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**NORWEGIAN SOURCES
FOR THE HISTORY OF TRADE AND NAVIGATION
IN POMERANIA IN THE 2ND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY**

State of the study

A series of publications have been devoted so far to the sea economy of Pomerania in the 19th century and its contacts with Scandinavia, but most attention of Polish historians was focused on the export and consumer potential of the Baltic metropolises.¹ A similar look, narrowed to monographs of selected ports,

¹ A. Wielopolski: *Rozwój handlu i żeglugi bałtyckiej w XIX i na początku XX wieku* [Development of Trade and Baltic Navigation in the 19th and the Beginning of the 20th Century], "Zapiski Historyczne" [Historical Notes], 25, 1970, 2, pp. 67–79; J. Stanielewicz: *Kierunki rozwoju szczecińskiego eksportu zboża w latach 1815–1850* [Directions of Development of Stettin Grain Export in the Years 1815–1850], "Przegląd Zachodniopomorski" [West Pomeranian Review], 1974, 3–4, pp. 131–155; idem: *Rozkwit i załamanie się szczecińskiego eksportu zboża w okresie 1850–1870 na tle zaplecza wywozowego portu* [Prosperity and Slump of Stettin Grain Export in the Period 1850–1870 at the Background of the Port Export Base], *ibid.*, 1975, 1, pp. 107–123; E. Włodarczyk: *Początki wielkiego przemysłu w Szczecinie (1850–1870)* [Beginnings of Great Industry in Stettin (1850–1870)], "Zapiski Historyczne" [Historical Notes], 42, 1977, 4, pp. 45–74; B. Wachowiak: *Problemy handlu Gdańska w pierwszej połowie XIX w.* [Problems of Danzig Trade in the First Half of the 19th c.], "Rocznik Gdański" (Gdańsk Yearbook), 41, 1981, 2, pp. 5–40; idem: *Tendencje rozwojowe wielkiego przemysłu w nadbałtyckich prowincjach pruskich w latach 1871–1914* [Development Tendencies of Great Industry in the Baltic Prussian Provinces in the Years 1871–1914], "Zapiski Historyczne" (Historical Notes), 47, 1982, 1, pp. 55–85; idem: *Wielki przemysł Szczecina w latach 1850–1914* [Great Industry of Stettin in the Years 1850–1914], Warszawa–Poznań 1982; W. Stępiński: *Przemiany kapitalistyczne w życiu gospodarczym Szczecina w I połowie XIX w.* [Capitalist Changes in Stettin Economic Life in the First Half of the 19th c.], Warszawa–Poznań 1984; E. Włodarczyk: *Rozwój gospodarczy miast portowych pruskich prowincji nadbałtyckich w latach 1808–1914* [Economic Development of Port Cities of Prussian Baltic Provinces in the Years 1808–1914], Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1987; idem: *Rozwój gospodarczy Szczecina 1871–1890* [Economic Development of Stettin 1871–1890], in: *Dzieje Szczecina* [His-

can also be found in Norwegian historiography, and it resulted from the available source base, i.e. annual reports of trade corporations and port documentation.

The statistical data of the economic co-operation between Pomerania and Scandinavia in the 2nd half of the 19th century undeniably prove its small scale. In fact, Szczecin's trade with United Kingdoms of Sweden and Norway did not exceed 10% of the whole port's turnover. The share of Norway on its own was proportionally smaller and amounted for the import to Szczecin in the years 1872–1890 to just 3.3%; and for the export in the same period, it fluctuated below 2.5%. In case of Gdańsk, in the years 1880–1900 Norway was the recipient of, on average, 3.7% of grain. It should be stressed, however, that for small Norway, dependent on food import, the participation in the Baltic economic exchange was one of the pillars for budgetary incomes, which is conformed by the fact that from the time when the North German Confederation came into existence in 1866 to the close of the 19th century, the Prussian market was the second, after Great Britain, in Norwegian foreign trade.²

Another reason, apart from low trade exchange, that contributed to the marginal coverage of Norway by Polish historians was undoubtedly, continuing since the Middle Ages, lack of political independence of this country, its small population density, and low GDP. So, the United Kingdoms of Sweden and Norway is treated as one economic area, granting to Sweden (and to Denmark until 1814) – according to the political status quo, a position of a hegemonic leader. Similar, although based on other assumptions, generalising perspective is also present in Norwegian research. It was customary there to use a general term *Preußen* for all non-Swedish and non-Finnish Baltic ports, which prevents to establish actual economic relations between Norway and Pomeranian ports in the 19th century.

Thus, unintentionally, existing stereotypes concerning the Norwegians' participation in the foreign trade with Pomerania were strengthened. A conviction

tory of Stettin-Szczecin], vol. 3: 1806–1945, ed. by B. Wachowiak, Szczecin 1994; R. Gaziński: *Handel morski Szczecina w latach 1720–1805* [Maritime Trade in Stettin in the Years 1720–1805], Szczecin 2000.

² J. Stanielewicz: *Kierunki rozwoju ...* [Directions of Development ...], pp. 138–141; idem: *Rola portów bałtyckich Szczecina, Gdańska i Królewca na tle zaplecza i przedpola portowego w latach 1815–1914* [The Role of Baltic Ports of Stettin, Danzig and Königsberg at the Background of the Port Base and Front in the Years 1815–1914], Szczecin 1976, p. 125; idem: *Rozwój wymiany handlowej Szczecina z krajami Skandynawskimi w latach 1870–1913* [Development of Stettin Trade with Scandinavian Countries in the Years 1870–1913], "Zapiski Historyczne" [Historical Notes], 44, 1979, 1, p. 47; based on *Dzieje Szczecina ...* [History of Stettin ...], vol. III, p. 348; *Historia Gdańska* [History of Gdańsk], vol. IV/1: 1815–1920, p. 366; F. Hodne, O.H. Gryten, *Norsk økonomi i det 19. århundre*, [s.l.] 2000, p. 262.

about a low export potential of this country dominates in them, proven with the data about the imports from Norway, which was limited to poor quality herring, stone and little amount of ore.³ As it was mentioned, the distortion of the picture was caused by the fact that the trade with Norway was almost exclusively presented basing on elements (goods) characteristic for Sweden. They are mostly such chief assets as iron ores, pyrites and blast furnace slag, the goods that Norway was poor in. The only field, in which according to Polish studies, Sweden was no match for Norway was the export of herring. Strong points of the Norwegian export are not emphasised: i.e. whale oil, pyrites, phosphorus, quartz, zinc, and ice, for the trade of which Norway maintained a strong monopoly in the 19th century. Exceptions are studies commenting activities of Norwegian economists⁴ or presenting a significant contribution of Norwegians into the Baltic freight.⁵ Finally, the lack of information on Norwegian companies and their co-operation with Pomerania is surprising.⁶

Contacts of Norway and Prussian ports are certainly worth a separate study devoted to the issues of navigation and trade seen exclusively from the Norwegian perspective. A new look should revise stereotypes and bring the Pomeranian-Norwegian co-operation back to its due position.

Sources

Sources available in Norway are abundant and scattered in various institutions, therefore it is worth to introduce briefly the most important archival units significant for the research of the issue we are interested in. The search should undoubtedly be started from the Royal Archives in Oslo (hereinafter: Riksarkivet), whose responsibility is to keep documents coming from the state subjects, so

³ J. Stanielewicz: *Rola portów bałtyckich ...* [The Role of Baltic Ports ...], p. 120, 125; idem: *Rozwój wymiany handlowej Szczecina ...* [Development of Stettin Trade ...], pp. 52 f., 57, 60; idem: *Związki handlowe ziem polskich z Bałtykiem w latach 1815–1914* [Trade Relations of Polish Lands with the Baltic Sea in the Years 1815–1914, Szczecin 1991, pp. 105 f., 159 f.

⁴ It concerns the presentation of Norwegian statistical calculations by A.N. Kiær, President of the Central Statistical Office of Norway, who at the end of the 19th c. undertook to systematic methods and results of research on economy and navigation, see Cz. Wojewódka: *Z historii międzynarodowej statystyki żeglugaowej* [From the History of International Navigation Statistics], "Przegląd Zachodniopomorski" [West Pomeranian Review], 1968, 1, pp. 6–13.

⁵ A. Mielcarek: *Die Entwicklung der Dampferflotte in den Ostseeländern im 19. Jahrhundert*, "Studia Maritima", 20, 2007.

⁶ E. Włodarczyk: *Rozwój gospodarczy miast portowych ...* [Economic Development of Port Cities ...], pp. 192 f.

those that have a direct influence on the formation of co-operation with foreign countries, trade and navigation.

Riksarkivet in Oslo. Archives of the Home Department (*Indredepartementet*)

The Home Department (hereinafter: *Indredepartementet*) and its offices should be mentioned among institutions with the first-class significance whose units are deposited in the Riksarkivet.⁷ Their documents provide information on Norway's co-operation with abroad from the creation of the ministry in 1847 to its dissolution in 1902. The materials contained in the unit are extremely interesting and still insufficiently used in research on political and trade links of the Baltic region.

Both the unit's complex structure and size, reaching 170m, are a challenge. The present arrangement and collection of the *Indredepartementet* is a result of this institution's development and the principles of archive studies of the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Therefore, using the collection without knowing the principles is like walking in the fog and most research trails appear to be cul-de-sacs. The basic difficulty is connected with establishing within *Indredepartementet* new subordinate units, as well as independent equivalent sections. It was connected, but it did not have to be, with the transfer of already existing records to a newly established collection. The gathered material could concern the whole period, i.e. from the formation of *Indredepartementet* to the moment of this institution's reorganisation, or just selected topics from some yearbooks.

Another issue is the 19th-century attempt to catalogue, when they attempted to group the material thematically, resigning from the principle of provenance. Those activities introduced confusion into the unit, and their consequences exist until today. Thus, material concerning specific issues were selected from the files of incoming correspondence and press agency cuttings. In this way, part of the materials was transferred and classified in the method known only to the archivist, which makes the location of many documents, e.g. those concerning the activities of the Gdańsk consul, impossible.

⁷ Riksarkivet (hereinafter: RA), *Indredepartementet* (hereinafter: *Indredept.*), catalogue, vol. I–III.

1. Archives of Trade and Consular Office (*Handels- og Konsulatkontoret*)

Out of the Indredepartementet units, it is worth to pay a special attention to the materials of the Trade and Consular Office (*Handels- og Konsulatkontoret*). The advantage of this office is the fact that from its formation in 1858 to its closing together with the disintegration of the Swedish-Norwegian union, they did not change the structure. The most interesting materials from this collection are presented below.

a) Sailing Lists (*Seilingslister*)⁸. They are lists of Norwegian ships, both steam ships and sailing ships, which visited the ports of the General Consulate in Szczecin. We have at our disposal materials for Szczecin (1894–1899, 1903), Gdańsk (1894–1899) and the remaining ports (1894–1903).⁹ The lists contain the information on vessels: name, captain's personal details, home port, number of crew, and also departure port and destination port, information on the total amount of collected cargo or ballast, as well as more detailed cargo characteristics. Unfortunately, the materials from Gdańsk are not much precise both in the description and cargo calculations. Contrary to Gdańsk, the material delivered from Szczecin are in-depth and very precise.

The most important advantage of the described source is the fact that all Norwegian ships that in specific years entered Szczecin and Gdańsk are listed there. The Norwegian consuls treated their task seriously and precise information enabled the first reconstruction of a complete list of Norwegian steam ships noted in the Szczecin and Gdańsk ports in the years 1894–1903. Since the main source the record was based on were the Lloyds Ship Registers, the register was discussed at length in the further part.

Another important issue that the *Seilinglister* can be used for are direct trade relations of Norway with Szczecin. Owing to minute information on carried cargoes, it was possible to create lists of goods transported to Szczecin on Norwegian vessels. Those lists complete a picture of Norwegian-Szczecin trade exchange,

⁸ Ibid., Handel- og konsulatkontoret, Seilingslister for skib i utenriksfart, b. 17: Tyskland: Cuxhaven, Danzig (Polen), Esckenföde, Flensburg, Hamburg, 1894–1899; b. 20: Tyskland, Stettin, 1894–1903.

⁹ Szczecin was the seat of the Consul General who was responsible for districts (consulates) in Gdańsk and Königsberg. The following ports belonged to the Szczecin consulate: Greifswald, Kołobrzeg/Kolberg, Darłowo/Rügenwalde, Słupsk/Stolp, Stralsund, Szczecin, Świnoujście/Swinemünde, and Wolgast; the Gdańsk consulate encompassed Elbląg/Elbing and Gdańsk, and the Königsberg consulate – Libau, Memel and Königsberg.

showing a close co-operation of companies on both coasts of the Sound. Thus, the Indredepartementet's materials play a significant role in preparing individual studies of trade and forwarding companies in Szczecin. The data allow to trace the pace of the Pomeranian trade development and also to outline the routes of Norwegian coasting and tramping trade at the turn of the centuries. Using this source, it is possible to determine precisely the place of Pomeranian metropolises on the map of Norwegian Baltic navigation.

b) Consul's Reports (*Konsulberetninger*)¹⁰. The duties of the Norwegian consuls in Szczecin and Gdańsk included systematic preparation and sending reports from the region controlled by them on a monthly and annual basis (if a situation demanded, also extraordinary reports were created). The consuls' accounts are to a large extent unified and contain both fixed text and table items, as well as additional remarks. Riksarkivet in Oslo possesses manuscripts of most reports, but unfortunately, the texts concerning Gdańsk were seriously damaged and using them is practically impossible. The loss is even more serious because the hand-written versions for Gdańsk are much more thorough than their printed versions. Luckily for Szczecin, full compliance of the printed documents with originals were confirmed, which considerably increases the availability of this source. Since printed versions of the reports can be found in collections of most Norwegian university libraries.

The consular reports are a source of abundant statistical data concerning trade and navigation between Pomeranian and Norwegian ports and they are an indispensable basis for all research in this field.

c) Received materials – Germany, trade, customs and tax policy (*Avleveringslister – Tyskland, handel-, toll- og avgiftpolitikk*)¹¹. The unit contains cor-

¹⁰ *Norges Ofisielle Statistikk* (NOS), for the years 1877–1879 under the name of *Indberetninger om Handel og Søfart i Aaret [...]* fra de forenede Rigers Konsuler, s. 1.; for the years 1880–1884: NOS, Ny række C. No. 16, *Uddrag af Aarsberetninger fra de forenede Rigers Konsuler for Aaret [...]*, Christiania, Indredepartementet; for the years 1885–1889: NOS, tredje Række No. 17, 41, 60, 96 og 124, *Uddrag af Aarsberetninger fra de forenede Rigers Konsuler for Aaret [...]*, Christiania; for the years 1890–1898: *Beretninger om Handel og Skibsfart: uddrag af Aarsberetninger fra de forenede Rigers Konsuler for [...]*, Christiania.

¹¹ RA, Indredept., Handel- og konsulatkontoret, *Avleveringslister*, b. 22, d. 1: Tyskland – handel-, toll- og afgiftpolitikk, 1879–1899; d. 2: Tyskland. Tyske tollsatser for fisk, 1885–1899; d. 3: Oversikt om samhandelen mellom Tyskland og Sverige-Norge, 1892–1899; b. 23, d.1: Diverse korrespondanse med legasj. i Berlin om tyske avtaler med andre land, 1887–1889; b. 25, d. 2: Tyskland. Handels- og tollpolitikk bl.a. rapporter om avgifter etc., 1871–1882.

respondence coming from legates in Berlin, German customs tariffs and official German statistical tables concerning foreign trade (import and export), press cuttings from national and foreign newspapers, and also fragments of correspondence presenting various aspects of public debate that took place in Norway as a result of changes in German import tariffs in the years 1879–1902.

Reading the material helps to learn directly about the most important sectors of Norwegian trade and institutions controlling that trade, including local exchanges and commerce societies. The information contained in the *avleveringslister* explain and confirm changes in the trade situation for the Norwegian export of fish, wood and metal to Germany in the years 1870–1900. The press information also allow to confront legislative facts (change of tariffs in Germany) and dark forecasts of trading elites announcing the slump of the Norwegian export with the official Norwegian statistical yearbooks (*Norges Offentlige Statistikk* – NOS).

2. Archives of the Foreign Office II (*Utenrikskontoret II*)

Within Indredepartementet also functioned the Foreign Office, whose collection contains materials with a special significance for researchers.

a) Copy books of outgoing correspondence (*Kopibøker*)¹². Here we have an archival gem. First of all, the copy book unit is practically completely preserved (it encompasses the last quarter of the 19th c.) and was extremely precisely catalogued. A path to find a specific letter leads through two registers, all practically available. Unfortunately, a multi-stage structure and considerable size of the unit have their disadvantages. For example, a lack of one register (like the one for 1891) makes it virtually impossible to find the letters we are interested in.¹³

Admittedly, the correspondence with the consuls in Gdańsk and Szczecin did not match in frequency and size the exchange of information with, for instance, Hamburg, a picture it creates is rich and situated at various levels. The material can be used for precise establishing the competences and tasks of the consuls looking after the interests of the Norwegian navigation in Germany. Taking as a point of departure the contents of the letters it is also possible to follow

¹² Ibid., kopibok no. 225–348.

¹³ On average, there are 8–10 volumes of copy books for one year, each with 1000 paginated but unindexed pages.

the fate of many crews of Norwegian ships which were damaged or sunk in the Baltic. Problems that the consuls had to cope with allow to look at Norwegian-Pomeranian links from the point of view of an individual person. So, we have at our disposal a rarely found official source that directly describes the fate of individual citizens. The issues of the 19th-century social policy and welfare and the role of the consular post touched upon there clearly exceed the scope of economic history and will certainly arouse interest of sociologists and political scientists.

b) Journals – incoming correspondence (*Journaler*)¹⁴. The journals contain correspondence for the years 1859–1900 and encompass a wide thematic scope within permanent items, including monthly reports, regular grain pricelists, and occasional ones, such as news on epidemics in humans and cattle, fairway icing, changes in the tax system. The analysis of this correspondence would allow to complete the knowledge on Pomerania's and Polish territories' economic situation, for instance by building full series of statistical data of grain and meat prices. Next, we would obtain the region's picture seen from the Scandinavian perspective and its economic interests. Part of the sources have a narrative character (letters, newspaper cuttings, commentaries), which would allow to build an interdisciplinary image.

Unfortunately, *Journaler* have remained unused for the history of Pomerania until today. The reason for this fact is the abovementioned repeated twice reorganisation of the collection. Despite meticulous search in the catalogue, register (*Register*) and comparing the numbering of outgoing correspondence contained in the copy books, no coincident information with the subjects of the incoming correspondence have been found. Further comparison of the contents of the sent materials files and their registers proved beyond doubt a gap in the documentation from Gdańsk and Szczecin. According to the register, in 1894 alone the consuls residing in those two cities sent about 120 letters, out of which in file we find less than 10% (most often they are monthly reports from Gdańsk). In places where the documents from Pomerania should be the whole series of numbered correspondence are missing. According to the opinion of the archivists responsible for the Indredepartementet collection, material concerning Prussian ports were one deliberately taken from the files and transferred to a thematic collection, which despite attempts have not been found yet.

¹⁴ RA, Indredept., Handel- og konsulatkontoret, journal, no. 1, vol. C 0101.

Thus, we can still learn about the activities of Norwegian consuls in Gdańsk and Szczecin only basing on the correspondence going out from Indredepartementet, and the letters written by consuls remain hidden on the shelves of the Riksarkivet. Possibly, further preliminary research will bring a lucky discovery of the wanted collection.

State Archives (*Statsarkiver*)

The next institution worth visiting while looking for materials for the history of economic contacts of Norway with Pomerania is the Norwegian State Archives. The Archive in Bergen, due to the metropolitan character of the city and its centuries-old merchant and ship-owner tradition, is a particularly predestined place for a preliminary research.

1) Collection of the State Archive in Bergen (*Statsarkivet i Bergen*)

a) Loading Journals (*Lastejournaler*)¹⁵. The documentation of the Customs House operation (*Tollarkiv*) in Bergen contains an extensive collection of the *Lastejournaler*, the importance of which for a researcher of Norway's trade with Prussian ports is invaluable. Volumes for the following years are available for the 2nd half of the 19th century: 1882–1886, 1888–1900 (some years are incomplete). The *Lastejournaler* are the registers of all ships sailing out from Bergen in a voyage to a foreign port, and the information consists of a ship's certificate, destination ports and a list of declared goods (type, amount) with a name of exporting company of each batch.

Out of the registered vessels, the attention of Pomeranian historians is certainly drawn by those that declared the following routes: Norway–Szczecin, Norway–Gdańsk, Norway–Sweden–Szczecin, Norway–Göteborg–Szczecin, and Norway–Copenhagen–Szczecin. But during a preliminary research we came across other familiarly sounding voyage destinations, such as *Pommern* and *Preußen*. Then, a question about an actual destination of the voyages arises. After making oneself acquainted with a terminology adopted by the Norwegian consuls in the Reports and following through permanent destinations of voyages of individual vessels, it was assumed that the abovementioned words describe the ports of Königsberg, Memel, Libau. Further investigation, however, questioned

¹⁵ Statsarkivet i Bergen, Bergen tollarkiv no. 37, *Lastejournaler*, vol. 236–241.

this assumption. Namely, the comparison of the information in the *Lastejournaler* with the forwarding documentation of Bergen exporters showed that ships that in Norway declared destinations *Pommern* and *Preußen* just as well went to Szczecin or Gdańsk. Unfortunately, today's state of the research prevents from saying what percentage of ships sailed out on voyages registered in this way. This issue opens a project of revising the Norwegian information by comparing it to entry books of custom houses of the Baltic ports.

The next question that is a considerable challenge to a historian is the lack of stating destinations of cargo going out of Bergen on ships that declared their final destination as Szczecin with touching ports in Denmark or Sweden. Apart from rare exceptions it is not known what part of cargo was sent to a given port on the way. In this situation, the importance of the Journals as a source for studying the history of Norwegian-Prussian economic relations diminishes and all minute data concerning a kind of goods and a warehouse that sent them seems to be of little avail. Thus, a new purpose of studies is emerging, i.e. finding and analysing materials that would allow to specify the scope of Norwegian goods imports to Pomeranian ports.

Despite the mentioned inconveniences connected with using *Lastejournaler* in research work, the abundance of information and a considerable time range make it an obligatory starting base and a reference point for all research on the participation of Norway in the Baltic trade.

b) Private companies' materials. Although the collections of the Norwegian state archives as a rule do not include private materials (local city archives – *byarkivet*, are responsible for them), the State Archive in Bergen has kept a collection of documents of a fish wholesaler J. Bugge. That was a small company operating in Bergen at the end of the 19th century, which did not play any significant role in the city's trading elites. However, this untypical finding is worth noticing because the valuable contents of J. Bugge's materials compensates for their small (0.7 m) quantity and small territorial range of the company's operations. The archival unit includes sailing lists – *Seilingslister*, or the registers of vessels sailing off with cargo from Johan Bugge, a dozen or so not described books identified as a register of released goods – *Konto Bok* and a register of incomes and expenditures – *Kassa Bok*. The materials were usually written by hand of one person, probably the owner, who apparently had worked out the rules of the company's accountancy. It was kept in a non-standard way, which makes the work consider-

ably more difficult, but its advantage is a consistent layout and continuity of the documentation.

Finding and studying Johan Bugge's company's documents is very important to completing the knowledge on Norway's trade with Central and Eastern Europe because the documents of Bergen's trade tycoons of the second half of the 19th century (e.g. W. Thesen, E. W. Mowinkel) did not survive at all or in a fragmentary state. Due to the fact that at that time the structure and adopted methods of work of all Bergen companies were based on similar assumptions, the discussed archival finding allows to look at the way Norwegian wholesalers operated in the foreign market, how transports were organised, how export projects were financed.

2. Collection of the State Archive in Tromsø (*Statsarkivet i Tromsø*)¹⁶

Contrary to Bergen, the collection of the State Archive in a north Norwegian city of Tromsø include both materials coming from the state institutions and those from private projects, such as Joh. Rye Holmboe and A/S Andres Aagaard. Both enterprises belonged to the city's trading elite, operated at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries and were known from versatile activities including organisation of fishing and hunting in the Arctic, processing, sale and transport of own goods (fish, whale oil, skins, meat, etc.) to foreign markets, including the Baltic one.

Although the units of the mentioned companies are impressive (Holmboe – 35 m, Aagaard 12 m) and concern various spheres of trade and ship-owners' activities, they have a series of gaps. First of all, the whole series are missing (e.g. copy books for the 2nd half of the 19th century in A. Aagaard's company and loading journals in J. Rye Holmboe's) and the marking of chains of annual volumes in series is imprecise, which makes searching much more difficult. So, the state of the sources does not allow to get an exhaustive picture of the trade exchange between Tromsø and the Baltic ports as a monographic study. We should notice, however, that the materials from both companies complement each other; where there are gaps in Holmboe, there are plenty of documents in Aagaard, and vice versa. It is possible to make use of the information of both units collectively in order to present the structure of whale oil export from northern Norway to Szczecin.

¹⁶ Statsarkivet i Tromsø, Privatarxiv no. 26, Joh. Rye Holmboe, Privatarxiv no. 53, A/S Andr. Aagaard.

3. Collection of the City Archive in Bergen (*Byarkivet i Bergen*)¹⁷

The primary survey of the City Archive's holdings in Bergen brought about an extremely interesting discovery of a huge unit of documentation of the local gasworks (*Bergens Gassverk*). In the registers of this company for the years 1887–1903 we can find a rich outgoing correspondence to six companies in Gdańsk and nine companies in Szczecin. The language of the letters, which is English, is surprising because it was rare in contacts of Norway with Prussia. Usually German dominated there – a *lingua Latina* of the 19th-century economy. The character and calligraphy of the letters indicate that their author was one person – the Gasworks Director W. Numann himself. He probably had been in training or studied in Great Britain, which was a frequent phenomenon among the Norwegian industrial elites. Director Neumann's English lost its freshness with time and got strongly Norwegianised, but it still remained comprehensible. The fact that the correspondence was not translated into German may be explained by personal involvement of the director, who wrote the correspondence himself and did not admit any intermediaries.

The biggest interest is aroused by the materials concerning two Szczecin companies, namely Grossmann Bahll & Co. and Stettiner Chamotte Fabrik. About 100 letters were sent to each of them in the years 1887–1900. The former company was a warehouse importing, among others, Norwegian gas tar, the latter – a brickyard specialising in producing chamotte. The most interesting thing was a discovery of a fact that the Szczecin brickyard supplied the Gasworks not only with building materials but was entirely responsible for construction of furnaces and chimneys. So, we have here an interesting example of selling services and technical ideas, which is the highest stage of economic co-operation development. Apart from the interesting contents, a special advantage of the correspondence with the brickyard is numerous drawings and technical sketches of chamotte elements. They would certainly arouse enthusiasm among specialists in gas industry and historians of technology.

4. Lloyd's Register of Shipping¹⁸

The registers of the most important register institution of the world undoubtedly belong to the canon of navigation historiography. A few factors contribute

¹⁷ Byarkivet i Bergen, Bergens Gassverk, A-0929.

¹⁸ *Lloyd's Register of Shipping. Register for steam vessels*, London.

to the wealth of information offered by the Registers: their beginning go back as early as 1760, they were created for each year without exceptions, they are easily accessible (printed and reprinted), and first of all they include all more important vessels sailing on seas of the world. Although sailors' nations, such as Norway, started in the 19th century their own ship registers (*Det Norske Veritas* 1864), they still co-operated with Lloyd's. The information given by the registers is: captains' names, displacement, material, years and place of building, owner, flag.

The abundance of information allowed to complete a research project to create the first full list of Norwegian vessels that called at Gdańsk and Szczecin in the years 1894–1900. The starting point was registers of ships created basing of the discussed above consular shipping lists for both ports. Working on the database was a meticulous activity, consisting in finding and comparing vessels with the same names, the same captains and similar displacement (this dimension of a ship often changed as a result of repairs and repeated classification based on new principles). The eventual entry in the database was done only after establishing full similarity of information. The resulted list of Norwegian steamships contains about 270 vessels and brings a series of interesting observations. They concern the age of the Norwegian fleet on the Baltic and North Sea routes, the size of vessels in relation to their age, organisation of ship-owners, there are also information on the main shipyard centres of the epoch and their technical level, and finally we may draw conclusions about the conditions of Pomeranian ports, e.g. wharf equipment and the depth of port basins.

Reading available studies on Pomeranian-Norwegian economic co-operation in the 19th century results in the conviction of its ephemeral character, small assortment and low turnover. Therefore, it is so important to give the research a new perspective reaching for numerous and insufficiently used Norwegian sources. A project based on new assumptions would allow to complement the existing state of knowledge and, first of all, to look at the issue of trade and logistics of the late 19th century more objectively.

Translated by Beata Zawadka

ŹRÓDŁA NORWESKIE DO DZIEJÓW HANDLU I ŻEGLUGI NA POMORZU W DRUGIEJ POŁOWIE XIX WIEKU

Streszczenie

Stosunki gospodarcze Norwegii z portami pomorskimi w drugiej połowie XIX stulecia nie znalazły dotychczas szerszego omówienia ani w polskiej, ani w norweskiej historiografii. Przyczyną tego stanu były nieznaczne rozmiary współpracy pomorskich i norweskich firm oraz niesamodzielność Norwegii, tj. unia ze Szwecją w latach 1814–1905. Na przeszkodzie stoją także utarte stereotypy, subiektywna perspektywa, jak również ułomności dostępnych źródeł.

Norweska baza źródłowa dotycząca związków gospodarczych z pruskimi portami bałtyckimi jest bogata i różnicowana jakościowo. Do najciekawszych należą obfite materiały Ministerstwa Spraw Wewnętrznych (*Indredepartementet*), funkcjonującego w drugiej połowie XIX wieku. Przechowywane są one w Archiwum Królewskim (*Riksarkivet*) w Oslo, a dotyczą działalności norweskich konsulatów na Pomorzu. Interesujące zbiory zdeponowano także w archiwach państwowych znajdujących się w Bergen oraz Tromsø (*Statsarkivet i Bergen; Statsarkivet i Tromsø*). Należą do nich zespoły dokumentacji zakładów produkcyjno-handlowych współpracujących z portami pomorskimi. Ostatnim z omawianych źródeł, wartym wykorzystania do studiów nad dziejami transportu morskiego, są rejestry Lloyda.

Wykorzystanie norweskich źródeł pozwala poszerzyć perspektywę i uzupełnić dotychczasowy stan badań.