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# Bridging the Sound

## The Postal History of the Copenhagen–Malmö Crossing

By Stefan Danielski

On July 1 this year, the first fixed connection between Denmark and Sweden was officially opened. The 16-km bridge-tunnel combination crosses the Øresund waterway (the Sound – in English), closing the gap between these two neighbors. The link runs from Copenhagen's Kastrup airport through a submerged tunnel beneath the Øresund (Sund) to a man-made island of Peberholm, then by the bridge crossing over the navigation channel to Malmö, Sweden. With its dual-track railway and a four-lane highway, it can handle 10,000 cars and 18,000 passengers per day.

The Copenhagen-Malmö crossing cannot be regarded as an isolated route. It has to be regarded as a link in a larger passenger, freight, and mail transportation grid between Scandinavia and the rest of Europe. This article presents the crossing history from the postal historian's perspective.

### The Early Period

The Copenhagen-Malmö sea post was established by Danish King Christian IV on June 1, 1615 as part of the local postal route connecting Copenhagen with Skåne and



*One of the ferries between Copenhagen and Malmö. The reverse of the picture post card reads "Travel with the Øresund boats."*

Blekinge provinces located on the east side of Sund.<sup>1</sup> The Blekinge route started from Copenhagen via Malmö, Lund, Kristianstad (Christianstad), Sölverborg (Sølfuidsborg), Rönneby (Rundebye) to Kristianopel (Christianopel). It was listed in the first Postal Ordinance of December 24, 1624 setting up the first Danish national

postal service.<sup>2</sup> The route was in service until 1645. Following a lost war in 1658, Denmark ceded the provinces east of the Sound<sup>3</sup> to Sweden.

Loss of Skåne and Blekinge to Sweden created a difficult situation for the provincial population who had close ties with Danes on the other side of the Sund. The main Swedish weekly postal service with Hamburg, operated since 1620, did not use the Malmö-Copenhagen crossing; instead, the route used the Helsingborg-Helsingør link to cross the Sund at the narrowest point.

The postmaster in Malmö, Hans Kaspar Heublein, arranged a special postal connection between Sweden and Denmark in 1668. An announcement by the governor of Skåne, Gustaf Baner, on April 30, 1668 proclaimed re-establishment of passenger and mail service between Malmö and Copenhagen, operating twice weekly by a Swedish mail yacht (Figure 1). ►

# Kongl. Maj: och Sweriges K:ntes Rådhs, Feldmarskalk

och General Gouverneur öfwer Skåne, Hallandh och Bleckingh / samt  
Leshman öfwer Södermannlandh.

## GUSTAF BANER,

Friffere til Gamble Carlsby / Herte til Luna och Wiörnö /:r.

**S**ör ytterligt/ at efterform gådt summet åhr/ för den skuldt at hålla en Påstjagt emellan Köpenhamns och här/ som och  
werodh de öfrige Ortherne stec skal tywar Käreskällan eller öfwerfarten åhr/ at alle så Publicg, som Private Brees til Öfver-  
stes Orther/ som fram oc tilbaka gå/ tree å sira Daqar fört kunna til Orth och Ställe framkomma/ ån Landtydgen på  
Hällingöhr/ såhå emdhan den stecne gångor i Bectun nembligen om Händagen och Fredagor/ utthan förumlste öf-  
werså skal/ så frampt wderliceten icke ådre alt för Contrair och moostfrånwande/ Hwaroföre och såsom jagh åhr försä-  
kradt/ detta at twara alle/ som råt betänkte åhr/ seggabelt och angenamdt/ Allså wll jagh icke allenaft hafwa sådant förmedelst detta  
mit dyne Brees Publiceraz och kundgjordt/ utthan och aff alle och tywar och een i somerperet begierdt/ at de slag här efter råtte/ och alle  
affgånde Brees/ antingen til Köpenhamns/ andre Orther i Dönnemart/ Helsing eller i somerperet Hamburgt/ utsa Påst Contairez  
här i Malmö mleswerera/ tywar de af Påstförwaltren för Betalningh efter Ordinanen emootagas och medh mynen bättre flit och  
Trohet beställas stole/ ån medh Färgmäns och Passagjers som här til stect åhr/ och här efter låter omwastas/ emdhan ingen Fär-  
geman skal wara tillådt något Brees medh slah at taga wredh Oligenspet och Strass utådrandes/ där han af Wachtern på Broon/  
som der efter inquirers och ranssafta skal ertappes och betådes/ Och såsom Breesföråndet allena eplars löna mödan at hålla Sag-  
ten wredh Macht och betåla Folket på den samne/ Så efterlåtes Färgmännen/ som på den öfwerfarten/ icke allenaft at på de  
stecne Påstbagarne medh taga och öfwerföra dem eme och andre Resende/ medh hoos slah hafwande Resestygh utthan flere gånger  
i Bectun/ och så åfta som begieres/ och det utthan hunder och intrångh i alla måtto/ efterform den samne medh sijne Wägmän och för  
det öfrige utsi Konal. Mayg. ferderles Håan och bestydh tages och anammes för all mole, chwadh Kampn dem och hafwa fan/ så  
lånar han och de slag rådt och tillbörligen förhålla/ så och de wdlor tillåges at nutha och behålla/ som Färgmännen i Hälling-  
borah/ som Påsten öfwerföra/ förunder och bewillnadhe åhr. Här alle och tywar och een/ som detta angår wret slah at efter råtta.  
Til wiffjo wader min egen Handh och Secret. Datum Malmö den 30. Aprilis Anno 1668.

*Copenhagen mail service announcement of 1668.*

Figure 1

Since the service was a local initiative not arranged by the Post Office in Stockholm, the service had to be self-sufficient. The mail boat had the right to carry travelers not only on the normal days but also outside the schedule because the revenue from carrying letters alone could not cover crew expenses. The public was encouraged to send letters to Denmark and Hamburg using the new service. The Swedish government approved the service on August 12 of the same year with a condition that as long as Heublein kept up the service and paid the crew no one else could put another mail yacht in service or by any means harm the approved sea post connection. Nevertheless, this sea post apparently was short lived.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, Sweden and Denmark warred against each other for Baltic domination. Since 1620, the Swedish postal service used the route to Hamburg, the principal transfer point for mail communication with central Europe, through Denmark. To avoid frequent interruption, Sweden established an alternative postal route to Hamburg in 1683 with a sea post connection between Ystad in Sweden and Stralsund in Swedish Pomerania (today's Germany) without passing through Denmark. The new route became important for mail and passenger communication from Sweden, Norway, and Finland to central Europe.<sup>4</sup> Over the years and after many transformations, it exists nowadays as Trelleborg-Sassnitz ferry crossing. The rivalry between Sweden and Denmark formally ended at Kiel in January 1814 after signing a treaty in which Denmark relinquished its rights over Norway to Sweden.

At the beginning of the 19th century Sweden still maintained two major postal routes to Hamburg: one passing through Denmark with Helsingborg-Helsingør crossing over the Sund and another with a Baltic Sea crossing from Ystad to Stralsund/Greifswald in Prussia.

In 1830, new scheduled mail and passenger service was established between Malmö and Copenhagen operated by the sailing packet ships. The first steamship was introduced eight years later. The same year the Swedish Post Office decided to send mail over the Sound only on steamships, finding them more reliable than sailing ships. In the 1850s ►

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steamship connections were arranged daily between these two cities. Occasionally mailbags were carried by sailing ferries mostly in winter when steamships could not be used due to weather.

Copenhagen established direct steamship postal routes to Kiel, Lübeck/Travemünde (1824) for mail heading to Hamburg and with Stettin for mail to Prussia. In 1848, the Danish mail routes to Hamburg through the duchies and Kiel were closed because of the Schlesvig-Holstein rebellion. As a replacement on April 19, 1848, the Swedish steamship “Malmö” began regular weekly service between Malmö and Travemünde via Copenhagen carrying bags with Swedish and Danish mail.

In order to speed up delivery, a proposal was submitted to open Swedish sorting post offices on Danish steamship ferries crossing the Sund between Copenhagen and Malmö. The permission to open post office compartments was granted by the King of Sweden on March 24, 1882. Starting in 1906 similar postal compartments were established on ferries serving the Helsingør-Helsingborg route.

### Railway Revolution

The railway revolution swept through Europe in the 19th century. It was a massive shift in transportation technology and infrastructure where none existed before.

The first railway in the kingdom of Denmark (completed in September 1844) went from Kiel to Altona,<sup>5</sup> at that time both Danish towns. The opening of the railway between Copenhagen and Korsør in 1856 allowed Danish mail steamers to move from Copenhagen to Korsør to serve Kiel, Lübeck, Nyborg, and Aarhus, cutting travelling time significantly.

Railways on the German side were constructed faster than in Denmark, covering German states with a network of tracks. The Berlin-Hamburg railway was completed in 1847; a branch connection to Lübeck was opened on October 15, 1851; the Stettin-Berlin railway in 1843; and a branch from Berlin to Wismar was extended in 1850.

Sweden railway development was much slower. It was 1865 before the railway to Malmö was completed, allowing transport of passengers, goods, and mail directly from Stockholm.

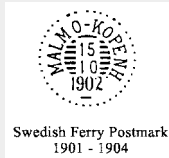
The Copenhagen-Malmö crossing, with its daily service and convenient railway/steamship routes to Hamburg and Berlin, offered better and faster service than the Baltic crossing between Ystad and Stralsund. The railway branch line to Stralsund on the Prussian side was completed in November 1863 and three years later the Swedish railway was extended to Ystad. ➤



*A picture post card of a poster promoting the Copenhagen-Malmö postal route. The reverse of the card reads: “Malmö, one of Oresundsbolaget’s first posters, (produced) just before the union (between Sweden and Norway) was dissolved in 1905.”*

## Copenhagen-Malmö Crossing Postmarks: Examples

There were a number of postal markings applied on mail sent through the Copenhagen-Malmö route. They can be divided into four groups: 1, postmarks used on board the ships by post office crew;



Swedish Ferry Postmark  
1901 - 1904

2, special cancellers used in a shore post office for mail posted on board the ferries; 3, transit markings applied by shore post offices; and

4, markings used by Railway TPO to indicate country of origin.

The only known Swedish date stamp applied on board ferries was used from 1901 to 1904. It could be applied on mail posted on board or taken from boxes hanging at the ship berth in Copenhagen and Malmö.

Later, two date stamps were used in the Malmö post office for mail



1930  
1947 - 1948



June 16, 1956 - 1974 ?

collected from the Sund ferries. The first one is recorded on mail from 1947 and 1948. It seems to be a modified postmark produced for the experimental air mail flight between the two cities in 1930. The second date stamp was a standard POSTAD OMBORD canceller. (Similar date stamps were used on other ferry routes.)

The Danish Post Office issued its first ferry date stamp in 1909 and they ➤



#1  
1909 - 1911  
1930 - 1936  
Recorded 2 & 4 POSTS



#2  
1911 - 1914  
1929 - 1937  
1947 - 1953  
Recorded 1, 2 and 4 POSTS



#3  
1938 - 1939  
Recorded 2 and 4 POSTS



#4  
Feb. - Nov. 1950  
Recorded 1 and 2 POST



#5  
1959 - 1973  
Recorded 1 and 2 POST.



#6  
1972  
Recorded 2 POST

In order to speed delivery and provide faster mail exchange, Prussia in May 1849 established eight traveling railway post offices as independent of the regular post offices. This innovation was adopted soon by the Danish Post Office (1850) and later by Swedish Postal administration (1868). A postal treaty concluded in July 1869 between Sweden and Prussia required Denmark, Prussia, and Sweden to convey mail primarily by trains on the main routes.

As passenger traffic grew in volume, bigger ships called ferries, more suitable to carry increasing numbers of passengers on short routes, had to be built to address the growing demand. With a rapid development of rail, it was a matter of time before special ferries were built to convey railway cars across the sea.

Although Denmark cannot claim the invention, it became a world pioneer in successful train ferries — introduced in 1872 for the first time between Fredericia, Jutland, and Strib on the island of Funen and 11 years later on the route across the Great Belt between Korsør and Nyborg.

In 1895, the Danske Statsbaner (Danish State Railway) “DSB” introduced the first train ferry “Kjøbenhavn” between Copenhagen and Malmö offering direct railway connection between Stockholm and Copenhagen. Using the train ferry crossing between Korsør–Kiel (operating since 1881), passengers and mail could be transported without leaving a railway wagon directly from Stockholm via Copenhagen to Berlin. Later, “Kjøbenhavn” was augmented by the Swedish train ferry “Malmö” owned by the Svenska Staten Järnvägar (Swedish State Railway).

Sweden and Germany jointly continued to develop an alternative passenger and mail route to Berlin. The Ystad-Stralsund route become obsolete with their shallow harbors and it was decided to move ferry terminals to Trelleborg on the Swedish side and Sassnitz on the German island of ➤

Rügen. On May 1, 1897 the new train ferry crossing was officially inaugurated between Trelleborg and Sassnitz offering direct passenger and mail connection to Berlin from Stockholm and Norway. The Trelleborg-Sassnitz crossing became popular and most Swedish foreign mail was sent this route.

In response, Denmark and Germany developed a shorter sea crossing to Germany between Gedser in Denmark and Warnemünde on the German side that had been operating since 1849. On October 2, 1903, four train ferries were put in service by Danske Statsbaner "DSB" and Deutsch Nordischen Lloyd. The new route saved significant time between Copenhagen and Berlin over the Korsør-Kiel crossing. After World War I, this became the most important sea crossing between Denmark and Germany.

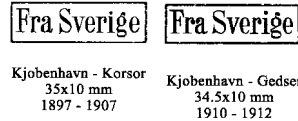
Despite the popularity of the Trelleborg-Sassnitz crossing, a significant amount of Swedish mail to Europe was conveyed through Denmark via the Malmö-Copenhagen sea link.

### Golden Era of Sea Service

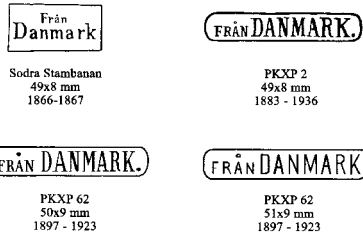
The Copenhagen-Malmö sea link entered the 20th century with fully developed passenger, train, and mail service. Passenger ferries operated by Danske Dampskibsselskabet Øresund of Copenhagen and Svenska Rederiaktiebolaget Öresund of Malmö catered to growing numbers of passengers crossing the Sund. All ships were equipped with post offices on board the ships (postkupéexpeditioner) to sort and process mail posted on board. The service became popular among the local population particularly on the Swedish side because the crossing time was only 95 minutes and attractive prices for food and alcohol were available on the Danish side. Parallel train ferry service also allowed passengers to travel without leaving a railway wagon from Stockholm to Copenhagen and via Copenhagen to Berlin. ➤

were in use until 1973. Six types can be distinguished. It is believed they were assigned to post office crews rather than a particular ship. Additional FRA SVERIGE (From Sweden) markings were issued for mail franked with Swedish postage.

In both cities, post offices were equipped with transit Fra/Från markings to apply on mail delivered from ferries.



Because some of the Swedish mail sent to Germany via Copenhagen and the Korsør-Kiel route slipped through unmarked between 1897 and 1907, a special Fra Sverige marking was issued for the Copenhagen-Korsør TPO. Later, a similar marking was issued for the Copenhagen-Gedser route. Both markings are rather scarce.



Shown above are a separate group of markings used by the Swedish Railway TPO that sometimes runs to Copenhagen.

These Fra Sverige and Från Danmark transit marks below indicate country of origin. ■



During World War I both countries were neutral and probably the mail and passenger service was maintained but on a smaller scale. Nazi occupation of Denmark in World War II affected passenger traffic between Copenhagen and Malmö. Sweden maintained its official neutrality but because of economic reasons cooperated with Germany, allowing even German soldiers transit through Sweden. In 1945 Swedish diplomat Count Folke Bernadotte, after negotiation with Himmler and Ribbentrop, arranged release of a couple thousand women and children from German concentration camps. Most of them were transported from Copenhagen by Swedish ferries to Malmö.

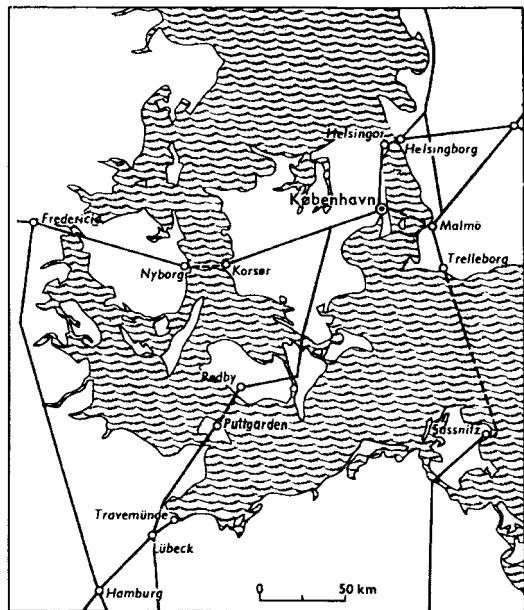
After WWII, the division of Germany into two separate countries changed the geopolitics of the region. Sassnitz and Warnemünde became a part of East Germany and Berlin became a free city inside East Germany. Both sea links across the Baltic (Gedser-Warnemünde and Trelleborg-Sassnitz) were activated after the war but traffic was a trickle due to travel and trade restrictions imposed by the Communist regime in East Germany.

There was a need for a new direct connection between West Germany and Denmark. A new sea crossing was inaugurated by passenger-train ferry between Gedser and Grossenbrode on the West German side on July 14, 1951. The distance between two terminals was 67 km and was jointly operated by passenger-train ferries operated by Danske Statsbaner (Danish State Railway) and Deutsche Bundesbahn (West German State Railway). Italy-Scandinavian Express E-146 and later Swiss Express E-144 used the ferry crossing. A shorter sea link was opened June 14, 1963 between Rødby located in the southernmost Danish island of Lolland and Puttgarden in West Germany. The new route reduced the sea crossing to 19 km and was called “Fuglefluglinie” (Bird Flight Line) because it follows a bird migration route. It allows travelers from Scandinavia to travel via Malmö-Copenhagen and Helsingborg-Helsingör crossings directly to Western Europe by train and later by car (see Figure 2).

To meet the demand, Danish operator Danske Dampskibsselskabet Øresund brought the first passenger-car ferries into service between Copenhagen and Malmö in 1956. It addressed the growing popularity of cars as a means of transportation among European population. Svenska Rederiaktiebolaget Öresund of Malmö cut the crossing time to 35 minutes after express hydrofoil passenger service was put in service in 1962. The same year, a Swedish operator inaugurated a shorter Sund route between Limhamn, Sweden and Dragør, south of Copenhagen. The new 50-minute route was designated especially for cars and trucks.

### **Bridging to a New Era**

The new era began in 1935 when the bridge was constructed over the Little Belt connecting the island of Funen with Jylland (Jutland). At the same time, the automobile ➤



*Major Scandinavian transportation routes after WWII.*

**Figure 2**

revolution was taking place. With growing prosperity, personal cars became affordable to everyone. The Mediterranean became a favorite tourist destination for Scandinavians. More people used cars instead of trains. Freight trailers and trucks became serious competitors to railways in Europe after the 1960s. Europe was covered with a web of international highways. The number of cars using the ferry ships between Germany and Denmark doubled in the last 10 years. The ferry crossing became a major cause of traffic delays.

To address the growing demand, serious consideration was given to replacing the ferry crossing with tunnels and bridges. In 1997, a tunnel was opened under the Great Belt and a year later a bridge over the Great Belt eliminated ferry service between Korsør and Nyborg.

The idea to build a tunnel connecting Copenhagen and Malmö first originated in 1872. More than 100 years later and following lengthy discussions and preparation, the governments of Denmark

and Sweden formed the Øresundskonsortiet in 1991 to design and construct the fixed connection between Copenhagen and Malmö. Construction on one of the largest civil engineering projects in northern Europe started in 1995 and was successfully completed in 2000.

The prospect of building a fixed link across the Sund affected Copenhagen-Malmö ferry operators. The last train ferry, "MS Malmöhus," operated by the Svenska Staten ►

### Railway TPOs collecting mail bags from the Copenhagen-Malmö ferries or running to Copenhagen<sup>1</sup>

PKXP - Postkupéexpedition (Post Office in mail compartment); number denotes a particular route.

PKP - Postkupé (P.O. in mail compartment).

PKXP 2	
Falköping – Malmö	1868 – 1874
Nässjö – Malmö	1874 – 1877
Falköping Ranten – Nässjö – Malmö	1877 – 1879
Nässjö – Malmö	1879 – 1903
Nässjö – Malmö - Copenhagen	1903 – 1934
Nässjö – Malmö	1934 – 1968
PKXP 10	
Jönköping – Malmö	1868 – 1873
Falköping – Malmö	1873 – 1874
Nässjö – Malmö	1874 – 1877
Falköping Ranten – Nässjö – Malmö	1877 – 1879
Nässjö – Malmö	1879 – 1905
Almült – Malmö	1906
Hässleholm – Malmö	1906 – 1907
Nässjö – Malmö	1908
Malmö – Copenhagen	1911 – 1912
PKXP 62	
Nässjö – Malmö	1886 – 1898
Nässjö – Malmö - Trelleborg	1898
Nässjö – Malmö	1898 – 1901
Nässjö – Malmö - Trelleborg	1901 – 1919
Nässjö – Malmö	1919 – 1920
Nässjö – Malmö - Copenhagen	1920 – 1940
Nässjö – Malmö	1940 – 1947
Nässjö – Malmö - Copenhagen	1947 – 1955
Nässjö – Malmö	1955 – 1968
PKXP 83	
Nässjö – Malmö	1897 – 1903
Nässjö – Malmö - Copenhagen	1903 – 1921
Nässjö – Malmö	1921 – 1934
Nässjö – Malmö - Copenhagen	1934 – 1940
Nässjö – Malmö	1940 – 1968
PKP 141	
Mjölby – Malmö – Copenhagen	1950 – 1951
Stockholm - Mjölby – Malmö – Copenhagen	1950 – 1951
Mjölby – Malmö – Copenhagen	1953 – 1963
Mjölby – Malmö/Helsingborg – Copenhagen	1963 – 1963
Malmö – Copenhagen	1966 – 1968
PKP 142	
Malmö – Copenhagen	1950 – 1963

<sup>1</sup> Source: Hjertberg, Per, *Postkupéexpeditioner postiljons-och postkupéer 1868-1968*. Göteborg.

## Known Ships<sup>1</sup>

<i>Freya</i>	1800
<i>Öresund</i> , steamship	1849
<i>Malmö</i> , Swedish mail steamship	April 19, 1848- 1859 weekly service between Malmö, Copenhagen, and Travemünde
<i>Ophelia</i> , Helsingørske Dampskibsinteressentskab	1852-1855 Danish private mail steamship also sailed between Copenhagen and Helsingborg
<i>Horatio</i> , private mail steamer	1855
<i>Hälsingborg</i>	
<i>Engelholm</i>	
<i>Halland</i> , Swedish private mail ship	1860 – 1864 ?
<b>Svenska Staten Järnvägar, Malmö</b>	
SS <i>Malmö</i> , train ferry	1900-1945
MS <i>Malmöhus</i> , train ferry	1945-1974
SS <i>Drottning Victoria</i> , train ferry	1952-1968, used only as a replacement ship
<b>Danske Statsbaner, Copenhagen</b>	
<i>Kjøbenhavn</i> , train ferry	1895-1923
SS <i>Prins Christian</i> , train ferry	1923-1945
<b>Svenska Rederiaktiebolaget Öresund, Malmö</b>	
SS <i>Gylfee</i>	1905 (?)
SS <i>Malmö</i>	1914-
MS <i>Malmö</i> (II), passenger ferry	1964-1969
MS <i>Malmö</i> (III), passenger ferry	1969-1976
SS <i>Öresund</i>	1905-
SS <i>Örnen</i>	1909
SS <i>Hälsingborg</i>	1912-
MS <i>Opal</i> , Polish vessel	1986 (charter)
<i>Tunen</i> , passenger hydrofoil	1962
<i>Tranen</i> , passenger hydrofoil	1962
<i>Tumleren</i> , passenger hydrofoil	1962
<b>Danske Dampskibsselskabet Øresund, Copenhagen</b>	
SS <i>Gefion</i>	1905
MS <i>Absalon</i> , passenger-car ferry	1956-1974 (?)
MS <i>St. Ibb</i>	1958
MS <i>Örnen</i>	1958
MS <i>Gripen</i> , passenger-car ferry	1956-1976
MS <i>Øresund</i> , passenger-car ferry	1960-1981
MS <i>Örnen</i> (II), passenger ferry	1962-1982
<b><u>Euroway</u></b> (Malmö-Copenhagen-Lübeck), service discontinued in 1994	
MS <i>Silja Festival</i>	
MS <i>Frans Svell</i>	

<sup>1</sup> The list is incomplete, and any corrections are welcome.

Järnvägar. was removed from service in 1973. All trains from Stockholm to Copenhagen and to Central Europe via Copenhagen were directed to the Helsingborg-Helsingør crossing. The last Danish passenger-car ferry was removed from service in 1982, leaving only hovercraft and hydrofoil express service between the two cities.

There was an attempt by another ferry operator to capture the market by offering service between Malmö, Copenhagen, and Lübeck in West Germany. Ferry service offered by Euroway, however, was discontinued in 1994.

One of the world's busiest ferry routes – between Helsingborg and Helsingør – started to feel capacity problems in the 1980s. A new sea link was opened in 1985 between Helsingborg and Copenhagen for ferries carrying only freight trains. Two ferries owned by Svenska Staten Järnvägar and Danske Statsbaner serviced the route. ►

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The new fixed link over the Sound will have a tremendous economic impact on the region and it will change the transportation system not only between Sweden and Denmark but also on the Baltic Sea, which took almost 400 years to develop. The full extent of the impact will be seen in the future. ■

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### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> Then Danish territories.

<sup>2</sup> At that time Copenhagen's mayor, council, and four guilds operated the postal service.

<sup>3</sup> Halland, Skåne, and Blekinge.

<sup>4</sup> By 1827, 70 percent of the Swedish and Norwegian mail was sent via Ystad and Greifswald, Prussia.

<sup>5</sup> Part of Hamburg today.

### Acknowledgements

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