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Travel Writing and Literary Criticism on the Interwar Polish Radio. The Case of Alfred Jesionowski

Littérature de voyage et critique littéraire dans la radio polonaise de l'entre-deux-guerres. Le cas d'Alfred Jesionowski

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Cet essai replace Alfred Jesionowski (1902-1945 ?, doc. 1), éminente personnalité de la radio polonaise des années 1930, dans le contexte de l'histoire de la radio polonaise de l'entre-deux-guerres. Une brève introduction générale est suivie d'une description de la station de radiodiffusion de Katowice où Jesionowski a réalisé ses émissions. Les formes de la présence de la littérature et de la critique littéraire sur les ondes polonaises de l'époque sont également rappelées. On s'intéresse ensuite aux activités radiophoniques d'A. Jesionowski, liées à son intérêt pour les récits de voyage. Pour finir, on évoque les dernières années d'A. Jesionowski, pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, en mettant l'accent sur ses réalisations.

Abstract

This essay presents Alfred Jesionowski (1902-1945?, doc. 1), an eminent Polish Radio personality from the 1930s, against the background of the history of Polish Radio in the interwar period. First, a brief general introduction is provided, followed by a description of the broadcasting station in Katowice station where Jesionowski made his broadcasts. The literature and literary critics of the period who appeared on the air are also discussed. The next part of the text is devoted to Alfred Jesionowski’s radio activities connected with his interest in travel writing, while the final section summarises the last chapter of Jesionowski’s life during the Second World War, highlighting his achievements.

Keywords : Polish Radio broadcasting in the interwar period; Alfred Jesionowski (1902-1945?); literary critics, and the radio

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Mots-clés :
Radio polonaise, Entre-deux-guerres, Alfred Jesionowski (1902-1945?), Critique littéraire à la radio

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achievements.

1. A short overview of the history of Polish Radio: the Katowice broadcasting station

In the interwar period, the radio was becoming a popular medium of communication and propaganda, as well as a powerful tool for popularising the Polish language in Silesia.

In those times, Silesia was a border area between Poland, Germany, and Czechoslovakia, the rights to which were claimed both by the Second Polish Republic and Germany. To cut a long story short, its political status may be compared to that of Alsace-Lorraine. After[1] World War I, when the Poles regained independence, the easternmost part of Upper Silesia (including Katowice), with the majority of the ethnic Polish population, became once again part of Poland by the decision of the Entente Powers following insurrections by Poles and the Upper Silesian plebiscite (1921[2]), while the remaining formerly Austrian parts of Silesia were divided between Czechoslovakia and the Second Polish Republic. The inhabitants of the region identified themselves as Poles, even though they spoke both Polish and German and even more so the local dialect, which was an amalgam of the two languages[3]. No wonder that for the newly reborn country it was crucial to promote the knowledge of Polish among its citizens and to boost their patriotic feelings.

The radio broadcast was an ideal way to achieve this goal[4]. It also provided a great opportunity to popularise the knowledge of Polish literature and culture. As Alfred Jesionowski said in one of his first nationwide radio performances:

“For many years in autumn and in winter our broadcasting station transmitted talks about the Polish language. Their objective was not only to present the rules of our language to a larger public, or to promote correctness, but also to show the richness and beauty of the language which should be seen as a living organism in a continuous development”[5].

Radio broadcasts about literature were likewise supposed to show the beauty of the Polish language in practice[6].

First, we need to sketch the history of the radio in Poland. In February 1925, a newly established Polish Radio-Technical Society (Polskie Towarzystwo Radiotechniczne), associated with Marconi Wireless Telegraph and Societé Française Radioélectrique[7], started to transmit one hour of programmes a day, available within a range of 200 km[8]. Soon the activity was taken over by the Polish Radio (Polskie Radio) company and, in 1927, there were 6 hours of nationwide programmes broadcast[9]. In 1933, apart from the nationwide radio station in Raszyn near Warsaw (the highest and the most powerful in Europe[10]), there were 11 local transmitters in Poland[11]. Also, the number of listeners

increased continuously, reaching 800 - 850 thousand subscribers in 1938 (the 8th ranking in Europe)[12]. The Polish Radio station in Katowice opened in December 1927, and with its 12-kilowatt Western Electric equipment, it was 8 times more powerful than the units in Kraków and PoznaÅ[13]. A modern broadcasting station centre was built in Brynów near Katowice. The first radio signal (hammer hitting the anvil) was broadcast at 10.24am on the 4th of December 1927[14].

2. Literature and critics on the air

Considering the increasing popularity of the radio, it is not surprising that it quickly attracted intellectuals. In the interwar period, over 30 % of writers and literary critics collaborated with the Polish Radio: for example, the future Nobel Prize winner CzesÅaw MiÅosz worked at the Polish Radio station in Vilnius, and the poet Józef Czechowicz was the literary manager in Warsaw[15]. The radio programmes were very rich and varied. Apart from music and news, many literary broadcasts were aired, including the first radio performance by Witold Hulewicz (*Pogrzeb Kiejstuta* [KÄstutis' Funerals], 1927)[16]. Programmes on literature had regular slots in the nationwide radio schedule[17]: for example, on Sundays fragments of prose were read out, on Tuesdays there was a slot for poetry, on Wednesdays publishing news was presented, while Thursdays dedicated some air time to theatrical plays[18]. Alfred Jesionowski's *talks* were broadcast every working Monday[19]. The quality of the broadcasts was ensured by a special committee consisting of eminent writers and critics (like WacÅaw Sieroszewski, Zofia NaÅkowska, Tadeusz Boy-Å»eleÅski, Juliusz Kaden-Bandrowski)[20]. There is no doubt that the radio became a significant culture-making factor in Poland, with entire cultural magazines devoted to it, such as the nationwide annual *Radjo-Informator* or the weekly *Antena* (doc. 2) in Silesia[21]. A vast majority of authors and critics were enthusiastic about the radio, although there were some, for example Karol Irzykowski, who were wary and concerned about a possible loss of artistic value and human expression in literature broadcast on the radio[22].

Magazines were instrumental in involving listeners in the evaluation and shape of the programmes. By participating in various ambitious contests, they could exert impact on their themes and formats. Interestingly, this is how Alfred Jesionowski started his official radio adventure when he won an award in a contest for the best radio review organised by the editors of the *Antena* weekly in 1935[23] (doc. 3). A literary critic and reviewer, but also an experienced teacher, he suggested some changes to the popular broadcast dedicated to young listeners, conducted by Helena Reutt-Tymieniecka (called *Tante Hélène,* "aunt Hela")[24]. First, he suggested that young people should participate live in the programmes, talking about the most interesting lessons and activities of the student council at their school, preparing a story from the school shop or even acting out a dialogue among schoolmates[25]. Generally, Jesionowski appreciated Reut-Tymieniecka's talks from her cycle for children entitled *Afternoon tea in the garden* [*Swaczyna w ogródku*]. He praised the unpretentious tone of the talks, their appeal to the young

audience, and the fact that they were not overly moralising or didactic[26]. He also admitted to being a huge admirer of children's broadcasts, confessing that he would listen to them on different radio stations[27].

Alfred Jesionowski was not intimidated by the radio. Just the opposite, he was extremely fascinated by the new medium and aware of its power. He is known to have participated in some conferences dedicated to radio broadcasting[28]. However, his contacts with the Polish Radio station in Katowice began thanks to his friendship with StanisÅ□aw LigoÅ□ (1879-1954; a legendary radio manager, journalist, satirical writer[29], raconteur, and performer in the partially political, anti-German programme *By the iron stove* [*Przy Å¼eleÅºnioku*])[30]. Jesionowski knew him as an author and activist struggling for the Polish identity of Silesia. When LigoÅ□ was on the air, Silesian streets were deserted since everybody joined the radio audience[31]. The power of his impact became evident in 1939, when LigoÅ□ appealed to listeners for donations to purchase a machine gun for the army: more than 135 thousand *zÅ□oty* were collected at that time[32]. Jesionowski and LigoÅ□ had both personal and professional links, for instance the former reviewed the latter's volume of Silesian fairy tales (*Bery i bojki Å□lÄ□skie*). When in 1933 LigoÅ□ took over as head of the broadcasting station in Katowice, he immediately appointed Jesionowski, a valued literary critic and well-known political activist, as his collaborator and journalist for the Polish Radio.

3. Alfred Jesionowski and the Radio

It is worth underlining that Alfred Jesionowski was not a native Silesian. Having graduated from the University of PoznaÅ□, where he studied Polish and French language and literature, taking part in Jacques Langlade's lessons in comparative literature[33], he got a job in one of the Silesian high schools and moved to Silesia. He also started working as a literary critic and journalist in a right-wing literary weekly magazine published in Poland in the mid-thirties, called *Prosto z Mostu*. It was then that he developed his affection for the region. It may be interesting to add that as a passionate reader of travelogues and a great enthusiast of French culture (which shaped his way of perceiving literature), he became a part-time reporter, travelling to France. He spent some months there as a foreign correspondent for *Prosto z Mostu*, publishing a series of reportages from Paris. In these texts Jesionowski built a multilayer portrait of the city, presenting its intellectual life, connected with the Quartier Latin and its bookshops[34], and its political scene, observed through the lens of the press and that of a street protest[35]. His French experiences have left some traces in his notes regarding the contents of Polish Radio broadcasts, published as *Na Å□lÄ□skiej antenie* [Silesia on the air]. In a typescript from 1939, Jesionowski refers to the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the French revolution broadcast on the air of the Polish Radio[36]. The critic also acknowledges the role played by StanisÅ□aw Tymieniecki's (known as *Papa Stéphane*) programme *La boîte aux lettres* - "French mailbox" for the promotion of Polish culture in the Francophone areas of the world[37]. The listeners of this programme,

transmitted twice a week, on Wednesdays and Fridays at 23.30pm, were called *Katowiçards*[38]. It is also worth mentioning that the programme had two mottos: *La paix par l'amitié* (Peace through friendship) and *Loin des yeux - près du coeur* (Far from the eyes, close to the heart)[39].

In one of his texts, Jesionowski presented the most memorable moments from Helena Reutt-Tymieniecka's talk about Paris, showing the capital of France during the national holiday: it is "Paris of monuments, of the ancient culture, Paris that plays noisily and carelessly like a child", "the city of lights" expressing itself with melodies and songs that were also transmitted[40]. In the same text, Jesionowski also mentions a successful word-music broadcast by StanisÅ□aw Wasylewski entitled *Marseillaise*, which consisted of "the most important stages of the great revolution", illustrated by Polish and French poetry and prose[41].

It is worth noting that, in the mid-thirties, the Polish Radio broadcasting station in Katowice became an institution that united a wide range of people – from the artistic *bohème* to other authors, who found it a suitable channel for promoting their own achievements and Polish culture. Many writers and academics with Silesian roots or otherwise related to Silesia, e.g. Gustaw Morcinek and Tadeusz Dobrowolski, collaborated with Polish Radio broadcasting, which took its cultural and educational mission very seriously[42], with Jesionowski's work as a speaker being an epitome of this kind of activity.

Although no recordings of his radio broadcasts have survived up to the present time, there are some unpublished material testimonials of his work on the air, such as typescripts of his speeches (partially signed with the date and time of broadcasting), his reports from listening to spoken broadcasts (summer 1938 and 1939), as well as some comments on the quality and significance of the radio as a medium of communication and education. An analysis of these archival materials enhances knowledge of the beginning of radio broadcasting in Poland. Additionally, it sheds new light on the differences between journalistic reflection on literary reportage and its on-the-air counterpart.

The various forms of Jesionowski's involvement with Polish Radio broadcasting outlined above can be divided into two levels: passive and active. On a passive level, he acted as a kind of quality inspector in the years 1938-1939. For some months he was the inspector responsible for the "quality control of spoken and of word-and-music programmes". Practically, this meant that he was obliged to listen to 7-8 live programmes broadcast every day and to provide his opinion on the technical and content quality of the programmes[43]. The reports preserved in Jesionowski's home archive (doc. 4) are an invaluable source of information on the contents of the radio programmes, as well as on the external circumstances of the broadcasting (even the weather conditions, such as thunderstorms and wind, are mentioned). They also present the strategies used to evaluate the work of a radio company. Employed in his capacity of quality evaluator, Jesionowski was supposed to be neutral, yet aware of the possibilities and limitations of the medium, and familiar with the expectations of the

average listener. As far as the technical aspects of radio broadcasting are concerned, Jesionowski was somewhat conservative, expressing a preference for live broadcasting over a so-called *still* recording[44]. While the monthly reports (doc. 5) contain more extensive reflection on the content of broadcast programmes, the daily reports, which may also be interesting for radio historians, convey in detail the time schedule of daily programmes, the differences between planned and real-time broadcasting, its quality, as well as its linguistic and thematic accessibility to a wide audience. Last but not least, his monthly reports also raise the question of the quality inspector's remuneration.

On an active level, Jesionowski cooperated with the Katowice broadcasting station as a speaker, first occasionally and then later on a regular basis. On the local programmes, he presented a section called "current affairs", talking, for example, about a wooden church in the centre of Katowice[45]. He would also share recommendations on how to spend a weekend in or outside the town[46]. In his cultural reviews he dealt with art: for example, in one of his broadcasts he promoted the woodcuts and watercolour paintings of PaweÅ Steller[47]. At that time, the national Radio paid special attention to the role of Silesia in the history of Poland. It also concentrated on the popularisation of knowledge and the promotion of outstanding works in old and recent Polish literature, often presenting Polish writers and artists. In Jesionowski's home archive, there is a page with titles of his nationwide radio lectures from the 1938 *Talks about literature* summer cycle (doc. 6). The talks started with a short introduction to a writer's work, after which representative fragments were read out[48], showcasing "universal human values" and the author's literary talent[49]. Since it was typical at that time to write letters to popular radio journalists, there was always time, or a special section called a "mailbox"[50] for answering questions and discussing issues prompted by listeners. The first series of Jesionowski's talks concentrated on the literature of the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. More specifically, it covered the period from the 1863 January uprising on till the end of the First World War in 1918, known as the period of positivism and Young Poland literature[51]. The broadcasts were mostly dedicated to the classics of Polish literature: Henryk Sienkiewicz, WÅadysÅaw Reymont, Stefan Å»eromski, Kazimierz Tetmajer, Adolf DygasiÅski, and less remembered today, Teodor Tomasz JeÅ¼, Klemens Junosza Szaniawski, WÅodzimierz PerzyÅski, and Jerzy Å»uÅawski, plus a best-selling author of the time, Maria Rodziewiczówna. Jesionowski maintained that even the authors whose popularity had waned over time should be remembered and appreciated, as their books shaped the tastes and sensibility of entire generations[52].

One of Jesionowski's favourite literary genres was the travelogue. It was thus only natural that this topic was included in his broadcasts on the classics of Polish literature. For instance, in July 1938 he talked about the Nobel Prize laureate Henryk Sienkiewcz's *Letters from Africa* (doc. 7). Reading was presented as a way to overcome poverty that makes real travelling impossible[53]. Quoting a series of names ([Jerzy] Marlicz, [Janusz] Meissner, [Jan Alfred] SzczepaÅski, [Tadeusz] Milewski, [Zygmunt] Dreszer), Jesionowski proved that Africa is a frequent subject of literary descriptions in Polish literature and that modern African travelogues may diverge from Sienkiewicz's letters in

many respects, due to the fact that the latter were written 50 years earlier[54]. However, some observations made by Sienkiewicz continued to be valid, for example that falling into a routine is dangerous for an author's imagination and should be avoided[55]. Regarding the discrepancy between Sienkiewicz's letters and modern travel books, Jesionowski suggested that the letters should be read with a map at hand. He also pondered on "the poverty of contemporary literature", attributing it to "the fact that writers are afraid to leave their desks"[56]. In his opinion, there were three main qualities that distinguished Sienkiewicz's travelogues from contemporary, sensational reportages: moderation, tact, and discretion. Among other characteristics of Sienkiewicz's prose, Jesionowski mentioned overt willingness to share feelings and impressions with the reader, of which he was rather critical, praising more objective travel writing, for example by Arkady Fiedler or Aleksander Janta PoÅ□czyÅ□ski[57]. In Jesionowski's opinion, what made Fiedler an ideal travel writer was his being an acute and sensitive observer, endowed with imagination and a capacity for reflecting on reality and human nature[58]. Other skills praised by Jesionowski in a reporter, typified by Janta PoÅ□czyÅ□ski, were plasticity of vision, courage, capacity for evoking emotions, a sense of humour (a trait also appreciated in RafaÅ□ Malczewski's ironic story *Od cepra do wariata* [From a tourist to a madman][59]), and curiosity, all of which help him to have a vivid impact on the reader[60]. This personal attitude to books discussed on the air and a natural gift for sharing opinions ensured Jesionowski's great popularity with the radio audience[61].

In the second edition of his *Talks about literature*, Jesionowski prefers to talk about publishing news and contemporary authors. He treats travelogues and "exotic writings" as a newly born literary genre[62], dedicating four different broadcasts aired on Tuesdays (usually at 3.15-3.30pm) in December 1938 and January 1939 to this topic. Curiously enough, Jesionowski maintains that it is impossible to adapt the criteria used in evaluating foreign travelogues to Polish literature, because there are only a few professional travellers in Poland[63]. "For that reason", Jesionowski states, "the major part of travel books are works by dilettantes, [people] who became travellers by chance"[64]. The speaker names two categories of Polish travelogues, the artistic and the practical ones. Among the authors who are able to reconcile both types, apart from his favourites Arkady Fiedler and Aleksander Janta PoÅ□czyÅ□ski, Jesionowski mentions Ksawery PruszyÅ□ski, CzesÅ□aw Centkiewicz, and some others. Faithful to his role of radio speaker and beyond his vocation as a literary critic, Jesionowski quotes extensive fragments from Centkiewicz's *Wyspa mgieÅ□ i wichrów* [The Island of Fogs and Winds], dealing with Polish Radio and the importance of its broadcasting for polar explorers far from home[65]. The need for contact with the homeland and the exigency of promoting the Second Polish Republic as an independent country are the problems that Jesionowski intentionally highlights when talking about contemporary travel literature, including books about "Dar Pomorza"'s first voyage around the world (by sailors Janusz Meissner, StanisÅ□aw Kosko, and Fryderyk Kulleschitz, who were not professional writers) or Fiedler's accounts from various meetings with Polish emigrants all over the world[66]. His entire broadcasts were devoted to these issues[67], dealing with the literary visions of Polish communities in Brazil and in the USA, as in Bohdan PawÅ□owicz's novels about

the Poles in Brazil (*Wojciech Mierzwa w Paranie* [Wojciech Mierzwa in Paraná] and *Wyspa Å□w. Katarzyny* [St. Catherine's island]). Completely forgotten nowadays, in Jesionowski's opinion these texts deserved to be called 'national epics on emigration'. Regular reportages from "Polish Brazil" by Konrad Wrzos and Zbigniew UniÅ□owski were also discussed on the air. Among various texts regarding social problems of Poles abroad, Jesionowski chose a book by a female writer, Michalina Isaakowa, entitled *Polka w puszczach Parany* (A Polish Lady in Paraná's Forests). The author, who was an entomologist and traveller, depicted not only Brazilian nature but also the misery of Polish society in America[68]. Another subject that Jesionowski was keen on was the *exotic novel*, a rare literary genre in our tradition[69]. Jesionowski applied this term to define all texts, travelogues, and fiction, the action of which was situated in remote areas, such as the Far East, China, India, Africa or less explored European territories[70]. In this category, the critic included travel writings by Ferdynand Ossendowski (China and Far East), Ferdynand Goetel, Jerzy Marlicz (or Halina Borowikowa with her Siberian novels and African travels), and Kazimierz WarchaÅ□owski (Brazil)[71]. The emotional and vivid narration by Marlicz engaged the critic to such an extent that he devoted a large part of his broadcast to reading out fragments from her *Dzicy ludzie* (Savage People) in order to promote a talented woman-writer. Within the realm of European travels, Jesionowski valued Ksawery PruszyÅ□ski's *Z czerwonej Hiszpanii* [From the Red Spain], in which he appreciated the pursuit for truth and the author's efforts to ensure every detail of the text was properly documented[72]. A journalist himself, Jesionowski considered trustworthiness to be one of the most important features of any text and writer.

A particularly interesting source of information on Jesionowski's radio journalism is the fact that many typescripts of his talks include the precise time of broadcasting. The Monday talks on literature lasted 15 minutes each (from 3.30 to 3.45pm), while the written text on which the talk was based was always four and a half typed pages long. The shorter performances, such as "current affairs" or touristic recommendations for the weekend, lasted 5-10 minutes, with a text of 1-2 pages. For the radio of the epoch, timing precision was fundamental as it was a live performance. An element of improvisation was however present in Jesionowski's talks, since his spoken language was more direct and colloquial than that of his written texts, while still very clear and precise.

4. WWII, resistance and Alfred Jesionowski's death

Unfortunately, there is no happy ending to this fascinating story. The consequences of Jesionowski's notoriety turned dire when the Second World War broke out. As has been pointed out earlier, before the war Alfred Jesionowski was known as a teacher and tutor in junior high schools in Silesia, a specialist in Polish-German relationships in Silesia[73], and, what is extremely important, a Polish Radio Katowice speaker running his original broadcasts. He was therefore seen as a dangerous activist by Nazi Germany, and his name was placed on the Gestapo's Polish intelligentsia elimination list. Having left

Silesia after the 1st of September 1939, he moved to Krakow and lived there in hiding. His social, political, and patriotic activism did not diminish during the German-Soviet occupation of Poland. On the contrary, an active member of the Resistance, Jesionowski took part in clandestine teaching and, as a representative of the Bureau of Information and Propaganda of the Polish Government in exile, participated in the so-called Operation N (sabotage, subversion, and black propaganda activities against the Nazi German occupation forces[74]). Arrested by the Gestapo in March 1944 and held in prison in Katowice until the 24th of January 1945[75] (doc. 8), he then went missing, perishing probably in a death march somewhere in Lower Silesia in January 1945. Considering the life path and activism of Alfred Jesionowski, a parallel can be drawn between him (1902-1945?) and Jean Prévost (1901-1944), as they were both contemporaries and literary critics involved in the resistance movement against Nazi Germany during the Second World War. What distinguishes them is their political commitment: while Prévost was clearly leftist, Jesionowski identified himself with the right-wing political scene.

Jesionowski's pluridisciplinary activities including pedagogy, literary and art criticism, journalism, the underground fight for the independence of Poland during WWII, as well as his popularity as a radio broadcaster, elevate him to the status of a symbolic figure of the Polish interwar-period intelligentsia. Sadly, like many others, he was erased from the collective memory after 1945, when the communist regime came to power in Poland.

Notes

[1] Cf. M. Siewier, "Polish-German Struggle for Influence in Upper Silesia during the Sanitation Period (1926-1939)", *Humanities and Social Sciences* vol. XXXV, 27 (4/2020), p. 111-123; P. Polak-Springer, "Landscapes of Revanchism: Building and the Contestation of Space in an Industrial Polish-German Borderland, 1922—1945", *Central European History*, vol. 45, no. 3, 2012, p. 513.

[2] Cf. R. Skoczek, *Ideas for the Division of Upper Silesia After the Plebiscite,* https://ipn.gov.pl/en/digital-resources/articles/8108,Ideas-for-the-Division-of-Upper-Silesia-After-the-Plebiscite.html [9/06/23] ; *The Upper Silesian plebiscite of 20 March 1921 – the course of voting* https://ipn.gov.pl/en/digital-resources/articles/9176,The-Upper-Silesian-plebiscite-of-20-March-1921-the-course-of-voting.html . Accessed 6 Sept. 2023.

[3] Cf. R. Surmacz, *PrzeszÅ□oÅ□Ä□ dla przyszÅ□oÅ□ci. 1000 lat dziejów. Rozmowy o Å□lÄ□sku z prof. Franciszkiem Antonim Markiem* [The Past for the Future. 1000 Years of History. Professor Franciszek Antoni Marek's Dialogues about Silesia], Lublin, Multipress 2023, s. 334-344.

[4] In the interwar period, a regular battle on the air was fought between Polish and German broadcasting radio stations. Cf. i.e., "Na wiosnÄ□ rozpocznie siÄ□ w Katowicach

budowa wielkiej nadawczej radjostacji" [Construction of a great radio broadcasting centre starts in spring], *Polonia*, 1927 n. 29 ; "Propaganda przeciw propagandzie" [Propaganda against propaganda]", *Polska Zachodnia* 4/06/1939 ; M. Kaganiec, "Wojna w eterze" [The War on the Air], in: *Radiofonia na Górnym Å□lÄ□sku w okresie miÄ□dzywojennym* [Radio Broadcasting in Upper Silesia in the Interwar Period], ed. L. JodliÅ□ski, Katowice, Muzeum Å□lÄ□skie w Katowicach 2012, p. 41-49 ; see also: P. Polak-Springer, "Jammin' with Karlik': The German-Polish 'Radio War' and the Gleiwitz 'Provocation', 1925–1939", *European History Quarterly* 2013: 43(2), p. 279–300; C. Birdsall & J. Walewska-Choptiany, "Reconstructing Media Culture: Transnational Perspectives on Radio in Silesia, 1924–1948", *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television 2019, vol. 39, no. 3, 439–478*.

[5] Cf. A. Jesionowski, *GawÄ□dy o literaturze*. *Pogadanka na poniedziaÅ□ek dnia 30 V* [1938 [Talks about literature. Chat for Monday, 30th of May], document folder dated 1938, containing reviews, correspondence and radio talks, home archive, p. [1].

[6] *Ibid.*, p. [1].

[7] J. RaciÄ□ski, "Od grudnia do wrzeÅ□nia. Radio Katowice w latach 1927-1939" [From December till September. The Polish Radio in Katowice, 1929-1939], in: *Radiofonia na Górnym Å□lÄ□sku,* [Radio Broadcasting in Upper Silesia…], *op. cit*., p. 11.

[8] A. Zawada, *Dwudziestolecie literackie* [The Literary Life of the Interwar Period], WrocÅ□aw, Wydawnictwo DolnoÅ□lÄ□skie 1995, p. 193.

[9] *Loc. cit.*

[10] A. K. Dulska, R. Dulski, *Halo, halo. NiepodlegÅ□a w eterze. Radio i radiofonia w Polsce 1918-1989* [Hello, hello. Independent Poland on the Air. The Radio and Radio Broadcasting in Poland, 1918-1989], Cracow, KsiÄ□garnia Akademicka 2021, p. 32.

[11] A. Zawada, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

[12] K. Eydziatowicz, *Kulisy radiofonii* [Behind-the -Scenes of Radio Broadcasting], Warsaw, Wydawnictwo "KsiÄ□Å¼ki o Radio", 1938, p. 270; A. Zawada, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

[13] J. RaciÄ□ski, *op. cit*., p. 11.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[15] A. Zawada, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

[16] *Loc. cit.*

[17] M. Hermanowski, *Radiofonia w Polsce. Zarys dziejów* [Radio Broadcasting in Poland. A Historical Sketch], PoznaÅ□, Zysk i S-ka 2018, p. 50, 89-91, 114-115.

[18] A. Zawada, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

[19] A. Jesionowski, *GawÄdy o literaturze. Pogadanka na poniedziaÅek dnia 30 V* [1938 [Talks about literature. Chat for Monday, 30th of May], document folder dated 1938, containing reviews, correspondence and radio talks, home archive, p. [1].

[20] A. Zawada, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

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[36] A. Jesionowski, *Na Å□lÄ□skiej antenie. Przez siedm mórz - do siedmiu wzgórz* [Silesia on the air. Through seven seas - to seven hills], typescript, blue document folder with materials from 1939], home archive, p. [1].

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