

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE PRESS IN ROMANIA

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Abstract. *Researches from the domain of our journalism's history have been focused especially on literary press, monographs of certain publications, precise studies related to a historical moment or a historical stage, and article analysis. The economical problem, probably the most important, kept being bypassed even if it still submits proof of a matter-of-course relationship between demand and supply. In this historical sketch I sought to emphasize precisely the costs for the existence of certain publications in hopes that other researchers will find this point of view as interesting.*

Keywords: *journalism, mass media economy, editorial rates, press history.*

1. Introduction

The press releases emerged rather late in the Romanian cultural space as compared to other countries. A first reference is *Calendarul* published by the priest Petcu Șoanul¹, in 1731 at Brașov. This is about a publication under direct labor operations, as we could say, which means at the expense of the typographer/publisher. We know very little detail on the print run, costs etc., yet since we are talking about a crafted or

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¹ "Father Petre", as Petcu Șoanul had been called, was born at 1706 in Scheii Brașovului, where he served as a teacher, then as a priest, at the "Sf. Nicolae" church starting 1730. He might have had Aromanian or Serbian origins since he was a student of Stătie Gridovici, he was ordained by the Serbian lord Nicanor Proin, "bishop of Cruședoiu" (1735) and he knew the Serbian language, a fact that enabled him to translate in the Romanian language the Serbian calendar (1731), a calendar translated as well from Russian. This is considered to be the first periodical from the Romanian culture ("Calendarul acum întâi rumânesc alcătuit de pe cel sârbesc așezatu s-au pe limba rumânească..."). Starting with 1737 he will hold a chapel where he will print religious books especially. He dies in Brașov, on May 31, 1741.

primitive print, we may assess the summed print runs of all three editions to several hundred.

Besides, the printed materials of that time were published by loaning the publisher by the purchasers – the offer was made public through printed pamphlets and also through announcements presented at the religious sermons, and later in the press. If a sufficient money amount was raised, the paper would be released; if not, the appropriate amounts would be reimbursed or other books in storage would be offered to the purchasers. A similar relationship has been applied to press editing, as we shall show in the following.

The pioneering press period did not mean any significantly print runs scales, especially in the central and eastern European area, further information confirming this assumption. For instance, the first Hungarian newspaper, *Magyar Hírmondó*, published in Bratislava in 1780, had had 318 subscribed purchasers; as for the revue *Kassai Magyar Muzeum*, founded in 1790, had 137 subscribed purchasers. The *Uránia* newspaper (founded at Vác by Kármán József, 1794), while addressed to a diversified audience, had had around 100 subscribed purchasers; the *Orpheus* newspaper had, in its first year of release, about 200 subscribed purchasers². Therefore, very few publications managed to withstand for a long time, even when they were assisted by authorities through subscriptions or subsidies.

On the press in Transylvania and Banat for example, István Berkeszi stated that he had a rather challenging appearance, partly because of the language - "the very few literate individuals were reading in Hungarian, German, Latin or French. For this reason, none of the products published during the country has been successful, the number of its readers being too small. At the end of the previous century, it was common for an aristocratic environment consisting of eight to ten people, to speak three or four languages simultaneously.

A German traveler wrote about the previous century's Hungary that those who want to communicate and be understandable (...) should hire a carriage for personal translators".³ The same author emphasized that most difficulties were generated by censorship and the fact that a number of potential readers refused the media - "ladies of noble rank were rather reading French books, especially novels".⁴

² Berkeszi, 2013, 86.

³ Berkeszi, 2013, 83.

⁴*Ibid.*

2. Wallachia

Regarding the Romanian language media, it made its debut under the sign of challenges of drafting, printing and registry.

For instance, the draught of our first newspaper edition, *Curierul Românesc* (Bucharest, 1829) had only 280 prints in its first year of publishing, and the list of subscribed purchasers ("subscribers") of the *Albina Românească* newspaper (Iași, 1829) included 117 persons, mostly bishops and high officials. Please note that in the early years of development of the Courier its editor Heliade Ion Radulescu obtained from Baron George Meitani approval of paying no postal charges for dispatching his newspaper, a privilege renewed in 1839 also by the Baron Cristodor Sachelarie, entitled as Postmaster General.

This privilege arised from the publication's statute, that of a semi-official journal, and also from the publisher's statute who was equated with a high state official⁵. In order to encourage the publisher, even the General Kisseleff⁶ incurs five subscriptions in 1831, and certainly in the next years as well⁷. In 1829, *Curierul Românesc* appeared on Thursdays and Sundays, yet there were no persons employed for distribution, so that readers had to go to the Metropolitan Church Chapel to pick up the desired copies.

It was difficult in a Bucharest haunted by plague. It was only towards the end of 1829 when two newspaper "allocators" have been hired; also at that moment it appears that from the nearly 300 people who had received the newspaper subscription, since they had promised that they would pay the subscription, only 45 of them had paid actually.

Not only they were facing economic difficulties, but also editorial ones. More specifically, there was hardly anyone who wrote texts or read the press in Wallachia. This is the context in which I. Heliade Rădulescu published in 1830 a notice announcing that

"Whosoever shall have or wish to make any kind of materials that can be considered to be for the benefit and the advancement of the

⁵ I. H. Rădulescu was the owner of a document which ensured him exclusivity to publish and hold typography releases as a layman for 10 years (the other chapels belonged to the Church).

⁶ Pavel Dmitrievici Kiseliiov (Kisseleff), count, general and Russian diplomat (during 1788-1872). He led the Russian military administration of Wallachia; chairman of the Moldavian and Wallachiann councils of state.

⁷ The General's gesture should not be regarded as an act of generosity since the press was used by his agents in order to detect hostile individuals towards Russia, as reflected in the documents published by Varta Ion and Tatiana, 2002.

Ruman spirit, either political or literary or of agriculture can send them to our office". It means that everything that appeared in *Curier* was censored by officials of the Secretariat of State, an over censure being carried out by the representatives of Russia.

In 1830-1832, in order to achieve a minimal profit there were needed 200 payers – public or private subscribers – as shown by the many calls of the publisher. We should refer in this connection to, the “Notification from the Editorial Office”⁸, from 1832, in which Heliade stated that 200 newspaper subscribers would ensure continuity of the publication, continuity endangered most of the time by the lack of financing translated through the indifference of potential newspaper readers.

Subsequently, in “Prospectus for *Curierul Românesc* for the year of 1832” the publisher indicated that due to cholera⁹ and other factors he was unable to comply with the frequency of the newspaper (two issues per week), pledging that this time he would honor the promise and retrieve news from *Journal de St. Petersbourg*, *Journal d’Odessa*, *Monitorul Otoman*, *Journal de Franckfort*, *Telegraful*, from literary journals and from *Albina Românească*. Everything for four “royal coins”, plus six Lei for the shipping and handling expenditure, per year¹⁰. In the same year, *Curierul românesc* ceases appearance for lack of funds, although it was like I mentioned, a semi-official publication, the authorities (central or local) being obliged to subscribe. However, the minimum 200 subscribers who would have ensured the continuity, were missing. That was about 800 ducats. In 1833, after approximately 60 days of cessation of its activity, the publisher of *Curierul* reprehends it as “a school of politics, ethics and literature” and he expresses his regret that the revue has not earned its echo as it was worth of.

The editorial costs are becoming higher every year, so in 1836, to cover all charges, at least 300 subscriptions were necessary. If we were to specify only the publications from which I.E. Rădulescu retrieved foreign news, it would be enough to realize that these had cost quite a lot for the publisher - *Mercure de Souabe*, *Journal des Debats*, *Journal de Paris*, *Gazette d’Augsbourg*, *Gazette de Francfort*, *Journal de St. Petersbourg*, *Morning Post*, *Diario di Roma* and others. Also some reconsiderations of the content and regularity have been imposed. For instance, in 1839, the publisher announced that he will provide six

⁸ *Curierul Românesc*, year IV, no. 80, 10 November 1832, 1.

⁹ In 1831, in Bucharest have died of cholera 2.170 persons.

¹⁰ *Curierul Românesc*, year IV, no. 1, 28 January 1832, 1.

appearances of *Curierul* per week as follows: on Mondays and Thursdays, with news; on Tuesdays and Fridays, the Official Gazette; on Wednesdays and Saturdays he will issue sciences, arts, literature, industry, and so forth.

This editorial formula apparently did not have a long service life since on November 8, 1839 the Secretariat of State prohibited the appearance of *Curierul* published by "cavalry commander Ion Heliade", as on no. 165 "he soiled the honour of the Head of censure", which is why local authorities were required to confiscate all copies of this edition. In fact, the authorities's anger had no political fundament, but one of hubris – Eliade submitted to the Censorship some censorious articles about some translations published by newspapers such as Romania and others. The state claimed to be entitled to scrutinize everything, including the topic and the controversy's position, in order not to speak of the truth contained in those prohibited texts. Returning to the efforts of publishers to find ways of optimizing the investment in the media and in books, recall that on 1837, for example, C.A. Rosetti opened a reading office in Bucharest, i.e. a small private library where newspapers and periodicals both from abroad and around the country were offered. In Craiova, L. Bodorlo announced that he opened a "national Casina", namely a space where one can read press materials¹¹. Also at Pitești has been inaugurated, in 1845, such a local place containing press materials in Romanian, Greek and so forth, as well as books.

By the end of 1838, in Bucharest "The noble circle of natives and foreigners"¹² was established, an of association whose intent was "the lection of newspapers, journals and national or foreign books (...) The newspapers that were to be found for the time being were: *Le Moniteur*, *Le Journal des Debats*, *Gazette de France*, *Le Temps*, *Le Currier*, *La Presse*, *La Gazette des Tribunaux*, *Le Charivari*, *La Mode* (in France), *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Osterreichischer Beobachter* (in Geneva), *Le Journal de St. Petersbourg*, *Le Journal d'Odessa*, *Galignanis Messenger* (in the Great Britain) (...) *La Gazette de Smyrne*, *Le Moniteur Ottoman*, an Italian newspaper and a Serbian one, the Romanian ones added to the list. The journals were also: *La Revue Britanique*, *La Revue des Deux Monde*, *La Revue Francaise*, *La Revue de Paris* (all French)".¹³

¹¹ *Cantor de Avis și Comers*, year I, no. unspecified, vol. 1837-1838, 62

¹² "National and Foreign Circle" was called in the French version of the announcement. See *Supliment la Curierul Românesc*, year IX, no. 11, 29 December 1838, 45-48.

¹³ *Ibid.*

Noteworthy that such titles of periodicals, which have been joined by several books, dictionaries, maps, etc. were available at the opening of the institution, similar to the lection offices that have functioned modeled on the Western Europe offices. Subscriptions could last for at least a year and cost 12 "Dutch ducats" (royal ducats), i.e. "half of a large French newspaper subscriptions".¹⁴ Further details regarding the activity of the Circle could have been read in the Regulation (operating program, loan prohibition, etc.).

It is difficult to tell how successful such enterprises were, for the sources investigated were not generous in informations. Anyway, it seems to have been crystallized a specific interest in press lection, judging by certain articles published in the few available papers. For instance, under the title "Romanian journals" in *Curierul Românesc* appeared a note about the progress of the media: "What works extends the reading the taste of. Presses are growing between Romanians and is also a useful occupation. Romanian Land has five printing houses now: three in Bucharest, one in Buzău and one in Craiova. Next spring will be opened two more: one of the National College of St. Sava¹⁵ and another in Brăila. The gazettes take a short time to extend which will be of great use among Romanians, that will not fail to give a greater development and advancement of these public sheets...".¹⁶

Back in Wallachia, we find that in 1838, in its second year of publication, the magazine *Cantor de Avis și Comerț* had a record number of 500 subscribers, for the price of four rubles per year.¹⁷ We could explain the success of this magazine by the fact that it provided its readers market informations – small advertising as we call it today, therefore with value in use and it was written "in common language so that everyone may understand it (...) for this journal will not rectify the language as a literary publication, this will be a piece of news".¹⁸ Starting with the year of 1842, *Cantorul* will obtain the right to publish "all bids of the State", meaning it will turn into a following version of *the Official Gazette*, which led to reduced revenues to other newspapers

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Here had been established the "House of *Curierul...*", i.e. editorial office. For example, in the editons of 1836 it was mentioned that in the College of St. Sava resides the "Editorial House", where where one could contract subscriptions, pay for advertising messages, and so forth. The college was located across the street of the University of Bucharest's Palace (the present area behind the statues).

¹⁶ *Curierul Românesc*, year X, no. 12, 24 January 1839, 1.

¹⁷ *Cantor de Avis*, year II, 1838, 169.

¹⁸ *Cantor de Avis*, year VI, 1842, 378-379.

and magazines, from advertising provided by the central government of the Wallachian state.

In order to obtain profits, it was practiced the trade with beer, horses, carriages, flowers and even men (servants) right at the editorial or administrative office of a publication. For example, one could read the following notice: “At *Cantorul de Avis* a dozen of Porter English beer arrived, 12 demijohns for 16 dimes. Those who would like to buy a demijohn shall pay a dime and a half”.¹⁹ The notice will be repeated several times. Or “As the editor of the newspaper *Cantorul de Avis*, fond of trees, flowers and vegetable plants, put all his efforts into bringing here within the Principality some things of the most famous gardens of Austria, seeds and roots, of the most beautiful flowers, and the most exquisite and delicate vegetables...”.²⁰ He was selling everything, including the mulberry trees for silk worms, cabbage, carrots, lettuce, radishes, spinach, beans, peas. Finally, “A Gypsy laundrywoman and cook, thirty years old, is for sale. Those interested shall contact the Editorial Office” as it was advertised in *Vestitorul românesc*, at 19 November 1843. The editorial offices obtained advertisement notices or a percentage out of this type of trade.

A formula of expanding the addressability of a publication consisted in "Additions" supplements. In terms of content, they were more homogeneous for audiences clearly defined, but not always resisted. For example, *Gazeta Teatrului Național*, the supplement of *Curierul Românesc* (founded in 1837) withstands with difficulty, so there is another supplement in 1840 - *Curierul de amândouă sexele*. In fact there have been just a few newspapers that may not have experimented the supplements formula, some successful, others failing.

Returning to the financing of periodical publications, let us trace a balance sheet presented on March 1, 1839, of I.H. Rădulescu's own publication – *Curierul Românesc* (from 10 years of establishment). From its text – “Expenses of a gazette” we learn the elements of costs for a periodical of “100 sheets per year”, meaning: press - 10.000 Lei; paper – 2.000 Lei; at least 150 Lei per month payment of an employee, i.e. 1.800 actual Lei; 80 Lei per month payment to a newspaper distributor, hence 960 Lei per year. For shipping the copies, more expenses were necessary, as in the “writers” case, those who would write addresses on envelopes, the paper, the red wax (used to seal envelopes) and others, which meant 60 Lei per month and 720 per year. Subscriptions to foreign media: at

¹⁹ *Cantor de Avis și comers*, year II, no. 77, 30 May 1838, 312.

²⁰ *Cantor de Avis și comers*, year VI, no. 16, 28 February 1838, 63.

least 1,000 Lei annually, "carrying newspapers and letters" – 40 Lei monthly and 480 Lei per year; rent for the building in which the editorial office would operate - 1,000 Lei annually. The result is a total of 17,960 Lei.

However "the income of a gazette what goes up to more than 150 subscribers by paying four ducats" is 600 ducats, i.e. 19,200 Lei. If from this amount is counted against those 17,960 Lei (expenses), there will be still 1,240 Lei left as "earnings to fill with them the money loss, the extraordinary expenses, hansoms and others...".²¹ "Money loss" means, actually, copies sent to certain individuals who were not required to pay for them. Faced with such a review, the publisher decided to boost the sale of the *Curierul*, announcing both the older and the newer subscribers that they would receive bundles free of charge from the "Romanian Grammar", written and printed by himself. There were made even some editorial improvements by hiring C. Bălăcescu as policy manager for the publication and A. Popovici as engineer for heading the "Varieties" section.

In the years that followed, the editorial staff has experimented various forms to stimulate reading, in the sense that he diversified the content so as to enhance the targeting of his articles. In 1843, for example, it is experienced and assimilated gestures of public relations strategies namely imaging, as was the decision to contract five discounted subscriptions for each county, for the benefit of the flood victims gathered after a large fire in Ploiești.

Also, among the marketing innovations stands the editors' gesture to use several illustrations on the *Curier de ambe sexe* (from 1840), mainly "fashion figures", to boost sales and when they come to a reasonable profit level the "figures" are discarded, meanwhile strengthening the editorial staff. Such a decision can hasten bankruptcy - a loyal audience to a certain type of content can leave a publication whether it keeps "innovating", as it happened with the above-mentioned title.²²

As the editorial costs were increasing - see the call of the engineer Alexandru Popovici, to get at least 500 subscriptions in order to print the magazine *Dacia Veche și Nouă* (at Craiova) – part of the solution was the expansion of the market for the printouts carried out in various regions.

²¹ *Curierul Românesc*, year X, no. unspecified, 1 March 1839, 1.

²² *Curier de ambe sexe* is considered the first literary journal in the Wallachia, published in Bucharest between 1837-1847, edited by Ion Heliade Rădulescu. The texts for the female audience had a significant share in this journal.

For example, in 1844 publishers in Bucharest, Sibiu and Iași decided to contract subscriptions, on a reciprocal basis, so that through *Gazeta de Transilvania*, the Transylvanians could subscribe to *Curier de ambe sexe*, from Bucharest, for instance.

Also, in 1844, the magazine editorial office of *Curier de ambe sexe* conducted a survey about the letters used in printing, out of which 616 readers showed they wanted using the Latin alphabet and 27 have opted for Cyrillic letters. The transition to the Latin script, at the insistence the approximately 600 subscribers has made the the lection salon from Paris called "Monpensier" to request copies of the *Curier* (in 1845), to be read there as well. It is difficult to estimate how many French have read it, yet the Frenchman's request worked as a prestigious argument to promote *Curierul de ambe sexe*.

There were also situations in which major publications as *Dunărea* edited by M. Cugino, would disappear from the market, in spite of the editor's efforts to maintain on the market "a mercantile journal", i.e. special informative issues. For Cugino, the administrative offices of Bucharest, Iași and Sibiu's newspapers have provided support, however without having obtained any more than 87 subscriptions (in 1847).

One of the editorial problems was – as much since then to these days – the press distribution (or media broadcasting). Also as the owners of carriages were playing with the prices, Wallachian police published "measures over the resolute price for the walks per hour",²³ with the help of a carriage, in brief for two coins (considering that the cabmen used to pretend up to five coins). This is how the Inner Department, by the Commandment No.12.235/ 1846 decided that "if in the future these coachmen dare to take even a dime more per hour, they will not only be beaten, but they will also be denied to practice this service".²⁴

We should note that as the political groups are crystallized, both the flow of information and the printout market mature, the distinction between the "mercantile journals", the political and literary ones (often supported by various benefactors) becomes increasingly clearer. Basically, only the first category survived on sales because it provided various and accurate information on current events from the country and from abroad.

Listening to the market demands, descending to the mid-level readers has been and remained a controversial topic. For instance, in

²³ *Vestitorul Românesc*, year X, no. 99, 17 December 1846, 395. The document bears the signature of the Chief of Police, I. Manu and was issued on December 14, 1846.

²⁴ *Vestitorul Românesc*, year X, no. 99, 17 December 1846, 395

1848, Ion Heliade Rădulescu found himself constrained to respond to I. Maiorescu, the one who asserted that the Romanian publications are "masks without brains".²⁵ Our publications meet every real needs and they have their readers, the very experienced publisher argued by offering as example *Curierul Românesc*, that went from 150 to 1400 copies in ten years.

In the year of 1848, remained in history as the year of the revolution, but also as the year of cholera, 17 periodicals appeared regularly in the Romanian Principalities, according to the editors from *Albina Românească*,²⁶ which meant very few.

Once again about money. In 1851 we learn that a press distributor cost the editorial office 100 Lei per month, as it was for the *Romanian Herald*: "At the newspaper editorial office (...) it is necessary to have a newspaper distributor to D.D. subscribed purchasers, twice per week, whose salary will be 100 Lei per month, especially around the New Year he has to have a salary from 300 up to 400 Lei from D.D. subscribed purchasers; those interested to be entrusted with this job, should show themselves at the chancellery of our editorial office which can be found on the street of Șerban-Vodă".²⁷

A pass to a restaurant where one could read various newspapers and journals cost 110 Lei per month, an example found in the newspaper being "Hotel de France" from Bucharest: "in the middle of the Mogoșoaia bridge, the city's center, corresponding to one's needs, as it has at its gate a station with hansoms, and in the yard it has the diligences cantor following the roads of Giurgiu and Brașov. This hotel is recommended to travellers who come in the Principality, for it includes a café-restaurant, where one may read French, German, Italian and Romanian journals..."²⁸ The restaurant had a menu à la carte ("breakfast, dinner and soups were to be regulated by the chiefest daily book"), the monthly pass going up to 110 Lei (piasters).

The need for information could be seen not only in newspapers but also in the texts of opinion published at the time. Referring to the Bucharest press during 1852-1853, an editorial office collaborator of *Voința națională*, who recommends himself as "Barbu" published a

²⁵ I. Eliade, "About D. Maiorescu's letter from *Foaea Literară*, No. 6", in *Curierul Românesc*, year IX, no. 18. 1848, 3-4.

²⁶ "Romanian Journalism", in *Albina Românească*, year XX, no. unspecified, 1848, 7, 20, 36.

²⁷ *Vestitorul Românesc*, year XVI, no. 35, 9 May 1851, 140.

²⁸ *Vestitorul Românesc*, year XVI, no. 50, 2 July 1851, 200.

periodical entitled “In Bucharest”, in which he laments about the journalist’s situation, who does not have breaks as in the other professions, but – as he stated - “ What do you want? The newspaper became even for us an object of consuming of prime necessity as well as bread, meat and wine.

A somewhat cultivated man can not sleep at night until he laid eyes on a newspaper; he’d rather be willing to stand suppressing his tobacco or broth than letting anyone to take away his information and his newspaper aticles. Let alone the articles, the information is much more important! The information! Here is the daily bread that our audience asks for. Most readers would bother with those articles of Mr. Panu or with the written findings of Mr. Costică Boerescu from *Națiunea*, as much as the cats would be interested in the Impressionism School’s paintings. What else is new? Here's the question you hear every street corner, in every cafe, for ten, a hundred times a day, wherever you are. How are things in Bulgaria? Will it be war or peace? Did it rain in that said town or not? (...) When I was still young, it was a rarity to see someone reading newspapers...”²⁹

In 1857, the first year of the newspaper *Românul*, as A. Ștefănescu-Galați noted, "the newspaper business was not what it is today" (in 1916 –a.n.); it was poor. The two or three newspapers³⁰ managed to print out of a few hundred copies up to a maximum of two thousand; and only *Românul* reached this number, yet not earlier than 1875 (edition– a.n.).

For a newspaper to be able to maintain such circumstances, the one who was devoted to it had do everything, to be even its editorial secretary as well as an editor, a reporter and an interpreter, also a proofreader, and even the administrator; thus C.A. Rosetti was working with one or two employees who helped him.

No professional journalists were mentioned back at that time: it was considered to be a mission, not a job. Politicians practiced journalism in order to preach their own ideas, yet only a few of them managed to struggle for a long time with a newspaper’s necessities.

”C.A. Rosetti himself died while still writing”³¹ We have not found any documents showing the editorial costs, however from the

²⁹ *Voința națională*, year II, no. unspecified, 17 July 1887, 2.

³⁰ A newspaper would appear twice a week.

³¹ A. Ștefănescu-Galați, "C.A. Rosetti", in his commemorative volume dedicated to C.A. Rosetti, third edition, Study Circle Journal of the National Liberal Party, Bucharest, 1916, 30.

testimonies of the contemporaries it is shown that around 1880 a daily newspaper editorial board had a director, two editors, a translator and a proofreader, an endorser as well as other six distributors. We haven't added on the list the accountant, the printers and other employees whose number ranged according to the size of the printing company as well as its materials. Frequently students were employed to translate texts from foreign publications or as reporters. *Românul* had an average circulation of 2,500 copies in 1876 and about 3,100 during 1877-1878; approximately 1900-2450 copies were printed, on average, in 1883; 2,350 copies in 1885, except for the editions from 9 to 12 April 1885, in which it was brought to public knowledge the death and the funerals of C.A.Rosetti, 4000 copies being printed out.³² This was the situation of one of the main liberal Romanian newspapers.

If the publisher will be into agreement with the market's expectations, the printout number will increase as well, as indicated by the statistics published by G. I. Lahovari, in 1898: "there are newspapers these days in Bucharest which have constant daily printout range of 15, 20 of 35.000 copies. In the days with large events, the range increases (...) there are four advertising agencies (...) 30 newsstands..."³³ Let us note that at that time, the population stood at around 250,000 inhabitants in Bucharest.

There have also been equilibrated publishers who quickly understood that displaying a political choice could compromise an edition, as in Luigi Cazzavillan's case. One of his fellow journalists used the following statements about him: "In 1884, in a little house from Calea Dorobanților, appeared the first number of *Universul*, edited, corrected and shipped by the young and enthusiastic Luigi Cazzavillan. His editorial board was composed of him only (...) Of the 300 or 400 sheets sold at the beginning, it came to 100 thousand copies".³⁴ From the Editor in Chief it reached 20 editors and a total of 100 employees; held an editorial board and administration palace for *Universul* on Brezoianu street, owned ten printing presses worth 100.000 Lei and so on. It was the most spectacular evolution of a periodical title in Romania.

About the plights of other publications, on to the following lines. At 25 May 1869, the head of the magazine "The woman. Non-political journal" He complained about the difficult situation from the economic

³² A. Ștefănescu-Galați, op.cit., 286.

³³ George Ioan Lahovari et alii, The great Geographical Dictionary of Romania, vol. I, The printing venue at Socec, Bucharest, 1898, 764.

³⁴ "Luigi Cazzavillan", in *Foaia populară*, year III, no. 27, 5th of September 1900, 3.

point of view. After six months of monthly appearance, " we print 1000, share six hundred copies but then we have received only 60"³⁵ (subscriptions – a.n.). In Bucharest, for instance there were only 35 subscribers.

In the same registry of disappointment we learn ten years later about head of newspaper Mary Flehtenmacher's laments regarding *The Romanian Woman. Social, literary and homely newspaper*, however referring to the entire Romanian media: "... there is a single scientific journal printed in 600 copies, yet we do not know whether 200 are paid regularly. There is only one literary sheet which has only from four to 500 readers. The artistic ones don't even exist (...) if we were supposed to believe these statistics, there should be only 200 Romanian men and women educated and lovers of national progress, and about four hundred families who love and encourage the Romanian literature out of 200,000 Romanian people in Bucharest. So, what do the other 199.300 Romanian families read? <The dramas of Paris>, a literary one (...) which often spoils the taste and the morals of the young souls. < The dramas of Paris > is printed in 5000 copies; meanwhile *The Scientific Magazine* and *The Romanian Woman* which include sciences, housewifery, instructions, literature, retrieved from reliable writers, are printed only 500 of them"³⁶ (copies). The owner of the magazine *Femeia* will soon discover that she will not be able to sustain the newspaper with sober, cautionary or excessively regulative texts. Shortly after, she will issue supplements and will follow the taste of the audience, for the purposes of publishing several texts on fashion (mostly Parisian), columns with attractive titles as "The Harem", "The Banker", "Love, women and marriage" and so forth, miscellaneous facts ("varieties"), household tips, illustrations, and even changes the journal's cover graphic.

Furthermore, the editor published in each issue "The Black List", meaning a list of names of those who received the magazine, but have not paid the subscription. It was a mourning section with full names and towns where the debtors were living. The practice of subscribing by force, sending a publication even to those who have not requested it, then put pressure upon them to pay for it was widespread at the time. The subscription was a form of credit, after all, allowing management decisions for six times over the following 12 months. The target of the editor was not only to recover the amount invested, but also expanding

³⁵ *Femeia. Jurnal nepolitic*, year II, no. 6, 25 May 1869, 1.

³⁶ Maria Flehtenmaher, "The schools and the literature", in *Femeia Română*, year II, no. 123, 7th of June 1879, 1.

the business to 1,000 subscribers. It seems that the strategy adopted has been successful - in 1880, the government had its own typography (on Domnița Anastasia street, no. 27).

A "publication for the people" entitled *Comoara satelor* defined itself since its founding (in 1905) as a "national institution that wishes to belong to its people, to exist for its people, both supported and protected by them.

The amount offered to support it shall be given for enlightenment for the light of the people is able to protect, so no sacrifice can be too great to this duty"³⁷. Well, at the beginning of 1906 the publisher noted incurring significant losses: "Please notice. With this number we have canceled sending our magazine to more than 3 500 subscribed purchasers who are still in debt since two years ago and others who haven't paid ever since the first edition.

The large expenses we have to support for this sheet that has no other support than the one of its readers, does not allow us anymore to ship the magazine unpaid beforehand".³⁸ What else have the editors not tried yet? Catchy messages, prizes etc. For instance, the regular readers would receive as a gift replicas of "historical events" such as "Popular lawful gathering from 1831" or "The circumstantial trials of 1857" (Wallachian and Moldavian), or representing " The Legislative Assembly of 1859". However, in 1906 it ceases its publishing just to return to the market half of year later.

From the informations available and the numerous texts in which the publishers deplore the media's state suggests there were not enough readers. They could hardly be, since in 1909, for example, almost 60% of Romania's population were illiterate. Around 19% of them could read and write and 9,5 % attended the school; only 2,2% graduated the upper classes.³⁹ It wasn't the school that had the main role to cultivate people, but the Church.

On the other hand, neither the suggested formula by the most publications did not seem to find readers – it came to an abundance of fiction, literature, texts giving as little information as many columns and

³⁷ *Comoara satelor*, year III, no. 3-4, 15 January-1 February 1907, 61. Note. The magazine has been founded in 1905 or 1906 in Bucharest, first edition series; it appears again in 1907-19016. A similar magazine has been published in Blaj, starting with 1923.

³⁸ *Comoara satelor*, year III, no. 3-4, 15 January-1st of February 1907, 62.

³⁹ Petre Zaharescu, "Our primary school is fictional", written in *Săptămâna politică și culturală*, year II, no. 29, 23 June 1912, 11.

so on. Too many metaphors, passions, emotions, not enough information of useful value.

To this end I find relevant the testimony of Constantin Stere, who in 1917 published an article admitting that "I am not a journalist by profession", after 100 editions of the newspaper *Lumina*, he was running. This happened after he edited the monthly publication of *Viața românească*, for 10 years, meanwhile, like others did, he had doubts regarding the quality of his press materials. It is a moment of awareness: the journalist is other than the writer:

"In the publishing business of a magazine where the informational based only part has relatively less significance, the writer still masters his quill. He selects his facts, processes them, underlines them, he draws out of them what he thinks necessary for the purposes he has. Thus he can afford literary pretensions, and he can nurture his illusion that he produces a lasting <opera>... The journalist however is a mere small wheel of a tremendous machinery, which does not turn off neither night nor day, or an increasingly insatiable tanner always demanding <materials>, only the forthwith news, fapte inedite, that will master the public attention even for a moment. The newspaper does not like to know anything of literary claims, mocks all preferences; whatever is not <fresh> anymore, occurred in more than the last 24 hours, has no more value for it; the machinery keeps working, and it needs constantly <materials>; and it fails to take account of neither the preferences nor the individual concerns, it disregards the writer's <mood>, his fatigue or his aphasia..."⁴⁰

3. Transylvania

The situation did not seem to be better in Transylvania also because, as we could learn from the 1838's editions, when *Gazeta de Transilvania* appeared, Ioan Lupaș wrote: "A Romanian audience, accountable for sure, able to support the appearance of a newspaper, here (in Transylvania – a.n.) did not exist yet. Those who have felt the necessity of newspapers in order to be updated with the events from the country or abroad, were the few educated people and the usual – and that should be emphasized - of foreign school (...) We had no high nor midrange clergy formed yet. As for our society broad and heavy layers

⁴⁰ C. Stere, "101", *Lumina*, year I, no. 101, 11 December 1917, 1.

(...) they were in a sad state of ignorance, the most primeval stage of the intellectual culture".⁴¹

Indeed, the economical difficulties faced by George Barițiu were plenty, right from the start of *Gazeta de Transilvania*. In order to obtain a minimum profit, for example, the publisher needed at least 500 subscribed purchasers, something that unfortunately did not happen. "It is enough to note that before 1848, *Gazeta de Transilvania* had more readers in Wallachia and in Moldavia than in Transylvania or Hungary",⁴² noted Aurel A. Mureșianu, referring to the beginning of the Transylvanian media using Romanian language. In fact, *Gazeta* had approximately 500 subscribers on the eve of the 1848's Revolution, 300 from the Principalities and about 200 in Transylvania. The issuing volumes will increase their number after 1849 when the number of the Transylvanian readers will exceed the number of those from the Principalities, reaching approximately 1000 readers.

This explains the scarcity of publications in Romanian. In 1846, the Romanian editors retrieved an article from *Allgemeine Zeitung* in which were presented the results of an analysis of the media, from which Transylvania faced an unprecedented situation, where to 2.5 millions of Romanian there were only leading publications issued – *Gazeta de Transilvania* and *Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură*.⁴³

Barițiu was the one who opposed the project of a new publication⁴⁴, which was to appear in Vienna in 1861 - "German word newspaper to defend the nation's interests and our homeland Transylvania. That newspaper would have been out three times a week in the format of No. 6 (...) and would have cost about 16,000 fr.⁴⁵ per year".⁴⁶ The reason? Also an economically one -" so as not to be

⁴¹ Ioan Lupaș, From the Romanian media's past, Typ. Diocesan, Arad, 1916, 112.

⁴² Aurel A. Mureșianu, " Romanian press before and after 1848", *Țara Bârsei*, year III, No. 2, March and April 1931, 103.

⁴³ "Printing and journalism in our countries", *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year IX, 1846, 75.

⁴⁴ G. Barițiu, "Familiar Letters", in *Transilvania*, year II, no. 2, 15 January 1869, 1.

⁴⁵ In this study the abbreviations are used as in the articles mentioned. It is the monetary units that have circulated at that time - the filler, representing one centime (a hundredth part) of the Austrian crown, and the hundredth part of a forint in Hungary. The Florin - silver coin with the value of two crowns in Austria-Hungary, equivalent to two fr. and 10 coins. Sometimes the reference concerns the franc - a monetary unit with a varying value that circulated also in our country. For instance, the subscription for that circulated also in our country. For instance, the subscription for the newspaper of Transylvania (Brașov, 1869) cost two florins a month for the publishing association members, three for non-members and 10 francs (including mail) abroad.

⁴⁶ Short v.a. used in the original article denotes the total amount used.

repelled, or whether anyone likes it, we shall not have a terrible loss, which however, in this case, it would seem to be the same ".⁴⁷

Here is a business plan from October 1865 of all the cost components, representing a new newspaper that would have followed to appear in Braşov, on the initiative of Bariţiu: "1) That new newspaper should be completely independent, therefore necessarily submit warranty. 2) To have a liberal program pronounced. 3) Not to limit itself to work for the sole interest of the Romanian nation, but also for the country that the nation would collapse without. 4) Common language; smooth style. 5) To handle not only matters of the day related to the inhabitant nations from this side, To handle not only matters of the day related to the nations inhabitant from this side, but also from the Romanian Independent Principalities while for European affairs to come in the third line or category, even more the ones that could have stout ill will upon our young people. 6) To have belletristic and varieties series for the feminine audience preferences. 7) To come out for now thrice in the format of No.6 on clean white paper, with a fresh new pattern. 8) To maintain the price of 9 fr. instead of 10 while shipping it".⁴⁸

If this was the program and the composition of the newspaper, here are all the elements of charge: "The annual charges required for a newspaper's size and quality to that described above would be, for 156 copies: The paper and printing to 30 fr. per sheet - 4.680 fr. overall; the stamps to 156,000 sheets per year for one cr.-1.560 fr.; Shipping was 105 cr. for every 100 sheets -1.638 fr. overall; Address printing and consignment charges – 400 fr.; Provisioning, percentages, losses, correspondence, charges of the chancellery -1.000 fr.; 5 major foreign newspapers 20 fr. each-100 fr.; other 5 less significant newspapers 12 fr. each, 60 fr. overall; The benefit of the Chief Editor was 20 % out of the gross income, about 2.000 fr.; the benefit of a contributor was 10% - about 1.000 fr.; 12.438 fr. in general".⁴⁹

To these are added the rent of a room (office), the purchase of books, fees for foreign correspondents, which no matter how reduced would still reach 500 fr. The result is a total of 12,938 fr. The author's conclusion is that to fit within the listed expenses it would take 1,400 subscribers, and if the subscribers would be fewer he had to rise the price of its subscription up to 12 fr. per year, as the Hungarian newspapers cost in Cluj, or from other cities, every one having three

⁴⁷ G. Bariţiu, "Familiar Letters", în *Transylvania*, year II, no. 2, 15 January 1869, 1.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Bariţiu, G., "Familiar Letters", in *Transylvania*, year II, no. 2, 15 January 1869, 1.

issues weekly. However, “by not having any hope of realising here this preliminary, it has been thrown under the mattress on my behalf as well...”⁵⁰

He abandoned the idea, but “God gave in 1866 at Vienna the chance for *Albina* to come out, and in 1868 *Federațiunea*, at Pesta ...”⁵¹ publications ensuring to the Romanians access to information. However, in 1869, Barițiu noted that “to all the European mailing offices it can be listed not only how many newspapers come out in different languages, but also how many copies should be sent. Well, we boast that we are all eight million or ten million; but there were 35 political periodical sheets and non-political ones, many that came out until this day in our language, hardly shipping around 30 thousand copies. Let us say we are reading in place of publishing the respective sheets for another 10,000 copies, ie 40 000 overall”⁵² Compared with other nations, he noted that our situation was rather difficult...

About the magazine *Albina* expenses (Vienna, 1866) we learned from Vasile Grigoroviță. The author⁵³ evokes the founders – Andrei, George, Anton and Alexandru Mocioni, who start with their own money this publication, then to the costs of publishing for 12 months, resulting that between April 1866 - March 1867 they went up to 9.950 fr., and the revenues from their subscriptions were of 5.750 fr.. Therefore, the founders "made a subsidy of 4,200 f.". It is strange that instead of reducing the subsidy, it grows in the following period - from April 1867 to 31 December 1868 (22 months), the costs were:

- I. Charges: The typography (presses, paper, stamps, addresses and advertising)- 9.500 fl.; The editorial board (the editor, the contributors and the correspondents, rent of the chancellery, supplies and mailing) – 4.650 fl.; The shipping (plus the postage stamps) – 3.200 fl. Overall: 17.350 fl.

- II. Incomes: Subscriptions up to 700 and 820 (“posing them in exchange for free up to 100 copies”); Advertisements –

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Vasile Grigoroviță, “The expenses and the incomes from *Albina*”, in *Albina*, year III, no. 128, 19/31 December 1868, 3-6. About the editorial difficulties of some Romanian publications Alexandru Roman also talks in *Federațiunea* – see year I, no. 180, 13/25 December 1868, 1.

10.350 fl.; The founders' subsidy – 7.000 fl. There will be a total of 17.350 fl.

The author's conclusion is that “ for two years and three fourths, ever since there was *Albina* founded, the Romanian audience helped to support it with 16.100 fl., while the illustrious founders with 11,200 fl. That is the full cost of the 33 months since *Albina*'s first edition, 27.300 fl”.⁵⁴ Please note that their annual subscription fees cost 8 fl. for Austria, 18 fl. for Romania and other countries. It was published three times a week, "according to the circumstances' moment" that which means a variable number of its pages.

About an editor's difficulties also talks the owner of *Archivu pentru filologie și istorie*, in 1868. “ The editor of this paper”⁵⁵- as Cipariu noted - “never signed just as an editor, but only as publisher (...) An editor, like all the authentic editors, has to pick his materials and to put them into order; he has to write sometimes even a general topic based article, so to speak, and he should also add a small observation. That's the true occupation of the right editor, or editorial staff, where are several editors. Whether I shall be the editor, where are my materials from which to choose, to put in order and make up the sheet numbers, like everyone else, baptized - or unbaptized - editors? Please inspect, dear subscribers, the following 20 editions enrolled in 50 large sheets, for the last two years; please also count how many articles have been submitted? (...) you will be convinced that there we could not talk about the editorial board itself, because there was no material from which to choose and which to draft, but the editor was required to compose and write one on its own”⁵⁶. Cipariu said that not even the hundredth part of the texts published would have been sent by others than the philology or history specialists. His explanation concerns the lack of payment of collaborators – “the present editorial board is not in wealth to promise incomes through these sheets in order to earn correspondents”, that “days of this organization shall be counted down”.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Vasile Grigoroviță, 1868, 3-6.

⁵⁵ Timotei Cipariu, “Declaration”, in *Archivu*, year II, no. XX, 25 November 1868, 399-400. See also, “Information taken from three regular sheets respectfully to the Romanian publicity”, in *Transilvania*, year II, no. 2, 15 January 1869, 14

⁵⁶ Timotei Cipariu, 1868, 399.

⁵⁷ Timotei Cipariu, 1868, 400. Note. *Archivu pentru filologie și istorie* has been published during 1867 and 1870 and in 1872 was the first Romanian philology magazine.

The journal resisted difficulties with the irregular appearance until November 1870, the final edition being printed in November 25, 1872. The lack of collaborators, subscribers, editing and dispatch from Blaj (given that it was printed in Sibiu), health of the publisher- editor have resulted, taken together, the disappearance of our first philological magazine.

I should finish this quickly on a successful title - *Gazeta de Duminică*, founded in 1888 by A. Mureșianu as a supplement of *Gazeta de Transilvania*, had printout ranges of 3.000-4.000 copies⁵⁸, the highest achieved by a publication from Transylvania, back then (to have a subscription available it took two florins per year).

4. Moldavia

We found in Moldavia a comparable situation to the one in Wallachia, in terms of publishing. Although he was the holder of the privilege to edit the press and to hold a typography as a nonclerical man and so on, Gheorghe Asachi will not record what is known as a commercial success with his publications. And neither by books. On June 1st, 1829 he begins editing, printing and selling *Albina Românească*. Later he will publish a literary supplement entitled *Alăuta Românească*.

The year 1832 will find the two publications right at the moment when the owner noticed that for the six million Moldavian Romanian people were only two newspapers, the "most ignoble analogy" compared to media development in the surrounding countries.

It is the year in which requires support to buy a modern typography as a nonclerical man, a request that prompted the marshal N. Șuțu to inquire "What does lord Asachi need for a mechanical press for two sheets that appear twice a week, one of them being supported by the government and the other having less than 200 subscribers?"⁵⁹

Although it was a semi-official publication *Albina* shortly ceases its appearance, due to lack of readers: "After the publisher's notice regarding *Albina Românească*, sadly announce that its much needed editor after its most damaging diligence of four years was at last constrained to cease publishing these useful and honor bringing publication for the Moldavians "⁶⁰, announced the editors of *Curierul*

⁵⁸ Aurel A. Mureșianu, "Romanian press before and after 1848", *Țara Bârsei*, year III, No. 2, from March to April 1931, 116.

⁵⁹ Nicolae Șuțu, 1957, 185, *apud* Vintilă-Ghițescu, 2012, 256.

⁶⁰ *Curierul Românesc*, year V, 1838, 133.

Românesc, from Bucharest, in 1833. It is difficult to judge whether the failure could be explained by the scarcity of its readers or by the unattractive content of the newspaper. The gestures in which they attempted to resume publishing after 18 months have been - the introduction of some more interesting chain stories, the introduction of a field of fashion and maintaining the price of two ducats to six Lei quarterly for the subscribers.

Slightly more financially stable seemed to be the magazine *Foaie sătească pentru Prințipatul Moldovii* (1839), a publication allowed by the Public Association Assembly and by the ruler. According to his founding report, the publisher had to print as many sheets as the number of villages there were. Actually, it was established already the requirement that there had to be a at least one subscription for every village of at least 50 inhabitants, and it was required to be read by the priests on every Sunday because the publication contained commandments from the ruler, as well as notices regarding outbreaks, ad sales, auctions, prices and others. The partners of Kogălniceanu will be Teodor Albineț, the secretary of *Foaie* and the typographer Adolf Berman.

As the number of literate people increases the taste for reading is manifested by purchasing newspapers and magazines. In June 1881, appears in Iași *Contemporanul. Revistă științifică și literară*, of a great impact over the history of our culture. The first two editions were printed in 700 copies each⁶¹, the third, fourth and fifth editions 1.000 copies each, and starting with the seventh edition the printout goes up to 2.000 copies.⁶² By mid of the second year of occurrence it had approximately 3.000 subscribers and the print run of 4,500 copies, which meant a very good circulation then for such publication; in the third year due to economic difficulties, the appearance becomes unregulated, so until 1887 it needed the help of a specialist in editorial activity, Israel Kupermann.⁶³ However, the market did not accept more, so in the tenth year of *Contemporanul* it ceases its publishing.

5. Romanian Media, a debt of the scientific community

The economic size of local journalism remains, as noted above, one of the researchers arears. It is true that too many documents have

⁶¹ This was also the print run for *Espatriatul*, published by Cezar Bolliac, the abbot Snagoveanu and Constantin Bălcescu, in Brașov, in 1849.

⁶² *Contemporanul*, year I, no. 7, 1881, 226.

⁶³ Al. Hanță, 1983, 34.

remained in the archives, but focused research, in large documentation funds, both civil and military archives, private archival funds and so on, could lead to the drafting of a economical history of the press in Romania.

As an example, here is information indicating how publications were prioritized from 1936 starting from the advertising prices charged. The advertising charge reflects the print runs, the prestige, the broadcast area and others. In 1936, newspapers like *Lupta* and *Rampa* had the cheapest charges for such services – 5.00 Lei, followed by *Ora* with 6.00 Lei, *Facla* with 8.00 Lei, *Epoca* and *Curentul*, 9.00 Lei each; *Ordinea* and *Porunca vremii* 10.00 Lei each; *Adevărul*, *Argus*, *L'Independance Roumaine*, *Tempo* și *Viitorul* 12.00 Lei each, tariffs going up to 20.00 Lei per text column, as practiced by the major newspapers with the largest print runs– *Universul* and *Dimineața*. The last two collected 80.00 Lei for an advertising line "by text".⁶⁴

Even the newspapers from counties had significant receipts from advertising: *Satu Mare* – 15.00 Lei per advertising line; *Dobrogea Jună* – 12.00 Lei, *Curierul Basarabiei de Sud* – 10.00 Lei; *Dacia* (Constanța) - 10.00 Lei.

Romania had 687 periodicals – 324 newspapers and 363 magazines, according to the "Catalogue of the press in Romania", edition of 1936. These were distributed as follows: 123 in the Old Kingdom, 166 in Transylvania, 19 in Bessarabia and in Bukovina 16. In Bucharest 56 newspapers appeared, followed by 21 newspapers in Timișoara, in Cluj 20, in Chișinău and Cernăuți 16 newspapers each, 12 Oradea, Galați 11, Sibiu and Arad 10 each, Târgu Mureș 8 and so on. (The newspaper, in this context didn't really mean a daily publication, rather with a frequency between daily and twice a month, the content being the major element – they were not literary works, but the current socio-political, economic, cultural ones etc.). The newspapers print runs with a national scale had 60,000 to 150,000 copies, the counties being more modest: *Bacăul* – 3.500 copies, *Opinia din Iași* - 26.000 copies etc. A magazine such as *Realitatea ilustrată* had 70.000 copies.

During the Second World War, the state will be the one to adjust the paper consumption, advertising rates, circulation and even decide what publications are useful or not. More specifically the state abolished periodicals while founding some others that respond better to the propaganda interests of the moment. At this stage it deserves to be understood from a financial perspective.

⁶⁴ *Catalogul presei din România*, 1936.

By the communist regime, as it is known, the opposition's media gets eliminated, the only periodicals approved being those who served the official ideology. In this case may also be saved the personal information held by the archives, requests can be made for the purposes of speeding up processing the funds held by the public archives, so that documents should be accessible. The greatest difficulties were recorded in disseminating the literary press. This explains why regular meetings were held at the General Directorate of Media Broadcasting, as it was the one from July 1959 they have analyzed the sales of 10 literary magazines published by the Writers Union – *Gazeta literară*, *Viața românească*, *Luceafărul*, *Utunk*, *Steaua*, *Igasz Szo*, *Iașul literar*, *Neue Literatur*, *Scrisul bănățean* and *Novi Jivot*. Their budgets were very small compared to the 32 central and local newspapers which had a circulation amounted to an appearance of 2,400,000 copies. However, as the authorities considered, in order to limit the losses it was necessary to reconsider the content and sales strategy. Some magazines, such as *Viața românească* and *Steaua* would sometimes appear very late, other newspapers did not understand that "the masses of readers of the literary journals require that they publish works with a rich content of ideas, imbued with a deep sense of political party written with a high level of mastery as they deserve great topics for which they are devoted".⁶⁵

One of the major newspapers of the period was *România liberă*, which in 1971 had 340.000 printouts per edition. The average print run for an appearance in the years of 1945-1948 was of 80,000 -140,000 copies, rising to 174,135 copies in 1949; 183,467 in 1950; 302,150 in 1960; 322 040 in 1970 and so on.⁶⁶

Again, as an example, here follow some informations from the personal archive. For instance, in 1984 the budget for the local daily paper *Dobrogea nouă*, noting that it appeared for 310 times and had average print run of 32,000 copies daily: I. Incomes. Revenues from distribution: 4.954,0 Lei; revenues from advertising: 1.950,0 Lei; other incomes: 3,0 Lei. Overall: 6.907,0 Lei. II. Expenses. Paper: 667.0 Lei; typography: 667,0 Lei; distribution: 751.0 Lei; editorials: 1.701,2 Lei; advertising: 25,0 Lei; a part of the administrative charges: 188,7 Lei. Overall: 3.999,9 Lei. III. Profit: 2.907, 1 Lei.

A few explanations on two sections of the budget. "Editorial expenses" included wages of employees, taxes on salaries, displacements,

⁶⁵ Barbu Gruia, "Some problems of disseminating the literary magazines ", in *Gazeta literară*, year V, no. 31, 30 July 1959, 3.

⁶⁶ Vasile Dochia, *România liberă*. Cataloguing data, 13 August 1971. Personal archive.

the purchase of books and periodicals, repairing, maintenance expenses, teaching materials and laboratory. Similar was the structure to chapter "administrative expenses" – salaries, taxes on salaries, displacements,, maintenance expenses, corresponding to the administrative staff. As for the wages ("retribution charging") in the media, here was the situation in the 80s. The staff of an institution was composed of three categories of personnel: 1 editorial and technical team; 2. specialized execution; 3. administrative and household. The first category included: the chief editor, with a salary of 5,110 Lei, plus an allowance between 280 and 720 Lei; the deputy chief editor, with 4,670 Lei salary and an allowance from 220 to 510 Lei; the chief of section, with a salary from 3,670 to 4,890 Lei. And they were the 'senior management'. In the second tier followed: the debating publicist; section editor, with wages from 3.350 to 4.890 Lei; main editor - from 2780-4020 Lei; editor - among 2,560 to 3,500 Lei; main typewriter - from 2,180 to 2,910 Lei; a corrector with higher education - among 2,240 and 2,910 Lei; a corrector with medium education - among 1,770 and 2,180 Lei; photographer, reporter - from 1,940 to 2,380 Lei. The editorial management was considered the typist (the secretary) with the salary between 2,000 and 2,380 Lei. The administrative and household staff were regarded as: manager of publication, from 2380 to 3050 income Lei; administrator for 2-4 four publications among 2670 and 3500 income Lei; the economist - 2.240 or 2.910 Lei; the accountant - 1.880 and 2.380; Accounting - auditors 1,620 to 2000 Lei; the chief accountant - 2470-3200 Lei. The courier, the guardian and keeper had a monthly wage between 1,450 and 1,620 Lei; janitor, 1425-1570 Lei and the trainee editor (1-2 years activity) - 2060-2310 Lei.

A medium-sized editorial office had 32 employees as the one that daily published *Dobrogea nouă* (311 issues per year) and the seasonal newspaper *Litoral* (104 issues per year), including 21 staff team, six directors and five staff workers.

It is difficult to say how much the State spent for publishing the Romanian press. Estimates can be made based on numbers above, from regular labor laws at that time, printing costs, transportation etc.. The largest editorial office in the country was the one of the newspaper *Scânteia* – the number of the employees was not known (some of whom were officers of the State Security Department), yet the recent documents show that in 1965 wages had reached 5,880,274 Lei. However, the

biggest expenses were not the salaries, but the distribution of the newspaper: 20,050,864 Lei.⁶⁷

In 1987, for example, in Romania there were about 500 newspapers and magazines, with an average print run of over 12,500,000 copies for an appearance⁶⁸. According to a survey conducted by The Journalists Council and the Party Committee, coordinator of the Press and Publishing Groups Section, in 1987, 3,613 employees were working in the media – in the domains of press and publishing, excluding the Radio and the Television who had a particular status - of whom 1,891 editors, 263 book lecturers, 201 secretaries of the editorial board, 155 typewriters, 80 translators, 50 proofreaders, 94 photographers and other 879 professionals. For example, in the National News Agency Agerpres there were 215 editors, 956 county press editors and so on.

One of the major problems of the communist Romanian media was broadcasting them. For example, in 1987, the central newspapers were distributed by 22 trains that had attached 23 wagons, 12 passenger jets (from April 1 to October 30), a snare car in Valcea county, having 10 mailing tracks for the Giurgiu , Călărași, the Oltenia region and the Agricultural District of Ilfov, as well as 10 passenger transport (buses) for localities around the Capital. From the storage points, the press was shipped via cars, boats, bicycles and even carriages in some localities. Please note that the newspaper *Scântea* had an average print run of 1,430,000 copies per issue, in the year of 1987, out of which 1.24 million were subscriptions and 190,000 copies sold at the newsstands or via the street hawkers. On national level, approximately 70% of the publications were sold by subscription, 30% were sold through selling points.

Turning to distribution costs, we note that the newspapers *Elöre* and *Neuer Weg* were printed in the afternoon, in Bucharest and were sent by 28 trains that had attached 30 mail wagons and 10 cars. In Bucharest the press was distributed starting at 3:00 am via 7 cars that carried large amounts of press materials, to 14 sales departments, where 40 other cars cast in 500 units for sale, 50 street hawkers and 45 post offices; 31 cars would transport subscriptions from Casa Scântei to over 1.150 companies and institutions which ordered at least 50 copies by

⁶⁷ Central Historical National Archives, Bucharest, responsible Committee for Press and Printings, File no. 40/1965, sheet 94, File no. 42/1965, sheet 109, File no. 44/1965, sheet 92 and File no. 46/1965, sheet 171.

⁶⁸ Information related to the structure according to age and staff accreditation from the Central and Local media and Publishing Groups. Personal archive

subscribing; 10 cars transported press materials to the 45 postal offices from where they were distributed by postmen.

At noon, 30 vehicles were transporting *Informația Bucureștiului* from the typography to over 600 selling points, post offices, hotels, hospitals, restaurants and department stores, street hawkers, etc. Although the efforts of the authorities to ensure proper distribution of media were considerable, newspapers such as *Informația Bucureștiului*⁶⁹ they were losing out of print runs every year – from 285,000 copies in April 1973 to 215,000 in April 1987; the number of street sellers dropped from 120 to 45, hence the need to employ only approximately 100 hawkers in Bucharest.⁷⁰

Subscriptions that appear in the above statistics but also other documents do not reflect the wish of the readers, but instead were, in most cases, obtained by constraint. Depending on the area of employment, profession, age and so on, citizens were required by the political authorities of the time – leading organizations pioneers of the youth organizations of the Communist Party, of trade unions and so on – to contract subscriptions. In some situations – pupils deprived of material resources – it was allowed that a subscription to be contracted by two students. Therefore, the circulation of the communist press did not reflect the actual demand, but a demand of the authorities built through intimidation. Some publications as *Magazin*, *Magazin istoric*, *Flacăra* etc. were appreciated by their readers, so it is possible that their print runs reflect the actual demand.

6. Final thoughts

We conclude this historical sketch, with the hope that we have provided a theme for reflection for researchers in journalism, cultural history, but also for researchers in economy. Appearance and a good deal of development in the Romanian cultural media was marked by challenges, lack of perception. A mostly illiterate and poor population will prove itself no matter in which province of Romania, to be uninterested in the press offer. Only after the Revolution of 1989, as the political environment developed, the printing technology improved itself as well as the information streamline, and also the number of the literate

⁶⁹ *Informația Bucureștiului* was the only lunch newspaper published in Romania. On 21 December 1989 it was renamed as *Libertatea*.

⁷⁰ Note covering some issues and shortcomings of the transportation and distribution of press, 7 May 1987. Personal archive.

people increases and so on. Both the newspapers and magazines get a larger print run scale so that it is possible now to obtain a minimum profit turned into the publication's future editions.

We also pointed out the opportunity to exploit the documentary sources, including the personal ones from the communist period in order to scan the propaganda mechanisms not only in terms of indignation, but also in financial terms.

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