

Roots in Värmland and Hälsingland

- The Schröder Family Since the 1500s

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Oblivion comes quickly. Most people seem to lack knowledge of their ancestors beyond grandparents, or their parents. Genealogy changes this and we gain a greater understanding of where we come from and perhaps why we think the way we do in many contexts. Our parents raised us, they were raised by their parents, who were raised by their parents. Knowledge is passed on from generation to generation as a cultural transmission of norms and attitudes to life. And not least, we have inherited the genes that form the basis of our characteristics as individuals.

I spent a lot of time with my paternal grandmother Berta (1909-1992) when I was a child and was certainly influenced by her background. She used to tell me about her childhood in Hälsingland and about her siblings and mother who emigrated to North America. When she got old, she said: "You won't forget me!". This text is about her ancestors. It turns out that she inherited her surname from Johan Schröder who came to Gothenburg in the early 17th century.

Tracing your ancestors is a dizzying experience. You are following your own destiny. So many encounters in the past are coincidences. The randomness at the level of the individual also applies at the level of society. The historian Harari writes in his history of the future, *Homo deus*, that our world has been created by a random chain of events.¹

A family biography is a subset of the collective biography of a people. The further we go back into the past, the more collective the biography becomes for two obvious reasons: the ancestors are more numerous and represent a larger proportion of the total population, and they have more descendants in our time. In other words, the 17th century people in this text are more representative of their time and have a greater genetic impact today than the 19th century people in the story.

Hundreds of life stories form the basis of this essay. They have been unearthed from church records and other sources as a result of my own and partly other people's genealogical research. A few words about the documents on which the presentation is based. Church records have played a crucial role in the research, for the 18th and 19th centuries, as well as for the early 20th century. These consist of household examination records and, from the end of the 19th century, parish records, which are also based on households. Moreover, there are baptism, marriage and burial records, as well as migration records. In addition, there are court

records with estate inventories. Also worth mentioning is geometric land records where I have studied maps of villages and estates for the 17th century. These are available digitally online.

By using various archive materials, you can trace your ancestry backwards. However, it is not uncommon for people to be fooled by incorrect information in church records, especially in household examination records. On the internet you can also find genealogical charts published by other researchers, most of them serious, but there are also many frivolous ones. A critical eye for sources is essential.

When it comes to the 16th and 17th centuries, you are often dependent on other genealogists. "Bromanderska samlingen" is a description of the genealogy of families in Värmland, including Schröder. The handwritten notes are available online.

Sometimes you can use accounts of individuals in "Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon", but this mainly concerns more prominent people. Mention can also be made of the Church's "Herdaminnen", biographical notes on priests.

If you are lucky, the priest has written an obituary of a deceased person in the funeral book, a phenomenon that seems to have been fashionable in the 18th century in some parishes. You can also find accounts of individuals in local history books or whole families in family biographies.

But for most ordinary people you are limited to church records. There is information on birth, marriage, number of children and death, if that. People pass through the little peephole of church records. You are like a physicist studying the smallest particles, they do things when you look, otherwise you don't know what they are doing.

In this text, I have not always explained where different information is taken from, but there is a list of footnotes placed after the text. The most frequently used church records come from the parishes of Bjuråker, Delsbo, Ljusdal in Hälsingland and Fryksände (Torsby) in Värmland.

Historical context

Inevitably, family history also becomes folk history because the characters often represent a slice of the common experience of their time. It is a kind of overall micro-history, and the family becomes a method of following people over time. This approach is a necessity if we

are to make progress towards the goal of linking family ties, all the links in the chain.

Most of the people featured in the following chapters lived between the 16th and early 20th centuries. This is a long time in Swedish history. So much happened and so much changed. It also changed people: their views on God, on marriage and children, on death, on violence and much more. Here we get only temporary glimpses of such issues. We can imagine a society where travel and transport took a lot of time. People walked and carried, constantly carrying. The perception of time was largely linked to agricultural cycles. In many places people identified with the parish and the county/shire rather than the nation, and status was fundamental. In older times, the vast majority of people, the common people, usually read nothing but the Bible and perhaps some other religious text. We should not underestimate the role of the church in the local community.

The social developments of the 17th century in particular affected the conditions of the people. This was a period when the Swedish state had ambitions to be a great military power. Some of the signs of this were: Sweden fought in the Thirty Years' War, the gentry and the new nobility got new important roles, the reopening of the university in Uppsala, immigration of industrialists to the weapon industry, the standing army and the new civil servants who would administer Axel Oxenstierna's state building. One example is the bourgeois son Henrik Johansson Schröder, who moves to Värmland and makes a career as a civil servant.

Many of the people in this essay were affected by the wars. Others came to Sweden as a direct result of the Thirty Years' War, many came from Finnish Savonia as a result of the wars in Finland. The number of soldiers among Berta's ancestors is not insignificant. This becomes more evident during the many wars of the 18th century, and many perish, resulting in poverty for widows and children.

The wars with Denmark in the 16th and 17th centuries were of great importance to a number of people in the essay. It was the battles over Älvsborg Fortress and Danish attacks on the towns in what would become Gothenburg that caused people to lose property and flee, not least Johan Schröder.

The period of wars saw a boom in the iron industry and its associated economy. Some of the ancestors were involved in the iron works as founders, owners, or managers. This type of people was called "brukspatroner" (foundry proprietors). Many of these actors were immigrants from northern Germany, recruited by wealthy owners. In Värmland, we can also see how burghers bought into the profitable iron works, a demand that was largely driven by the war and the need for weapons.

There are many priests in the annals during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, some mentioned in the text. Most were in Västergötland and Värmland, and at least one in Norrland. They show the typical marriage pattern: priests or sons of priests marrying daughters of priests. This was not so strange, as we see the same pattern among the nobility, burghers and farmers. The different classes were like castes in society.

Religion was of great importance in the governance of the kingdom and the witch trials became an extreme example of how they tried to discipline the people. In this presentation, we touch on the witch trials in Älvdalen, where the ancestors see relatives and friends drawn into the trials.

For the farmers in Hälsingland, the wars of the 17th and 18th centuries were very real, as so many in these parts were soldiers in the standing army. As far as agriculture was concerned, this was a time of waiting for the big changes, so to speak. They would come much later, with land reforms, new methods, population growth and emigration. Compared to later times, the traditional agricultural society continued, although the climate was often unfavourable as a result of what has been called the 'Little Ice Age'. The years around 1600 were very cold, but the cold period would continue through the 19th century.

A new feature in the forests of Sweden from the early 17th century was the so-called Forest Finns. Under state law, they were subjects who moved within the kingdom, but they belonged to the Finnish 'nation', i.e. they were a separate people, with their own language and culture. Most came from eastern Finland and the area known as Savonia (Savolax), west of Karelia. The crown gave them the right to settle in the large crown forests and build homesteads. They were farmers who farmed in the ashes of burnt forests, kept livestock, fished, hunted and traded. People from Savonia often did well in the great forest because it was their habitat.

With their distinctive culture in a Swedish context, and the Finnish language, the Forest Finns initially formed their own subculture in Swedish farming society. They were Christian but also had more ancient rituals and beliefs, used magic and worshipped nature as hunters tend to do. The source material I use does not mention the culture of the Forest Finns, but there is interesting research in the area that I use.²

When we get to the 18th century, the wars continue and many of the Hälsinglanders in the presentation go off to war. We also become acquainted with county sheriffs in Bjuråker and Delsbo, but also in the area around Sala. The bourgeoisie takes up more and more space and the industrial economy continues to expand.

Three generations of Schröder were surveyors from the late 17th century to the mid-19th century. By the middle of the 17th century, surveyors were mainly concerned with the mapping of peasant villages and their land, compiled in the geometric land records. In the 18th century maps were drawn and from the middle of the century they became increasingly involved in land division issues, the land reform for more efficient agriculture. But the number of surveyors was small, an unusual profession. "In 1757, 49 new surveyors graduated and the number of active surveyors rose from 52 to 95 in one year".³

During the 19th century, the population grew rapidly. The theory of what happens and changes with the population is known as the demographic transition, a transition from a state of high birth rates and high mortality rates to increasingly lower mortality leading to population growth. Eventually, birth rates adjust to lower mortality rates and population growth levels off. The population doubled during the 19th century and the population surplus leads to increased poverty and emigration.⁴

In our material we can sense this development, and indeed we have examples of how crofters emerge from the group of self-owned farmers in Bjuråker. We also have examples of another general phenomenon, the migration towards Norrland from Värmland. The growth of the forestry industry provided new jobs. The ever-present tuberculosis also left its mark during the 18th and 19th centuries and well into the 20th century. Many ancestors died of pulmonary TB, the 'white plague'. In Swedish it was called "lungsot".

Berta Schröder's Ancestors: An overview

The name Schröder forms an unbroken line since the 16th century. The ancestor of the family in Sweden, Johan Schröder, was born around 1590. He probably had his roots in Germany. The other 3/4 of Berta's family were mainly from Hälsingland, often farmers, crofters and soldiers.

I once asked Berta where the name Schröder came from, it seemed unusual to me. She had heard that it came from Värmland. It turned out to be true. Berta's grandfather came from Värmland to Hälsingland in the 1860s and got married. I searched online on genealogy sites and found interesting traces that I followed up in the church records.

The Schröders were not initially Värmlanders in any deeper sense, but through marriage they acquired Värmland ancestry with known roots in the Middle Ages such as the Bratt and Ekebom families.

Through marriage families from Västergötland also came in with roots in the Middle Ages. That there was so much of Västergötland in the ancestry was surprising. In the Schröder ancestry there were also other foreigners in addition to Johan Schröder. He was one of the immigrants to the future Gothenburg in the early 17th century, to Hisingen and the Dutch colony, but was probably German.

Others who came to Sweden from the continent and entered the family tree in the 17th century were Christian Robsahm and Catharina Bertels, Johannes Loccenius and Ursula Tamm, Herman tor Smede (Tersmeden) and Katarina Clein, her parents Peter Clein and Gertrud Rouglans.

Johan Schröder was a merchant of the bourgeoisie in the 17th century. The line I am following was then active in a class of local gentry in the 17th and 18th centuries, and in the second half of the 19th century became tenants of large industrial companies in Hälsingland.

Regarding my grandmother's geographical and genetic lineage, we can see that it is largely in Hälsingland and to some extent in Savonia in Finland, despite the German surname. When it comes to the Schröder line with incoming branches we find a geographical shift over time, a diagonal move from west to north-east. The movement goes roughly from Nylöse (Gothenburg) over Västergötland, Värmland and up into Bergslagen, and further to northern Hälsingland. The ancestors in Nylöse/Gothenburg move out during the 1600s, Västergötland in the form of Skaraborg is left during the 1700s, Värmland during the second half of the 1800s, and Hälsingland (Bjuråker) is left during the 1930s.

The rural character dominates the family roots, which is not surprising as it applies to the population as a whole. But there are also city dwellers. In the 17th and 18th centuries, we find them in Lidköping, Mariestad, Nylöse, Karl IX's Gothenburg on the northern bank of the river, Brätte and Vänersborg, Karlstad, Kristinehamn, Jönköping, Skövde, Borås, Uppsala, Söderhamn and Hudiksvall. In the 16th century, it was mainly Gothenburg's predecessor Nylöse, and Karlstad in Värmland, but also some cities outside Sweden such as Flensburg, Kiel, Itzehoe, Husum and Hamburg in Schleswig-Holstein.

One observation is that many of the bourgeois families in Värmland seem to have originated in Nylöse and Gothenburg. A migration to Värmland from this area seems to have taken place during the 16th and 17th centuries. Lödöse, or Gamla Lödöse located about 4 kilometres north of Gothenburg, emerged in the 12th century and was the most important city in western Sweden throughout the Middle Ages. Probably one or more of the families originated there in the Middle Ages.

How does the migration of her ancestors relate to general population movements? During the second half of the 19th century in particular, there was a strong movement northwards, not least due to the expansion of the forestry industry. When Olof Reinhold Schröder left Värmland in the 1860s for Hälsingland, he was not alone. Värmland's population development speaks for itself: between 1800 and 1850 the growth rate was almost 64 per cent, but over the next fifty years it fell to 14.6 per cent, which was one of the weakest population growth rates among the counties. Gävleborg County (with Hälsingland) instead doubled its population growth from 44.3 % to 98.1 % during the same period. Västernorrland, with its magnet Sundsvall, had a strong population growth in 1850-1900, as much as 133.3 %. Lars Magnus Schröder, father of Olof Reinhold, was drawn to the area a little earlier and worked in Härnösand and Sundsvall during the 1830s before returning to Värmland. Berta's move south in the first half of the 20th century also follows a larger pattern. Hälsingland was a region whose population growth was rapidly declining.

Regional mobility further back in the tree is mainly among the bourgeoisie, where both business contacts and educational encounters appear to be important. The mixing of peoples and families is also associated with immigration in the 17th century: Germans, Walloons, but mainly Forest Finns, who were often highly mobile. The examples can be multiplied, but the main impression is of local marriages. In this sense, the family tree reflects a general picture.

Further down the root system there are more examples of mobility, but the vast majority still have long-standing ancestors in one place. For example, when Anna Margareta Kjellberg left Tärna (in north-western Uppland on the border with Västmanland) for a regional marriage to Lars Sundén from Värmland, she had deep roots in the neighbouring parishes of Tärna and Kumla, and the priest Lars probably also among farmers in the area of Värmskog. In a practical sense, many family lines tend to be rooted among farmers in a parish or town where the ancestors have lived for generations or centuries. This is particularly evident in Hälsingland where ancestry in villages in Delsbo and Bergsjö can be traced back to the 16th century, with families holding the same farms for centuries.

Population growth in the 19th century led to the proletarianization of a large part of the population. It is usually said that the children and grandchildren of self-employed farmers became crofters and labourers. But the downward social movement could also apply to other groups. We can see this in Berta's story. Her grandfather, Olof Reinhold Schröder, started out as a labourer and later became a farmer/landlord for the forestry industry. In a couple of generations they had moved downwards. His father, Lars Magnus, was a textile dyer, a craft with a high reputation in the guild era, now in the process of industrialisation. His wife came

from Härnösand, where his stepfather was a burgher and glazier in the town. Lars Magnus' mother was a priest's daughter and her mother the daughter of a county sheriff. She had five generations of county sheriffs in her ancestry.

Lars Magnus' father and grandfather were land surveyors and engineers. With a brief interlude as an ironworks patron (brukspatron), even his great--great-grandfather a trained land surveyor, but he registered as an iron works owner. These were people who married within the same class, so there were numerous ironworks patrons in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Here we also find a wide range of professions and roles such as district clerk, crown bailiff, sheriff's officer, treasurer, weighmaster, mayor and alderman, tax commissioner, estate steward, priest, lecturer, professor, master nail smith, castle steward, gardener, sailor, ironworks patron, landowner, salmon fisher, iron mill owner, officer, war commissioner, law reader, mineralogist, ironworks manager, trader, merchant, and, as always, farmers.

The German families that arrived in the 17th century and in many cases go back to the Middle Ages included mayors, councillors, merchants, warriors, governors, landowners, innkeepers and manufacturers. Many people in Sweden have these people in their ancestry for the simple reason that well off people had more children who survived and had new children who married and had children. The majority of people who lived in world history have no genetic imprint in the current population. This is more true of men than women. Historically, dominant men have often had children with several women. A more modest example is Johan Carlsson Schröder, who lived in the 18th century. He had 6 children with his first wife and 10 children with his second wife.

One observation is that a burgher (merchant), iron works owner and landowner, and sometimes also a crown official, could all be different roles held by the same person. This is very clear among the main characters in Kristinehamn and Karlstad in the 17th century. Why was this the case? To understand this phenomenon, we need to understand the 17th century economy. The state had ambitions to grow and needed iron for weapons and money for the crown. Therefore, new towns and iron works were established, as well as merchants selling goods and educated people in the administration of the counties and new towns. The supply of educated people was limited, but those who had the knowledge could utilise it in several areas at once.

The name Schröder goes unbroken into the late 16th century and probably longer than that. Another name that is at least as old is the first name Magnus, or Måns as it was often called before. It is the same name.

On the Schröder line, no one is called that before Carl Magnus Schröder the elder and it was probably his mother Stina Cajsa Ekebon who introduced the name. This is what a probable chain looks like from the early 1500s:

Måns Andersson, Nylöse, bailiff, magistrate

Erik Månsson, Östra Ämtervik, Karlstad, mayor

Måns Eriksson Ekebon, Karlstad, bailiff

Anders Månsson Ekebon, Karlstad

Magnus Andersson Ekebon, Karlstad, mayor

Hans Månsson Ekebon, Brattfors, iron works manager

(Stina Cajsa Ekebon, Mrs Johan Schröder in Torsby, Fryksände)

Carl Magnus Schröder the elder, Torsby, Fryksände, surveyor

Carl Magnus Schröder the Younger, Torsby, Fryksände, surveyor

Lars Magnus Schröder, Torsby, Fryksände, dyer

Olof Reinhold Schröder, Fryksände, farmer in Ljusdal (brother Karl Magnus)

Jonas Magnus Schröder, Ljusdal, farmer in Ljusdal and Bjuråker

Berta Schröder, Ljusdal (brother Lars Magnus)

When it comes to the naming of the families from Hälsingland and the forest Finns in Medelpad, there is no long continuity of first names in any case, although some names were common in different families. The most common male names among Berta's ancestors down to the 17th century, including Älvdalen, were Per (23), Olof (22), Jon/Jonas (20), Erik (18), Anders (16), Lars (13), Mats (11), Nils (10) and Pål (10). These were common names in large parts of the country, but in fact only two Carl, one Sven and one Gustav, and no Johan. Among female names, Karin (26) and Anna (22) dominate, followed by Brita (14) and Kerstin (14), Margareta (12), Marit (10), Ingrid (8) and Elisabet/Ella (7). Common names further south such as Sara and Malin appear only three times. I also note that Kerstin was preferred to the basic form Kristina/Stina, which occurs only once.

There were plenty of soldiers in Hälsingland and there were many in the families studied here. This affected the community and people's attitudes to life. There were many deaths, resulting

in widows and fatherless children. The soldiers who survived and came home may have had experiences that they would often have preferred to be without. But the experience as a soldier could also lead to a position as a county sheriff.

The majority in northern Hälsingland were farmers, crofters or soldiers. A few were labourers at an iron works, and some were county sheriffs. I find only one priest, which is a contrast to the large number of priests in Schröder's entry. Probably the most surprising thing was to gain insight into the group of fishing burghers in Söderhamn, who had a fascinating lifestyle as they took the whole household with them to their fishing grounds in the summer.

The line of women from Berta Schröder goes via Hälsingland down to Älvdalen in northern Dalarna. It is interesting to see that they tended to grow old: Berta 82 years, Kristina Eriksson 80 years, Brita Olsdotter 85 years, Kjerstin Larsdotter 81 years, (Brita Olsdotter's father Olof Nilsson also grew old, almost 87 years), Brita Nilsson 88 years, Kerstin Mathsdotter 82 years who was born in Älvdalen. The exception is Kerstin's mother Marit who died of a hot fever aged 43 in 1766, but Marit's grandmother Anna Jöransdotter was 85 and her mother Marit Olsdotter 74. Others who were not in a straight female line also grew old. Kerstin Mathsdotter's grandmother Anna Jonsdotter in Månsta in Älvdalen was 81 years old, Anna's mother Kerstin Olsdotter was 74 years old and her mother Anna Michelsdotter born in 1633 was 92 years old. And Kerstin Mathsdotter's great grandmother Karin Matsdotter in Näset was 80 years old, and great grandmother Gulich's Marit Andersdotter in Loka was 81 years old. This was at the time of the witch trials in Älvdalen. Marit's 16-year-old niece Anna was executed for witchcraft.

Chapter 2 - Schröder family from the 17th century onwards

Johan Schröder

In 1603, Duke Karl (later king Karl IX) founded a new town on Hisingen by the river, opposite Älvsborg Castle on the other side. The idea was to attract foreign merchants to settle there. The main target was the Dutch, the most prominent merchants of the time. After a few years, merchants could move in. Johan Schröder came to 'Karl IX's Gothenburg' and became a landowner, i.e. entitled to trade. A common opinion about him is that he was

German, born around 1590, but given the location, a Dutch connection could not be ruled out. But his luck was short-lived. The Danes attacked and burned the town in 1611 and Johan Schröder disappeared from the sources. In 1619 he appeared in a census for the older and neighbouring town of Nylöse, now the Gamlestaden district of Gothenburg. He then moved to Lidköping, where his older brother Frans already lived. There he established himself as a merchant among the burghers and became a member of the town council and at some point was also mayor.

Genealogist Olga Dahl suggests a possible lineage for the Schröder brothers. Their grandfather could possibly have been a mayor of Kiel in Holstein named Frans Schröder, given the time span and the merchant class' strategy of expanding family networks.⁵ The tradition to name a first-born son after the grandfather also indicates that the older brother Frans Schröder had a grandfather named Frans Schröder.

Johan had seven children, one of whom was Henrik Johansson Schröder, born in 1622 in Lidköping. However, he did not follow in his father's footsteps as a burgher and merchant. Instead, he became a county official in the emerging power of the Swedish state. Why he took that way is not clear from the sources. However, such a career required education, but it is unclear where he received his learning. It is possible that he spent some time in Germany for this purpose, given his father's origins.

Schröder and Tollet

Perhaps it was love that brought Henrik to Värmland. He married a woman from Ölme in 1654 at the age of 32. Her name was Carin Tollet and her father was a bailiff and commanding officer, which was probably important for Henrik's career. His name was Gilius Giliusson Tollet and he lived on the farm Stora Skanum in Ölme between Kristinehamn and Karlstad. It was an old monastery estate that king Gustav I had confiscated, but which Gilius Giliusson Tollet bought in 1631. In the same year, he became a district clerk (häradsskrivare) and, in 1634, bailiff (kronofogde) of the Östersysslet district in eastern Värmland.

He was the son of Gilius Mattsson, a smith and harness maker and manufacturer at Fors Bruk (Storfors) in Värmland. He is mentioned at some point as an officer of the Crown. Gilius Mattsson was a Walloon from the region of Liege and had arrived in Sweden before 1600 via Nyköping.⁶

Henrik and Carin also settled in Ölme (Benneberg). Henrik himself became bailiff in 1658, in

Östersysslet, and county and district clerk 1662-1665. Now it was so fortunate that Gilius Giliusson Tolle held the position of commander of Värmland and when he resigned in 1665 he was succeeded by his son in law Henrik. It is unclear to me what the various posts entailed, but Gilius is mentioned in the sources as an important man in Värmland. The position that Henrik took over was certainly worth money and according to the sources he also bought the farm Norra Räfsala in Ölme.⁷

Carin's brothers also had careers in government service. Lars Tollet (knighted Lindeflygt) was secretary of the county in Halland. Karl Giliusson was commander in Nora and Linde county from 1676 to 1689. He was sentenced to death for financial irregularities but escaped with a life prison sentence at Marstrand Fortress. Johan Giliusson Tollet was secretary of county in Örebro and later in Falun, owned a hut and blast furnace for copper, and was an inspector of the machinery in the copper mine at Stora Kopparbergs bergslag in 1677. His sister Annika Giliusdotter married the vicar Petrus Gyllenius.⁸

Carin Tollet's mother, Brita Larsdotter Brun, was via her father Lars Svensson Brun the granddaughter of the vicar and parliamentarian Sven Laurenti Brunius (1520-1579) in Kil in Värmland. He was probably the son of Lars Sonesson of the so-called Glumserud family with a history of medieval iron trade.

Sven Brunius' wife Karin Nilsdotter had ancestors who may be a typical example of the frivolous speculations that the internet is flooded with. One can read, for example, that her grandfather was the knight Sten Jönsson Bese. However, it was her grandmother Kristina Amundsdotter Hatt who had the fine family, daughter of the knight Amund Hatt. He was married to Kristina Ingemarsdotter whose mother Katarina Magnusdotter probably belonged to the House of Folkung. She is usually regarded as the illegitimate daughter of the king's son, prince Magnus Birgersson, who was executed in 1320 in connection with the battle for royal power. He was heir to the throne but it was taken over by his cousin Magnus Eriksson.

But perhaps this belongs to the world of fairy tales. Magnus Birgersson was unmarried and the only indications that Katarina was his daughter are the name Magnusdotter and the fact that King Magnus Eriksson seems to have regarded her as a relative. It has been pointed out, however, that she could just as well have been the daughter of Magnus Bengtsson, lawman in Östergötland and a Folkung. Or it could just as well be fairy tales.

Schröders in Ransäter and Torsby

Henrik Johansson Schröder and Carin Tollet had 9 children and the youngest among them was Carl Gustaf born 1672 in Ölme, when Henrik was 50 years old and Carin 37. She died the following year and Carl Gustaf became motherless. However, his father lived on until 1698. Carl Gustaf seems to have had a good education and was granted a surveyor's licence in 1696. He married Maria Smitt (1676-1725), daughter of the alderman in the city council and building inspector for the council, Wilhelm Smitt in Jönköping. He was called Kleinsmidt in early household examination records. A "klensmed" was a locksmith, a technically advanced guild craft.

Carl Gustaf and Maria had four children. There is not much in the sources about these people, but Carl Gustaf is written as the owner of an iron works in Torsby and Westanå manor and living in Ransäter. He seems to have first been active in Ransäter, probably as an iron works bookkeeper if we are to believe the church records. Then he probably moved to the Westanå manor in Torsby. In 1721 Carl Gustaf died, only 49 years old and in 1725 his wife Maria Smitt followed, also 49 years old.

Johan Carlsson Schröder was Carl Gustaf and Maria's third child and was born in 1707 in Ransäter. He seems to have been baptised Jean but came to be called Johan. He became a student at Uppsala university in 1725 when he was 18 years old. He is then written as an iron mill owner in Torsby around 1735. Throughout the period until his death in 1786 he was written at Westanå, sometimes Torsby Bruk, as an iron works owner or hammer owner.

He was first married to Stina Cajsa Ekebon (1703-1743), daughter of Hans Månsson Ekebon, iron works manager at Brattfors, and Christina Bratt. The estate inventory after Stina Cajsa Ekebon's death in 1743 is extensive. It also includes the estate of Johan's brother, Carl Gustaf Schröder, who died the same year. The estate inventory provides a snapshot of the situation in 1743, but also of developments in the preceding years. They appear to have been well-off based on the assets listed.

Johan had six children with Stina Cajsa and ten children with his second wife Hedvig Helena Holmberg. When Johan died in 1786, Hedvig Helena and her children seem to have moved away from Westanå. But the church records are sparse with information.

It should be noted that Johan Carlsson Schröder is the great-grandfather of Gustaf Schröder (1824-1912), a well-known writer of his time who wrote about life at the iron works and hunting.

Stina Cajsa Ekebon, who was she? Church records for the time when she was born are missing in Brattfors church archives. And the information in the Fryksändes church archives is scarce. No cause of death is given in the funeral records. In the household examination records for the 1730s, she and Johan are listed at Torsby Bruk, she as Madame and he as Brukspatron and iron works owner. During the 1740's she was gone without comment in the household records.

However, we know that she gave birth to six children and died at the age of 40. The estate inventory mentions five surviving children: Carl Magnus, Hans, Andreas, Stina Maja and Brita Cajsa. As mentioned, it is an extensive estate inventory and the family was well off. Stina Cajsa came from a regional elite of iron works owners and bourgeoisie, as her ancestry suggests. Her marriage to Schröder did not mean social advancement, rather it was a social matching of iron works owner families.

Stina Cajsa had most of her ancestry in the area around Kristinehamn and Karlstad. Many of her ancestors were in Kristinehamn: the mayor Anders Larsson Bänge and the alderman Lars Töresson Schytler. To this group can be added Joen Larsson, a bailiff in Karlstad, and Anders Andersson Bratt, an iron works owner in nearby Brattfors.

Stina Cajsa's supposed grandfather Magnus Andersson Ekebon had been mayor of Karlstad. He had a cousin, Magnus Gustavsson Ekebon, who was also mayor, but in Kristinehamn. The cousin's father Gustav Månsson Ekebon had also been mayor. Gustav is said to have had a good relationship with the commander Gilius Giliusson Tolle in Ölme and was of course acquainted with the bailiff and commander Henrik Johansson Schröder in Ölme. Henrik was Johan Schröder's grandfather. These were families that had known each other for generations. We have good reason to believe that it was not a coincidence that Johan Schröder married Stina Cajsa Ekebon.

Johan Carlsson Schröder and Stina Cajsa's eldest son Carl Magnus Schröder (1734-1802) grew up in Torsby and trained as a surveyor. However, he is written as an engineer in the church records. In 1769 he married Greta Lisa Robsahm (1747-1834), thirteen years his junior. She has intriguing ancestors who go down to Kristian I of Denmark, among others. Due to the Kalmar Union, he also was king of Sweden, crowned in Uppsala Cathedral in 1457.

Carl Magnus and Greta Lisa had four children. The first two children Johan and Anna Stina were born in Sillerud south of Årjäng in 1770-71, where it can be assumed that Carl Magnus had surveying duties. During the 1770's they were back in Westanå, Torsby and Carl Magnus the younger was born in 1779 and Johan Jakob in 1783. In the household examination records

1778-1789 the family is written in Westanå at the same address as the father Johan Schröder.

Schröders in Torsby and Sunne

Carl Magnus Schröder the Elder died in September 1802, aged 68, according to the church records "håll och stygn", an older term for pneumonia. His widow Greta Lisa lived another 32 years until 1834 and was 87 years old. She died of old age in Västanvik near Torsby.

The estate inventory of Carl Magnus the Elder from 1802 comprises 17 pages. It states that he was a "commissioned surveyor" living at Westanå, the property valued at 3 000 Riksdaler Riksgäld (rd). The estate inventory also contains Riksdaler Banco and in the final summary Banco seems to be converted to Riksgäld.

The total of property and inventory (no cash is mentioned) is 4 070 rd and the estate's liabilities amount to 3 906 rd. The balance is 164 rd. The largest debt is to an inspector, Carl Gustaf Klingberg, 708 rd and 456 banco. Other creditors include "brukspatron" (Foundry Proprietor) Bengt Reinhold Andersson, "brukspatron" Anders Schröder, Theophilus Skarin in Karlstad, mademoiselle Cajsa Maria Robsahm (the wife's twin sister), mother-in-law Ulrica E Palm, Carl Hinric Sahlström and tailor Lars Nilsson.

The categories that had the greatest value in the estate were: the property 3,000 rd, livestock 78 rd (consisted of 8 cows, 2 heifers, calves and pigs), bedding 67 rd, silver 63 rd, grain 58 rd, furniture and household utensils 48 rd (including a clock, wardrobe, percussion table, twelve upholstered chairs), linen clothing 36 rd, two horses 33 rd, field and driving tools 27 rd (including single-seat wagon, old ditto, three carts, ploughs and harrows), porcelain 13 rd, walking clothes 11 rd (including light grey coat, coat and cloak), household utensils 11 rd, copper 10 rd, instruments 8 rd (surveying). Other small items were kitchen utensils 7 rd, harnesses 6 rd, wooden vessels 4 rd, bear skins 3 rd, hides and skins 3 rd, books 2 rd, fishing gear 2 rd, bottles and glass 2 rd, brass and ore 2 rd.

An estate inventory says a lot about life and habits. Like most people in this group, Surveyor Schröder also ran a small farm for self-sufficiency and probably some for sale. Interestingly, there were two pistols and a sword in the household, but they were of low value. He had plenty of books on various subjects, many in Latin and the titles indicate an interest in a range of subjects. However, they were valued at only 2 riksdaler. He was an educated and well-read man and thus belonged to a very small group in Torsby. The group is likely to have been mainly limited to a few iron works owners and their families and men of the church.

The third child of four became a surveyor like his father and had the same name, Carl Magnus Schröder (1779-1851). He married Christina Sundén (1782-1855), a minister's daughter from Sunne. They had seven children and the first children Lars Magnus and Carl Ludvig were born in Westanå in 1806 and 1809 respectively, but little Carl Ludvig died already in 1811.

The same year the family moved to Transtrand in Dalby parish, where it can be assumed that Carl Magnus had surveying duties. There, Jan Petter was born in 1812 (who would become the ancestor of the leading Swedish tennis player of his time, Kalle Schröder), Anna Greta in 1814 and Johanna Carolina in 1817. The children's grandmother Greta Lisa Robsahm was with them in Dalby, as were some maids and a farmhand.

The family lived for two years, 1818-1820, in Sunne, where Christina Sundén had grown up. Now grandmother Greta Lisa was no longer with them. Carl Olof (1819-1864) was born in Sunne. The household examination records says that they came from Elfdalen and returned there. I was able to figure out that they meant Dalby, but do not know where they went after Sunne. They appear in Östmark in 1844.

In Sunne, they lived in Norra Åmberg, next door to Christina's brother Petter Sundén who was a minister in the church, just as his father had been. A note in the household examination records suggests that Carl Magnus had no position or mission at this time and that they were "impoverished and honoured by charity". Perhaps it was Sundén who wrote this in the church records, it was probably he who provided for them. The situation was certainly untenable and they moved after two years.

The engineer and surveyor Carl Magnus Schröder the Younger died in 1851 in Östmark at the age of almost 72 from chest disease, another term for pulmonary tuberculosis (lungrot). In his last years he was "old and frail" and lived with his wife at the home of his son Jan Petter and his wife Anna Gäfvert in Tväråna, Östmark. Four years later, in 1855, Christina Schröder/Sundén died aged 71 of a chest disease at her son's home in Östmark.

Priests and clergymen

Lars Sundén (1739-1809), father of Christina Sundén, was a farmer's son from Degerbyn in Värmskog. His parents were Olof Jonsson and Sara Danielsdotter. However, the poor quality of the church books means that I cannot proceed with them.

Lars went on to study at Uppsala University. There he called himself Sundström but later

changed to Sundén. He was ordained in 1769 and became an assistant pastor in Stafnäs pastorate in Värmskog in 1770. He settled in Sundet at Degerbyn by the narrow strait in Lake Värmeln, located between the church and his home village. (A few kilometres away is the village of Vegerbol where Lars Magnus Ericsson was born, he with the telephone company L.M. Ericsson).

Lars Sundén married Anna Margareta Kjellberg (1751-1799). She gave birth to 7 children in Degerbyn. In 1795, the family moved to Sunne where Lars became an assistant vicar (komminister). The Herdaminne of the Carlstad Diocese (clerical record) writes that he "was an honest man, but in education little above the common people. As he grew and sold a lot of potatoes, he was generally known in Wermland under the name of *Jord-äple-presten*", in other words potato priest. In April 1809 he suffered a stroke and died aged 69. He had been a widower for 10 long years.

The eldest son, Petter Sundén, followed in his father's footsteps, studied in Uppsala, was ordained as a priest and became curate in Sunne in 1813 until his death in 1824. He had then just married for the 3rd time. At the time of his death, he was "accused of several misdemeanours in the Cathedral Chapter", according to Carlstad Diocese's Herdaminne.

Lars Sundén's wife, Anna Margareta Kjellberg, was born in Tärna parish in Uppland. She was the daughter of Jonas Kiellberg (1715-1777) and Anna Larsdotter (1725-). They married in 1749. It is unclear to me when Anna Larsdotter died, but in 1792 she was living in Fastparbo in Tärna together with a maid. I searched the death book up to the year 1825 and found no trace of her, which likely means she moved away from the parish and died elsewhere.

Anna Larsdotter was not only married to a county sheriff (kronolänsman), she also descended from four successive generations of sheriffs in Tärna's neighbouring parish of Kumla: her father Lars Andersson (1692-), his father Anders Larsson (1663-1736), and also Anders' father Lars Andersson (1630-1708) whose wife Kerstin Larsdotter (1643-1715) was the daughter of the county sheriff Lars Olofsson (-1670). Most of this family branch seems to have originated from the neighbouring parishes of Tärna and Kumla outside Sala.

Jonas Kiellberg was for a long time an unsolved mystery, who also had a namesake who was a county sheriff in Västergötland. Finally, I found in the obituary in Tärna's funeral records that he was born in Skövde town in 1715. Skövde in Västergötland was probably the country's smallest town at the time. Skövde has messy and ambiguous church records for this time period, but I found him. It is clear that he had at some point moved to Borås, another town in Västergötland. He was there in 1745 according to the household examination records in

Borås. But there is no information about what he did, only that he lived in Anders Bengtsson Kiellgren's household. The town had over two thousand inhabitants at this time. However, there are so few that Jonas Kiellberg should have met some of my ancestors in Borås on my maternal grandmother's side such as Anders Olofsson Bese, Barbro Winge, Sven Hallin, Elisabeth Luth, perhaps also Olof Bese, Beata Kilman and Anna Werlin.

It is one of the common mysteries in genealogy how people met each other. It is a long way between Tärna and Borås. Perhaps the profession was decisive, Anna being the daughter of a district sheriff and Jonas a future or existing county sheriff. Her father and Jonas may have been acquaintances. The obituary of Kiellberg provides some clues to his life. It shows that his father was called Lars Kiellberg and his mother Christina, and that Jonas came to Borås at a young age.

Jonas Kiellberg died on 4 September 1777 in Fastparbo, Tärna. He was 62 years old. Already in October an estate inventory was carried out. It mentions the widow Anna Kiellberg and her children: her sons, Lorents Kiellberg, the "studiosus" adjunkt Peter Kiellberg, and her daughter Anna Greta Kiellberg with husband, adjunkt Lars Sundén.

The estate was valued at 426 Riksdaler (rd). The property consisted of two öresland (6 acres), taxed half a mantal (property tax terms). The major items were: property 111 rd, cattle 72 rd, silver 71 rd, bedding 31 rd, carpentry (mostly furniture) 26 rd, copper 17 rd, tin 13 rd, linen 12 rd. The cattle category includes 3 horses, 9 cows, 2 bulls, 4 heifers, 3 calves, 10 sheep, 6 goats, 2 sows, 4 young boars, 4 piglets and 4 geese. The tin category includes 12 dishes and 30 plates, and the furniture includes a chest of drawers worth 6 rd and a wall clock valued at 2 rd. Among driving and field tools, a "Phaeton wagon" worth 6 rd stands out. In the category of miscellaneous household goods there are, for example, books and 20 porcelain plates. Curiously, no debts or claims are listed. What is also striking is how relatively large the farm was when Kiellberg was primarily a county sheriff, not a farmer.

I discuss Kiellberg with history professor Henrik Ågren in Uppsala, regarding the fact that Kiellberg's father-in-law and three generations before him were also county sheriffs, as was one of Kiellberg's sons. Another son was educated at university, and his daughter married a church man. Ågren believes that what Kiellberg the elder did seem to have been a "textbook example of 18th century family strategies", i.e. to get the daughters married as well as possible, let one son inherit and the other children go to school, preferably to study at university. How Anna Margareta Kjellberg met Lars Sundén from Värmland can also be considered. One clue is the fact that Anna Margareta's brother Peter Kjellberg studied in Uppsala from 1768 to 1770 and may have come into contact with Lars Sundén there and

introduced him to his sister.

Anna Margareta, a priest's wife, died at the age of 47 in Sunne. The cause of death is difficult to interpret, but one of the terms used is "vattusot", which means oedema. Ten years later, in 1809, her husband Lars Sundén followed her into eternity, dead at the age of 69 from a stroke.

As mentioned above, Lars Sundén and Anna Margareta Kjellberg's daughter Christina Sundén (1782-1855) married the surveyor Carl Magnus Schröder the younger (1779-1851).

Schröder again

Lars Magnus Schröder (1806-1881), eldest son of Carl Magnus Schröder the younger and Christina Sundén was married on 26 August 1831 in Härnösand to Märta Catharina Öberg (1807-1894), called Märta Cajsa, from Härnösand. Her mother was Katharina Hellgren (1782-1866) born in Dalom in Högsjö parish north of the city, daughter of Erik Jonsson Hellgren (1734-1789), active in Härnösand. Märta Cajsa's father is unknown to me, but she had a stepfather named Öberg who was a master glazier.

The marriage record reads: "Both unmarried. The dyer journeyman Lars Magnus Schröder and the master's daughter Märta Cathar. Öberg. He 25 she 24 years. Letter of divorce issued by Karlstads Dom kap on 19 Febr 1831 from Kerstin Clemensdotter with which Schröder was betrothed."ⁱ

Who this Kerstin Clemensdotter was that Lars Magnus was betrothed to, I don't know with certainty, but probably she was from Värmland. The fact is that there was a maid with the relatively unusual name in the family when Lars Magnus was in his teens, she was born in 1804 he in 1806. I interpret the household examination records that this Kerstin Clemensdotter was one of the grandmother Greta Lisa Robsahm's maids when they lived in Dalby parish in the years around 1820. We can assume a teenage love affair that, if it had led to marriage, changed the conditions for the coming story. We can also assume that she belonged to the numerous forest Finns in this part of Värmland through the name Clemensdotter.

I have tried to trace Lars Magnus the years until his marriage in Härnösand in 1831. He was with the family to Dalby and Sunne and then it is unclear where he went. But luckily, through texts about the author Gustaf Schröder (1824-1912), I find him with a relative in Edsvalla in

Nor in 1823. He is listed in the household as a dyer for the clothing manufacturer Johan Reinhold Schröder (1791-1835). He was the father of Gustaf Schröder who was born in 1824 while Lars Magnus remained in Edsvalla. Lars Magnus and Gustaf were second cousins, their fathers were cousins. Gustaf's grandfather Lars Gustaf Schröder and Lars Magnus' grandfather Carl Magnus Schröder the elder were half-brothers. As mentioned above, Johan Carlsson Schröder had remarried when his wife Stina Cajsa Ekebom died in 1743. With the 20 years younger Hedvig Helena Holmberg he had 10 more children in addition to the 6 he already had. Lars Gustaf was the son of Hedvig Helena and Carl Magnus was the son of Stina Cajsa.

Lars Magnus moved from Edsvalla in 1825 and a few years later he was in Härnösand and got married. In the household examination records for Fryksände (Torsby) between 1840 and 1860 there is a lot of information about him that I try to put together. Lars Magnus and Märta Cajsa had a total of twelve children between 1827 and 1850. The first were born in Härnösand in 1827 and 1831, but they did not marry until 1831. The first-born is later described as hunchbacked and unable to work. He probably had a form of TB that affects the spine and leads to a hunchback. In "Bromanderska samlingen" it is stated that he as an adult lived in a small cottage in Millmark (north Torsby), supported by his real father, a man from Trollhättan.

Then three children were born in Sundsvall between 1832 and 1835. They then moved to Värmland, and two children were born in Mellmarkstorp, Östmark in 1837 and 1839. In 1841 they moved to Rådom in Fryksände and Olof Reinhold Schröder was born in 1842. Four more children were born here, the last in 1850. In the household examinations for Fryksände there is also one child each to the daughters Kathrina and Laura noted, both children are stated as illegitimate. Mother-in-law Katharina Öberg (1782-1866) also lived with the family.

They lived in Rådom and in the birth records for their son Olof Reinhold states that he is poor. But in the household examination records there is also a note by the priest that the parents were characterised by "decent and impeccable conduct". Presumably this is written because of relative poverty but that it was not caused by abuse or anything else, they just had many children. They were also not landowners in a society where people were dependent on a certain natural economy and therefore having many children often meant poverty. They are a textbook example of 19th century population growth and the subsequent proletarianisation of the people.

In the 1860s the whole family was registered in Vadge north of Torsby, including Olof Reinhold. In the village there was also Lars Magnus' brother Jan Petter and his family. In Vadge Lars Magnus had a dyehouse at the river, but the river flooded and took the dyehouse with it.

Thereafter, in 1872 they moved to Solberg in Ekshärad, not far from Rådom. It is not clear why, but they probably got a better place to live. Only their daughter Sofia followed them to Solberg, and she had two children. The Schröder family is listed on the same page as the Gäfvert family, so they probably lived in a house on their farm, and it is not unlikely that they were acquainted. Lars Magnus' brother Jan Petter was married to Anna Gäfvert. In 1881 Lars Magnus died in Solberg, 76 years old, suffering from chest pains according to the church records. Another of many victims of pulmonary TB. His wife Märta Cajska moved back to Fryksände and died as a lodger in Wadje in 1894, aged 87, also of chest disease (pulmonary TB).

Schröders in Ljusdal and Bjuråker

Olof Reinhold Schröder (1842-1915) was born in Rådom, Fryksände (Torsby) in Värmland in 1842. He stayed at home until his 15th year and took communion for the first time in 1857. After that he went out to work, to log floating in rivers and "various kinds of work in several places". From 1863 to 1872 he was in Hälsingland at the Bergvik company, then at Hedviksfors mill until 1879 when he became a tenant on a farm owned by the forest company Bergvik.

In Ljusdal, Olof Reinhold married Brita Jonsdotter (1847-1899) from Remman at Lucia in 1871, according to the marriage book. He was then 29 years old, and she was five years younger. Three children were born before they were married, but there is no indication in the household records that they were not Olof Reinhold's children. Priests used to note whether any children belonged to one of the parents, but here it only says that they were born before the marriage, which then can be interpreted as being joint children. Nine children are listed in the household examination records: Ingrid (1865-), Margreta Kristina (1867-), Kärstin (1869-), Karl Johan (1873-), Jonas Magnus (1875-1923), Olof Patrik (1879-), Olof Wilhelm Reinhold (1883-), Lars Petter (1885-) and Beda Karolina (1892-).

The first four children were born in Ljusdal but then they moved across the parish border to Bjuråker where the next three children were born, including my grandmother Berta's father Jonas Magnus. For a long time, I thought the family was in the USA in the early 1880s, but in 1883 a son was born in Ljusdal, so obviously they were in Sweden. Of the children, at least Karl Johan emigrated to North America permanently, as did Jonas Magnus' widow Kristina Eriksson and two of their children.

In 1887 something dramatic happened. According to the household examination records, Olof Reinhold was sentenced to four years in prison by Delsbo District Court on 15 June 1887.

The offence, according to the records, was participation in the mash trade "from which death has fallen". When you distil mash, you get alcohol.

He was sent to the correctional institution in Hudiksvall, where the record states that he was "sentenced for violence causing death to 4 years of penal servitude in prison (straffarbete) and compensation to the slain man's widow of 50 SEK and each of the 4 children 30 SEK annually". The offence can be described as causing the death of another, not manslaughter, in which case the punishment would have been different. On 24 June 1887 he was sent to the penal servitude prison Nya Varvet in Gothenburg. The prison is located near the place where Olof's great-great-great-great grandfather Johan Schröder settled when he arrived in Gothenburg in the early 1600s. A circle was closed.

He was released on 25 April 1891 after serving four years. The next setback was when his wife Brita Jonsdotter died of pulmonary tuberculosis (bröstsjuka/lungsot) in December 1899, aged 52. The family moved in 1902 to Bjuråker where he became a tenant farmer. When he died in June 1915, aged 73, Olof Reinhold was still a tenant at Brändbo No. 9 in Bjuråker, owned by the Iggesund company.

From Ljusdal to Dalarna

Olof and Brita's son Jonas Magnus Schröder (1875-1923) married Kristina Eriksson (1874-1955) from Brännås in Bjuråker in 1896. Kristina gave birth to nine children, the first in 1894, but the girl died after one month. No father is given for the child, and it is not clear if Jonas Magnus was the father. But there is a pattern in the family of having children before getting married. The next child was also born before they were married, but they married later that year. They lived in Bjuråker until a few years into the new century. When daughter Lydia was born in 1900, he was listed as a farmer in Brännås, i.e. a tenant farmer. But from 1904 he is recorded as a tenant farmer in Remman in Ljusdal parish, where his mother Brita came from. That they had moved is also shown by the fact that their daughter Anna Carolina was born in Remman in 1904. She went on to emigrate to North America in the 1920s.

Jonas Magnus and Kristina had nine children between 1894 and 1915. These children were: Brita (1894-1895), Beda Kristina (1896-1960), Knut Albert (1898-1960), Lydia Alexandra (1900-1923), Erik Olof (1902-), Anna Carolina (1904-1984), Elof Verner (1907-1981), Berta Sofia (1909-1992) and Lars Magnus Sigfrid (1915-1953).

Jonas Magnus died of pulmonary tuberculosis in May 1923, aged just 48, when his daughter

Berta was 13. His mother also died of pulmonary tuberculosis in her fifties. In the same year, 1923, the day before Christmas Eve, his daughter Lydia, aged 23, also died of the same disease.

A few years later, the widow Kristina followed in the footsteps of her daughter Anna Carolina and emigrated to North America. She took her 15-year-old son Lars Magnus with her, and they arrived in Fort Frances, Ontario in 1930. They did not settle in Canada like Anna and her uncle Karl Johan Schröder. Instead, Kristina and Lars Magnus moved on to Tillamook Oregon, a farming community on the Pacific Ocean sandwiched between ocean and mountains near Portland. There Lars Magnus died in 1953, aged only 38, and in 1955 Kristina died aged 81. When Kristina and Lars Magnus left, the great migration to North America was in its final stages. But still during the period 1921-1930, emigration was as high as 128,000, of which almost 5,000 were from Gävleborg County, to which Hälsingland belongs.

Berta moved to Bjuråker to work in Brättingeberg near Brännås in Svågadalen. On her grandmother's side she had deep roots in Brännås. In 1930, aged 21, she gave birth to her son Harry and moved to the child's father in Dalarna, construction worker Ivar Lundqvist in Solvarbo, Gustafs. In 1940, they entered into a so-called wartime marriage, which meant that no previous control was required. They were married in Gustafs and the priest asked, to her annoyance, if Schröder was a German name. She did not know where the name came from. And how could she know - after all, more than 300 years had passed since Johan Schröder arrived in Gothenburg.

It is likely that Ivar was called up for military service and no one knew whether the country would be drawn into the war. During the war years, thousands of couples had wartime marriages. Berta remained married to Ivar until his death in 1973. She had two more children, Sten and Maj, and lived in Backa, Gustafs, when she passed in 1992.

Chapter 3 - Roots in Hälsingland

Introduction

In the middle of the 19th century, three young people grew up in Hälsingland and became acquainted with each other early on. Their names were Brita Jonsdotter, Erik Jonsson and Brita Olsdotter. A study of the map shows that the birthplaces of these three Hälsinglanders are less than 10 kilometres apart: Remman, Svedjorna and Brännås are all close to the Ljusdal-Bjuråker parish boundary. The latter two villages are located in Bjuråker in an agricultural area in the northern part of Svågadalen, while Remman in Ljusdal was a new settlement in the forest, more suitable for grazing than for cultivation.

They grew up at a time when the forest industry took off and created jobs in the forest, they experienced the famine years of 1867-1869 when they were around 20 years old, they saw emigration to North America take off. They knew people who emigrated, perhaps they were thinking of doing so themselves. Population growth was also rapid during the century. The population of Bjuråker increased from 2000 to 3800 in a hundred years.

Erik Jonsson and Brita Olsdotter married each other. Brita Jonsdotter married Olof R Schröder from Värmland, with whom we are already familiar. The children of both couples, Kristina Eriksson and Jonas M Schröder, in turn married towards the end of the 19th century. This tells us something important: family networks were close and provided a safety net when times were hard. Kristina and Jonas were the parents of Berta Schröder.

Farmers

Berta's paternal grandmother Brita Jonsdotter (1847-1899) was born in Remman in Ljusdal and had deep roots there on her mother's side, while her father's roots leaned towards Bjuråker. Further down the line, both had ancestors from many different parishes in southern and central Norrland and eastern Finland.

Brita's paternal grandmother had a partly different background. She was born in 1800 in Västansjö, Bjuråker. Her name was Brita Pehrson (1800-1887), married to the soldier Jöns Jonsson Norell. Jöns was later listed as a "husman" in the household examination records. This should probably be understood as a farmer who leased part of a taxed farm⁹. They had

7 children of which Brita Jonsdotter's father Jonas was the oldest.

Brita Pehrsson's husband Jöns died in 1870 and at that time there is a note in the records that he "sees badly" and that Brita "hears badly". She lived for 17 years as a widow in her son Pål's household and died of old age. Brita's maternal grandfather Erik Jonsson (1849-1937) in Bjuråker was 88 years old when he passed away, another of the long-lived. On his father's side he came from Bjuråker and on his mother's side from Delsbo. He also had Finnish ancestry, with a rough estimate of around a quarter.

Erik Jonsson's maternal grandfather Olof Nilsson (1779-1848) came from Näsbyn in Delsbo. His father in turn, Nils Olofsson Gill, came from Myra in Delsbo and there we can dig down to the middle of the 16th century and the farmer Nils Olsson. Another person on this branch is Olof Strandfelt (1726-1803), whose ancestry goes down to the village of Skog, located a few kilometres south of Delsbo by Skogsjön. Here in the village of Skog, we find the farmer Erik Persson and his wife Maria, born in 1560, the last year of king Gustav Vasa's reign.

Erik Jonsson's great-grandmother was Karin Persdotter (1722-1803), born in Bergsjö. Her ancestry can be traced to the early 1500s among farmers in this Hälsingland parish located northeast of Bjuråker and Delsbo. We can follow a line in the village of Bjåsta down to the farmer Per Sjulsson born around 1520. One of the farmers in Bjåsta, Lars Persson (1640-1720), had a wife called Rachel Olofsdotter (1643-1726), born in Skarpsäters farm in Njurunda parish, Medelpad. Otherwise, the marriages were more localised.

Another line goes down into three other villages in Bergsjö. The farmer Pär Larsson (1671-1739) in Bjåsta was married to Brita Stigsdotter (1667-1734) born in Gamsäter. Her father was Stig Hansson (1645-1681), grandfather Hans Stigsson (1620-1650 ca), farmer who according to the 1596 cattle census owned 13 cows, and great-grandfather Stig Gudmundsson (ca 1520-), vicar in Bergsjö, mentioned as "Mr Stig", Stigo Gudmundi in Gamsäter.

Another example of deep roots in Bergsjö parish is the afore mentioned Hans Stigsson's wife Brita Månsdotter (1615-1696). She was born in Fiskvik in Bergsjö, and the Fiskvik line can be traced to her father and grandfather: Mårten Eriksson (1556-), and Erich Persson (c. 1525-), also a farmer.

Also mentioned Stig Hansson's (1645-1681) wife Appolonia Nilsson (1646-1732) was born in Bergsjö and the village Hulte, as well as her mother Marit Andersdotter (1615-1690). The same applies to her father Anders Jonsson (1580-), grandfather Jonas Andersson (1550-), great-grandfather Anders Pehrsson (1525-), and great-great-grandfather Per Olofsson (ca 1500-1565) farmer in Hulte. His father was possibly called Olof Gisslasson.

Berta Schröder's third and final branch back in Hälsingland starts with her maternal grandmother Brita Olsdotter (1850-1935), born in Brännås, Bjuråker. On Brita's mother's side, farmers in Bjuråker dominate, not least from the villages of Berge and Gärde, where ancestry can be traced back to the 16th and 17th centuries. For example, farmers in the farm Gärde no. 1, which can be traced to Jonas Larsson born around 1560.

Most people on this branch come from Bjuråker, or Ljusdal. There are exceptions such as Karin Jonsdotter (1720-1803). The church records say, "born in Sveg and Öfverberg 1720 by farmers Jon Halfvarsson and Karin Pålsdotter, came here in childhood. Married 1751". Of the 6 children she bore, 1 son and 2 daughters survived her. Öfverberg is a beautiful and high situated village outside today's Sveg in Härjedalen near Norway. Unfortunately, the vicarage in Sveg burned in the late 1800s and the church records were destroyed, so I can't get anywhere here.

Brita Olsdotter's Finnish ancestry was less than that of Brita Jonsdotter and Erik Jonsson, at most a quarter, probably much less. This cannot be determined due to the lack of data for the 17th century.

Brita's father Olof Nilsson and his ancestry have been studied in historical research. In her dissertation on Bjuråker, Rosemarie Fiebranz writes about this family: "Through four generations, about 75 years, this chain of households had thus made the journey from the well-to-do farmers to the dispossessed."¹⁰ As such, they were typical of the 19th century proletarianisation of the peasant class.

The chain of households was: Nils Persson (1600s), farmer in Spångmyra, Bjuråker - Hans Nilsson (1693-1751) and Karin Larsdotter (1688-1728) - Nils Hansson (1721-1778) and the innkeeper's daughter Brita Olsdotter from Norrbo parish - Olof Nilsson (1752-1799) and Brita Eriksson (1754-1840) - Nils Olofsson (1790-1878) and Margareta Pålsdotter (1789-1865) - Olof Nilsson (1816-1903), and Kerstin Larsdotter (1825-1906) - Brita Olsdotter (1850-1935).

It was a large homestead in Spångmyra. When Hans Nilsson (1693-1751) handed it over to his son Nils Hansson (1721-1778), it contained, in addition to the main farm, two lesser farms and a pasture with a house. As part of the land consolidation (laga skifte), he received two farms in exchange for the ancestral farm in Spångmyra, one in Ramsjö and one in Strålsjö. At the next inheritance, Olof Nilsson (1752-1799) got the Ramsjö part while his brother Hans got Strålsjö. The other siblings were bought out. Olof's son Nils Olofsson (1790-1872) farmed Ramsjö but sold the farm to Strömbacka Bruk in 1826 due to debts incurred in connection with the release of the siblings. In addition, several divisions of homesteads in the inheritance

process had made the farm less viable. Nils now became a tenant under Strömbacka on his old farm. Nils' sons later became tenants and crofters respectively.

Soldiers and County sheriffs

There are many soldiers in Britas Jonsdotter's family. One of them was called Jonas Boberg (1732-1773). Jonas is a name that recurs in the family, like Berta's father Jonas M Schröder. Boberg belonged to the Hälsinge regiment, was about 27 years old when he became a soldier and died at the age of 41 from some kind of fever. At first, I took for granted that Boberg was a given soldier's name. But it turned out that he had inherited the name. He was born in Söderhamn and before he became a soldier in Bjuråker he seems to have worked for a manufacturer Hedenberg in Söderhamn. More about him in the chapter on burghers in Söderhamn.

On her mother's side, Brita Jonsdotter had ancestors mainly in Ljusdal. One of these was her great-grandmother Carin Persdotter (1712-1794). She was the daughter of the corporal and armourer Per Friskop (1682-1764) who became a soldier at the age of 18. He was part of the temporary unit called the Hälsinge Three Men's Battalion, raised in 1701 and in 1702. The Rote farmers were required to contribute new soldiers in addition to those already provided for. Three men means that three rotaries together contribute an additional soldier. In 1702 five rotaries had to provide for one more soldier. The reason was the loss of men to be covered. The unit became part of the Hälsinge Regiment in 1719.

Per Friskop was in Norway in 1718 when the King was shot. I think of him when I see Carl Cederström's famous painting 'Karl XII's funeral procession' in the National Museum. Another famous event is that the Hälsingland regiment under General Armfeldt went home over the mountains from Norway and 865 of 1200 Hälsinglanders remained on the mountain or were disabled for life by frostbite. Friskop was probably not on the march because he did not belong to the regiment but to the battalion. But from 1719 he was active in the Delsbo company, resigning in 1738 after 38 years of service. He was 82 years old when he died, a considerable age for a soldier.

Per Friskop was a soldier and son of the soldier Olof Lustig. Per married Karin Mårtensdotter (1677-1755) from Ljusdal. They had six children. One of the daughters was Carin who in 1732 married Per Norgren (1709-1783). He was born and raised in Älvdalen but came to Ljusdal when he became a soldier in the Delsbo company. As I read the obituary, he took part in the

Finnish war against Russia in 1742 and apparently survived. There were many who did not return from that war.

Per Norgren and Carin had 3 sons and 3 daughters. The sons became soldiers and died in Finland as stated in Carin's obituary in 1794, while the daughters lived. If it is true that the sons died in Finland, it was probably in connection with Gustav III's Russian war of 1788-1790. Life could be hard and brutal, and that war was one of the worse. As a widow, Carin lived with one of her daughters, who in turn was the widow of the soldier Per Stolt.

There were also soldiers in Brita Olsdotter's family. In the death book for Ljusdal 1772 I find the late soldier Lars Fisk born 1712. He died at 60 from chest disease, another word for pulmonary TB. He survived commands to Finland (1741-42) and Pomerania (1757-1762). He was probably retired from the military by 1762 at the age of 50.

Nor did Erik Jonsson's family escape war and death. For example, Sergeant Anders Brask died at Liesna in 1708 when the Hälsinge regiment was virtually wiped out by the Russians. And one of the women in this family line had a brother who was executed for a brutal murder, about which more below.

Erik Jonsson's maternal grandfather Lars Gerdberg (1754-1786) is listed as an iron worker in 1777 when he married and later, he is listed as a settler in Svedjorna, Bjuråker. The family was registered in Björsarv during the 1780s. However, he does not seem to have participated in household examinations after 1782 and is noted as deceased 1786. Something dramatic seems to have happened. The priest notes in the household examination records that Lars Gerdberg "ran away for thievery" and that his wife Sophia is "away with the children to look for her husband". There is nothing concrete about Gerdberg's death, neither why nor where.

The daughter Anna Greta (1783-1860) is listed as having moved to Delsbo, probably because relatives took care of her. However, notes in household examination records are often unreliable so it is not possible to know what happened from this source.

Lars Gerdberg's wife Sophia Eriksdotter (1750-) came from an iron works environment, grew up at Aldersfors Bruk in Bjuråker, which started around 1745 but changed its name to Hedvigsfors Bruk in 1755. Her parents had moved to Bjuråker, her father Erich Joachimsson (1702-1760) was born in Röros, Norway, and her mother Gloria Gustavsdotter (1710-1776) was possibly born in Segersta parish, Hälsingland. Records seem uncertain for both, and there are online discussions about their origins.

Sophia's brother Carl Eriksson was convicted as a murderer. The murder took place in May

1772 when he was 27 years old. The victim was a maid at the garrison, Carin Trilling, aged 31. Carl Eriksson cut her throat after she claimed that he had impregnated her. He was executed by beheading. The church book in Bjuråker describes the deed and the execution:

"The farmhand and settler Carl Ersson was born in Norway in 1745 and came to Sweden for unknown reasons. He first lived in Los in Färila but then found employment as a coalman at Hedvigsfors Bruk. He was modest both in his work and in his life. However, his true nature manifested itself first in a minor misdeed and finally in a most cruel one, for he did not stop after he laid a loose woman (kona) in Ljusdal. He allowed his depraved flesh to lead him into such sin with such a person even here in the congregation. Now when this woman was found to be pregnant, she accused him of being the father. He went to her house late one night and was admitted in. He lay down with her on the bed and had her on his left arm. In his right hand he had a knife with which he made a five-inch cut across her throat. He then dragged her out of bed and kicked her until he thought she was dead and then left. However, she lived until 9 a.m. and was able to tell what had happened. The offender hid with his brothers at Brändbo, Joachim and Frans Ersöner, where he was later found. He managed to escape twice but was finally sentenced in Gävle. God no longer wanted to see his abominations on earth, so the Lord let him be found. On the 10th of September, at 10 o'clock in the morning, he was taken to the place of execution at Norrbo Bridge, where he was beheaded, lost his right hand and was nailed (steglad)." ¹¹

Lars Gerdberg was probably not closely acquainted with Carl Eriksson, as they were different in age. In any case, the former county sheriff Erik Gerdberg (1716-1772) did not have to experience his son marrying the sister of a decapitated killer. They married five years later, in 1777, and Erik died in June 1772, the month after the murder. Erik was buried at the same time as his mother-in-law Margareta Lindell (Brask).

Erik Gerdberg was born in the village of Gärde and became county sheriff of his home parish Bjuråker. He died at the age of 56 from pulmonary TB and breathlessness. In the register of death, the priest writes that he had "been modestly brought up, was for some time with the District Judge Stillman and when his father passed away, he became County Sheriff here in the parish". Further that he was "very pious in his behaviour". He had married in 1751 with Jungfru (maiden) Anna Margaretha Lindell from Delsbo Parish.

The estate inventory after Erik Gerdberg is relatively difficult to read but contains a great deal and is summarised at 2 206 daler, while the debts amounted to 1 172 daler.¹² The balance was thus 1 034 daler. The highest valuation was the property in the church village, 925 daler, which consisted of the main building, the necessary outbuildings, shelter, hop yard and 3

acres of land. Among the belongings were a large copper pot, three tin kegs, two brew houses and a boat. The heirs were the widow Anna Margareta Lindell (1722-1785) and the children Lars Gerdborg (1754-) and Anna Greta Gerdborg, a name that would also be borne by Lars' daughter.

Erik's father Olof Gerdborg (1685-1749) was also a county sheriff in Bjuråker, son of farmer Olof Eriksson (1640-) in Änga. Olof Gerdborg died of a raging fever at just over 64 years of age. He was initially a military man, a furir (förare) in the Hälsinge men's battalion, a non-commissioned officer on the staff of the company. The furir would assist the lieutenant and be responsible for the troops and the sick at the barracks, for clearing the marching route and for selecting campsites. In 1714 he was for a time a sergeant in the Hälsinge regiment and the Major's (Forsa) company but returned to the Hälsinge men's battalion. In 1719 he resigned when the battalion became part of the regiment. He then became county sheriff in Bjuråker. Note that the above-mentioned soldier Per Friskop and Olof Gerdborg were colleagues in the men's battalion.

The widow of Erik Gerdborg, Anna Margareta Lindell (1722-1785), was the daughter of Lars Hansson Lindell (1693-1748) in Delsbo and Margareta Brask. Birth records are missing for Delsbo during important years, but in the household examination records I find Lars Lindell living in Tomta together with his wife Margareta and his son Johannes. He is referred to there as Lars Lind. He should also have been the owner of an inn in Delsbo.¹³ When Anna Margareta was baptised in 1722, a number of prominent people in the local community were godparents: "Captain Anthon Friedrich von Schantz, Commanding Officer Erich Tollsten, Municipal Clerk Olof Nordelius from Bjuråker, Second Lieutenants Joachim Suthåff and Anders Brask, Pastor's wife Anna Damin in Norrbo, Lieutenant's wife Ingrid Hare, wife Christina Nordelia in Sjömyra, Mademoiselle Anna Catharina Ruth and Pär Olsson's wife in Näsbyn."

A book about Dellenbygden (Bjuråker and Delsbo) describes that in 1730 "the farmer Jon Ersson in Duvnäs and sergeant Jonas Norberg, Mora, found an iron ore at Masugnsberget, east of Hedvigsfors (Gäckskärsberget). The following year they formed a company with County sheriff Lars Lindell, Anders Brask and Captain Henrik Lilliebielke. They started mining there and also at Summåsgruvan, and this inspired many to look for ore. However, the smelting capacity was too poor to take care of the ore deposits."¹⁴ Anders Brask was probably Lindell's brother-in-law.

In another book about Delsbo and Bjuråker, Lars Lindell is called a burgher.¹⁵ The obituary below suggests the same thing. Searches in the registers for Hudiksvall give the name Lars

Lind, and later the widow of Lars Lind is mentioned. I am not sure if this is the right person. The name Lindell may be a soldier's name. County sheriffs at this time could have a military background. In addition, several of the godparents when the daughter was baptised were soldiers. Searches in the general rolls for the Hälsinge regiment do not yield anything concrete. The closest is a person who seems to be called Lars Lingsell.

When Lindell died in 1748, the priest wrote a less flattering obituary for him. From the death book 1748:

"The deposed county sheriff Lars Lindell on Heden, was in his office's power self-serving and arrogant, wanting to show off, banquet and live on a grand scale. When again his county authority ceased, he gave himself to trade in Hudikswall; but as he used his credit badly, it took him not long before he there played out completely. He then came back here in the Parish and took on the use of several farms; but he also went away from them, like a spear from the ax, through the frequent foreclosures for his debts. When his former prosperity was considerably reduced, he became even more feeble; But to help himself, he resorted to many other ways, partly by breaking into poor pits to beg for money from rich Foundry proprietors, partly by counselling widows and underage children to milk and suck their property, partly by advocating in the courts, when he often acted for both parties, to fool and steal from both, and partly by sweet talk to borrow one thing and another, which he never paid or intended ever to pay. At last God laid him on sickbed, when he was soon for 16 weeks afflicted with many ills, which were now consumption (TB), and which so deprived him of his flesh that at the end there was no more than bone and skin left on him. However, during all this, he enjoyed God's great grace, that he had his former life re-examined and reconsidered, and was well prepared for the journey home. 55 years."¹⁶

This priest cared little for the Roman saying *De mortuis nihil nisi bonum* (Of the dead nothing but good is to be said). Obviously the priest had a grudge against Lindell so his outpourings should be taken with a pinch of salt. And the contrast with the position that Lindell seems to have had in 1722 when the military and church people in Bjuråker and Norrbo stood up as godparents to his daughter is remarkable.

Lindell's wife Margareta Andersdotter Brask (1689-1772) was first married to Erik Wahlberg, a county sheriff, but was widowed and remarried to Lars Lindell. When he died in 1748, she became a widow for the second time. She survived her husband by 24 years and was 83 years old. From the funeral records: "1772 Junu Månad. Widow Margareta Brask was born in Delsbo on 6 Aug 1689, her father was Anders Brask and her mother Anna Lund. In 1707 she was married the first time to Eric Wahlberg, a county sheriff in Delsbo, and had 3 children with

him, all dead; The second time she was married to Lars Lindell, a county sheriff, and also had 3 children with him, having been a widow since 1749 [!]. She brought her only surviving daughter Anna Greta here to Bjuråker and then stayed constantly with her and her husband Gerdborg. Her health has been very durable and strong until old age came."¹⁷ The estate inventory of Margareta Brask was quite typical for an old widow, i.e. relatively modest. The balance of 93.20 daler, no debts.¹⁸

Margareta Brask was the daughter of the above-mentioned Sergeant Anders Göransson Brask (c. 1660-1708). He took part in Karl XII's war against Russia and died (or was taken prisoner) at the fatal battle of Liesna where the Hälsinge regiment was almost wiped out under General Lewenhaupt. Brask began his military career as a drummer in 1681 at Delsbo Company, armourer in 1687, furir in 1700, and sergeant the same year.

Margareta's mother Anna Olofsdotter Lund (1661-1758) came from Gnarp parish to Delsbo. According to the funeral records she was of the old noble family Puke. The priest writes that she called herself Lund but "was a Puke, of the noble Puke family."¹⁹ She was 97 years old and a widow for 50 years. When she appeared as a baptismal witness, she was called "Sergeant's wife Anika Lund". One guess is that her father was a soldier named Olof Lund. That she was a descendant of the Puke family remains to be proven. The Noble family was extinct on the spear side since the Middle Ages.

Citizens of Söderhamn

The previously mentioned soldier Jonas Boberg in Bjuråker came from Söderhamn. His father was Olof Jonsson Boberg (1706-1776), a fisherman and burgher (borgare) in Söderhamn. He was born in Norrala parish, presumably the son of farmer Jon Larsson (-1735) in the village of Borg in Norrala.

Olof Boberg's wife Karin Ersdotter Stenswed (ca 1693-1746) had three children with him, of which Jonas was the first born. She died of a stroke in 1746, which means that she was 53 years old if the birth year 1693 is correct. In that case she had her children relatively late, between 40-44 years.

She was the daughter of Erik Persson Stenswed (c. 1655-1705), a burgher in Söderhamn and an employee of the rifle factory. In 1691 he married Karin. Erik was the son of Peder Andersson Stenswed (c. 1625-1680), burgher in Söderhamn, rifle factor and crown boatman. In 1655 Peder married Karin Persdotter. Gun manufacturing was Söderhamn's main industry

and the Stenswed family²⁰ was obviously involved in the industry.

Peder was active during the great city fire of 1675, which destroyed, among other things, 60 blacksmiths' shops and houses. In 1721 there was another fire. Söderhamn was burned by the Russians at the end of the Great Nordic War. Perhaps the then 15-year-old Olof Jonsson Boberg was already active in the town.

The estate inventory of the burgher and fisherman Olof Jonsson Boberg was drawn up in 1776.²¹ I estimate that daler silver coin (ds) was used in this inventory, but I am not entirely sure, riksdaler was about to be introduced. The most interesting things in the estate inventory are fishing gear and nets, and a boat, which he lived on. There were also two cows for domestic use. The property with a plot and buildings in the town was valued at 500 ds, the land at 70 ds, and some other things, which together totalled 663 ds. The movable property: copper 81 ds - tin 10 ds - fishing gear 206 ds (boat 30 ds, 10 pieces of some gear 120 ds, 20 nets 20 ds, ¼ of a herring net 36 ds) - walking clothes 46 ds (coat 18 ds, sheepskin coat with cover 9 ds) - books 5 ds (bible 3 ds) - cattle 102 ds (two cows 96 ds).

Olof Boberg was 70 years old when he died. It is obvious that fishing was of great importance to his livelihood right up to his death. However, the contents of his estate are remarkably meagre. He was obviously more of a fisherman than a 'bourgeois'. Being a fisherman meant that he held a licence to fish in the town of Söderhamn. Fishing was a regulated sector with its own guild called Fiskarsocieteten. The fishing itself was entirely focussed on herring, both as shore and sea fishing. He was part of a fishing team that fished herring with a seine. When there was no ice, the fisherman took his entire household and livestock with him and sailed to the seasonal fishing camp. During the winter, fishing was dormant.²²

Forrest Finns

Berta Schröder had some Forest Finnish roots, especially on her paternal grandmother Brita Jonsdotter's side. All in all, Finnish accounted for an estimated 20 per cent of Berta's ancestry. Here I will give a brief overview of the issue of the migration of the Forest Finns to the Swedish forests and something about their culture.

They were farmers, who in many cases also engaged in fishing, hunting and trade. In Bergslagen, their descendants were often drawn into the mining industry as charcoal burners, experts in controlling fire through burning. Many were also "Bergsmän" (farmers with rights to produce iron) in typical Finn parishes such as Ljusnarsberg.

Towards the end of the 16th century, the wave of migration to Sweden began, mainly from Savonia (Savolax) in eastern Finland. There are several reasons for this migration. If we look at the push side of the phenomenon, there was war and overpopulation coupled with climate deterioration (the Little Ice Age), which led to famine. The war with Russia and conscription contributed to migration. In addition, the peasant population's food supply was reduced by the military's right to utilise their food supply. Added to this was the peasants' loss to the nobility in the peasant uprisings of 1596-1597 known as the "Klubbekriget", in which the peasants of Savonia also took an active part.

Finally, slash and burn farming (svedjebruk) required large areas and there was not enough land in Savonia, hence the relative overpopulation.

An important pull factor was that the Swedish crown offered the right of possession and several years of tax exemption in the uninhabited Swedish forests. Duke Karl, later king Karl IX, was a driving force behind the migration. A larger population was an asset for a power player like Karl in competition with his nephew Sigismund, King of Sweden 1593-1599, King of Poland 1587-1632.

Richard Gothe, who wrote extensively about the Forest Finns, states that they broke new ground in about 200 parishes.²³ It should be remembered that there were several thousand parishes in the country as a whole.

The Finnish folklorist Carl Axel Gottlund wrote in the 1820s that Forest Finns could be found in over a hundred parishes in central Sweden, totalling about 50,000 people, about half of whom still understood Finnish. In 1822. He sent a questionnaire to a total of 33 priests in Gästrikland, Hälsingland, Medelpad and Ångermanland asking about the presence of Forest Finns. Responses were received from a total of 12 priests.²⁴ The questionnaire included a list of twelve questions, some of them quite extensive. A summary in Gottlund's own archive shows that the clergy's eagerness to answer his questions was quite moderate. From Järvsö, for example, Erik Agrell replied that "in the course of time, by marrying the native inhabitants of the parish, the Finnish descendants have become completely integrated with the rest of the parish in terms of language, dress and way of life". Most of the other answers were along the same lines. However, some were more detailed. Minister P. O. Hedenborg from Ytterhogdal stated in his reply that the number of Finns in his parish was 48 people in eight households. The pastor Anders Gustaf Sefström from Bjuråker said that according to the household examination records Bjuråker had been inhabited by 104 Finns in 18 households in 1690. In the 1820s there were about 150 Finnish descendants, only one of whom could understand Finnish with difficulty. But in the neighbouring parish of Hassela there was,

according to Sefström, "a large number of people who speak Finnish and retain the temperament of their ancestors".²⁵ The fact that they retained their culture and language in Hassela but not in Bjuråker was probably because there were more of them in Hassela from the beginning.

Gottlund independently surveyed the Forest Finns in Hassela, Stöde, Torps and Borgsjö parishes. The material from Hassela is the best. It includes a total of 180 names grouped by farms. The East Finnish family names have also been included. Three families dominated the area, Sorrainen (17 persons), Tarvainen (11 persons) and Tenhuinen (8 persons). Other family names were Ukkoinen, Jämsäläinen, Simoinen and Janhuinen. The use of special family names is explained by research in the field: "In Eastern Finland, the use of special family names has been common since the early Middle Ages. The name system probably originated in Savonia and Karelia in the 13th century. The origin of family names can probably be linked to systems of land use and hereditary use, indicating family and clan affiliation."²⁶ Erämark is a catchment area or fishing ground located far from the home village.

The Forest Finns lived by hunting, fishing, herding and farming. The special rye they grew was tall and could produce a large quantity; 1 litre of seed could produce up to 100 litres of harvest. A disadvantage of slash and burn farming was that it was a slow process, so several swaths were needed at the same time, and large areas of spruce forest were needed. Burning forest for farming came to compete with the farmers' herding system and the mills' need for charcoal, which led to restrictions and conflicts. In Bergslagen, slash and burn was banned as early as 1638.²⁷

Richard Gothe wrote a book on the Forest Finns and the 'cultural condition' in *Från trolldom till kristendom*, which covers the 17th and 18th centuries. Nature mysticism, superstition and belief in magic were widespread during this period, not only among Finns but also among Swedes. However, Finns were believed to have specialised skills in this field, though not on a par with the 'Lapps' who were seen as the masters.

One of Brita Jonsdotter's ancestors, Påwel or Pål Andersson of Stormörtsjön in Torp parish, is described as "one of our strangest wise men" in Norrland who mastered sorcery. He was particularly sought after to combat black magic, i.e. someone trying to destroy someone else with curses. This could involve inducing bears to kill enemy livestock, or using image magic against enemies, a voodoo-like practice. He also mastered white magic, such as awakening love, returning stolen goods, protecting livestock or curing diseases. The pentagram was a symbol used for positive magic. His clients, both Finns and Swedes, could live far away, for example in Orsa Finnmark.²⁸

The Forest Finns also had special rituals around hunting, especially bear hunting. Here the animal was respected and care was taken to return the bear's bones to nature. At the end of the bear's 'burial ceremony', the skull was placed in a large pine tree to be returned to the wild so that it could become prey for the hunter again."²⁹ This is reminiscent of known bear cults among hunters in ancient times, especially in Siberia.

Gothe writes that the Finns sought out wastelands far from the Swedish villages and there they lived "for a long time in seclusion, maintaining their old mother tongue, their customs and traditions and their Finnish ancestral beliefs". However, Brita Jonsdotter's ancestor Göran Persson Tarvainen, known as Rike (rich) Örjan, from Kölsjön in Hassela, seems to have been highly involved in Swedish society. He paid for the education of his son Anders, brother of Brita's ancestor Sara, at the Gefle secondary school. Anders was then awarded a master's degree at Uppsala University in 1626, for which he also seems to have received a scholarship. At the university he was called Anders Georgij Helsingius, which he changed to Hatzelius referring to Hassela. At the beginning of his career he was vice principal of the Cathedral School in Uppsala. There he distinguished himself for having received a 'reprimand' after punishing a boy who had been wreaking havoc in the garden and carving in the trees. Presumably it was the son of some senior person who did not appreciate the act of chastising the son.

He then went to the Thirty Years' War as a chaplain, then became the vicar of Bollnäs. According to Richard Gothe, his knowledge of Finnish helped him get the job, as there were many Finnish-speaking parishioners. The large immigration of Finnish speakers created problems for the church as the Finns usually did not understand Swedish.³⁰

Gothe writes about Göran Persson Tarvainen that he lived in one of Kölsjön's four farms, Sörgården, which he later gave to his son-in-law Henrik Jonsson and his daughter Sara, born around 1610. Göran had his brothers Pål, Israel and Erik in the other three farms. The brothers seem to have come to Hassela in 1598 together with their father Per Andersson Tarvainen. After the transfer of the farm, Göran moved to Bjuråker and then Delsbo. There he got into a tax dispute with the authorities. As a result, he travelled to Stockholm and went to the King, or rather Queen Christina, to complain about the bailiff's treatment of him. He seems to have gotten her on his side, and she issued a letter which he delivered to the governor. The Persson brothers were not shy, e.g. Erik and Pål ended up in court for various disputes.³¹

Gothe also argues that Hassela with its Finnish settlement became important, especially Kölsjön, which in the 17th century was one of Norrland's "most important Finn depots". The hospitality they brought with them from Savolax meant that they welcomed newcomers, and

it was probably rumoured that Kölsjön was a good place to start a life in Sweden. Here they had contacts across large parts of the country, a node in the forest Finnish network. In addition, many knew each other from their home village.

How much forest land could the Finns have? Kölsjö village had about 30,000 acres. In Grundsjön in the neighbouring parish of Borgsjö, Brita Jonsdotter's ancestor Lars Grelsson, together with Per Mickelsson, had a forest area that was 40 km on all sides. "What values lay in these forest areas", writes Gothe, "but that was only discovered later". However, many were without property, especially men who had escaped from the army's discharges and were now moving around in the large forests, often occasionally staying on farms.³² Lars Grelsson was probably born in Finland at the end of the 16th century. He should have come to Hudiksvall by boat. The majority of his children are said to have left for North America and the colony of New Sweden in 1664.

In Gransjön, Stöde lived Mickel Mickelsson, born around 1590 in Finland. He came with his father Mickel Jonsson to Gransjön. They were of the Tenhuinen family, probably from Savolax like most of the Forest Finns, who dominate Brita Jonsdotter's paternal line. These people have a large number of descendants today.

Mickel was a hunter who sold game skins to the bailiff in Medelpad, 'the stern Carl Olufsson (Burman)'. The co-operation worked well for a long time, but in 1614 they came together due to a dispute and the bailiff arrested Mickel and confiscated his skins. He then turned to the king to appeal the treatment and received a letter of protection from the king. Things went worse for the bailiff who, according to Gothe, received a "severe reprimand and shortly thereafter was dismissed on a blank piece of paper."³³

Mickels and Rike Örjan's disputes have similarities. In both cases, it is the royal power that sides with the Finns against the bailiffs. Land should be governed by law, and the sovereign was the judge of everything.

Many Finns had settled in the forests of northern Hälsingland in the early 17th century and Brita Jonsdotter had forest Finnish ancestry from both parents. I estimate that about half of her ancestors were Finnish. There were probably not many traces left of the Finnish language and culture in Brita's generation in the second half of the 19th century.

Älvdalen

Berta Schröder's direct maternal family line goes down in Älvdalen in Dalarna as far as one can get in the church records. Her great grandmother's great grandmother's great grandmother was called Marit Olsdotter (1643-1717). Marit was born in Näset in Älvdalen and married in Kyrkbyn to Djus Jöran Matsson. Her father Olof Persson (1620-1687) in Näset had another daughter, Karin Olsdotter, who became ancestor to Berta's grandmother Brita Jonsdotter. In Berta's person, Olof Persson's genes met after almost 300 years and 10 generations.

Some farm names in Älvdalen in the 17th century are Pell and Gunnars in the villages of Östermyckeläng, Månsta and Klitten. Gunnars Olof Larsson (1581-1671) in Månsta is one of the oldest known. Other names that occur are Gullich and Djus and villages like Loka, Näset, Kyrkbyn and Brunnsberg. One example is Gulich Lars Olsson (1575-1640) in Loka.

The witch trials paralysed Älvdalen in the 1660s and tragedy struck the Gulichs family. Marit Andersdotter (1630-1711) had a niece, Anna Olsdotter, who was convicted and executed in 1669 for witchcraft at the age of 16.³⁴

Another of those executed was 17-year-old Pell Marit Andersdotter from Östermyckeläng. She probably has some relation to the above mentioned Pell as they come from the same village. Her father is called Bäck Anders Nilsson, but he may have been born Pell. If a husband came to his wife's farm, he usually got her farm name. Alternatively, the mother was a Pell but as her name is not known it is not possible to say³⁵.

The soldier Per Norgren of the Hälsinge Regiment, born in the fateful year 1709, the year of the Poltava disaster, had his roots in Älvdalen. He was born in the village of Näset. His parents were farmer Mats Pehrsson (1665-1740) and Märtha (Marit) Jönsdotter (1671-1722). Mats Pehrsson in Näset had an older brother, Jon Pehrsson (1663-1729), who also belongs to Berta's family tree. He was the grandfather of Pell Kerstin Mathsdotter (1758-1840) who came to Ljusdal around 1770 as a young maid, 12 years old.

Mats and Jon's father was Pehr Jonsson (1628-1693) in Näset, a farmer and churchwarden. Their mother was Karin Mathsdotter (1638-1718), born in Brunnsberg. The great witch trial in the neighbouring villages of Åsen and Loka began in 1668 and she must have been acquainted with many of those involved.

There is no way of knowing whether the 19th century Hälsinglanders knew about the family connections in Älvdalen in the 18th century, but I think they did.

Chapter 4 - 18th-century Schröder wives: Stina Cajsa Ekebom, Greta Lisa Robsahm, and their ancestry

Introduction

Here I examine the family trees of two women who married into the Schröder family in the 18th century. It concerns the part of the Schröder family that begins with Johan Schröder and is followed by Henrik Johansson Schröder, Carl Gustaf Schröder, Johan Carlsson Schröder and Carl Magnus Schröder the elder. It is the wives of the latter two, Johan and Carl Magnus, whose ancestry is examined: Stina Cajsa Ekebom and Greta Lisa Robsahm.

In addition, I touch on some questions from older genealogy that have direct or indirect significance for the investigated family connections. The first example is the Vånga family and whether the Fegreaus family had their roots there. The Vånga family is also interesting because people in this family moved in the same environments as the people being discussed and in several cases married into families with close ties or kinship with them. In addition, a section on the Vånga family provides context to the time and environments described.

Another discussed case in older genealogy is the Bratt family from Brattfors and their possible relationship with the noble family Bratt af Höglunda. Other questions about the possible ancestry of individuals are also discussed.

Ekebom and Bratt in Värmland

Hans Månsson Ekebom (1675-) and Christina Bratt (1687-) married at midsummer 1702 in Brattfors.³⁶ If Christina's birth year 1687 is correct, she was only 15 years old when they married. The year of birth is reasonable because Christina's older brother Anders was born in 1685. Already in 1703, when Christina was 16 years old, her daughter Stina Cajsa was born. She married Johan Carlsson Schröder, owner of an iron works in Torsby.

Hans Ekebom was an iron works manager at Brattfors. Maybe it was a position he got through his marriage to Christina, but it is more likely that he met her through his job. She was an excellent marriage for him as she was one of the heirs to the Brattfors Bruk after her father Johan Bratt.

Hans Månsson Ekebon was born in 1675, probably in Karlstad, to Magnus Ekebon. Initially I assumed that he was from Kristinehamn and then there is only one possible father, Magnus Gustafsson Ekebon (1648-1696), since the father must be called Magnus/Måns. The source situation is not good when it comes to Hans Månsson Ekebon, but so far, I assume that he was born in Karlstad and that Magnus Ekebon in Karlstad and Magnus Ekebon in Kristinehamn were cousins.

Since Hans Ekebon was closely related to the Ekebon's in Kristinehamn and there is a lot written about them, I will say a few words to show what the family was doing. Magnus Ekebon was the mayor of the town, and a representative of the citizens of Kristinehamn at a "Riksdag" (parliament meeting). The city's historian Axel E. Löf also states that he was governor/judge of the Östersysslet district (häradshövding). Magnus and his brother Arvid Ekebon shared their father's house in Kristinehamn when they inherited it. Magnus also took over the position of city mayor and his brother became a councillor.³⁷

Magnus' father was Gustaf Månsson Ekebon (1617-1682) born in Karlstad, died in Kristinehamn. He had various occupations throughout his life. He was a lawyer and as such city secretary in Karlstad, and he was the owner of Matlångens Bruk (later renamed Lundsberg Bruk) in Lungsund parish. Gustaf married Anna Roman from Kristinehamn and moved there. Her interest in Matlångens may have been linked to the fact that her father Arvid Pedersson Roman had ownership interests in this iron mill. More about him below.

Gustaf Månsson was initially a controversial figure in Kristinehamn, but: "In time, however, he became indispensable to the town... But arbitrary, self-conscious and unscrupulous, he was also a man of power, which is why he made enemies." However, his powers were on the wane when the city wanted to send him to the Riksdag in Stockholm in 1680. He "declined because of a chest disease". Axel E. Löf writes: '(he probably had a heart defect, as he was unusually corpulent)'.³⁸ He was persuaded to go but became worse and was forced to stay at home. Gustaf had already represented the city at the Riksdag in Uppsala in 1654.

Other people in Schröder's family tree who represented Kristinehamn at parliaments were councillor Lars Töresson Schytler in Gothenburg in the winter of 1659-1660 when Karl X Gustav unexpectedly died from complications of influenza, and mayor Anders Larsson Bånge in Stockholm in 1660.³⁹

Gustav Månsson Ekebon was the son of Måns Eriksson, born around 1590 and died in 1642. Now we are also in the Hans Månsson Ekebon family tree. Måns Eriksson is said to have been a bailiff in Västersysslet. He was in turn the son of a mayor of Karlstad, Erik Månsson, born

around 1560 in Östra Ämtervik, who was the son of Måns Andersson, born around 1530 in Nylöse. Måns was a bailiff in Karlstad, a lawman in Värmland and lived in Fölsvik, Östra Ämtervik. Karlstad was granted city rights in 1584, so this family was part of the ruling from the beginning.

Hans Ekeboom's wife, Christina Bratt (1687-), was the daughter of Brita Schytler (c. 1665-1696), whose father Lars Töresson Schytler (-1669) was a councillor, member of parliament and weighmaster in Kristinehamn in the 17th century. A weighmaster was in charge of the town's storehouse, where especially iron was weighed and inspected.

Christina Bratt's father was Johan Bratt, the early deceased owner of Brattfors Bruk, who died in 1692. He must have been born in the middle of the 17th century. Johan's father was Anders Andersson (1609-1676), with the addition of Bratt and sometimes Bänge. He was an ironworks owner in Brattfors and a merchant in Karlstad. His father, also Anders Andersson Bratt (c. 1580-1677), was married to Kerstin Larsdotter Bänge (c. 1590-1649), daughter of Lauritz Bänge (c. 1550-), who was then Christina Bratt's paternal and maternal great-great-grandfather. In that case her parents Johan Bratt and Brita Schytler were second cousins.

Lauritz Bänge was a burgher in Nylöse and one of those who moved to Brätte when the Danes took the Älvsborg Fortress. Today Bångegatan is located in Gamlestaden in Gothenburg. In Brätte, near today's Vänersborg, Lauritz was a merchant and councillor. His son, Brita Schytler's grandfather, Anders Larsson Bänge (-1661) was born in Brätte but moved to Kristinehamn where he became mayor; he died in 1661. Lauritz Bänge's father was probably also called Anders Bänge, active in Gamla Lödöse in the 16th century.

Joel Larsson

Johan Bratt's mother was Ingrid Ekman (1626-1687).⁴⁰ Her mother was also a Bratt, but from a different family. Her name was Anna Persdotter (1600-1647), whose father was Per Jönsson Bratt af Höglunda (c. 1570-1639).

Ingrid Ekman's father Joel (Jon) Larsson was born around 1599, died probably in February 1674 on his farm Hovlanda in Våse parish, Värmland. There is a lot written about him. He became a district clerk in Östersysslet in 1633, which was then Louis de Geer's lease. In 1645 he became a councillor in Karlstad and in 1650 the crown's commander in the Västersysslet bailiwick in Värmland. He owned a number of farms in Värmland: in Glumserud, Barsjötorp, Ökna and Hovlanda. It is unclear whether he had tax exemption rights (frälse) on all the farms.

He lived at Ökna in Östra Fågelvik parish but moved in 1656 to Hovlanda on Arnön in Våse. There he had land and fishing waters. Outside Arnön, his second wife Elisabeth Bengtsdotter drowned when she went through the ice in 1672.

In Karlstad he had burghership and owned a house. He was also an industrialist with ownership in Brattfors iron mill, built Hökebro hammer in Nyed, owned Glumshammaren north of Våse, and a share in the smelter in Sunnemo. He left the mill in Brattfors to his son-in-law Anders Andersson Bratt/Bånge.

Joel Larsson is described as a trusted and well-known man in his time, even outside Värmland, and wealthy. His first marriage to Anna Bratt af Höglunda contributed to his wealth. The children of his first marriage to Anna Bratt called themselves Ekman (Eckman), like Ingrid Ekman. The children of his second marriage to Elisabet Bengtsdotter took the name Carlgren.

Joel Larsson was the commander of the home guard, the so-called vargering, during battles against Norway. He is also said to have been of the Glumserud family, which "was one of the wealthiest in central Sweden because of its trade in forging from sea ore from Östra Fågelvik in particular". He also had properties in Glumserud. The family had probably been involved in the iron trade since the 14th century.⁴¹

Bratt från Brattfors and Bratt af Höglunda

Two lines of Bratt with possible common origin merge in Johan Bratt. As mentioned above, his parents were Anders Andersson Bratt and Ingrid Ekman whose mother was the aforementioned Anna Bratt af Höglunda. About her father Per Jönsson Bratt af Höglunda one can read: "Owned Vik in Arvika parish and Berg, Rud, Norserud, Ökna and almost all the land in Jösse härad. Signed, among Duke Carl's law readers and bailiffs, the decision of the Uppsala meeting in 1593. Introduced in 1625 under No. 49."⁴² Thus introduced at the House of Knights.

Did Johan Bratt's parents have a common ancestor in the 15th century? I will briefly address this question and also present what has been written about some people in the Bratt family from Brattfors.⁴³

The Bratt family from Brattfors applied to the House of Knights for inclusion in the original pedigrees of the noble family Bratt af Höglunda. This was rejected by the 1896 nobility meeting with the argument that sustainable evidence was lacking. The question was whether Bratt from Brattfors was related to the original 15th century knight Bratt on whom Bratt af

Höglunda based their right of knighthood. Although the request was rejected, there was circumstantial evidence in favour of kinship.

The possible common ancestor of both branches was the knight Nils Steinarsson Bratt (c. 1411-1468), ennobled by king Karl Knutsson Bonde. His son, Mats Nilsson Bratt (1459-1549), is said to have given rise to the Bratt af Björke line which leads to Anders Andersson Bratt, while another son, Nils Nilsson Bratt (1448-1490), leads to Bratt af Höglunda.⁴⁴

A central person in the genealogy of Bratt from Brattfors is Anders Olsson Bratt, born 1530, died 1605 in Nylöse. The question that has been asked is whether he was a descendant of Mats Nilsson Bratt and Nils Steinarsson Bratt.

Anders Olsson Bratt is mentioned as a burgher and councillor 1587-1601 in Nylöse town and was called Anders Olsson in Vallen. He must have been one of the wealthier burghers in Nylöse and made several property transactions that are documented. There is no real evidence that he was a descendant of Nils Steinarsson Bratt. There are indications, however, such as the fact that "Bratt af Brattfors" bore a coat of arms with Bratt's three stars and that Anders Olsson had a cousin whose grandson's grandson Carl Gustaf Bratt was authorised by the House of Knights to represent the noble family Bratt af Höglunda at the Riksdag 1755-1756 and 1760-1762.

Anders Olsson Bratt became the progenitor of the noble Drakenfelt family and the Bratt family from Brattfors. According to the genealogist Christian Bratt, several genealogists have considered that Bratt from Brattfors has the same origin as the noble Bratt of Höglunda.⁴⁵

Anders Olsson Bratt's son Anders Andersson Bratt (Bånge), born about 1585 in Nylöse, died before 1661 in Vänersborg, is mentioned as a town clerk and merchant. Earliest mentioned 1601-1610 in Nylöse. He belonged to those who were forced to flee from the Danes. He came from there to Brätte around 1612 and was mentioned there among the citizens in 1619. In Brätte he became town clerk in 1631 and remained so until at least 1640. The inhabitants of Brätte were forced by royal order to move to the newly built Vänersborg, where Bratt came in 1648 and received land. Here he worked as a merchant until his death. For unknown reasons, Anders Andersson Bratt is said to have taken his wife's name and called himself Bånge. The eldest of his sons, Sven Andersson Bånghe (c. 1610-1644), took part in the 30-year war and rose to the rank of lieutenant in the Västgöta-Dal regiment. He is said to have been captured at the Battle of Leipzig in 1642 but returned to his company and died in 1644 in Helsingborg. He used a seal that clearly shows a noble shield with the three stars of the Bratt family.

The second son, Anders Andersson Bratt the younger, was born around 1615 and died 1677 in Brattfors. According to sources, he was a bookkeeper in Storfors, later a mill manager and owner of Jonsbol's ironmill in Brattfors. The mill was founded in 1641 but dates back to before 1540 and is one of the oldest mills in Värmland. He was also a burgher in Karlstad but moved to Filipstad and became a burgher there.

Genealogist Helmer Bratt describes what he has found about Andersson's business. He mainly bought and sold iron, grain and salt, but also tobacco and hops. Many times, he was in court in business disputes, sometimes for land purchases, i.e. he broke the rule that trade had to take place in a town. He also ended up in court in an assault case where he used his fists and knife against another merchant in a dispute. Andersson was 60-65 years old, a bourgeois and an ironmill owner, wealthy, yet he was fist fighting. However, Helmer Bratt is downplaying and says that this is a picture of the time. He writes that the records are full of such events with people of this character.⁴⁶ Historians have also shown that the 17th century was a violent time.

Anders Andersson is said to have resumed the name Bratt, which his father and namesake had exchanged for his wife's name, i.e. Bänge. He founded a hammer forge and got a share in the miners' hut and was one of the initiators of the construction of Brattfors church. In an old ledger he wrote: "In 1661 on 20 June we began to build Brattfors church. May God Almighty allow this to be completed to the praise and honour of God's name and to the welfare and bliss of our souls". Anders Andersson Bratt, his wife Ingrid Ekman and many of their children found their final resting place under the church's chancel.⁴⁷

Online, the Bratts can be traced far back into Norwegian Viking times and to legendary chieftains. More source-critical genealogists, such as Helmer Bratt, believe there is a Norwegian origin in the Middle Ages, but the nature of the links is uncertain. He carried out an extensive study and compared it with previous studies but could not say anything definite.⁴⁸

Below is a table showing the two Bratt families. How well does the table match the evidence? The right-hand side of the table is probably less controversial than the left-hand side. On the left side, they possibly originated from Björke near Sunne, today called Björkefors where the rapids from Lake Björken flow into Upper Fryken. Known in our time through the owner of the mansion, football coach Sven-Göran "Svennis" Eriksson.

Table: Two branches of Bratt fused together

	Christina Bratt, 1687- Brattfors	
	Johan Bratt, -1692 Brattfors, patron, inherited the iron mill.	
Anders Andersson Bratt, 1610 Brätte-1677 Brattfors	married to	Ingrid Jonsdotter Ekman, 1626 Fågelvik- 1687 Brattfors
Anders Andersson Bratt/Bånge, c. 1580 Nylöse-1661 Vänersborg.		Anna Persdotter Bratt af Höglunda, 1600 Nor-1647 Fågelvik
Anders Andersson Bratt, 1555- before 1619, merchant, councillor Nylöse and Brätte		Per Jönsson Bratt af Höglunda, 1570-1639, knighted 1625.
Anders Olsson Bratt, 1530- 1605, merchant, councillor Nylöse		Jöns Pedersson to Höglunda and Bråne, 1557- after 1604
		Per Persson to Höglunda
Olof Mattsson Bratt, c. 1500- tax farmer in Björke		Peder Nilsson to Höglunda
Matts Nilsson Bratt to Björke, 1460-ca. 1550, nobleman		Nils Nilsson Bratt (c. 1458 - before 1490)
	Nils Steinarsson Bratt c. 1410-, ennobled 1456, bailiff in Värmland.	
	Steinar Bratt c. 1385- 1455 Norway	

Ancestry of Greta Lisa Robsahm

Carl Magnus Schröder the Elder (1734-1802) married Greta Lisa Robsahm (1747-1834), thirteen years his junior, in 1769. As mentioned, she was the daughter of Jacob Hermansson Robsahm (1695-1778), the owner of an iron works. Here two owner families were married, and for the genealogist Greta Lisa is a find because she brings with her many different families and names.

A cousin of her father Jakob Robsahm was Carl Magnus Robsahm. He co-operated with Sven Rinman in the improvement of steel burning at Vissboda Bruk, an event in the history of the steel industry. Carl Magnus was married to Anna Elisabeth Geijer, aunt of historian and author Erik Gustaf Geijer. Their son, also named Carl Magnus, a second cousin to Greta Lisa, was ennobled "af Robson". His grandson was the father of Gustaf de Laval, the inventor from Orsa who made business history, perhaps best known for the successful dairy separator. Gustaf de Laval was the fifth cousin of Olof Reinhold Schröder, the great-grandson of Greta Lisa.

A possible royal trace can be found in Greta Lisa Robsahm's ancestry in Danish history. The person who makes up the key was called Geseke "Frederiksdatter". She has given rise to an interesting critical discussion on internet forums and a great deal of frustration. Briefly, the line looks like this: Greta Lisa's great-grandmother, Kristina Catharina Tersmeden (1649-1697), had a grandmother named Magdalena Hoyer (c. 1575-1625). She came from Oldenworth in Holstein and was the daughter of Caspar Hoyer (1540-1594), governor of the Duke of Gottorp. Caspar built the Hoyerswort manor house, which can still be seen today. Caspar's grandfather, a Danish war colonel named Herman Hoyer (1477-1541) married Maria Knudsen (1515-). She is believed to be the daughter of a woman named Geseke.

This Geseke is said to have been one of two half-sisters, Catherine being the other, who were illegitimate children of Duke Frederik of Oldenburg. He became King of Denmark in 1523 with the name Frederik I. His parents were King Christian I and Queen Dorothea von Brandenburg-Kulmbach. Dorothea is every genealogist's dream. From her, it goes right down through the German high nobility and the royalty of most Western European countries.

It is the genealogist Rune Kjellander who describes this information in the book "The Hoyer family in Schleswig-Holstein and Sweden".⁴⁹ The question here is how reliable the information about Geseke is? Maybe she was born in 1493, an illegitimate daughter of the innkeeper's daughter Marike Degener in Husum. But the source situation is not the best, it even seems to be fairly non-existent. Admittedly, she is mentioned as the daughter of Frederik in a number of historical works in Denmark⁵⁰, but primary sources seem to be lacking so far. Geseke is

therefore disputed by genealogists. The information about her royal blood seems to have appeared in the 18th century from a mayor of Kiel and has since been reproduced in other writings. Kjellander has a copy of a manuscript from this mayor, who was himself a descendant of Geseke. The mayor thus had an interest in being related to the Danish royal family.

However, there are circumstances which suggest that this may actually be true. Geseke married the bailiff Hans Knutsen the younger, whose father had been ennobled by Christian I. This must be considered a remarkable marriage, even unlikely, if she was merely the illegitimate daughter of an innkeeper's daughter.

Hans Knutsen and Geseke's daughter Maria married Colonel Herman Hoyer, but he died in 1541. She was then a young widow of about 26 years. She remarried Cornelius Hamsfort the elder, a Danish doctor and pharmacist. Hamsfort became medicus to Christian III in 1538, court pharmacist in 1540, and received a doctorate in medicine in 1544, the first awarded at the University of Copenhagen. In 1549 he became a pharmacist in Odense. Both before and after 1549, Hamsfort spent long periods of time as a personal physician at the court of Christian III and Queen Dorothea, interestingly because Maria was possibly the granddaughter of Frederik I. Christian III was the son of Frederik I and in that case uncle to Maria Knutsen. This may explain how and where Maria and Cornelius met. It is clear that both Geseke and her daughter Maria were close to the royal family, which may indicate that Geseke was indeed Frederik I's 'natural daughter'.

The above-mentioned Magdalena Hoyer (c. 1575-1625) had roots in noble families in Holstein. Her mother was Anna Wulff (1543-1598) from Kiel, whose father and grandfather, like her maternal grandfather Paul Harge (1470-1531), were mayors of Kiel. In Holstein, there was a large clan of prominent families, 'Die Wolffe und Pogwische', who all bore similar arms, a white wolf on a blue shield with a helmet ornament. These families bore the names Wulff, Pogwisch, von der Wisch, Knob, Brokow and Langelowe.

Anna Wulff's father was Conradt Wulff (c. 1495-1561). He was born and worked in Kiel as a councillor and mayor. He had a Magister degree from university and was a good friend of Martin Luther. He was also a nobleman and lord of the Südensee estate in the county of Flensburg, and of Süderstapel in the county of Gottorf, and owned houses in Kiel. His father Nicolaus Wulff (c. 1445-1518) was also a councillor and mayor of Kiel and lord of Süderstapel. Wulff was a knightly lineage that can be traced back to around 1200 and Marquard Wulff. The connection to Kiel seems to have been old. Marquard's son Pape Wulff was not only a knight of Bissee but also a bailiff in Kiel. Harge is a name that recurs in the Wulff family tree when a

later Marquard Wulff marries a woman named Harge in 1400. Other names associated with Kiel are Köler and von Moisling. Conrad von Moisling was a knight in the 13th century.

Magdalena Hoyer's father was Caspar Hoyer (1540-1594). He studied law in Copenhagen and then continued his studies in Wittenberg, Strasbourg, Cologne and Frankfurt an der Oder. After his studies, he became the Danish king's diplomat in Poland. Shortly afterwards, he entered the service of the King's younger brother, Duke Adolf I of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf. As a result, in 1578, he became stadtholder of Eiderstedt, Everschop and Utholm. He was richly rewarded and became a major landowner with 700 hectares.

Caspar's father Herman Hoyer (1477-1541) was a knighted colonel, his father Jacob Hoyer (1445-1500) was an officer and bailiff, and his grandfather Hinrich Hoyer (1415-) was a warrior from Hoya south of Bremen. Herman Hoyer's wife was Maria Knudsen, whose grandfather Hans Knudsen the elder (1430-ca 1502) was a major landowner in Schleswig and Holstein and was ennobled by Christian I (shield: two stars over a rose). Jacob Hoyer married Metta von Schack (1470-1563). This knightly lineage can be traced to Nobilis Scaccus de Bardewic who lived in the mid-12th century. The family is said to have arrived in the area around Lüneburg and the village of Bardowick (south-east of Hamburg) with Charlemagne and received favours (probably for war efforts against the Longobards).

There are few wives mentioned in this family, but Metta's father Otto von Schack was married to Abel von Ritzerow. Her name can be traced to great-grandfather Hartwig der Alte von Ritzerow in the 14th century. Her mother was called von Züle and her grandmother von Grünow. Hartwig der Alte married Grete von Lützow, whose grandfather Johannes de Lutzowe was a knight and belonged to the original nobility of Mecklenburg, with properties in Panitz in Wittenburg. His wife was Sofia von Melenkke.

A significant proportion of the population in Sweden and Western Europe have some of these people in their ancestry.

Christian Robsahm

Christian Robsahm (1613-1685) probably came from Germany. The name Robsahm is thought to mean the seed of a turnip in German spelling.⁵¹ According to another account, the ancestor fled from Scotland to Saxony during the civil wars of the 16th century, presumably referring to the religious wars.

The Scottish name Robson is said to have been transliterated into Robsahm, which does not sound entirely logical. A Germanisation of the name should be Robsohn.

He is said to have been an equestrian (ryttare) at first but later turned to trade. Equestrian should mean military and perhaps he participated in the Thirty Years' War. Both Germans and Scots were recruited to the Swedish army and fought in Germany. After the war, many of them settled in Sweden.

Christian Robsahm was first a merchant in Köping and Västerås before he was employed as a clerk at Larsbo Bruk (iron works) in Söderbärke for the Kock family. He first lived at Klockarbo in 1643-1646 and then at Larsbo. In 1649 he was found at Malingsbo Bruk in Söderbärke, which he leased. During his time there he built Korslångs and Nyfors hammers in Söderbärke and a blast furnace at Nyhyttan in Norrbärke. He moved around 1677 to Perhindersbo, by the lake just north of the church village in Söderbärke. He was traditionally called the German from Malingsbo (Malingsbotysken) by the locals. His wife, the 11 years younger Catharina Bartels (c. 1624-1694), is said to have been born in Germany. The couple is known to have had eleven children, of which four sons became progenitors of their respective branches of the family.

One of the sons, Jacob Robsahm (c. 1645-1716), succeeded his father at Malingsbo Bruk. In 1703 he bought Bofors and Björkborn iron works in Karlskoga. He married a daughter of Herman tor Smede, or Tersmeden (1610-1667) named Kristina Catharina (1649-1697). The fathers' connection to Larsbo suggests that they knew each other well.

Of Jacob's 14 children from his marriage to Kristina Tersmeden, it is his son Herman Robsahm (1669-1698) who carries on this story. He was a manager at Nyfors and Korslång's hammers in Söderbärke and married a girl from Västerås, Katarina Ling (1675-1696). In 1695, "Jungfru" Katarina Ling and "Monsieur" Herman Robsahm were married in Gagnef church, and in 1703 his sister, Jungfru Maria Erichsdotter Ling, married Anders Strandberg, a master coppersmith, in the same church.

Katarina Ling died aged only 21 after the birth of her son Jacob, probably from complications from childbirth.

This son Jacob Hermansson Robsahm (1695-1778) became the father of Greta Lisa Robsahm to whom we will return. He is listed as the owner of Mölnbacka Bruk, married to Madame Ulrica Palm (1719-1805). According to information, he also established Karlsfors Bruk in 1748 by transferring forging from Mölnbacka.

The father of the early deceased Katarina Ling was Erik Eriksson Ling (1642-1702). He was born in Badelunda near Västerås and died in Gagnef, where he held a position as assistant vicar. Ling's wife Brita Andersdotter was born in Falun in 1641. They married in 1674. She survived her husband by ten years and died in 1712 in Gagnef.

In 'Westerås Stifts Herdaminne af Joh. Fr. Muncktell, Andra delen", which tells short life stories of vicars and curates, one can read the following:

"Ericus Erics Ling. Born in Badelund 21 Nov. 1642. Father a homesteader, but became a citizen in Westerås. Student in Upsala 1670 after a long endeavour in his hometown, where he was also for a time Consistorii Cursor. Returned to Westerås in 1673 and became Notarius totius Gymnasii and also Director musices at the school. Ordained priest 1674 and assisted a Commin. at the Cathedral. At this time, blowing the trombone was still part of the music, and Ling complained "that 10 years have been spent with" this difficult instrument, which destroyed his health. Schoolmaster here in 1683 and Commin. 1700. In Jan. 1702 a violent attack of stroke or falling sickness with horrible symptoms, which threatened him with death and put his tender pastor in fear. On reflection he therefore sought to have the service transferred to his daughter's future husband, which was approved by the congregation and the Consistory. Died 23 March this year."

He was thus ordained as a priest in 1674 and became assistant to a curate in Västerås Cathedral before taking up a post in Gagnef as schoolmaster in 1683 and as curate in 1700. This is not clear in the Herdaminne but explains why his daughter Katarina married in Gagnef. The son-in-law Christopher Forsberg became priest in Gagnef after Ling, married to Ling's daughter Elisabeth.

Herman tor Smede

Herman tor Smede (1610-1667) is said to have arrived in Sweden and Nyköping on Christmas Eve 1626. Herman was educated in Liege but came from a bourgeois family in the town of Flensburg, in Schleswig-Holstein. Around 1636, he became the administrator of Öllösa Bruk with "great responsibility, wide powers and often insufficient resources in place".⁵² Herman was just one of the German-Danish immigrants to Sweden in the 17th century who had a similar background. Here they entered directly into a middle class and many soon advanced. Herman's offspring made a career and one branch was ennobled. It is not a far-fetched guess to think that these people with their background came to play a major role in Sweden's

development, not least in trade and industry.

In 1644 he married the 21-year-old Catharina Clein (Kleen), born in Brabant in 1623, who came with her parents to the Skultuna Bruk as an infant. Her father, Peter Clein from Liege, was called in as a mineralogist and specialist in brass casting at the new mill. But he died the same autumn. Her mother, Gertrud Rougland, was of Dutch origin. She remarried Niclas Nothman, the mill manager at Skultuna, but died in 1629. Catharina grew up at Skultuna and later Skeppsta with her stepfather.

Herman and Catharina had three children in close succession, but they died in infancy. The fourth child, Kristina, who was born in Öllösa, lived to adulthood. In the autumn of 1650, they left Öllösa Bruk. Marcus Koch had organised a new future for them together with his brother-in-law Johan Hellbeck. They would run the Nisshyttan mill in Säter, with hammers in Saxå and Larsbo. Herman stayed at Larsbo for the rest of his life. Catharina Clein died in 1699 in Kolsva, having been a widow in poor circumstances since 1667. Her daughter Kristina Tersmeden married Jacob Robsahm at Malingsbo Bruk in 1666 and had a number of children but died relatively young in 1697, aged 47. The husband then acquired the mills Bofors, Björkborn and Valåsen in Karlskoga and moved there.⁵³

Herman's father Thomas tor Smede (1564-1625) was a merchant in Flensburg who made bankruptcy in 1602. He was the third generation in Flensburg. The family can be traced to a Claus tor Schmede (1465-1497), a wealthy merchant in Stade, Westphalia. Their marriages include names like Lange, Jepsen, Lorup and Hoyer.⁵⁴

The Vånga family and Fegraeus

The priest Johannes Benedicti (1519-1586), actually Hans Bengtsson, is the ancestor of the Fegraeus family. He has previously been considered to be of the Vånga family.

The Vånga family, which was noble of lower rank, "counted kinship with most of the important official and priestly families in northern Västergötland and southern Värmland".⁵⁵ According to genealogists, however, the origin and composition of the Vånga family in Västergötland in the Middle Ages is unclear.

Bengt Haraldsson was born around 1490 in Nylöse (part of present-day Gothenburg) , died around 1550. He was a nobleman and burgher in the town of Älvsborg at the fortress, as well as the owner of ship shares there. He was one of the noblemen at the Riksdag in Västerås in

1527, when the Reformation was enforced. In 1535 he was listed among the armed forces (the nobility's cavalry) in Västergötland. He then lived in Nylöse.

Bengts is said to be the brother of the last Catholic bishop of Skara, Magnus Haraldsson, and they both seem to have been involved in the Lords' rebellion against the Reformation and King Gustav Vasa in 1529, which cost Nils Olofsson Vinge his head. There are family trees online that show the path down into the Middle Ages of this "Vånga branch", which in principle seems to be related to the entire medieval high nobility. These family trees are highly uncertain according to serious research.

His father may have been Harald Månsson, born around 1460, a burgher in Nylöse and resident at Stora Vånga. According to the genealogist Gabriel Anrep (*Svenska adelns ättartaflor*), he belonged to "the old noble Vånga family, which in the shield carried three running streams and on the helmet two horns and was divided into the manors of Bodehult, Ljusefors, Stora Vånga, Hinsekind, Bryneslöv and Näs".⁵⁶ However, later research has shown this family to be an amalgamation of several unrelated people who in the 15th century carried similar arms with waves or streams.

Bengt's son Harald Bengtsson lived in Nylöse around 1520 to 1576 and was the owner of properties in Surte in Angered parish, and Söderby in Fellingsbro parish. For a time he was a customs clerk and merchant in the town of Älvsborg and secretary at Älvsborg Fortress. The town of Älvsborg was a dramatic interlude in the history of Gothenburg. By order of Gustav Vasa, the neighbouring town of Nylöse was moved to this location in 1547. When the Danes approached in 1563 in connection with the outbreak of the Nordic Seven Years' War, the Swedes burned down the town. Many sought refuge in Älvsborg Fortress, which fell into Danish hands after a brief siege and remained Danish until the terms of the Peace of Stettin were fulfilled in the summer of 1571. Sweden had to pay a huge sum to the Danes to regain the area, the first Älvsborg Ransom.

Harald Bengtsson is thought to have become a customs clerk in Älvsborg in 1571 and a merchant for King Johan III and Duke Karl. But it is difficult to know what is meant, Älvsborg was no longer a town. He was probably a merchant in Nylöse.

Harald married N.N. Andersdotter, born around 1530. Her father was possibly Anders Trulsson from Marbo born around 1500. He was a bailiff and belonged to an old feudal family with a coat of arms with half a lily and a star. He lived in Västervånga in Vånga parish, Skaraborg county. Trulsson was married to Christina Jönsdotter Lind, born around 1500. Her mother is said to have belonged to a noble family, whose coat of arms included a green lime

tree in a blue field. This is uncertain information that genealogists have long discussed.

The daughter Brita Haraldsdotter (1570-) married Pehr Arvidsson, born 1555 in Nylöse and died after 1605. He was mayor of Nylöse and is last mentioned in the council protocol from October 1605. A street is named after him and the names (grandfather) in Gamlestaden, Gothenburg. He was also a subordinate, law reader and war commissioner in Värmland, a title for an official with the task of accompanying the army in war and ensuring its pay, provisioning and furbishing, i.e. providing horse feed.

Pehr's father was Arvid Pehrsson, born around 1520. His father in turn was the older Pehr Arwidsson, born around 1490 and died after 1529. He was a burgher in Nylöse and is said to have represented the town at the Riksdag in Strängnäs in 1529.

The question has been whether Johannes Benedicti was the son of the above-mentioned Bengt Haraldsson (1490-1550) of Stora Vånga.

According to older research, the Fegraeus family would therefore constitute a continuation of the "ancient, noble Vånga family", which could be followed to the middle of the 14th century and which divided into "the manors of Bodehult, Ljusefors, Stora Vånga, Hinsekind, Bryneslöf and Näs", as H. Tersmeden writes in a calendar of unintroduced nobility in 1899.

Now it seems more likely that the ancestry of Hans Bengtsson (Johannes Benedicti) is unknown. It is true that the noble families Strömfelt and Fägerstierna are descended from Hans Bengtsson, but an earlier statement that these together with the noble Appelbom and Igelström had common ancestry in Bengt Haraldsson seems to be incorrect. This means that the Fegraeus family has lost its supposedly noble origin in the Stora Vånga family, which some genealogists have considered to have had medieval rights of knighthood that were lost with the Reformation.

Below we can see how the Fegraeus family of priests gradually leads into the Schröder family tree, the first names from the 16th century.

Unknown - Hans Bengtsson (Johannes Benedicti) - Johannis Haraldus Andreas Fegraeus - Andreas H Fegraeus the younger - Thorbern Fegraeus - Gunborg Fegraea - Margareta Bellander - Ulrika Eleonora Palm - Greta Lisa Robsahm - Carl Magnus Schröder the younger.

The connection between Fegraeus and Vånga through Bengt Haraldsson should therefore be highly questionable.

More priests in the 17th century

Several priestly families have already been mentioned but there are more in these family trees. One such example is Haqvinus Jacobi (1576-1652) who was vicar of Udenäs in the diocese of Mariestad from 1623 until his death.⁵⁷ Before he came to Udenäs, he was preacher at Kroppa manor in what would become Kristinehamn from 1614 to 1622. When the service was abolished and the crown leased the manor, he came to Udenäs.

He was ordained at Gråmunkeklostret in Stockholm in 1605 and was accepted by Gustaf II Adolf as a preacher at Kroppa. It is unclear who his parents were, but his father's name would have been Jacob as the priest's 'civil' name was Håkan Jacobsson. An online source states that this Jacob was an iron controller (järnskrivare) at Bro near Kroppa. An iron controller was an official who had to collect iron tax and protect iron interest for the crown.

Anders Bellander (1660-1722) was the grandson of Haqvinus Jacobi and was named after his birthplace Bällefors in Västergötland. He was a vicar in Mariestad. This was a priestly family. He was married to Gunborg Fegraea (1666-1725) from the Fegraeus family of priests. She was the daughter of Thorbern Fegraeus⁵⁸ (1631-1689), married to the professor's daughter Ursula Loccenia (1640-1713). Ursula probably met Thorbern Fegraeus in Uppsala. She was born there and as a future priest, Uppsala was the obvious place for him to study. They married in 1660. He became a lecturer in Greek in 1658 in Skara and vicar of Mariestad in 1671, a member of the Riksdag for the clergy in 1672, 1675 and 1680.

But it is easy to get it wrong. The vicar of Fägre, Hans Hansson, had 10 children, two of whom had the same name, Andreas Haraldi. In writing they are called the older and the younger. Both had a son named Thorbern Fegraeus. The older son became vicar in Horn and the younger son became vicar in Mariestad. Moreover, these cousins with the same name and career were almost the same age, born in 1631 and 1633 respectively. The risk of confusion is therefore great, not least because both appear to have been lecturers in Skara.

It was probably also common for priests to be important economic actors through the tithes (taxes) they received in kind. Researcher Börje Hanssen examined a priest's household in 17th century Skåne and found that this priest had extensive business in selling natural products, such as barley, and lending them to farmers in need of food or seed, i.e. as a kind of lender. The priests therefore often had great economic power in this function and did business with merchants.⁵⁹

Johannes Loccenius - historian and law professor

Johannes Loccenius (1598-1677) is worth a closer look. He was professor at Skytteanum for a while, and when I was a political science student, we had classes at Skytteanum, the house dedicated to the professorship and the residence of its holder. Leif Lewin was the holder of the professorship in my time, but we students hardly saw him. Of course, I had no idea about Loccenius and the personal connection. The fact that Loccenius was a historian also makes him particularly interesting to me. He is said to have been a man of "modern and encyclopaedic learning in politics, law, history and rhetoric".⁶⁰

His name was a Latinisation of Locken, the name of his father, Albert Locken. In his old age, Johannes was ennobled for his efforts, along with a son, to the name Tigerklou, a name which he was authorised by the king not to use. He wanted to continue to use Loccenius, while his son adopted the new name.

Johannes was born in Itzehoe, Holstein. His mother's name was Anna Sommer. The origin of his wife Ursula Tamm (1594-1652) is more uncertain. It is usually stated that her parents were Hinrik Tamm and Regina Fischbeck from Hamburg. However, a Captain Storkirk, in his personal history research, writes that Ursula Tamm's parents were burghers and patricians from the town of Elberfeld, now a district of Wuppertal well away from Hamburg.⁶¹

Loccenius studied at the gymnasium in Hamburg, then at the universities of Helmstedt and Rostock, and in the Dutch city of Leiden, where he earned his doctorate in law in 1625. The fact that he was a gymnasium student in Hamburg could be a clue to where he met his wife. In Rostock, he became acquainted with Johan Skytte, who had established the Skyttean professorship in rhetoric and politics at Uppsala University. Johannes was recruited to Uppsala, a backwater compared to the cities he was used to.

However, it was as extra extraordinary professor of history that he came to Uppsala in 1625; two years later he was ordinary. In 1628 he was appointed extra ordinary professor Skytteanus, in 1630 ordinary. He was also rector of the university for a few semesters (the assignment rotated) and in 1634-48 professor of Roman law, university librarian, national historiographer, honorary professor of law in 1666, and president of the College of Antiquities in 1672 when he succeeded Georg Stiernhielm. In 1671 he became a nobleman when he received tax exemption for his estates and was knighted together with his son Albrekt, named after his grandfather. His daughter Regina married his colleague history professor Johannes Schefferus. Loccenius and Schefferus are said to have developed a very tense relationship. Loccenius' daughter Ursula (1640-1713) married theologian Thorbern Fegraeus in 1660.

As a teacher, he had many important students. When the future Karl X Gustav was studying in Uppsala in 1638, the teacher Loccenius was invited to give a Latin lesson in Karl's chamber, which was also attended by Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie. It was rare for the high nobility to attend lessons with ordinary students. All this was controlled and planned by the Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna. De la Gardie would later in life become head of the university as Chancellor in 1654, head of Loccenius and others.⁶²

Loccenius was married twice. His first wife was the four years older Ursula Wallrave, née Tamm (1594-1652), whom he married in 1622, before they came to Uppsala. With her he had seven children. She died in 1652 and after a couple of years as a widower he remarried the 27 years younger daughter of the alderman of baker's guild in Stockholm, Margareta Wanckelmuth, née Kitz (1625-1699). She was probably a widow.

Loccenius is considered one of the founders of Swedish legal science.⁶³ He translated the provincial laws into Latin and combined Swedish medieval law with Roman civil law, the *Corpus juris civilis*. He was criticised for his views on state law in his *Synopsis juris publici svecani*, a work that was not published immediately but much later after significant revisions. Axel Oxenstierna, one of the critics, is considered to have influenced its publication and content.

Loccenius's most famous work as a historian is *Rerum Suecicarum historia* (1654). The first edition omitted the 'fairy tale kings', which refers to kings before the introduction of Christianity. The source criticism he used was criticised and the revised edition includes the fairy-tale kings. In this work he is considered to anticipate Olof Rudbeck the Elder's Gothicist historiography. For example, he writes that goats and Goths are the ancestors of Swedes. In his famous *Atlantica*, Olof Rudbeck further developed the mythical kings written about by Loccenius. The literary historian Magnus von Platen explains the differences in the editions by saying that Loccenius, "peaceful and indulgent by nature, abandoned /.../ his critical methodology in the face of opposition from Swedish chauvinism".⁶⁴

As national historiographer, Loccenius was commissioned to write the text for Erik Dahlbergh's *Suecia antiqua et hodierna* (Ancient and Modern Sweden), a magnificent three-volume work consisting of engravings of buildings and cities. But the commission to write the texts was never finalised.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that Loccenius had a colleague in law who, so to speak, belonged to the family. Håkan Fegraeus (1635-1693), brother of his son-in-law Thorbern, was appointed extraordinary professor of law in Uppsala in 1667. He caused a scandal. Historian

and legal scholar Stig Jägerskiöld writes:

"His stay there and his activities at the Academy were filled with battles that were remarkable even by the standards of the time. Already at the installation there were peculiar scenes. F had two trumpeters ride around the city and announce the solemn event. The influential Olof Rudbeck apparently viewed F's appointment with disapproval, as he wanted to promote the interests of his brother-in-law Carl Lundius instead, and F felt so threatened by Rudbeck that he walked around with pistols, which he demonstratively showed and said were intended for him. Rudbeck reported F to the university chancellor, who expressed his disapproval of F's behaviour. In 1668 he was suspended for a time and, after lengthy legal proceedings, was finally forced to apologise. His stay in Uppsala was interrupted in 1671 by a new trip abroad as tutor to Baron Gustaf Paykull. After his return, F lectured for one term in 1673 in Uppsala, but thereafter his involvement in academic teaching seems to have ceased."⁶⁵

However, he had a brilliant career as a lawyer and became vice president of the Svea Court of Appeal and governor of Östergötland. He was knighted Fägersstierna, probably for his efforts in the reduction of noble estates introduced by Karl XI, where De la Gardie was the hardest hit. De la Gardie, previously a supporter of Håkan's career, had suspended him as chancellor of the university and here Håkan got a kind of revenge. De la Gardie, whose shining star was now about to be extinguished. According to economic historian Eli Heckscher "it almost seemed as if Karl XI considered himself to have a positive interest in ruining" De la Gardie.⁶⁶ Håkan's brother Thorbern was married to Loccenius' daughter Ursula. Another daughter, Regina Loccenia, was married to Professor Johannes Schefferus. Their son Per Scheffer was first married to a daughter of Håkan Fägersstierna. The family networks were dense.

Erik Palm at Höjentorp

During a visit to Läckö Castle, the guide, a young woman, told me about Karl XI's reduction in 1680 and that the owners of Läckö, Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie and his wife Maria Euphrosyne, only got to keep two of the thousand estates and farms they owned: Venngarn and Höjentorp. I knew about Venngarn because it is located near Sigtuna, 20 miles from Uppsala. However, I had not heard of Höjentorp and waited until the tour was over so I could ask the guide where it is located. She had no idea, which turned out to be surprising because it was quite close to Läckö.

On minor roads down towards Varnhem, I suddenly saw the sign, Höjentorp. It felt like a strange coincidence. By the road was a sign with information about Höjentorp's castle ruins. The plateau where the castle had been located was wooded, but you could see how big the building had been. The place was first mentioned in 1283 as Hognatorp when Magnus Johansson Ängel sold the farm to Bishop Brynolf in Skara. Magnus Ängel is said to have been of the Bjälbo family and his grandfather's father was Earl Birger Brosa. Before that, the farm is said to have been owned by the noble Bonde family and also by Bishop Bengt, Birger Jarl's brother. During the changes after the Reformation in 1527, the farm was annexed to the crown and thus became a royal farm. Carl Siggesson Rosendufva held Höjentorp 1630-1644. On the internet I read that he was governor of Skaraborg County, but I am not convinced, perhaps he was a district governor.

In 1647, Count Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie married Maria Euphrosyne, a Palatine Countess of Vasa. Queen Christina gave Höjentorp as a wedding gift to her cousin, who was also the sister of the future Karl X Gustav. De la Gardie built a wooden baroque castle on the old walls. However, in 1722 the castle burned down and was never rebuilt.

After returning from Västergötland, I continued my research and to my delight and surprise discovered an ancestor from Höjentorp, Erik Palm (1630-1692). He was initially a gardener. It feels a bit strange. And about Palm's wife Christina Ingelsdotter Dufva (ca 1640-1720) I read online that she should have grown up as a kind of foster daughter of Maria Euphrosyne, and that she had a past at the court. This would later turn out to be highly uncertain.

Erik Palm's father Erik Mårtensson, who is believed to have been a gardener at Eskilstuna Castle, does not appear to have used the name Palm. He is said to have owned land in Eskilstuna, about as much seems to be known about him. The name Palm was used by Erik's brother Nils Palm, court assessor, who owned the farm Jönslanda in Sunnersberg at Kålland, north of Lidköping. However, another brother is mentioned who did not use the name, the gardener Daniel Waldon at Läckö Castle. In a letter from the end of the 1660s, Erik mentions his brother Daniel Waldon at Läckö, regarding the delivery of garden details. In a 1719 court book, Catharina Danielsdotter Waldon and Magnus Gabriel Palm are also referred to as cousins, so it is very likely that Daniel Eriksson Waldon is Erik Eriksson Palm's brother. Whether they are full or half-siblings, however, is more uncertain.

Since Erik, according to correspondence with De la Gardie, was in service on the Dutch East Indies for seven years, we can speculate that the name Palm comes from his sailing to countries with palm trees. The fact that his brother Nils is also called Palm would then be because he took after his brother, but we don't know.

In the 1660s, Erik was employed as a gardener at Höjentorp. He later advanced to inspector and commanding officer and in 1678 he became bailiff at Höjentorp. When Count De la Gardie died in 1686, Countess Maria Euphrosine commissioned Palm to ensure that the deceased was buried in an honourable manner. She instructed him to 'make use of the material resources required for this purpose'. She was concerned about the preparation of the grave in the church of Varnhem, and she wrote letters of invitation to the funeral service. She asked professor Olov Rudbeck to organise music for the funeral service, as the deceased "had been a great lover of it throughout his life". She also organised the burial fund in De la Gardie's name that came to be administered by the parish in Varnhem. After her death, her coffin was finally taken to the grave in Varnhem.⁶⁷

What other records exist about Erik Palm? In 1677, he witnessed a bill of sale for Hjelmvik, mentioned in Skånings härads judgement book. In 1680 he stated at the court in Vånga that the Broke mill in Härlunda had burned down two years earlier. He was a baptismal witness a few times, most recently in 1691. In 1687 Palm donated a book to Eggby church. The book, purchased in Mariestad, is Eggby's oldest church book. The book is dated and signed by Palm. The vicar in Mariestad was the same age as Thorbern Fegraeus and I guess they were acquainted. Later Erik Palm's son Gustaf married Thorbern's granddaughter Margareta Bellander, who was twelve years younger than Gustaf.

As a gardener at Höjentorp, he had the farm Backa on 1/2 mantal as his paid residence from 1673 to 1678. In the tax register, he is entered for the first time in 1674, but according to information, he took up his position already in the 1660s. According to the general muster roll of 1691, he is listed as armourer of Fogdegården in Foxerna and according to the land register of 1692 as a resident of Bredegården in Foxerna. In 1694 his widow Christina Dufva is listed as an armourer in the muster roll and also in the 1695 census under Skattegården in Foxerna, together with a daughter and a farmhand. Erik Palm apparently owned Sjöboden, Bredegården and probably also Brunnsgården in Foxerna because his son Magnus Gabriel is listed as the armourer for the latter two farms in the years 1701-1736. Probably the farms together constituted Stora Foxerna, but it is difficult to interpret.

Palm had his name on the accounts at Höjentorp manor until 1 May 1692 and on 16 September of the same year his wife signed the accounts with her name "Cristina Ingelsdotter, a highly distressed widow" so Erik must have died between these dates. He was buried in Eggby church and his grave was marked by a stone with two palms and initials carved on it.⁶⁸

Christina Ingelsdotter Dufva at Höjentorp

Erik Palm's wife Christina Ingelsdotter Dufva born 1640 died in 1720 from the Ekby death book:

"Died in Herranom (the Lord) H. Christina Dufwa, Blessed Inspector Erich Palm in his time dear wife on 17 November, after she had previously prepared herself very godly and well, and was buried in the presence of the distinguished people on 18 May 1721 by Past: Dro And. Bechio, 80 years old: She has lived as a godly soul should, raised her children in godliness, and let them be instructed in beautiful arts and virtues."⁶⁹

Her background appears to be somewhat mysterious. Reliable information is lacking. However, genealogists have speculated that her parents could be Carl Siggesson Rosendufva and Ingeborg Ribbing. According to the "Historiskt-geografiskt och statistiskt lexikon öfver Sverige" (1859-1870), Höjentorp was held by Rosendufva from 1636 to 1644, governor of Skaraborg County (not mentioned in the governor's role, perhaps referring to the governor of Valle district (härad)). Three circumstances have probably formed the basis for the speculation about Christina's parents: Rosendufva resided at Höjentorp during the time Christina is supposed to have been born, Dufva from the name Rosendufva, and Ingelsdotter after Ingeborg. Elias Dufva and his wife Brita Månsdotter, the local minister in Varola (outside Skövde), have also been mentioned as possible parents.

There has been much speculation. In a genealogical study of the Vogler family, it is written:

'Before her marriage to Palm, she was a lady-in-waiting employed at the Royal Court, where she was also educated. Her foster mother is listed as Maria Eufrosyne, Karl X Gustav's sister, later the consort of Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie. This was during the time of Gustav II Adolf or Queen Christina. It is not surprising that this relationship created mystery and gave rise to questions in earlier generations of the Vogler family and a topic of conversation in the inner circle. It can probably also be assumed that the Christina name, which runs like a red thread through the family, is not just a legacy from the ancestor Barbro-Stina but rather from Queen Christina."⁷⁰

Speculations and innuendos but few facts. It has also been suggested that she was De la Gardie's daughter. We know the following: Christina Dufva was born around 1640 but unclear where, died 17 November 1720 in the Vicarage, Ekby in Skaraborgs län. Her full name, Christina Ingelsdotter Dufva, is given in her son Magnus Gabriel Palm's donation letter. Her signature is found in the account books at Höjentorp's farm. She may have been a companion

or lady-in-waiting of Maria Euphrosyne and/or may have grown up with the De la Gardie family. In any case, she and her husband Erik Palm were certainly very close to the count's family, as their children Magnus Gabriel and Maria Euphrosyne were named after the family.

But we can also speculate on the naming. According to old custom, the first son was named after the paternal grandfather, the first daughter after the paternal grandmother, the second son after the maternal grandfather, the second daughter after the maternal grandmother. In order not to mess things up, I assume that the paternal grandmother's name was given to the first daughter. However, it could just as well be the other way round.

According to online sources, Christina Dufva and Erik Palm first had a girl, Catharina, who does not seem to have survived. Then two sons who were both named Erik but who both seem to have died. Erik was the paternal grandfather's name, and we can guess that the grandmother's name was Catharina. Then Annika and Magnus Gabriel were born. Annika means little Anna, so Anna was perhaps the maternal grandmother's name, and Magnus Gabriel is perhaps De la Gardie, a possible father of Christina Dufva. Then the children are named Maria Catharina and Maria Euphrosyne, paternal grandmother and foster grandmother respectively? It has been speculated that Christina Dufva grew up with the De la Gardie family. A simpler and more likely explanation is that the children were named after their employers to honour them.

There has also been speculation about her surname. What would an illegitimate child be called if the father did not officially recognise the child but took responsibility for her? The strange thing in that case is to give the child the name Dufva, which was an established noble family name in Västergötland. The Dufva in the area that could be the mother is in that case Ingeborg Larsdotter Dufva (to Kårtorp) in her marriage with Erik Stålhandske. From Ingeborg, Ingelsdotter Dufva could be descended, but Ingeborg's parents Lars and Elsa do not fit into the name reasoning above. However, Carl Siggeson Rosendufva's wife Ingeborg Ribbing's parents Erik and Anna do. Ribbing was also a family that was good enough to give daughters a place at court; Erik Ribbing, for example, was a courtier. But if she was a noblewoman, she would probably have married a noble. There are many questions but few clear answers.

Lidköping in the 18th century

Gustav Adolf Palm (1680-1746) was the son of Erik Palm and Christina Dufva. Early in his career, he was a castle bailiff (slottslov) at Läckö and then a crown bailiff. The castle bailiff

was an administrator of state property. During the reduction, the Crown had acquired Läckö Castle from Count Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie and needed an administrator. Later in his career, he served as mayor of Lidköping.

In 1708 Gustav Palm moved from Sunnersberg to Stockholm. It is not clear what he did in Stockholm, but he returned fairly soon because he seems to have succeeded his brother Magnus Gabriel Palm as crown commander in 1711. He was still there in 1716 when he was living at Almtorp in Lavad, where a daughter died at the age of six months. When his daughter Ulrika was born in 1719 he was living in Sätenäs, Tun parish. He is written as patron of the Sätenäs estate, which means that he was responsible for a large farm.

He worked as a crown officer in Läckö Fögderi until 1725. In 1728 he was mentioned as mayor of Lidköping, which he is said to have become in 1726. Before that he was titled treasurer of Lidköping. There is some scattered information about him. In 1701 he was a baptismal witness in Sunnersberg, in 1709 he donated 30 daler to the expansion and repair of Sunnersberg church. In 1728 he and his wife were baptismal witnesses when his sister Annika's grandson Magnus Gustaf Vogler was baptised in Otterstad.

Perhaps the donation to the church was linked to the fact that his brother Carl Magnus Palm, an officer in the Uppland Dragoons, was taken prisoner at the Battle of Liesna in 1708. He later died in Russian captivity, a fate he shared with many others. Many also returned after many years, sometimes only to find that the 'widow' had remarried. In a later printed letter, Carl Magnus wrote in November 1715 to his brother Magnus Gabriel Palm in which he also sent his greetings to his brother Gustav and his young wife (she was 23 years old, he was 35). The letter, which is religiously coloured, ends:

"My dearest brother will be surprised that I am so slow in this matter; for I know that his heavy duties prevent him much from striving for this eternal good; but my dearest brother must renounce the exceptionable world: for this is the Lord's commandment. And do not take offence at my saying this. I have learnt it in cross and affliction, and share it in love with my brother. The Lord grant according to His pleasure, that we may once come together, and speak with each other; but as He wills! If my dearest brother could, without great expense, come to the aid of my hourly need, as he pleases, God would not leave this knowledge unrewarded. If not, then write to me. I am satisfied with everything. Asks that Gustav may be greeted. He will certainly have forgotten me for his young wife. God bless them both! and promise that they will learn to fear Him, and the rest will come to pass, according to God's pleasure. I conclude, with affectionate greetings from all of us, commanding everyone to remain successful in the loving embrace of my Saviour Jesus Christ."⁷¹ [my translation]

Gustav A. Palm died in 1746, "snatched away by an illness and passed away to the blessed", at the age of 66. He was buried in the chancel of Lidköping church. One thing I wonder about is the connection to the area north and west of Lidköping. He was born near Höjentorp between Skara and Skövde, but owned homesteads in Senäte and in Ullered on Kållandsö according to documents regarding a forest change in 1736. His brother Magnus Gabriel and his uncle Nils Palm also seem to have owned farms around Sunnersberg on Kålland. I have not found any family connection back in time to these areas, but it seems likely. Perhaps Erik Palm's father Erich Mårtenssons, or his wife, had their origin in the area.

Gustaf A. Palm's estate inventory from 1746 is extensive, 45 pages.⁷² He had been a widower since 1744 when his wife Margareta Bellander, a priest's daughter from Mariestad, had died aged 53. She was 12 years younger than her husband. The surviving children and their respective spouses were: the bookkeeper Erik Palm, the chancellor Magnus Gabriel Palm, the husband councillor Ingemar Johan Tingvall with Gundborg Christina Palm, the daughter mademoiselle Anna Maria Palm, the husband ironmill owner Jacob Robsahm with Ulrica Palm, the daughter mademoiselle Elisabet C Palm represented at the estate inventory by her brother Erik Palm present with a power of attorney, the mademoiselles Margareta Palm, Eva Sophie Palm and Maria Euphrosina Palm represented by the magister councillor Bengt Rådberg. Gustaf Adolf thus left 2 sons and 7 daughters of which 5 daughters were unmarried. The child involved in this story is Ulrika Eleonora Palm (1719-1805), whose daughter Greta Lisa Robsahm was married to Carl Magnus Schröder the elder.

The currency used in the estate inventory is the daler silver coin (ds), which existed until 1776. The estate's assets totalled 28 458 ds, which was a considerable sum. Palm was well-off. His farm in the town of Lidköping was valued at 2 000 ds and there was additional real estate worth 652 ds. He also had three farms in the countryside valued at 1 800, 1 200 and 1 500 ds. I cannot find out more about these farms. Other sources mention farms in Senäte and Ullered. The farms were located on Kållandsö near Läckö and there he also had hay meadows worth 3,000 ds. This is an astonishing sum. The rights to cut hay are divided into eight different fields. Given the amount of labour required, the meadows were probably leased out. How the value was calculated is not clear. I also have no further insight into how the agricultural properties were organised, but it seems that at least one of the farms was run by himself (through a trustee) since cattle are mentioned in the estate inventory. In the town Palm had livestock valued at 288 ds, including two horses 48 ds, eight cows 84 ds and two pigs. On a farm in the countryside there was a pair of oxen, eight cows, calves, sheep, goats and pigs.

As far as movable property is concerned, it is a comprehensive list and I only mention headings and sums. First of all, there was cash for 163 ds, then: gold 30 ds (four rings), silver 768 ds (including a sword with a silver hilt 25 ds), tin 122 ds, brass 13 ds, ore 4 ds, copper 73 ds, iron 34 ds, glass & porcelain 30 ds, walking clothes 124 ds, bedding 365 ds, linen 161 ds, books 37 ds (63 titles), furniture & household goods 221 ds, driving tools 48 ds. What stands out here is the silver, the value of which was equivalent to just over 30 horses compared to how Palm's own horses were valued.

The estate had large outstanding debts, or claims as it is more accurately described, of 8,795 ds. Another large item was gifts and loans to the children, totalling just over 11,000 ds. The reason why they are listed as claims is because of the inheritance, that the children receive the same amount and then loans and gifts are deducted. It was decided that each child should have 1 866 ds and from this sum loans and gifts were deducted. This is why the estate inventory shows which of the children received contributions from the father. Gundborg C Palm, for example, had already received the entire sum and it was probably the contributions to her that constituted the benchmark. However, this reasoning does not apply to Elisabet Palm, who had received 2 302 ds and would still have an additional 64 ds. Ulrica Palm, on the other hand, had received 1 255 ds in advance. The married daughters had received large sums, while the unmarried ones had not, a kind of dowry one may assume.

As mentioned above, the claims, what people owed Palm, totalled 8,795 ds. By looking at who Palm had claims on and who he was indebted to, we can see who he did business with. They were part of his business network. The largest debt was to Harald Hård, probably Hård af Segerstad, for 5 500 ds. Other examples: son-in-law Inspector Tingvall owed 655 ds, councillor Gabriel Hellstadius 382 ds, mill owner Israel Persson Gadd 119 ds, farmers Anders Bentsson & Anders Elovsson 113 ds, former "casteur" Johan Kielberg 45 ds, and Palm's nephew Christian Vogler 5 ds.

As for the debts of the estate, or debts and expenses as it is called in the estate inventory, they were 11 226 ds, but a large part of the sum was bookkeeping debts to the children for what they had not received of the mentioned 1 866 ds. The amount of the debt to the children was about 8,000 ds, so the actual debt was about 3,200 ds. I will give a number of examples: Lieutenant Cederholm von Schmalensee 530 ds, the vicar of Rackeby Johan Haqvinius 438 ds, councillor Borgenstierna 400 ds, Baron Carl Hierta 267 ds, Inspector Tingvall 201 ds, Inspector Rhydel 132 ds, Engman Frölich 100 ds and in addition a number of merchants, councillors and others to whom Palm owed from 60 ds to 4 ds. Some interesting names among these are Jöns Holst, the commissioner in Gothenburg, Anders Låstbom, an ironmill owner in Ransäter,

and Frantz Martin Luth, an apothecary in Gothenburg. Låstbom was almost certainly an acquaintance of the ironmill owner Carl Gustaf Schröder who lived in Ransäter. His grandson Carl Magnus Schröder the elder married Palm's granddaughter Greta Lisa Robsahm. Perhaps, or probably, Palm was also acquainted with Carl Gustaf Schröder whose grandfather Johan Schröder had been mayor of Lidköping like later in time Palm.

The estate's actual balance, if we deduct 3 200 ds in debts and an item called bad debts of 532 ds, should have been about 24 750 ds. After the coinage reform in 1777, 3 ds were used for 1 riksdaler banco. In comparison with later estate inventories, the balance was 8 626 rb.⁷³

Chapter 5 - Closure

And finally. What can we learn about Swedish history and folk life from the narrow sample of a family history?

The method implies long vertical cuts in time and space. I argue this type of family history can contribute to the general history. Firstly, these families represent many families in their time, secondly we can follow how societal change affects over time and new generations. And not least, the method gives flesh and blood to the story from ordinary people's everyday life.

For me personally, it has been instructive to do the research. I have learnt more about Sweden at a local level, learnt about parishes I had never heard of before and got a different picture of development. But it has also changed my geographical identity in that I have developed a taste for new places and landscapes. My identity has grown in geographical scope.

Endnotes

¹Harari, Y. N., *Homo deus. En kort historik över morgondagen*, 2018, s. 60.

²See Gothe, R., *Från trolldom till kristendom*, 1943/1993; Gothe, R., *Hassela-finnarna*, 1942/1989.

³*Lantmäteriet – en modern myndighet med anor*. Lantmäteriet 2017, s. 17.

⁴See Bengtsson, T. & Ohlsson, R., "Sveriges befolkning - myter och verklighet", i *Äventyret Sverige. En ekonomisk och social historia*, 1993.

⁵Dahl, O., "Rote 5, tomt 66 - Göteborgs tomtägare 1637-1807", 2004 (www.gbgtomter.se/Rote_5/5.66.pdf)

⁶VärmlandsAnor 2018:2 (Hans Jonsson, Oanade anor)

⁷Lämgren, L. Ölme – historik, biografier, bilder m.m. 1916.

⁸Ibid.

⁹For instance, a bodland which can be described as an arable farmstead a few kilometres from the main farm, while a traditional farmstead was located far from the farm on higher ground. Bodlands were usually transformed into farms in connection with inheritance.

¹⁰Fiebranz, R., *Jord, linne eller träkol?: Genusordning och hushållsstrategier, Bjuråker 1750-1850*, 2002, p. 310.

¹¹Bjuråkers kyrkoarkiv, Birth and baptism books C:2 (1755-1792), p. 270. My own translation of the quote into English.

¹²Delsbo district court. FII:2 (1772-1780) image 66, p. 23. Estate inventory drawn up in 1772 for Erik Gerdberg in the church village, Bjuråker.

¹³Hillgren, B., *En bok om Delsbo*. Part III. 1926, p. 119.

¹⁴Stolt, B. L., *Dellenbygdens rike - Järnbruksepoken*, 1933/1994, p. 36.

¹⁵Wengelin, E. G., *Gamla minnen: skildringar från Delsbo och Bjuråker. Sägner, sagor och berättelser m.m.*, 1893, p. 183.

¹⁶Delsbo church archives, Birth and baptismal records C:2 (1734-1790), pp. 440-441.

¹⁷Bjuråker church archives, Birth and baptismal records C:2 (1755-1792), p. 269.

¹⁸Delsbo district court. FII:2 (1772-1780) image 69, p. 24. Estate inventory drawn up in 1772 after deceased crown governor Lars Lindell's widow Greta Brask, Bjuråker.

¹⁹Delsbo church archives, Birth and baptismal records C:2 (1734-1790), p. 456.

²⁰There is an article written by Nils Hård af Segerstad, "Släkten Stenswed från Mo i Hälsingland" in *Genealogisk Ungdoms Tidskrift* 1980:4, p. 83-93. Peder's father Anders Olofsson Stenswed (lived

1641), is described as a man in Mo and a burgher in Söderhamn, married to Kerstin.

²¹Söderhamn town hall court and magistrate. FII:3 (1773-1784) picture 162, p 48. Estate inventory drawn up 3/11 1776 after the burgher and fisherman Olof Jonsson Boberg in Söderhamn.

²²Hellspång, M. & Löfgren, O., *Land och stad. Svenska samhällstyper och livsformer från medeltid till nutid*, 1981, pp. 116-121.

²³Gothe, R., *Hassela-finnarna*, 1942/1989.

²⁴Tarkiainen, K., Gottlund's year 1996, Texts by and about C.A. Gottlund. Gottlund, Skogsfinnarnas sidste 150 år - från folkspillra till forskningsobjekt (www.nordvarmland.com/istid/page.php?id=835).

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Bladh, G., Myhrvold, J. & Persson, N. (eds), *Skogsfinska släktnamn i Skandinavien*. Research report Karlstad University Studies 2009:58.

²⁷<http://finnskogarna.com/svedjebruket/?kategori=artiklar>.

²⁸Gothe, R., *Från trolldomstro till kristendom*, 1943/1993, pp. 69-70.

²⁹<http://finnskogarna.com/magi-och-folktro/>.

³⁰Gothe, R., *Från trolldomstro till kristendom*. 1943/1993, pp. 109-110.

³¹Gothe, R., *Hassela-finnarna*, 1942/1989, pp. 46-58.

³²Ibid, pp. 63-66.

³³Gothe, R., *Medelpads finnmarker*, 1945.

³⁴Lennersand, M. & Oja, L., *Livet går vidare. Älvdalen and Rättvik efter de stora häxprocesserna 1668-1671*, 2006.

³⁵According to Lennersand & Oja (2006) the mother is unknown, p. 680.

³⁶Bratt, H., *Några anteckningar om släkten Bratt från Brattfors och med den sannolikt befryndade släkter med namnet Bratt*. 1951, s. 179.

³⁷Löf, A. E., *Kristinehamns historia, del 2*, pp. 188 och 219.

³⁸Löf, Axel E., *Kristinehamns historia, del 2*, p. 218.

³⁹Löf, Axel E., *Kristinehamns historia, del 2*, pp. 314-316.

⁴⁰The well-known Ekman commercial and industrial family in Gothenburg is descended from a brother of Ingrid.

⁴¹Joel Larsson Ekman (<http://www.brattnet.com/webtrees/>).

⁴²Bratt af Höglunda No 49 (www.adelsvapen.com/genealogi/Bratt_af_Höglunda_nr_49)

⁴³Bratt, C., *Bratt från Brattfors. En släktrönlka*. 1992, which in turn is largely based on Bratt, H., *Några*

anteckningar om släkten Bratt från Brattfors och med den sannolikt befryndade släkter med namnet Bratt. 1951.

⁴⁴Bratt, släkt (<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/SBL/Presentation.aspx?id=16881>)

⁴⁵Bratt, C., *Bratt från Brattfors*. 1992, p. 18.

⁴⁶Bratt, H., *Några anteckningar om släkten Bratt från Brattfors och med den sannolikt befryndade släkter med namnet Bratt*. 1951, s. 99-104.

⁴⁷Erixon, S., *Sveriges bebyggelse*. 1963.

⁴⁸Bratt, H., *Några anteckningar om släkten Bratt från Brattfors och med den sannolikt befryndade släkter med namnet Bratt*. 1951.

⁴⁹Information about these people is mainly taken from Kjellander, R., *Familjen Hoyer i Schleswig-Holstein och Sverige*. 1988.

⁵⁰Carl Langholz mentions in his *Anetavle for famous Danes. Digtere og forfattere*. 1989, King Frederik I as the father of Geseke Frederiksdatter; also Knud Gether, *Middelalderfamilier i Flensborg og Nordfrisland og deres efterkommere i Danmark, Tyskland og Norge*, bd.I-II. 1987.

⁵¹Robsahm, family, Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon.

⁵²Barke, A-B., "De vill berätta", i Södertälje Probanden. Organ för Södertälje släktforskarförening, year 30 no 167-168, 2008.

⁵³Barke, A-B., "De vill berätta", i Södertälje Probanden. Organ för Södertälje släktforskarförening, år 30 nr 167-168, 2008.

⁵⁴Kjellander, R., *The Hoyer family in Schleswig-Holstein and Sweden*. 1988.

⁵⁵Löf, A. E., *Kristinehamns historia*, part 1, p. 178.

⁵⁶<http://runeberg.org/anrep/4/0256.html>

⁵⁷The Diocese of Mariestad existed from 1580 to 1646.

⁵⁸Thorbern's father Andreas Haraldi Fegraeus (1593-1666), grandfather Johannis Haraldus Andreas Fegraeus (c. 1558-1619), as well as great-grandfather Johannes Benedicti (1519-1586) were priests in Fägre, Fägre again and Särestad, all in Skara diocese. As if this wasn't enough, Andreas Haraldi was married to Gunborg Thermander (1604-1659), daughter of the vicar of Väse between Karlstad and Kristinehamn, Thorbern Andreas Thermander, who died in 1612, and Johannis Haraldus was married to Ingrid Håkansdotter Hornius (1566-1609), daughter of the vicar of Horn about a mile north of Skövde, Arvidi Haqvinius (1544-1631).

⁵⁹Hansen, B., *Åter till Österlen – en tidig mikrohistoria*, 2010, pp. 146-9.

⁶⁰Johannesson, K., 'Introduction', in Schefferus, Johannes, *A book on the memorable examples of the Swedish people*. 1671/2005.

⁶¹"Ätten Scheffer" in Storkirk, O.F., *Kultur- och personhistoriska anteckningar*. 1915, p. 16. Loccenius' daughter Regina was married to Professor Johannes Schefferus. Both, like Loccenius, are buried in Uppsala Cathedral. Loccenius' grave is almost at the front of the centre aisle, but is hidden by the carpet that lies there.

⁶²Ullgren, P., *En makalös historia*. 2015. p. 48. Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/17381>, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* (art by G. WITTROCK with contributions by T. O:son Nordberg.), retrieved 2018-11-23.

⁶³The information on Johannes Loccenius is mainly based on Lindroth, S., *Svensk lärdomshistoria II. Stormaktstiden*. 1975. There is also a chapter on Loccenius in Levin, B., *Johan Skytte och de skytteanska professorerna*. 1985.

⁶⁴Magnus von Platen, artikel i *Svenska män och kvinnor* 5, 1949.

⁶⁵Håkan Fägerstierna, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/14611>, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* (art by Jägerskiöld), retrieved 23 november 2018.

⁶⁶Heckscher, E. F., *Swedish Labour and Life. Från medeltiden till nutiden*. 1957/1985, p. 139.

⁶⁷Maria Euphrosine De la Gardie, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/17383>, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* (art by G. Jacobson.), retrieved 2018-11-23.

⁶⁸<https://www.varnhemshistoria.se/varnhems-byar%2C-g%C3%A5rdar%2C-platser-h%C3%A4nder/g.-solberga-g%C3%A5rd-med-torp-46371123> (See the section titled "Assesoren & Lands Kamereraren Herr Magnus Gabriel Palm" on the page)

⁶⁹Ekby church archive, C:2 1700-1737, image 165 (death book is in the birth and baptism book).

⁷⁰http://www.ekdahl.org/PDF_filer/Vogler_relatives.pdf (2015-06-24) (Note: Own English translation. Original link has expired, have not found a working link for the PDF as of July 2025)

⁷¹En Svensk Gudfruchtig Fångas Hiertröriga Bref/ Skrifwit vtur Siberien (1726) <https://litteraturbanken.se/f%C3%B6rfattare/PalmCM/titlar/EnSvenskGudfruchtig/sida/XIII/faksimil>

⁷²Lidköping Council House Court and Magistrate. FIIa:5 (1742-1790) picture 169, p 333. Estate inventory drawn up 8/4 1746 after the mayor Gustafs Adolph Palm in Lidköping.

⁷³25,000 daler silver coins in 1746 could buy as much goods and services as SEK 3,510,961 in 2015 as measured by the consumer price index, or correspond to payment for as much labour time as SEK 6,900,0170 in 2005 as measured by the wage index for a male industrial worker/handyman. Calculated using Edvinsson, Rodney, and Söderberg, Johan, *A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290-2008, Review of Income and Wealth*, 2011, vol. 57 (2), pp. 270-292.