Disruption	171
Bibliography	176
Primary Sources	176
Newspapers	176
Archives	176
Diaries.....	177

Memoirs 177

Other Primary Sources 178

Secondary Sources 178

Introduction: Newspaper Advertising during a Tumultuous Period

A citizen of Cracow who picked up a copy of the *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny* (hereafter *IKC*) on the first Sunday in September 1912 would have been greeted with a sensational image of a policeman in Berlin on the ground shooting his revolver up at a man who had just knocked him off of his feet. Beyond this sensational image, the reader would see news from Cracow, from elsewhere in the region, and from other cities, such as Berlin, Vienna, Moscow, and Warsaw. Each page also contained a few advertisements for various goods. Banner advertisements for men's razors, chocolates and sweets, and modern technologies, such as the gramophones sold by Józef Weksler, may have caught the reader's eye. By the end of the edition, the final two pages were entirely comprised of advertisements. Eye-catching advertisements for everything from cosmetic goods, to women's fashion, to jewelry, sports equipment from a general store, and hernia belts competed for the reader's attention.¹ Had that same Cracovian picked up a copy of the *IKC* on the same day in 1918, the major headline on the front page would inform them that the three former partitions of Poland were now united with the subheading "at what cost?" Reading their way through the articles in this edition, most of which reflected the uncertainty of life in Galicia late in the war, the reader would have seen far fewer illustrations than in prewar editions. The advertising interspersed throughout the articles and in banners at the top and bottom of the pages was reduced to a minimum. Reaching the end of the issue, however, readers would have found themselves concluding with the familiar, two final pages devoted solely to advertising. The advertisements there would be similar to those in 1912. Cosmetics, shoes, general stores, and even hernia belts

¹ *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny (IKC)*, 1 September 1912.

were still being advertised, with the similar use of varied fonts, borders, and illustrations to catch the consumer's eye.²

While newspapers and newspaper culture persisted across the war years, the publications were unquestionably impacted by the war. Much like other areas of life in Cracow and Lemberg, the newspapers reflected the trepidation felt in the early years of the war due to the proximity of the two cities to the front lines. In the later years of the war they were impacted by inflation (witnessed by rising costs), scarcity (fewer publication pages, with fewer illustrations), and a decline in cultural and lifestyle reporting (much of the writing present was devoted to war related news from around Europe and the war). However, advertising within these newspapers persisted in a way that reflected a culture far more adaptable and malleable to the situation at the time. This is not to say that the advertising culture represented in the newspapers emerged unscathed. As noted above, fewer advertisements appeared in the midst of the article pages. Additionally, advertising costs would eventually begin to rise in response to inflation, and the physical size of many advertisements would be reduced before the end of the war. That being said, as newspaper publication continued, the relatively recently established mode of communication of advertising proved resilient and adaptable enough to continue throughout the war period and into the 1920s in a form and function that was immediately recognizable and familiar from prewar newspapers.

A study of advertising within newspapers in Cracow and Lemberg across the period from 1911 to 1921 illuminates the ways in which advertising, as a cultural artifact and means of communication, responded to an era of war and dramatic political change. An examination of

² *IKC*, 1 September 1918.

the content of the advertisements present during this period also provides a window into the socioeconomic and cultural shifts that occurred or persisted across the war and into the interwar period.

Despite tremendous change and instability during the second decade of the twentieth century due to modernization, war, and political reconfiguration, some elements of everyday life in Cracow and Lemberg maintained a remarkable measure of superficial resilience. This study explores the resilience of newspaper advertising despite the violence and turmoil experienced during and after the First World War. It seeks to explain the ways in which advertising proved adaptable and the ways that it subtly, but significantly, changed. In order to do so, it is necessary to situate the subject of this study within several historiographical fields, including Habsburg, Galician, Polish, urban, and First World War history.³

The Habsburg, Urban, and Galician Nature of this Study

The history of Galicia, and its major urban centers of Cracow and Lemberg, from the turn of the century to the early post-World War I era, is one that exists firmly within the history of the Habsburg Empire. John Deak's *Forging a Multinational State*, for instance, examines ways in which the Habsburg authorities increasingly worked to mediate relationships between the government and various politically active nationalist groups in the empire. Deak highlights the willingness of the government to concede that the bureaucracy itself needed reform in the final

³ A note on place names. Throughout this study, I have chosen to refer to Cracow by its commonly accepted spelling in English, and its citizens as Cracovians. For the city of Lemberg, I have chosen to keep the German spelling, as it was the official name of the city for the majority of this period (from 1911 to 1918). I have chosen to refer to the citizens of Lemberg as Lvovians for ease of reading and pronunciation; this term is far more appealing than referring to the local populace as Lembergers, in my opinion, and it allows me to still convey the sense of the use of the Polish language in the city and its newspapers that choosing to use Lemberg over Lwów does not. I hope that the reader will forgive me for any potential confusion.

decade before the First World War and he notes the efforts made to enact those reforms.⁴ In his masterful new history of the Habsburg Empire, Pieter Judson takes this approach and extends it to other areas of Habsburg history. Judson avoids the pitfalls of inevitability, and instead highlights ways in which the empire was effective at statecraft, sometimes in altogether surprising ways. Of particular interest is his assessment of those areas of state building that persisted within the successor states after the empire itself ceased to exist.⁵ In Judson's estimation, it was the military-run government during the war that hastened the empire's collapse.

Cracow and Lemberg were distinctly Habsburg spaces before, during, and after the war. As such, the history of these cities shares a heritage and narrative with the Vienna and Budapest of Carl Schorske's *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, John Lukacs' *Budapest 1900*, and Peter Hanak's *The Garden and the Workshop*.⁶ These histories of the imperial capitals were followed by urban histories of Galicia such as *Habsburg Lemberg* by Markian Prokopovych and Nathaniel Wood's *Becoming Metropolitan*. Prokopovych's book is a comprehensive work chronicling the *Habsburg-ness* of Lemberg's architecture and public space from the partitions to the outbreak of war, while Wood's serves as a provocative history of the complex identities of Cracovians not

⁴ John Deak, *Forging a Multinational State: State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015).

⁵ Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2016).

⁶ Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1980); John Lukacs, *Budapest 1900: A Historical Portrait of a City and its Culture* (New York: Weindenfeld & Nicholson, 1988); Peter Hanak, *The Garden and the Workshop: Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

merely as members of national or ethnic groups, but also sharing a distinct *urban* identity more in common with the citizens of Vienna, Budapest, Berlin, and even London.⁷

While Cracow and Lemberg reside within an established urban narrative, they also belong to a distinctly regional narrative. Larry Wolff reminds us that the crownland of Galicia was born both as geopolitical unit and as an idea after the partitions. Under Austrian control, Galicia developed its own regional and cultural identity, which outlasted the region itself after its incorporation into the Second Republic.⁸ The citizens of these two cities who were reading the newspapers examined in this study inhabit this Habsburg, Galician, and distinctly urban space.

World War I and the Early Interwar Period

In addressing the tumultuous decade of the First World War, this study enters into a particularly vibrant area of recent scholarship. Alexander Watson seeks to add a discussion of the German and Austro-Hungarian strategies in the east and southeast to the already vast body of scholarship, which focuses on western Europe and the American entrance into the war.⁹ While Watson is not the first to focus on the German-Habsburg alliance, he is far more successful at telling the story of the Eastern Front than his predecessors.¹⁰ In a growing field of

⁷ Markian Prokopovych, *Habsburg Lemberg: Architecture, Public Space, and Politics in the Galician Capital, 1772-1914* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009); Nathaniel D. Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan: Urban Selfhood and the Making of Modern Cracow* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010).

⁸ Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010). For additional assessments of the nature of Galicia, see Sean Martin, *Jewish Life in Cracow, 1918-1939* (Portland: Vallentine Mitchell, 2004); Joshua Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Keely Stauter-Halsted, *The Nation in the Village: The Genesis of Polish Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

⁹ Alexander Watson, *Ring of Steel: Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War I* (New York: Basic Books, 2014).

¹⁰ Holger Herwig, *The First World War: Germany and Austria Hungary 1914-1918*, 2nd ed. (London: Bloomsbury, 2014). Herwig's first edition was published in 1996, and while it attempts a joint approach from the German and Austro-Hungarian perspective, it still focuses largely on the Western Front, and to a lesser extent Austrian troubles

scholarship regarding the Russian Empire's role in the war, Joshua Sanborn's *Imperial Apocalypse* stands out. His assessment views the Russian experience of the war through the lens of decolonization in Eastern Europe.¹¹ Robert Blobaum's recent work, *A Minor Apocalypse*, chronicles the immense disruption in everyday life experienced in Warsaw during the war, sometimes unnecessarily so due to German occupation policies.¹² For Galicia, recent studies have focused on the interethnic and inter-confessional violence in the region, while a number of previous works focused on military actions in the region.¹³ Bartosz Ogórek has recently drawn the focus to everyday life in Cracow during the war and the long-term impact the war years had on a generation of Cracovian children.¹⁴ Within the historiography of the war, this study seeks to be a spiritual successor to the entries in the Cambridge series begun by Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert's, *Capital Cities at War*.¹⁵ To date no work in English has

at home. Herwig gives very little space and consideration to the Eastern Front, uses no sources in languages other than German, and accesses no records from archives further east than Berlin and Vienna.

¹¹ Joshua A. Sanborn, *Imperial Apocalypse: The Great War and the Destruction of the Russian Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹² Robert Blobaum, *A Minor Apocalypse: Warsaw during the First World War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017).

¹³ Christoph Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv, 1914-1947: Violence and Ethnicity in a Contested City* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2016). This work originally appeared in German as *Kriegserfahrungen in einer multiethnischen Stadt* (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011); Alexander Victor Prusin, *Nationalizing a Borderland: War, Ethnicity, and Anti-Jewish Violence in East Galicia, 1914-1920* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005); Mark von Hagen, *War in a European Borderland: Occupations and Occupation Plans in Galicia and Ukraine, 1914-1918* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007); Graydon A. Tunstall, *Blood on the Snow: The Carpathian Winter War of 1915* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2010) and *Written in Blood: The Battles for Fortress Przemyśl in WWI* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016); R.L. Dinardo, *Breakthrough: The Gorlice-Tarnow Campaign, 1915* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2010).

¹⁴ Bartosz Ogórek, "The Unobvious Impact of the First World War on the Height of Pupils in Cracow Schools in 1919-1933," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 113 (2016):171-194; "Feeding the City, Feeding the Fortress: Cracow's Food Supply in World War I," *Journal of Urban History* (March 30, 2018). DOI: 10.1177/0096144218766015; and *Niezatarte Piętno? Wpływ I wojny światowej na ludność miasta Krakowa* (Kraków: Universitas, 2018).

¹⁵ Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert, *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914-1919, vol. 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). This series also includes Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius, *War Land on the Eastern Front: Culture, National Identity and German Occupation in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), and Roger Chickering, *The Great War and Urban Life in Germany: Freiburg, 1914-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Not included in the Cambridge series, but just

addressed advertising and everyday life in Cracow and Lemberg during the period from 1911 to 1921.

Temporally this study is situated so that it spans not only the war, as is common in other works, but roughly three years before and after it. This is in an effort to grasp the ways in which commerce changed and the ways in which it maintained continuity across a worldwide event. Many studies end in 1914, span 1914 to 1918 and treat the war as its own subject, or begin in 1918; my study will present a continuous narrative of the region. In this way, the First World War appears more as an event along the continuum of history, rather than a disruptive break in the historical narrative. This allows for connections to be made between prewar developments, changes and consistencies during the war, and assessments of how they relate to the early postwar period. Likewise, examining trends in newspaper advertising across an eleven-year period allows the study to focus in on nuances and complexities of apparent changes and continuities.¹⁶ While the war certainly represents a pivotal moment in the history of this region, structuring this study in a way that develops the narrative across the war years better enables us to consider the role of print advertising, a relatively modern institution, and to observe the ways in which it was adaptable and persistent. The culture of newspaper advertising, unlike the four land empires of Europe in which it had increasingly appeared, was not a victim of the war.¹⁷

as influential on my work are Belinda Davis, *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), and Jesse Kauffman, *Ellusive Alliance: The German Occupation of Poland in World War I* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

¹⁶ The reader will forgive me if I occasionally refer to the period of this study as a “decade.” I decided early on to include at least ten years in this study, and bookending the war years with roughly three pre- and postwar years allowed for an extra level of continuity in the structure of this project.

¹⁷ This last sentence was suggested by my advisor, Nathaniel D. Wood. I would be remiss should I claim it as my own, given how much I enjoy the juxtaposition within it.

A Brief Overview of Cracow and Lemberg, 1911 to 1921

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the province of Galicia was the poorest within the Austro-Hungarian Empire.¹⁸ Despite this, Cracow had begun to see many of the improvements associated with becoming a “modern” city including plumbing, electricity, incorporation of suburbs into a greater metropolitan area, and a better transportation network comprised of roads and tramlines. The citizens of Cracow increasingly desired to identify themselves with the urbanites elsewhere in the empire and Europe, rather than merely with their ethnic brethren in the countryside.¹⁹ Similar developments had begun in the regional capital of Lemberg in the 1890s and continued to progress as the new century unfolded.²⁰ Lemberg would see population growth across this time period, reaching 207,000 in 1910.²¹ In the urban centers of Galicia the intelligentsia was the second highest tier within the social stratification, only behind aristocrats. Members of the intelligentsia were typically well educated, and the most prominent individuals within this group often held professional positions, such as doctors, lawyers, professors, and administrators. Just behind them, and ever seeking to maintain their position as *inteligentny/a* were large numbers of lower level civil servants, teachers, writers, and clerks. In *Becoming Metropolitan*, mentioned above, Nathaniel Wood notes that many of those in the lower level of the intelligentsia in Cracow were members of the country gentry that had settled in the city in an effort to find steady work that also

¹⁸ Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 8.

¹⁹ Ibid, 128.

²⁰ Markian Prokopowych, *Habsburg Lemberg: Architecture, Public Space, and Politics in the Galician Capital, 1772-1914* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009), 36.

²¹ Paul Robert Magocsi, *Historical Atlas of Central Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 96 and Helena Madurowicz-Urbańska, “Presidents of the Autonomous City of Lvov (1870-1918),” in *Mayors and City Halls*, ed. Jacek Purchla (Kraków: International Cultural Center Cracow, 1998), 53. The population would drop during the war, but then rise again afterwards, reaching to 220,000 by 1921.

allowed for ample leisure time.²² To identify oneself as *inteligentny/a* was to announce a heightened level of both education and participation in culture.

Life in these provincial cities often mimicked life in the imperial capital, Vienna.²³ The Polish leadership of the region largely supported the Austrian government after being granted autonomy in 1867. Repression of Poles within the German and Russian Empires reinforced this loyalty to the Austro-Hungarian crown. Though nationalism began to arise in Galicia in the first decade of the twentieth century, it was by no means a widespread political movement.

Internationally, the tensions driven by the desire for expansion by the smaller empires (German and Austro-Hungarian) and their larger neighbors (the British, French, and Russian) were ever present, so much so that they became a part of everyday life. Jan Słomka, village mayor of Dzików, near Tarnobrzeg, recounted the atmosphere of the pre-war years in Galicia in his memoir, “[e]verything looked like war as early as the spring of 1909, and still more on account of the Balkan troubles in 1912 and 1913....In the face of repeated tales and prophecies of war, the common people became used to it all and were not greatly disturbed.”²⁴

Słomka’s statement draws attention to the fact that in the years before the war life in Galicia experienced a normality that had included the international tension and threat of war for some time.²⁵

²² Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 44. Wood notes that many of these individuals would be land holders, connection-rich, but also cash-poor. Moving to the city, earning a steady wage, and establishing oneself as a member of the intelligentsia allowed a social mobility inaccessible to those that remained in the countryside.

²³ Ibid, 49; Prokopowych, *Habsburg Lemberg*, 6-7.

²⁴ Jan Słomka, *From Serfdom to Self-Government: Memoirs of a Polish Village Mayor 1842-1927*. (London: Minerva Publishing Co., Ltd., 1941), 203.

²⁵ Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 6-7; Kann, *A History*, 444-445; Myśliński, “Prasa Polska...,” 114-15.

As Galicia shared a relatively long border with the Russian Empire, it is no wonder that people living in the region would feel unease upon the outbreak of the war. In the end, though, the major military encroachment would not come from the territory of Russian-controlled Kingdom Poland, but rather along the easternmost borders of Galicia, where the region bordered Russian Ukraine.²⁶ By August 27, Imperial Russian forces were close enough to the city of Lemberg to warrant fears that they would invade overnight. Three days later the Austrian administration of the city evacuated the majority of state offices and banking officials without warning the city's population.²⁷ This was followed by the evacuation west of between forty and fifty thousand of the city's residents, nearly 25 percent of the total population. By September 3, the Russian troops entered the city to the sounds of a military band playing. They were met by the acting mayor, Tadeusz Rutowski, and the city was handed over in relative peace.²⁸ During the occupation of the city there was little violence directed at the Polish population. Most of the physical violence was perpetrated against the city's Jewish population, largely at the hands of Cossack Russian troops, while the city's Ruthenian population was suppressed politically and socially in an attempt to curb any Ukrainian nationalist sentiments that might spread to Ukrainian citizens of the Russian Empire. The city's new masters attempted to implement russification policies, both in schools and signage on the streets, but their success was limited. The Lemberg newspaper industry came under a much harsher

²⁶ This is due, in large part, to the early successes of the German military pushing into Kingdom Poland.

²⁷ Christoph Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv, 1914-1947: Violence and Ethnicity in a Contested City* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2016), 22-23; Bohdan Janusz, *293 dni rządów rosyjskich we Lwowie: 3.IX.1914-22.VI.1915* (Lwów: Księgarnia Polska, 1915), 1-2.

²⁸ Henryka Kramarz, *Samorząd Lwowa w czasie pierwszej wojny światowej i jego rola w życiu miasta* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe WSP, 1994), 36; Henryka Kramarz, *Tadeusz Rutowski: Portret pozytywisty i demokracji galicyjskiego* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2001), 116.

ensorship, limiting the total number of daily publications to seven titles.²⁹ During the occupation, which lasted around ten months, the Russian military occupying force was supplemented in their administration of the city by a number of the former Habsburg functionaries who had not evacuated with the state administration, including police, tram drivers, and city government representatives. The Russian occupation force was not in place long enough for these officials to be replaced by Russian Imperial civil servants, and thus had to rely upon the local expertise to keep the city functioning.³⁰

While Lemberg was occupied, the Russian army moved further west, towards Cracow. By November 3, the threat of Russian invasion was imminent enough that the authorities issued a mandatory evacuation for residents lacking enough provisions to last a potential siege.³¹ After a successful counter offensive by Austro-Hungarian forces, the Russian forces never took the ancient Polish capital. Momentum shifted and Habsburg forces, reinforced heavily by German forces, retook the strategic fortress at Przemyśl by March 1915 and won a decisive victory in the major battle of Gorlice-Tarnów in April. By June, Austrian and German forces had reached Lemberg, and on June 22, the Russian occupying forces retreated.³²

Requisitioning occurred early in the war, with both the Russian forces in Lemberg and the Austrian forces in Cracow purchasing horses and war materials from each city's residents. In terms of food within the cities, Cracovians experienced shortages much sooner than Lvovians. The traditional supply lines that brought in foodstuffs from abroad were largely disrupted in

²⁹ Janusz, *293 dni*, 121-25.

³⁰ Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv*, 4, 26-27.

³¹ Nathaniel D. Wood, "Plenty of Food in a 'World of Electric Light'? Unfulfilled Dreams of Technical Civilization in Cracow during WWI," Unpublished article, cited with author's permission, 11.

³² Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv*, 57.

western Galicia. Historian Bartosz Ogórek has written that much of the food brought into Cracow originated either in nearby districts in Kingdom Poland, where trade lines were cut off by Russian Imperial border authorities upon the outbreak of war, or from further east in Galicia, where shipments were disrupted by Russian occupation.³³ These shortages would not affect Lemberg until after the Russian withdrawal and the return of Habsburg control. Requisitions and shortages would reach critical levels in both cities as the war continued into its later years.³⁴ Life in the cities was heavily disrupted, though some modern amenities were never completely lost. The electric tram systems only experienced minor lapses in service, and other city utilities like water, gas, and electricity continued to function, albeit with periodic limitations.³⁵

Though Russian forces would attempt to retake Galicia in 1916, during the Brusilov Offensive, they were unsuccessful in gaining any major territory in the region. Cracow and Lemberg were never under direct military threat for the remainder of the war. Poles and Ruthenians in both cities carried out pogroms during the last stages of the war, largely as the result of scapegoating the Jewish population for the shortages experienced. Upon the end of the war in 1918, the new Polish state began formally incorporating both cities into their structure. This was met with major resistance in Lemberg, where Ruthenian citizens

³³ Bartosz Ogórek, "Feeding the City, Feeding the Fortress: Cracow's Food Supply in World War I," in *Journal of Urban History* (2018). DOI: 10.1177/0096144218799015. 2-3. It should be noted here that, even when German forces took the countryside in Kingdom Poland, they did not allow the shipments of goods to resume to Cracow, but rather directed those resources to their own army. This trend can also be seen in the German occupation policies of Warsaw and surrounding areas in Blobaum's, *A Minor Apocalypse*, cited above.

³⁴ Ogórek has recently published *Niezatarte Piętno?*, cited above, in which he compares food shipments into the city before and during the war, and evaluates the long term health impacts on a generation of Cracovian school children born shortly before or during the war.

³⁵ Wood, "Plenty of Food in a 'World of Electric Light'?" 17; Stanisław Rossocki, *Lwów podczas inwazyi* (L'viv: H. Altenberg et al., 1916), 249; S.A. An-sky, *1915 Diary of S.A. An-sky: A Russian Writer at the Eastern Front*. Polly Zavadviker, trans. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), 62-63.

(increasingly referred to as Ukrainian by themselves and others) launched an uprising on November 1, taking over and occupying the majority of Lemberg. By November 22, however, Polish forces, strengthened by the transfer of many troops from the former Polish Legions to the area, took the city back and promptly accused the remaining Jews in the city of collaborating with the Ruthenians.³⁶ This pogrom resulted in the deaths of many Jews, while the Poles killed no Ruthenians after retaking the city. Fighting would continue between Poles and Ruthenians in the countryside into 1919.³⁷ Within both Cracow and Lemberg, however, the task of rebuilding and returning to life outside of war began.

Advertising and Consumer Culture

Advertising has become a great vehicle of communication in industrialized societies. It permeates the lives of the populace in ways previously reserved for sermons, political speeches, and the opinions of elder family members. The content of its messages often speaks to our deepest concerns. The mediated communication of advertising emerged as a means to fill the gap in consumers' ability to ascertain which goods and services best fit their needs. Examining advertising is not without pitfalls, though, as "content analysis [of advertising] can say nothing about the audience's interpretation of the message....[b]ut this is not necessarily a weakness, as long as one does not try to use it to demonstrate the effect on the audience."³⁸

³⁶ There was no apparent basis for this allegation.

³⁷ Wood, "Plenty of Food in a 'World of Electric Light'?" 20-21; Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv*, 104-05, 144-45; Jadwiga Rutkowska, *Pamiętnik Lwowianki. 1914-1919*, Wojciech Polak and Sylwia Galij-Skarbińska, eds. (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2017), 166-67.

³⁸ William Leiss, Stephen Kline, and Sut Jhally, *Social Communication in Advertising: Persons, Products, & Images of Well-Being* (Toronto: Methuen, 1986), 3, 69, 174. These concerns are represented by the authors as "interpersonal and family relations, the sense of happiness and contentment, sex roles and stereotyping, the uses of affluence, the fading away of older cultural traditions, influences on younger generations, the role of business in society, persuasion and personal autonomy, and many others."

David Ciarlo notes that “[w]hen the analysis shifts away from such an imagined juxtaposition of a single (autonomous) observer and a single (extracted) image, and looks at larger patterns...over time, the dilemma over the precise relationship...fades in significance.”³⁹ In the examination of the overall trends in advertising in the popular press in Cracow and Lemberg this approach is used. While *individual* impact and motivation cannot be derived from commercial advertisements, trends in advertising can tell us a great deal about the urban space in which they exist. However, in one particular category of advertising, the classified, the agency of the individual can be seen, as we will see in later chapters.

According to Marjorie Hilton, consumer culture not only denotes the “structural and mental shift...from societies preoccupied with the production of goods to societies focused on consumption,” but also societies that have developed “promotional techniques and attitudes that glorify the acquisition of consumer goods as the means to achieving happiness and establishing identity.”⁴⁰ The presence of a consumer culture elsewhere in Europe and in bordering states, along with the rise of local newspaper publication set the stage for similar development in Galicia. In 1881, there were 107 periodical publications in the region of Galicia. By 1910, the number had risen to 392.⁴¹ Thus by 1911 newspaper culture was already well established in urban areas, which saw circulation of a number of daily editions from Vienna, but more importantly had begun to publish their own spectrum of daily newspapers, from the

³⁹ David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual Culture in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 16. Ciarlo applies the method of examining advertising for its broader significance on culture rather than on the individual in a historical setting.

⁴⁰ Marjorie Hilton, *Selling to the Masses: Retailing in Russia, 1880-1930* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 6.

⁴¹ Jerzy Myśliński, “Prasa Polska w Galicji w Dobie Autonomicznej (1867-1918),” in *Prasa Polska w Latach 1864-1918*, Jerzy Łojek, ed. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1976), 120.

political to the boulevard, or gutter.⁴² Advertising around that time represented a reasonably large portion of what the newspapers printed in their editions, even in the smaller titles. For example, the Sunday, February 5, 1911 edition of *Głos Narodu* in Cracow had a total of six pages, with slightly more than two dedicated to advertisements.⁴³ The ratio of space was even higher in the Cracow daily *Czas*, which on the same day had four total pages, two of which were devoted entirely to advertising.⁴⁴ This amount of advertising strongly suggests a developed consumer culture in Cracow similar to the consumer cultures in the British, Russian and German empires at this time and its continuation throughout this turbulent decade suggests that newspaper advertising in Galicia both promoted and sustained consumer culture. This expanding consumer culture reached into many areas of the lives of Galicians, including the formation of their identities and the highly personal areas of marriage and the home.

The presence of a consumer culture in urban Europe, mentioned above, is key to understanding the trends presented in the following chapters. It is important to see the consumer culture that developed in Cracow and Lemberg before the war as a part of greater trends that had begun elsewhere in Europe, which by 1914 had spread not only to the continental capitals, but also to the regional cities. Thomas Richards chronicles consumer culture, which he calls “commodity culture,” in Victorian England. He highlights the importance of advertising and spectacle in this new “capitalist culture.”⁴⁵ Richards traces advertising in England from its infancy to the middle of the nineteenth century, when advertisers and

⁴² Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 52-53.

⁴³ *Głos Narodu*, 5 February 1911, 1-6.

⁴⁴ *Czas*, 5 February 1911, 1-4.

⁴⁵ Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 1-2.

companies began to understand the power of spectacle and use it to their advantage. As businesses began to use advertising on the street, and later in the press, the spectacle of new technologies, techniques, and exotic or desirable goods could now move from the exhibition space, into the public space of the street, and the private space of the home.⁴⁶ Lori Anne Loeb looks more closely at the relationship between the Victorian middle-class, women, the household, and advertising, in her book *Consuming Angels*.⁴⁷ The consumer culture that developed in England was almost simultaneously coming to the continent. David Ciarlo (mentioned above), establishes that a similar culture existed in the German Empire before its collapse. Both Richards and Ciarlo highlight the connections between the advertising in the center and goods from the imperial territories. These advertisements often involved racist themes, especially regarding the depiction of African peoples and cultures. Stephen Gross examines trends in German exports to Southeastern Europe from the turn of the century to the conclusion of the Second World War.⁴⁸ What is most notable from Gross' work, for the purposes of this study, is that the German Empire had not only developed a consumer culture by the early 1900s, but it had also begun to use consumerism to exercise political power elsewhere in Europe. Leora Auslander firmly establishes that consumer culture was present and thriving by this period in France in her book detailing the role of furniture in French culture.⁴⁹ Further east, Sally West illuminates advertising culture in the Russian Empire, and Marjorie Hilton traces consumer culture and the retail industry in the late Russian Empire and early

⁴⁶ Richards, *Commodity Culture*, 43, 53.

⁴⁷ Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

⁴⁸ Stephen G. Gross, *Export Empire: German Soft Power in Southeastern Europe, 1890-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

⁴⁹ Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

Soviet periods.⁵⁰ This study demonstrates that consumer and newspaper advertising culture were firmly established in the years prior to the outbreak of the First World War. While it serves as a microhistory of advertising culture in two metropolitan areas in a corner of the Habsburg Empire across a decade that included the First World War, it also represents a microcosm of the spread of modern metropolitan advertising culture as a means of communication that served multiple purposes and adapted to local conditions.

The Structure of this Study

The first chapter introduces the reader to the newspaper titles analyzed and to the textual nature of the Galician cityscape. It then moves into a brief discussion about the pricing of advertising throughout the period. It concludes with an examination of individual pages of advertising, primarily commercial, from the largest newspaper in each city at points before the war began, in the middle of the war years, in the later war years, and after the war ended, supplemented by evidence from other titles. Specific brands or companies that may be familiar to the reader, as well as local trends, are considered. Qualitative evidence from these pages begins to tell the story of advertising as a mode of communication that persisted across the war years, despite changes in the content of the advertisements themselves.

While the first chapter can be described as a qualitative, macro-examination of newspaper advertising in Cracow and Lemberg, the second chapter is much more quantitative in nature, but no less macroscopic. Specific numerical trends regarding total length of editions and total space and number of advertisements within the eight newspaper titles examined

⁵⁰ Sally West, *I Shop in Moscow: Advertising and the Creation of Consumer Culture in Late Tsarist Russia* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2011); and Hilton, *Selling to the Masses* (cited above).

show that the continuation of advertising as a mode of communication was adaptable and resilient across the period, even while everyday life, and the newspapers, reflect the disruption of war.

The third chapter delves further into the cultural phenomenon of piano ownership within the upper and middle classes in Galicia. A micro-level examination of the buying and selling of pianos from 1911 to 1921 in this chapter tells us more about how war affected individuals and families during the period. Pianos and music were examples of one way in which those ascribing the idea that they belonged to the intelligentsia could show to the outside world their family's level of education and culture. After examining the relationship between a person's source of income and their relative stability, the chapter asserts that those members of society on fixed incomes (primarily in the service of the local government or empire) suffered far more at the hands of inflation than those in professions that could set their own wages. The former were often in a position where they would need to sell items of worth in order to make ends meet, while the latter actually had the opportunity for upward social mobility during the war (by buying status symbols, such as pianos). This is one micro-level example of how the surface persistence of a particular type of advertising, piano classifieds, actually represents a great deal of change. What persisted, however, was advertisement as a mode of communication through which citizens sought to negotiate the vicissitudes of their economic situation and class status.

The final chapter gets even more personal, through the examination of marriage classified advertisements in the popular press in Cracow and Lemberg from 1911-1921. This is yet another micro-level look at how one type of advertising represents both resilience and

change across a turbulent period. The chapter considers overall trends in marriage, alongside trends in marriage advertising. The picture that emerges is that marriage advertising had become an accepted and viable mode of communication before the war to find spouses, and this communication persisted throughout the war and afterward. Here, again, we see the use of the term *inteligentny/a* both as a description of oneself, and of a desired quality in a potential partner. Just as piano advertisements illuminate shifts in socioeconomic and class status, marriage advertisements serve as a lens to witness how individuals see themselves, the characteristics they find appealing in others, and changes in gender dynamics within the cities of Cracow and Lemberg.

During the First World War the citizens of Cracow and Lemberg experienced a period of remarkable instability. In the initial year of the war, Lvovians experienced the violence of the frontlines firsthand, while Cracovians lived under the nearby threat of that violence as troops moved back and forth across Galicia. Once the imminent threat of physical violence had passed, urban citizens had to confront increasing levels of scarcity, requisitions, and inflation that made daily survival more difficult. City services in both metropolitan areas seldom ceased to function completely, but they often operated at a fraction of prewar levels. As the war dragged on few families had not experienced the loss of kin, either to death, conscription, or the breakdown in lines of communication as their family members fled the region. The Habsburg authorities, both regional and imperial, were increasingly unable to hold the empire and its multi-ethnic citizenry together. The daily newspapers in both cities reflected this instability in the prices of editions, breaks in publication, and the types of stories reported on. Advertising within newspapers also

reflected the turbulent nature of the time. However, advertising culture and its use as a means of communication suffered no interruption.

Citizens and businesses in Cracow and Lemberg continued to use advertising structures put in place before the war to engage in communication with other urban inhabitants in an unchanged manner. Individuals continued to use classifieds to buy and sell things, look for jobs, and advertise for spouses. Advertising proved adaptable and resilient as evidenced not only by its overarching persistence, but also in the ways in which it accommodated individual agency. Members of the intelligentsia who needed money to survive could sell symbols of their status, namely pianos. Likewise, petit bourgeois merchants, shopkeepers, and artisans who found themselves in a position to advance economically during the war could advance their socio-cultural status by purchasing the pianos sold by those less fortunate. Cracovians and Lvovians used the relatively recent addition of marriage advertising classifieds to look for spouses across this period. This new form of matchmaking provided men and especially women more agency in the choosing of their potential spouses. The culture of marriage advertising was firmly established enough before the war that its use continued throughout the war and into the postwar period. Men and women could be as specific in their search for partners and their descriptions of themselves as they sought fit, often including the indicators of social status (such as *inteligentny/a*), age, hair color, salary, etc. The following chapters, and this work as a whole, show that even as we approach the study of wars as disruptive and destructive to everyday life, we should not overlook those cultural forms, some of which might be relatively recent, that prove to be adaptable and useful.. Such is the case for newspaper advertising as a culture and mode of communication. Advertising culture proved adaptable and resilient enough

to weather the storm of a period of extreme change. The continued participation of Cracovians and Lvovians in this culture shows that this area of everyday life remained a familiar constant while many other facets of life experienced disruption. This encourages future studies not only to focus on the ways in which war interferes with everyday life, but also to take a more nuanced approach to aspects of life and culture that were persistent and adaptable.

Chapter 1. The Visual Page:

A Qualitative Assessment of Commercial Advertising in Cracow and Lemberg

On 6 May 1917, a notice for an artistic embroidery exhibition appeared in the advertisement section of *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny*. This exhibition opened on 15 May and benefitted the local Red Cross, and it was an event readers could bring the whole family to for 50 hallers (cents) a person, or 30 hallers, on Sundays and holidays. This type of entertainment, and advertising for it, was not unheard of during the war, and people in Cracow were no doubt interested in anything that might take their minds off the current food shortages and the ongoing war. What is of note, however, is that the exhibition was to take place within the Singer Sewing Machine Company's storefront at 40 Szpitalna Street.⁵¹ While the choice to have the exhibition may have been strategic (this storefront was across the street from the main entrance to the grandiose Municipal Theater), what is most interesting is that Singer Sewing Machine Company stores were even open at all. The United States had been officially at war with the Central Powers for exactly one month at the time of this advertisement's appearance, and while outright Singer advertisements had disappeared from the pages of the popular press for the time being, the American company still had its doors open in the city.

In a discussion of advertising in the newspapers in Cracow and Lemberg during the second decade of the twentieth century, it is probably best to begin with what the advertisements actually looked like. What did the readers of these daily newspapers see when they reached the pages, typically near the end of each edition, that were filled with largely commercial advertising? This chapter endeavors to elucidate the textual landscape of each city,

⁵¹ *IKC*, 6 May 1917, 6.

to explore the nature of the periodical titles discussed throughout this project, and to bring the focus specifically to the commercial advertising found on typical individual pages of the newspapers.

After laying the groundwork of discussing the cities as text, providing a background about the eight main titles used in this study, and discussing how much advertising cost, the focus will largely shift to the commercial advertising on the pages of *IKC* and *Wiek Nowy*, with supplemental information from the more conservative newspapers *Czas* and *Kurjer Lwowski*. The study describes and compares advertising pages from 1912, before the war, 1916, in the midst of the war, 1918, near the end of the war, and 1921, after the war. All of the editions chosen for comparison fall between the last day of August and the fourth day of September for each year. All editions of *IKC* are Sunday editions, which were the largest of the week for any newspaper in Cracow, while those from *Wiek Nowy* were from the largest editions in Lemberg and published on Saturdays. These dates were chosen for comparison because of their consistent availability, and because choosing the same weekend across the years and in both cities allows for the best comparison. This relatively small sample size was chosen to focus on narrating what was on each page in relative detail. This allows for more qualitative detail, whereas the next chapter will use a much larger, quantitative sample to discuss overall trends.

In addition to the individual pages compared, this chapter also highlights well-known international advertisers during the period, unique advertisements, and advertisements for culturally significant businesses from a number of titles in an effort to provide a well-rounded picture of commercial advertising in Galicia's two major cities. The comparison of individual pages and the vignettes of specific brands and industries provide an added layer of illustration

of the overall adaptability and resilience of advertising as a mode of communication across an unstable period.

Textual Urban Galicia

The citizens of Cracow and Lemberg were surrounded by text, something their fellow Galicians in the countryside did not necessarily experience. When the average Cracovian or Lvovian engaged in the act of walking down the street they encountered signs of all kinds. Street signs were crucial to navigating the city. Storefront signage advertised the kinds of shops they strode past. Posters advertised businesses, goods, and spectacles. If they dined in a restaurant, they would have seen written menus. In his study of Berlin around 1900, Peter Fritzsche observes that “[t]he great text of the big city around the turn of the century had a wide range of authors,” and that “[a]ny number of genres...represented the metropolis,” including advertisements.⁵² He argues that no medium was as important to the city as the mass-circulation newspaper. Newspapers “calibrated” readers to the rhythms of the city, they “fashioned” ways of looking, and they “trained” inhabitants how to navigate the city space.⁵³ Fritzsche further argues that the burgeoning consumer culture that Berlin began to experience around the turn of the century was cultivated and encouraged by the use of advertising in the newspapers.⁵⁴ When readers of the papers reached the advertising they were confronted with “well-designed and often fetching pages,” and to them, “the city appeared as a luxuriant garden of possibility,” of places to visit and goods to purchase. It was only around the turn of the century that consumer culture and newspaper circulation began to interact in this way. The

⁵² Peter Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 15.

⁵³ *Ibid*, 15-16.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 64.

rise in available goods and services corresponded to an increase in newspaper readership that allowed retailers and businesses to take advantage of the “increasingly large public of consumers.”⁵⁵ Nathaniel Wood has highlighted the development of a similar newspaper culture in Cracow around the same time.⁵⁶ The literacy rate in Cracow had risen from 75 percent in 1900, to 78.32 percent in 1910.⁵⁷ By 1921, the literacy rate had risen even further to 80.8 percent. In Lemberg in 1921, the literacy rate was even higher at 82.3 percent.⁵⁸ The next few sections of this chapter will describe the environment of newspaper culture in Cracow and Lemberg before the war, discuss the readership of each of the relevant titles to this overall study, and examine the overall trends in advertising pricing from 1911 to 1921. After setting the stage, the remainder of the chapter will focus on what the advertising pages looked like in the each city’s major illustrated daily newspaper, followed by some of the general trends in commercial goods and services across all titles before, during, and after the war.

The Press in Cracow and Lemberg

In 1881 there were 107 periodical publications in the imperial crownland of Galicia. By 1910, the number had risen to 392.⁵⁹ Thus by 1911 newspaper culture was already well established in the urban areas of Galicia, which saw circulation of a number of daily editions from Vienna, but more importantly had begun to publish their own spectrum of daily

⁵⁵ Ibid, 140-143.

⁵⁶ Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 52-53.

⁵⁷ Miejskie Biuro Statystyczne, *Statystyka Miasta Krakowa* (Kraków: Gmina Miasta Krakowa, 1912), 35-36.

⁵⁸ *Pierwszy Powszechny Spis Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z Dnia 30 Września 1921 Roku: Województwo Krakowie* (Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 1927), 44-45; *Pierwszy Powszechny Spis Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z Dnia 30 Września 1921 Roku: Województwo Lwowie* (Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 1927), 54-55. There is no indicator in this census that notes whether or not literacy was purely gauged on the ability to read Polish, or if it referred to the ability to read any of the languages spoken in either city at the time.

⁵⁹ Jerzy Myśliński, “Prasa Polska w Galicji w Dobie Autonomicznej (1867-1918),” in *Prasa Polska w Latach 1864-1918*, Jerzy Łojek, ed. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1976), 120.

newspapers, from the political to the sensational, sometimes called the boulevard, or gutter press (*prasa brukowa*).⁶⁰ The relatively large amount of publication space devoted to advertising noted in *Czas* and *Głos Narodu* in the introduction is reflected in many of the popular daily publications in the two large Galician cities, which makes it a particularly valuable window into everyday life in urban Galicia. To develop the most comprehensive picture possible of advertising trends in the popular press in Cracow and Lemberg I have examined a wide spectrum of popular daily titles which ran for all (or most) of the period under study, from 1911 to 1921.

The trends discussed in this chapter, as well as in the larger work as a whole, predominantly rely on work completed using the eight following newspaper titles. *Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny* (Illustrated Daily Courier, henceforth *IKC*), *Głos Narodu* (Voice of the Nation), *Czas* (Time), and *Nowa Reforma* (New Reform) from Cracow, and *Wiek Nowy* (New Century), *Kurjer Lwowski* (Lvovian Courier), *Gazeta Lwowska* (Lvovian Gazette), and *Діло* (The Cause, henceforth *Dilo*) from Lemberg. While the inclusion of *Dilo* represents the significant Ukrainian presence in the city of Lemberg, there are no German or Yiddish language newspapers represented. Exhaustive efforts to locate newspapers in both of these languages to represent the Jewish and German inhabitants in these two cities (primarily residing in Lemberg) ultimately proved unfruitful, as well.⁶¹ That is not to say that ethnic Germans and Jews do not appear

⁶⁰ Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 52-53.

⁶¹ While German and Yiddish language newspapers existed and can be located for both Cracow and Lemberg, digital, microfilm, and records of physical holdings all fell outside of the decade examined in this study. While German, or dual language, editions of *Gazeta Lwowska* could be found, they did not contain any different advertising than the Polish versions of those editions. Efforts were exhausted searching for holdings in any format at US and Canadian university libraries, and the Library of Congress, as well as The National Library of Poland, the Jagiellonian University Library, the University of Warsaw Library, the Małopolska Digital Library, the National Archives of Poland, the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław, and the Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library of

within the material for this study, however, as they appear in both commercial and classified advertising in a number of the included newspapers. Their presence in Polish and Ukrainian language newspapers represents a readership that was comprised of other minorities, at least in part.

The Nature of the Titles

In Cracow, *Głos Narodu*, a popular nationalist and anti-Semitic daily with ties to the Christian Socialist party, had around 4000 subscriptions at the turn of the century. *Czas*, a conservative and pro-government daily, was less popular, never reaching more than 2500 subscriptions during the same time period. *Nowa Reforma* catered to yet another political audience, the liberal democrats, and as such continued to increase in circulation as that stance grew in popularity. All three were amongst the four most popular politically motivated newspapers by the beginning of the twentieth century, print runs of which totaled around 8000.⁶² *IKC* claimed to be apolitical, and strove to market itself as an informative, popular supplement to the more politically focused newspapers of the time.⁶³ This strategy seems to have been successful, as *IKC* was the most popular of all three of the papers examined in this study, boasting print runs of 20,000 in 1910, and an even higher number just before the war at 67,000.⁶⁴ Subscriptions to these newspapers were taken primarily by those within the city, but

Ukraine. Additionally, Yiddish language newspapers were sought at YIVO, The Institute for Jewish Research in New York. Many of these titles and editions are available digitally or on microforms. Access to physical copies of certain relevant materials has been limited, though every effort was made to include relevant titles in the discussion that follows.

⁶² Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 53; Myśliński, "Prasa Polska...", 121-27; Jerzy Myśliński, *Prasa Galicji w Dobre Autonomicznej, 1867-1918* (Warsaw: Institut Badań Literackich, 1972), 40-42. The fourth popular daily newspaper was *Naprzód*, a socialist paper, which was unavailable for this study.

⁶³ Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 64.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 57.

also by readers in nearby towns. It should be noted that the overall population of Cracow was around 150,000 at this time. The number of subscriptions sold was supplemented by the sale of individual newspapers on the street, which was officially illegal, but nevertheless played a large part in the dissemination of the press in both cities.⁶⁵ The total number of subscriptions is an indicator of how newspapers became a part of everyday life in Cracow, carrying advertising with them.

In Lemberg, *Gazeta Lwowska* played a similar role to that of *Czas* in Cracow. Modelled after popular Viennese newspapers at the time, it was the only popular daily newspaper to receive direct state funding, and was thus often a carrier of conservative, state-supporting opinions. In the last 20 years of the nineteenth century its subscriptions rose to around 2500.⁶⁶ In the decades prior to the turn of the century *Kurjer Lwowski* was taking subscriptions of around 4000. *Kurjer Lwowski* was a popular daily being published twice a day by 1911 that had ties to peasant movements in Galicia, though later it would also have ties to the state.⁶⁷ *Dilo* began publication in 1880 and represented the first, and most widely read Ukrainian language daily newspaper in the city.⁶⁸ After 1899 it became an organ of the Ukrainian National Democratic Party.⁶⁹ *Wiek Nowy* was founded in 1901 and was directly modeled after the popular Viennese daily *Illustrierte Kronenzeitung*.⁷⁰ It was similar to *IKC* in its intended audience (mass) and its apolitical stance, though the newspaper did occasionally overtly support one

⁶⁵ Ibid, 54-55. Wood notes the significance of printing runs which were often many more than that of the subscriptions as evidence of the importance of street sales.

⁶⁶ Jerzy Jarowiecki, *Prasa Lwowska w Latach 1864-1918* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2002), 25; 31-32.

⁶⁷ *Kurjer Lwowski* (henceforth *KL*), First available Saturday editions, 1911; Jarowiecki, *Prasa Lwowska*, 31; 44.

⁶⁸ Ю.Г. Шаповал, *Поступ Української Суспільної Думки* (Львів: Національна академія наук, 1999), 3-4.

⁶⁹ Myśliński, "Prasa Galicji...", 34.

⁷⁰ Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 54.

political view over another, as we will see during the occupation of Lemberg by Russian forces.⁷¹ These titles represent a wide variance of political leanings, as well as titles that were billed apolitical by their staffs. This allows for a comparison of advertising to be made across differing political viewpoints and enables the evaluation of whether or not advertising was affected by the stance of each title.

The Relative Costs of Advertising

Any discussion of the number and content of advertising in the popular daily newspapers of Cracow and Lemberg is best prefaced by a brief overview of how much advertising cost during the period in question. The costs for advertising are usually included in each edition, most often on the first page, near the price lists for the various methods of buying the newspaper. In the event that the advertising costs did not appear near the other price lists, it was often located just before the area of the newspaper where most of the advertising was printed, for example the classifieds, or the first full page of business advertising. Each editorial staff determined how best to sell the advertising to be published in the pages of their newspaper, as a result advertising was sold in a number of different categories. These categories differed from title to title, but the most common categories were the general advertisement, *ogłoszenia*, and the classified, *drobne ogłoszenia*. Additional common categories included professional or business announcements (*nadestane*), obituaries (*nekrologia*), public announcements of family news (*doniesienia* or *głosy publiczności*), and separate inserts (*załączniki*). The basic advertisement could often also cost more if it was larger

⁷¹ Jarowiecki, *Prasa Polska*, 39.

than one column (such as a banner) or if it contained tables, numbers, or was deemed otherwise complicated.⁷²

Inseraty:	
Wiersz petitowy jednoszpaltowy	K. —20
Każdy następny raz	—10
Wiersz pet. układu tabelar.	—40
Nadesłane	—60
Nekrologi	—80
Wiersz po kronice	1—
Załączniki od 100 egzempl. od	2—
Paski od	3—
Drobne ogłoszenia po 4 hal. od wyrazu (najmniejsze ogłoszenie 40 hal.).	

Figure 1. Price list for advertising in *IKC*, 1 January, 1911, 1.

Due to the varied nature of these categories I have used the costs listed for the most basic type of advertisement in each newspaper. In some titles, where less distinction is made, these *ogłoszenia* could include business advertising along with classifieds, and anything that did not warrant a chart, table, or other complicated printing. In other titles, the most basic form from the list of the types that could be bought was the classified. These basic advertisements were sold in two ways, either by the word (in *IKC*, *Wiek Nowy*, and *Kurjer Lwowski*), or by a set price for the whole advertisement (in *Nowa Reforma*, *Czas*, *Gazeta Narodowa*, and *Gazeta Lwowska*).⁷³ The prices used in this comparison not only represent the most basic *type* of advertisement, but also the most basic *options* within that category of advertisement as well.

⁷² For lists of available types of advertising see: *IKC*, 1 Jan 1911, 1; *Wiek Nowy* (henceforth *WN*), 6 Jan 1911, 1; *KL*, 7 Jan 1911, 1; *Nowa Reforma* (henceforth *NR*), 1 Jan 1911, 1; *Czas*, 1 Jan 1911, 1; *Głos Narodu* (henceforth *GN*), 1 Jan 1911, 1; and *Gazeta Lwowska* (henceforth *GL*), 8 Jan 1911, 1. Throughout the study other occasional distinctions appear, however these are the most frequent categories used across the titles.

⁷³ *Dilo* is not included in this discussion because its publication in exile during the Russian occupation of Lemberg and later its closure do not provide a consistent source base with which to trace overarching trends to compare to the other titles.

For example, advertisers often had the choice to bold words for an extra price, and advertisements purchased for holiday, Sunday, or weekend editions often also cost more. The prices used hereafter do not include any of these options. On a similar note, newspapers that sold advertisements by the whole advertisement often charged a set price for the first purchase of that advertisement, and a subsequent lower price for each additional run of that advertisement. It follows then that the trends described in this section rely on the most basic type of advertisement, in its most basic form, for its first run, on a non-premium day.

To adjust for the increasing trend of inflation that occurred during the war years, and continued exponentially in the post-war period, the trends in this section are derived by comparing the cost of advertising (using the method above) to the cost of the individual editions (non-subscription prices, noted on the front page of each edition). Using the percentage that the advertising cost in relation to the edition price allows the reader to trace the relative cost of advertising as compared to the newspaper edition costs themselves across the years in question. This also allows for an understanding of how the staffs of the newspapers reacted to the increasing inflation, and to what extent each staff was willing to match the cost-transfer to advertisers proportionate to the cost-transfer to the customers who bought the newspapers. I will first look at trends for the three titles in which the staff sold advertising by the word, then at the four titles where advertising was sold at a set price per ad.

In *IKC* the overall trend in advertising costs shows a rise from 1911 to mid-1914. From July 1914 to September 1916 there was a gradual increase in the cost of the newspaper, but no change in the cost of advertising, thus resulting in a relative drop in advertising costs during that period (from the cost of advertising per word being the same as the price for one edition of

the paper, 6 hellers, to 60%, or 6 hellers per word compared to 10 hellers for the edition). From October 1916 to December of 1921, the prices for the editions of *IKC* and the prices for advertising in that title both rose, but the editorial staff raised the prices for each of these at different rates. Usually the price of the edition went up first, followed a few months later by the price of advertising. This results in trends that are relatively difficult to trace, as the percentage of edition cost that advertising made up shifted multiple times in each year. What is clear, though, is that the relative percentage of advertising costs reached the highest rate just before the outbreak of war (167 percent) and it would never reach that rate during the war, or after. By then end of this study, in 1921, the cost per word was 75 percent of an individual issue.⁷⁴

The editors of the Lvovian illustrated daily *Wiek Nowy* did not change advertising prices from January of 1911 to November 1917, despite raising in the price of the newspaper itself across the period from 4 hellers to 8. After November of 1917, both the price of the newspaper and the cost of advertising continued to rise with inflation, though, like the trend in *IKC*, the cost of the newspaper was usually raised first, followed by the cost of advertising later. By February of 1920 the newspaper staff ceased publishing advertising costs altogether. Advertising continued to be bought by both business and individuals even after the prices were no longer listed. The overall relative costs of advertising dropped from 150 percent of the cost of an edition in January of 1911 to 50 percent in January of 1920.⁷⁵

The administration of *Kurjer Lwowski*, the last of the three titles in which classified advertising was bought by the word, seems to have attempted to maintain the model of a one-

⁷⁴ Advertising prices traced from *IKC*, First available Sunday editions January 1911 – December 1921.

⁷⁵ *WN*, First available Saturday editions January 1911 – December 1921. As noted in the text, advertising price lists were not published after January 1920.

to-one ratio of edition costs to per-word advertising costs from January 1911 to December of 1916. When they raised the cost of the edition, they would likewise raise the cost of advertising within a few months (similar to the titles above). From January 1917 until December 1921 the cost of the editions was increased by a slightly higher rate than that of the advertising costs, so that by the end of 1921 the ratio was two-to-one (50 percent).⁷⁶

In the newspapers in which the editorial staffs sold advertising at a set rate per advertisement, the relative percentages of edition cost to advertising costs are understandably higher, as the rate per word in the previous three titles was always lower than the rate per advertisement in the remaining four. Because of that increased ratio, advertisements sold in this way often cost two or three times as much as the daily price for a given title. These higher percentages do not result in a less effective method for relative comparison, however, as they still allow for trends to be traced across the period.

In *Nowa Reforma* advertising began the period at a set price two times the rate of the cost of the newspaper. The cost of the paper and the cost of the advertising increased over the next few years, though the rate of increase was slightly higher for the advertising. By October 1917, the cost of an advertisement had raised to three times that of the edition price. From November 1917 until December of 1921 the relative cost of advertising was gradually decreased by the administration as prices for the newspaper and advertising rose at different rates. In 1920 and 1921 the rate of advertising was often be less than double the cost of the edition, and by the end of this study it was 150 percent of the cost of the edition.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ *KL*, First available Saturday editions January 1911 – December 1921.

⁷⁷ *NR*, First available Saturday evening editions, January 1911 to December 1913, Saturday (single) editions, January 1914 to April 1914, and Sunday editions, May 1914 to December 1921.

A similar trend is seen in the nationalist daily *Głos Narodu*. Here the staff began 1911 with a set price for advertising that was 160 percent of the edition price and that percentage was raised until February of 1916. After March of 1916 the prices of both the paper and advertising was raised at different rates, resulting in an overall decrease of the relative percentage down to 150 percent by the end of 1921, nearly the same percentage that existed in 1911.⁷⁸

The advertising price of *Gazeta Lwowska* was set at double the cost of an edition price by their staff from January of 1911 until the Russian occupation began in August of 1914. The title was not published during the occupation period, but when it returned after the city was retaken the advertising price was set at a little over two and a half times the cost of an edition. It remained there until the end of the war. In December of 1918 the cost of an edition of *Gazeta Lwowska* was raised by the staff by almost four times the cost of the previous month, while the advertising cost was kept the same. This resulted in an immediate drop in the relative cost from 250 percent to 75 percent. The staff continued to raise the cost of the editions at a steeper rate than advertising, the cost of which remained nearly constant from December of 1918 until November 1920. After that month the staff no longer printed advertising costs. The relative cost in November of 1920 was barely over 13 percent, at 40 fennigs per advertisement while the newspaper cost a full 3 marks.⁷⁹

The only newspaper to have a higher relative cost for advertising to the edition price in 1921 than in 1911 was *Czas*. The editors of *Czas* did not change the edition price, nor the price

⁷⁸ *GN*, First available Sunday editions January 1911 – December 1921.

⁷⁹ *GL*, First available Sunday editions January 1911 – December 1921.

for an advertisement from January 1911 until early 1918. The relative cost of advertising, therefore, stayed at two times the cost of the edition throughout that time period. Beginning in March 1918, the administration raised the prices for both advertising and the editions at different rates and at different times, leading to a wide variance of relative cost percentages, though by late 1921 the relative percentage remained consistently over 200 percent, and in the last two months of that year advertising cost 250 percent of the edition cost. For the same two months, November and December, *Nowa Reforma* cost the same per edition (20 marks) but only charge 30 marks for an advertisement (150 percent), compared to the 50 marks per advertisement in *Czas*.⁸⁰

In general terms, examining the cost advertising within these seven newspapers leads to the following conclusions. First, that pricing before the onset of war was relatively stable, with the exception of *IKC* whose editors seem to have discovered that they could gradually raise the relative price of advertising without affecting sales. Second, that the staffs of the newspapers tried to maintain the costs to advertisers at the same relative levels as pre-war costs well into the war years, to varying degrees of success. Third, when the relative cost of advertising in each title began to become unstable, the majority of newspaper administrations raised the costs of the edition first, followed by the cost of advertising. Fourth, over the course of time the cost of advertising was not raised at the same rate as the cost per edition. This resulted in lower relative costs by 1921 than in 1911 for every title except for *Czas*. Advertising costs in that title were kept the same from 1911 until July, 1918, and the relative price in December of 1921 was

⁸⁰ *Czas*, First Sunday morning editions January 1911 – December 1921. *NR*, 6 November 1921 and 4 December 1921.

two and a half times the cost of the edition, compared to two times in January of 1911. These four themes lead to conclusions about how the newspaper publishers changed the transfer of costs in the face of inflation to the advertisers and consumers of the newspapers. While the publishers did not go so far as to not raise the prices at all for advertising, they did attempt to maintain relative stability of pricing during the minor inflation in the early war years. Later, as inflation increased at a frantically rapid pace, the administrations of the newspapers all followed a pattern of increasing the cost to consumers first, then later raised the cost to advertisers. Perhaps most telling is that, with the exception of *Czas*, every title saw the costs of editions go up at an increased rate compared to the costs of advertising. This signals that the publishers were more willing to raise the costs for consumers while they were more reluctant to do so with advertisers.

What Readers Saw

1912: Before the War

The sixteenth, and last, page of *IKC* on 1 September 1912 was completely made up of commercial advertising (see Figure 2, at the end of this chapter)⁸¹. This began with a full horizontal banner for the Reim i Społka general store. In addition to stretching the entire width of the page it fills roughly one-fifth of the total vertical space of the broadsheet. In true general store fashion, it espoused outdoor equipment, such as tennis supplies (with an illustration of two men volleying across a net), soccer balls, hammocks, and outdoor chairs, next to soda water making equipment, perfume, soaps, and powders, paints, floor lacquers, and school supplies (including a chalkboard on an easel). “All articles needed for the home” could be found

⁸¹ All of the pages discussed in this chapter can be found at the end of the conclusion.

at their store on the Main Square (Rynek Główny) in the center of Cracow.⁸² The middle of the page is filled with advertisements for other various goods and services. These included the therapeutic salt baths in Szczawnica, a salt mining town in the nearby Tatra mountains, Stanisław Zientkiewicz's funeral home located in Bochnia, around 40 kilometers east of Cracow, and the J. Kulka rubber company in distant Prague. An illustration of a finely dressed woman appeared in the advertisement for E. Szancer's women's clothing store on fashionable Floryńska Street. The advertisers took the unusual approach of having white letters on a black background, undoubtedly to draw the readers' attention. This page also included two advertisements for hernia rupture bandages (one in Cracow proper, the other across the bridge in Podgórze), W. Zakrzewski's watch and jewelry shop, the "Aksmann," American typewriter office and store on Szewska Street, and "Tryumf," powder for the cleaning and care of blond and dark hair. The final two advertisements on the page are "Mr." W. Bełdowski's manufacturer of cigarette making supplies, and the S. Renisch goose feather company in Deschenitz, in the Czech lands. There were 12 total advertisements, and they represented not only businesses in Cracow, but also in other towns within Galicia, and the Habsburg Empire.⁸³ One of the hernia bandage companies mentioned above noted that they also had an office in Warsaw.⁸⁴ Despite this outlier, the advertising in 1912 mostly reflected a clear connection to trade networks within the Austrian side of the empire.

⁸² *IKC*, 1 September 1912, 16. They also advertise insect repellent and freckle and sunburn preventatives. The advertisement contains two illustrations, as well. One of two men playing tennis, and the other of a chalkboard for school.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ This is the M. Kantorowicz store located in Podgórze. They also note that they have offices in Sosnowice and Vienna.

On the same weekend in 1912 in Lemberg, the publishers of *Wiek Nowy* printed thirteen commercial advertisements on the eighteenth page of their Saturday edition (see Figure 3). The first advertisement to appear in the uppermost left-hand corner of the page was purchased by Józef Karrach selling “Tomasyna,” brand fertilizer. Similar to Cracow, there is an advertisement for Czech goose feathers from Deschenitz, though here they are sold by Maks Berger, rather than Renisch. The Brothers Krejcar, fabric sellers also located in the Czech part of the empire, purchased an illustrated advertisement with two fighting tigers under a beaming sun. Paul J. Frisch offered “Juliette” brand bust cream (complete with an illustration of a voluptuous woman), and H. Avera advertised various hygienic products, both from Vienna. Being that this edition was from late-August, it is no surprise that G. Seyfarth advertised school supplies for the upcoming year available at his store on the main square (Rynek). The Variete Bristol theater advertised its upcoming variety shows, while Kino Helios advertised the movies it was currently showing. The Hotel Boulevard on Grodecka Street (the main thoroughfare from the city center to the train station with its newly completed grand carriage house) advertised room rates. There was also a rather strange advertisement for one Dr. G.C.H. Hasakari in London, who offered to predict one’s future if one sent him information about one’s life. From Prague, I. Kukel offered his “Kolonja” brand rubber, and Diego Fuchs offered a number of musical instruments, including the “Austria Originalla Fortepian.”⁸⁵ A local competitor to Mr. Fuchs, J. Bedenstein, offered a “fourteen day trial” on instruments sold from his factory on Karl Ludwig Street in Lemberg. His advertisement contained small illustrations of various instruments.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Fuchs also advertised that his firm had offices in Zagreb, Budapest, Budweiser, Rjeka, Graz, Lubljana, Lipsk, Lemberg, Marburg, Pilsen, Warsaw, and Zadar.

⁸⁶ *WN*, 31 August 1912, 18.

The more conservative titles of *Czas* and *Kurjer Lwowski* seemed to contain similar types of advertising, though without advertisements for enhancing creams with illustrations of busty women. However, these titles were far more likely to contain luxury goods or goods related to luxury items, such as new Michelin Clincher tires for cars in the shop of F. Lord.⁸⁷ They also tended to contain fewer advertisements, with larger illustrations. *Kurjer Lwowski* featured an illustrated advertisement for women's boots that occupied over a quarter of the eighth and final page on 1 September 1912.⁸⁸

1916: In the Midst

In the midst of wartime, *IKC* edition from Sunday, 3 September 1916 reflected less overall space dedicated to solely commercial advertising (see Figure 4). The twelfth page of this edition carried 15 classified advertisements for various goods alongside 16 commercial advertisements. Reim i Spółka, the general store that appeared in the 1912 commercial advertisement page, is here as well. While their advertisement was much smaller, only around one inch wide by two inches long, it was no less eclectic. They offered mountain boots, sandals, cosmetics and insect repellants all within the same small space. There is an advertisement for school supplies, though this time it is W. Poturalski's printing press and bookstore that has them on offer in their Cracow and Podgórze locations. There is still a strong imperial trade connection represented in many of the other advertisements. The fabric selling Brothers Krejcar from Bohemia, mentioned above, had an advertisement on this page (without any spectacular illustrations), as did the watchmaker Jan Konrad whose company was located in Brux, also in

⁸⁷ *Czas*, 1 September 1912, 2.

⁸⁸ *KL*, 1 September 1912, 8.

Bohemia. Z. R. Bergmann in Vienna offered a “pocket cinema apparatus,” with 50 short films on decorative cassettes. The L. Buchsbaum bookstore in Morawska Ostrawa (near the border between Galicia and Moravia) offered a Polish-German dictionary, and an advertisement for foot cream from Hungary also appeared.

Closer to home, the Ignacy Cypres company, located on Szewska Street, advertised watches and a number of musical instruments, complete with renderings of a pocket watch, and accordion, and a violin. R. Czopp, a cobbler, fittingly sold his shoes on Szewska, as well. The restaurant, delicatessen, and breakfast room on the Main Square owned by L. Lewicki offered pilsner style beer, excellent food, and daily concerts, and it was open until midnight. There was an advertisement from D. E. Friedlein offering maps of the war front in Romania, and two businesses, Józef Tobiczky’s and Stanisław Burnatowicz’s, offered courses in bookkeeping and accounting. Burnatowicz also offered courses in stenography and the German language, as well. Perhaps tellingly for a city at war, Jan Wolno advertised that his funeral home “Concordia,” was the only in Cracow that also made its own coffins, and that they would transport corpses to all regions of Europe.⁸⁹

While there are still advertisements for many of the same type of goods and services in 1916 that were present in 1912, some of the 1916 advertisements directly related to the war. The war maps and the specific mention of corpse transportation services are directly war related, while the Polish-German dictionary, the German language courses, and perhaps even the escapism of the “pocket cinema” all carry undertones of significance in the midst of war.

⁸⁹ *IKC*, 3 September 1916, 12. There were also advertisements from the City of Wieliczka, selling bricks, and from an anonymous advertisers selling beer and spirits in barrels.

The transport of the dead across Europe could have been for displaced civilians and for military casualties from the war. Advertisements from companies and bookstores for maps of war fronts were common during the war years. Civilians were no doubt have been interested in where the fighting was taking place, which direction the fronts were moving in, and where their loved ones serving in the military might be. Sellers marketing the German language, either in written or spoken form, were most likely trying to capitalize on the influx of German speaking officials into the region, and the assumed use of German as a lingua franca within the military.

Czas around this time contained notable advertisements for American style desks, restaurants, a commercial piano advertisement, and “ideal” wrought iron fences from Prague.⁹⁰ This is in striking contrast to the trends in advertising tied to the war in *IKC*.

In Lemberg, the twelfth page of *Wiek Nowy* on 2 September 1916 reflected similar trends to *IKC* during the middle of the war (see Figure 5), including the type and number of classified ads. A total of 38 small classifieds ran on this page alongside the five commercial ones. It had been a little over a year since the Russian occupation of Lemberg had ended, and the commercial advertisements that did appear reflected the revitalized imperial connections. Of the five advertisements, two appeared from Vienna businesses, one from Budapest, one from Lemberg, and the last from the newspaper’s printing press itself. Maxim Kolmer’s Viennese electronics store advertised batteries for pocket flashlights and contained a large illustration of a battery with the side view of a man’s head in a winged helmet, while Dr. Heim advertised his “Yohimbine” tablets which were available in Vienna, but also at M. Ettinger’s drugstore in Lemberg. This medicine was to treat “premature weakening” in men, most likely

⁹⁰ *Czas*, 6 August 1916, 2.

the ailment known as erectile dysfunction in today's terms.⁹¹ Józef von Torok in Budapest offered medication for urethral pain, "without injection." The local advertisement was for three-course home cooked meals on Wałowej Street, while the final advertisement was for the "Prasa," printing press.⁹² On the same weekend *Kurjer Lwowski* contained advertisements from confectioners, movie theaters, and chemical laundromats.⁹³

Similar to the advertising in Cracow for this weekend, we see electric devices, as well as the advertisement for meals, which is most certainly tied to the war, rationing, and inflation. The advertisement for Yohimbine tablets is interesting, not only for its sexual nature, but also because there is a possibility that it was war-related. Could this have been a product that received wider advertising due to the number of men returning from fighting unable to share intimacy with their partners? The more conservative papers, once again, reflected no advertising of an overtly sexual nature, instead seeming to advertise life as usual.

1918: On the Edge of Collapse

By 1 September 1918 the seventh and penultimate page of *IKC* was devoted to printing nineteen commercial advertisements (see Figure 6). Two different sellers in Vienna advertised their shoes, the first was Leo Wallisch, and the second, B. Gottfried, specifically advertised "Durable leather boots," and "Tall women's boots."⁹⁴ Three advertisements sought workers in specific fields. The first sought a qualified salesperson to work at a farm store in Biało. The second was looking for carpenters to work in a farm implement factory in Cracow. The last

⁹¹ This supplement, derived from the Yohimbe tree in Africa, is still marketed as a sex-drive enhancing herbal supplement today. It is also used as a reviving drug by veterinarians to bring animals out of anesthesia.

⁹² *WN*, 2 September 1916, 12.

⁹³ *KL*, 2 September 1916, 3-4.

⁹⁴ *IKC*, 1 September 1918, 7.

asked for foresters to help manage land in the village of Oleszyce. These advertisements were a little out of the ordinary, as help wanted advertisements typically appeared in the smaller classifieds.⁹⁵ Sellers purchased an almost extraordinary amount of advertising for cosmetic creams in this edition. L. Vertes, in Lugos, Hungary, as well as L. Decker and A. Jelinek, both in Vienna, each purchased advertising for their facial products, though only Vertes notes where to buy their products in Cracow. A Dr. Flesch advertised his cures for skin ailments, which were available at a number of listed locations throughout Galicia. Similarly, the “Fussol,” brand treatment for sweaty legs, arm pits, and hands was advertised throughout pharmacies and stores in regional cities, including Reim i Spółka in Cracow. Dr. A. Rixa’s bust enhancing cream was advertised with a small illustration of a voluptuous woman promising guaranteed results, “or your money back.”⁹⁶ There were also two advertisements for occupational training courses, one from Stanisław Burnatowicz on Floryńska Street, and the other from A. Baraniecki on Karmelicka Street. There was also an advertisement for the examinations needed to become a tile and brick maker. One gimnazjum instructor offered his services to individuals or groups, while a school in Leżajsk run by one Father Antoni Tyczyński, announced the upcoming term. There were familiar goods being sold by M. Polaczek, who advertised his hernia belts, and Irma Haldek, who offered her Czech goose feathers from a storefront in Prague. The Tintner general goods store in Vienna occupied the final advertisement at the bottom right hand corner of the page, selling automatic mouse traps, complete with a small mouse rendering. Advertisements selling mouse traps were particularly prevalent near the end of the war. A number of

⁹⁵ The odd appearance of these outside of the normal classified advertising was potentially a response to a shortage in male workers at the time.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

advertisers used the technique of shadow boxes around their spaces on this page. This seems to be an alternative to the other trend of stylized borders to catch the reader's eye. *Czas* continued to contain advertisements for piano stores, cheese and sausage sellers, and advertisements from sellers in other imperial cities at this late stage of the war. Advertisements for building supplies and to buy antiques and precious metals began to appear, though, somewhat cracking the façade of normalcy and subtly reflecting the impact of war.⁹⁷

Page fifteen of *Wiek Nowy* on 31 August 1918 began with a banner for a variety show held at the "Colosseum," by S. Gabriel on Karl Ludwik Street (see Figure 7). This show included comedians, jugglers, plays, and dancers. This type of enjoyment is mirrored in the page's ultimate advertisement, another banner for a "night of singing and dancing." In between these two banners, there were advertisements for a number of different goods and services. The Mund Brothers sold building supplies and included a drawing of a half-shingled roof, while Jan Sudhoff and Ludwik Noszowski both sold painting supplies from nearly adjacent stores on Akademicka Street. An anonymous independent accountant offered his services, while Dr. Kazimierz Petyniak-Sanecki taught business courses for adults. Stanisław Adamski advertised his new translation of an H.H. Ewers novel, entitled "The Possessed," available at the bookstore in the Hotel Europejski.⁹⁸ A number of advertisements appear for health care products. The Apotheke zur Hoffnung pharmacy in Pecs, Hungary offered Sigorin brand bed bug repellent, while Dr. Heimerich's antiseptic ointment was available at the M. Ettinger pharmacy in Lemberg. The Gero Sandor pharmacy in Nagykoros, Hungary offered treatments for itching and

⁹⁷ *Czas*, 4 August 1918, 2.

⁹⁸ This would have been either of H.H. Ewers' novels *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* (1910), or *Mandrake* (1911). Since the Polish title has been rendered as *The Possessed* it is difficult to know which.

tingling skin, and L. Vertes, seen above in the Cracow advertisements from this weekend, offered bust cream that was sold in Hungary, at the Adler pharmacy in Lugos. There were also two advertisements for food products. The first was for Hirsch Rath brand herbal teas, sold by Kazimierz Ludwiński on Bracka Street, and the second was for honey, various sheep's cheeses, and mushrooms from the Uniwersum store in Belina, in present day Slovakia.⁹⁹ Aleksander Malimon used a tiny rendering of a sewing machine and table in his advertisement for those goods. In Lemberg there seemed to be a focus on building and improvement advertisements, while both cities showed advertising for health care products and bust enhancing creams (complete with the requisite picture of a busty woman). By this time in 1918 *Kurjer Lwowski* no longer refrained from selling bust enhancing cream, and even included the illustrations more often seen in the boulevard papers. Movie theaters, however, were a continued staple in this title, that contained advertisements for three separate locations.¹⁰⁰

1921: In the New Nation-State

The final page examined from *IKC* in Cracow was from 4 September 1921, after the end of the war, and as things began to normalize in Western Galicia (see Figure 8). On this day twenty one advertisements appeared on the tenth page. The page begins with a wide, but short, banner advertising women's hats for work. P. J. Nowak was the seller of the "Antonina" brand of headwear.¹⁰¹ This is followed by an advertisement for "Atlas" brand rubber carriage tires from Manchester, sold in their storefront in Warsaw, which used at least six different fonts to catch the attention of readers. Five advertisements appeared on the page for stores in

⁹⁹ *WN*, 31 August 1918, 15. The Uniwersum store in Belina also sold birch branch brooms.

¹⁰⁰ *KL*, 7 September 1918, 3, 5, 7-8.

¹⁰¹ *IKC*, 4 September 1921, 10.

Cracow selling various building materials or construction implements.¹⁰² Two estates appear for sale, as well as an advertisement selling land, cattle, and horses being sold on behalf of individuals to “return from America.”¹⁰³ Along those lines, another advertisement was bought by someone with corn to plant, looking for investors. S. Ellenberg took out an advertisement to sell peat from Gdańsk, and A. Zembrzycki sought to sell his paper bags, which he specifically noted came from the “first Catholic manufacturer of paper bags in Cracow.”¹⁰⁴ School related advertisements, common for September, take the form of Panerle and Ratz’ general store on the main square offering school supplies, and a provincial school in Zamarzynów (near L’wów). Jan Porębski sold his “Derma” skin cream, and Franciszek Budziaszki offered his hair coloring cosmetics. Reder’s pharmacy offered help with trembling veins on Karmelicka Street. Professor Bogusław Butrymowicz sought to train teachers in his courses, also on Karmelicka, and there were two advertisements seeking office help. The Varsovian confectioner P. Flancman advertised a number of sweet treats from afar, including molded chocolate and cocoa butter. Advertisers relied solely on creative borders and stylistic fonts to draw the reader in on this page, as no single advertisement contained an illustration.

The most drastic change in *Czas*, a longtime conservative and monarchist title, was seen in the shift from advertisements for businesses located elsewhere in the former empire to an increasing number of transportation companies located in the new Poland. This is most likely due to the fact that these companies could rely on previous commercial ties to former

¹⁰² Ibid. These included saws, polished aluminum, lime, gravel, and roofing supplies, as well as general “building materials.”

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. The specificity here is definitely meant to appeal to Catholic Polish nationalist sentiments.

Habsburg lands in an effort to navigate trade across the new international borders.¹⁰⁵ *Kurjer Lwowski* had been supported by the Habsburg state before the collapse of the empire, and therefore was largely marketed to a similar audience as *Czas*. In a marked difference from that title, *Kurjer Lwowski* reflected the shifting borders by containing significantly less commercial advertising in the postwar years, shifting more to classifieds.¹⁰⁶

Commercial advertisements in *Wiek Nowy* in 1921 were no longer separated from their smaller classified cousins. This makes it difficult to distinguish whether or not many of the advertisements that appeared on the fourteenth and fifteenth pages of 3 September 1921 were purchased by individuals or businesses. Due to this fact, this section will focus on clearly commercial advertisements and goods for sale from businesses.

In the banner on page fourteen, A. Bardach advertised books for sale from a storefront on Krakowska Street, including books for school children, soon to return to studies (see Figure 9).¹⁰⁷ Another bookstore, on Krzywa Street, advertised that they were the “First Polish Christian Book Store and Antique Store.”¹⁰⁸ The Doliński printing press in Kolomyja was selling an automatic Fotoplastikon (panoramic stereoscope). Kazimierz Turlik offered inexpensive jewelry from his store on Sykstuska Street. The Import Sukna shop on Pańska Street advertised their English material for men’s and women’s clothing. The M. Kierski blacksmith shop advertised building products, while Edmund Riedl sold wine, tea, and coffee “at the lowest recommended price.”¹⁰⁹ On page fifteen, there is a banner from the Laokoon chemical company offering

¹⁰⁵ *Czas*, 7 August 1921, 4.

¹⁰⁶ *KL*, 3 September 1921, 8.

¹⁰⁷ This, of course, is a theme seen in many of the pages examined for this chapter, since late August/early September was the prime time to begin preparation for the return to the school year.

¹⁰⁸ Here again we see the use of specifically “Polish,” or “Christian,” notations to draw Polish nationalist clientele.

¹⁰⁹ *WN*, 3 September 1921, 14.

“Nervosan” brand medicine for rheumatism and nerve pain (see Figure 10). Jan A Schumann, an engineer by trade but apparently in the shipping business, advertised that he had just received a new shipment of dishes and other kitchen equipment and offered it wholesale at the lowest price. Schumann drove the point home about his kitchen goods by including a rather blocky illustration of a stove. The Mieta company advertised their recent shipment of leather transmission belts from abroad.¹¹⁰ H. Guttermann had two advertisements on this page, the first sold wedding rings, while the second offered to buy gold and jewelry, at his shop on Sykstuska Street. Likewise, Leopold Targalski and S. Altholz, both watchmakers, purchased advertising as well. The Reder pharmacy advertised dried Calamus root available at their storefront in Cracow.¹¹¹ A women’s hat store on Fredro Street in Lemberg also purchased an advertisement. The final advertisement of note from these two pages was purchased by D.H. Józef Tarnawski i Spółka who advertised that they carried “Bristol” brand shoe polish from Jan Urbanek in Warsaw.¹¹² In like fashion to the advertisements in *IKC* for this weekend, advertisers seem to have mostly relied on artistic fonts, borders, and the occasional (literal) pointing hand to direct potential customers to their advertisements.

While many of the goods and services offered in 1921 were similar to those offered before the end of the war in 1918, there is one major notable difference between the pages analyzed before and after the end of the First World War. The advertisements for businesses outside of Cracow and Lemberg shifted from originating predominantly from cities within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, to being largely from the new Polish state. While this is not

¹¹⁰ Abroad carried a new meaning by 1921, with the recent shift in borders.

¹¹¹ Calamus, or Sweet Flag, is an herb that can be used to calm the nerves.

¹¹² *WN*, 3 September 1921, 15.

surprising, it does show how quickly advertising as a system could adapt to accommodate new borders.

Brands and Trends

As mentioned in the opening paragraph of this chapter, Singer Sewing Machine Company had a presence in both Cracow and Lemberg before the war. In Cracow, the company purchased advertising in *IKC* most often, and by the first couple of months of the war in 1914 advertisements appeared that noted two locations in the city, one in the center on Szpitalna, and the other in Kazimierz.¹¹³ The advertisement also noted locations elsewhere in Galicia, including Chrzanów, Sanok, Nowy Sącz, Tarnów, and Tarnobrzeg. In Lemberg, Singer purchased advertisements in *Kurjer Lwowski* and *Wiek Nowy*. By 1911, they noted two locations, and by 1912 there were three storefronts in the city, one on Halicki Street, another on Grodecka (the main avenue between the train station and the city center), and the last on Lyczakowska (the main thoroughfare into the city center from the east/southeast). In addition to the other Galician locations mentioned in *IKC*, the 1912 advertisement in *Wiek Nowy* notes locations in Stryj, Sambor, Rzeszów, Jarosław, and Przemysł.¹¹⁴ Advertisements from Singer persisted into at least 1916 in Galician newspapers, as well, despite the United States' support of the British, French, and Russian war efforts against Germany and Austria-Hungary.¹¹⁵ Though outright advertising ceased after the entry of the US into the war, the company was clearly still operating within the region, as seen above. The large presence of an American sewing machine company in the region was not a purely Galician phenomenon, by any means. Gabor Gyani

¹¹³ *IKC*, 6 September 1914, 8.

¹¹⁴ *WN*, 2 August 1912, 16.

¹¹⁵ *WN*, 5 August 1916, 12.

notes that by the 1930s the company had 33 locations within Hungary. He ties this popularity to the nature of sewing in Eastern European middle class culture. Sewing was an acceptable skill for middle class women to have and use, and therefore it did not carry a negative connotation when middle class women produced the clothing for their families, or even if they made money on the side by taking on sewing work.¹¹⁶

Canadian-Pacific Railway is another well-known company that appeared in the advertising pages of Cracow and Lemberg newspapers prior to the war. The company's advertisements were relatively common, particularly in Cracow until 1913.¹¹⁷ Tara Zahra recounts the fate of the Can-Pac company during the immediate pre-war period. Prior to 1912 Can-Pac had been a part of a large shipping cartel in Europe, the Continental Pool. In addition to Can-Pac, this cartel also included a number of other major European shipping lines, including the Cunard Line, the Holland America Line, and German Lloyd line. At the beginning of January 1913 Can-Pac withdrew from the cartel and set up a new route from Trieste to Canada, in direct competition with its former cartel mates. Zahra recounts that this resulted in a massive campaign by the cartel to discredit Can-Pac, and potentially even resulted in the arrest under false pretenses of the General Representative of Can-Pac in Austria, Samuel Altman. Released on bail in May 1914 Altman was allowed to travel to America with the expectation that he would return for his trial.¹¹⁸ In the end it was not the war, nor any allegiance to respective

¹¹⁶ Gabor Gyani, *Identity and the Urban Experience: Fin-de-Siècle Budapest* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 126.

¹¹⁷ Despite its misleading name, CPR was also a shipping company, and offered trans-Atlantic travel to Europeans. *WN*, 3 August 1912, 19; *NR*, 5 April 1913, 5; *IKC*, 6 April 1913, 15; *GN*, 7 September 1913, 6.

¹¹⁸ Tara Zahra, *The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europe and the Making of the Free World* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 2016), 57-59. Other members of the Continental Pool shipping cartel were the Hamburg-America Line, the Red Star Line, and the Austro-Americana shipping firm. Almost all of these firms appear in advertising within the newspapers in Cracow and Lemberg, so it is no wonder that the advertisements by

crowns or empires that made Can-Pac cease advertising, but rather their vicious commercial competition. By 1921, however, Can-Pac once again advertised in the Galician newspapers, even on the front page of *IKC*, and capitalism during the early interwar period seems to have won out.¹¹⁹

These two companies were not the only well-known brands to appear during the period between 1911 and 1921. The Swiss firm Nestle appeared frequently in advertising in both cities before the war, as did the German company Stollwerck, both of which marketed chocolate.¹²⁰ Nestle appeared during the war, as well, including appearances in both *Głos Narodu* and *IKC* in September 1915 on the same day.¹²¹ The National Cash Register Company, while perhaps not as well-known as some of the previously mentioned companies, was an American firm that openly advertised while Austria-Hungary and the US were at war.¹²² Other advertisements appeared from global brands such as International Harvester, Moët and Chandon, both Austro-Daimler and Benz automobiles, and after the war the Italian automobile company Fiat (over a decade before the establishment of Polski Fiat, the company's licensing agreement to build Fiat cars in Poland).¹²³

Locally, general goods companies in Cracow seem to have had the most resilience. Reim i Spółka, mentioned above appeared in multiple newspapers before and during the war, and

Can-Pac ceased after the cartel's attack on them. Samuel Altman was a Hungarian born, naturalized American citizen, which is why he returned to America upon paying his bail (which was an incredibly steep thirty-thousand dollars). Ultimately, he would never go to trial for transporting draft dodgers (what he had been charged with) because of the outbreak of the First World War.

¹¹⁹ *IKC*, 4 September 1921, 1.

¹²⁰ See *KL*, 1 June 1912, 5 and *NR*, 5 April 1914, 4 for Nestle, and *GN*, 2 February 1913, 4 for Stollwerck.

¹²¹ *GN*, 5 September 1915, 4; *IKC*, 5 September 1915, 7.

¹²² *IKC*, 6 May 1917, 1917 and 1 July 1917, 8.

¹²³ For International Harvester, see *Dilo*, 3 June 1911, 6; for Austro-Daimler, see *Czas*, 2 August 1914, 1; for Benz, see *IKC*, 4 June 1911, 2 and *NR*, 1 July 1911, 4; for Fiat, see *IKC*, 7 September 1919, 10.

continued to be advertised in *IKC* after the war ended.¹²⁴ Ignacy Cypres, another general goods company owner and importer in Cracow, also advertised throughout the period, primarily in *IKC*.¹²⁵ Another major commercial area of advertising that persisted across the war years in both Cracow and Lemberg was the movie theater business. In Cracow, Kino Wanda advertised before, during, and after the war, while another movie theater, Kino Lubicz, advertised during the war years of 1916 through 1918.¹²⁶ This trend is also present in Lemberg, with at least one movie theater that remained open during occupation, Kino Lew.¹²⁷ Kino Helios, another movie theater, advertised both before and during the war.¹²⁸ In addition to Lew and Helios, the Apollo and Kopernik movie theaters also advertised in the later part of the war years.¹²⁹ The continuation of movie theater advertising suggests that this remained a recreational event that people in Cracow and Lemberg had become used to attending, perhaps as a form of escapism through entertainment, or a way to see what was happening elsewhere during the war years during the newsreels that often accompanied feature films.

Conclusion

This chapter sought to acquaint the reader with the textual nature of both Cracow and Lemberg during the period from 1911 to 1921. From street signs to posters, from restaurant menus to newspapers, navigating life in the city required inhabitants to become increasingly

¹²⁴ *NR*, 4 February 1911, 7, 5 April 1913, 7, 5 April 1914, 10; *GN*, 7 December 1913, 8, 2 August 1914, 4, 3 December 1916, 4; *IKC*, 4 June 11, 16, 2 March 1913, 4, 6 May 17, 8, 6 July 1920, 12.

¹²⁵ *IKC*, 4 June 1911, 11, 3 December 1916, 8, 1 July 1917, 8, 7 August 1921, 10.

¹²⁶ For Kino Wanda advertisements, see *IKC*, 2 March 1913, 4; *GN*, 1 March 1914, 3, 3 March 1918, 4; and *NR*, 5 June 1921, 3. For Kino Lubicz advertisements, see *IKC*, 3 December 1916, 12; *GN*, 4 March 1917, 6, 3 March 1918, 4.

¹²⁷ *KL*, 3 October 1914, 2.

¹²⁸ *GL*, 3 December 1911, 6; *KL*, 24 July 1915, and 7 April 1917, 6.

¹²⁹ *KL*, 7 April 1917, 6-9. All four theaters advertised in this edition.

literate. It also introduced the titles used throughout this study and attempted to explain their relative significance in each of the two cities. After a discussion of advertisement pricing in this period the commercial advertisements themselves were discussed from the two largest newspapers used in this study. A qualitative examination of commercial advertising from pages in 1912, 1916, 1918, and 1921 reveals a number of changes throughout the period.

Advertisements for food products wane in during the war year, which is no surprise given the level of scarcity experienced in the region. Advertisements for general goods stores appear throughout the period, most likely owing to the wide variance of goods they sold.

Advertisements for soaps and beauty products seem to have been the most common type of goods advertised, and within that category bust enhancing creams seem to have been particularly in abundant supply. Commercial advertising for pianos also persisted across the war. This trend in particular will be examined in more detail in Chapter 3. Many advertisers were located within Galicia, but before 1918, there was a distinct trend of advertisers located elsewhere in the empire. These not only included Vienna, Budapest, and Prague, but also smaller cities in both the Austrian and Hungarian territories of the empire. After 1921, this trend shifted to a combination of transportation company advertisements and advertisements from businesses within the new Poland. What the overall analysis of these commercial advertisements begins to show is that advertising as a mode of communication was rather resilient and adaptable across the war years and into the interwar period. While some individual goods or services may have appeared or disappeared depending on the political or military situation in Cracow or Lemberg, and others, such as movie theaters or general stores, may have persisted alongside the turbulence urban Galicians experienced, the advertising

culture carried by the daily popular press showed a remarkable ability to adapt and persist. The next chapter will focus on a more detailed quantitative assessment of advertising in the eight titles mentioned from 1911 to 1921.

Lawn-Tennis

RAKIETY, PIŁKI
Prasy do raket
Oliwa do strun.



Piłki nożne krokiety.

HAMAKI, LEŻAKI, Stołki polne składane.

Aparaty do robienia wody sodowej. Maszynki do różnego składane do gotowania.

Perfumy, Mydła, Pudry,

i wszelkie inne artykuły toaletowe i kosmetyczne.

Środki przeciwko piegom i opaleniu. —
Środki na wyniszczenie moli i much.

WSZELKIE artykuły dla potrzeb domowych. polecają najtaniej:

REIM i SPÓŁKA

Kraków, Rynek główny 37, Linia A-B.

Farby olejne. Farby lakierowe do podłóg. Farby do fasad.

Środki do konserwowania drzewa. Oliwy maszynowe. Płachty nieprzemakalne.

Lakier czarny do tablic szkol. Kreda w laskach. Gąbki.

Oliwa do podłóg przeciw kużwom i Poczłowska oliwa do podłóg 5 kg. Btto opłatnie K. 4.



Szczawnica

szczały alkaliczno-słone
najsilniejsze w Europie.

Wskazania: Choroby dróg oddechowych, narządu trawienia, dróg moczowych, przemiany materii, krwi i choroby nerwowe.

Sezon od 20 maja do 20 września.

Stacya kolei Stary Sącz, lub Nowy Targ, gdzie czekają fiakry.

Prospekta wysyła i udziela informacji Zarząd Zakładu, lub lekarz Zdrowoty Dr. Wlyfski.

Cod do mieszkań zakładowych i wysyłki wód szczawnickich z wyłączeniem Galicyi wschodniej przyjmuje zgłoszenia Zarząd Zakładu.



MAGAZYN NOWOŚCI
STROJE DAMSKIE
ESZANGER
KRAKÓW
FLORYANSKI

TELEFON 1522. TELEFON 1522.

„AKSMANN“

Biurowy skład amer. maszyn do pisania
Kraków, ul. Szewska 1. 22.

ma na składzie najnowsze amerykańskie urządzenia biurowe, registry, kasy otnotwałe, maszyny do rachowania, oraz wszelkie przybory do maszyn do pisania. 1141

Kombinowane REGISTRYURY Schaw WALKER London.

ZAKŁAD POGRZEBOWY

Stanisława ZIENTKIEWICZA w Bochni
ulica Sandecka 1. 1037.

Urządza pogrzeby tak samożne, jak zwykłe po przystępnych cenach. Jedyny, który posiada własny wyrób trumien! 1123

BANDAŻE RUPTUROWE

BARDZO PRAKTYCZNE, wielka doświadczość i znakomitość dla osób cierpiących na przepukliny pachwinowe. POLECA PASKI bez żadnych sprężyń, bardzo lekkie, jakoteż i sprężynowe nawet wielkich wypadkach oraz pasy brązowe, fałchowy bandażysta

Antoni M. Mirkiewicz w Krakowie, ulica Mostowa 4.

Gwarancya ogólna. — Liczne uznania. — Listowne objaśnienia. — Ostrzeżenie przed błagą niefachowych, którzy wprost wyszukują. — Na żądanie wyjeżdżam. 159

C. N. patent Nr. 41589
CUDOWNY WYRALAZEK DLA CIERPIĄCYCH NA PRZEPUKLINE
Nowo wynaleziony zdrowoty

PASEK RUPTUROWY

przy którym pocieta z dwóch części niestrukturalna otwora przepuklinowego, zatem nie wgniatła jeliła do wnętrza, któreby mogło spowodować różne przypadłości klinkowe jak przy dotychczasowych opaskach. Przyjmuje ułożenie jeliłi normalnie w jamie brzusznej. Dla największego wygody bardzo lekki, bez sprężyn lub metalu nosi się bez bólu i radykalnie przytrzymuje. Odpowiedź za dołączeniem marki odwrotną pości.

M. Kantorowicz Podgórze, ul. Józefińska 6
(tuż przy moście).
FILIE: Warszawa, Sosnowice, Wiedeń.

Wyroby Gumowe

Specyalne wyroby dla Panów i Pań! — Znakomite francuskie dla Panów, wyborne z marką ochr. „Kolo-nia“, najlepsze dotychczas znane marki, 3 szt. 1.10 K. 6 szt. 1.90 K., 12 szt. 3.60 z dołączoną interesującą broszurą z fotografiami przesyła niezwłocznie bez podania firmy i treści za zalicyją albo za przesłaniem pocztowych marek. J. KUKLA, Praga ulica Perłowa 160. 762

Ilustrowany obszerny cennik polski z wyjaśnieniami i fotografiami w kopercie dermo i opłatnie.



W. ZAKRZEWSKI
zegarmistrz.
Kraków, ul. Karmelicka 1. 6.
POLECA:

ZEGARKI genezyskie, Schaffhausen, Zenith, Omega i t. d. Zegary pendulowa i budziki. Gwarancya 3 letnia. Naprawy uskuteczna szybko i rzetelnie, pod gwarancją. CENY konkurencyjne.

Bizuteria, ZEGARKI stalowe tak damskie jak i męskie od 8 kor. wyżej.

TRYUMF! TRYUMF!

Najidealniejszy proszek do mycia i pielęgnowania włosów blond i ciemnych odzienie.

Proszek Tryumf wartości do nabycia. Cena 30 hal.

Apteka pod „BIAŁYM ORŁEM“
Kraków, Rynek gł. 45.

CHEMIA i MIKROSKOP

są dziś najpotężniejszą bronią w ręku fabrykanta tutek i bibulek cygaretow.

Już dziś nadszedł ten czas, że laika wyrabiającego Tutki cygaretowe, nie można nazwać na serio fabrykantem! Dziś chcą palaczom dostarczyć wyrobu o ile możności jak najmniej szkodliwego, konieczną jest dokładna znajomość chemii, mikroskopu i odnośnych ulepszeń technicznych. To też na podstawie mych własnych rozbiórów chemicznych i badań mikroskopowych, oraz na podstawie wyrobionego smaku i fachowych mych wskazówek, mam zrobioną bibulek cygaretow, znaną ogólnie pod nazwą: 1113

„SALVESOL-NORIS“

Nie wylizczam zalet, jakie posiadają owe tutki cygaretowe „Salvesol-Noris“ z wiat w ustnikach teje samej nazwy, gdyż są powszechnie znane i ulubione w kraju jak i zagranicą. — Do nabycia we wszystkich trafikach!

Mr. W. Beldowski

Fabryka Tutek i Bibulek cygaretowych w Krakowie.

Z drukarni i stereotypni Eugeniusza i Dra Kazimierza Koziarskich w Krakowie. — Odpowiedz. redaktor: WŁODZIMIERZ STRYCHARSKI

Najlepsze czeskie őródo dostawy!



TANIE PIERZE!
kg. szarego, dobrego i darteo pierza 2 kor. lepsze Kor. 2.40; prima pólbiale Kor. 2.80; biale K. 4.—, biale, puchowe K. 5.10; 1 kg. przedniego, jednolito-bialego, darteo K. 6.40, K. 8.—; 1 kg. puchu, szarego K. 6.—; 7.—; bialego, przedniego K. 10.—; najprzedniejszego puchu pierzawy K. 12.—. Przy odbiorze 5 K. opłata.

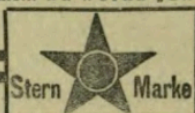
Gotowe posólele

z gęstego, czarnego, wosnego, niebieskiego, bialego albo őródego naukingo, KAPY 180 cm. długie 120 cm. szerokie, 3 poduszki każda 80 cm. dluga, 60 cm. szeroka, najehione nowym szarem i bardzo trwałem pierzem. 1. 10.—; z pólbialem Kor. 30.—; z puchu K. 25.—; poloducha po puchu Kor. 30.—; z puchu K. 25.—; poduszki Kor. K. 10.—; 12, 14, 16. Poduszki K. 3.50 & K. Kor. dry 200—140 cm. K. 13, 14.70, 1.80, 21.— Kor. Poduszki 90x70 cm. K. 4.50, 5.20, 5.70; Prześlad radia z silnego przakowanego gradin 150—115 cm. K. 12.80, 14.80. Wszytka za pobraniem od 42.—. Zwraca się pieniazsze. Obszerne cenniki darmo i opłatnie.

S. BENISCH, w Deschenitz Nr. 713, CZECHY.

Figure 2. IKC, 1 September 1912, 16.

Najwyższe i najlepsze plony
zapewnia rolnikom użycie prawdziwej
TOMASZYNY
ze znakiem na worku „GWIAZDA“



TOMASZYNA
„GWIAZDA“ — POD OZIMINY
niezrównany nawóz fosforowy.

Bezplatna analiza kontrolna w krajowych stacjach do-
świadczeniowych chemii rolniczych.
Generalna Reprezentacja dla Galicji i Bukowiny
Józef Karrach
Lwów, ulica Kościuszki 18.
CENNIKI I BROSZURKI DARMO i oplatnie.

Ważny punkt!

Higieniczne specjalności, karyz i
całym nasileniem polecam, stwierdzone jako najlep-
sze i jedyni marki. Za przysłaniem znaczków pocztowych, 3 wozów K 1^a, 3 wozów K 150 — tużin wozów K 220, 420, 620. Nowe dla Panów K 4^a —
podaćczy przesyłażki od K 4^a — opaki na
brzech K 650. Paski na regularność od K 3^a — w zwyk.
Instrowany cenik darmo i oplatnie. Wszelkie roz-
wyższenia. Sprężarki się wszelkie artykuły gu-
nowe. Dyktanta wysyła przez H. AUERA — WIE-
DER, 1.5. Wypisane w Warszawie 17.

Tanie pierze i puch

1 kg. szarego datego koron 2 kor., lepsego koron 2-40 —
półbielago prima koron 2-30, bielago koron 4^a — prima pa-
szystego koron 6^a — najlepsego koron 7^a — 8^a — 9-10. Pu-
chu szarego koron 6^a — 7^a — bielago prima kor. 10^a —
stowego koron 12^a — od 5 kg. począwszy oplatnie.

Głowa wypchana pościel

z gęstej, czarowego, niebiesk, białego lub bielago nankingu,
1 pierzal około 130 cm. dług. 120 cm. szer. wraz z 2 poduszecami
pod głowę około 30 cm. dl. i 30 cm. szer. dostatecznie wyp-
chana, nowym, szarum, puszystym i irwalim piersem K 16^a —
półbielagiem K 20^a — puchem K 22^a — Pojedyncze pierzawy
po K 14, 12, 14, 16 — Pojedyncze poduszki pod głowę po K
3^a — 3-50, 4^a — pierzawy 220x140 cm. wielk. K 13, 15, 15, 20.
Poduszki pod głowę 50x70 cm. wielk. K 4-50, 5^a — 6-50.
Pierzawy do poduszki z najlepsego gradua na pościel
180x110 cm. wielk. K 13 i 15 — Wysyła za zaliczka albo za
poprzednim nadaniem naliczki.

Maks Berger w Deschenitz Nr. a/244, Czeski las
Bez ryzyka, bez zamiana dozwolona, albo zwrot pieniędzy.
— Bogato ilustrowany cenik pościeli darmo. 14114

EPOKOWA NOWOŚĆ DLA KOBIET!

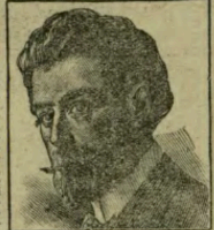
oryg. francuski restaurator Biustu „Juliette“ —
Pielony biust wykreśli moza każda kobieta, na-
wet stara i chuda, przy pomocy mego doskona-
łego (praw. chron.) „Juliette“, restauratora bio-
stowego, nadsięgającego się dla młodych dziewczek,
które się nie rozwijają, takżmo dla kobiet po
potęgi, choroby itp. — Przesięga wszystkie do-
tychczasowe preparaty, tylko zawężenie. — W
tysiącach wypadkach wypróbowany, przez lek-
rzy wypróbowany i zasłony. — Pod gwarancją
niezakończony — w razie braku skutku pieniędzy
zwracamy. Żadne ryzyko. — Próba flaszka za
sposobem wysyła K 4^a — Dwie flaszki wysyła-
jącej i kawałek odpowiedniego wysyła K 7^a —
Dyktanta wysyła: Paul J. Frisch, Wiedeń, XII,
Kilgasse 21p. 15. 10912

Czy człowiek ten może Wasze przyszłe losy przepowiedzieć??

Zamożni i biedni, dostojni i małuczki, wszyscy pragną jego porady w sprawach handlowych i matieżskich, o przyjacielach i wrogach — przy zmianach i spekulacjach, sprawach miłosnych, p o d r ó z a c h i wszystkich sprawach życiowych. —

Dużo ludzi powiada, że życie ich odkrył z zadziwienia godną dokładnością!!

Oceny pisma wysyła się Czytelnikom „Wiek Nowego“ — darmo tylko przez krótki czas!



Przewidywany duchow-
ny G. C. H. Baskart, dr.
Bl. kaszubijska w ewang.
kościółce św. Pawła, po-
wiada w liście do p. J.
Rozroy: „Pan Jesteś na-
prawie najwielkimi spe-
kulantem i mistrzem w
swoim zawodzie. Każdy,
kto się do Pana uda, za-
dzwia się, z wiadomości
rozwiązanie na te przepo-
wiedzi dla ludzi, smie-
ności raczy i rady. Na-
notujatwarżdziałający
spełny kłoty tylko raz z panem korespondencyjny wymienił, ca-
łkiem pewnie usubwidził Pana będale o radę“.

Kto korzystał chaos z bezpłatnego zsofiarowania Rozroya i otrzymał bezpłatną próbke czytania po niemiecku, tedesco pod-
dać dzieć, misięg i rok swego urodzenia, wraz z uwaga, czy
męzyczna, żeńska, albo panna, jakoteż znieć odpis tego
wiersza własnoręcznie pisanymi!

Wysłanem o Pańskim daro,
Czytania w kąpię przeszacowania,
I chętnie pragnę poślazę rady,
Jaka Pan ma mi dać. 10933

Imię, nazwisko i datę urodzenia podać proszę dokładnie i czy-
telnem piśmie. — Po 25 hal opłacona listy wysyłaż naley do
Rozroy, Dept. 2047, Nr. 177 A Kensington High Street, London,
W. Anglia. Można także wysyłać 60 hal. markami na portu, ja-
ko należyciż się piśmie 114. Leca de listu nie dotęcać monet.

W boju z konkurencją zwycięża zawsze najlepsza

Woba Krejcar

Darmo i oplatnie

wysyłam nasz nowy cenik z art. wy-
konanymi, kolorowymi ilustracjami, zawie-
rający opis naszych wszystkich wyrobów i
nowości zefirów, delainów, batystów, materij
wełnianych, obrusów i ręczników, odamskie-
kanafasów i bielizny wyprawnej, wykonane w
najlepsej kraj. lid. — Wszey wszystkich
gatunków wysyła się tylko wedle serjy w cen-
niku. — — Po zniżonej cenie sprzedajemy:
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6 szt. „ „ „ 150/220 za K 19-50
1 szt. woby K 2^a — 30 m. za K 15 —

Bracia Krejcar i woby
Dobruśnica, Czechoy.
5472

Książki szkolne
do wszystkich szkół poleca księgarnia
G. SEYFARTHA we Lwowie, Rynek 1. 24
TELEFON Nr. 1593.

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pięć-wieczorowych artystów. — Wy-
dzienne 2 komedya. — Początek o godzinie 8 wieczorem. 12022

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3) Uroczystość ludowa w Solingrodzie, z natury. 4) Caluski,
farsa. 5) Malpy, obraz przyrodniczy. 6) Dwa granadyżery, epi-
kiod z wojny 1812 r. podług Heinego. 7) Pokój Nr. 13, humoroska.

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dzony podług ostatnich wymogów higieny i tek-
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Pokoje od 2 koron dziennie i wyżej. 15748

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Lipsk, Lwów, Starburg, Filana,
Warszawa, Zadar.

Restauratorowie
tysiąc koron

mogą zarabiać przez za-
mówienia instrumentu
muzycznego, — lub elektro-
forie pianu. W razie braku gotówki na wygodne spłaty.
Spłaca się przez dochody z wrzuconych
pieniędzy. Jedyna zdobycz gęłczy muzycznej

„ASTRIA ORIGINELLA FORTEPIAN“
do ręcznej gry, na wypadek nieznanomości
gra sam, niezależny od siły elektrycznej,
bez akumulatora. W ruch puszcza cichy
przysąd sprzedynowy do nacjagnia. Ber-
pośrednie zakupno u fabrykanta. Pierw-
szej Praskiej fabryki instrumentów muz-
ycznych i orkiestronów

Diego Fuchs
PRAGA WJN. 0430
Prospekty, kopatała złoła dermo. Cen. i listy oplatnie.

Gumowe
specjalności dla Panów i Pań
prawdziwa francuska dla panów i jakoteż praw. chron.
marka ochron. „KOLONIA“ (alio najlepsego dotychczas zna-
marka z sat. K 1.10, 6 sat. K 1.90, 12 sat. K 3.00 a do-
licznikiem 22 sat. za wiotarjęj broszury z listy. wysyła
mieszaczenie, bez podawania firmy i zawieszki, dyktant
za zaliczka, albo poprzednim nadaniem naliczki w
markach pocztow. „GUM“ dowodnie najlepse, cena
4, 5 i 3 K za listu. — Jedyna firma tego rodzaju

L. Kukla, Praga, Perigasso Nr. 28.
Dusz. oboszyrny polski cenik z wyjaleniami i ilu-
stracjami w kopercie darmo i oplatnie. 15

14 dni na próbie!
Każdemu wysyłam zakupiona w hie-
sła molm od 15 lat istniejąca, in-
strumenta muzyczne fachowo wypró-
bowane. — Ryzyko ostanowa wypró-
bowana, a w razie nie podobania się in-
strumenta pieniędzy na tyłdnie zwra-
cają natychmiast. Z. Bednarska, właśc.
fabrykny instrumentów muzycznych
we Lwowie, Karola Ludwika 31. Cenik listu, gratia 12. 14537

Figure 3. W/W, 31 August 1912, 18.

DZIEWICZNA do posługi potrzebna w sklepie galanteryjnym. Ul. Św. Anny 2. 2169

POSZUKUJE cełownika masarskiego — samodzielnego, zdolnego do maszyn ręcznych. A. Hesperis Nowy Świat. Jagiellońska 20. 2160

ZAKŁAD fotograficzny „George”, Kraków, Karłowicka 1. 10. przyjmie panna do praktyki. 2163

WIĄZĘK krawców w Nowym Sączu — poszukuje szaraz starszego, zdolnego cełownika krawieckiego do zarządu pracowni za dobrą wynagrodzeniem, również drugiego cełownika na większe satyki. Złączenie na cały rok zapewnione. Zgłoszenia przyjmuje Związek Krawców N. Sącz, na ręce p. Rechowicza. 2154

POTRZEBA zdrowych panien do krzewiczki i pianki do nanki. Garbarska 8. 2161

POTRZEBA zaraz stróżki lub stróż. — Wiad.: Floryańska 14. na parterze. 2161

POTRZEBA służąca do wszystkiego zniżająca się na kuchnię, rozumiejąca nieco po niemiecku za korzystnym wynagrodzeniem. Karłowicka 89, III p. 2149

CZELADNIKA kominiarskiego i obrabiacza kamyka przyjmie zaraz. — Broczkowski, Chrzanów 2008

3. balony kosztują kartka korespondencyjna zapożyczając której można otrzymać darmo 1 opłaki nie mój głowę

Wny katalog. — Pierwsza fabryka zegarków **JAN KONRAD** c. k. nadwornego dostawcy, Brz. Nr. 1573, Böhmert, (Czechy).

Niki lub stal. zegarki kotw. K 6, 7, 8 szwajcarski Roskopf z wielkim koleczkiem K 7, 8, 9. Najnowsze zegarki wojenne nikl. lub stal. K 11, 12 — włoskowskie „Radium” nikl. lub stal. K 12 — prawdziwy srebrny „Roskopf” z wiertłem kolwicznym K 19 — 20. — Budżet. zegary szlachne i stojące w wielkim wyborze po najtańszych cenach. 3-oh letnia pisemna gwarancja. Wyniła za załączenia. Rzyżko wykłuczono. Zamiana dozwolona lub zwrot pieniędzy. 1831

PODESZWY za sztucznej skóry zastępujące zupełnie prawdziwe. — Ileknie, przybity je każdy sam potrafi. 1 para 3 Kor. 5 par 14 Kor. za załączenia wysyła: A. Olzowska. Zabłocin koło Żywiec Nr. 284. — Od sprzedawcy poszukiwanego. 2147

KUPE futro mekkie mało używane. Wiadomość M. Hafner, — Kraków. Krowodrza ul. Mazowiecka 1. 10. I p. 2148

KAWALER młody o kwalifikacjach niezastąpialnych życzliwie pragnie nawiązać korespondencję z panną o podobnych przydomkach. Zgłoszenia pod adresem: Józef Stefanowicz, Przemysł 1 — Poste-restante. 2150

Poszukuje się pokoju umebłowanego z osobnym wejściem na doły. Oferty pod „Dobry” do biura inseratów i dzienników Maryana Hupczyca, Kraków Jagiellońska 7. 2165

CEGLĘ doborową we większej ilości ma do sprzedania Gmina miasta Wieliczki. 2069

Kupujcie jak długo polecamy!

Naszym klientom polecamy zapoznać się z zawezwanym towaru płciennym. Jest rzadkością dzisiaj aby towar był pośladowany na skądzie. Zapas nasz jednak nie potrwa długo, żądacie więc jak najwcześniejszy próbek! W szczególności polecamy do zamówienia:

6 niemieckie ręcznie haftowane koszulki danijskie roboty czelejki K 45 — 6 sztuk nie obrabianych czyściło Inhamet, przelicznik z szklaniem zwanym 250 cm. długości K 50 —, 1 sztuka 30 m, w najlepszym gatunku wsty na bieliznę K 45 —, 6 sztuk wybornych najlepszej sorty flanelowych koszulki męskich z obrotami 37 — 47 cm. K 50 —, 30 m. rzeszek barchanów: flanel, refiro, osfordów, kamfasi, naskery welonowych. l. p. K 65 — 28 m płócienną na poszwy, niemieckich czworokątów lub różowych la 115 cm szerokości K 78 —, 6 próbków towarów bawełnianych, płóciennych i wełnianych darmo i opłatnie. Brodka **KRICZAR** Przedsiębiorstwa towarów Inhamet i bawełnianych — Dobruszka. 1177

Dokładna mapa 2170 wojny z Rumunią wyszła z druk.

Za nadaniem kwoty Kor. 140 lub za załączenia — wysyła księgarnia

D. E. FRIEDLEINA Kraków, Rynek 1. 17.

Każdy jest zachwycony!! KINO-1530 **KIESZONKOWE!!** Aparat z 50 filmami w osobnej kasiecie tylko Kor. 1.93 Specjalna seria filmów Kor. 1. Już pół miliona sprzedano w krótkim czasie, za nadaniem należytości oraz 70 h. na port i opakowanie. Za załączenia 50 h. drożej. — Z. R. Bergmann, Wiedeń Koblegasse W/2. (Odsprzedawcom rabat)

BE CZKI ze spirytusu i piwa do sprzedania. Wiadomość: ulica Sebastjana 28 I p.

Naczelny redaktor i wydawca: Maryan Dąbrowski. Odp. red. Dr. Tadeusz Konczyński. Członkami drukarni Eug. i Dr. Kaz. Koziańskich w Krakowie, Karłowicka 16. Tel. 315.

REIM i SKA Kraków, Rynek 1. 37.

polesaja: środki owadogubne: Zacherin, Anela, Proszek peroki.

Przetw karakonom: Samangdyn po 50 hał. top i Tanclefort na mchy, siadki do okien Pasty i kremy na wszelkie obuwie.

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Książki dla szkół ludowych i gimnazjów **Zeszyty** i przybory szkolne. **Druki** szkolne oraz dla c. k. Starostw w urzędów gminnych, parafialnych i różne inne dostarcza: **Drukarnia i księgarnia 2078** W. Potrańskiego Kraków-Podgórze Cennik bezpłatnie.

L. LEWICKI Kraków, Rynek 1. 15. Handel delikatesów, pokoje do śniadań i restauracya.

CO DZIENNY KONCERT muzyki salonowej A. WROŃSKIEGO Pivo wyłącznie Pilznieńskie. Znakomita kuchnia. Wykwintny bufet Gabinetny. 2164 Lokal otwary do godz. 12-tej w nocy.

TRWAŁE OBUWIE KARLSBADZKIE asonów amerykańskich poleca firma

R. CZOPP Kraków, ul. Szewska 13. Pantofelki aksam. ze skórkowym obcasem i podszewą K 16:20 Pantofelki płóciennne ze skórkowym obcasem i podszewą K 18:50 i 22

Pantofelki żółte i czarne K 24— Piłbiczki czarne, 36Hn i lakierowe Kor. 28 — K 32— i 36— Cate buciki box K 34 i 42. Cate buciki kółkowe K 34— i 40— Cate buciki szyte K 30— i K 36— Mekkie buciki ciate box. K 52— Chevroux K 42—

Wielki wybór bucików dleokcyjnych. Zamówienia z prowincyi wysyła się odrotną pocztą tyliko za załączenia. Wymiana dozwolona. 1500

TOWARZYSTWO stożary w Kalwaryi — poszukiwać na oznaczonym miejscu w niedziele o 5-iej w razie nie pogody we czwartek. 2167

PROSZĄCY i pracownicy — Proszę oświadczyć na oznaczonym miejscu w niedziele o 5-iej w razie nie pogody we czwartek. 2167

GONCZA szuka do sprzedania. Bardzo dobre zoni sianca. — Wiadomość: Iskownia lub Instnie Kraków, ul. Zielona L. 16. prólnia. Zgłoszenia wprost. 2141

500 K place Waw (cztery wki) fronek 214

1600 (Kasa) i Węgry, Skrzyżowania poczowa 1870

500 K place Waw (cztery wki) fronek 214

1600 (Kasa) i Węgry, Skrzyżowania poczowa 1870

500 K place Waw (cztery wki) fronek 214

1600 (Kasa) i Węgry, Skrzyżowania poczowa 1870

POŁAK uczący się po niemiecku. — Praktyczny przewodnik, który pomoże wstąpić do nauki, aby w krótkim czasie można czytać, rozumieć i mówić po niemiecku. 200 stron do czego należą **SŁOWNICZEK POLSKO-NIEMIECKI** i niemiecko-polski obejmujący najpotrzebniejsze wyrazy polskie w niemieckim tłumaczeniu i w odwrot, wszystko podług obecności w pierwszej części po której stronie słowa polskie i zaraz obok też samo po niemiecku; zaś w drugiej części słowa niemieckie najpierw i zaraz obok też samo po polsku. 550 stron. Obaj tomiki tegoż formatu w trwałej oprawie są tylko razem do nabycia i kosztują razem za przesyłką kwoty 3 grzy K 8 —, za załączenia K 650. Książki te są konieczne potrzebne każdemu, kto się chce dobrze po niemiecku nauczyć. — Księgarnia wysyłkowa **L. BUCHSBAUMA w Przemyślu**, obok Morawskiej Ostrawy. 1942

RZĄDOWO UPOWAŻNIONA 1913 **SZKOŁA RACHUNKOWOŚCI PAŃSTWOWEJ I BUCHALTERY** **JOZEFA TOBICYKA** w Krakowie przy ulicy Szulskiego L. 7. podlegająca w myśl restr. Minist. wyznań i oświaty z dnia 17. stycznia 1909 L. 43.188 inspekcji c. k. Władz szkolnych. Przyjmuje wpisy do 15 września 1916. codz. od 8, do 7 wieczór.

Mimo szalonej drożyzny wyjątkiej wskutek wojny, mające jeszcze dawniejsze zapasy jestem w stanie niżej wyzszczególnione towary

z jak długo zapas starczy po następujących cenach sprzedaje: 1077

Zegarek Nikiowy plaski Roskopf z lańcuszkiem i wisiorkiem K. 8:50, ten sam w kamieniaci idący K. 8:50, Roskopf podobnie kryty, plomien grawitacyjny o 3 kopertach K. 10:50, elektryczony zegarek plaski z lańcuszkiem K. 8:—, stalowy plaski Cyl. Rem. z sekundnikiem K. 9:70. Stalowy akroszy Rem. z sekundnikiem w kamieniaci idący plaski K. 17 —. Wyimiony prawdy, niki zegarek szlufkowy W. Rosk. Patent z plombami na kamieniaci K. 15 —, stalowy damski K. 10 —, lepszy ze skórką K. 12 —, Srebrny Roskopf kryty o 3 koperty K. 18 —, srebrny plaski Cyl. Rem. z met cyferblatem, kryty K. 17 —, otwarty K. 14 —, srebrny damski otwarty K. 13 —, lepszy ze skórką na rękę K. 15 —, ten sam kryty K. 19 —, Budżet. najlepszy K. 15 —, ton sam kryty K. 19 —, Budżet. najlepszy K. 15 —, srebrny mekki lańcuszek po 3:60 i wyżej, amerykań. dobre z gwarancją K. 6 —, brzytwy po K. 2:50, 3:00 i 5 —, maszynki do włosów K. 7:50, kosmetica do golenia z rozmiłtami przybarami K. 12 — i 6:50.

Harmonie ręczne w rozmaitych gatunkach po K. 4:50, 7, 9, 18 do 30. Skrzypce ze smyczkiem w rozmaitych gatunkach po K. 7 —, 9 —, 12 — do 30 —, ustne harmonijki po K. 1:70, 2:50 i 3:50. Trąbki akordeonowe po K. 3 —, 4 — i 5 —. Zapałniczki benzynowe po K. 1:50 i 2:50, lampki elektryczne po K. 3, 4, 5, baterye 6 i 8 godz. K. 1:20.

Wyniła za pobraniem pocztowym. — Do pola za poprzednim nadaniem kwoty. Towar nieodpowiedni wymieniam lub zwracam pieniądze. — Rzyżko wykuczone.

IGNACY CYPRES dom eksportowy, Kraków, ulica Szewska 13/6. Bogato ilust. cenniki zegarków. blizytary i przybory zegarmistrzowskich darmo i opłatnie.

Zakład pogrzebowy „CONCORDIA” podejmuje się przewozu zwłok do wszystkich krajów Europy, jedyńy w Krakowie, który posiada własny wyrób trumien, **JANA WOLNEGO** Plac Szczęśliwy 1. 2. (dom własny). Telefon 331. 1142

Figure 4. IKC, 3 September 1916, 12.

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Obszar dworski Chłopice, poczta i stacya Jarosław, może dać pomieszczenie dla ewakuowanego personelu folwarcznego, ewentualnie z kofmi wedle specjalnej umowy o wynagrodzenie. Zgłoszenia pisemne lub osobiście za pośrednictwem urzędowaniem. 7507

Dziewczynki do nauki modniarstwa przyjmie Magazyn Mod Fredry 5 Jasińska. 7530

Zdolną etykieliarkę z dłuższą praktyką do flaszek przyjmie natychmiast za sowitem wynagrodzeniem oraz kobietę do mycia flaszek. Zgłoszenia natychmiastowe — Restauracya ul. Słoneczna 41. 7532

Praktykanta do handlu delikatnesd poszukuje firma Fryderyk Schelclier we Lwowie, pasaż Mikolascha. Zgłoszenia tamże codziennie od 12 do 1 godz. przedpoł. 7479

Poszukuję osoby uczciwej, obznajomionej z szyciem i naprawą bielizny, któraby zarazem zajęła się porządkiem pomieszczenia. Zgłoszenia osobiście. Restauracya pod 3 Koronami Trybunalska 10. 7562.

Nauka

Seminarzystka z 4 roku przyjmie lekcy z klas normalnych za skromnem wynagrodzeniem lub zajmie się wychowaniem dziecka lub jako towarzyszyka w oznaczonych godzinach. Zgłoszenia pod „Seminarzystka” do Wieku Nowego. v

W zakładzie naukowym z prawem publiczności Amelii d'Endel rozpocznie się rok szkolny w dniu 6 września. — Zakład pod kierownictwem prof. seminarium obejmuje: kursy przygotowujące do matury seminarjalnej, szkołę wydziałową 6-cio klasową, szkołę ludową 4-klasową korekcyjną. — szkołę krolewską. Szczególną uwagę zwraca się na naukę i konwersacyę języków obcych. Wpisy codziennie od 10—12 przedpołudniem i od 7—8 pop. plac Bernardyński 12 a. 7536

Rutynowana nauczycielka udziela lekcji fortepianu po przystępnej cenie. Bajki 23. 7559.

Rutynowana nauczycielka udziela lekcji gry na fortepianie. Łatwa metoda, tanio. Ulica św. Józefa 2 i p. 7302

Nauczycielka z wydziałowym egzaminem obejmie lekcy we Lwowie tylko w lepszym domu; możliwy także wikt jako wynagrodzenie. — Adres do Adm. Wieku pod „Pedagogia”. v

Repetitorium matury K seminarjalnej. Zarząd Zacharzewicza 3, Stankiewiczowa. 7473

Uczennica prof. Kurza z wyższego kursu konserwatorium, udziela lekcji muzyki po przystępnych cenach. Zgłoszenia do Adm. pod B. H. x

Mieszkania, sklepy

Pani zajęta cały dzień szuka umebłowanego pokoju w śródmieściu. — Zgłoszenia pod M. N. do Administracyi. 7537.

Do wynajęcia pokój na skład mebli z zapewnioną opieką. Sapieży 49 II p. 7535

Do wynajęcia od 1 września pokój frontowy elegancko umebłowany, elektryka, łazienka z całym utrzymaniem. Kochanowskię 22, III p. na prawo. 7557

Pokój kawalerski umebłowany (ewentualnie dwa) osobny wchód do wynajęcia ul. Grottgera 7 II p. Tamże do sprzedania parka psów Griffonów. 7555.

Przyjmę studentów na mieszkanie, — pokój stonoczny z osobnem wejściem. Żulińskiego 15 parter. 7553

Wynajmę pokój umebłowany — osobny wchód zaraz za 18 K. — Ulica Zielona 5 c I p. 7542.

Duży pokój suchy, stonoczny frontowy koło tramwaju przy rodzinie zaraz do wynajęcia. Fortepian nowy do użytku. Adres: Józefa Bema nr. 10. x

Pokój dla pań lub panów z całym utrzymaniem zaraz do wynajęcia. — Również obłady smaczne i zdrowo sporządzone. Zielona 5 c — parter na lewo. v

Dwóch uczniów niższego gimnazjum znajdzie umieszczenie w domu po prof. gimn. Troksliwa opieka zapewniona. Krolewska 10 parter drzwi nr. 6. v

Sykstuska 54 pięć pokoi i 3 pokoje sioneczne, kuchnia, łazienka, przedpokój, spiżarka balkon, weranda, elektryka, gaz zaraz do wynajęcia. Wiadomość II p. 7481

Interesa handlowe

Ważne dla wyjeżdżających. Długoletni fachowy gospodarz obejmie zarząd lub administracyę kamienicy. Wiadomość trafika kolejowego dworzec Podzamcze. 7551

Funkcyjnarzys — na stałym stanowisku — obejmie administracyę realności stosownie do umowy. Zgłoszenia przyjmie Administr. Wieku pod „Funkcyjnarzys”. 7483

Rozmaite

Kotki są do darowania Piastów 22 I piętro. 7539.

Do darowania chłopka blondyna o niebieskich oczach, zdrowy, z dobrej rodziny, 3-letni. Kopernika 20 u dozorczy. 7558.

Pieczę i kuchnie kaflowe oraz wszelkie reperatury wykonuje solidnie Michał Kropacz plac Dąbrowskiego 8. 7647

Dra Heima
Tabletki Jobimbin
Flak. po 25 50 100 tabl.
K 5:30 10 18

Najlepszy środek przy przedwczesnem osłabieniu męskim. Zważać należy na imię Dr. Heim. Skład dla Wiednia apteka „zum römischen Kaiser” Wien I Wollzeile 15 — oddział 3. Skład we Lwowie apt. M. Etinger, plac Gołuchowski. 4212

Furmanek do zwożenia węgla potrzebuje Szpital powszechny. 7459

Poszukuję szycia bielizny i naprawę po domach — jak również przyjmuję do domu. Zgł. Supińskiego 3 parter — drzwi 7. v

Dla mężczyzn i kobiet

bez wstrzykiwań

leczy się w kilku dniach nawet najzaształsze upływy, cierpienia cewki moczowej przez użycie środka

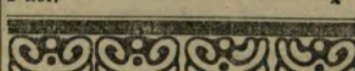
Ursin-Tecton

1 pudełko (zawiera 100 pigulek) K 7. Do zupełnego wyleczenia wystarczy użycie 2 pudełek. Wytwórca: Ursin-Gesellschaft Berlin. Zamówić można w składzie głównym

Józef von Török, aptekarz, Budapeszt, VI, Königsgasse 12. 4007



Kuchnia domowa jest podstawą zdrowia, zwłaszcza, jeżeli potrawy sporządzane są na świeżem maśle, cysto po gospodarstwu. Kto chce spróbować, jak smakuje obiad prawdziwie gospodarski — niech choć raz jeden zje go przy ul. Wałowej 1, 23, I p. drzwi na prawo. — Obiad z trzech dań kosztują 2 kor. x



Posad poszukują

Młodzienc lat 17 — mówiący po niemiecku, inteligentny, poszukuje jakiegokolwiek zajęcia na wsi. (Praktykanta rolnego). Zgłoszenia do Administracyi Wieku Nowego pod „Praktykant”. 7545

Biedna sierota — bez środków do życia — poszukuje posady do biura, bony, kasy lub coś innego zaraz. Zgłoszenia „Biedna”. 7543.

Panna z ukończoną 9 klasą, pisząca na maszynie, poszukuje jakiegokolwiek posady biurowej. Łaskawe zgłoszenia list. do Adm. Wieku pod „Posada biurowa”. x

Przyjmuję bieliznę do naprawy, jakoteż północzochy do cerowania. — Adres M. J. ul. Mała 1, 2, parter drzwi na lewo. v

Młoda kobieta poszukuje posadę kasyerki w kinie albo w aptece. Zgłoszenia w Administracyi nr. 240. 7477

Chora uczennica, której choroba i głód dokuczają, prosi serc litościwych o taskawę datki do Adm. Wieku pod „Chora uczennica”. v

Poszukuję miejsca do apteki, sklepu lub kina do kasy za kaucyją. Pośrednictwo nie wyklucone. Zgłoszenia „Kasa” Adm. Wieku. 7504

Biedna sierota szuka posady do kuchni — do dzieci i może zająć się gosp. domowem lub jako klucznica. Cecylia Ferständer, Kar. Ludwika 21 u Zehnguta. v

Stenografistka młoda i intelig. rutynowana, buchalterka, biegła pisząca na maszynie z kilkuletnią praktyką kanc. poszukuje odpowiedniej posady. Zgł. pisemne do Wieku pod J. Z. v

DRUKARNIA „PRASA”

we Lwowie — ulica Sokoła 1. 4. — Telefon nr. 782.

Wydawca: „Wiek Nowy”, Spółka wydawnicza.

przyjmuje zamówienia na wszelkie roboty drukarskie. — Bogaty wybór czcionek. — Wykonanie wzorowe — Ceny umiarkow.

Drukiem: „Spółki druk. Prasa”. ul. Sokoła. Telefon 782.

OBUWIE Wysokie, dobre, mocne butki do sznurowania, brązowe lub czarne z trwałą skórą, o mocnych wkładkach pięciennych, z drewnianą podszewką. Nr. 30-40 kor. 30, Nr. 41-46 kor. 35-50, następnie trwałe butki skórzane, z drewnianą podszewką. Nr. 35-39 kor. 20-70, Nr. 30-34 kor. 22-50, Nr. 35-40 koron 27-60, Nr. 41-45 kor. 33. Butki domowe z dobrego płótna kor. 22-30. Sandały z tworzonej skóry bez obkładań Nr. 25-32 kor. 0-30, Nr. 33-35 kor. 7-20, Nr. 39-43 kor. 8-70. Sauterowa z niemieckiej celulozy, czarne, okrągłe, za wielki luz (144 szuki) kor. 18-50, szerokie, płocienne, czarne kor. 50 za 144 szuki. Biżuteria skórzana kor. 1-50 za parę, przy większym odbiorze stosowny opust. Wysyłka owrotną pocztą. Cenunki darmo. 3623

LEO WALLISCH Wiedeń VII, Kandlgasse . 21

Gwarantowany skutek lub zwrot pieniędzy.

Orzeczenia lekarzów o skuteczności działania oraz tysiącami listów dziękczynnych do każdego przesłania.

BUJNY, PIĘKNY I ROZWIĘTY BIUST

Wysoka się przez użycie kremu na biust Dra A. Riza. W każdym wieku szybki i pewny skutek. Do użytku zewnętrznego. Jedyny krem na biust, który z powodu niezwykłego działania spowodował apteki, drogerie itp. — Puszka próbną K 5.—, duża puszka wysłana za 10 K 10.— Porto osobno. Wysła listów dyktando Kon. Dr. A. Riza preparaty: Wien IX, Lucknerstrasse 64. — Składy w Krakowie: Apteka Władysława, Florjanska 10, Miklaszewski, plac Dominikański 1, Reim i Sika, Rynek 57, Dro. Komorowskiego, Florjanska 33, Bekner, Pułgi 4, Magazyn uniwersalny firmy „Drogeria“ Lecher, Apteka Ruckera, ul. Krakowska, Apt. M. Ettingera, pl. Gołuchowski, Perf. Śladowski, Perlmarsa nadworn. Rochan, Hallika 12; Tarnów: Dro. Bracha; Poznań: Dro. Linds; Białystok: Dro. Polanski; ul. Kolejowa, Dro. Tanewskiego; Lublin: Perf. Stankiewicz. 3621

ŚWIERZB, LISZAJE, swędzenie skóry

uszwia szybko i zrychlenia Dra Fiescha oryginalna prawie odurzająca „Skabofora“ maść brunatna. Bezwonna, nie brudzi. Próby słoik K 3.—, duży słoik K 6.—, faszjajki K 12.—. Uwaga na markę oszroną „Skabofora“! Główne składy: Lwów: Aptekarska Seymon Hag, nadzwyczaj dostawa; Kraków: Apteka pod „Białym Orłem“ Rynek pl., Linia A-B 45; Apteka pod „Złotym Orłem“ W. Eberbach, Krakowska 11; Prasnicy: C. k. Obwodowa Apteka M. Schwara; Jarosław: Apteka pod „Czarnym Orłem“ J. Rohacz; Tarnów: Apteka obwodowa J. R. Nicolskiego; Brzeszcz: Apteka pod „Opuszczeni“ C. F. Tobiaszka; Kolomyja: i Apteka obwodowa Dra Stefana Staszka; Busy Szczę: Apteka Marcina Corczyńskiego; Rzeszów i czołcza: C. k. Obwodowa apteka, ul. 3-maja. 2544

Już 15 września w tym roku wpiśw

KURSA A. BARANIECKIEGO

Po raz drugi trzy jednoczoce wydziały: gospodarstwa wiejskiego, wychowawczy i społeczny.

Informacje listowno. Sekretaria kursów: H. Tomaszowska, ulica Karmelicka 1. 32. 4283

Najwyższe szerokie — oszczędność materiału — jedyną przyczyną piękności. Najważniejszą rolę w życiu kobiety odgrywa twarz. Kiedy rozważasz dowiedzieć o pięknie oblicza. Trzeba zatem pomyśleć o wyśmienitej pielęgnacji cery do późnego wieku. Zapomnij moją drogę! Idealna pielęgnacja twarzy, którą wypracowałam za pomocą, podpatrzyła się Pani wroczko wszelkich nieczystości skóry, a twarz Pani stała się młodociano-świeża. Proszę zwracać uwagę na znak i wysłać markę na odpowiedź. A. Jelinek, Wiedeń 68, Farn 37, Abtg. 48. 2400

W JAKI SPOSOB WYPIEKIAŁAMI 2900

„Jakiś byłem zakaraśnał“ — tak opowiada pewna młoda kobieta, której portret w środku się znajduje. — Zresztą, nie byłam nigdy postać, ale przez kilka lat była cera mojej twarzy tak zszpeczona, że była prawie odrzucająca. — Używałam najróżniejszych środków, ale zawsze naderżnięta. Byłam już prawie rozpaczona! Za poradą mojej przyjaciółki jednak sprowadziłam cztery słoiki „Helinu“ i używałam według przepisu. Już po kilku dniach zauważyłam, że sprężona moja twarz nieczystości ustępowała w sposób w oczy wpadający, a po kilku tygodniach zupełnie znikła. — Twarz moja stała się miła, czysta i gładka, cera przy skórze i uzyskała trwałą piękność. Wysyłka następuje najmniej w listach z słoików „Helinu“ lub z słoików „opiekania siłnego Helinu“ wraz z opisem sposobu używania, opakowaniem i z opłatą pocztową za Kor. 24.00.



Magazyń Związków ekonom. Kolek rolniczych w Białej

ZDOLNEGO EKSPEDYENTA

działu korzennego, Polska, religii katolickiej. Posada do objęcia z dniem 1 września. Oferty wraz z odpisami świadectw i fotografią włosek należy do Biura magazynów ZEKR w Białej, przy ul. Główniej 62. 4466

Profesorowie gimnazyów i szkół realnych krakowskich

przygotowują indywidualnie lub zbiorowo do matury klasycznej i realnej do poszczególnej klasy gimnazyów i szkół realnych, do egzaminu wydziałowego. Specjalnie siły do każdego przedmiotu. Specjalność: wykłady geometrii wykreślnej. Nauka w czasie ograniczonym, dla wojskowych w czasie urlopu. Zgłoszenia każdego dnia od godziny 4—6 Zwierzyniecka 4, I. p. 4675

NAJPIĘKNIJSZA TWARZ I

Przez zupełnie nowy wynalazek udało się usunąć bez śladu wszelkie piegły, maki, przyczki, zmarszczki, jakoteż czerwoność nosa i twarzy. Pełna gwarantowana ochrona! Zaczyna w najwyższym stopniu. Płec staje się natychmiast delikatną i światłą, zmarszczki znikają, a Poni staje się piękna i młoda, z ten samą skutecznością. Tysiące dobrowólnych poleceń od wszystkich krajów! Unano przez tysiące iniarodajnych lekarzy. Proszę zaraz napisać pod adresem: L. Decker, Wiedeń 56, Fach 19, Oddz. 33 a Poni otrzyma list odpowiedni wraz z pouczeniem zupełnie darmo. Proszę o załączenie marki na odpowiad. 2428

Trwałe buty skórzane

ze skóry z podszewką drewnianą nabitą gwoździami, bardzo trwałe.

Wielkość:	Nr. 30—34	35—39	40—45
Cena:	Kor. 26-80	29-62	33-84

Z inożnej wymięniteli skóry wełnowej, przyszywy z kawalków, drewniana podszewka z ozdobianymi skórzanym, w najwyższym stopniu odporne.

Wielkość:	Nr. 26—29	30—34	35—43	39—45
Cena:	Kor. 27-36	32-62	36—	39-60

Z materiału celulozowo-nieprzemakalnego z szerokimi obkładkami skózanymi, podszewką drewnianą z ozdobianiem skózanym.

Wielkość:	Nr. 30—34	35—39	40—45
Cena:	Kor. 23-20	27-60	29-10

WYSOKIE BUCIki DAMSKIE

z materiału hawajskiego z obkładkami skózanymi i skózaną podszewką Kor. 110.—.

W wypadkach, jeżeli się nie podoba, pieniądze zwraca się. Porto i opakowanie osobno. Zamówienia dopuszczalne.

Pakiety s wozami 1 kilo na załączeniu.

B. Gottfried, Ekspert obuwiu, Wiedeń IV.
Wiedner Gürtel 60, Oddział 14. 4678

STOLARZY i pomocników stolarskich

do robót stolarskich przyjeżdżają do Lublina

Fabryka maszyn rolniczych „Odlew“ w Krakowie 2927
(Grzegorzki, przedtem Peterseln).

Kontrolora lasowego i leśniczego

z wyższem wykształceniem fachowem, poszukuje się zaraz. Zgłoszenia z odpisami świadectw proszę nadesyłać pod adresem niżej podanym. Podania nie uwzględnione pozostałym bez odpowiedzi. Zarząd dóbr ks. Sapiehow, Diteszyce koło Jarosławia. 4633

Pot nóg, pach i rąk

Wspaniałe wyniki. 4872

Nasze najpotężniejszy kosmetyk „Fussel“ ususza podołnie się nóg, rąk i pach w ciągu kilku dni na zawsze bez wpływu skłódlivych. „Fussel“ jest środkiem wypróbowanym i pełni listów dziękczynnych znajdujących się w naszych rękach. „Fussel“ jest środkiem niezawodnym i tanim. Słoik wystarcza i kosztuje tylko K 4.—. Za załączką K 5-50. Sład główny „Fussel“ w Białej.

W Krakowie w drogueryi Reima i Siki, (Rynek), w Tarnowie w drogueryi Bracha, w Rzeszowie w drogueryi S. A. Zgorzka, w Białej w drogueryi Polanaka, w Strzynie w Apteco A. Sternborga, w Nowym Sztetnie w apteco Marcina Górczkiego, w Drohobyczu w Apteco P. Tobiaszka, w Bur. Ostrowa w Apteco pod św. Barbarą, w Krośnie w drogueryi F. Janowskiego, w Przemyślu w drogueryi Maszyńskiego i w Kolomyi w Apteco obwodowej Dra Stenla.

Potrzebny egzaminowany maszynista

do fabryki dachówek i cegieł od 1 listopada. Fabryka ta jest urządzona według najnowszych wynoów techniki, estuczna uszula do suszenia dachówek i cegły. Pierwszeństwo mają ci, którzy w takich fabrykach byli zatrudnieni. Potrzebny **PALAZC KOTŁOWY** egzaminowany. Zgłoszenia pod C. M. T. do Admin. Kurjera. 4828

Nowe czeskie pierze giesie!

dzarta, i kg. białego, najlepszego pucha kor. 45, białego pierza wraz z puchem koron 20, dttto II. jakości kor. 17, szarego puchu K 25, szarego pierza K 7-50, niedartego białego pierza pierwszej jakości kor. 10, drugiej jakości kor. 7.—. Wysyła za załączką: **IRMA HALDEK, Praga-Smitchov, ul. Klusky'ego 1.** Zastępcę do odsprzedaży odbiorcom prywatnym poszukiwani. 4870

Nauka rozpocznie się dnia 10 września 1918. **WPISY na nowe kursa w roku szkolnym 1918/19 w Szkole Rachunkowości i Buchalterii STANISŁAWA BURNATOWICZA** w Krakowie, ulica Floryjńska 85, Telefon 2113 na kursa:

- 1) handlowe roczne. 4973
- 2) handlowe 4-ro i 6-cio miesięczne,
- 3) rachunkowości państwowej,
- 4) buchalterii współdzielczej dla Towarzystw kalkucyjnych, kas Baffleisona i Kolek rolniczych,
- 5) plania na maszynaach, powielania, manipulacji biurowych etc.
- 6) stenografii i kalfigrafii,
- 7) obcych języków, przynajmniej się codziennie od 9—1 i od 8—7.

POLACZEK

Dla osób dorosłych i dla dzieci, bardzo na przykład (raport) pępla, brzucha, pachwinny i już opadłej wdół. Suplementa najrozmaitszych wielkości. **Opakunki brzożne** na obwisłe brzuchy, przeciw opadaniu naczki, obezwini się, w cierpieniach kórtlowych i kiesz, w dolegliwościach spowodowanych z nieprawidłowocią pólógów, po operacjach i t. d. **Pospaskimieszczasz** Owijaki gumowa na zylaki nóg i l. p. Zamówienia wykomple się natychmiast i zwraca w conach możliwie najniższych. Wysyła się za załączką pocztową i też do Król. Polskiego. M. POLACZEK, Sambor 13. Galicya. 4484

Komitet zarządzający 8-klasowem Miejskim gimnaz. realnem z prawem Publicznosci w Łozajsku, ogłasza **KONKURS**

na 3 posady nauczycielskie od 1-go września b. r. z jakiegokolwiek grupy, przedewszystkiem atoli do języka łacińskiego, historyi, geografii i przyrody. Płaca roczna egzaminowanego K 5400, nieegzaminowanego K 4800 za 18 godzin nauki w tygodniu językowych lub 20 godzin nieljęzykowych oraz po 200 K za każdą godzinę nadliczową. W podaniu wymienił wiek, wyznaczenie, studia i dotychczasowe zajęcie. Adresować: Dyrekcya gimnazjum realnego w Łozajsku. 4680

Ka. Antoni Tyczyński przewodniczący Komitetu Gimnazjalnego.

AUTOMATYCZNA ŁAPKA NA MYSZY.

Na szczyry K. 0-80, na myszy Kor. 4-80 przez jedną noc można złapać do 40 sztuk — mało widzialna z automatycznym zastrzałem. Lapidus naturalny „Rapid“ a K 0-80, łyszące kuraków można złapać przez jedną noc. Skuteczna łapka na muchy „Nova“ K 4-20. Wiele listów dziękczynnych. Wysyła za załączką, porto 50 h. Dom wysyłkowy **TINTNER** Wiedeń III, Nollengasse Nr. 20/C. 2645

Figure 6. IKC, 1 September 1918, 7.

COLOSSEUM

Od 16 sierpnia o 7:30 wspaniały program: Rodzina Kremona, igrzyska ikaryj, Lia Alba fenomen wokalny w scenie oper. „Pieśń życia”, **Siostry Silyery** mimodram tan. **Młody papa** oper. Edm. Eyslera. **Karol Libal**, komik grotesk. **Wang Chio Tsing**, chiński kuglarz. **Steineretty, Harry & Gisela, Armida, Hella Brandt, Josza Szabo**. W niedziele i święta 2 przedstawienia o 4. i 7:30. Bilety do nabycia w składzie papieru S. Gabriela, Kar. Ludwika 7. 17909

Nowość! **H. H. EWERS** Nowość!
OPETANI

CYKL NAJCIĘKAWSZYCH NOWEL
W ZNAKOMITYM TŁÓMACZENIU
Stanisława Adamskiego.
Cena kompletnej książki K 12.--

NAKŁAD WYDAWNICTWA „KULTURA I SZTUKA” WE LWOWIE. — SKŁAD GŁÓWNY KSIĘGARNIA AKADEMICKA, LWÓW PL. MARYACKI 4, HOTEL EUROPEJSKI. — DO NABYCIA WE WSZYSTKICH KSIĘGARNIACH 18835

Wieczorno kursa handlowe dla osób dorosłych.

Za pozwoleniem c.k. Rady szkolnej krajowej reskrypt z 26 lipca hr. L. 1158) otwiera Dr. Kazimierz Petyński-Sanecki, profesor Akademii handlowej, kursa obejmują buchalterię, rachunki kupieckie, korespondencję handlową, naukę o handlu i wozisku.

Celem kursów jest dać możność osobom dorosłym nabycia całokształtu wiedzy handlowej. Uczestniczyć można na wszystkie lub pojedyncze przedmioty. Po skończeniu kursu mogą kandydaci poddać się egzaminom prywatnym w c.k. Akademii handlowej i otrzymać świadectwa.

Kursa rozpoczyna się 10 września a trwać będą 4 i pół miesiące.

Wykładac będą profesorowie c.k. Akademii handlowej. Blizszych szczegółów udziela dyrekcja między godz. 5-6 codziennie Zamorowicza 17, 19104
III. piętro „Książnica”.

DLA ODBUDOWY:
WAPNO, CEMENT, GIPS, CEGŁY, DACHÓWKI, LUPEK, PAPA, ASFALT, PIECIE, POSADZKI, RURY, KŁOZETY, ŁAZIENKI, ORAZ WSZELKIE MATERIAŁY BUDOWLANE I WODOCIĄGOWE.
BRACIA MUND
LWÓW, SYKSTUSKA 23.
TELEFON 870.
19261

HERBATON
HERBATONU 2 łyżeczki dać na szklankę gotowanej wody a zastąpi najlepszą herbatę z rumem. — HERBATON przy badaniu przez c.k. urząd dla badania środków spoż. został uznany jako znacznie lepszy od innych surrogatów. Sprzedaje się na mare, flaszki proszę przynieść ze sobą. Cena za 1 litr 5 K we Lwowie. Dla odsprzedawców w butkach ceny umiowane. We Lwowie sprzedaje firma **HIRSCH RATH**, ul. Skarbowska 1. 2.
O większe zamówienia proszę adresować wprost do fabryki „Herbatonu” 16999
KAZIMIERZ LUDWIŃSKI Kraków, Bracka 5.

SIGORIN
tępi i zczłwajające szybko 13987
pluskwy
Flaszka próbna K 4.—, duża flaszka K 16.—, wstrzykawką K 2.—.
Do nabycia w aptekach i drogeriach.
Skład główny dla Austro-Węgier:
Apotheke zur Hoffnung
in Pets Nr. 31 (Węgry).
Wyłączna sprzedaż w poszczególnych miastach do oddania.

Ruinynowany, samodzielny buchalter - bilansista,
zdolny organizator i administrator, biegły korespondent polsko-niemiecki, częściowo także węgiersko-rosyjski, pełniący obecnie służbę wojskową przy szpitalu „Befund C”, pragnie pracować w przedsiębiorstwie, które wyrecłamuje go od służby wojskowej. Oferuje na czas wojny gorliwą, wydajną pracę za minimalnym wynagrodzeniem lub gotówkę. Zgłoszenia „Reklamacya” Administr. Wiek. 17900

Maszyny do szycia
najlepszych systemów najkorzystniejszą można nabyć u firmy
Aleksander Halimon
skład maszyn do szycia
Lwów, Wałowa 11A.
Warsztat reparacyjny. 17908

Wielki wybór
Grzebienniki, gęsty i rzadki, Szcoteczki i pasty do zębów, Szcotki do włosów, wód do włosów, wody kolońskiej, perfumeryj — poleca Magazyn farb i materiałów **LUDWIK NOSZOWSKI**, Lwów Akademicka 3. 18967

Siny kamień do białowania pszenicy
poleca
JAN SUDHOFF
Magazyn farb, — Lwów, Akademicka 1. 8. 18820

Dra Helmericha
Maść przeciw świerzbowi
usmierza szybko dolegliwości wywołane świerzdem.
Cena słoika 2 i 4 Koron.
Mydło do toalety i Ros. 30 hal.
Złotka krew czyszcząca i K. 30 h.
Skład i wyrób: Apteka pod Archaniołem Rafałem **M. KTINGERA** we Lwowie, przy placu Gołuchowskim. — — — 6781

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200 kg. sera owczego,
50 kg. grzybów suszonych,
1000 szt. mioteł brzożow. itp.
poleca „**UNIWERSUM**” Bolina.

Świerzbienie
I choroby skóry wszelkiego rodzaju, jak: parch, liżazje, wyrzuty, obrzęki i rany, leczą się najpewniej z najszybszym skutkiem środkami domowym, którym jest: **Maść burztynowa**. Nie płami i jest zupełnie bezwonna. — Mały słoik K 4.—, wielki słoik K 6.—, słoik milijny K 10.—. — Do tego potrzebne: **Mydło burztynowe** K 6.—. 13027
Wytw.: **Gerő Sándor**, apt. Nagykorös.
We Lwowie u: Piotra Mikolajca, drogeria, w Skolem u aptekarza **Józefa Ehrlicha**.

PIĘKNE, PEŁNE KSZTAŁTY CIAŁA
piękne formy i piękny biust otrzymać mogą szczuple i wzięte kobiety panny przez „Robosza” (równ. zstrzeż.) i słoik franko K 10-80 — przez **L. Vertés**, — Adler-Apotheke, — Lugos Nr. 742. 105

W sobotę 31 b. m. w Sali **Sokoła Jeden**
Wieczór pieśni i tańca
JÓZEFA BOROWSKA polska pieśniarka z nowym repertuarem, **ALFONS FORTWILL** piosenkarz Warszawskiego Czarnego Koła, **ZOFIA FALISZEWSKA** prima-balerina teatru miejskiego, **HENRYK ZBIERZCHOWSKI** akompaniament.
Początek o godzinie 7:30 wieczór. Ceny miejsc od 3 do 10 Koron.
Bilety wcześniej do nabycia w Księgarni Akademickiej, Hotel Europejski. 18953

Figure 7. WN, 31 August 1918, 15.

„Antonina“ Pracownia kapeluszy damskich Kraków
 ulica Floryańska L. 13, i. piętro oficyny
Sprzedaj: przy ulicy Floryańskiej L. 14 (Hotel pod „Różą“) sklep P. J. Nowaka
 poleca na obecny sezon **KAPELUSZE** w wielkim wyborze po umiarkowanych cenach.

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2 majatków
 ziemskich w środk. lub zach. Małopolsce w cenie do 401 do 80 milionów rozdaje dla swych klientów
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 Dom handlowy Panerle & Ratz, Kraków.
 Rynek gł. 11, II p. of.

PIŁY GATROWE
 rozczłonkowane, cytrynowe i jabłkowe, toczą szklane, plastikowe, szklane w plastikach i w wycieczach lasi również, pasy popłowe, zmywaki, sztućce i stannery, odpadki kawy, seki wiertarki i uchwyty do łubki, Pianery, Rowady, wielobitki, lewary, pompy do kawy, kawy i przybory techn. do kawy, kawy i przybory techn. do kawy.
 Biuro techn. inf. Józef Weingrün, Kraków, Groble 17-19. 2161 Tel. 2145.

Zboże do siewu.
 Hodowla ziół w Mikulicach p. Kańczuga, śl. Przeworsk, sprzedaje do siewu zboża, kwalifikowane przez sekcję nas. T. G. org. Pszenicę Białką Mikulicką rodowodową, oryg. Żyło Mikulickie wczesne.

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 z wkładem 5-10 milionów marek jako cichy spółnik poszukiwany do przedsiębiorstwa stolarskiego. Posiadane środki zapewnione. Zgłoszenia „K“ Poznań, ul. 27 Grudnia 18 pod Nr. 236

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Kursy bankowe obejmują:
 1. Kurs matryczny: gimnazjum klasyczny, gimnazjum realne i szkoły realnej I stopnia i 2-letnie.
 2. Kurs niżej szkoły średniej w zakresie 4 klas.
 3. Kurs seminarium naukowo-technicznych I stopnia i 2-letnie.
 4. Kurs pisemne egzaminacje za pomocą mikołajskiego wysyłanych wykładów pisemnych.
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 rat jeden w stanie zimnym rozczłoniący chrom żelazo od rdzy, szkła srebrowym nabytkiem i pokrywa bezwartościową blachę powłoką i błyszczącym materiałem.
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 Pocztek nauki dnia 1-go października.
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 z pleców kępczym, wraz z 13 morgami pola, w wach. Małop. do zamiany na dom
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buchalter(ka) panna
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 Specjalność: Paterowane pustaki systemu Inł. Winklera. — Ceny konkurencyjne. — Szczegółowe oferty na żądanie odatownie. 2059

Ogłoszenie.
 Mamy na sprzedaż dla powracających z Ameryki
 135 morgów dobrej ziemi ze żniwami, 10 koni, 25 sztuk bydła, maszyny rolnicze i zabudowania i 128 morgów takie samo obok siebie wraz z lasami po pięć tysięcy pięćset dolarów. Dalej wielka destylarnia wódek i skład zboża w tem sklep kolonialny i żelazny z zabudowaniem maszynem inwentarzem i towarami za 5 tysięcy dolarów lub w zamian na marki polskie i wiele innych gospodarstw od 35 morgów 40, 70, 300, 400, 250 25 morgów zgłoszenia Czarnecki, Strawiński, Grudziądz, ulica Moniuszki Nr. 7, parter. 663

Mając żyło wybierając macznicę
 kupuje Apteka Redera w Krakowie
 ul. Karmelicka 23. 188

TORF GDAŃSKI
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 Biuro zamówień: 2184
S. Ellenberg, hurtownia sprzedaż węgla
 Kraków, Hotel Krakowski, drzwi Nr 25.

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Sp. Akc. „AZOT“ w Jaworznie
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Figure 8. IKC, 4 September 1921, 10.

WAŻNE DLA PROWINCYI!

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A. Bardach,

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KUPNO I SPRZEDAŻ

DOM MUROWANY białą czerstwą, ogród, drzewa owocowe, mieszkanie wolne obok 29 Listopada tanio sprzeda Jamnicki Piekarska 24 od 3-6. 20442

Znaczki

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Lwów, ul. Pańska 11. 19279

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Lwów — Pasaż Mikołascha. 20190

Pierwsza Polska Chrześcijańska Księgarnia i Antykwarnia WSPÓLDZIELCZA

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MIKROSKOP Reichertha, najnowszej konstrukcji z imeryą sprzedam Dolikowski, Zimorowicza 1, 6. 20408

SKŁAD Hurt Elżbiety Schmal ul. Romanowicza 11 — poleca swój bogato wyposażony magazyn. — Wysyłka na prowincję. 19268

FOLWARK 20 morgów, tuż pod Lwowem, z budynkami, inwentarzem, zasiewami 6000 dolarów, sprzeda, Marczyński Wawowa 2. 20415

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DO SPRZEDANIA PARA KONI wyjazdowych z łożyszcami i rasowa krowa mleczna. Wiadomość Polczyńska 9. 20227

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PRACOWNIA cukiernicza, kompletnie urządzona tanio do sprzedania, Jamnicki, Piekarska 24 od 3 do 6. 20441

Sprzedaje Materye

na ubrania męskie, kostyminy, płaszcze damskie, podszewki, płótna, zefiry i t. p. — po cenach umiarkowanych. Ul. Hoffmana 30, II. piętro. 20390

KAPELUSZE filcowe, aksamitne przegrabia modnie, tanio, Topolińska, Kopernika 1 na dąbce Mikołascha. 18481

KUPIĘ w okolicy Lwowa

dobrą ziemię z zabudowaniem i inwentarzem, albo mogę przystąpić do większego interesu jako spółnik — interes mus być pewny — z gotówką 5,000,000 marek, ewentualnie w walucie zagranicznej. — Zgłoszenia listem do Administracji „Wie-u” pod „AMERYKANIN”. 20379

AUTO osobowe „WAF”

zaraz do sprzedania. Ul. Polna 56, Lwów. 20355

KUPIĘ WILLE z wolnym mieszkaniem, Pośrednictwo pożądane, Wiadomość: Pańska 2, II, p. 4-6 popoł. 20059

Fotoplastikon

(automat) do sprzedania. Wiadomość: Drukarnia Dolińskiego — Kołomyja. 19996

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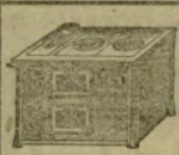
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Materye angielskie na ubrania męskie, damskie — po okazjnych cenach. — Import sukna, ul. Pańska 17a, III. piętro. 19259

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skórzanych transmisyjnych
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 sejmowym, wchód z Marszałkowskiej, 20263

KUPNO I SPRZEDAŻ
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 kancelaryjne — poleca LEOPOLD TARNAWSKI,
 zegarmistrz, we Lwowie, plac Akademicki 1, 2.
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SALON meblonowy. Sofa do jadałni, Łóżko me-
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 Chorążczyzny 29, parter, 20234

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 je, sprzeda i przyjmuje w komis wszelkiego
 rodzaju przedmioty. 19958

Spróbuj! a przekonasz się, że najluz-
 szą pastą do obuwia jest **Bristol**

Wyłączna sprzedaż na Małopolskę:
D.H. JÓZEF TARNAWSKI i S-ka
 Lwów — Kopernika 42 b.
 17711

CERATY w wielkim wyborze
 19741 poleca **LUDWIK BOSZOWSKI**
 Lwów, Akademicka 3.

NAJPIĘKNIEJSZE KAPELUSZE
 20276 POLECA NAJTANIEJ
WYBORYN KAPELUSZY DAMSKICH
 Lwów — ulica Fredry 1. 9. 202

KUPIE PIANINO używane, Trzeciego Maja 11,
 Sajon obratów, 20107

OKAZYJNIE do sprzedania Szafa glótopowa, Łada,
 Bunko, żelazne ogrodzenie 4X2, Pompa, Kury
 gazowe i inne różne rzeczy żelazne, Żółdewska
 1, 63 w podwórzu I, o, przed rampą, 20268

Używane ROWERY
 oraz płyty gramofonowe — kupuje i zamienia
 po najwyższych cenach 20172
Maria Immerwillek, Lwów, Jagiellońska 17.

TATARAK KORZEN SUSZONY
 kupuje **APTEKA**
REDERA w KRAKOWIE,
 Karmelicka 23.
 19563

SPRZEDAŻ domów bez kosztów dla właściciela
 zajmują się, Inżyn. Chrzaniowski, Zimorowicza 6.
 19952

LODOWNIA, stół marmarowy, lampy sędopowa
 w.szcza i stołowa, maszyna kołobowa, wanna
 cynkowa żelaz. białej, damskie ur. 26 do sprze-
 dania ul. Potockiego 44 sędop 20341

FORTEPIAN prostokątny do sprzedania, Mar-
 kiewicz, Szepetyckich 4, 20239

Figure 10. WN, 3 September 1921, 15.

Chapter 2. A Turbulent Decade:

Quantitative Advertising Trends in Urban Galician Newspapers

Advertising in the newspapers in both Cracow and Lemberg was increasingly present in the stable period from 1911 until the outbreak of war. Cracovians reading a Sunday edition of *Głos Narodu* or *Nowa Reforma* in March 1911 saw advertisements for food goods such as Alfred Stepek's "award winning" raspberry juice, Wojciech Olszowski's "one-time offer to convince everyone of the quality" of the French wine he sold, or Juliusz Meinl's new shipment of tea which had "already arrived." Advertisements for building supplies, bicycles, jewelry or watches, Roman-Catholic church goods (i.e. prayer books, statuaries, etc.), furniture, bookstores, banks, and medical remedies or pharmacies were also prevalent. Cloth and clothing were likewise common, such as the different types of fine cloth available from the Brothers Krejcar in the Czech lands, which "no woman could resist." Their advertisements tended to make use of the increasingly illustrated nature of printing, as mentioned in Chapter 1. For this particular advertisement, the Brothers Krejcar depicted a serpent wrapped around a tree, holding what is presumably their folding catalog, alluding to the temptation of Eve in the Garden of Eden (See Figure 11). Occasional advertisements for weapons, record players, sewing machines, and "want" advertisements for people, services, or goods also appear.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ *GN*, First available Sunday editions January-December, 1911, See 5 March 1911 as an example. The Stepek and Wojciech advertisements appear on page 5, and the Brothers Krejcar illustrated advertisement appears on page 6. Juliusz Meinl's coffee and tea import business advertisement appears in *NR*, Saturday Evening edition, 7 January 1911, 6.



Figure 11. The Brothers Krejcar advertisement for varying types of cloth. Notable for its imagery, and for the location of the business, in Dobruschka, in the Czech region of the empire.

While life in the urban centers of Cracow and Lemberg was impacted by the outbreak of war in 1914, the unfolding of that conflict, and the turbulent years following the end of the war as a new Polish state formed from the remnants of three collapsed empires, there was remarkable stability within newspaper advertising. Advertising within the popular press in both cities demonstrated trends of resilience that warrant a closer look. The examination and discussion of eight titles, four in each city, in the years from 1911 to 1921 will establish the overarching trend of continued publication that occurred in the realm of newspaper advertising, while taking into account more nuanced changes that occurred in advertising, and with the newspapers themselves, due to the instability during the years in question. The trends within the eight Galician newspapers will also be compared to overall trends in three additional newspapers, the Viennese daily *Neue Freie Press*, *Russkie Wedomosti* from Moscow and *The*

Manchester Guardian. This comparison offers insight into whether or not the trends present in the Galician newspapers were a local phenomenon, or if there is evidence to suggest that they might be part of a larger European trend. This chapter, taken along with the first, establishes that the macro level of continued advertising represents the resilience and adaptability of advertising as a mode of communication.

Method

In an effort to standardize the sample for this study I have examined the largest issue of each week, which often contained the most advertising. These issues had a Saturday or Sunday dateline, regardless of when the edition was actually published.¹³¹ If multiple editions appeared on the same date, such as morning and evening editions, the larger of the two was used. One edition per month was examined, using the above criteria. In the event of a missing edition, or the lack of publication on the first Saturday or Sunday of the month, then the next available Saturday or Sunday edition was used. This resulted in a maximum possible sample of 144 editions per title for the time period of 1911 to 1921.¹³² As mentioned previously, this study spans the decade from 1911 to 1921, which allows it to transcend the common scope of narratives that end in 1914, span 1914 to 1918, or focus on the interwar years. The publishers of *IKC*, *Głos Narodu*, and *Gazeta Lwowska* printed the largest weekly edition with a Sunday dateline. *Czas* appeared at its largest in the Sunday morning edition. Saturday datelines were used for *Wiek Nowy*, *Kurjer Lwowski* (evening edition) and *Dilo*. Publication of *Nowa Reforma*

¹³¹ Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 63. In an effort to always appear on the forefront of news, publishers would issue editions the day before their printed dateline, one example being *IKC* which would appear at midday the day before its printed date.

¹³² Actual numbers were often smaller for all titles due to some cessations in publishing and incomplete archival holdings.

changed twice during the decade in question resulting in a largest edition being published on Saturday evening from 1911 to 1914, a single Saturday edition from January to April of 1914, and a Sunday edition from May of 1914 to 1921.¹³³

While examining each edition, care was taken to count the total number of advertisements (including commercial and classified), to note the total number of publication pages, the total amount of publication space devoted to advertising, and the price per edition, including the currency used. Also, a general assessment of the types of goods were noted, the location of the advertisers, the last names of the advertisers when present, and any specific noteworthy advertisements.

As noted previously, the beginning and end dates of this study were chosen to allow for a discussion about trends across a decade, spanning major events in the world, and region. It allows for a baseline of the pre-war period to be compared to the war period and immediate post-war years (which included the Polish-Ukrainian and Polish-Soviet conflicts).

Advertising Trends from 1911 to 1921

The Calm

In the last few years before the outbreak of war, life had been relatively stable in Galicia. Growing Ruthenian (ethnic Ukrainian) participation in the regional politics had caused some interethnic tension between that group, representing 42 percent of the population, and ethnic Poles, who represented 46 percent. Poles, the predominant landowning and politically

¹³³ It should be noted here that editions of *Gazeta Lwowska* were unavailable for 1915 and most of 1916, *Kurjer Lwowski* contained few advertisements during Russian occupation, and *Dilo* was published in exile in Vienna during occupation, and was later banned from publication by the Polish government after November of 1918. These occurrences will be addressed further below.

active group in the region had long guided the region's politics with official imperial support. As Ruthenians became more of a political presence in the province, they began to demand more official support for Ukrainian-language schools and cultural institutions, particularly in its eastern half. Newspapers in both Cracow and Lemberg openly supported or condemned these efforts, though they were subjected to the same governmental censorship directed at political and moral material as the rest of the empire. Daily newspapers often overstepped the boundaries set with little to no repercussions. The high volume of titles, the structure of the censorship (daily newspapers had often already been printed by the time the copy arrived in the censorship office for review), and the wide variation of languages of the press contributed to the imperial government's inability to maintain total surveillance and control.¹³⁴ Despite this potential catalyst, further regional conflict was at least for the time being resolved by the central government's concessions allowing for around 27 percent of the seats in the regional Diet to be held by Ruthenians, as well as plans to develop a separate Ukrainian-language university in Lemberg.¹³⁵ With the exception of this situation, Galicia continued to experience stability while its urban centers continued to modernize.

In 1911 the average longest edition of *Głos Narodu* was six pages in length, sometimes longer on special occasions, such as New Year's Day. On average six publication pages with roughly two pages of advertising including 60 to 100 total advertisements (including classified advertisements) was standard from 1911 to the beginning of the war. The amount and type of

¹³⁴ Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 54-56; Andrea Orzoff, "The Empire without Qualities: Austro-Hungarian Newspapers and the Outbreak of War in 1914," in *A Call to Arms: Propoganda Public Opinion, and Newspapers in the Great War*. Troy R. E. Paddock, ed. (London: Praeger, 2004), 167.

¹³⁵ Sked, Alan. *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire, 1815-1918* (London: Longman, 2001), 228-29.

advertisements remained roughly the same into the first half of 1914 and up until the outbreak of the war.

An increase in the number of advertisements for services appeared from 1911 to 1912, which continued into 1914. These advertisements were often for hotels, schools (dance, language, private boarding, etc.), funeral services, and travel, etc. though they never exceeded more than fifteen per edition. Geographically, local businesses in Cracow, Lemberg, or elsewhere in Galicia took out most of these advertisements, though advertisements for food goods and services from other places within the Austro-Hungarian Empire such as Vienna, Prague, Budapest, and smaller cities were not uncommon, such as the Brothers Krejcar mentioned above. Very occasionally advertisements for businesses elsewhere in Europe also appeared.¹³⁶

From 1911 through the first half of 1914 *Czas* maintained a steady production of four pages per morning edition and two pages per evening edition on Sundays.¹³⁷ Advertisements occupied a little over two pages of total available space in each four-page publication, representing roughly half of the total publication space. Between 65 and 90 advertisements of various sizes were printed within this area. In content, the advertisements were largely for the same products as those listed as present in *Głos Narodu*.¹³⁸ One noted difference between the two was the advertisements for services. The majority of advertisements for services in *Czas*

¹³⁶ *GN*, First available Sunday editions January 1911 – July 1914, See 5 March 1911, 4 February 1912, 5 November 1913, and 1 March 1914 as examples of these trends.

¹³⁷ Much of the content and virtually all of the advertising overlapped between editions. As most of the advertising appeared in the longer morning editions evaluation is focused on those, rather than the evening printings. Additionally, Sunday editions were often printed only in the mornings.

¹³⁸ As noted above, these include food goods, clothing, building supplies, jewelry or watches, church goods, furniture, bookstores, banks, and medical remedies or pharmacies. As well as advertisements for weapons, record players, sewing machines, and “want” ads for people, services, or goods.

were for travel destinations and hotels, rather than the larger variation of services being advertised in *Głos Narodu*. A second difference between the two arises in an examination of the origin point of the advertisements for businesses outside of Cracow. While both publications had advertisements from a number of cities within the empire and abroad, *Czas* had a greater number proportionately from Vienna and Budapest, the imperial capitals. These differences highlight the pro-Imperial, upper-class nature of *Czas*' audience. Many of the same advertisements appear in both papers from businesses within Cracow.¹³⁹

In its longest edition of the week, *Nowa Reforma* (the title geared toward liberal democrats) was published in average lengths of eight to ten pages from 1911 until the outbreak of war, with around half of the total publication space being occupied by advertising. Within this space often appeared more than 200 advertisements of a similar nature to that of the above newspapers.¹⁴⁰ Perhaps owing to its readership being the fastest growing and most popular political group, the liberal democrats, this title seemed to encompass the trends represented in both the nationalist *Głos Narodu* and the pro-imperial *Czas* in regards to the types of goods, and the location of their purveyors. It also contains similar trends to both newspapers in terms of types and locations of services proffered. The two notable differences between *Nowa Reforma* and the other two politically inclined newspapers seem to be the much larger number of advertisements, and a greater occurrence of advertisements for automobiles

¹³⁹ *Czas*, First Sunday morning editions January 1911 – July 1914, See 5 February 1911, 3 March 1912, 7 December 1913, and 7 June 1914 for examples.

¹⁴⁰ *NR*, First available Saturday evening editions, January 1911 to December 1913, Saturday (single) editions, January 1914 to April 1914, and Sunday editions, May 1914 to August 1914.

and servicers of them.¹⁴¹ American companies such as Studebaker and Canadian companies such as Canadian Pacific Railway Company also appeared.¹⁴²

The average Sunday edition of the boulevard paper *IKC* in 1911 ranged from 12 to 16 pages, with 45 to 70 advertisements from businesses or individuals published on four to six pages of total advertising space. This increased to a steady 16 pages, with an average of 75 to 100 advertisements on five to seven pages from 1912 until August of 1914.¹⁴³ Similar to *Głos Narodu* the total ratio of advertising space in *IKC* was around one-third publication area in each edition. The types of goods proffered in *IKC* fell into the same categories as those being advertised in *Głos Narodu*, *Czas* and *Nowa Reforma* and the businesses ranged from all over the empire. The primary differences between advertising in *IKC* and the often smaller, more political papers were twofold. First, there are a greater number of classified advertisements in *IKC*, sometimes up to half of the total number of advertisements.¹⁴⁴ Second, there are more advertisements from businesses outside of the empire, and even outside of Europe, namely American and Canadian companies, such as Singer and Canadian Pacific, which appear with even greater frequency than in *Nowa Reforma*.¹⁴⁵

In Lemberg, *Kurjer Lwowski* was published in two daily editions from 1911 to 1914. The Saturday midday edition of this conservative title was four pages, and the evening was usually eight pages, rising to 12 pages in late 1913 and remaining there until the Russian occupation of

¹⁴¹ *NR*, Saturday evening editions, 4 March 1911, 6 May 1911, 5 April 1913.

¹⁴² *NR*, Saturday evening editions, 5 April 1913 and 7 June 1913.

¹⁴³ *IKC*, First available Sunday editions January 1911 – July 1914.

¹⁴⁴ *IKC*, See 5 February 1911 and 2 March 1913 for examples.

¹⁴⁵ *IKC*, See 4 June 1911 and 6 April 1913 for examples.

Lemberg in September of 1914.¹⁴⁶ The larger evening edition of each day contained an average of 80 to 145 advertisements of various size, comprising around three pages of publication space, roughly 38 percent. The goods being advertised in these editions was very similar to those in the Cracow newspapers, occasionally they even contained the same advertisements, such as from the Brothers Krejcar (see figure above).¹⁴⁷ Advertisements were predominantly from Lemberg, but also appeared from elsewhere in the empire, such as Tarnopol, Vienna, and Brno.

Gazeta Lwowska (the state-funded, middle and upper class conservative title) appeared in its longest form on Sundays. It averaged 14 pages with a median of around five pages, or 36 percent devoted to advertising. Even though that percentage and the number of pages represented quite a lot of space devoted to consumerism and services, there usually only appeared in that space 30 to 50 advertisements. These advertisements, however, mirrored some of those found in the *Kurjer Lwowski* and the newspapers in Cracow, particularly the similarly minded *Czas*. Advertisements for wine, travel, and theater productions often appeared in its pages, for example.

The Ukrainian language daily, *Dilo*, usually published eight pages in each edition from 1911 until the Russian occupation in 1914. These pages contained 45 to 85 total advertisements inhabiting around two and a half publication pages on average. This comprised 31 percent of the total publication space of each edition.¹⁴⁸ Advertisements were often for the same types of

¹⁴⁶ *KL*, First available Saturday evening editions January 1911 – August 1914. In Lemberg, there was seldom publication of newspapers on Sunday. This often made the Saturday (or Saturday evening) editions the largest of the week. Saturday editions of both *Kurjer Lwowski* and *Dilo* were examined for this paper.

¹⁴⁷ *KL*, Midday Edition, 4 February 1911, for example.

¹⁴⁸ *Dilo*, First available Saturday editions January 1911 – August 1914.

goods and from the same companies and businesses from Lemberg and elsewhere in the empire as those that appeared in *Kurjer Lwowski*. The most notable difference was the use of the Ukrainian language and Cyrillic alphabet (most of the time). All three of the titles in Lemberg contained classified advertisements, often for jobs, goods being sought or sold, and matrimonial advertisements, though neither title approached the number of classifieds appearing in Cracow in *IKC*.

The popular daily *Wiek Nowy* was Lemberg's illustrated boulevard press equivalent to *IKC* in Cracow, both in content and size. From 1911 to 1914 this popular Lvovian newspaper was even larger than *IKC* with publication length averaging 23 pages. Most editions evaluated were either 20 or 24 pages, with occasional editions ranging between 16 pages on the low end and up to 32 pages on the high end. Across these years, advertising represented an average of 39 percent of the publication space, ranging between seven to 12 pages within each edition. The number of advertisements appearing in its pages consistently exceeded 300 and occasionally even exceeded 400. Many of these advertisements were individually purchased classifieds. The purveyors, commercial and individual, offered goods such as juices, dairy products, bicycles, clothing, furniture, jewelry and watches, and even more exciting items, such as linoleum! Advertisements appeared from all over the empire, and Europe. Services such as travel and translations, and leisure activities like the movies all appear frequently.¹⁴⁹

Consumer culture was present and thriving in prewar Cracow and Lemberg. Advertising made up one-third to one-half of the total publication content within these eight newspapers during the period of 1911 to mid-1914. This represents a large amount of the social

¹⁴⁹ *WN*, First available Saturday editions January 1911 – August 1914.

communication of advertising being brought into the homes or workplaces of those who bought the newspapers. The varied types of goods and services proffered in the years before the war reflect the increase in globalization, and modernization that the region was experiencing around and after the turn of the century. The thriving press in both Lemberg and Cracow carried consumer culture to the populations of the cities and often the countryside as well. At least one newspaper, *IKC*, realized the opportunity to increasingly charge more for advertising in this period, potentially increasing their own revenue by capitalizing on the use of newspapers as an advertising and consumption medium by their readership. The advertising appearing in the pages of the newspapers is representative of the relative prosperity of the time, despite the growing threat of instability in the region and in Europe as a whole.

Turbulent Times

Joseph Conrad recounted his initial reaction to the death of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in his short essay, *The Shock of War*. “My friend told me it was in Serajevo, and wondered what would be the consequences of that grave event. He asked me what I thought would happen next. It was with great sincerity that I answered, ‘Nothing,’ and having a great repugnance to consider murder as a factor of politics, I dismissed the subject.”¹⁵⁰

Conrad, of course, was wrong. Recent literature has highlighted the complexity of the European diplomatic situation between the assassination and the declarations of war. The leaders of all countries involved had made plans, some as far back as the turn of the century and beyond, to fight exactly a war such as this.¹⁵¹ In August of 1914, not long after the war

¹⁵⁰ Joseph Conrad, *The Shock of War: Through Germany to Cracow* (London: Private Circulation, 1919), 7-8.

¹⁵¹ There is much recent literature on the subject, and the following works present multiple viewpoints about the outbreak of war. For the Central Powers, see Geoffrey Wawro, *A Mad Catastrophe: The Outbreak of World War I*

began, food staples began to be rationed in Galicia.¹⁵² The front lines between Austro-Hungarian troops and Russian troops quickly moved across the region. By September, Russian troops were occupying much of the region of Galicia including Lemberg. In Cracow, the threat of Russian occupation grew to the point that the government began a voluntary evacuation of the city on September 28, 1914. Signs were placed throughout the city's districts informing citizens where they could find "train tickets for evacuation and information on matters of departure."¹⁵³ Subsequently, officials ordered a mandatory evacuation in early November, when Russian troops approached the eastern boundaries of the city. Though the evacuation did not last long, a mere two days, the rationing continued throughout the war.

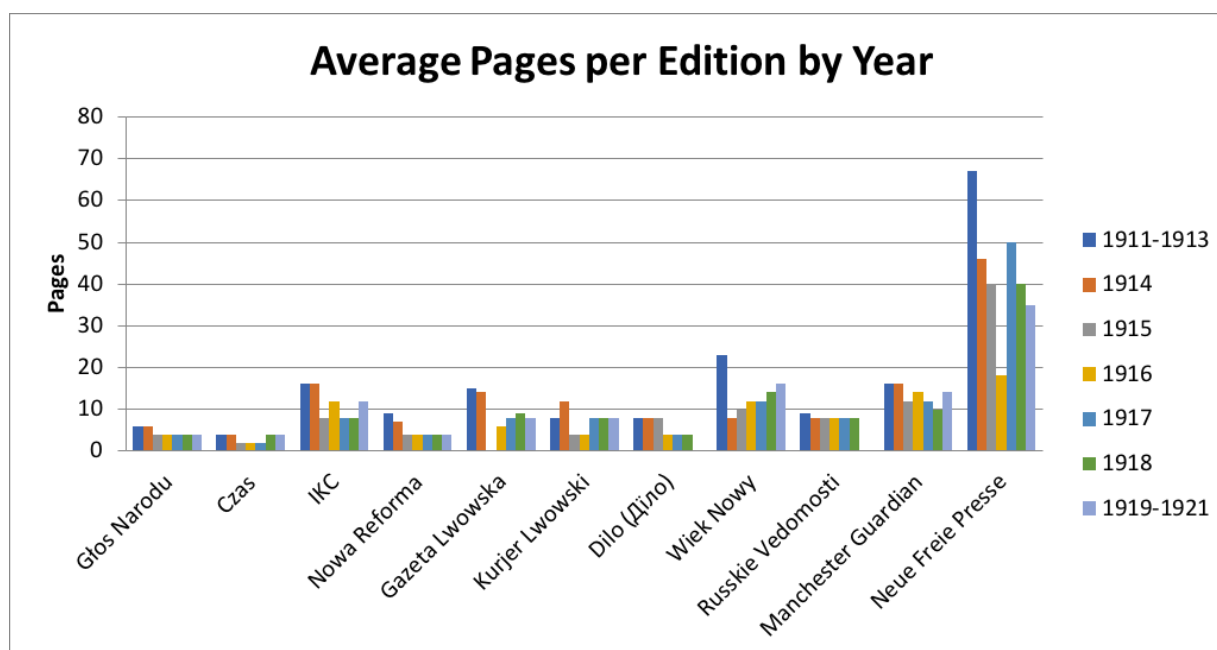
Despite Cracow's proximity to the front line of battles between Austro-Hungarian and Imperial Russian troops neither *Głos Narodu*, *Nowa Reforma*, nor *Czas* ceased publication during the war and *IKC* experienced only a brief, two-month hiatus in mid-1918. Though the titles showed the effects of the conflict, businesses continued to advertise throughout the war. *Głos Narodu* reduced its overall number of pages at the outbreak of the war from six to two; in June of 1915 it rose to four pages, and remained there until well after the war ended. The editors at *Czas* reduced their morning editions from four to two pages, but continued to publish both evening and morning editions. They maintained this level of publication until the end of

and the Collapse of the Habsburg Empire (New York: Basic, 2014); and Alexander Watson, *Ring of Steel: Germany and Austria Hungary in World War I* (New York: Basic, 2014). For an overview of the situation, see Sean McMeekin, *July 1914: Countdown to War* (New York: Basic, 2013); and Sir Max Hastings, *Catastrophe 1914: Europe Goes to War* (New York: Knopf, 2013); and for Russian involvement, in particular, see Sean McMeekin, *The Russian Origins of the First World War* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2011).

¹⁵² Marian Michalik, ed., *Kronika Krakowa* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Kronika, 1996), 287.

¹⁵³ Printed sign for evacuation information, undated. ANK: 29/669/10, 447.

the war.¹⁵⁴ The Sunday edition of *Nowa Reforma*, which had become the week's largest edition in the months just prior to the war, was reduced from eight pages to four. Publication remained between four and six pages throughout the remainder of the war.¹⁵⁵ *IKC* saw its overall length reduced to eight pages from August, 1914 until June of 1916, when it rose to 12 pages for seven months. From January of 1917 until the end of the war, it was reduced back down to eight pages (See Graph 1).¹⁵⁶



Graph 1. Average number of printed pages per edition 1911-1921

It was normal for *Głos Narodu* to print around 40 advertisements in their most common intra-war edition length. Likewise, roughly that amount was often also published in shorter editions. Advertisements continued to represent half of the total publication space in *Czas*, which published an average of 30 advertisements in their editions. Similar to *Czas*, *Nowa*

¹⁵⁴ *GN*, 2 August 1914 and 3 January 1915 and *Czas*, First available Sunday morning editions August 1914-December 1918; *GN*, First available Sunday editions August 1914-December 1921.

¹⁵⁵ *NR*, First available Sunday editions, September 1914-December 1918.

¹⁵⁶ *IKC*, First available Sunday editions, August 1914-December 1918.

Reforma continued to dedicate around half of its publication space to advertising, after the first few months of war. Fifty to 100 advertisements ran in four-page editions, and up to around 200 appeared when the edition was six pages in length.¹⁵⁷ Advertising in *IKC* reduced to between 20 and 40 advertisements on one to two pages from the end of 1914 through 1915. It then rose to an average of 40 to 60 (occasionally rising above 100) advertisements on a median of two pages from 1916 to the end of the war, representing around one quarter of total publication space (See Table 1).

On September 3, 1914, just over a month after the breakout of war, the Russian army “marched on Łyczakowska Street to the sound of music,” and occupied Lemberg without a single gunshot being fired.¹⁵⁸ The city remained under Russian occupation until July 22, 1915. As can be expected, the impact of the war was felt to a greater extent by the newspapers in Lemberg. All of the newspapers in Lemberg that continued publication during occupation were subjected to a much more rigorous censorship than experienced under Habsburg rule. This censorship was carried out in one of two ways, either by the direct supervision of an officer in the Russian army, or by ethnically Ukrainian sympathizers employed by the Russians, possibly for their better reading knowledge of the Polish language.¹⁵⁹ *Gazeta Lwowska*, as mentioned above, was at least in part funded by the Austro-Hungarian government and as such ceased publication during the occupation months. It was published again after the city was retaken by Austrian forces, first at an average length of six pages in 1916, then eight pages in 1917, and

¹⁵⁷ *NR*, First available Sunday editions, September 1914-December 1918.

¹⁵⁸ Henryka Kramarz, *Tadeusz Rutowski: Portret pozytywisty i demokracji galicyjskiego* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2001), 116.

¹⁵⁹ Jerzy Jarowiecki, *Prasa lwowska w latach 1864-1918* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2002), 107.

eight to ten pages in 1918. Though the paper never reached its pre-war lengths, its subscription levels rose as the war continued.¹⁶⁰ Publication of *Dilo*, the daily Ukrainian language newspaper, was shut down by the Russian occupying force because of its appeal to ethnic Ukrainians.¹⁶¹ It is important to recall that the Ukrainians in Galicia had recently made significant advances in the political and social arenas of the city and region under the Habsburg system. While it is most certainly the case that many Galician Ruthenians sought ties, or even unification, with their ethnic Ukrainian counterparts within the Russian Empire, the invading agents of that empire sought to quell any potential unrest that might be agitated because of the increased freedoms that those Galician Ruthenians had enjoyed prior to invasion. After the Russian authorities shut down *Dilo*, its editors fled to Vienna and began to publish a small edition there. It was published in exile in a daily, eight page (on average) edition, though it only contained a few advertisements, all for businesses located in the Austrian capital. The newspaper returned after the occupation ended and Austrian forces retook the city, at which point it resumed a four-page edition until late 1918.¹⁶²

Some newspapers overtly supported the occupying force, for example the daily *Słowo Polskie*, which the historian Jerzy Jarowiecki claims had long been associated with Russophile leanings in the prewar years. That title's editorial support for the Russians was further evidenced by the fact that daily editions began to cease publication towards the end of occupation as it became apparent the Russian forces would be leaving. The editors themselves

¹⁶⁰ *GL*, First available Sunday editions September 1914 – December 1918; Jarowiecki, *Prasa lwowska*, 108.

¹⁶¹ Józef Białynia Chołodecki, *Lwów w czasie okupacji rosyjskiej* (Lwów: Wschód, 1930), 88.

¹⁶² *Dilo* First available Saturday editions September 1914 – December 1916; Шаповал, *Поступ Української*, 347. I did not have access to published editions of *Dilo* beyond December of 1916, though I was able to supplement my research with statistics within the monograph on the publication written by Yurii Shapoval for the remainder of the years covered in this study.

fled *with* the retreating Russian army, eventually making their way to St. Petersburg.¹⁶³ Other newspapers were more subtle in their support, merely appearing sympathetic to the occupying force. This is the case of *Wiek Nowy*, the popular boulevard newspaper had often followed whatever political sentiments were most beneficial to it, and also *Gazeta Narodowa*.¹⁶⁴ *Kurjer Lwowski* also continued to be published in the city under occupation, though it was less sympathetic to the Russians. This reluctance to support the occupying force, while not forceful enough to warrant closure, did increase the popularity of the title and gained it many readers.¹⁶⁵ The editors reduced the total number of pages to an average of four in one daily edition.¹⁶⁶ After the occupation, publication resumed two editions per day, initially both at four pages, with the evening issue rising to eight pages in 1916 and remaining there until after the war. The departure of *Słowo Polskie's* managing staff after the Russian withdrawal resulted in its closure. Since Russian support had meant that it had one of the larger circulations during this period in the war its closure resulted in an increased circulation of other daily titles. *Wiek Nowy* saw circulation increase to 20 thousand, *Kurjer Lwowski* to 14 thousand, and *Gazeta Lwowska* to six thousand after it resumed publication.¹⁶⁷ The newspapers from Lemberg also saw further increases in circulation after 1916 when German and Austrian forces set up governing bodies within Kingdom Poland while occupying the former Russian territory.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶³ Jarowiecki, *Prasa Lwowska*, 107; Henryka Kramarz, *Samorząd Lwowa w czasie pierwszej wojny światowej i jego rola w życiu miasta* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe WSP, 1994), 56.

¹⁶⁴ Jarowiecki, *Prasa Lwowska*, 107.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ *KL*, First available Saturday evening editions September 1914 – July 1915.

¹⁶⁷ Jarowiecki, *Prasa Lwowska*, 108.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 109.

	Years	Avg. Total Pages	Avg. Advertising Pages	% Space Advertising
<i>Głos Narodu</i>	1911-1914	6	2	33%
	1914-1918	4	1.5	38%
	1918-1921	4	1.5	38%
<i>Czas</i>	1911-1914	4	2	50%
	1914-1918	2	1	50%
	1918-1921	4	1	25%
<i>IKC</i>	1911-1914	16	6	38%
	1914-1918	8	2	25%
	1918-1921	12	4	33%
<i>Nowa Reforma</i>	1911-1914	9	5.25	58%
	1914-1918	4	2	50%
	1918-1921	4	1.5	38%
<i>Gazeta Lwowska</i>	1911-1914	14	5	36%
	1914- 1918•	8	2	25%
	1918-1921	8	1.5	19%
<i>Kurjer Lwowski</i>	1911-1914	8	3	38%
	1914- 1918†	6	2	33%
	1918-1921	8	2.5	31%
<i>Dilo (Діло)*</i>	1911- 1916‡	8	2.5	31%
	1916-1918	4	1	25%
	1919-1921	Publication banned from late November 1918 until 1922.		
<i>Wiek Nowy</i>	1911-1914	23	9	39%
	1914-1918	11	2.5	23%
	1918-1921	16	6	38%
<i>Russkie Wedomosti (Moscow)</i>	1911-1914	9	3	33%
	1914-1918	8	3	38%
	1918-1921	Publication banned beginning in early 1918.		

<i>Manchester Guardian (Manchester)</i>	1911-1914	16	5	31%
	1914-1918	13	4.5	35%
	1918-1921	14	6.5	46%
<i>Neue Freie Presse (Vienna)</i>	1911-1914	66	35	53%
	1914-1918	35	15	43%
	1918-1921	36	23	64%

* Note different dates

• Reflects a lack of publication data for occupation, and most of 1916.

† Does not reflect publication during occupation which contained few ads.

‡ Does not reflect publication from Vienna (during occupation).

Less than 5 advertisements per issue appeared during this period.

Table 1. Total Pages, Advertising Pages, and Percentage of Advertising Space

During the period of occupation *Kurjer Lwowski* published fewer than 10 advertisements per edition. After the occupation was over as overall publication length increased so did the number of advertisements, eventually representing 33 percent of publication space on average until the end of the war.¹⁶⁹ The editions of *Dilo* published in Vienna during the occupation of Lemberg seldom contained more than a few advertisements. After returning to Lemberg the newspaper reduced to a four-page edition with roughly 25 percent devoted to advertising, usually between five and 20 total advertisements; this continued throughout 1915 and 1916.¹⁷⁰ Advertising information was unavailable for *Dilo* for 1917 and 1918, though the total number of pages in the daily editions remained at four.¹⁷¹ After publication began again of *Gazeta Lwowska*, advertising saw a corresponding reduction to that of the total pages. Editions often

¹⁶⁹ *KL*, First available Saturday evening editions September 1914 – December 1918.

¹⁷⁰ *Dilo*, First available Saturday editions September 1914 – May 1915 and January 1916 – December 1916.

¹⁷¹ Шаповал, *Поступ Української*, 347.

contained five to 15 advertisements, and occasionally up to around 30.¹⁷² Save perhaps *Kurjer Lwowski*, *Wiek Nowy* seems to have weathered the war better than most titles. During Russian occupation, *Wiek Nowy* was reduced in size to eight pages, though occasional editions surveyed were up to 16. These pages contained one to one and a half pages of advertising, usually between 30 and 40 advertisements. Immediately after the occupation ended, the editors of *Wiek Nowy* increased the title's standard length from eight pages to 12. Twelve pages remained the standard length until the second half of 1918. Most often the number of pages devoted to advertising was two and a half pages, with the number of advertisements normally ranging from 70 to around 100.¹⁷³

The majority of content in the advertisements in all titles did not change drastically during the war. The same general mix of consumables and services continued from pre-war advertising, with the noted addition of goods specifically tied to the war or to the instability that came with it. One example of this is the bookseller S.A. Krzyżanowski selling copies of the decrees circulated in the streets of Lemberg during the Russian occupation in 1914 and 1915. This advertisement appears in the February 6, 1916 edition of *Czas* in Cracow, indicating that the seller saw a market for these goods in the years following the enactment of the decrees themselves.¹⁷⁴ All titles in both cities, while in publication, did not see a drastic reduction in advertisements from elsewhere in the empire, and continued to see occasional businesses elsewhere in Europe, though most of the American and Canadian advertisements ceased. The continued inclusion of advertisements from other cities within the empire suggests that trade

¹⁷² *GL*, First available Sunday editions September 1914 – December 1918.

¹⁷³ *WN*, First available Saturday editions September 1914 – December 1918.

¹⁷⁴ *Czas*, 6 February 1916.

networks within Austria-Hungary did not break down despite the war effort and troop movements within Central Europe. At the very least, the presence of these advertisements represents the continued desire of businesses throughout the empire to use advertising connections and titles in geographic locations that they had established before the war began.

Advertising in Cracow was uninterrupted by the war and continued to form a substantial part of what readers were seeing in the newspapers they bought. Advertising in Lemberg was affected to a greater extent, but returned relatively quickly after the occupation to comprise a substantial part of the newspapers there as well. While advertising certainly accounted for a meaningful portion of the annual income of each newspaper, it was by no means the largest source of income. That position was held by the subscriptions and other sales. According to the personal papers of Bolesław Wystouch, editor of *Kurjer Lwowski* in Lemberg, during the years from 1914 to 1918 the accounts for the staff of the newspaper showed that advertising sales made up no higher than 24 percent of total income. That peak was reached in 1914, while in 1915 sales dropped to just below 18 percent. In 1916 and 1917 advertising sales climbed back to roughly 21 percent, and in 1918 they accounted for just over 22 percent of annual income.¹⁷⁵ Though advertising is subject to a number of differing factors in relation to its sale and purchase, namely the income that it provides the newspaper publishers and the fiscal needs of the companies doing the advertising, the continued presence of advertisements in the pages of the press during the war represents the persistence of consumer culture. This assertion is reinforced, at least in the case of *Kurjer Lwowski*, by the fact that advertising sales were

¹⁷⁵ Papiery Bolesława Wystoucha, materiały spółki wydawniczej Kurier Lwowski z lat 1886 do 1918. ZNOss: 7198 II, 179; 465-93.

relatively stable throughout the war. It is possible that if the advertisers knew for certain that consumption did not continue during the war, they would not have spent the money to advertise. After all, advertisers do not advertise because they know it will work, but because they “do not know for sure that it will not.”¹⁷⁶ Consumer culture persisted in Cracow despite its geographic position near the front lines and it returned shortly after the end of occupation in Lemberg. This suggests that consumer culture in these cities was not easily dislodged from the collective culture of the press or the people. Scholars often assert that war is disruptive to all areas of life. Advertising in Cracow during the war does not follow that trend. Despite food rationing and evacuation, the newspapers kept publishing, and sellers advertising. Though advertising in Lemberg was briefly altered, it returned with relative ease after the occupation ended, especially in *Kurjer Lwowski* and *Wiek Nowy*. Consumer culture was so entrenched in the social structure that it continued, despite the ongoing war.

A Shortage of Food (Advertising)

“One never knew when the Russians might spill over the Tatras and the Carpathians, in which case it would all be over,” recalled the American war correspondent George Abel Schreiner about the sentiment in Vienna early in the war. As he saw it, despite the threat, the Viennese remained phlegmatic about their impending doom. “So long as there was food enough, champagne to be had, and women to share these,” he wrote, “the Russians could have the rest.” While Schreiner’s observations paint the Viennese as rather indifferent to the sufferings of their countrymen in Galicia, they also convey the importance of food supplies in

¹⁷⁶ Leiss, et al., *Social Communication*, 39.

maintaining a sense of normality during a period of war. So long as there was food – and champagne! – enough, life would go on.¹⁷⁷

If advertising did not wholly disappear, and indeed carried many of the same characteristics before and during the war, how do we reconcile this fact with our known understanding of the increasing rationing, food shortages, and decline in the ability of the Habsburg government to ensure the welfare of its citizens? Maureen Healy and Belinda Davis have excellently conveyed the ever-present shortages and their ramifications in Vienna and Berlin respectively, while broader works, such as Alexander Watson's *Ring of Steel* have touched on how wartime scarcity impacted Galician cities.¹⁷⁸ Outstanding recent work by Bartosz Ogórek has focused in on the steadily decreasing food supply in Cracow, its causes, and its long-term impact on the health of a Cracovian generation.¹⁷⁹ In a recent article, Robert Blobaum discusses the barefoot movement in Warsaw, which peaked in 1917 and again in 1918. He notes that the scarcity experienced in that city began in the early stages of the war, but that the results of compounding scarcity were felt most acutely in the war's final years.¹⁸⁰ In Galicia, at least, the scarcity articulated by the authors mentioned above did not seem to be as serious as elsewhere in the empire in the early years of the war, though as it neared completion

¹⁷⁷ George Abel Schreiner, *The Iron Ration: Three Years in Warring Central Europe* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1918), 45.

¹⁷⁸ Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Belinda Davis, *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2000); and Watson, *Ring of Steel*, cited above.

¹⁷⁹ Bartosz Ogórek, "The Unobvious Impact of the First World War on the Height of Pupils in Cracow Schools in 1919-1933," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 113 (2016):171-194; "Feeding the City, Feeding the Fortress: Cracow's Food Supply in World War I," *Journal of Urban History* (March 30, 2018). DOI: 10.1177/0096144218766015; and *Niezatarte Piętno? Wpływ I wojny światowej na ludność miasta Krakowa* (Kraków: Universitas, 2018).

¹⁸⁰ Robert Blobaum, "Going Barefoot in Warsaw during the First World War," in *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, 27:2 (2013): 187-204.

scarcity in Galicia became acute and compounded, as elsewhere within the Central Powers. The journalist George Schreiner, quoted above, highlights the how the policies of the Habsburg government sought to keep resources near the front lines. He recounts that while travelling across the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1915, he ran into a “veritable land of plenty” outside of Cracow that he had not experienced in any of the urban centers he had previously been to (Berlin, Vienna, and Budapest).¹⁸¹ Another quotation from Schreiner simultaneously exemplifies how the unbalanced nature of food distribution favored the areas near frontlines, and draws attention to the growing scarcity in the German and Habsburg lands. The hotels that he stayed at in his travels would cash in ration cards on behalf of their guests and leave the goods (in this case bread) at the doorstep of their patrons. “Each morning I would find at my door-provided nobody had stolen it-my daily ration of bread, of varying size-300 grams in Germany, 240 grams in Budapest, 210 grams in Vienna. At the front I fared better, for there my allowance was 400 grams and often more if I cared to take it.”¹⁸² While Schreiner was undoubtedly given special consideration as a foreign journalist, the implication here is still clear, that food rationing benefitted those at the front (in Galicia in 1915, at least) at the detriment of the population further from fighting. Even with food scarcity perhaps less of a problem in Galicia, one must also note that Schreiner mentions theft in his quote as well. Whether this theft was mere opportunism, or if it was driven by a latent scarcity that Schreiner was not aware of is unknown.

While reduced scarcity may have been the case in the early years of the war, inflation was a problem that soon affected every Habsburg citizen, including those in Galicia. As prices

¹⁸¹ Schreiner, *The Iron Ration*, 88.

¹⁸² Schreiner, *The Iron Ration*, 245.

for everything increased those individuals whose income was a fixed salary, such as civil servants, had a much harder time buying what they needed. This is the case of Aleksandra Czechówna who confided in her diary in 1916 that she and her family occasionally went without food.¹⁸³ Inflation continued to grow as the war continued, making it more expensive to buy goods. To quantify this rise in inflation, the price of a single edition of *Nowa Reforma* in Cracow was 10 hellers in June 1913. By August 1916 it had risen to 12 hellers, and by August 1919 the price was at 50 hellers. In Lemberg, the increase was even greater. *Kurjer Lwowski* editions cost four hellers in June 1913, six hellers in August 1916, and 60 hellers in August 1919. This inflation was not solely reserved for the newspapers, but also reached basic goods, such as milk. The Galician politician Marian Dydyński reported in his diary on December 7, 1915 that “[a] liter of milk now costs 34 hellers, which is still cheap, because in Cracow it costs 54 hellers.”¹⁸⁴ Dydyński lived in Raciborsko, a small town about 14 miles southeast of Cracow city center. On September 16, 1917, he reported that in Wieliczka (about nine miles outside of Cracow, and five miles from Raciborsko) a liter of milk was 90 hellers on June first. In November of 1917, it had risen to 1 korona and 50 hellers in Wieliczka for the same volume.¹⁸⁵ Efforts were made, of course, to keep the price of basic goods reasonable, with city governments enacting maximum prices or taking over the sale of goods.¹⁸⁶ By the end of the war, however, Habsburg citizens from Vienna to Lemberg were fully aware that the government could not provide for their needs any longer.

¹⁸³ Watson, *Ring of Steel*, 333.

¹⁸⁴ Marian Dydyński, *Pamiętnik Mariana Dydyńskiego z Raciborska 1843-1920* (Kraków: Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, 2015), 335.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 396-397.

¹⁸⁶ Kramarz, *Samorząd Lwowa*, 49 (An early case in Lwów, 1914), and Watson, *Ring of Steel*, 357 (after the retaking of Lwów, the city began selling goods such as sugar, in 1916).

How does this trend of increased scarcity manifest in advertising in the daily Galician newspapers? The story of scarcity can be seen in two ways. First, the inflation impacting the region can be seen in the rising edition prices for each title. In 1914 before the war single edition prices in Cracow stood at the following rates: *Czas*, four hellers for four pages; *Głos Narodu*, ten hellers for eight pages; *Nowa Reforma*, ten hellers for ten pages; and *IKC*, six hellers for 16 pages. By the end of the war in November of 1918 *Czas* sold for 20 hellers for two pages, *Głos Narodu* at 30 hellers for four pages, *Nowa Reforma* at 30 hellers for four pages, and *IKC* at 30 hellers for eight pages. All four of these titles in Cracow sold at an increased cost of 200 to 400 percent more than at the beginning of the war, for fewer overall publication pages per edition. Lemberg, too, witnessed this rise in costs. *Kurjer Lwowski* had a single edition price of four hellers for eight pages in 1914 before the outbreak of war. In the final months of the war that title still published an eight-page edition, but the charge for that edition was 20 hellers, some 400 percent higher. Similarly, *Wiek Nowy* was sold at four hellers per edition in the month before the war began, for 16 to 24 pages. In the closing months of the war a 16-page edition was sold for 30 hellers, an increase of 650 percent. *Gazeta Lwowska*, even though it was not published during the occupation, still saw a 20 percent increase in the price from 10 hellers to 12 hellers per edition, for half the pre-war publication length.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ Publication prices for the single edition, non-subscription cost of each title, July 1914 through November 1918. For *Czas* the morning edition cost was used, as that was the edition used elsewhere in this study, and the evening and morning editions differed in cost. For Lwów, *Kurjer Lwowski* and *Wiek Nowy* were published continually throughout the war, *Dilo* was published in exile, then after returning was only published for a short time. *Gazeta Lwowska* ceased publication during the Russian occupation, but resumed print after the occupation ended. In the month before the war started the paper was published at 12 pages per edition, but by the end of the war it was frequently published at six pages.

The second, and more telling, way the story of scarcity appears is in the advertising pages of the press. What is notable here is not the advertisements that *are* present in the advertising, but more importantly those that *are not*. Before the war, there were numerous advertisements in all titles for staple consumable food goods such as milk, butter, flour, honey, and sugar, and even more specific or exotic consumables, such as the raspberry juice or French cognac and wine noted above. While there were occasional advertisements for food goods during the war, the number of these advertisements appearing was significantly fewer. This trend fits the trajectory that we know existed in regards to food scarcity as described by the authors mentioned above, however it does not explain the persistent presence of advertising for other types of goods. Further exploration of why other, non-consumable goods continued to appear, the example of pianos in particular, will be explored in the next chapter.

The Aftermath

Jan Słomka, though writing with the benefit of hindsight in his memoir, accurately captured the expected outcome of the war. “From the beginning people connected the war with the question of Polish liberty. The conviction held that a world war would lead to the rehabilitation of the Polish state.” Though it did not happen as Austrian, German, or Kingdom Poles envisioned, the end of the war did see a new Poland.¹⁸⁸

The war ended in November of 1918 and the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed shortly thereafter. Even before this, Galicia began to connect more with a reimagined Polish state when the Polish members of the regional Austrian parliament declared in October that Habsburg Galician lands now belonged to the Polish state and secured the transfer of military

¹⁸⁸ Słomka, *From Serfdom to Self Government*, 209,

authority to Polish officers.¹⁸⁹ Soon after in Warsaw Józef Piłsudski, the former Habsburg officer and commander of Polish forces, recently released after being held captive and with the support of the withdrawing German Imperial leadership, declared a new independent Poland.¹⁹⁰ The defeat of the German and Habsburg Empires and the struggling new Bolshevik government in the former Russian Empire allowed the three partitions of divided Poland to reunite. The reemergence of a Polish state did not mean that all strife was over. Many Galician Ruthenians wished to unite eastern Galicia and the city of Lemberg with the larger territory inhabited by Ukrainians to the east, or at the least to be independent from Polish governance. The ethnic tension between Poles and Ukrainians was exacerbated by the presence of a number of other ethnicities in the territory. Jews represented the largest minority, but there were also Germans, Czechs, Romanians, Hungarians and others present from the now dissolved Habsburg Empire. Days after the end of the war, Ukrainians took over and occupied the provincial Habsburg government buildings as well as public and private centers such as the train station, the central police station, and banks.¹⁹¹ The short-lived war that followed between the Polish military and the Ukrainian Galician Army lasted until the middle of 1919.¹⁹² Around that time, Soviet troops invaded Galicia and began fighting to increase the territory of the newly formed Ukrainian SSR.¹⁹³ Though the Paris Peace Conference solidified the new political boundary of independent Poland as extending through all of Galicia, the territory was still

¹⁸⁹ Jan M. Małecki, "The Cracow Municipal Government in the 19th and 20th Centuries," in *Mayors and City Halls*, Jacek Purchla, ed. (Cracow: International Cultural Center, 1998), 42.

¹⁹⁰ Norman Davies, *Heart of Europe: The Past in Poland's Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 99.

¹⁹¹ Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 369.

¹⁹² *Ibid*, 374.

¹⁹³ *Ibid*.

contested until the Polish defeat of the Soviets in 1921.¹⁹⁴ Advertising in *IKC*, *Głos Narodu*, *Czas*, *Nowa Reforma*, *Gazeta Lwowska*, *Wiek Nowy*, and *Kurjer Lwowski* persisted throughout this period as it did throughout the war years. Advertising and consumer culture remained connected to society, as it had been before and during the war. The newspapers in Cracow were less affected by the collapse of the empire in 1918 than those in Lemberg. Similarly, as interethnic violence continued, a side effect was the closure of *Dilo* altogether from 1918 to 1922.

From 1918 to 1921, *Głos Narodu* maintained the standard publication length of four pages that had been established in June 1915, with occasional editions expanded to six. The same amounts of advertising appeared in publication as during the war, with roughly 10 to 40 advertisements per publication. The difference between advertising content during the war and after the war largely follows what one might expect. Rather than advertising continuing to appear from elsewhere in the (former) Habsburg Empire, it now appeared from elsewhere in the new Polish state. Warsaw and Lublin replaced Vienna and Prague. Likewise, there were advertisements from banks calling on citizens to exchange their Austrian War Bonds for new Polish National Bonds, and to buy more of the latter.¹⁹⁵ Similarly, there was a rise in advertising for transport companies. These companies had connections elsewhere, usually within the former empire, and offered to handle all of the new tariffs and trade documents associated with international business.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, 378-383.

¹⁹⁵ *GN*, 2 March 1919, 4, for example.

¹⁹⁶ *GN*, 7 November 1920, 4, for example.

Czas returned to publishing a four-page morning edition immediately after the end of the war, rising from two pages in the interwar years. The two-page evening edition continued to appear. Advertising space remained roughly one page of the four page print space, though, representing a decrease in the percentage of space devoted to advertising from roughly half of the publication space to roughly a quarter of the total space within each edition. The overall number of advertisements in each edition did not decrease proportionately, however, remaining in the 30 to 40 advertisements per edition range. The content of the advertisements remained for the same goods and services that had been advertised since 1911. Many of the advertisements were the same as they had been during the war, just reduced in size. In contrast to *Głos Narodu*, *Czas* did not see the immediate shift from cities in the former empire to cities in the new Poland. To be sure, the cities in Poland were beginning to be represented, including Warsaw and Poznan, but most advertisements from outside of Polish lands continued to come from the cities in the former empire themselves.¹⁹⁷

The overall publication length of *IKC* remained at eight pages from January, 1919, until April of that year when it rose to 12 pages. It continued to be published at a length of 12 pages throughout 1920 and 1921. Advertising continued to increase during the immediate postwar years to an average of 150 advertisements in 1919 to 185 in 1920 and 200 in 1921, printed on an average of four pages during all three years, roughly one third of the total publication area.¹⁹⁸ Similar to the trends found in *Głos Narodu*, the location of businesses doing the

¹⁹⁷ *Czas*, First Sunday morning editions December 1918-December 1921. See 2 March 1919 and 1 August 1920 for example.

¹⁹⁸ *IKC*, First Sunday editions December 1918-December 1921.

advertising shifted primarily to cities within the newly reestablished Poland and a rise in companies offering transport services.¹⁹⁹

Publication length of *Nowa Reforma* remained the same as it had during the war through 1921, usually four pages, with an occasional six-page edition. Advertising space saw a minor decrease, to around 38 percent, or one and a half pages, down from the average of two pages during the war. The total number of advertisements that appeared in each edition remained at intra-war levels in the remainder of 1918 and throughout 1919, before decreasing to 45 to 65 on average for 1920 and 1921. Similar to other titles a number of advertisements for import-export businesses appeared, reconnecting the new Polish state to other former Habsburg lands.²⁰⁰

Newspapers in Lemberg had a somewhat different experience in the years following the end of the war. Eastern Galicia, recently the frontline in a global conflict between empires, quickly became the fulcrum of two regional conflicts. The first between ethnic Poles and ethnic Ukrainians, and the second between the Polish state and a solidifying Bolshevik presence in Ukraine and Belarus. Despite the continued instability in the region, the newspapers that remained in print through this period continued to publish advertising.

As mentioned earlier, *Kurjer Lwowski* continued publication throughout the occupation, and due to the closure of *Słowo Polskie* gained circulation. It had previously returned to an eight-page publication length before the end of the war and shifted to a once daily publication. The editors kept that structure until the end of this study in 1921. Advertisements continued to

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ *NR*, First available Sunday editions, December 1918 – December 1921. For specific import-export advertisements see 4 May 1919, 4, and 1 Feb 1920, 6.

occupy around 31 percent of total publication space, ranging from 30 to 75 advertisements. While advertisements from cities within the new Poland increased, there was no major discernable change in advertisements from the former Habsburg lands including Vienna and Budapest.²⁰¹

Gazeta Lwowska returned to publishing eight pages when publication had resumed after the end of the Russian occupation. The publishers kept the average length at eight pages after the end of the war, where it remained until the end of this study. Overall advertising space saw a slight reduction, however, from two pages during the war, to one and a half pages. The number of advertisements that appeared in this reduced space nearly doubled the intra-war numbers, usually in the 15 to 30 range.²⁰² An interesting characteristic of *Gazeta Lwowska* during this period is that the publication did see a minor reduction of length in November and December of 1918. This occurred simultaneously with the end of the war and the dissolution of the empire, of course. As noted in the initial discussion of *Gazeta Lwowska* above, the title was at least partly funded by the Austro-Hungarian government, and therefore pro-empire. Beginning shortly after the end of war in 1918 the newspaper was printed with the Polish eagle, sometimes in a contrasting red, in the middle of the title banner. Undoubtedly the publishers sought to continue their presence as a popular daily newspaper in Lemberg, and clearly branding themselves as a Polish newspaper would perhaps diminish the role that the imperial government had formerly had in the publication of the title while cementing their support for the ethnic Poles in the strife that plagued the city in this period.

²⁰¹ *KL*, First available Saturday evening editions January 1919 – December 1921.

²⁰² *GL*, First available Sunday editions, December 1918 – December 1921.

A similar trend can be seen in *Wiek Nowy*. The editors had always been more than willing to support whichever political movement benefitted the title the most, even being somewhat supportive of the Russians during occupation. In November of 1918 while the empire was collapsing and the status of Lemberg was in question, the title ran the headline “Lwów is Ours!”²⁰³ This exclamation makes it clear to the readership that the staff of *Wiek Nowy* both supported an independent Poland and that the new state would include the ethnically contested city of Lemberg. The efforts by *Gazeta Lwowska* and *Wiek Nowy* to show their support for Poland and for Poles in Lemberg was even more understandable considering that in the final year of the war the German command had agreed to transfer the city of Chełm and the lands around it to Ukraine.²⁰⁴ This further cemented the desire of Polish nationalists, and after November 1918, the Polish state itself, not to lose any territory they considered Polish. In terms of changes in publication length, *Wiek Nowy* remained printed at a total length of 16 pages from the second half of 1918 (before the war ended) until the end of 1921, save only for a brief reduction, normally down to 8-12 pages, from December of 1918 to May of 1919. This directly coincides with the unrest and fighting within Lemberg between Poles and Ukrainians during the Polish-Ukrainian War. The amount of advertising within the paper mirrored these trends, averaging six to eight pages in the 16 page editions, and three to four in the reduced size editions. Throughout 1919 and 1920 the average amount of advertisements remained around 150, even in the smaller editions. This number increased to more than 200 during 1921.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ *WN*, 22 November 1918, 1. The text in Polish is, “Lwów Nasz!”

²⁰⁴ Watson, *Ring of Steel*, 449.

²⁰⁵ *WN*, First available Saturday editions December 1918 – December 1921.

The greatest change of any newspaper represented in this study was the case of *Dilo*. Ideologically and ethnically on the opposite end of the spectrum from the sentiments shown in *Gazeta Lwowska*, *Wiek Nowy*, and other Polish language newspapers in Lemberg, *Dilo* was the most popular vessel carrying the idea of Ukrainian independence, and possible unification with ethnic Ukrainians to the east. In the end, the inter-ethnic conflict of the Polish-Ukrainian War resulted in the banning of the newspaper and the dismantling of their printing equipment. The Ukrainian language daily did not openly return to publication until 1922. The newspaper, which had survived the war first in exile in Vienna, then in a reduced, but still present and functional form, had been extinguished along with the advertising within it.²⁰⁶

Trends in the newspapers and their advertising from 1918 to 1921 show a remarkable resilience despite the violence, instability, and turmoil within Galicia during the post-war period. The conflicts did not dictate the persistence of advertisements in the city of Cracow, and only affected publication in Lemberg briefly after the war ended, with the exception of *Dilo*. Despite an unstable political future, businesses still felt the need to buy advertising in this period. Of the newspapers that continued to be published the lowest percentage of advertising space appeared in *Gazeta Lwowska* at 19 percent of the total publication space, while *Nowa Reforma* and *Głos Narodu* published 38 percent advertisements. Restructured political boundaries made an impact on the geographical areas represented, though the lingering connections to the former empire still occurred. Just as advertising seems to have weathered the turbulence of the war, so too the post-war turmoil within the region seems to have left advertising culture in Cracow largely unscathed. In Lemberg, it was not the global conflict of the

²⁰⁶ Шаповал, *Поступ Української*, 228.

First World War that saw the demise of a newspaper, but the ethnic violence after the collapse of an empire, even then, the Polish language newspapers remained devoting significant space to advertising.

Comparative Trends and General Observations

In an effort to compare the trends taking place in the Galician press, I have chosen three newspapers for comparison from three other geographic locations, all of which experienced the war in a different way. The Viennese daily *Neue Freie Presse*, which shared the commonality of appearing in the Austrian Monarchy, albeit from the perspective of the imperial capital, offers one point of comparison. *Russkie Vedomosti* from Moscow and *The Manchester Guardian* meanwhile, illustrate trends in non-capital, mid-sized cities, which fell well within the territory of opposition countries.²⁰⁷ Comparing the space devoted to advertising in these three additional newspapers with the eight within this study, we see a variance of trends that warrant explanation in conjunction with potential changes in readership and other factors.

Głos Narodu saw a slight increase in advertising space, *Kurjer Lwowski* saw a slight decrease, and *Russkie Vedomosti* saw a slight increase (until it was shut down in 1918). These three newspapers fall into the trend of relative stability for the time period. It is, perhaps, not very surprising that the nationalist *Głos Narodu* saw relative stability while the region was transitioning from a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire to a part of the reestablished Polish state. Similarly, *Kurjer Lwowski* was a popular daily that survived, even thrived, during occupation due to its nationalist and populist leanings. This added readership continued to take

²⁰⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, City Edition, First Saturday editions of each year 1911-1921; 1 August 1914. *Neue Freie Presse*, First Sunday editions of each year 1911-1921; 2 August 1914. *Russkie Vedomosti*, First Sunday editions of each year 1912-1918; 1 January 1911; 17 August 1914.

that title during the interwar period. *Russkie Vedomosti* relied heavily on its advertising for nearly half of its income and therefore needed to maintain a high advertising percentage for solvency.²⁰⁸

Two titles saw drastic decreases in the amount of publication space devoted to advertising from 1911 to 1921, *Gazeta Lwowska* and *Dilo*. Both were in Lemberg, and both had been shut down during Russian occupation. *Dilo* was ultimately closed by the Polish authorities, while *Gazeta Lwowska* lost most of its subscribers to *Wiek Nowy* and *Kurjer Lwowski* during the occupation period. *Gazeta* was seemingly unable to recover readers in the interwar period because of its well-known position as the organ of the former empire.

A third trend was followed by *Czas* and *Nowa Reforma*. These two titles saw relative stability in advertising publication space (more than half) until the interwar period, when a decline in advertising space occurred. *Nowa Reforma* became a relatively small daily during the war years. In the interwar period the small nature of the paper (four pages) was not conducive to increased levels of advertising. Similarly, *Czas* was published in a four page edition after the war. This small size, combined with the fact that it had the highest cost to purchase advertising relative to the price of the paper undoubtedly contributed to the decrease in advertising space. In addition, like *Gazeta Lwowska* its political stance was conservative and in favor of the monarchy before the dissolution of the empire.

Before coming to the final trend, it bears noting here that *none* of the newspapers mentioned above saw an *increase* in advertising space from the war years to the interwar

²⁰⁸ Sally West, *I Shop in Moscow: Advertising and the Creation of Consumer Culture in Late Tsarist Russia* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2011), 32; 225-226.

period, and all of the Galician newspapers mentioned saw a corresponding reduction in size during that time. In addition, as mentioned in the advertising costs section at the beginning of this chapter, *Głos Narodu*, *Gazeta Lwowska*, *Czas*, and *Nowa Reforma* were the four titles which set prices for the whole advertisement, rather than allowing for purchase by the word.

The final category we can observe from the comparison of advertising publication space is that of the more popular, larger edition papers. *The Manchester Guardian*, an outlier, saw a steady increase in advertising space across the entire period. *Neue Freie Press*, *IKC*, and *Wiek Nowy* see a shared, different pattern. These three titles saw a decrease in publication space during the war years, with an increase in the interwar period. All three newspapers were relatively larger than their contemporaries within their respective cities, and all three saw a reduction in overall size during the war (*IKC* and *Wiek Nowy* increased their size after the war, while *NFP* did not). The popularity of these larger newspapers almost certainly led to their return to greater publication space devoted to advertising. In Galicia especially, other competing newspapers were smaller, and often had higher costs for purchasing advertisements.

Conclusion

What is most interesting about this study is not the details of how World War I affected the newspapers in Lemberg and Cracow. After all, we know that wars, especially wars on the scale of that great conflict, are disruptive and affect most if not all areas of life. Nor is the most interesting aspect how the newspapers steered (or failed to steer in the case of *Dilo*) their way through regional conflicts and the formation of a new state. We expect a certain level of change to occur during times such as the new Poland saw from 1919 to 1921. The contention of this

study is that advertising as a mode of communication itself saw remarkable continuity despite the turmoil. It should also be noted, though, that the advertisements themselves illuminate how everyday life for urban Galicians changed, and how Galician advertisers and consumers sought normality, opportunity, or security during a highly unstable decade.

From 1911 to 1921, the instability and unrest during the war did have an impact on the newspapers examined in this study. The newspapers in Cracow saw page reductions, brief interludes, and increased pricing due to high inflation. The newspapers in Lemberg felt the impact of the war and its aftermath more acutely. *Kurjer Lwowski* and *Wiek Nowy* seem to have fared the best across the decade, with page reductions and pricing changes, while *Gazeta Lwowska* and *Dilo* ceased publication in Lemberg during the Russian occupation. *Dilo* suffered the worst fate of any of the titles. Ethnic conflict between Poles and Ruthenians, exacerbated by the war and weakening Habsburg political authority in the last years of the empire resulted in its shutdown in 1918. With the exception of a few editions, or editions published in exile, all of the titles carried advertising while in print. This advertising changed to reflect food scarcity as the war continued, and as inflation rose, but other types of goods and services continued to appear throughout the decade. There are a number of possible reasons for this. First, it is entirely possible that the structure and nature of the advertising culture in Galicia was simply not developed or sophisticated enough to change with the times. Businesses kept advertising because that is simply what businesses did, without regard to whether it was working or not. While there is little doubt that advertising culture in Cracow and Lemberg was far from the sophistication experienced in contemporary London or New York, with complex networks of advertising agencies and intermediaries, the magnitude of the increased costs of inflation

suggests that businesses continued advertising in Galician newspapers either because it *was* working, or because they were so desperate to bring in business that they took out advertising *hoping* it would work. Either of these reasons point to a directed effort to purchase advertising, rather than a blind continuation of undeveloped business practices.

Likewise, at least in the case of *Kurjer Lwowski*, the continued publishing and selling of advertising does not seem to have been directly tied to the financial stability of the newspaper itself. As noted above, from reports of income relayed directly to the editor of the newspaper, income from advertising never rose above 24 percent of the total income between 1914 and 1918. This is in contrast to evidence of the greater dependence on advertising by newspapers elsewhere in Eastern Europe. For the Moscow daily *Russkie Vedomosti* advertising had represented nearly half of the annual income just before the war at 47 percent, and another title, *Rech'*, was seen as unsuccessful (in part) because advertising sales for it never reached levels higher than 36 percent from 1911 to 1914.²⁰⁹ None of the Galician newspapers examined for this study ceased publication between 1911 and 1921 for financial reasons, and advertising persisted across the period.

A second explanation of the continuation of advertising in this decade is that advertising represents a facet of consumer culture, culture which had become a part of everyday life in Cracow and Lemberg. When viewed in this way, the advertising appearing in the popular press can be seen as a window into how individuals seek normalcy during unstable times. Furnishing your home with the latest trends in furniture, going to the movies, and buying clothes, for example, all represent activities that seemed normal before the war, and advertising for them

²⁰⁹ West, *I Shop in Moscow*, 32; 225-227.

continued during and after it. Another aspect of this explanation is the shifting nature of income. While inflation hurt those individuals with fixed incomes, such as government workers and officials, it also had an inverse effect on those who set their own prices for services. These individuals fared better through the years of ever increasing inflation, potentially having discretionary income to spend on items and services that many could not.

The inclusion of classified advertisements within the continued trends of advertising throughout this decade is further evidence that people are not merely passive consumers of the offerings in the pages of the press, but they are also interacting with this mode of communication. They chose to sell things, present their wish to buy things, offer their services, look for a job, and even look for spouses. The case studies presented hereafter will look at specific goods or types of advertising as windows into how culture was expressed in the pages of advertising, how people used and interacted with that culture, and how everyday life between 1911 and 1921 changed and stayed the same.

Chapter 3. Advertising, Piano Culture, and the Changing Middle Class in Urban Galicia

In the years between the turn of the century and the outbreak of the First World War, business directories listed four commercial piano storefronts in Cracow and an even more impressive nine in Lemberg, though the actual number was even higher. Additionally, each of the cities boasted multiple local piano factories, including the Bronisława Gabryelska factory in Cracow and the Mieczysław Janiszewski workshop in Lemberg.²¹⁰ The presence of these factories and storefronts indicate an established market for the buying and selling of pianos in the two major urban centers of Galicia in the years prior to the war. How would the First World War and the conflicts that followed in the early postwar period affect this market? Though piano advertising continued during and after the war, this was not necessarily an indicator of a lack of change. The instability and increasing inflation of the period served as a catalyst, forcing some owners to sell their pianos, while other citizens had the opportunity to capitalize on the economic situation, buying these status symbols for their households.

In a 1912 advertisement, the B. Gabryelska piano factory stated that the firm rented and sold grand and upright pianos, as well as other musical instruments, of first-class manufacture. As payment they accepted cash, or a “twenty-month payment plan with no down payment.”²¹¹ The inclusion of the payment plan option marks a trend in the piano market that corresponded to a growing cultural shift. Increasingly, from the early nineteenth century onwards, the desire and ability to own a household piano had spread from the wealthiest in the upper class, to the

²¹⁰ Stefan Mikulski, *Wielka Księga Adresowa Stoł. król. miasta Krakowa, Stoł. król. miasta Lwowa, Król. woln. miasta Podgórze* (Kraków: A. Koziański, 1908), 597; Franciszek Reichman, *Księga Adresowa Stoł. król. miasta Lwowa* (Lwów: Narodowa, 1913), 538.

²¹¹ *IKC*, 1 September 1912, 6.

lower echelons of the nobility and then to the middle class. Teaching music and the ability to play an instrument to the next generation became more and more important to a growing number of the population in the Polish partitions as did the cultural significance of owning a piano (or at least having one in the household). The rise in the cultural significance of possessing a piano amongst the middle classes helps to explain the continued presence of piano advertising during the war years and early interwar period, though to say that it was the only reason would be a mistake.

On the outset, the idea that citizens of Cracow and Lemberg were interested in buying pianos while the whole region suffered under rationing and the turmoil of war seems absurd at best. However, the continued appearance of piano advertising, both selling and buying, in the popular press during these years hints at something more nuanced than just ineffectual advertising. At the surface level, as with the overarching trends in advertising, piano advertising seems to have continued throughout the war and into the postwar period with little change. Upon deeper investigation a number of details emerge that tell us more about everyday social and cultural life in urban Galicia than the often small newspaper advertisements suggests. While it cannot be denied that the war was disruptive, and destructive, some social structures seemingly held fast. The presence of piano advertising within the popular daily press in both cities throughout the war indicates that the cultural significance of owning the piano as a status symbol was not so easily cast aside during a period rife with instability. While the piano as a cultural symbol of affluence persisted, the simultaneous persistence of the advertising is actually a function and representation of changes within the fluid, constructed middle class. To put it simply, a portion of the middle class (along with some in the lower levels of the nobility)

found themselves in need of money as inflation rose and their fixed state salaries did not. As they liquidated tangible assets, such as pianos, upwardly mobile members of the middle class in professions where salaries could rise alongside inflation (or even outpace it based on demand) now had the funds to purchase cultural symbols of affluence. For the purposes of this argument, class can be defined as a contested, discursive construct, in line with the theories of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu redirected the focus of the question of what defines a class away from the researcher, who imposes class stratification onto a population (most often by access to capital and the means of production in economic and Marxist studies). He then placed the agency of who makes up a given class onto the participants of a given society themselves. In short, he posited that members of a class define their own social stratification by what they consume as they seek to maintain or advance their standing within their own view of how social stratification is divided in their society. Bourdieu also notes that the role of perception is key to understanding how individuals perceived their own class status.²¹² This chapter establishes how the continued presence of newspaper advertisements buying and selling pianos during the war years and the early interwar period represented dynamic shifts within the middle class in Cracow and Lemberg. These shifts occurred as some members of the middle class had to confront the loss of symbolic cultural capital (pianos), while others were able to obtain that same cultural capital, taking economic advantage of the instability of the period.

Defining the Cultural Significance of Pianos in Galicia

²¹² Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 372; 483; "What Makes a Social Class? On the Theoretical and Practical Existence of Groups," in *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, vol. 32 (1987), 1-18, 3.

Ignacy Jan Paderewski, the famed Polish pianist and statesman, was from a minor Polish noble family that resided in the town of Kuryłówka, in the Russian Imperial held region of Podolia. His family was noble, but poor, and held no land of their own. Instead, his father managed the land holdings of a higher ranking, wealthier noble family. That being said, they did have a piano in their household, and Paderewski's father saw to it that he began musical training at a very young age.²¹³ At the age of 12, after showing an extraordinary aptitude his father took him to Warsaw to train at the conservatory. Paderewski recounts that he and his father had a hard time finding a piano that they could afford to buy for use while at the conservatory. It was not until, upon a recommendation, they came to the factory of Kerntopf and Sons that they were eventually able to arrange for the purchase of a less expensive piano. The negotiation ended up being unneeded, however, because after hearing Paderewski play the Kerntopfs agreed to supply him with a piano, free of charge, and to house him so long as he was at the conservatory. Paderewski's relationship with the Kerntopfs and their pianos lasted for the rest of his life, and though he most often played on Steinway pianos during his career, he always played some shows on Kerntopf pianos when he toured around Warsaw (though he felt them much inferior to his usual Steinways and Erards).²¹⁴

The role of pianos in Galician, and to a larger extent, in Polish and European culture should be taken into account when thinking about the importance of their appearance in newspaper advertisements across the First World War. Arthur Loesser describes the rise of the cultural significance of pianos within the upper classes in Europe and America in great detail in

²¹³ Adam Zamoyski, *Paderewski* (New York: Atheneum, 1982), 5-7.

²¹⁴ Ignacy Jan Paderewski and Mary Lawton, *The Paderewski Memoirs* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938), 32-33; 282-83.

his work *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History*. In tracing this cultural significance, he delineates how the piano shifted from being solely accessible by the elite to being a commodity that the lower reaches of the upper class, and increasingly the growing middle class, could purchase as a symbol of their upward mobility and status.

Having a piano in one's home, then, was fashionable in the 1790's and thereafter. By fashion, we do not mean a quickly passing craze; the instrument was too expensive and too substantial for such trifling. We mean that it was a luxury in which many people indulged because others whom they felt urged to imitate did so.²¹⁵

Elsewhere in Europe elite piano culture had more time to develop before the symbol of the piano shifted to being used as a status symbol of the middle class. Jolanta Pekacz has argued that elite piano culture only gained a strong foothold in Polish lands after the partitions. Prior to the division of their state into Prussian, Russian, and Austrian dominion, the Polish elites looked to each other for cultural trends. This changed when the nobility in each partition found itself incorporated into a new elite structure each with its own cultural practices. While pianos and music culture were undoubtedly present within Polish elite culture before 1772, Pekacz asserts that it is only after the partitions that the Polish elite began to acclimate fully to the musical culture found in the upper classes elsewhere in Europe.²¹⁶ Each partition now became the periphery, looking to their new respective centers for culture and trade. For the Prussian and Austrian partitions in particular this meant an increase in the importation of musical instruments, including pianos, from better-known and well-established manufacturers in Prussian and Austrian lands.

²¹⁵ Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), 136.

²¹⁶ Jolanta Pekacz, *Music in the Culture of Polish Galicia, 1772-1914* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2002), 42.

If we overlap Loesser's conclusion that after the 1790s household ownership of pianos became ever more fashionable in Europe as a whole with Pekacz's extension that Polish elite culture was only able to fully adopt piano culture beginning with the first partition in 1772, then we may conclude that Polish elites had some catching up to do in regards to fully embracing piano culture. In Galicia, at least, they were quick in rising to the task. Printed music and instrument makers began to enter the new Galician market from Vienna and the Czech lands. Previously there had been little demand and insufficient technology to justify and support this industry. By 1804 there were six masters, nine apprentices, and five pupils producing instruments in the city of Cracow alone. By 1826 the number of master artisans producing instruments had increased to eleven.²¹⁷ Across the 1820s the lesser nobility and a growing middle class began to take more interest in owning pianos, while the piano-owning elites had begun to play their pianos at home much more frequently. These two trends facilitated the need for more sheet music, which in part led to printing presses in Galicia investing in and seeking governmental allowance first to import lithography equipment, then, a decade later in the 1830s, moveable type.²¹⁸

In urban Galicia, the investment in new technologies to meet growing demand drove the printing presses to print music that was marketable to the widest audience. Since most sheet music was for amateur home use or for learning purposes, and the individuals playing pianos within homes had generally only basic proficiency, the majority of music was easy to play, consisting of basic dances which catered to the common tastes.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ Ibid, 42-45.

²¹⁸ Ibid, 46-48.

²¹⁹ Ibid, 49.

In 1848, a Warsaw newspaper reported that there were about 5000 pianos in the city, compared to 3053 households. This meant that there were “one and two thirds pianos for each.”²²⁰ This widespread popularity was not isolated to the Russian partition of Poland: Seven domestic piano makers worked in Cracow in the nineteenth century.²²¹ By the time of the 1894 exhibition in Lemberg there were so many instrument (and furniture) makers in Galicia, that a newspaper in Warsaw reported that there would soon be no need to import these goods from abroad. By 1902 there were 36 workshops in Galicia producing pianos, 8 producing organs, harmoniums, and automatons, and 11 producing string and wind instruments. While these reports and numbers exemplify the growth in the industry and market across the nineteenth century in Galicia, during this period it was often still cheaper to import better quality pianos from Germany or Austria.²²²

Under the Austrian education system teachers were required to have at least a basic knowledge of music. This was mandated so that the teachers could use music to reinforce imperial values and establish community. Further evidence that music in the education realm was not intended to instill a deep knowledge of musical principles was that the nature of musical instruction often only included individual and group singing, with no teaching of instruments or how to read sheet music.²²³ Musical instruction in earnest was largely the responsibility of private tutors, and paid for by the family.

²²⁰ Ibid, 140.

²²¹ Ibid, 143-145.

²²² Ibid, 58-60. The B. Gabryelska factory in Cracow and the M. Janiszewski factory in Lemberg seem to be two of the larger, and most advertised in regards to manufacturing.

²²³ Ibid, 63-68.

Dieter Hildebrandt describes the piano as the “most particularly democratic” instrument. He continues, “(b)etween 1800 and 1900 the piano underwent a development in its structure, its music, in the nature of public concerts and the education of a broad middle-class audience....In fact the piano could be called the unsung hero of the nineteenth century.”²²⁴ As the middle class began to imitate and adopt the piano culture of the upper class, the upper class became more resentful of public concerts. These concerts were increasingly organized by civil servants, many of whom were of ethnic German descent. As civil servants, they were required to have completed a university education, which included basic instruction in music. As these civil servants were dispersed throughout the empire’s periphery they took with them their love of music, and their appreciation for the public music culture exhibited in the empire’s center. Almost as important as their love of music was their firm position within the growing middle class. Attendance of the public music exhibitions was quickly disdained by the upper class and eschewed in favor of private concerts, and gatherings within their own homes.²²⁵

The trend of the middle class mimicking and then absorbing the music culture of the upper class initially remained in the public realm. However, as the intelligentsia began to grow and the availability of pianos increased, members that class soon aspired to buy or rent pianos for their own homes. As with the aristocrats, the social status of the individual and the family was increased by the ownership of a piano. In part, ownership represented the familial financial stability to buy or rent such a large item, to pay to have it transported and placed in the home, and to have the means to continually maintain it (pianos must be tuned, after all). Piano

²²⁴ Dieter Hildebrandt, *Pianoforte: A Social History of the Piano* (London: Hutchinson, 1988), 2-3.

²²⁵ Pekacz, *Music in the Culture of Polish Galicia*, 124-27.

possession and use also represented sufficient wealth to pay for lessons for family members, the means to acquire something altogether unnecessary to the function of the household, and just as importantly, the availability of leisure time for some family members to learn to play, and of others to enjoy the gatherings within the home to listen. Yet another reason for the popularity of the piano in partitioned Poland was the unique relationship between pianos and women. While the piano became more popular with the middle class because of its versatility as an instrument, it could be played by a number of different family members, at varying levels of proficiency, with or without singing accompaniment, it also grew in popularity because it was socially acceptable as an instrument for women to play.²²⁶

The relationship between the piano and middle class women is important for a number of reasons. It was not only a musical instrument, but a piece of household furniture. This put it firmly in the domain of the home, which is where many urban middle class women spent most of their time. Women had more time to practice while at home, and did so. Similarly, the piano allowed women to pursue expression through music while retaining their decency. Other orchestral instruments were seen as putting women in indecent positions. These included the spreading of their legs (larger stringed instruments), twisting of their upper bodies or necks (smaller stringed instruments), or seductively pursing their lips (flutes and horns). By learning, practicing, and performing the piano the Galician woman could entertain family and friends while engaging in self-expression, all the while being a symbol of her family's ability to afford musical education and own a piano in their home.²²⁷

²²⁶ Benjamin Vogel, "The Piano as a Symbol of Burgher Culture in Nineteenth-century Warsaw," in *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 46. (March, 1993), 137-39.

²²⁷ *Ibid*, 139-141.

Thorstein Veblen, observing similar trends in contemporary America, argued that the members of a socially ascendant class often seek to emulate the class perceived as being directly above their own. The middle class seeks to exhibit that they have the ability to pursue the leisure that the upper class possesses and displays.²²⁸ In Galicia, the upper classes continued to show disdain for the absorption and display of a culture that they felt was firmly theirs alone. Pekacz relates a tale from 1825 in which a member of the elite submitted an article to the Lemberg weekly *Rozmaitości* in which he noted that his tailor's daughter was being taught to play the piano. The author asserted that this was socially unacceptable because when the daughter grows up and marries someone from her own class, her tastes will have been elevated beyond the capabilities of her husband to provide for them, and she will "bring her husband to bankruptcy."²²⁹ Other members of the elite echoed these dismayed concerns, lamenting that soon the daughters of the middle class would learn music, and that pianos would (even) be found in the houses of craftsmen.²³⁰ This is one example of Bourdieu's idea of class structure as a contested discourse. As those in the upwardly mobile middle class sought to advance their social status through the use of piano consumption (in part to establish themselves as members of the intelligentsia), the elites of the upper class expressed their frustration with a perceived inferior group now being able to possess a former symbol of their higher social stratification.

²²⁸ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: MacMillan, 1905), 81; 104.

²²⁹ Józef Reiss, *Najpiękniejsza ze wszystkich jest muzyka polska. Szkic historycznego rozwoju na tle przeobrażeń społecznych* (Kraków: PWM, 1946), 112.

²³⁰ Pekacz, *Music in the Culture of Polish Galicia*, 150-151.

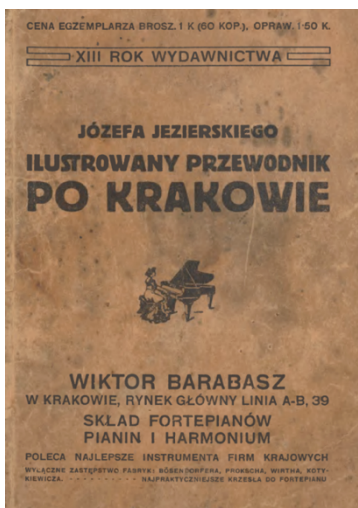


Figure 12. Cover of a 1914 Cracow travel guide, with piano shop advertisement on the cover.

Benjamin Vogel has argued that by the twentieth century the prestige of the piano had waned in Polish middle class culture, and that its popularity had diminished by the outbreak of the First World War.²³¹ The continued presence of advertising seeking to buy or sell pianos from 1911 to 1921 in the popular press in Cracow and Lemberg suggests that Vogel’s argument may have been somewhat overstated. Indeed, it seems as if the piano culture that arose in the nineteenth century was alive and well across the war years and into the early interwar period. A travel guide to the city of Cracow published in 1914 even featured an advertisement for a piano seller on the cover (see above).²³² Furthermore, Vogel’s assertion that the popularity of pianos decreased by the time of World War I can be directly and particularly refuted by the presence of “want” classifieds, which were present throughout the war years. In the November 7, 1915 edition of *IKC* advertisements to buy pianos were present alongside advertisements selling

²³¹ Vogel, “The Piano as a Symbol,” 142-143.

²³² Józef Jezierski, *Ilustrowany Przewodnik po Krakowie i Okolicy z Planem Miasta 1914-1915* (Kraków: Drukarnia Literacka, 1914), cover.

them.²³³ In December of that year, a local bookstore was looking to hire young women to play the piano.²³⁴ Even after the war, in 1919, there were not only advertisements for pianos, but there was also advertising for sheet music for them.²³⁵ Additionally, advertisements both soliciting and selling pianos continued to occur into the interwar period as witnessed in an August 1921 edition of *IKC*.²³⁶ If advertisements during this period were only bought with the intention of selling pianos, then perhaps Vogel's statements could be correct. Taking into account the presence of interested parties hoping to buy pianos, along with the marketing of piano related materials, and the presence of help wanted classifieds hoping to hire women able to play them, there is significant evidence to suggest that pianos were still a part of middle class culture in everyday life in urban Galicia at least until the conclusion of this study in 1921.

Furthermore, Jadwiga Rutkowska, a young middle-class diarist and daughter of a Habsburg civil servant, wrote frequently of her piano lessons in a diary that spanned the war years. The continuation of her piano lessons was so important that her mother found a teacher for her in Zakopane, where the family briefly stayed for around two months in 1917. She was not alone in her studies, though, she also reported in her diary that her friend, Dżidka, was taking lessons from the same instructor there.²³⁷ This is not to say that piano culture was exempt for the effects of the instability brought about by war and the early interwar conflicts. Rather, while piano culture remained a part of Galician middle class culture, the reality of who was buying

²³³ *IKC*, 7 November 1915, 8.

²³⁴ *IKC*, 5 December 1915, 8.

²³⁵ *IKC*, 5 January 1919, 4.

²³⁶ *IKC*, 7 August 1921, 12.

²³⁷ Jadwiga Rutkowska, *Pamiętnik Lwowianki. 1914-1919*, Wojciech Polak and Sylwia Galij-Skarbińska, eds. (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2017), 123-124.

(and selling) the pianos as a function of this cultural trend is what was most affected by the uncertainty.

Advertisements for Pianos

About halfway through the New Year's Day 1911 issue of the popular daily newspaper *Głos Narodu*, on page five of eight, surrounded by advertisements for wine, butter, laundry service, and a mail order general store in the Czech lands sits a small, roughly one by one and half inch advertisement for a piano store. The advertisement reads, "Grand and upright piano store, new and used, of English and Viennese mechanisms, for sale and rent. St. Boroń, Cracow, Floryńska Street 1, number 38, on the first floor."²³⁸ This advertisement provides us with a good example of the main characteristics mentioned in advertisements by both businesses and individuals in regards to pianos. Before approaching the changes that occurred within piano culture and the middle class, the content and scope of piano related advertising should be discussed.



Figure 13. Commercial advertisement for Stanisław Boroń's piano store, in *GN*, 1 January 1911,

5.

²³⁸ *Głos Narodu (GN)*, 1 January 1911, 5.

While piano enthusiasts and practitioners may be better acquainted with the different types, sizes, shapes, styles, ornamentation, and different internal working mechanisms of pianos, and how all of these variations affect the fullness and tone of any given instrument, the casual listener may only be familiar with the basic variations in piano design. These are most often the grand (*fortepiano* in Polish), and the upright piano (*pianino*), both mentioned in the advertisement referenced above. A third type of piano is generally widely known by the populace now, and likewise it was well known in the early twentieth century, the baby grand (*mały fortepiano*, occasionally also called a *krótki (short) fortepiano*). By in large, the advertisements in the daily newspapers in Cracow and Lemberg mentioned at least one of these basic categories in their text. This suggests that, to the majority of consumers and sellers in these newspapers, the primary concern in regards to pianos was their size, and understandably so. The purchase of a piano of any size not only represented a large commitment financially, but it also came with the understanding that such a large instrument needed to be transported, and that one had enough room in one's house or business to accommodate the instrument's large footprint. As Paderewski put it in his memoirs, "[t]o move a piano, like everything else, requires certain knowledge; it is not so simple as you might think."²³⁹

The next characteristic proffered in the Stanisław Boroń advertisement above is that this shop sold both new and used pianos. Whether or not a commercial seller was offering new or used pianos was almost always included in their advertisements, while individual sellers selling pianos in classifieds often did not mention the age of their pianos, most likely because it was

²³⁹ Paderewski, *The Paderewski Memoirs*, 45.

assumed by the potential buyer that the piano was used. Both types of sellers, and also potential buyers, occasionally mentioned the condition of the piano that they were selling or hoping to find. What is conspicuously absent from almost all advertising, both commercial and individual, is the presence of actual prices. The Saturday, October 4th edition of *Kurjer Lwowski* contains a rare example of the mentioning of prices in an advertisement from the piano store “Kubessa,” which advertised new grand pianos, with both English and Viennese mechanisms, but also, “used grand and upright pianos in the best condition for only 100 crowns.” After listing their address on the central square (*rynek*) in Lemberg, they then add, “Low prices. Flexible options.”²⁴⁰ While the open discussion of actual pricing was rare in commercial advertising, and virtually nonexistent in classifieds, written inclusion of pricing information was generally kept to the basic, vague description of “cheap.” Another inclusion exclusive to commercial advertising was the mention of the “flexible options” of payment plans, occasionally with no money down or without interest.



Figure 14. Kubessa advertisement with price listed, in *KL*, 4 October 1913, 10.

An interesting inclusion in both the Boroń and Kubessa advertisements mentioned is the type of mechanism within the piano. Many casual listeners are not familiar with different types

²⁴⁰ *Kurjer Lwowski (KL)*, 4 October 1913, 10.

of grand pianos, on a structural and mechanical level. The inclusion in both of these advertisements of the “English,” and “Viennese,” categories of grand pianos bears further explanation. The Viennese style of piano was often constructed of lighter materials, had two strings per note, narrower keys, and often featured hammers with heads facing the pianist, with their hinges on the opposite side of the piano. These characteristics result in a piano that is much more sensitive to touch, more responsive, and which requires less pressing of the keys to play. The English style is often constructed of heavier wood, has three strings per note, hammers which have their hinges toward the pianist, and their heads facing away. This mechanism requires more forceful pressing of the keys (which are wider). The overall differences between the two result in a more robust sound out of the English style, while the Viennese was often easier to play for children, women, and novices.²⁴¹

Another characteristic of piano advertisements is the presence, or lack thereof, of the maker’s name. Even by the turn of the century the name *Steinway* was globally synonymous with quality pianos, and within Europe, the *Bechstein* piano was also widely respected and played by many concert pianists, as was the *Bösendorfer*. While the New York based Steinway and Sons and the Berlin based C. Bechstein and Company were well known piano manufacturers, companies such as Kerntopf and Sons in Warsaw, the Janiszewski factory in Lemberg, and the B. Gabryelska piano factory in Cracow began to produce pianos for consumption within the lands of partitioned Poland. The higher quality and better name

²⁴¹ Many thanks to the staff of Mid-America Piano in Manhattan, KS, for bearing with my many questions. Interestingly enough, it is often the English style fortepiano which is seen as having given rise to the modern day piano, as its sound and manner of play became increasingly popular and eventually pushed the quainter sound of the Viennese style out of fashion, though the older styles of both can now be bought as reproductions.

recognition of Steinway, Bechstein, and Bösendorfer pianos often correlated to a higher cost for consumers. That is not to say that these better-known makes did not appear for sale in Galicia in the newspapers and other advertising venues, rather that their appearance for sale was a rarity, compared to a slightly higher frequency of lesser known manufacturers, such as Gabryelska, and an even greater number of advertisements that failed to mention any specific maker's mark.²⁴²



Figure 15. Helena Smolarska advertisement with the brand names of Steinway and Blüthner, in *GN*, 1 October 1916, 4.

²⁴² For an example of the occasional advertisement of Steinway pianos, see *GN*, 1 October 1916, 4. The text of the advertisement carries the spelling “Steinway,” and also mentions another German piano maker *Blüthner*, which was a Leipzig based company. Bechstein pianos are occasionally mistyped as “Bochstein,” in advertisements. For examples of this make for sale, see *GN*, 3 March and 7 July 1918, both on page 4. Steinway, Blüthner, Bechstein, and the Viennese Bösendorfer are often called “the big four” of piano makers, with Blüthner holding the royal warrant of the Austro-Hungarian court for a time. Other advertisements appeared in business directories and would occasionally include lists of manufacturers sold in the storefront. A 1913 business directory of Lemberg, for example, contains advertisements which feature prominent European brands. Professor Franciszek Neuhauser and Company mention Bösendorfer, while Leon Heschelesa’s “Dom Szopena,” sells Bösendorfer and Bechstein pianos. Both mention a number of other German and Austrian lesser known brands. See Reichman, *Księga Adresowa*, 713, 747.



Figure 16. Leon Hescheles' "Dom Szopena" (Chopin's House) advertisement from a 1913 business directory, with a number of well known, and lesser well known, brands listed.

Unlike the Gabryelska factory, the Warsaw based Kerntopf and Sons does not appear to have marketed directly to consumers in Cracow through the newspapers. This is understandable, as Kerntopf was probably more concerned with the market in their own region (in and around Warsaw) and because the Cracow market lay across the border within a different empire (at least in the years before the war). That being said, by March of 1916 Kerntopf and Sons did have at least a nominal presence in the region, as they sponsored and provided pianos for a concert benefitting the Polish Legions and their families.²⁴³ At this time the German occupation of the majority of the Russian partition, including Warsaw, was well underway, allowing for easier commerce between that region and Austrian Galicia.²⁴⁴ The Janiszewski factory seems to have been advertised locally in circulated business address books,

²⁴³ Program for Polish Legion benefit concert, 17 March 1916. ANK: 29/669/10, 643-44.

²⁴⁴ Jesse Kauffman, *Elusive Alliance: The German Occupation of Poland in World War I* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 29-32.

but not commercially in the Lemberg press.²⁴⁵ Establishing that piano makers from the Polish lands were active in Galicia from 1911 to 1921 is important for two reasons. First, it highlights the Polish entry into the piano manufacturing market, further exemplifying the deep seeded place of pianos in the culture of Galicia, and Polish culture, writ large. Second, since the majority of newspaper advertisements do not mention the make of the pianos being sold, it is important to establish that there were less expensive (and local) makes on the market than the more expensive Steinways, Bechsteins, and other premier brands. While the Gabryelska and Kerntopf pianos may have been cheaper than the more prestigious makes, their pianos still represented a major investment. The initial costs, followed by transportation costs and upkeep, along with any additional costs associated with lessons and the purchase of sheet music, are still indicative of a certain level of financial ability and affluence, even if the piano in question was not a Steinway. The willingness of companies to offer pianos for rent or on a payment plan indicates that the desire of urban Galicians to possess these large cultural symbols was well known by piano sellers who used that trend to their advantage.

Commercial Piano Markets in Cracow and Lemberg

The Polish music scholar Vogel, mentioned above, has written a short history of pianos and piano making in the Polish lands. While his book is useful for tracing the connections between Polish piano making and the piano making traditions in German, Habsburg, and French

²⁴⁵ These large address books were similar to the almost-now-defunct modern day yellow pages. They were lengthy, often with advertising throughout, and listed businesses by category, and alphabetically. They also contained addresses for municipal offices, and the household addresses for the political representatives at the municipal, regional, and imperial level. While the Janiszewski factory appears not to have advertised commercially in the press, they potentially advertised anonymously through classifieds. There is evidence that other commercial piano sellers used classifieds rather than the larger, more expensive commercial advertisements, in Lemberg in particular.

lands, his focus is almost solely on makers within the Russian partition of Poland.²⁴⁶ His text does, however, carry a listing of piano makers, and more notable sellers, throughout the Polish lands. By cross referencing Vogel's list with the sellers and manufacturers present in newspaper advertising and business directories a better picture of the commercial piano industry in Cracow and Lemberg emerges. In Cracow there were at least seven piano manufacturers active for the entire period of this study, from 1911 to 1921. Another two manufacturers were active in the years before the outbreak of the First World War.²⁴⁷ Of these nine total manufacturers, only the Bronisława Gabryelska factory seems to have utilized advertising in the daily press in Cracow.²⁴⁸ In addition to Gabryelska, there was advertising by at least another four commercial storefronts in the popular daily press, the most widespread coming from the shop of Helena Smolarska.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁶ Benjamin Vogel, *Fortepian Polski: Budownictwo fortepianów na ziemiach polskich od poł. XVIII w. do II wojny światowej*. Historia Muzyki Polskiej, tom. X (Warsaw: Sutkowski Edition, 1995).

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 197-280.

²⁴⁸ The B. Gabryelska company may have had a different perspective than other piano factories in the city because it was founded first as a piano and musical instrument store around 1883. It had only begun to manufacture pianos in 1908. See Vogel, *Fortepian Polski*, 219. Examples of the Gabryelska advertisements can be found in the citations above.

²⁴⁹ These additional four advertisers were: St. Boroń, Floryanska street 38, see *GN*, 1 Jan 1911, 5 and *Nowa Reforma (NR)*, 4 November 1911, 5, for examples. M. Telesznicka furniture store, Sw. Jan street 2, see *NR*, 6 May 1911, 6, and *Czas*, 7 June 1914, 2, for example. The store of Wiktor Barabasz, Rynek 39, see *NR*, 7 October 1911, 10, for example. The shop of Helena Smolarska appeared extensively in both *GN*, see 3 March 1918, 4, for example, and also in *IKC*, see 7 November 1915, 8, for example.



Figure 17. Bronisława Gabryelska advertisement, in *GN*, 3 June 1913, 3.

The commercial piano market in Lemberg was somewhat more complex. There were eight piano manufacturers operating for the entire duration of this study. Additionally, Artur Smutny, initially a tuner by trade, continued this service and also began producing pianos in 1912, remaining in business until well after 1921.²⁵⁰ Four piano makers ceased production in 1912, one of which was the larger company of Franciszek Kubessa, located on the main square in Lemberg, at Rynek 17. His shop had been producing pianos since 1896, when he came from Vienna where he had learned his trade.²⁵¹ Another notable manufacturer of this period was Mieczysław Janiszewski, the maker mentioned in the chapter introduction above. He had previously built pianos for Józef Śliwiński, leaving after Śliwiński's workshop was bought by Konrad Kaim (and renamed Kaim i Syn in 1908). Vogel, in his directory of Polish piano makers, does not have a complete date range for the Janiszewski workshop, only that it was active in 1912.²⁵² At the least Janiszewski's shop was still active into 1913, as it appears in the 1913

²⁵⁰ Vogel, *Fortepian Polski*, 197-280. The eight were the Bartoszewski, Bazylewicz, Fuchs, Hanak, Harszowski i Szkielski, Kaim i Syn, Marecki (Mikołaj), and Słotwiński workshops/factories. Artur Smutny manufactured pianos from 1912 until 1932, though he started his business solely as a piano repair and tuning operation.

²⁵¹ Ibid. The shops of R. Bochenski, W. Marecki, J. Szklarski, and Kubessa closed in 1912.

²⁵² Ibid, 229.

business address directory for Lemberg.²⁵³ That same address book lists nine active piano stores in the city in 1913, though the true total number of storefronts in the city that year was at least fifteen.²⁵⁴



Figure 18. Kaim i Syn advertisement, in Ukrainian in *Dilo*, 1 March 1913, 7.

In terms of advertising, six of the piano makers in Vogel's listing bought advertising in the popular daily press in Lemberg, including three that purchased space in both Polish language newspapers as well as in the most prominent Ukrainian language newspaper, *Dilo*.²⁵⁵ Another five storefronts actively advertised in newspapers at some point between 1911 and 1921, but were not listed as piano makers by Vogel.²⁵⁶ One of these, owned by Bernard

²⁵³ Reichman, *Księga Adresowa*, 538.

²⁵⁴ Ibid. The total number of fifteen is determined by combining the list of sellers present in the address book, adding any present in Vogel's study that were active in 1913, and adding any that were present in newspaper advertising, but not in Vogel's list, nor in the address book (overlaps were accounted for as some were present in two, or occasionally all three, sources).

²⁵⁵ Manufacturers which also purchased advertising: A. Bartoszewski, *KL*, 4 March 1916, 4, and 7 July 1917, 7, for examples; F. Kubessa, *KL*, 4 October 1913 (evening), 10, for example; A. Smutny, *Wiek Nowy (WN)*, 3 Dec 1921, 13, and *KL*, 2 November 1918, 8, for examples (some as a repair service and tuner). Those manufacturers that simultaneously purchased advertising in Polish and Ukrainian newspapers: J. Hanak, 4 October 1913 (evening), 11 and *Dilo*, 7 June 1913, 6, for examples; K. Kaim i Syn, *Dilo*, 7 December 1912, 7, for example; M. Wojnarowicz, *Dilo*, 2 September 1911, 6, and *WN*, 5 July 1915, 8, for examples.

²⁵⁶ Adolf and Julia (later only Julia) Mussil advertised in newspapers, see *KL*, 2 September 1911, 6, and were also listed in the 1913 address book, see Reichman, *Księga Adresowa*, 538. Bernard Połoniecki owned a bookstore and expanded his business to include musical instruments, see *KL*, 1 December 1917, 7. Franciszek Neuhauser i Spółka advertised in *Gazeta Lwowska (GL)*, see 1 March 1914, 7, for example, and also in Reichman, *Księga Adresowa*, 713. The two additional advertisers did so anonymously in classified advertisements. For the storefront at Kopernik 26, see *KL*, 2 September 1911, 6, and for the storefront at Bernardyński 12, see *WN*, 3 December 21, 12.

Połoniecki, not only advertised in Lemberg, but by 1918 was also advertising in Cracow.²⁵⁷ A second company, Franciszek Neuhauser i Spółka, advertised in *Gazeta Lwowska* before the war, but did not shift to advertising in another newspaper when that title ceased publication during the occupation, nor did they resume advertising after the occupation ended and *GL* returned to regular circulation. A third company did not advertise by name. This company, only identifiable by its address at Kopernik 26, was very active in purchasing newspaper advertisements throughout the entire period from 1911 to 1921, and indeed was the most common advertiser of pianos in either city.²⁵⁸ One piano store, that of Leon Hescheles, seemingly did not advertise in newspapers, but did purchase advertising in the Lemberg 1913 address book.²⁵⁹ The manufacturing company of Józef Hanak seems to have marketed to the widest audience, purchasing advertising in both Ukrainian and Polish language newspapers, as well as in the address book.²⁶⁰

The majority of the piano sellers in Lemberg and Cracow carried the names of male purveyors, such as Józef Hanak or Stanisław Boroń.²⁶¹ However, there were a few storefronts that carried female names. Of the 21 total piano storefronts identified for this study in Lemberg, 18 carried identifiably male names, two ambiguous shops only appeared in anonymous advertisements, and one, the shop of Julia Mussil, at ulica Ludwika 7 (present day

²⁵⁷ *IKC*, 1 December 1918, 8, and 5 January 1919, 3.

²⁵⁸ The Kopernik 26 storefront sold in the popular illustrated daily, *Wiek Nowy*, and also in *Kurjer Lwowski*, which quickly became the second most popular newspaper during occupation, when *Gazeta Lwowska* ceased publication, and *Słowo Polskie* became pro-Russian. This storefront advertised extensively throughout this study, see *KL*, 2 September 1911, 6, *WN*, 5 December 1914, 8, *KL*, 2 June 1917, 6, and *KL*, 7 February 1920, 7, for examples of prewar, occupation, post-occupation, and postwar advertisements.

²⁵⁹ Reichman, *Księga Adresowa*, 713, 747. This was the storefront of Leon Hescheles.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 721. See footnote 43 for newspaper examples.

²⁶¹ *Dilo*, 6 July 1912, 7 (Hanak), and *NR*, 4 November 1911, 5 (Boroń).

Prospect Svobody), carried the name of a woman. Mussil's advertisements often only carried her first initial, and her last name did not carry a declension that marked it as feminine leaving her advertisements rather gender neutral.²⁶² The ratio was slightly higher in Cracow. Thirteen sellers were identified for this study, with 10 carrying male names and three female. These three included the Bronisława Gabryelska workshop, centrally located on the main square (Rynek 35), the shop of M. Telesznicka just off the main square at ulica Św. Jana 2, and the Helena Smolarska storefront in Podgórze.²⁶³ The fewer numbers of female labeled stores is not altogether surprising, though, as census data from 1921 in both cities shows that only around 22-23 percent of those identified as self-employed in the trade of goods were female.

Both Cracow and Lemberg had a flourishing commercial piano market before the war that persisted throughout the war years and into the early interwar period. The commercial market was not the only avenue for piano sales, however. The next section will discuss the private piano market, as represented through classified advertising.

Classifieds and the Private Piano Market

First, it is important to note a peculiarity within classified advertising in the newspapers in Lemberg and Cracow. It seems that there was no prohibition on businesses buying classified advertising in any of the newspapers. Or if there was a prohibition, it was not enforced. This is interesting, because most of the newspapers charged more for the larger advertisements commonly used by many businesses than they did for the classifieds, which were often smaller, with small print, and more often used by individuals. While it seems that the newspapers

²⁶² Reichman, *Księga Adresowa*, 538.

²⁶³ Vogel, *Fortepian Polski*, 219 (Gabryelska), *IKC*, 7 November 1915, 8 (Smolarska), and *NR*, 6 May 1911, 5 (Telesznicka).

missed out on the opportunity to make more money from their advertisers, it stands to reason that advertising did not make up a significant enough portion of their income to risk losing advertising from businesses that wanted to buy the smaller sized classifieds. For *Kurjer Lwowski*, for instance, advertising never made up more than 24 percent of the company's income from 1914 to 1918.²⁶⁴

That business advertising could appear in the classified sections of the newspapers makes examining classifieds as a window into the private piano market more difficult, but not impossible. Since almost all classifieds list an address, most of the commercial piano sellers could be identified by cross-referencing them against a list of known commercial businesses and their addresses. A base list sellers is established by beginning with Vogel's index of the known piano businesses in Cracow and Lemberg from 1911 to 1921, then adding those shops found in Reichman's address guide from 1913. Next, a final, relatively comprehensive list is derived by adding both those sellers whose advertisements resided in the larger category typically used by businesses and addresses from classifieds which included specific language indicating that they were representing a business (for example, "office," "store," or if they resided on the ground floor of a building).

After eliminating classified advertisements in the newspapers which were known to be businesses, the remaining advertisements were evaluated for language signifying that they were from an individual. This language could take a number of forms. If the advertiser listed a personal name as the correspondence contact, they may have been an individual. For example,

²⁶⁴ Papiery Bolesława Wystoucha, materiały spółki wydawniczej Kurier Lwowski z lat 1886 do 1918. ZNOss: 7198 II, 179; 465-93.

in the Sunday, March 4, 1917 edition of *Głos Narodu*, Olga Wasyliszyn was looking to buy a grand or upright piano. Interested parties could write to her at her home address at Smoleńsk 18.²⁶⁵ Also, individual advertisers may have chosen to use the editorial office of the newspaper as an intermediary. The use of the newspaper office as an intermediary is an indicator that the advertisement is most likely an individual advertising, simply because a business did not need such a service. Such is the case in an advertisement from *Wiek Nowy* on October 2, 1915 in which the advertiser was looking to buy a piano. Interested sellers should write their correspondence to the administration of “Wiek” to the name “Pilawski.”²⁶⁶ Occasionally, advertisements by individuals list a full name, or at least a contact name, along with available hours and a location. “Jolanta,” for example, asked that parties come to her address at ulica Michałowskiego 14 between 2:00 and 3:00pm if they were interested in buying her “Beautiful, mahogany Streicher,” in December of 1919.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ *GN*, 4 March 1917, 6.

²⁶⁶ *WN*, 2 October 1915, 11.

²⁶⁷ *IKC*, 7 December 1919, 12.



Figure 19. Olga Wasyliszyn classified, *GN*, 4 March 1917, 6.

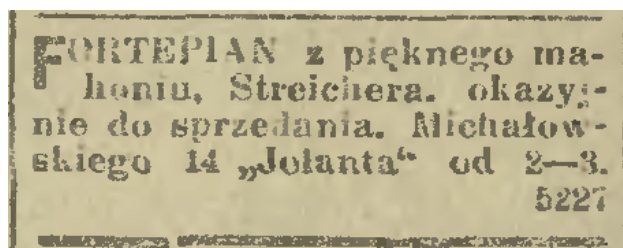


Figure 20. “Jolanta” classified, *IKC*, 7 December 1919, 12.

Wiek Nowy, by far, had the most piano advertisements of any of the eight newspapers examined. This is not surprising, because *Wiek Nowy* was the largest newspaper (page length), and was one of the most popular illustrated dailies. Additionally, Lemberg had a larger network of commercial piano sellers, which may have translated to a more active private market. *IKC* and *Kurjer Lwowski* saw fewer classified advertisements than *Wiek Nowy*, but still more than other titles. This is understandable, as *IKC* was the most popular illustrated daily in Cracow, and *Kurjer Lwowski* was a widely read, non-illustrated popular daily in Lemberg. Advertisements of this nature appeared in the daily politically affiliated newspapers, such as *Głos Narodu*, *Nowa Reforma*, and the Ukrainian language *Dilo* only occasionally. Private classifieds almost never appeared in *Czas* and *Gazeta Lwowska*. As these titles were pro-imperial and conservative, it is possible that the audience these newspapers appealed to would have been more inclined to

purchase goods, such as pianos, from storefronts rather than individual sellers. It is also possible that this lack of private advertisements stems from the comparatively small readership of these titles. After all, individuals that bought classifieds would have most likely sought space in the newspapers that they read or saw most frequently.

Private piano classifieds to buy or sell were present in the newspapers in the years before the war in both cities and in various titles.²⁶⁸ Their appearance was affected by the war, reducing their numbers, but their publication did not cease.²⁶⁹ They even continued to appear during the Russian occupation of Lemberg, as exemplified by a *Wiek Nowy* advertisement in December of 1914 seeking to buy.²⁷⁰ The end of the war brought a change in borders and governments, but it did not change the presence of these advertisements and they continued to appear up until the end of this study in 1921.²⁷¹ Advertisements to buy and sell pianos occupied the same edition and in some cases even the same page, and as seen in an advertisement from *Wiek Nowy* in October of 1918, private buyers sometimes even included that they were willing to rent.²⁷² One person interested in owning a piano was even willing to trade a man's fur coat.²⁷³

²⁶⁸ See *NR*, 7 October 1911, 10; *WN*, 4 November 1911, 15; *IKC*, 6 October 1912, 7; *Dilo*, 5 October 1912, 7; *WN*, 5 April 1913, 15;

²⁶⁹ See *KL*, 17 April 1915, 4; *WN*, 2 December 1916, 11; *GN*, 4 March 1917;

²⁷⁰ *WN*, 5 December 1914, 8.

²⁷¹ See *IKC*, 7 December 1919, 12, 4 July 1920, 12, and 7 August 1921; *WN*, 4 January 1919, 7-9, 3 April 1920, 15-16, and 3 December 1921, 13-14.

²⁷² An example of buy and sell advertisements on the same page can be seen in *WN*, 2 June 1917, p 10. Private classifieds looking to rent were a rarity, but an example of one can be found in *WN*, 5 October 1918, 14, where an anonymous classified advertiser is looking to "buy an upright piano in good condition, or to rent. Write with the price to "Pianino" at the administration of *Wiek Nowy*."

²⁷³ *WN*, 5 August 1919, 13.

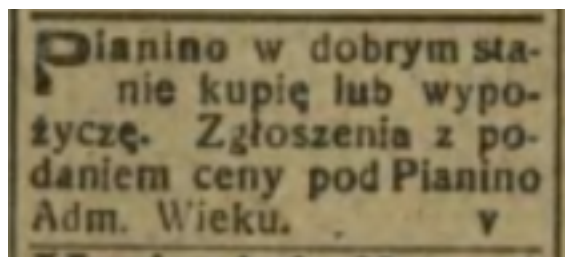


Figure 21. Classified to buy or rent, *WN*, 5 October 1918, 14.

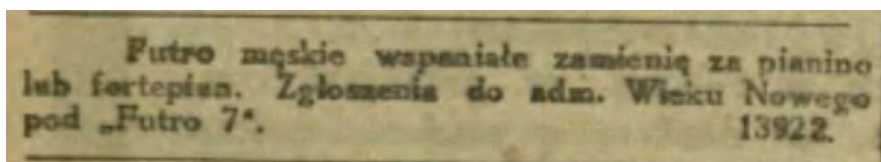


Figure 22. Classified looking to trade fur clothing for a piano, *WN*, 5 August 1919, 13.

The instability in Lemberg after the end of the war did not dispel advertisers, either. One of the most intriguing advertisements found was a classified in which the resident of room 65 in the “Hotel Francuski,” located in the city center at plac Maryacki 5 (present day Mickiewicz square at the opposite end of Prospekt Svobody from the Opera House). The advertiser sought to sell their grand piano and their Underwood typewriter.²⁷⁴ Room 65 was located on the fourth floor of the building, and it would have required quite a bit of logistical care and knowledge to remove an item that large from a floor at that height in a popular hotel.

A comparative snapshot of all classified piano advertising provides more insight into advertising trends from 1911 to 1921. Using *Wiek Nowy*, one month’s classifieds were calculated from each of the following periods: before the war (June 1913), during the Russian occupation of Lemberg (March 1915), during the war, but not under occupation (August 1916), and during the early postwar period (August 1919). In June of 1913 there 14 total private classified advertisements hoping to sell pianos, while there was only one private advertiser

²⁷⁴ *WN*, 3 April 1920, 16.

looking to buy. This compares to a total of 26 commercial classified advertisements selling pianos. In contrast, the month of March 1915, in the midst of Russian occupation, no private sale advertisements appeared. However, four private advertisements were purchased attempting to buy pianos. Commercially, there was a vast reduction in the number of classifieds purchased, with only eight published to sell (down from 26 in 1913) and one looking to buy. In August of 1916 there were seven private classifieds to sell pianos, and two to buy. In that month the number of commercial classifieds was slightly higher than during occupation, standing at 11. Finally, in the immediate postwar period, in August of 1919, there were 23 private advertisements attempting to sell pianos, and three hoping to buy. There were only two commercial classified advertisements in that month, and both were looking to buy pianos. There were no commercial classified advertisements hoping to sell pianos across the entire month.²⁷⁵

In the month of June 1913 there was a thriving buyers' market represented in the classifieds. With 26 commercial advertisements, and 14 used, private advertisements. This changed during the occupation, with a rise in private classifieds looking to purchase pianos, and one commercial advertisement hoping to buy. These appear alongside only eight commercial selling advertisements, and zero private selling. We can surmise that it was perhaps the uncertainty of the occupation period that kept advertisers, commercial and private, from buying space in the classifieds to sell their pianos. The presence of a rise in the private

²⁷⁵ *WN*, June 1913, March 1915, August 1916, and August 1919. In an effort to elucidate how many advertisements the reader would have seen in a given month the total number was calculated including repeated advertisements and multiple advertisements appearing from the same company in the same edition. This largely only impacts the number of commercial classified advertising, as classifieds bought by individuals rarely appeared more than once in a given month.

advertising space taken out looking to buy pianos suggests that there might have been individuals stable enough during the uncertainty to buy a large instrument, one that was simultaneously a cultural symbol, an investment, and a focal piece of furniture.

In the month of August 1916, still during the war but after the Russian occupation had ended, there is a return of private sellers in the classifieds (seven), this stands alongside the continued presence of private buyers (two). Commercial advertising in the classifieds remained lower than the prewar level, but rose slightly to 11. By August of 1919, after the end of the global conflict, but still in the midst of fighting between Poles and Ukrainians in eastern Galicia, there was a drastic rise in the number of used pianos being sold by individuals. That elevated number, 23, combined with the continued presence of private classifieds seeking to buy pianos (three), stands in stark contrast to the lack of any commercial classifieds selling pianos. Only two advertisements by piano shops were present throughout August 1919, and both sought to purchase. These trends make sense in the context of the First World War, the immediate regional conflict that followed, and the rise in inflation that occurred at an ever increasing pace during the entire period of this study.

The drop of commercial sales classifieds from 26 in June 1913, to 8 and 11 in March 1915 and August 1916, respectively, then to zero in August 1919 fits with the idea that sellers of new pianos may not have wanted to spend money on advertising during periods when they knew that the population would not have been interested or able to buy their goods. This reduction may have also occurred due to the costs of advertising, which had increased alongside inflation. The decline of private sales classifieds from 14 in June 1913 to zero in May of 1915 may have been the result of the uncertainty of the initial year of the war, and the

Russian occupation. Likewise, the rise of those same classifieds from zero during occupation, to seven in August 1916, to 23 in August of 1919 represents that the population of Lemberg is increasingly in need of funds, and is willing to sell valuable household goods to gain them. This coincides with what we know of the scarcity experienced as the war drew out, and in the years immediately after its conclusion. In contrast to the fluctuating numbers of sales advertising, the number of private classifieds endeavoring to buy pianos seems relatively constant throughout the period.

The continued presence of individual piano classified advertisements hoping to buy and the increase of private advertisements selling pianos across the war years was a symptom of social and cultural change within the middle class in urban Galicia. The next section explores and attempts to explain this trend in further detail.

The Changing Middle Class and Pianos

While these trends in advertising represent a continuation of the middle class piano culture that is shown to have developed during the nineteenth century, the presence of individually purchased classifieds selling pianos shows that the piano also served as a household commodity of monetary value. For the family in Cracow or Lemberg during the war years (and the unstable period that followed) the ownership of a piano not only established their more affluent status within the middle class, but it also represented a physical piece of equity that could be sold if the family needed money. While the classifieds selling pianos seldom list prices, the willingness of a family to sell such a large piece of difficult to transport furniture indicates that the need to sell outweighed the difficulties of doing so. Generally speaking, the two groups that would have potentially had to have sold their pianos during the war were public servants,

largely in the echelons of the intelligentsia, and, to a lesser extent, those aristocrats in the lower reaches of the upper class. Severe inflation during the war combined with static government incomes meant that civil servants increasingly had less ability to provide for their families' basic necessities. The contemporary economist Ludwig von Mises wrote that "[i]t is the middle classes, above all others, who have their assets invested in receiving interest payments from the public purse. Civil servants, army officers, and other professions rely on salaries from [it]."²⁷⁶ Von Mises further elucidates the relationship between inflation and the wages of government employees during the war years extrapolating, "[a]s the currency is devalued, all pension payments are reduced in real terms....[Government dependents] continue to earn only the same nominal payment, even though they can now only purchase and consume less with this amount than they were previously able to do so."²⁷⁷ Still other government employees might lose their jobs altogether. This was the case for Jadwiga Rutkowska, our young diarist mentioned above. Her father was a postal worker before the war, and less than a month after the outbreak of fighting, he had already ceased getting his paychecks from the government. He then left to join the Polish Legions.²⁷⁸ Therefore, the same group that in recent decades had been able to buy pianos in their desire to emulate the upper class now had to consider selling those same symbols as fungible capital. While this is most

²⁷⁶Ludwig von Mises, *Monetary and Economic Policy Problems Before, During, and After the Great War*. The Selected Writings of Ludwig von Mises, Vol. 1, Richard M. Ebeling, ed. (Indianapolis: The Liberty Fund, Inc., 2012), 213-214. While von Mises is primarily known today as an economic theorist often cited in Libertarian political doctrine, his early work is particularly relevant for the period under review. This work is a translation of essays and lectures over Habsburg (and later Austrian) economics he wrote during the years between the outbreak of war in 1914 and 1934. Von Mises had taken a position in Geneva in 1934 and many of his private papers were left in Vienna, where they were confiscated by the German Gestapo after Anschluss in 1938. The papers were then captured, alongside many other collected papers and artifacts, by the Soviets near the end of World War II. They were then taken to Moscow and kept in a closed KGB archive and only made available to the public in 1996.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Rutkowska, *Pamiętnik Lwowianki*, 91.

likely the segment of the population that was forced to part with their pianos, it is also very possible that some members of the lower nobility may have also been in a position of financial need during this period. If the primary indicator of financial need during the war years was a fixed income, then conversely, individuals who were in a position to set their own wages had the best chance of weathering the storm, and even aspiring to purchase goods, such as pianos, that held the cultural significance of upward mobility. Some families, Rutkowska's included, found ways to hold on to their pianos. She and her mother moved to a smaller apartment one floor down within the same building in September 1917, and convinced some local soldiers to help them move their piano downstairs.²⁷⁹ Many other families were not as fortunate. This trend spans into the postwar period, as well, and was not limited to Galicia. Anna Eisenmenger, a middle-class woman from Vienna, wrote in her diary on 30 March 1919 that she had a conversation with her smuggler. She was shocked that he would accept paper money as payment, to which he replied that he would take it back to Hungary (where he smuggled food in from), because the people there would gladly bring the money with them when they came to Vienna because they could use it to purchase "furniture, fittings, pianos, carpets, which are to be had very cheaply in Vienna at the present day." She continued to write in her diary that, "[j]ust to be able to eat, people who have nothing but their well-furnished houses sell one thing after another."²⁸⁰ As these members of the upper-middle and lower-upper classes were confronted with whether or not to retain symbols of their social status, others members of

²⁷⁹ Ibid, 143-44.

²⁸⁰ Anna Eisenmenger, *The Diary of an Austrian Middle-Class Woman 1914-1924* (New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1932), 70.

society could use the economic upheaval of the war to negotiate their social status, in the Bourdieuan sense.

One example of the type of profession that had the ability to change their own wages to keep up with inflation were the owners of furniture transport companies. Owners of the very companies that would probably be hired to transport pianos being bought and sold had the ability to change their prices based on demand, and to even raise their prices, possibly becoming more profitable during the years of instability. This was by no means the only commercial category capable of adapting to the economy. Many other individuals in private service or merchant professions, such as clothes washers, room painters, sign painters, cobblers, carpenters, and piano tuners, potentially had the same option.²⁸¹ Even the publishers of the popular newspapers had the ability to raise their prices alongside inflation (and did so). While there were limits to how much profit these types of professions could have made, given the state of the overall economy, the ability to set their own wages combined with a market presence of cheaper used pianos meant that the viability of buying and maintaining a piano was more realistic for these members of the middle class than it was for those that had a set wage that did not keep up with inflation.

Despite the war and the instability of the early Second Republic, there is further evidence to support that there was a growing merchant component within the middle class in urban Galicia across the years of this study. According to the Habsburg census of 1910 the total

²⁸¹ Advertisements signifying the presence of furniture moving companies active in Lemberg just before the war appear in the 1913 business address guide, Reichman, *Księga Adresowa*, 733. Similarly, examples of those in service professions with wage flexibility appear in abundance in the same address book. More than 35 individual clothes washers (many of whom were female and self-employed) appear on page 583, room and sign painters appear on pages 567-69, cobblers on pages 596-99, carpenters on pages 594-95, and piano tuners (both commercial storefronts that had tuners, and individual tuners) appear on page 595.

population of Cracow, both civilian and military, lay at 151,886. From a table examining housing arrangements by profession in the same year, 2,927 individuals were identified as independent merchants.²⁸² In 1921, the total number of merchants listed as independent is 4,939 compared to a total population of 183,706.²⁸³ It is important to note here some peculiarities of both the 1910 data and the 1921 data. First, the 1910 data includes not only the ten new districts incorporated into Greater Cracow in that year, but also data for the districts of Ludwinów and Dąbie, which were not officially annexed until 1911. Second, the 1910 data does not include the district of Płaszów, which was incorporated into the city in 1912. Lastly, while the 1921 numbers include all three of the aforementioned districts, they do not include the district of Podgórze, which was a separate city and not a part of Cracow in 1910, but was officially annexed during the war in July of 1915.²⁸⁴ For comparison's sake, it should be noted that the only district included in the 1921 numbers which was not included in the 1910 data was that of Płaszów, which had a population of 2,255 in that year.²⁸⁵ Given the relatively small population and the rural nature of Płaszów, it is reasonable to assume that any impact in the overall numbers of independent merchants in 1910 would have been rather small.

From 1910 to 1921 the population of Cracow increased by 19 percent, while the number of independent merchants increased by roughly 69 percent. Identifying all of the factors that

²⁸² Miejskie Biuro Statystyczne, *Statystyka Miasta Krakowa* (Kraków: Gmina Miasta Krakowa, 1912), 22.

²⁸³ *Pierwszy Powszechny Spis Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z Dnia 30 Września 1921 Roku: Województwo Krakowie* (Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 1927), 202.

²⁸⁴ Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 121-123. Podgórze's treatment as a separate city in the 1921 census is curious, as by that time they had been incorporated into Greater Cracow for over five years. Perhaps the separation of the two harkens back to the difficulty that the administration of Cracow had in annexing the city-*cum*-district, and the reluctance with which the citizens of Podgórze accepted their status as Cracovians; see reference in this footnote for examples.

²⁸⁵ Miejskie Biuro Statystyczne, *Statystyka Miasta Krakowa*, 44.

contributed to the overall population growth of Cracow from 1910 to 1921 is a complicated task, and one best left to a separate study in itself. However, it is safe to say that the immense loss of life during the war, the population shifts during the war of refugees both fleeing the city and entering it, and the population shift caused by the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the formation of an independent Poland after 1918 all represent major factors. Even taking all of these into account, growth in the number of independent merchants outpaced the general population growth by 50 percent, and represented 2.6 percent of the overall population. The number of independent merchants in Lemberg in 1921 was 7,647 out of a total population of 219,388, proportionately higher than in Cracow at 3.5 percent.²⁸⁶ While there is no way of determining if these independent merchants were newcomers to each of the cities or if they were individuals who had changed their professions, this represents a significant increase in self-employed merchants, the group which, as mentioned earlier, had the ability to determine their own wages in a time of high inflation. This group may not have been the only portion of the population capable of increasing their wealth during the war years and early interwar period, but the ability to identify their existence and growth by comparing census data shows that there was at least one group economically capable of purchasing large luxury items (in this case study, pianos) during a time of general economic hardship.

Conclusion

One major aim of this study is to show how certain aspects of everyday life and culture might be surprisingly resilient despite the disruption and destruction of war. While chapter two

²⁸⁶ *Pierwszy Powszechny Spis Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z Dnia 30 Września 1921 Roku: Województwo Lwowie* (Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 1927), 239.

demonstrates the persistence of newspaper advertising as an adaptable means of social communication across a tumultuous period in Galicia, this chapter highlights the specific case of the tenacity of piano culture in Cracow and Lemberg. Both the desirability of piano ownership and the significance of the piano as a cultural symbol of affluence continue throughout the period of this study and persevere (at the least) until it ends in 1921. Even during the war, and perhaps all the more so because of it, music remained important to urban Galicians.

While the cultural significance of pianos remained steadfast, other areas of life were increasingly affected by the instability present in this period for many individuals. The inflation that came with the war increased exponentially as the global conflict dragged on. This inflation did not cease in 1918, but continued into the early interwar period. Habsburg and municipal civil servants and those dependent on fixed government incomes (a significant portion of the middle class in each city) were forced to deal with the actuality of a decline in the overall worth of their salaries, which could not keep pace with the economic reality within the empire. While those members of the middle class struggled to retain the stability and reasonable affluence that their positions had provided before the war, other members of the middle class had much more flexibility to adapt to the new economic situation. These individuals were most likely in the commercial sector, in positions that could set their wages at an increasing rate equal to (or perhaps even higher than) inflation.

At the intersection of these two trends, the continuation of piano culture and the shifts in income due to inflation, is where one of the most significant developments of the time period is found. Individuals within the middle class with adaptable salaries could take advantage of a situation in which others within the middle class (and some in the upper class)

needed to sell their pianos. In this unique situation, some Cracovians and Lvovians had a surprising amount of personal agency to change their own social appearance and standing, engaging in the social discourse that Bourdieu describes, advancing their class status as they understood it within the social hierarchy of the time. Those forced to sell their pianos had to grapple with maintaining their status within the intelligentsia, while those now able to buy pianos could begin to make the case that they were now a part of that same group.

This case study of piano markets and newspaper advertising allows us to venture further into an investigation about one area of apparent continuity within culture and everyday life, where the seemingly counterintuitive presence of continued advertising of a large luxury item in the midst of war and rebuilding was actually the result of shifts within the population of the middle class directly related to the instability of the period. Piano advertising represents one example of how advertising, writ large, could continue only slightly daunted across the war years, while in reality it continued *because* it was adaptable to the instability of inflation, the changing middle class, and desire of Galicians to hold on to the cultural significance of piano culture. The case of piano advertising also highlights that some people may have actually been able to improve their own lives during the war and early postwar period despite the fact that many people suffered immensely. The next chapter examines the continued presence of marriage advertising in the popular press as another case in which the continued appearance of advertising is actually representative of a shift in the meaning behind its continuation.

Chapter 4. Looking for Love(?): Urban Galician Marriage and Marriage Advertisements from 1911-1921

On the first of September in 1918 a classified advertisement appeared in *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny* in which a young, ethnic German woman living in Cracow lamented lacking the friends to help her find a Polish man. Describing herself as from the intelligentsia, “beautiful, and musically inclined,” she sought a “well-mannered” man who was interested in marriage.²⁸⁷ Interested individuals could write to “Halka,” at the newspaper administration in response to her advertisement.



Figure 23. Advertisement by a young German woman, *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny*, 1 September 1918, 8.

This advertisement is illustrative of the marriage advertising trends of the time, especially those of young, female advertisers, and it also connects to the trends seen in the previous chapter regarding piano and music culture in urban Galicia. While the majority of marriage advertisers did not list their ethnicity, it is safe to assume that most of the people looking for spouses in the popular press (both male and female) were ethnically Polish and

²⁸⁷ *IKC*, 1 September 1918, 8.

Polish speaking.²⁸⁸ However, the example above shows that non-Poles also used this method to seek out spouses in the Polish language press. The advertiser here, “Halka,” not only identified herself as German (this most likely meant both ethnically Austrian German and German speaking), but she stated clearly that she was looking for a Polish man. Other advertising examples from the time are less specific, or request that the respondents be of the same ethnicity.²⁸⁹ Another important aspect of this advertisement is that Halka made a point to note her musical inclination and her *inteligentna* identity. These characteristics are closely tied to the cultural trends explored in the previous chapter. More specifically, this notation probably meant that she could play the piano.²⁹⁰ Lastly, this advertisement is emblematic because the author stated why she was not able to find someone on her own. She lacked the typical social network that would support the finding of a spouse. Historian Agnieszka Janiak-Jasińska argues that the increased use of marriage advertising in Polish lands (by men and women) was directly tied to urbanization and the anonymity of city life. Both men and women in urban environments lacked the social networks that historically facilitated matchmaking. For women in particular this was felt more acutely, because it occurred alongside an increased role in their own relationship pursuits.²⁹¹ At this time men retained some agency in the matchmaking process, while young women were often left out of it, with the social-familial networks in the

²⁸⁸ This is a safe assumption due to the fact that most of the popular daily newspapers were in the Polish language, and ethnically Polish, Polish speaking advertisers would assume that their main audience was the same. Therefore, they could save the costs of the extra advertising space by leaving out that they were Polish.

²⁸⁹ This speaks to the specificity allowed to the advertiser. He or she could be as general or as specific as they desired when it came to the characteristics of potential spouses.

²⁹⁰ While she does not mention that she is musically inclined with an instrument, Galician women in this time period would have most likely been trained on the piano. She also uses the term “muzykalna,” rather than mentioning that she sings.

²⁹¹ Agnieszka Janiak-Jasińska, “‘O jakim mężu myślę?’ Oferta małżeńska kobiet i ich oczekiwania w świetle anonsów matrymonialnych z początku XX wieku,” in *Kobieta i Matżeństwo: Społeczno-Kulturowe Aspekty Seksualności, Wiek XIX i XX*, Anna Żarnowska and Andrzej Szwarz, eds. (Warsaw: DiG Publishing Company, 2004), 163-164.

village negotiating marriage contracts on their behalf. Now, in the urban environment where those networks no longer existed, both men and women seeking marriage would experience a shift in their previous gender roles. Women were in a position to have far more agency than they had previously been afforded, and thus, the shift in their gender role was more pronounced. In this light, we can better understand the shifts that emerge for both men and women.

This chapter will examine marriage advertising trends in Cracow and Lemberg from 1911 to 1921. It places particular emphasis on the importance of female advertising in this period, though advertisements by both male and female advertisers were included. Marriage advertising represented another example of the resilience of advertising as a mode of communication across this turbulent period. Though this resilience was due in part to the adaptability of a new means of matchmaking as well as the need for stability during an unstable time, as we will see.

Marriage in Galicia and Contemporary Europe

Magdalena Samozwaniec (Kossak), the famous Polish writer, recounted in her memoir that she and her sister, Maria Pawlikowska-Jasnorzewska (the poet and dramatist), attended a wedding in Cracow in the summer of 1916, in the midst of the war. At the time, Samozwaniec recalled, the city seemed “peaceful and safe,” though the war had been going on for over a year.²⁹² Weddings still took place during the war years, and remained both a significant social function and an important part of culture. Though Samozwaniec reported no major issues in

²⁹² Magdalena Samozwaniec, *Maria i Magdalena* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1956), 204, 207.

the city at the time, life in Cracow had already been somewhat diminished by requisitions and shortages.

Marriage trends in the Habsburg province of Galicia around the turn of the twentieth century followed the same trends as elsewhere in contemporary Western Europe. The average age of males at the time of marriage was 27 while the average age of females was 23. These trends continued after the war.²⁹³ In 1900, there were more men under the age of 29 in the urban areas of Galicia than women, while the opposite was true in more rural areas. The sexes were near equal in the 30 to 39 year old demographic in both the city and the village.²⁹⁴ In the imperial capital of Vienna marriage trends did not show a long lasting increase during the war years, and largely stayed at pre-war levels despite conditions on the home front.²⁹⁵ The total number of marriages in Lemberg had surpassed 2200 in 1912, then dropped in 1913 to around 1800. In 1914 the number of marriages recorded in the regional capital, of all confessions, was almost 2800. In September of 1914, the first month of occupation, the number of marriages was the highest of any month, all year, at 897. After that initial month, however, the remaining months during Russian control never saw more than 80 total marriages. From 1915 to 1917 the number of marriages decreased each year, reducing by nearly half from 2074 to 1051. By 1924, though, the total number of marriages in the city had risen back to above two thousand.²⁹⁶

²⁹³ June L. Sklar, "The Role of Marriage Behaviour in the Demographic Transition: The Case of Eastern Europe Around 1900," in *Population Studies*, vol. 28, no. 2 (July, 1974): 232-34.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 241-42.

²⁹⁵ Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 196-97.

²⁹⁶ Miejskie Biuro Statystyczne, "Grudzień," *Lwów w Cyfrach*, 7-12 and 19, no. 12 (December, 1912-1917; 1924): 1. The first page of all December editions has the marriage records data for every month in the preceding year.

In both Cracow and Lemberg marriage advertisements did show an overall decrease during the early years of the war. By 1918, however, marriage advertising had increased substantially from prewar levels and this method of finding spouses continued to be widely used in the interwar period. To illustrate this trend, Cracow's *IKC* had 23 marriage advertisements appear in August of 1913. In the same month of 1916 there were only 13 total matrimonial advertisements. In August of 1918 and 1919 respectively there were 71 and 69 advertisements.²⁹⁷ This trend is also documented in the Lemberg newspaper *Wiek Nowy*. In June 1913, 44 total marriage advertisements appeared. In August of 1916 there were only 11. Similar to *IKC*, the popularity of these advertisements returned later in the war, with 86 appearing in August of 1918. In August of 1919 there were 98.²⁹⁸

While the total number of marriages may have decreased across the conflict, as witnessed in Lemberg, the presence of marriage advertising reflects that the institution of marriage did not decrease in importance during the war or in the years directly after it. Marriage was still an important part of life in urban Galicia during this turbulent decade. In her recent research into prostitution within the partitions, Keely Stauter-Halsted has written of the extensive effort by feminist social groups to curtail prostitution around the turn of the century, both in Galicia and in Kingdom Poland, through an agenda of supporting monogamy, reforming

²⁹⁷ *IKC*, August 1913, August 1916, August 1918, and August 1919 editions. It should be noted here that these are the numbers of total marriage advertisements appearing in the newspapers. It does not account for duplicate advertisements. This was done to highlight the physical presence of the number of advertisements that would have been on the pages of each newspaper that would have been seen by readers on a near daily basis for each month.

²⁹⁸ *WN*, June 1913, August 1916, August 1918, and August 1919 editions. During the Russian occupation, in March 1915, there were only 3 marriage advertisements.

the upbringing of children, and encouraging the state to do away with regulated prostitution.²⁹⁹ Regulated prostitution, contemporary feminists argued, allowed middle and upper class women to retain their virtue, both before and during marriage, while lower class women could serve the sexual needs of men. This caused many problems, not the least of which was a double-standard of acceptable infidelity for married men. Moral arguments aside, this shows that middle and upper class women in Galicia valued marriage and their own monogamy within it.

An examination of the types of individuals, their requests, and their possible reasons for advertising gives us a better understanding of how one facet of everyday life, the quest for a spouse, was changed by this relatively new mode of communication before the war, and how advertisers during the war and interwar periods continued their use of this medium. This new means of engaging with potential partners provided both urban men and women with more individual agency than they had previously in the social structures of the village. Likewise, advertisers could specifically look for the characteristics that were most important to them, such as hair color, or belonging to the intelligentsia.

The Phenomenon of Marriage Advertising

Marriage advertising, like the modern press and modern advertising, came to the Polish speaking lands by way of Western Europe. In 1845, the publishers of the Warsaw daily *Kurier Warszawski* printed a letter that informed their readers that “in Poland” these advertisements “are very original, but in Germany, France, and England the public record of interest in future spouses [was] very common.”³⁰⁰ The publishers of *Kurier Warszawski* most likely wrote the

²⁹⁹ Keely Stauter-Halsted, *The Devil's Chain: Prostitution and Social Control in Partitioned Poland* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 227-29.

³⁰⁰ Janiak-Jasińska, “O jakim mężu myśleć?,” 162. Cited from *Kurier Warszawski*, 29 December 1845, 1666.

letter themselves and published it under a pseudonym. They often did this as a way to inform readers about contemporary issues, and as marriage advertising became more prominent, they used this technique to discuss aspects of courtship and matrimonial life. The letter mentioned above was written to assure the readership that this was a widespread mode of advertising across the continent, and that it was not detrimental to society as some contemporary critics believed.

According to the historian H. G. Cocks, the phenomenon of modern marriage advertising began in Great Britain in the late seventeenth century, and was widespread in periodicals by the early eighteenth.³⁰¹ There was always some social pushback against advertisements of this type, as many people felt they could easily be a front for prostitution, or at the least that they signaled a decline in morality in regards to promiscuity. The advertisements persisted, however, and Cocks notes that “[a]t the end of the nineteenth century, however, the matrimonial advertisement gained a new prominence and respectability. With much of Great Britain’s population living in cities by the 1890s, social commentators were becoming concerned that traditional courtship was increasingly outdated.”³⁰² He goes on to further solidify contemporary understanding about the relationship between urbanization and the rise of marriage advertising, stating that, “[s]ome respectable journalists, philanthropists and thinkers therefore began to argue that the small ad might be a solution to the difficulties of marriage and the anonymity of modern life.”³⁰³

³⁰¹ H.G. Cocks, *Classified: The Secret History of the Personal Column* (London: Random House, 2009), ix. Cocks dates the first matrimonial advertisement as occurring in 1692.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, x.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*

As was often the case in newspaper publishing, successful trends were quickly adapted to new geographic locales. Once continental publishers had begun to publish marriage advertising, it was not long before they began to appear in Polish speaking lands. The first matrimonial advertisement in Kingdom Poland was published in *Kurier Warszawski* in 1834, it was purchased by Alojzy Stankiewicz, who was looking for a young woman or a widow, 30 years old or less.³⁰⁴ Both Cocks and Janiak-Jasińska put forth the argument that these types of advertisements rose in popularity as a result of urbanization and the breakdown of the traditional social networks that facilitated matrimonial courtship. Stephen Lovell agrees with this assessment in his research even further east, examining marriage advertising deeper within the Russian Empire. He examined marriage publications that circulated throughout the empire from Moscow and St. Petersburg to Odessa, Riga, Tomsk, and beyond.³⁰⁵ Lovell notes that the phenomenon of marriage advertising in the newspapers was not witnessed in the Russian interior until after the 1905 revolution, which relaxed controls on journalism and loosened social inhibitions on the discussion of marriage.³⁰⁶ Much like the publishers of *Kurier Warszawski* in the opening paragraph of this section, the marriage advertisement publications that Lovell examined sought to legitimize this method of courtship by linking the practice to England, Germany, and America, where the practice was widely accepted.³⁰⁷ While all three historians highlight the importance of the marriage advertisement as a form of cultural communication needed to fill the vacuum of traditional methods of courtship experienced in

³⁰⁴ Janiak-Jasińska, “‘O jakim mężu myśle?’,” 161.

³⁰⁵ Stephen Lovell, “Finding a Mate in Late Tsarist Russia: The Evidence from Marriage Advertisements,” in *Cultural and Social History*, 4(1) (2007): 60.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.* It is interesting to note here that Lovell highlights the rise of the matrimonial advertisement in Russian lands after 1905, while Warsaw began to see these advertisements in the 1830s (while under Russian dominance).

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 61.

urban settings, Janiak-Jasińska goes one step further in highlighting the importance of these advertisements for women. These largely anonymous advertisements, with correspondence often being handled through the third-party of the newspaper office, allowed women to increase their pool of prospective suitors while maintaining decency. Women could interact with an increased number of potential suitors without being seen in public with many different men.³⁰⁸ As mentioned above, this also provided urban women with much more agency in their own matrimonial endeavors than previously experienced.

As in Great Britain, though, the opponents of marriage advertising persisted in Warsaw as well. While the advertisements continued to appear in other periodicals, *Kurier Warszawski* discontinued their printing as the turn of the century approached (though other newspapers continued the practice). This was due largely to public outcry about the supposed indecency of these advertisements. This flame was fanned by prominent writers, such as Bolesław Prus. Prus often used his columns in multiple newspapers to write that these advertisements represented moral decay, and a desire for sexual experiences, rather than genuine efforts to find spouses.³⁰⁹ Other moralists worried that these advertisements were fronts for prostitution services or human trafficking.³¹⁰ Keely Stauter-Halsted has written about the how the fear of human trafficking had risen around the turn of the century throughout Polish speaking lands, even sparking columns in periodicals in Cracow in 1903 aimed at warning female readers against both occupational and marital advertisements abroad, particularly in the U.S.³¹¹ While there

³⁰⁸ Janiak-Jasińska, “‘O jakim mężu myślę?’,” 163-64.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 165-66.

³¹⁰ *Ibid*, 167.

³¹¹ Keely Stauter-Halsted, *The Devil's Chain: Prostitution and Social Control in Partitioned Poland* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 210-11.

were warnings against advertisements for work or marriage in other lands, there does not appear to have been the same fear about domestic marriage advertising. Despite any perceived or real threats to morality and the dangers of marriage advertisements as a tool of trafficking, by 1910 the popularity of marriage advertising had reached a point in Warsaw that it warranted a separate periodical exclusively devoted to matrimonial culture and advertising.³¹² The publishers of this periodical, *Flirt Salonowy*, attempted to address the moral question in their first edition, arguing that these types of advertisements actually protected the morality and decency of women, who could not rely on traditional methods because they often lacked the familial support and social networks necessary for the customary negotiation of courtship and marital contracts.³¹³ Lovell notes a similar argument from the publishers of *Brachnaia Gazeta* in Moscow, who claimed that their publication upheld the sanctity of marriage because it was means by which urban Russians could overcome the anonymity and lack of social networks within the city to find spouses.³¹⁴ Janiak-Jasińska attributes the moral objections to marriage advertising to the changing urban social economy, which saw the entrance of women into many areas of life from which they had previously been excluded.³¹⁵ While marriage advertising seemed to gain most of its opponents because of the presence of women advertisers, the

³¹² Full publications devoted to marriage advertising and marital topics had long been present in England (see Cocks), and had arisen in Moscow even earlier than in Warsaw. Their appearance in Moscow first occurred in 1906, very nearly contemporaneously to the rise in advertisements within the daily popular press. See Lovell, "Finding a Mate," 60-61. Advertisements in the popular daily press in Galicia for the Polish language marriage advertisement publication *Fortuna* began to appear in the early interwar period. See *Kurjer Lwowski*, 2 July 1921, 8. *Fortuna* was circulated throughout the newly independent Poland beginning in 1919 and had publication offices in Cracow and Warsaw. By the interwar period *Fortuna* claimed to be the "only Polish publication dedicated to marriage matchmaking." See *Fortuna*, January 1923, 1.

³¹³ Janiak-Jasińska, "'O jakim mężu myśle?'," 167.

³¹⁴ Lovell, "Finding a Mate," 60-61. *Brachnaia Gazeta* would also seek to gain favor with the public by aligning themselves against other forms of non-traditional courtship (such as matchmakers). They would also frequently rely upon the writings of Georg Simmel to highlight the legitimacy of marriage by advertisement.

³¹⁵ Janiak-Jasińska, "'O jakim mężu myśle?'," 168-69.

reality is that both men and women in the urban environment benefited from the use of marriage advertising to increase their pool of prospective spouses. While the debate over the morality of marriage advertisements may have continued into the second decade of the twentieth century, the amount of advertising appearing in the popular daily press in Galicia by the time this study begins indicates that any opposition to the use of this medium posed no significant threat to its continued use.

Marriage Advertising in Galicia, 1911-1921

As mentioned above, the appearance of marriage advertisements in the two largest daily illustrated newspapers in Galicia (*IKC* and *Wiek Nowy*) increased across the period from 1911 to 1921, with the exception of roughly the first half of the war.³¹⁶ These advertisements not only appeared in the popular illustrated press, but also in other newspapers. It was quite common to see advertisements in the classified sections of *Nowa Reforma*, in Cracow, and in *Kurjer Lwowski* and in *Dilo* (the Ukrainian language daily), in Lemberg. Regardless of the newspaper they appeared in, the advertisements of marriage seekers often took the shape of small classifieds, usually around an inch wide based on column size, and no more than two or three inches long (depending on how many words were included by the buyer). In the larger newspapers, the marriage category carried its own subheading within the classifieds. For *IKC* this was *Matrimonialne* (Matrimonial).³¹⁷ For *Wiek Nowy* the category was *Małżeństwa* (Marriages).³¹⁸ In *Kurjer Lwowski* marriage advertisements appeared under the subheading of

³¹⁶ This is unsurprising, given that during the first half of the war Cracow and Lemberg (even more so after occupation) were both still very near the front lines of fighting and under direct threat.

³¹⁷ See example in the opening paragraph of this chapter.

³¹⁸ *WN*, 28 September 1918, 11.

Różne (Various),” which was a catch-all for any advertisements not in the more common categories relating to work (*Nauka i Wychowanie* – Education and Upbringing and *Posady i Prace* – Jobs and Work.)³¹⁹ In other titles, such as *Dilo* and *Nowa Reforma* marital advertisements appeared mixed in amongst uncategorized classifieds.³²⁰

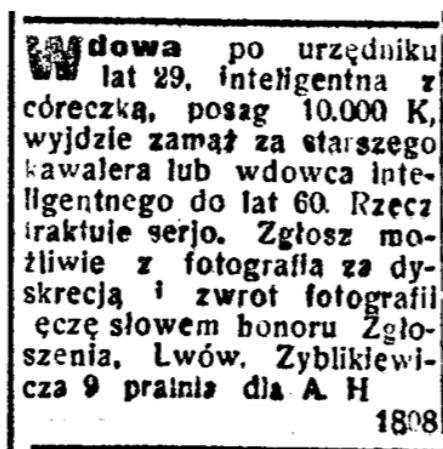


Figure 24. Advertisement from a young widow with a daughter, *Kurjer Lwowski*, 7 September 1918, 7.



Figure 25. Advertisement by two young women, *Wiek Nowy*, 28 September 1918, 11.

With the wide subscription base and street sales of many popular daily newspapers, interested bachelors, bachelorettes, widowers, widows, and occasionally their family members

³¹⁹ *KL*, 7 September 1918, 7.

³²⁰ *Dilo*, 2 November 1912; *NR*, 1 October 1916.

could undoubtedly reach a wider population than they could find within their own social circles. This was not only helpful as younger people entered the social arena of the city, but it also benefitted those who might have found it harder to find a spouse because of certain characteristics they possessed.³²¹ In the advertisement in Figure 24 above, a young widow with a small daughter sought a spouse. She had a dowry of 10,000 crowns, and she was looking for an older bachelor or widower from the intelligentsia, up to the age of 60. It seems clear that she sought an older man who could most likely provide stability, and that she was willing to marry an older man because she, as a 29-year-old widow with a child, was somewhat less desirable as a potential marriage candidate. However, it bears noting that she also asked that a photo be sent with any correspondence.³²²

The female advertisers in Figure 25, at 20 and 23, are of the more typical age for marriage in Galicia. They described themselves as attractive (*przystojne*) and from the intelligentsia (*inteligentne*). They also mentioned that they were orphans (*sieroty*), and that they were wealthy (*zamożne*). These last two adjectives are interesting because they do not often appear in the same marriage advertisements. Typically, when a woman advertised that she was an orphan it carried the connotation that she was without a dowry (*posag*), these individuals have simultaneously advertised that they are also well-off. In this instance, it may have very well been that these women were left without parents, but still carried enough wealth to be attractive to potential suitors. It could also be that they were purposefully vague

³²¹ Such as being a widow or widower, especially with children.

³²² *KL*, 7 September 1918, 7. It should be noted that in 1918 the seemingly large dowry of 10,000 crowns may not have been as grandiose, as inflation was already widespread by this time.

in not mentioning a dowry, meaning that they had property but perhaps no proper monetary funds.³²³

These two advertisements exemplify some of the most common characteristics found in marriage classifieds, the advertisers' age (specifically or generally) and their financial standing (for women this often meant a mention of her dowry, while for men it meant a discussion of his profession, if not his actual salary). The age of the advertiser was often mentioned (if not specifically, then with the use of adjectives such as "young," or, "middle aged"), as was the acceptable age of potential spouses. The potential age of spouses was most commonly given using the following construction *do lat* followed by an age. This translates as "up to," for example, the advertiser in Figure 24 above mentioned that she would like someone "do lat 60," meaning that she would like someone aged 60 or younger. It was also common for advertisers to use a specific age range.

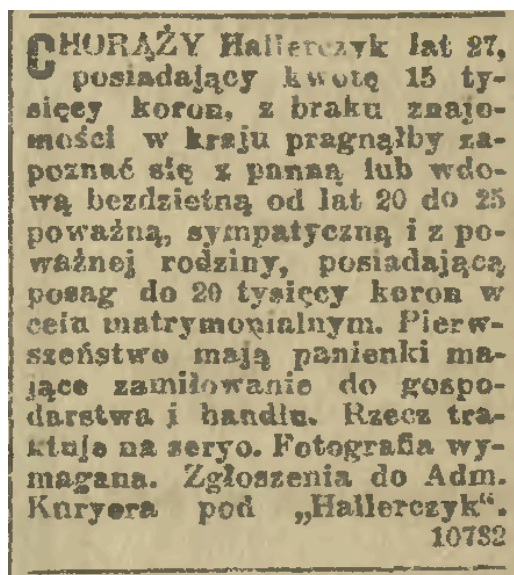


Figure 26. Advertisement by an ensign serving under General Józef Haller, *IKC*, 4 September 1919, 10.

³²³ *WN*, 28 September 1918, 11.

Age in Marriage Advertisements

In the advertisement above, a 27 year old, low-level officer (the ensign described himself as a *Hallerczyk*), used a date range in his description of the ideal spouse, “*od lat 20 do 25,*” or, “from age 20 to 25.” This particular individual felt it important to note not only that he was in the (newly formed) Polish military, but he also felt it made him more appealing to include that he served under the former Austrian officer, former leader of the Polish Legions, and current Polish Army officer, General Józef Haller.³²⁴ Trends in the age of marriage advertisers can be seen in an examination of four months of advertising in *Wiek Nowy*, before, during, and after the war. During this period the average age of advertisers (both male and female) was 31, with the majority of advertisers falling into the range of 21 to 30 years old. The average age for each individual month examined was 31 in June 1913, 30 in August 1916, and again 31 in both August 1918 and 1919. Likewise, the highest concentration of advertiser ages always fell into the 21 to 30 category in each individual month. This represents that, despite the turbulence of the war and early interwar period, the individuals looking for marriage in the newspapers still largely sought to marry around the same age as was culturally acceptable before the war.³²⁵ The trends in *IKC* in Cracow tell virtually the same story for nearly the same set of months, with only the average age in August of 1916 dropping to 24. The average age of all advertisers across all four months examined remained at 31, however, and the highest concentration of advertisements, as in Lemberg, was bought by those in the 21 to 30 age

³²⁴ *IKC*, 4 September 1919, 10.

³²⁵ Advertisements examined from *Wiek Nowy*, June 1913, August 1916, August 1918, and August 1919. The total number of advertisements examined was 239. As noted in the overall marriage trends around the turn of the century, both men and women most often married under the age of thirty.

range.³²⁶ Female advertisers in the marriage publication *Flirt Salonowy* between the years 1910 and 1912 showed similar numbers, with 75 percent of women who advertised falling between the ages of 19 and 30. The remaining quarter were mostly older than this group.³²⁷

As many advertisers listed their own age (or age approximation) in their advertisements, they were often also concerned with the age of their potential spouses. As mentioned above, both men and women frequently mentioned maximum acceptable ages, or gave age ranges, in their text. For *Wiek Nowy* in the months examined above, the highest age listed as desirable by a male advertiser was 45. On August 5, 1919, a 47 year old man, only identified as “Mechanik,” listed the age range of 35 to 45 in his advertisement.³²⁸ The lowest age range desired by a man in the months examined was 15 to 16, by “Wisiek,” on 21 June 1913, see Figure 27.³²⁹

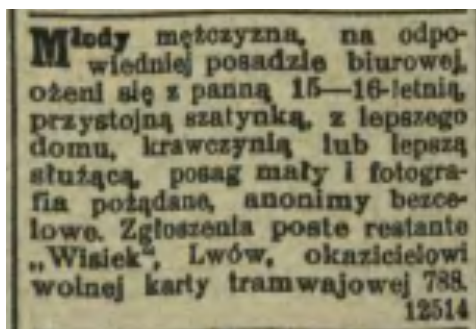


Figure 27. Advertisement by a young office worker, looking for a 15-16 year old girl, *Wiek Nowy*, 21 June 1913, 16.

Within the same set of advertisements, the lowest desired age requested by a female advertiser was “30 or under.”³³⁰ This most likely reflects that many younger women wanted a

³²⁶ Advertisements examined from *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny*, August 1913, August 1916, August 1918, and August 1919. The total number of advertisements examined was 176. A higher average of 32 in August 1913, and of 31 in both August 1918 and August 1919, combined with larger numbers of advertising in those three months accounts for the overall average remaining at 31.

³²⁷ Janiak-Jasińska, “O jakim mężu myślę?,” 181.

³²⁸ *WN*, 5 August 1919, 11.

³²⁹ *WN*, 21 June 1913, 16.

³³⁰ *WN*, 7 June 1913, 16.

man that had at least reached his mid-twenties, the age by which he most-likely had secured gainful employment. The highest age mentioned was 45 to 55, by a widow who sought correspondence with a teacher or professor with the goal of marriage, see Figure 28.³³¹

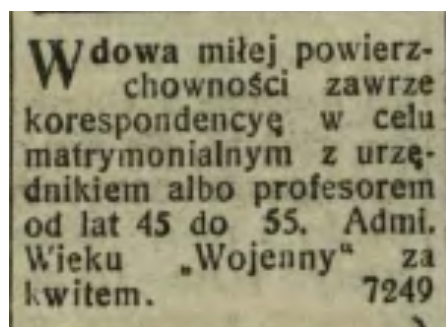


Figure 28. Advertisement by a widow, seeking correspondence leading to marriage, *Wiek Nowy*, 23 August 1916, 12.

It is interesting to note that the advertiser above mentions that she is a widow, and then chooses the anonymous moniker “*Wojenny* (the adjective for war or martial),” for her correspondence. Perhaps this is done simply because her advertisement was placed in the midst of war, but this might also indicate that she was a widow of the war. Regardless, this advertisement, along with the others mentioned above, represent trends amongst marriage advertisers’ preferences. Women over the age of 30, younger widows with children, and women without dowries were more willing to marry older men. Women under the age of 30 with dowries of land or money tended to want to marry men only a few years older than them. Conversely, men typically wanted to marry younger women (under 30), either maidens or widows without children, though occasionally, as seen above, older men sought women around their same age (sometimes explicitly to help them run a business or farm).

Seeking Financial Stability

³³¹ *WN*, 23 August 1916, 12.

In addition to the appearance of ages or age ranges in the advertisements in Galicia, many advertisements also have other important characteristics to note. The first of these is the inclusion of money in some form or fashion. Women often mentioned the dowry they held, and occasionally that they also had a profession or property. They also mentioned their desire to find a man who held a position (*na stanowisku*), occasionally even asking for potential suitors in specific professions.³³² Likewise, male advertisers often mentioned the dowry expected of potential spouses, while also presenting their own profession or salary. Of all the examples presented in the figures of this chapter thus far, only the first makes no direct mention of a dowry, a salary, a held position, or the desire for someone possessing one. Even before the war, people using the classifieds to search for partners were concerned with the financial stability of their potential mates. This characteristic was not geographically specific. Advertisers in contemporary Warsaw frequently made similar requests or statements.³³³ It was also not limited to those advertisers using Polish language newspapers. Lonely hearts advertising in Ukrainian in Lemberg often made similar statements or requests about dowries, or mentioned professions (see Figure 29, below). It is not surprising that advertisers were concerned with the financial implications of marriage with a potential spouse, after all, that is a common concern between engaged parties. However, the inclusion of evidence of one's own financial stability or the request that a potential mate be financially stable took on increased importance during the instability of the war years. The reality of the financial strain on people living in Cracow and

³³² Agnieszka Janiak-Jasińska believes this phrase to mean that they should both hold a professional station, and be socially reputable, as well.

³³³ Janiak-Jasińska, "O jakim mężu myśle?," 193.

Lemberg may have contributed to a willingness to use classifieds as a medium to find a spouse as a means of economic stability.



Figure 29. Advertisement by a young Ukrainian speaking woman, with mention of her dowry amount, *Dilo*, 6 June 1914, 7.

Beauty in the is in the Eye of the Reader

Lest we think that all that mattered to advertisers was age and financial stability, many of the advertisements include evidence that physical beauty was also squarely in the minds of those looking for love. The advertisers of many advertisements identified some of their own physical characteristics in their descriptions, or at least mentioned that they were handsome or attractive. The two young women in Figure 25 chose to make it known to the readers that they thought of themselves as attractive, for example. Another advertiser uses the moniker “Beauty (Piękność)” for any correspondence. Other advertisers included their hair color, either directly in the text of the advertisement, or by having interested people write to them using identifiers

such as “Brunetka,” or, “Blondynka.”³³⁴ Additionally, some advertisements were specific as to physical characteristics they sought in a potential spouse, usually hair color. Yet other advertisers were more subtle, not overtly mentioning physical characteristics or beauty, but harkening to it in the names they chose for readers to send correspondence to. In an advertisement in *Wiek Nowy* in August of 1919, for example, the female advertiser asked that any correspondence be sent to “Venus,” care of the administration.³³⁵ Likewise, an advertisement in Cracow in September of 1919 was written by a “Wanda.” While this could have been her actual name, it may have also been a reference to the fabled beautiful Princess Wanda of Cracow lore.³³⁶ These techniques were also employed in marriage advertising in Warsaw before the war.³³⁷

Perhaps the greatest indicator that advertisers cared about physical beauty while soliciting potential spouses through the classifieds was that many of them requested, or offered to exchange, photographs along with any correspondence. Examples of this trend can be seen in Figures 24, 26, and 27, above. The advertisement in Figure 30 contains a rare example of someone refuting the desire for beauty. The gentleman, a young widower, was looking for a young maiden or energetic widow, and asked that interested parties send their correspondence to “Lonely,” at the administration of *IKC*, and he wrote in his advertisement that he sought “only goodness, not beauty.” His noble lack of interest in physical beauty is somewhat

³³⁴ *IKC*, 21 September 1919, 8 and *WN*, 18 August 1916, 12 both have single advertisements taken out by two women, defining themselves as “Blondynka,” and “Brunetka,” for example.

³³⁵ *WN*, 21 August 1919, 11.

³³⁶ *IKC*, 26 September 1919, 12.

³³⁷ Janiak-Jasińska, “O jakim mężu myślę?,” 189-190. Janiak-Jasińska writes of female advertisers using the names “Carmen,” and Cleopatra.”

undermined, however, by asking that respondents send a photograph along with their inquiry.³³⁸

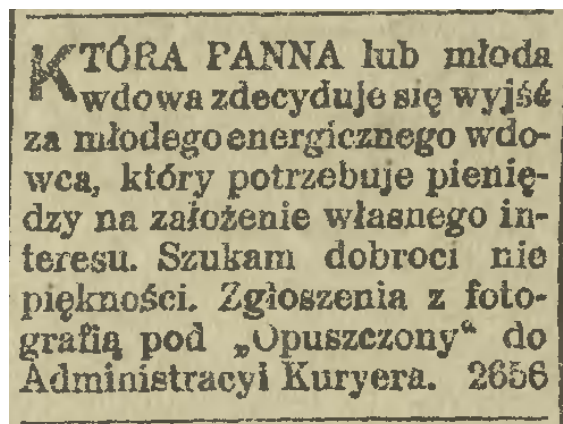


Figure 30. Advertisement by a young widower looking for a young woman or young, energetic widow, *IKC*, 7 July 1918, 8.

The Advertisers

In an examination of 1537 advertisements in the Warsaw periodical *Flirt Salonowy* between 1910 and 1912, Agnieszka Janiak-Jasińska found that 57 percent of the advertisements were bought by men seeking women, while the remaining 43 percent were women seeking men.³³⁹ An investigation of prewar months in Cracow and Lemberg also reflect a male majority of advertisers. In the Lemberg daily newspaper *Wiek Nowy* for the month of June 1913 there were thirty-seven total advertisements, with twenty (54%) being male seeking female, and seventeen (46%) being female seeking male. These numbers are similar to Janiak-Jasińska's prewar statistics from Warsaw. In the Cracow daily *IKC* the prewar balance was tipped more in favor of male advertisers, with fifteen of a total twenty-three (65%), compared to eight (35%) female advertisers. In the midst of the war, in August of 1916, advertising statistics based on

³³⁸ *IKC*, 7 July 1918, 8.

³³⁹ Janiak-Jasińska, "O jakim mężu myślę?," 172.

gender diverge even more between the two titles, with only 16 percent of advertisers in *IKC* being female, while the advertisements in *Wiek Nowy* had balanced out at fifty-fifty. By August of 1919, after the end of the war, the male-female split of the 66 total marriage advertisements in *IKC* was 33 each, or 50%. In the Lemberg daily for the same month, however, women had overtaken men and represented 60% of the 65 total advertisements.³⁴⁰ This rise in female advertisers after the war can most likely be attributed to the loss of many men during the war within the common marrying ages below 35.

Another important statistic is that of widows and widowers advertising. In *IKC* for the three months mentioned above, advertisers that identified themselves as widows or widowers never represent a significant number. This is in contrast to advertisements in *Wiek Nowy* in which advertisers identifying that they had lost a spouse represented eight percent in June of 1913, 25 percent in August 1916, and 18 percent of advertisers in August of 1919.³⁴¹ While the total number of marriages decreased in each successive year during the war, this trend of increased advertising by widows/widowers occurs alongside an increase in the percentage of marriages by widows/widowers across the war years in Lemberg. In 1914, marriages in which at least one partner was a widow or widower represented around 8.5%, in 1915 this number dropped to 7.5%. By 1916, however, it had risen to nearly 14% and in 1917 it was over 20%.³⁴² Marriages in which both partners had lost a previous spouse rose continuously across the war

³⁴⁰ *IKC*, August editions, 1913, 1916, and 1919; *Wiek Nowy*, June editions, 1913, August editions, 1916 and 1919.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*

³⁴² Miejskie Biuro Statystyczne, "Grudzień," *Lwów w Cyfrach*, 7-12, no. 12 (December, 1912-1917): First pages.

period, representing 1.79% of marriages in 1914, 1.98% in 1915, 2.72% in 1916, and 5.42% in 1917.³⁴³

Advertisers that mentioned specific ages in both *IKC* and *Wiek Nowy* for all of the months examined, across all years were overwhelmingly below the age of 30, representing 89 of 151 (58.8%). The second largest group was 31-40, with 48 (31.7%).³⁴⁴ This is similar to the observed 93.5% of female advertisers below the age of 40 in the 1910-1912 advertisements in Warsaw examined by Janiak-Jasińska. The overall picture of matrimonial advertisers in Cracow and Lemberg show that it was mostly men who advertised for marriage, though after the war the percentage of women advertising in both cities rose. Advertisers were also primarily individuals within the culturally expected age range for marriage, mostly below the age of 30, but at least before the age of 40. Within the Polish language press, advertisers were, unsurprisingly, mostly Polish speakers. Though occasionally advertisers did identify themselves as Jewish or Ukrainian (and in the editions examined, at least once as American and once as French).³⁴⁵

The Occasional Cases of Companionship Advertising

In addition to marriage advertisements in the newspapers in Galicia, there also occasionally appeared advertisements that were not quite explicitly for marriage, but that point to more than just the need for residence or a wage-earning job. These classified advertisements were often written by women, and often appeared in the newspapers in Lemberg as classifieds

³⁴³ Ibid. The percentage of marriages undertaken by widows/widowers, along with the total number of marriages within the city, would return to prewar levels by 1924.

³⁴⁴ *IKC*, August editions, 1913, 1916, and 1919; *Wiek Nowy*, June editions, 1913, August editions, 1916 and 1919.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

for employment rather than outright marriage. As early as 1913 these advertisements began to appear on the pages of *Kurjer Lwowski*³⁴⁶ The author of one particular advertisement was a thirty five year old female teacher, who described herself as “stable, of good social status, brunette, and hospitable.” She was looking for a “companion” for life and sought someone who was between the ages of thirty eight and forty five, with a good station (be of the upper classes).³⁴⁷ This advertisement is more than just someone looking for a friend. As we have seen from the marriage trends of this time, people often married before their mid to late thirties. This places the woman, and the man she seeks, on the upper edge of normal marrying age, perhaps adding to the sense of urgency. What is unclear about these advertisements is the need for couching them in terms of companionship, rather than labeling them overtly as seeking marriage. This difference seems to fall largely along a Cracow (marriage) and Lemberg (companionship) dichotomy. Of course, there were plenty of advertisements for both types in the newspapers, in both cities, but more companionship advertisements seem to have appeared in the pages of Lemberg newspapers.

The advertisements for companionship were not limited to young people still within normal marrying age, however. On Saturday, April 1, 1916 two companionship advertisements appeared in *Kurjer Lwowski*. The author of the first described herself as an “old, childless widow,” who could live with, and take care of, a sick man who lives alone. She also made note that she was of the intelligentsia and spoke German and French. The second companionship classified in this edition came even closer to the idea of marriage, without stating it outright.

³⁴⁶ See *Kurjer Lwowski (KL)*, 3 May 1913 and 7 June 1913 for examples.

³⁴⁷ *KL*, 7 June 1913, 7.

The author was also a widow, and was ethnically German. She was looking for someone like herself to live with, and “eventually” become their “every day caretaker.”³⁴⁸ These types of advertisements also appeared in the popular Ukrainian language daily in Lemberg, one in 1912 was authored by the widow of a priest.³⁴⁹ While the fact that these individuals chose to advertise for companionship, rather than marriage, is very interesting, the motivation for doing this when the popular press was rife with outright marriage advertisements is unclear.

The Institution of Marriage and its Importance

Marriage survived the war unscathed. Of course, this statement is not true of many individual marriages, given the number of widows and widowers remarrying during the war, as seen in Lemberg, and given the presence of continued advertising by widows and widowers up until the end of this study in both cities. Not only were marriages be torn apart by violence during this period, but the increased chances of dying by other means also contributed. Jadwiga Rutowska wrote in her diary in June of 1917 that her father, who had been serving with the Polish Legions since the beginning of the war, did not die in battle like many soldiers, but rather from illness in a hospital in Cracow after suffering a heart attack the year before.³⁵⁰ No, it was not necessarily individual marriages that survived the war, but rather the idea of marriage in the minds of young Cracovians and Lvovians. The most common age ranges of marriage present in Galicia before the war remained the same during the war, and after its end. This trend is matched by a corresponding trend in the majority of those seeking marriage in the classified.

³⁴⁸ *KL*, 1 April 1916, 4.

³⁴⁹ *Dilo*, 1 June 1912, 7.

³⁵⁰ Jadwiga Rutowska, *Pamiętnik Lwowianki. 1914-1919*, Wojciech Polak and Sylwia Galij-Skarbińska, eds. (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2017), 119.

One would be remiss to deny that the importance of marriage may have changed due to the uncertainty of violence in the region, combined with matrimony as a means of potential economic stability during unstable financial times. However, the things that people cared about in potential spouses and the ages at which many advertisers wished to marry did not change across the years of war. This during a time period that saw a number of challenges to traditional marriage structures. Nancy Wingfield has written on the struggles of the Austrian state, military, and society in relation to wartime prostitution. Men in the military, married or not, often sought the company of prostitutes while on leave from fighting, far from home. These prostitutes, in turn, might not have been in the trade prior to the war, but may have turned to it out of necessity, needing the money (or goods exchanged) for survival in a time of scarcity. For society, this was a moral issue, as seen in Stauter-Halsted's work, mentioned above. For the military it was tied to the spread of disease and keeping fighting men healthy enough to continue the war effort. For the Austrian state, the attempts to continue prewar regulation in the same manner were yet another area that showed the increasing inability of imperial structures to meet the needs of their population.³⁵¹ Military and state officials continued to expand the search for potential clandestine prostitutes to increasingly large numbers of women based on geography, social status, or formal profession alone.³⁵² During the war, the reality of being widowed became a more pressing threat for civilians and the spouses of fighting men, due both to violence and the threat of disease. As noted above, Jadwiga Rutkowska's mother was widowed not by violence at the front, but due to illness after a heart attack. After the

³⁵¹ Nancy Wingfield, *The World of Prostitution in Late Imperial Austria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 211-213.

³⁵² *Ibid*, 223-224. Women working in "underpaid" professions became suspect in addition to the unemployed.

return of refugees and soldiers at the war's end, marriage saw another potential threat due to the psychological and physiological damage suffered by those now potentially incapable of intimacy with their spouses.

Conclusion: Women, Marriage Culture, and Advertising

Much scholarship has recently been written on how the gender roles of women during the war simultaneously saw important changes, such as women becoming a vital part of the workforce or the continued rise of the nursing profession, while traditional roles, such as motherhood, remained significant and were encouraged.³⁵³ This chapter, in part, seeks to highlight that a change in the gender norms in marriage negotiation had already occurred in Galicia before the war, that it persisted across it, and that it became even more prevalent in the immediate postwar years. In previous chapters, the persistence of advertising culture throughout the period from 1911 to 1921 has been established. Advertising for marriage in the classifieds was no less persistent than other commercial and classified advertisements. While many contemporaries initially saw the appearance and proliferation of marriage advertising in the prewar period as an indicator of moral degradation, both contemporaries and present-day historians saw the rise in marriage advertising as a function of increased urbanization. Men, and more acutely, women lost the traditional communal networks that assisted in matchmaking in more rural locales as they moved to the urban centers of Galicia for economic opportunity.³⁵⁴ While many contemporary opponents of marriage advertising objected that the process led to

³⁵³ See Susan R. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), particularly Chapter 4, and Nancy M. Wingfield and Maria Bucur, eds. *Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).

³⁵⁴ Janiak-Jasińska, "O jakim mężu myśle?," 167-169.

moral decay and a decline in decency, the publishers of the advertisements argued that women, lacking the communal networks to protect and assist them in their search for spouses, were actually kept more moral and decent by having the intermediary of the newspaper in the process than if they had simply gone out and tried to find a spouse on the town.³⁵⁵ As women began to take more control of their own search for spouses through the use of marriage advertising, they also gained more individual agency in the choosing of their spouse and in the negotiation of their marriage contracts. This was also the case for men, but men had possessed a greater chance of being included in the negotiation between elder family members on both sides of a potential union in the village. Women had almost never been granted that opportunity in their own marriage negotiations.³⁵⁶

In partaking of this new, urban means of matchmaking, from the purchasing of the advertisements, to following up with correspondence, and eventually meeting and courting with potential partners, women particularly had no guidelines for this type of interaction and had to develop ways to uphold their image and decency throughout the process.³⁵⁷ Having the intermediary of the newspaper to protect their anonymity while filtering through respondents for potential matches was a way for women to engage with a larger number of potential partners, without being seen in public with many different men. Additionally, while moralists felt that marriage advertising may have been a front for prostitution, or that it allowed men and women to seek out partners anonymously for sexual encounters without any long term commitment, that can hardly have been the case. The amount of effort that it would have

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Ibid, 166.

³⁵⁷ Ibid, 196.

taken to write a letter, get a photo to place in it (in most cases), and mail or take it to the office of the newspaper and deposit it seems like a natural deterrent to the types of casual encounters that the moralists objected to. When one combines that process with calling or stopping in to the newspaper offices to see if any correspondence had come in, then picking it up, and replying to the correspondence using the same steps as above, the entire process seems like it would have taken much more time than individuals looking for a quick lover's tryst would be willing to take.

Before the war, advertising had become a new means of matchmaking for the urban citizens of Cracow and Lemberg. Using this relatively new form of communication to change how urban citizens found and vetted potential spouses in the cities, both men and women helped to solidify the place of the matrimonial advertisement on the pages of the popular press and in marriage culture in Galicia. While both marital advertisements and marriage declined during the war years, the use of marital advertisement as a form of social communication in marriage culture persisted. In the early postwar period the number of advertisements quickly rose, and surpassed, prewar levels. The persistence of the use of marriage advertising across the period from 1911 to 1921 is yet another way that advertising as a form of social communication and advertising culture prove to be resilient and adaptable despite the obvious interruptions in everyday life that total war created.

Conclusion: Persistence amid Disruption

The impetus for this study was a perceived anomaly. In a world where everything seemed malleable and life was in a constant state of flux, why did newspaper advertising continue in a similar form and fashion as it had before the war? Life in Galicia had changed drastically by the end of the war. The Habsburg Empire's inability to ensure the wellbeing of its citizens left a vacuum for competing national identities to offer compelling alternatives to the multi-ethnic state. Loyalty to the crown had eroded and the military, considered by many to be the most effective state institution at engendering a sense of shared Habsburg identity, no longer carried the banner for multi-ethnic cooperation. Pieter Judson has argued that the martial law imposed upon their own population during the war quickly unmade any bonds forged during peacetime. Continued requisitioning and the poor treatment of civilians by increasingly foreign-seeming Habsburg troops did little to reinforce unity.³⁵⁸ The Galician provincial government also failed, due in part to the capture and occupation by Russian forces, but also because it was not effectively reestablished after Habsburg and German troops recaptured the town. Ethnic relations continued to deteriorate as the scapegoating of Jews increased in both Lemberg and Cracow. Likewise, the reality that the Habsburg authorities had made conflicting promises to both Poles and Ruthenians in Eastern Galicia, combined with the undetermined fate of Galicia in regards to the planned formation of a post-war Polish state announced by German and Habsburg authorities further exacerbated already strenuous relations between Poles and Ruthenians. The war disrupted everyday life in Galicia, as it did elsewhere in Europe. Cracovians and Lvovians dealt with hunger stemming from scarcity and

³⁵⁸ Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge: Belknap, 2016), 386-387.

from massive inflation. Death was ever present as families lost and mourned loved ones, and both cities became host to the casualties of war brought in from the fronts. It is in this environment that the continued appearance of newspaper advertising seems at odds with the fragility of the majority of established institutions.

The seemingly persistent presence of printed advertising does not mean that this area of life was less impacted by the upheaval of war. The reality is quite to the contrary. Newspaper lengths were affected by the war, as were the rapidly increasing prices of daily editions driven up by inflation. There were occasional breaks in printing in some of the titles. *Dilo* was forced to publish in exile from Vienna during the occupation of Lemberg, and was eventually shut down by Polish authorities in Lemberg after returning and publishing in the city between the end of the occupation and the end of the war. The front pages of every title reflected the spectacle of mechanized warfare, the devastation of prolonged conflict, and the extraordinary events occurring across Europe. The columns often summarized news from the fronts, both the distant west or south and those mere miles away at times. Increasingly, the pages of the newspapers carried lists of missing family members, lost in the chaos of a more mobile eastern front.

The advertisements themselves also reflected the impact of war. The number of food advertisements decreased as the war dragged on. War-specific or war-related goods, such as battle front maps and translation/language training services appeared. Classifieds often reflected the needs of a struggling population, at times willing to sell prized possessions for cash. The appearance of pianos in classified advertisements reflected the financial instability of significant portions of the middle class, as well as the bottom echelons of the upper class, which

often resorted to creative ways of making ends meet. The instability and uncertainty of war certainly DID leave a mark on newspapers, newspaper culture, and advertising in this period.

That being said, the basic structure of newspaper advertising persisted during the war, both in the physical sense, and in how the process functioned. Physically, the bulk of advertisements appeared at or near the end of each edition. Across the period from 1911 to 1921 the publishers and advertisers continued to use imagery (especially in the illustrated boulevard press), a wide variation of fonts, and a creative array of borders and symbols such as pointing hands) to draw attention to the goods and services being advertised in each edition. Functionally, publishers continued to publish the cost of advertisements and advertising space in each of their editions, and seemingly to handle the majority of advertising sales and production in house (as opposed to intermediary advertising agencies that developed in Germany, England, and America). While the content of the advertisements themselves did change depending on the economic and political situation at any given moment during the war, the overall *culture* of advertising did not. Citizens in Cracow and Lemberg still used the classifieds to seek jobs and spouses, businesses still used them to seek help. Commercial businesses that remained open during the war still spent money to advertise their goods or services. This system was adaptable and resilient in a time when other structures were breaking down.

The qualitative chapter that began this study was vital in demonstrating how commercial advertising continued to function from 1911 to 1921. The more quantitative, second chapter exemplified newspaper advertising's overarching persistence through trends in publication numbers and the percentage of physical space devoted to advertising in each

edition. The third chapter demonstrated how advertising provided evidence of fluctuating socio-economic statuses, and how some Cracovians and Lvovians had to sell their culturally significant household pianos, while other groups had the opportunity for upward socio-economic (and cultural) mobility during an unstable time. The fourth chapter illuminated how urban Galicians continued to use the marriage classified as a mode of social communication across the turbulent war years and into the early interwar period, and how this form of advertising was evidence of shifts in gender roles. These two case studies not only provide individual aspects in which advertising persisted as a mode of communication, but they also provide insight into two aspects of everyday life during the war.

One of the goals of this study was to reconsider what aspects of life or culture might have persisted during a period that history has often seen as a watershed moment, a significant bookend to the period that came before it. In many ways, life in Cracow and Lemberg was forever changed after the First World War, but it is important to recognize areas of continuity from the prewar to the postwar period. In his new history of the Habsburg Empire, Judson argues that, though the empire itself collapsed and did not survive the war, the institutional, legal, and political systems built by the Habsburgs persisted in the “little empires,” that emerged to take the place of the dual monarchy.³⁵⁹ Much like Judson’s thesis that the postwar institutions of the new nation-states did not represent a radical break with the imperial institutions that came before them, advertising culture itself saw no radical break from its prewar function. The urbanization and modernization that occurred in Cracow and Lemberg in the decades before the war enabled the development of a strong newspaper culture. This

³⁵⁹ Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 387-388.

combined with the relative prosperity during the same period enabled the simultaneous rise of advertising culture within that print culture. That both newspaper culture and advertising as a mode of social communication survived the war years and the unstable years in the early interwar period are a testament to their integral nature in the character of the modern cities of Cracow and Lemberg. The system of newspaper advertising had been in place for over a decade before the war broke out, and the level of its usage in the immediate years preceding the war are evidence that the populations of Cracow and Lemberg interacted with it with familiarity. While some areas of modern life saw breakdowns that seemed to reverse the effects and benefits of modernization, newspaper advertising survived the war because it was simultaneously entrenched in urban culture prior to the war, and because it was able to adapt to the adversity experienced in the cities during conflict.

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