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THE EVOLUTION OF THE MARITIME FUNCTION OF THE 19TH CENTURY POMERANIAN PORT TOWNS

The geographical situation of many a Pomeranian town centre created natural conditions for conducting maritime trade. When, however, we juxtapose historical data on the trade exchange development and the date on the ports which function as such at present, the existing, significant differences come to us as a surprise. This is because contemporary Pomeranians do not identify mentally as dealing with maritime trade directly such towns as Stargard Szczeciński (Stargard in Pommern), Goleniów (Gollnow), Trzebiatów (Treptow an der Rega), Kamień Pomorski (Cammin in Pommern), or Wolin (Wollin). When seeking an answer to the question why certain towns and settlements ceased to function as maritime centres whereas others either continued in this role to a limited degree, or built up on it, a scrutiny of economic factors, no matter how decisive a role they played in the process in question, will not suffice. There was a clearly observable moment in the history of Pomeranian Baltic towns when the convenient situation of a town on sea could not guarantee this town participation in maritime trade. In some, critical for maritime trade, moments, natural conditions had to be improved, water routes – deepened, new waterfronts – reinforced or built, new breakwaters – built, and ports – armed in modern transshipment infrastructure so as to preserve the position of a strong trade centre. Also, hinterlands had to confront the new challenges such as, for example the necessity of investing in new

communication connections. The 19th century turned out to be a breakthrough period for conducting maritime trade.¹

When classifying and typifying the towns of the Province of Pomerania, the emphasis must be placed, among several other categories, on port-trade towns. This group comprises 9 town centres. Of them all Szczecin, allegedly the most important and biggest Prussian port, occupied a special position. Apart from Szczecin, the following urban centres could boast of possessing port town traits: Kołobrzeg (Kolberg), Stralsund, Greifswald, Barth, Świnoujście (Swinemünde), Wolgast, Darłowo (Rügenwalde), and Ustka (Stolpmünde). It therefore can be seen that several other, smaller town centres had lost their port character. Neither could they compete with stronger ports, nor were they able to invest large sums in modernization of their ports.² Until the mid-19th century some other towns, mainly those situated on the Szczecin Bay played the role of shipowners' domiciles. The navigation and fleet of smaller Bay ports went through various development stages in the early 19th century. The period before the outbreak of Napoleonic wars was the time of economic boom. During these wars the Bay ports did not suffer the fleet loss, either, be it for the fact that they still serviced a limited Pomeranian market. After 1815 the ports in question, much like the majority of Prussian ports, took good advantage of the economic boom; some of these ports (e.g. Anklam, or Świnoujście – Swinemünde) participated also in the Baltic trade, in particular corn trade. After the year 1820 both the fleet capacity of the Szczecin Bay ports and the number of ships diminished. In this latter period another significant transformation took place. Namely, small ports, particularly those situated in the eastern part of the Szczecin Bay, began losing significance as maritime and cabotage trade centres. Gone was for good the Goleniów (Gollnow) shipping fleet, whereas Wolin (Wollin) and Kamień Pomorski (Cammin in Pommern) preserved only symbolical fleet.³

¹ For a detailed discussion of this problem see E. Włodarczyk: *Die bahnbrechende Bedeutung des 19. Jahrhunderts für der Entwicklung der Seewirtschaft Pommerns (bis 1918)*, "Studia Maritima" 14, 2003, pp. 157–179.

² More on the issue in: Z. Szopowski: *Małe porty Pomorza Zachodniego do czasów drugiej wojny światowej* [Small West Pomeranian Ports until World War II], Warszawa 1962.

³ W. Stepiński: *Początki zalewowej żeglugi parowej w Szczecinie w latach 1825–1860* [The Beginning of the Bay Steamship Navigation in Szczecin in the Years 1825–1860], "Przegląd Zachodniopomorski" [Westpomeranian Review], 1–2, 1985, p. 34; E. Włodarczyk: *Flota handlowa na Zalewie Szczecińskim w pierwszej połowie XIX stulecia* [The Early 19th Century Trade Fleet on the Szczecin Bay], "Uniwersytet Szczeciński. Zeszyty Naukowe" [University of Szczecin. Scholarly Fascicles], 528: "Problemy Transportu i Logistyki" [Transportation and Logistic

From the mid-1820s the sailing vessel fleet of smaller towns on the Bay competed with the steamship service. Even though the latter was used for mail transport at first, this particular use of steamships nevertheless prognosticated their introduction to other transport areas. The power of the fleet and Bay navigation which became a fact in the post-Napoleonic wars period effected from the weakness of other communication connections. Still, in the early 19th century Prussia developed a system of beaten tracks. The development of railroad system in the early 19th century signaled the appearance of another rival for the transport, until that moment serviced by the Bay navigation. Consequently, a tendency became visible for this navigation to die down in the places situated on the Bay's eastern shore. It was however maintained in the towns on the western shore of the Szczecin Bay, mainly in Anklam and Demmin.

The decline in the maritime trade of smaller port towns was visible most clearly in the fact of the lessening of the shipping fleet at the disposal of local shipowners. In the years 1816–1824 the biggest fleet among Pomeranian ports was that of Szczecin (141 ships of 20,400 NRT total), Stralsund (113 ships of 12,700 NRT total), Barth in Rügen (58 units and 7500 NRT total), Wolgast (50 ships of 5300 NRT total), Greifswald (47 ships of 4800 NRT total), Świnoujście – Swinemünde (45 ships of 5600 NRT total), Anklam (23 units of 2500 NRT total), and Ueckermünde (20 ships of 2400 NRT). In 1818, the biggest port of the eastern shore of the province, Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) was a home port for 29 units of the total tonnage of 1.6 lasts, whereas Darłowo (Rügenwalde) – for 11 ships of the total tonnage of only as few as 472 lasts. In the same year, the shipping fleet of Ustka (Stolpmünde) amounted to 13 ships whose number decreased to 7 in the early 1920s. The classification had been transformed considerably before the unification of Germany took place. The biggest number of units was still in the possession of Barth shipowners (252 ships of 37,300 NRT total) only to be followed by those from Szczecin (216 ships of much bigger tonnage though – 47,100 NRT total), Stralsund (190 ships of 39,800 NRT total). Greifswald, Wolgast, and Świnoujście (Swinemünde) kept their high positions, too. Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) shipowners were in the possession of 34 units of a relatively small tonnage: 4800 NRT total, in Darłowo (Rügenwalde) – 42 of 7500 NRT total, in Ustka (Stolpmünde) – 35 units of 3500 NRT. Before World War I, Szczecin's domination

as regards the size of the shipping fleet was unquestionable – the town possessed 143 ships of 66,700 NRT total and was followed only by Stralsund with 58 ships of 2100 NRT total. Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) was a place when one shipowner resided being in the possession of one ship of a small tonnage of 100 NRT. Also, Darłowo (Rügenwalde) had one ship registered, Ustka (Stolpmünde) – 5 ships, whereas the significance of Barth diminished drastically: even though the town was still in the possession of 43 ships, their tonnage amounted to only as few as 2000 NRT.⁴

In an attempt to picture the evolution of the function of Pomeranian sea ports at one point a need arises to treat Szczecin separately from the rest of such ports. The capital of the Province of Pomerania indeed developed differently than other Pomeranian towns, including port towns. Szczecin's transformation into a modern urban centre followed the lines along which big German towns evolved. The town took advantage of its convenient geographical situation, the improvement of communication connections with its hinterland on both banks of the Oder River, social and economic changes of the Pomeranian rural context which occurred in the effect of enfranchisement reforms bringing about cheap labour force, industriousness and modern actions undertaken by the town's bourgeois economic elites as well as the engagement in the investments within Szczecin of capital from other regions of Germany. It is the industry, developing in the vicinity of the port which was then becoming one of the catalysts of the transformations, playing in them the role of the main raw materials receiver and deliverer of exported goods. As a result of such a dynamic development, the Szczecin of the turn of the 19th and 20th century became the strongest centre of the shipbuilding industry in Germany, a significant producer of cement, chemicals and textiles as well as the third biggest German port as regards transshipment – 6.2 million tons (after Hamburg – 25 million tons and Bremen – 8.4 million tons). The town could also work out the hegemonic position when it came to the production of chamotte bricks which in turn enabled Szczecin to bring under manage both domestic and foreign production plants and the overall chamotte brick production. However, the period in question also brought the symptoms and scent of the incoming cri-

⁴ For a detailed analysis of this problem cf. A. Mielcarek: *Rozwój floty i żeglugi pruskich portów południowego i wschodniego wybrzeża Bałtyku w latach 1815–1914* [The Development of the Fleet and Navigation of the Prussian Ports on the Eastern Baltic in the Years 1815–1914], Szczecin 1993, pp. 13, 20; P. Kozłowski: *Rekonstruktion der preußischen Handelsflotte sowie Probleme der Schifffahrt und Häfen der südlichen Ostseeküste 1793–1830*, Marburg 1990, pp. 207 ff.

sis whose effects the towns suffered in the twenty years between the two world wars.⁵

Szczecin therefore provided a background against which the local, almost parochial significance of the remaining Pomeranian port towns could be seen more clearly. Their situation and development conditionings were diversified though. In Kołobrzeg (Kolberg), Ustka (Stolpmünde), and Darłowo (Rügenwalde) the Prussian state took over ports as soon as the 1830s, what allowed to make investments in them and thus, to preserve their character of port and trade centres. On the other hand the same investments brought the accusations as to the slow pace in which they were realized. We must nevertheless remember that the takeover of these ports was a result of the towns' own request to do so, and not of a deliberate state decision.⁶ In the 1850s these towns were anxious to ensure that the state port investments concerned all rather than one of the ports in question only. It needs to be admitted though that of all those ports Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) preferred to keep an active attitude towards the state and supervised the investments made in its port. This is because the Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) investments were wide-ranging and capital-intensive. In the early 19th century the Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) economic circles made attempts to preserve the port character of the town. Also, they petitioned the Prussian government about the significance of investing in the inland navigation at the port's hinterland, which in practice equaled to a postulate to make navigable the Parsęta (Persante) River all along and to connecting it by way of an inland channel with the Noteć (Netze) River. The realization of this plan enabled the extension of the hinterland of the Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) port as well as it translated into disrupting the ports' development stagnation. At the same time it became obvious that the designed railway line leading from Stargard (Stargard in Pommern) to Koszalin (Köslin) and further to Gdańsk would exert an infa-vourable influence upon the port's hinterland. Its Białogard (Belgard) connection with Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) was seen as only deepening the port's disadvantage at the Parsęta (Persante) River estuary. The postulate of Kołobrzeg's (Kolberg)

⁵ A detailed discussion on the subject in e.g. W. Stepiński: *Szczecin w latach 1806–1870. Na drodze do kapitalizmu* [Szczecin in the Years 1806–1870. The Road to Capitalism], in: *Dzieje Szczecina* [A History of Szczecin], vol. 3: 1806–1945, ed. by B. Wachowiak, Szczecin 1994, pp. 9–278; E. Włodarczyk: *Wielkomijski rozwój Szczecina w latach 1871–1918* [The Urban Development of Szczecin in the Years 1871–1918], in: *ibid*, pp. 279–519.

⁶ Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin-Dahlem, I. HA, Rep. 89 (2.2.1), No. 29219 (die Häfen-Anlagen an der hinterpommerschen Küste 1825–1903), records of June 15 and 24, 1836.

economic circles was to invest the into the Parsęta (Persante) River navigation the same sum of (state) money which the state designed for railroad construction.⁷ As it soon turned out, the postulates were wishful thinking only. The maritime-port character of the town of Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) was beginning to slowly regress.

Building railroad connections was perceived as a chance for development by yet another Pomeranian port, namely, Stralsund. According to the view expressed by the town's economic circles, railroads should be a guarantee of the port's possibilities to penetrate the province's outer markets. Stralsund economic circles aimed at servicing the Mecklenburg market. Therefore a construction of a railroad connecting Stralsund with Berlin via Neubrandenburg and Neustrelitz was proposed as soon as in 1844. This idea had been considered several times, particularly against the participation declarations the English entrepreneurs made in the early 1850s. However, the Prussian government did not react positively to these postulates. The government avoided being directly engaged in the development of the Mecklenburg railroad engineering and did not want to guarantee the profitability of the capital invested in the mentioned connections. On the other hand, the Stralsund economic circles did not hide their critical attitude towards the state's guarantee for the Upper Oder Railroad (Angermünde–Pasewalk–Strassburg). Even though this latter route was connected to Mecklenburg (Pasewalk–Strassburg), such a solution turned out to be more beneficial for Szczecin than Stralsund. Also, Greifswald and Wolgast showed interest in the Mecklenburg market, too, yet, their turnover with this market was symbolic.⁸

The railroad connections which the Pomeranian ports received in the late 19th century did not significantly extend their hinterland tying them instead with the province's own agricultural market. This was the case of Świnoujście (Swinemünde) which received a railroad connection via Ducherow only as late as 1876, and of Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) when the second railroad route leading from Szczecin-Dąbie (Szczecin-Altdamm) via Gryfice (Greifenberg) and Płoty

⁷ Ibid., the letter of February 15, 1853. More on the issue cf. L. Lindmajer: *Przemiany gospodarcze na terenie rejencji koszalińskiej w latach 1850–1914* [The 1850–1914 Economic Transformations within the Köslin District]. Koszalin–Słupsk 1981, p. 235.

⁸ Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie [State Archives in Szczecin – hereinafter: AP Szczecin], Naczelný Prezydent Prowincji Pomorskiej [The Chief President of the Pomeranian Province], No. 1812: *Jahresbericht der Kaufmanns-Deputation zu Stralsund pro 1867 and Wolgast Handel und Verkehr im Jahre 1868. Bericht der Vorsteher der Kaufmannschaft*; E. Włodarczyk: *Mecklenburg als Hinterland der Häfen von Stettin und Hamburg im 19. und in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Mecklenburg und seine ostelbischen Nachbarn*, hg. v. I. Buchsteiner. R. Mühle, E. Münch, G. Papay, R. Schattkowsky, Schwerin 1997, pp. 246–256.

(Plathe) reached the town. The following railroad connections which opened in 1879, namely: Białogard–Szczecinek (Belgard–Neustettin), Słupsk–Korzybie–Miastko–Szczecinek (Stolp–Zollbrück–Rummelsburg–Neustettin), Ustka–Słupsk (Stolpmünde–Stolp) and Darłowo–Sławno–Korzybie (Rügenwalde–Schlawe–Zollbrück) allowed for the penetration of the province's hinterland via the ports of Kołobrzeg (Kolberg), Darłowo (Rügenwalde), and Ustka (Stolpmünde).

After a temporary increase in the mid-1870s, transshipment in the Koszalin (Köslin) district ports entered a period of a long-lasting stagnation. In the early 20th century these ports exported mainly produce. In 1910 the export of rye via Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) amounted to 45,000 tons, whereas in 1913 – to 35,800 tons. In the same years Darłowo (Rügenwalde) exported 15,000 tons of rye, and Ustka (Stolpmünde) – 24,200 tons and 25,400 tons respectively. The amount of oat sent from these ports was large, too. In 1910 17,800 tons of oat was exported from Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) and 13,700 tons from Ustka (Stolpmünde).⁹

The situation of Świnoujścia (Swinemünde), Szczecin's outer port was slightly different. The town serviced a part of Szczecin's trade. In the years directly before the outbreak of World War I the port's turnover increased from 518,000 tons in 1904 to 586,000 tons in 1908 only to begin declining from this moment on – 564,000 tons in 1909 and 365,000 tons in 1911. For the turnover in question, the import of English coal (230,500 tons in 1911) and oil (72,400 tons in 1911) was a decisive factor. On the other hand, the Świnoujścia (Swinemünde) export comprised only a few percent of the amount of imported goods in 1904 – 4.4%, in 1911 – 11%). In this export, cement from the Lubin (Lüben) cement mill was of the main significance.¹⁰

In the late 19th century cabotage navigation was still performed in the Szczecin Bay's western shore ports. Among them, Ueckermünde could boast of having relatively the biggest turnover. In 1907 the port transshipped 9700 tons of goods, in 1910 – 11,200 tons, and in 1911 – 18,700 tons. Demmin worked out a slightly smaller turnover: in 1910 and 1911 it amounted to almost 9000 tons. On the other hand the Anklam transshipments were recorder to amount to 7000 tons

⁹ J. Lindmajer: op. cit., pp. 205–208; E. Włodarczyk: *Rozwój gospodarczy miast portowych pruskich prowincji nadbałtyckich w latach 1808–1914* [The Economic Development of Port Towns of the Prussian Baltic Province in the Years 1808–1914], Wrocław 1987, p. 177.

¹⁰ *Bericht der Vorsteher der Kaufmannschaft zu Stettin im Jahre 1911*, Teil II, p. 43.

in 1909 and 1910, whereas in 1911 – 5700 tons. Corn prevailed in the Anklam and Demmin transshipments; in Ueckermünde iron ore and stones dominated.¹¹

The economic situation of the province's port towns also influenced the situation of shipowners in their home ports. In comparison to the early 19th century, the transformations were becoming increasingly visible. It needs mentioning that the effectiveness of actions undertaken by shipowners in the late 19th century must be assessed in relation to the number of units and tonnage of sailing vessels as well as the investments in the steamship navigation. All ports recorded the decrease in the number of sailing vessels and the minimal interest was taken in steamship navigation investments. In 1872 Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) had 19 seagoing sailing vessels at its disposal; a number which increased even to 24 in 1881 only to decrease to 7 later on and stopped at one in 1900. In 1891 Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) shipowners had 2 steamships at their disposal and were left only with one in 1900. Stralsund's regress in this respect was even more visible – in 1872 this town had 167 sailing vessels at their disposal, whereas in 1900 – only 9. The number of steamships increased from one to two in the mentioned years. Until the year 1900 the Anklam shipowners lost their fleet, too (in 1872 they were still in the possession of 16 seagoing sailing vessels), and so did the Darłowo (Rügenwalde) shipowners (in 1872 the town was a home port for 27 units), Ustka (Stolpmünde – even though in 1895 it still had 2 ships at their disposal), and Wolgast (53 ships in 1872). Only Świnoujście (Swinemünde), and regardless of the fact that it recorded a diminished number of sailing vessels from 24 in 1872 to 1 in 1900, had bigger tonnage at its disposal in the same year, for its shipowners utilized 8 steamships. Such a violent and vital change in shipowners' possessions resulted, among others, from the transformations in the world navigation (even though in the last years of the 19th century the sailing vessels fleet experienced a short renaissance period) and the financial weakness of the local economic circles. It is the latter which were unable to lay out considerable sums of money for steamships. Their caution was reinforced by the stagnation of turnover of goods in small ports. The shipping fleets existing in these ports were sometimes taken over by more industrious shipowners, mainly from Szczecin. One good example can be the limited partnership *Stolpmünder Dampfschiffs-Rhederei* residing

¹¹ Ibid., p. 44.

in Ustka (Stolpmünde) whose main shareholder was the Szczecin shipowner Rudolf Gribel.¹²

Despite the mentioned port investments, Prussia remained abstemious in its politics towards port towns of the Koszalin (Köslin) district. She was not interested at all in supporting local navigation lines. On the other hand, state grants for factories regarded as industrial, even though they were actually trade shops, turned out as several times smaller than sums granted for agriculture and the Szczecin Früchtenicht and Borck shipyard (later *Vulcan*) in the Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) of the 1850s.¹³ The Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) salterns, functioning on the basis of state capital, in the 1840s produced even over 1600 lasts of salt and hired up to 57 workers. When it comes to production then, they remained ahead of another plant functioning at the same time in the Stralsund district. After 1858, the plants in question ceased their production due to the fact that their financing from state budget had been withheld.¹⁴

The changes in the port-trade character of Pomeranian towns left their mark on these towns' social and professional structure. Therefore, it is worthwhile to demonstrate how these changes affected Kołobrzeg (Kolberg). The pace of demographical changes was reflected in the quantity changes in three professions: craftsmen, tradesmen, and city farmers. The comparison of the census of 1861 with the one from 1895 indicates that the population of Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) increased by 90% (from 10,000 to 19,000), the number of craftsmen increased by 88% (from 391 to 735), whereas that of city farmers – by 80% (from 88 to 158). It seems that the process concerned tradesmen to the similar degree. The record of 1895 showing all Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) traders as one category disfigured this picture. This is because the category in question included both wholesale tradesmen and small retailers and stall-keepers. It needs to be emphasized though that in comparison with the year 1861, the number of bankers increased (from 1 to 4).¹⁵

¹² More on the subject cf. A. Mielcarek: op. cit., pp. 85–102; E. Włodarczyk: *Rozwój gospodarczy miast ...* [The Economic Development of Port Towns ...], pp. 159–164.

¹³ K. Lärmer: *Maschinenbau in Preußen. Ein Beitrag zur Problematik Staat Und Industrielle Revolution*, “Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte”, 2, 1975, pp. 13–33.

¹⁴ AP Szczecin, Akta miasta Kołobrzegu [The Records of Kołobrzeg], 2415; A. Wielopolski: *Z przeszłości kołobrzesckiej saliny* [On the Past of Kołobrzeg's Salterns], “Szczecin”, 1–2, 1960, pp. 48–50.

¹⁵ AP Szczecin, Akta miasta Kołobrzegu [The Records of Kołobrzeg], 2415; H. Berghaus: *Landbuch des Herzogthums Kaschubien und der einverleibten Kreise der Neumark*, Bd. 1: *Die Kreise*

Relying on their natural situation, some port towns attempted to transform their character from port-trade into that of a summer or spa resort. Two towns: Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) and Świnoujście (Swinemünde) did it effectively indeed, with Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) gaining an upper hand in this competition. The town's spa quality had been discovered as early as 1803 by a prisoner of the local tower, Colonel Heinrich von Held. Yet, Kołobrzeg commenced its activity as a spa only as late as the mid-19th century. One cannot but quote at this point a humorous depiction of Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) given by a spa-going landowner from the Province of Pomerania: "Im 3. Jahrzehnt des Jahrhunderts sind schon einige fremde Kurgäste, wohlhabende Besitzer aus Pommern, jährlich nach Kolberg gekommen und haben hier gebadet. Es ist vorgekommen, dass solche Kurgäste selbst noch die Kuh mitgebracht haben, die ihnen während ihres Aufenthaltes im Bade die Milch hat geben müssen."¹⁶

Kołobrzeg's (Kolberg) thorough utilization became possible after having established at the turn of the years 1831 and 1832 of a spa association (*Promenaden-Verein*), later on transformed into a bathing association. From March 26, 1845 a spa association known as *Münder-Bade-Verein* having the capital of 12,000 thalers at its disposal began functioning as a company.¹⁷ In 1864 a new spa centre opened in Kołobrzeg (Kolberg), a centre which endowed the town itself with an identity of a spa kernel. From the 1880s on numerous other spa and bathing centres began to develop in Kołobrzeg (Kolberg). It has to be emphasized that in the last decade of the 19th century the town was experiencing quite an investment boom. In some years over 200 investments were conducted in Kołobrzeg (Kolberg). From 1881 to 1892 the town gained in 180 new apartment buildings.¹⁸ The fact of constructing a separate spa for Jewish visitors also needs mentioning here. Even though at first the spa welcomed few guests, at the turn of the 29th and 20th century over 3500 Jews visited this particular spa centre.¹⁹

Fürstenthum Kammin und Belgard. Anklam 1867, pp. 40–46; *Bericht über Verwaltung einiger städtischer Angelegenheiten, insbesondere in den Jahren 1864 und 1895*, Kolberg 1895, p. 13.

¹⁶ *Bericht betreffend die Verwaltung städtischer Angelegenheiten von Kolberg in den Jahren 1879 bis 1886/87*, p. 45.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Bericht ... seit 1887 (insbesondere seit 1890) – Die Verwaltung des Bades seit 1887*, pp. 35, 65; *Die Anlage einer Seebäder-Anstalt in Kolberg im Jahre 1891*, in: *Bericht über die Verwaltung 1895 bis 1896*, pp. 75, 76.

¹⁹ *Bericht ... in den Jahren 1894 und 1895*, p. 3.

By undertaking various enterprises aimed at increasing its value as a spa, Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) tried to attract the largest number of visitors. This is why on August 13, 1868 the City Theatre was opened. The money for its construction was assembled via share distribution. Berlin professionals were employed to decide about the theatre's architectural solutions and décor which were modeled on the Berlin private theatre *Urania*. Its auditorium, boxes included comprised 700 seats, whereas the theatre's repertoire was limited mainly to operettas. Visiting artists, first and foremost from Berlin, starred there. In 1868 and within the three months' period the theatre's activity resulted in the gross earnings amounting to 4500 thalers. The opening of the Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) theatre is worth mentioning also because of the role Mayor Herman Haken, from 1878 Mayor of Szczecin, played in this undertaking. Haken was so fascinated with this venture that in order to commemorate the theatre's opening he wrote a very bombastic poem which he recited in the course of the celebration. Here is an excerpt from subsequent Mayor of Szczecin's poem:

Vollendet ist der Bau, in lichten Räumen
 Dehnt sich die Halle, weithin ausgebreitet
 Zu hoher Wölbung öffnet sich die Bühne
 Des Mimen wechselvollem Spiel geweiht
 Und Bank an Bank zur Rundung abgeschlossen
 Umfasst der Hörer aufmerksame Menge
 Ein strahlend Lichtmeer aber überfluthet
 Belebend all der Maße Harmonie.²⁰

With regard to the number of spa visitors, by the end of the 19th century Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) gave way in Germany only to Heringsdorf which, in 1895, was visited by 10,700 visitors, whereas in the town on the Parsęta (Persante) River – 10,100 people, but four years later – 12,000 visitors. The remaining towns which also counted as significant spa resorts encompassed: Międzyzdroje (Misdroy) – 9900 visitors, Świnoujście (Swinemünde) – 8600, Ahlbeck – 8600, Binz – 6400, and Dziwnów (Berg Dievenow) and Dziwnówek (Wald-Dievenow) – 3400 visi-

²⁰ M. Christiani: *Zur Geschichte des Kolberger Theaters (1868–1893)*, Kolberg 1893, pp. 2–32; cf. also E. Włodarczyk: *Hermann Haken jako burmistrz Kołobrzegu i nadburmistrz Szczecina* [Herman Haken as Kołobrzeg's Mayor and Mayor of Szczecin], "Szczecińskie Studia Historyczne" [The Historical Studies of Szczecin], 11, 1995, pp. 69–81.

tors.²¹ What is more, Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) tried to attract visitors not only from Germany, among which Berlin residents dominated (in 1895 about 3500 Berliners arrived in Kołobrzeg – Kolberg) but also from Poland (1300 visitors in 1899).²²

The change of Kołobrzeg's (Kolberg) character from that of a port-trade town into a spa and holiday resort yet preserving the former function, too was a weak, for not sufficiently analysed, point of historical studies. The similar changes occurred in Świnoujście (Swinemünde) as well, yet, the resort's function of a spa never dominated over the town's port character. When it comes to this latter function, Świnoujście (Swinemünde) was able to continue it owing to Szczecin's sea trade. On the other hand, the remaining port towns, particularly those from the Upper Pomerania, had few chances for a transformation. Nominally, the university town of Greifswald remained a port town, too. Its character, however was slowly transforming due to the economic changes such as the construction of railroad, establishment of medium-size industrial plants, the town's participation in the local exchange utilizing the coastal navigation and the systematic twilight of port functions.

The economic stagnation of other port towns (excluding Stralsund) translated into the decline of their function of sea trade centres. On the other hand we can, however, pose a question, which will be valid particularly with respect to port towns of the Koszalin (Köslin) district, whether, be it due to state investments, the disappearance of these functions would not have begun as early as the 1830s. The positive answer to it seems to be the foregone conclusion.

Translated by Beata Zawadka

²¹ *Bericht ... in den Jahren 1894 und 1895*, p. 2.

²² *Ibid.*, *Die Verwaltung des Bades seit 1887*, p. 52; N. Girschner: *Die Ostsee und die Seebäder ihrer deutschen Küste*, Kolberg 1868, p. 7.

**EWOLUCJA FUNKCJI MORSKICH
ZACHODNIOPOMORSKICH MIAST PORTOWYCH
W XIX WIEKU**

Streszczenie

Położenie geograficzne stwarzało naturalne warunki do uprawiania handlu morskiego przez liczne ośrodki miejskie na Pomorzu Zachodnim. W świadomości historycznej współczesnych mieszkańców Pomorza nie funkcjonuje przekonanie o bezpośrednim zaangażowaniu w handel morskim takich miast, jak Stargard Szczeciński, Goleniów, Trzebiatów, Kamień Pomorski czy Wolin. Szukając odpowiedzi na pytanie, dlaczego niektóre miasta i osady zaprzestały pełnienia funkcji morskich, inne zaś zawężyły te funkcje lub je rozwijały, nie możemy ograniczać się do analizy wyłącznie czynników ekonomicznych, chociaż miały one pomimo wszystko znaczenie decydujące. W dziejach pomorskich miast nadbałtyckich widoczny stawał się taki moment, kiedy samo w miarę dogodne położenie nadmorskie nie wystarczało do uprawiania handlu morskiego. W niektórych momentach przełomowych dla uprawiania handlu morskiego warunki naturalne trzeba było polepszać, pogłębiać tory wodne, umacniać lub budować nowe nabrzeża, wznosić nowe falochrony i uzbrajać porty w nowoczesną infrastrukturę przeładunkową, by utrzymać pozycję silnego ośrodka handlu. Nowe wyzwania pojawiały się też na zapleczu – zwłaszcza potrzeba inwestycji w nowe połączenia komunikacyjne. Przełomowym okresem dla uprawiania handlu morskiego stało się XIX stulecie.