

# The Heritage of Isak Mackay: A Scottish-Swedish family in the iron industry in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>1</sup>

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SOCIAL networks and career strategies are popular fields of research in recent studies of early modern Swedish history, concerning both individuals and transitions between generations.<sup>2</sup> In the latter case however, the focus has almost exclusively been on certain professions, such as officers, merchants, and civil servants.<sup>3</sup> Children who ended up in different professions from their fathers are therefore lost to such studies. There is no information on what happened to the offspring in the next generation. By concentrating on a single family, however, interesting information emerges about the connections between different professions or social groups and the significance of the social position of an ancestor for later generations. In this essay we have used genealogical research to accomplish this.

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- 1 This essay is a shorter version of S. Simander and H. Ågren, 'Arvet efter Isak Mackey – framtidsutsikterna för en grupp brukspatronsättlingar under svenskt 1600- och 1700-tal' in *Släktforskarnas årsbok* 2007.
  - 2 See for example P. Englund, *Ofredsår. Om den svenska stormaktstiden och en man i dess mitt* (Stockholm: 1993); J. Samuelson, *Aristokrat eller förädlad bonde? Det svenska frälsets ekonomi, politik och sociala förbindelser under tiden 1523–1611* (Lund: 1993), chap. 4 & 5; Å. Karlsson, 'Enväldets politiska elit. Släkt- och äktenskapsband inom rådsakretsen 1680–1718' in *Historisk Tidskrift* 1997; K. Stadin, 'Konsten att bli framgångsrik', paper presented at *Svenska Historikermötet i Uppsala 22–24 April 2005*.
  - 3 See for example H. Gustafsson, *Mellan kung och allmoge. Ämbetsmän, beslutsprocess och inflytande på 1700-talets Island* (Stockholm: 1985), chap. 4; P. Frohnert, *Kronans skatter och bondens bröd. Den lokala förvaltningen och bönderna i Sverige 1719–1775* (Lund: 1993), chap. 3; K. Ågren, *Köpmannen i Stockholm. Grosshandlars ekonomiska och sociala strategier under 1700-talet* (Uppsala: 2007); F. Thisner, *Militärstatens arvegods: Officerstjänstens socialreproduktiva funktion i Sverige och Danmark, ca 1720-1800* (Uppsala: 2007). One exception is H. Ågren, 'Herremän och bönder. En uppländsk ämbetsmannasläkts sociala rörlighet under 1600-talet och det tidiga 1700-talet' in *Karolinska förbundets årsbok* 2006.

The seventeenth century was a turbulent period in Sweden. The country was almost constantly at war with its neighbours. At the same time the central administration grew rapidly. In the economic field, the government favoured manufacturing and trade before agriculture. All these factors threatened the traditional way of life for many people, but it also provided opportunities for some. It was an era of social advance for the lucky ones, either through the military and civil administration or as economic entrepreneurs.

It was also an era of unusually high immigration rates. Most well-known are the Walloon blacksmiths, who shaped much of the Swedish iron industry in the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. However, Sweden also received a large number of Scottish immigrants. Many of them arrived in the early seventeenth century and are known of in Sweden generally as soldiers or economic entrepreneurs, often in the iron industry.<sup>4</sup> For geographical reasons, many of them settled in western Sweden, and Gothenburg came to house a substantial Scottish colony.<sup>5</sup> However, there was also a number of Scots living in the eastern part of today's Sweden.

One of these was a *brukspatron*<sup>6</sup> named Isak Mackay (c.1610-92). Mackay acquired a large complex of *järnbruk*, mines etc. in mid-eastern Sweden. The main property was a *bruk* called Hammarby, near Sandviken, about 170 km north of Stockholm. Isak fathered nine children with his wife Anna.<sup>7</sup> This article details their lives and those of their children. It focuses on what became of them and tries to explain why their lives took the turns they did.

In those days a child's future was even more dependent on external factors than today. Women were not allowed to run businesses by

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4 A. Grosjean, *An unofficial alliance. Scotland and Sweden 1569–1654* (Leiden: 2003), part one; S. Murdoch, 'The Scots and Ulster in the seventeenth century: A Scandinavian perspective' in *Ulster and Scotland, 1600–2000: History, language and identity* ed. by W. Kelly and J. R. Young, (Dublin: 2004), 86.

5 A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, 'The Scottish community in seventeenth-century Germany' in *Scottish communities abroad in the early modern period*, ed. by A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, (Leiden: 2005).

6 A *bruk* refers to an industrial complex most commonly, but not necessarily, connected to the iron industry. A *järnbruk* relates to a *bruk* with at least one bar-iron forge; *brukspatron* defines those owners of *bruk* who were partially resident within them (sometimes also *bruksägare*); *bruksförvaltare* sometimes referred to *brukspatron*, but could also relate simply to the manager of a works. G. Haggrén, *Hammarsmeder, masugnsfolk och kolare. Tidigindustriella yrkesarbetare vid provinsbruk i 1600-talets Sverige* (Stockholm: 2001), 14.

7 Familjen Mackay (Family catalogue compiled by Stefan Simander), table 1; G. Andersson, *Gästrikland och järnet. Från järnåldersugnar till global verkstadsindustri* (Sandviken: 2000), 82.

themselves, nor were they eligible for civil service. This meant that their social positions mainly depended on men. A man made a career, but a woman retained her parents' social status until she married.<sup>8</sup> As this essay will show, there were exceptions to this, but not more than exceptions.

Besides gender, class was of course also vital, both for marriage and for professional careers. Wealth, status and contacts were important assets to help one's children. It increased their potential as spouses and helped them in their careers. At the same time the children themselves were resources for the future of the family. Marriage was a way to make contacts, which could be important for all of one's relatives. Marriages made for love were not uncommon, but there were more important considerations at work than romantic passion.<sup>9</sup>

Marriage and career prospects were therefore dependent on what was possible to obtain as well as what was attractive – and that is why the family's social position was important. It was not only a question of economic resources, but also a question of the prestige and contacts of the family or the individual: marrying a rich craftsman, a poor nobleman or a lesser official at the royal court could all be strategic moves toward upward social mobility, but this seldom applied when marrying a poor craftsman. In this essay we will take all three categories into account. This is inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's distinction between economic, symbolic (prestige) and social (contacts) capital.<sup>10</sup> Although we use these categories, the aim of this essay is primarily empirical, not to test Bourdieu's theories, and therefore no great emphasis will be put on them.

There are two major kinds of family marriage strategies. In the *reductive strategy*, marriages are used to keep the family's assets intact. This is achieved by marrying cousins or sibling exchange (when a girl's brother marries her husband's sister). In the *expansive strategy*, however, spouses from other groups are sought to bring new resources to the family. This distinction was originally made to analyse marriage as economic behaviour,<sup>11</sup> but it is also relevant for general social strategies: to strengthen one's bond with old social network circles or to gain access to new ones.

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8 Gustafsson 1985, 79; M. Weikert, *I sjukdom och nöd. Offerkyrkoseden i Sverige från 1600-tal till 1800-tal* (Göteborg: 2004), 116f.; K. Ågren 2007, 87.

9 A. Hansen, *Ordnade hushåll. Genus och kontroll i Jämtland under 1600-talet* (Uppsala: 2006), 19; K. Ågren 2007, 89f.

10 These terms are used in different ways by different scholars and there is some disagreement regarding how they should be understood. We use them in the simplest possible way.

11 A. Göransson, 'Kön, släkt och ägande. Borgerliga maktstrategier 1800–1850' in *Historisk tidskrift* 1990.

In the case of the Mackay family this question has an ethnic angle. As emigrant Scots they could choose to rely on contacts with the great number of Scottish emigrants who lived and worked in Northern Europe during the seventeenth century and who had formed powerful networks to help each other in matters of religion, politics and business.<sup>12</sup> They could also choose another path and try to forge other contacts in their new homeland. Not all emigrant Scots were part of the international Scottish network.<sup>13</sup> In Gothenburg, some of the Scottish families married almost exclusively internally, some almost exclusively into Swedish families and some without distinctive national preferences.<sup>14</sup> Studies of other immigrant groups in Sweden and Scandinavia (mainly merchants) during this era show a certain variation in strategies. The most common pattern was to marry fellow immigrants from the old motherland, but it was far from a general rule.<sup>15</sup> Since different strategies, or at least different patterns, of marriage obviously existed, it is of interest to see how the Mackays acted.

### *The Sources*

THE main source for this article is a compilation of material relating to the Mackay family based on genealogical research undertaken by Stefan Simander. In some cases further information has been added from other sources and literature. When trying to contextualise the history of a family in an historical context, it is important to remember that there is no guarantee that the information is complete. There may have been more relatives than we know of, and many of the persons mentioned may have had assets that remain unknown to us. Similarly, it is sometimes hard to tell from the sources what position a person really held when he or she married into the family. Marrying a merchant appears to have been a pragmatic move, but it is often difficult to ascertain whether an individual might only have been a sales clerk when the wedding took place. Further, one cannot say for certain if these parental titles still held any value when the children married. What good is it to have a father who titles himself 'merchant' if he was forced to leave the business ten years before his child married? These problems are discussed when they arise.

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12 S. Murdoch, *Network North. Scottish kin, commercial and covert associations in Northern Europe 1603–1746* (Leiden: 2006).

13 Murdoch 2006, 117 and 166.

14 Grosjean and Murdoch eds. 2005, 211ff.

15 I. Bull, *De trondhjemske handelshusene på 1700-tallet. Slekt, hushold og forretning* (Trondheim: 1998), 124; L. Müller, *The merchant houses of Stockholm, c. 1640-1800. A comparative study of early-modern entrepreneurial behaviour* (Uppsala: 1998), 245ff.; K. Ågren 2007, 201.

Below, men have been classified by their most significant occupation or other important attributes (mainly nobility), while women have been classified by their father's occupation. This may seem sexist, but is a consequence of the fact that men in this time made their own career while women were usually dependent on their father's or husband's position.<sup>16</sup> Further, several of the men had several different titles. Our aim has been to keep these to a minimum by not mentioning all the different stages in a career, except where it is necessary. If a captain formerly was a lieutenant, this is hardly relevant to the main argument.

### *The Social structure of seventeenth and eighteenth century Sweden.*

THE basic principle for sorting people into social classes in Sweden was the four estates: noblemen, priests, burghers (merchants and craftsmen) and peasants. Primarily, this was a political division – each group was represented at the Swedish parliament (*riksdag*) – but it also had social significance. A person's duties and privileges, as well as his social status, were determined by his estate.

In addition to the four estates, there were two other important social strata. There were those who found themselves beneath the estates: cottagers, labourers, beggars, and so on. This stratum (it can hardly be called a group, since they had little in common) has no importance for our essay. None of the persons mentioned here represented it. There were also those who had some prestige, but who still did not belong to one of the estates. They were collectively referred to as *ofrälse ståndspersoner*, which can be translated into "non-noble people of standing". The fact that such a term existed shows that they in some way were recognised as a group, although it was not as formal as the four estates. They were not represented at the *riksdag* and had no common privileges or obligations as a group. The *ofrälse ståndspersoner* included non noble officers, economic entrepreneurs outside the burgher estate – *brukspatroner* is a typical example –, civil servants above a certain level, private employees in white collar employments, or anyone with education, money or status who was not a member of the four estates.<sup>17</sup> Due to the great changes in society mentioned above, this group expanded rapidly during this time period. This group is of great relevance to this study as many of the people considered here belonged to it.

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16 See for example Murdoch 2006, 211 for exceptions.

17 S. Carlsson, *Ståndssamhälle och ståndspersoner 1700–1865. Studier rörande det svenska ståndssamhällets upplösning* (Lund: 1949), 10.

The system was supposed to be static, with children following in their parents footsteps. In reality, however, some social mobility existed: sons of burghers and peasants became priests or civil servants, daughters married between estates (though the nobility had to ask permission) and on some occasions a successful officer, and to a lesser extent someone like a *brukspatron*, was ennobled. This had always been the case, but the social upheaval of the time made it more common during this period than earlier.<sup>18</sup>

The hierarchy between the estates went in declining order: noblemen, clergy, burgesses and peasants, with *ofrälse ståndspersoner* at the level of burghers or even priests, depending on their individual occupation and success. Of course there were also huge differences within every group. Counts and barons had more prestige than other noblemen, bishops more than ordinary priests, merchants generally more than craftsmen, freeholders more than tenants and colonels more than captains, just to give a few examples. Wealth, lineage, or geographical residence (in official situations like the *riksdag* or coronations, dioceses and towns were graded in comparison with each other) were also important factors, as were personal commissions of trust, like being elected for the *riksdag*, a jury or even as church warden. This means that it is rather hard to decide exactly who ranked higher than whom, or when a marriage was supposed to have strengthened or weakened the position of a family. We have tried to take as many accounts as possible in to consideration, but have sometimes been forced to stop when the source material did not allow us to penetrate the question further.

### *Isak Mackay's Background*

ISAK Rudolfsson Mackay was of Scottish origin, but grew up in Sweden, after his father immigrated to the country, probably in the 1620s or 1630s. He was related to the old noble family of Mackay. During the Thirty Years' War the head of the clan Donald Mackay (Lord Reay) founded a regiment in support of the protestant forces. After having fought alongside both Swedes and Danes, some Mackays were welcomed to Sweden in 1630 as a reward for their service. Rudolf Mackay is believed to have been one of these soldiers.<sup>19</sup>

However, some material relates that Rudolf was involved in the Börsjö ironworks in the province of Östergötland as early as 1627, so he may have retired and moved to Sweden even earlier.<sup>20</sup> Rudolf is supposed to have been

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18 Scottish emigrants were far from uncommon among the new nobility. Grosjean 2003, 148.

19 Familjen Mackay, table 1. K. Leijonhufvud, *Ny svensk släktbok* (Stockholm: 1901), 32; A. Mackay, *Book of Mackay* (Edinburgh: 1906), 343.

20 <http://www2.finspong.se/1900/Forening/arskronika/1998/borsjo.htm> 2009-11-11.

in business with Louis De Geer, an immigrant from Amsterdam who became the most important person in the Swedish iron industry in the seventeenth century.<sup>21</sup> He also seems to have been integrated into the Swedish nobility. One source relates that Rudolf married a lady of the noble Ödla family.<sup>22</sup> Whether this piece of information is correct or not is unclear, but there are other signs that the Mackays and Ödlas were close. Both families were involved in the founding of the Börsjö bruk.<sup>23</sup> More indirect evidence of closeness is that the uncommon male name Udde was frequent both among the Ödlas and among the Mackays.<sup>24</sup> This could indicate the presence of some kind of relationship between the families, or at least that they acted as godparents to each other.<sup>25</sup>

Isak's marriage deserves further scrutiny. Even though he did not marry a colleague's daughter and there is no evidence that it brought him vast riches, it seems to have been important for his future. His wife was Anna Leufstadia (born c.1620), daughter of the parish minister Magnus Leufstadius, in the parish of Österlövsta, and Anna Andersdotter, a mayor's daughter from Öregrund.<sup>26</sup> It may seem that Anna made the better economic deal here, but it was probably the other way round. The couple married in 1647. At that time Isak was not yet a *brukspatron*. Earlier he had been manager and scribe at Åkerby bruk and later leased that and other bruk in the region.<sup>27</sup> What Isak actually did for a living at the time of the wedding is hard to establish, but it is all but certain that Anna did not marry a *brukspatron*, but a man who would later become one. Of significance for the future was that Isak, as a wedding gift from his father-in-law, gained the means to buy Gammelstilla and Ovensjö bruk in Gästrikland, just north of Uppland.<sup>28</sup> These properties, together with

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21 <http://www2.finspong.se/1900/Forening/arskronika/1998/borsjo.htm> 2009-11-11.

22 <http://www.algonet.se/~hogman/slgahhmm.htm> 2009-11-11. This piece of information is not included in the main genealogical presentation of Swedish noble families. G. Elgenstierna, *Den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor*, IX (Stockholm: 1998 (1936)), 202ff. Elgenstierna is however not perfect.

23 <http://www2.finspong.se/1900/Forening/arskronika/1998/borsjo.htm> 2009-11-11.

24 Elgenstierna 1998 (1936), 202ff; Familjen Mackay, table 2; 9; 10 & 15.

25 Godparents as a way of creating family alliances in early modern Sweden is studied in S. Fagerlund, 'Vad säger dopböckerna om kvinnors sociala nätverk?' i *Nätverk i historisk forskning – metafor, metod eller teori?* ed. by P. Aronsson, S. Fagerlund and J. Samuelson, (Växjö: 1999), 220.

26 Both Österlövsta and Öregrund are located in the north of the province Uppland, not far from Hammarby.

27 Familjen Mackay, table 1; F. Ekström, *Vattholma och Trollbo. Jord. Järn. Marmor. Mäsuing* (Tierp: 1986), 55; K. Grape, 'Historik' in K. Grape and B. Karlsson, *Harg – ett uppländskt brukssamhälle*, unpublished seminar paper presented at the department of History of Art, Stockholm University 1983, 16.

28 Grape 1983, 16.

Hammarby, were the central parts of Isak Mackay's iron empire. It is therefore obvious that his marriage was an important factor in his eventual success, even though he already had both economic and social capital from his father.

### The Children

ISAK and Anna had nine children, five daughters and four sons:

Name	Profession	Spouse(s)	Spouse's Profession/origin
Anna Isaksdotter		(1) Anders Höök (2) Erik Benzelius	land-registrar, estate inspector and <i>brukspatron</i> professor <sup>29</sup> and archbishop
Maria Isaksdotter (sr)		(1) Jonas Fornelius (2) Henrik Schütz (sr)	vice chancellor of Uppsala university and parish minister <sup>30</sup> vice chancellor of Uppsala university <sup>31</sup> and <i>domprost</i> <sup>32</sup>
Margareta Isaksdotter		(1) Petter German (2) Erik Nilsson Warg	lower-court judge customs officer <sup>33</sup> and <i>brukspatron</i>
Katarina Isaksdotter		Frans Schröder	merchant and city councillor
Henning Isaksson	bookkeeper	Ingrid Falk	unknown origin
Rolf Isaksson	inspector, bookkeeper <sup>34</sup> and iron-works manager <sup>35</sup>	Brita Tresk surveyor	daughter of Olof Tresk, land
Isak Isaksson	<i>brukspatron</i> <sup>36</sup> (infirm, alcoholic and mentally ill)	(1) Anna Salander (2) Katarina Collin	unknown origin unknown origin
Udde Isaksson	parish minister	Brita Leufstadia, his cousin	daughter of Anders Leufstadius, parish minister
Kristina Isaksdotter		David Mårtensson Kammecker	merchant and <i>brukspatron</i>

**Table 1 (1648–1739)<sup>37</sup>. Children of Isak Rudolfsson Mackay with Anna Leufstadia.**

Source: *Familjen Mackay*, table 2.

29 'Erik Benzelius d. ä.' in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon (SBL)* vol. 3, (Stockholm: 1922), 233. The main source for each table is Simander's compilation. Information gathered elsewhere is marked by notes.

30 'Fornelius, Jonas' in *SBL* vol. 16, (Stockholm: 1966), 289.

31 J. E. Fant and A. T. Låstbom, *Uppsala ärkestifts herdaminne III*. (Uppsala: 1845), 251.

32 A *domprost* was the parish minister in a cathedral, in other words close to a bishop.

33 Norberg 1959a, 194.

34 *Släktforskarnas årsbok* 1999, 163.

35 P. Norberg, *Medelpads nedlagda järnbruk* (Stockholm: 1959b), 21.

36 B. Stenmark, *Det gamla bruket ska inte dö. En bok om Hammarby* (Sandviken: 1999), 50f.

37 The years given refer to the first birth and the last death year among the persons listed, including spouses. This is to give an idea of when they lived.



All the children survived to adulthood and got married, and all the sons made careers for themselves. What were the expectations of the heirs of a man like Isak Mackay? The daughters all had good marriages. The five sisters had eight husbands all told. At least four of them belonged to the same social group as the Mackay family: economic entrepreneurs. Anders Höök, Erik Warg and David Kammecker were all *brukspatroner*. Kammecker was also a merchant, as was Frans Schröder. Both Warg and Höök had begun their careers as civil servants. When Warg married Margareta in 1701<sup>38</sup> he had, however, already founded Vifors *järnbruk* in Gästrikland nine years earlier and was therefore established as a tradesman.<sup>39</sup>

Anders Höök is a different story. He was first a public and then a private official, but it was as *brukspatron* that he was most successful. When marrying Anna in 1665 he had not yet acquired his own *bruk*. Earlier in life he had been estate inspector for the De Geer family, but it is uncertain whether he was still engaged as such when he married Anna. At approximately the same time he was granted the right to lease Vattholma *järnbruk* together with Isak Mackay.<sup>40</sup> This explains how Anna and Anders got to know each other, but it also reveals that Anders and Isak at that time were equals, climbing the social ladder, and therefore easily could have seen mutual advantages in deepening their contacts. It must be said here that Anders Höök was well equipped with social capital in *brukspatron* circles, both through acquaintances and through his own kin. Other than the De Geers his brother, Per, was successful enough in the iron industry to be ennobled.<sup>41</sup>

David Kammecker is a bit problematic. There is no evidence that he was styled either *brukspatron* or merchant before he married Kristina. Since she belonged to the Mackay heritage she may have facilitated his entry into the iron industry. Furthermore, he was accepted as a silk merchant in Stockholm the year after his marriage.<sup>42</sup> Theoretically it is therefore possible that it was Kristina's (or her family's) money that gave him the opportunity to start his business. This is, however, less likely if one looks into David's background. He was in fact a member of the eminent baker family of Kammecker, who were among Stockholm's richest burgesses.<sup>43</sup> This must

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38 Familjen Mackay, table 2.

39 Norberg 1959a, 194f.

40 Ekström 1986, 55.

41 Ågren 2006, 70.

42 Familjen Mackay, table 16; Stockholms stadsarkiv, Stockholms handelskollegiums arkiv AI:37, pag. 153, 1696-03-03.

43 'Kammecker' in *SBL* vol. 20, 1975, 605f.

have made him attractive in the right circles, regardless of his personal assets.

Among the other four husbands, three (Erik Benzelius, Jonas Fornelius and Henrik Schütz sr) belonged to the ecclesiastical sphere, priests and professors – the vice chancellor of a university was always appointed from among the professors.<sup>44</sup> The strategic value for the Mackays in marrying several *brukspatroner* and merchants is obvious, but why university professors and representatives of the higher clergy? There was certainly a symbolic value in this, and at least Benzelius and Schütz also had considerable social capital through their contacts in the Swedish royal court.<sup>45</sup> Of course, men in their position had good incomes too, but they were hardly useful to an economic entrepreneur. Those incomes were also less useful in a longer perspective since they, unlike a *järnbruk*, were not handed down to subsequent generations. Therefore it is hard to see these marriages as part of kinship strategies, at least from a narrow economic point of view. It should, however, be emphasised that it was only Maria who exclusively married priests. When Anna wed Erik Benzelius, she was already a widow after the death of the wealthy Anders Höök. It must also be remembered that Maria's first wedding, with Jonas Fornelius, may have taken place before Isak acquired Hammarby *bruk* – the exact year is not known.<sup>46</sup>

It may simply be that the Mackay girls married these clergymen not because they were strategically attractive but because they were available. If one does not assume that every marriage was strategic, but that it also depended on who was available, these marriages seem even more natural. The fact that several *brukspatroner* and merchants were among the Mackays' acquaintances goes without saying. Clergymen are less obvious, but it must be remembered that the children's maternal grandfather was a priest and that they had a brother who became a priest himself. Furthermore, Jonas Fornelius, who was the first clergyman to marry one of the sisters, was the brother-in-law of their uncle, Anders Leufstadius, who was married to Jonas's sister Birgitta.<sup>47</sup> This marriage may then have paved the way to Uppsala and the other two clergymen.

Therefore, one may argue that there was no obvious strategic reason for these marriages; they simply married because they knew each other. This

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44 Formally Swedish professors belonged to the ecclesiastical estate and were therefore priests by default. Many of them also were granted a *prebende* (the beneficiaries of a parish) as part of their income and were therefore entitled parish ministers.

45 'Erik Benzelius d. ä.' 1922, 233; Fant and Låstbom, 1845, 253.

46 Familjen Mackay, table 2.

47 [http://alfnilsson.nu/KIMBAntavla/AT01/AT01\\_010.HTM#P19662006-06-21](http://alfnilsson.nu/KIMBAntavla/AT01/AT01_010.HTM#P19662006-06-21).

would also imply that there is no reason to view the marriages to *brukspatroner* and merchants as particularly strategic either – such persons were also part of the natural circle of friends. This is, however, less probable. The Mackays must have had close contact with people from other social strata than priests and businessmen. Peasants and blacksmiths are examples of people who interacted with *brukspatroner* on a regular basis, but among whom the Mackays did not marry. This suggests that, as could be expected, more than just personal contact decided whom one married, and that some kind of strategy or at least social considerations were important. Finally, one has also to take into consideration that this may have been a way to broaden the social circles: an expansive marriage strategy, inspired, perhaps, by the fact that the economic capital of the family was not guaranteed to last for all coming generations.

The eighth husband, Petter German, was *kämmär* in Stockholm. A *kämmär* worked as a judge in a lesser urban court, *kämmärrätt*.<sup>48</sup> It is possible that German also owned some businesses, but since the court kept him busy almost every day it is hard to see how he would have managed it.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, there is no Petter German registered in the catalogue of Stockholm's burghers from the seventeenth century.<sup>50</sup> Therefore it seems safe to say that Petter German was not an economic entrepreneur in any way. Why then did a Mackay marry such a man? German's occupation was certainly not totally devoid of symbolic capital, but it was far from that of a bishop and hardly enough to attract a Mackay lady. Of course, he may have had a private fortune. Otherwise, this is an example to remind us that not all marriages were strategic. All in all it seems clear that the Mackay sisters generally chose husbands either from among big proto-capitalists or among the upper clergy, two kinds of men who in different ways had a solid position in society.

Concerning the sons, three of them probably acquired some formal education, which was primarily a question of making economic sacrifices for the parents. This is most obvious in Udde's case, since priests were supposed to have studied at a university.<sup>51</sup> Udde is also registered as student at Uppsala University.<sup>52</sup> Rolf and Henning are a bit trickier to place. Their

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48 G. Inger, *Svensk rättshistoria* (Lund: 1968), 50.

49 Stockholms stadsarkiv, Norra förstads kämmärrätts arkiv A1A:31.

50 Stockholms stadsarkiv, *Borgare i Stockholm. Alfabetiskt register. 1601–1650. 1651–1688.* (compiled in 1919 by Emil A. Hansson).

51 R. Norrman, 'Den svenske prästen under 1600-talet – vägen till tjänsten' in *Sveriges kyrkohistoria. 4. Enhetskyrkans tid*, ed. by Ingun Montgomery, (Stockholm: 2002), 242.

52 *Uppsala universitets matrikel. Register 1595–1817*, publ. by S. Otto Brenner & Gösta Thimon, (Uppsala: 1971), 357.

titles – bookkeeper, works-manager and inspector – can apply to many positions. Generally they were used for people who had some kind of senior responsibility for public affairs or for a private business: an estate, a *bruk* or such like. While little is known about Henning, we know more about Rolf. He was inspector at Ströms *bruk* and managed Lögö *bruk*. The latter was owned by the Mackays.<sup>53</sup> In the latter case he worked within the family, but not in the former. It is possible, but not certain, that Rolf and Henning had an education. What is certain, however, is that they were trusted to take care of another person's property. While economic capital was necessary for education, such trust came from the social and symbolic capital a man or his family provided.

This brings us to the fourth son, Isak Isaksson. He is described as infirm, alcoholic and even mentally unstable. Still, he became a *brukspatron*, a position that put him above all the brothers (with the possible exception of Udde who had higher general status). It is revealing how Isak got his position. He inherited the main part of his father's industrial complex, especially Hammarby. Why choose such an unreliable heir? It seems as if Isak Rudolfsson tried to use his resources to benefit all his children: good marriages for the daughters and good positions for the sons. And who would then be more suited to inherit the family estate than the son who was least likely to succeed outside? If this is the case, it may be an extreme but not totally unique course of action. Other studies have proven that, among entrepreneurs in the pre-industrial era, preserving the family was often more important than maximising profit. Sometimes, a strategy that put family before business even proved to be the best way of saving both.<sup>54</sup>

Among the sons' spouses, the background of only two is known. One is Rolf's wife Brita Tresk, whose father was a land surveyor. This was a suitable marriage status-wise and it is also possible that it was beneficial for a man in the *järnbruk* business to know a surveyor, should the boundaries of land and wood be put to question. Even more telling is Udde's marriage to his cousin Brita Leufstadia. She was not only his relative but also the daughter of his predecessor and the marriage was a requirement to enable him to take over Veckholm parish from Anders Leufstadius.<sup>55</sup> Brita's future was then safe and the parish (and its benefices) stayed within the family.

All in all, Isak Rudolfsson's assets seem to have been important to his children. Many stayed within iron production or closely related businesses.

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53 Murdoch 2006, 187.

54 Murdoch 2006, 189. See also Y. Hasselberg, *Den sociala ekonomin. Familjen Clason och Furudals bruk 1804–1856* (Uppsala: 1998), chap. VIII.

55 Fant and Låstbom, 1845, 361.

Others left for the ecclesiastical sphere, but that seems to have been a result of both money (to finance Udde's studies) and contacts or status (to attract suitors for the daughters). In the latter case we should also remember that the mother's family may have contributed. Therefore, it is also obvious that social heritage does not necessarily imply complete social reproduction. This is even more obvious in the next generation, where the cousins had different starts in society, but ended up even more differentiated from each other.

### The Grandchildren

THE next generation consisted of children born to various businessmen, to clergymen and to a bookkeeper – Margareta had no known children with German, nor had Katarina with Schröder. Among the thirty cousins, personal information about nineteen of them is known. Even though the social differences were a bit more profound, most of the children and their spouses had solid social positions: priests, civil servants, *brukspatroner*, officers and burghers. The question is to what extent there is a close connection between the occupation of the fathers and that of the children and their spouses. Sometimes the connection is obvious, as for example with the only surviving heir of Anna Mackay and Anders Höök:<sup>56</sup>

Name	Spouse(s)
Eva Höök	(1) Henrik Insenstierna, ennobled merchant, <i>brukspatron</i> and commissioner in the Board of Commerce ( <i>Kommerskollegium</i> ) <sup>57</sup> (2) Karl Broman, ennobled <sup>58</sup> chief judge of province court

Table 2 (c.1660–1742). Child of Anna Mackay with Anders Höök.

Source: *Familjen Mackay*, table 3.

The fact that Eva Höök inherited all of her father's small iron empire in Northern Uppland<sup>59</sup> and that her mother was a Mackay was a good starting point in life. Economically she got a part of the Mackays' Lögdö,<sup>60</sup> but it was probably of greater importance that her kinship gave her good social capital. Her first husband succeeded both Anders Höök as leaseholder at

56 In the following tables, only children with a known career, or start of career is shown.

57 G. Elgenstierna, *Den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor*, IV (Stockholm: 1998 (1928)), 13.

58 G. Elgenstierna, *Den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor*, I (Stockholm: 1998 (1925)), 620.

59 T. Andersson, *Träslott och fransyskt smide. Glimtar ur Gysinge bruks historia* (Gävle: 1978), 17.

60 Norberg 1959b, 24.

Vattholma and Isak Rudolfsson Mackay as leaseholder at Harg's *bruk*.<sup>61</sup> She also had kinship contacts through her father. Anders Höök's brother Per, the previously mentioned ennobled *brukspatron*, was a personal friend of King Charles XI. Furthermore, one of Anders' sisters, Elisabeth, was probably married into the De Geer family.<sup>62</sup> With such social and economic assets it is hardly surprising that Eva married into the nobility – twice.<sup>63</sup> Both her husbands were successful before the respective weddings, meaning that none of the marriages was a one-sided story, but rather a question of two equal parts both finding benefits from the other.

The marriage of the daughter of Margareta Mackay and Erik Warg shows similar traits.

Name	Spouse(s)
Katarina Warg	Anders Wohlgemuth, <i>brukspatron</i>

Table 3 (early 18th century). Child of Margareta Mackay with Erik Warg.

Source: Norberg 1959a, p. 195.

The difference here is that Anders Wohlgemuth seems to have lacked economic capital of his own. He became *brukspatron* by marrying Katarina, who inherited her father's *bruk*. To get it in shape, Wohlgemuth had to borrow money from his brother, a Stockholm merchant, and from the director Johan Paul Heublein.<sup>64</sup> This shows that Wohlgemuth did not have the same position as Insenstierna or Broman – he was probably the one who gained the most economically from the marriage – but that he at least had some connections, who may have been considered as attractive social capital.

These first two cases show close social reproduction. A similar situation in a non-industrialist family was constituted by Maria Isaksdotter sr and her husbands Jonas Fornelius and Henrik Schütz sr, who were both vice chancellors of the same university and also priests. Among Maria's nine children, five survived their adolescence:

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61 Grape 1983, 17; Ekström 1986, 60.

62 H. Ågren 2006, 70f. and 76. Elisabeth's husband, Rafael De Geer, has not been found in any presentation of the De Geer family. Maybe he was illegitimate

63 The first husband, Henrik Insen, was ennobled when they had already been married for nine years. 'Insenstierna' in *SBL* vol. 20, (Stockholm: 1975), 29.

64 Norberg 1959a, 195f.

Name	Profession	Spouse(s)	Spouse's Profession/origin
Anna Fornelia		Erik Ljung	professor and parish minister
Lars Fornelius	actuary in Svea Regional Council <sup>65</sup>		
Johan Schütz	infantry captain <sup>66</sup>		
Henrik Schütz (jr)	student (died young) <sup>67</sup>		
Anna Maria Schütz		(1) Lars Arrhenius (2) Esias Hasselhouen	professor <sup>68</sup> parish minister

Table 4 (c.1670-?). Children of Maria Isaksdotter Mackay sr with Jonas Fornelius and Henrik Schütz sr. Source: *Familjen Mackay*, table 7.

The social heritage from the fathers is obvious – but it is hard to see any signs that the grandfather was a successful entrepreneur. Except for Johan Schütz, the children stayed within their fathers' field of occupation. Both sisters married professors and priests, a total social copy of earlier generations. Anna Maria Schütz's first marriage was, as a matter of fact, to a foster cousin – Lars Arrhenius's father was married to a sister of Jonas Fornelius. The Arrhenius family also counted nobles in their rank through Lars's uncle Claes Arrhenius (ennobled Örnhielm).<sup>69</sup> The marriage therefore brought extra symbolic capital to the new relatives.

The sons were a little less true to family traditions. Lars Fornelius became a lawman, which was but a small step away from his parental status. His role in society was similar to that of priests – to serve the king and the state – and he also had to study to get there. Henrik Schütz jr died young, but before that he started studying at the university, which probably indicated that he was aiming for a similar career as that of his father and his step-brother Lars. Johan Schütz differs a bit more. He became a captain, a career more associated with the nobility than the clergy. At this point in Swedish history, many officers were, however, recruited from among non nobles.<sup>70</sup> It should also be noticed that several of his cousins served as, or were married to, officers (see **Tables 7 and 8**) which may have provided a military connection for him. Whether they started their careers before or

65 <http://home7.swipnet.se/~w-79130/Genealogi/DISGEN/1089.htm> 2004-05-29.

66 Fant and Låstbom, 1845, 253.

67 Fant and Låstbom, 1845, 253.

68 Not mentioned in *Familjen Mackay*, table 7. The information is from Fant and Låstbom, 1845, 253.

69 'Arrhenius' in *SBL* vol. 2 (Stockholm: 1920), 276f.

70 B. Asker, *Officerarna och det svenska samhället 1650–1700* (Uppsala: 1983).

after Johan did remains unclear.<sup>71</sup> The difference between Johan and his closest relatives is not remarkable. Like them he was a servant of the state, and they all had good positions as well as reasonably good incomes – though apparently not enough to be passed directly onto future generations.

It is noticeable that the sons of this family were a little less bound to the parental generation than the daughters. It is therefore tempting to conclude that this was because men could make their own career to a greater extent than women. Based on such a small sample this would, however, be an over-interpretation, especially since the rest of the relatives show different patterns.

What happened to the children of bookkeeper Henning is unclear. All surviving information is about their childhood:

Name	Profession
Karl Henningsson	Pupil at Gävle school
Udde Henningsson	Pupil at Gävle school

**Table 5 (c.1670–?). Children of Henning Mackay with Ingrid Falk.**

Source: *Familjen Mackay*, table 9.

Since schooling was not available to everyone in the late seventeenth century, this means that the sons probably were meant to follow their father in some way and that the family had the economic means to keep them in school. Other than that the conditions and future for these Mackays are unknown.<sup>72</sup>

Rolf had two daughters who survived into adulthood. Despite their father's occupation in the iron industry, neither of them married any kind of economic entrepreneur:

Name	Spouse(s)
Anna Katarina Rolfsdotter	Håkan Lenæsius, assistant parish minister
Magdalena Rolfsdotter	Anders Halling, civil servant

**Table 6 (1682–1741). Children of Rolf Mackay with Brita Tresk.**

Source: *Familjen Mackay*, table 10.

As an industrial entrepreneur Rolf cannot be compared to Anders Höök or Isak Isaksson Mackay. He did not own Lögö, he just managed it. When the first daughter married in 1710 he had retired as manager and

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71 O. Bergström, *Bidrag till Kongl. Uplands regementes historia* (Stockholm: 1882), appendix 163.

72 None of them are listed in the calendar of Uppsala University, the closest university. *Uppsala universitets matrikel. Register 1595–1817*, 1971, 357.



when the second married in 1718 he had been dead for four years.<sup>73</sup> By then Lögdö had also been gradually bought by the non-related *brukspatron* Mattias Krapp.<sup>74</sup> This means that Rolf had no real estate to leave a son-in-law, even though it is possible that the name Mackay still proved attractive as such. Nonetheless, none of the daughters married a businessman. Anna Katarina's marriage to a priest was predictable since it was common in the family already and suitable both socially and economically. It is, however, worth noticing that Anna Katarina, who had no private fortune and no other special capital that we know of, had to accept a simpler clergyman than her aunts and cousins. Perhaps, the name Mackay meant little on its own when it was not backed up by fortunes.

Magdalena's marriage seems like a misalliance. Anders Halling was a *kronolänsman*, a civil servant of low rank, often recruited from peasant families. They were sometimes counted among *ofrälse ståndspersoner*, but were generally considered to be members of the peasantry.<sup>75</sup> Halling seems, however, to have been special. He was probably the same person as the Anders Halling who, in 1728 (after Magdalena's death), married Margareta Cygnell, whose father was mayor in Jakobstad in western Finland and among whose close relatives we find an assessor of the council and a council chaplain.<sup>76</sup> Perhaps Halling had hidden merits, but it is also possible that he became socially attractive after having been married to a Mackay. That would mean that the name actually enjoyed some general symbolic capital – but all this has to remain speculation.

The weak Isak, who had inherited the main parts of the family business, had three children. Again, chance was a decisive factor as to who became the final heir:

Name	Profession	Spouse(s)	Spouse's Profession/origin
Maria Isaksdotter (jr)		Anders Dahlepil	cornet
Anna Kristina Isaksdotter		(1) David Joakimsson Kammecker (2) Johan Nilsson Uhr	lieutenant-captain <i>brukspatron</i>
Vilhelm Isaksson	<i>brukspatron</i> <sup>77</sup>		

Table 7 (c.1680–1763). Children of Isak Isaksson Mackay with Anna Salander and Katarina Collin.<sup>78</sup>

Source: *Familjen Mackay*, table 11.

73 Familjen Mackay, table 2.

74 Norberg 1959b, 24f.

75 Frohnert 1993, 50.

76 <http://genealogi.aland.net/discus/messages/576/18098.html?1145378741> 2006-05-25.

77 Norberg 1959a, p. 92.

78 Isak had Maria and Anna Katarina with Anna Salander and Vilhelm with Katarina Collin.

Hammarby was originally inherited by Vilhelm. When he died unmarried in 1725, Maria Isaksdotter jr had been dead for five years and since Anna Kristina was the only surviving sibling Hammarby became hers.<sup>79</sup> Just like Eva Höök she benefited economically from the lack of close relatives.

Both sisters married officers, which was consistent with their station in life. Anna Kristina's husband David Joakimsson was also related (nephew) to her uncle-in-law, David Mårtensson Kammecker.<sup>80</sup> While the sisters seem to have married mostly for contacts and status, their husbands might have had economic motives. A Mackay daughter probably brought both wealth and contacts to her husband. Being a Kammecker, David Joakimsson however also represented economic capital, if not by himself, certainly through his family. This cannot be said of Anders Dahlepil. It is not certain, but he was probably the son of an infantry major, with no known trade or business.<sup>81</sup>

In contrast, Anna Kristina's second husband, Johan Nilsson Uhr, already was an iron entrepreneur when they married.<sup>82</sup> Both parties possessed properties and contacts valuable for the other. Together they bought the rest of the inheritance from Anna Kristina's relatives and became even stronger.<sup>83</sup> When Uhr died, Anna Kristina owned and managed Hammarby by herself. Her high status is illustrated by titles like 'Principle lady of Hammarby' and '*brukspatron*'<sup>84</sup> (the latter normally an exclusively masculine title).

The future of the children of Kristina Isaksdotter Mackay and David Mårtensson Kammecker is similar – varying but within certain boundaries.

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79 Familjen Mackay, table 11.

80 'Kammecker' 1975, 605f.

81 <http://web.telia.com/~u60125331/slakt/0001/180.htm> 2006-12-03.

82 Norberg 1959a, 56; W. Eriksson, 'Gammelstilla – ett gammalt järnbruks historia' in *Från Gästrikland 1993–1994*, 137.

83 Norberg 1959a, 92.

84 Norberg 1959a, 92; Stenmark 1999, 53.

Name	Profession	Spouse(s)	Spouse's Profession/origin
Isak Davidsson Kammecker	cornet <sup>85</sup>		
Anna Gricilia Davidsdotter Kammecker		Johan Lempe	Captain
David Davidsson Kammecker	secretary in diverse boards, inspector and city councillor	Brita Maria Zetterberg	daughter of Anders Zetterberg, bookkeeper <sup>86</sup>
Maria Juliana Davidsdotter Kammecker		Gerhard Meyer	ennobled owner of the Royal cannon foundry <sup>87</sup>

**Table 8 (c.1690–?). Children of Kristina Isaksdotter Mackay with David Mårtensson Kammecker.**

Source: *Familjen Mackay*, table 16.

David Mårtensson was labelled both merchant and *brukspatron*, but there are no traces that his business was handed down to any of the children. When he died in 1715 the children were still young, so it is possible that no one was able to take over.<sup>88</sup> All the same they seem to have benefited from their lineage. One daughter married an officer and the other a burgher. Gerhard Meyer was, however, not an everyday craftsman. He owned the royal cannon foundry in Stockholm and was successful enough to be ennobled. There may in other words have been a mutual economic interest behind the marriage. Even if David Mårtensson's and Kristina's business was no longer in the family, Maria Juliana represented economically strong families both on the maternal and the paternal side. Furthermore, Gerhard Meyer was known in the family. His mother was born Kammecker and half-cousin to Maria Juliana.<sup>89</sup>

Any mutual economic exchange is hard to see in Anna Gricilia's marriage to Johan Lempe. To her, social and symbolic factors seem to have been more important. Officers were of high status and as we already know

85 Isak is not mentioned in *Familjen Mackay*, table 16. All information about him comes from Stockholms stadsarkiv, Bouppteckningsregister 1701–1750, Jacob–Lind kort 2 (Mikrokort), p. 3042 (1724/1:391).

86 All detailed information about David Davidsson and his wife comes from N. Östman et al., *Stockholms rådhus och råd II*. (Stockholm: 1915), 215f.

87 'Meyer, Gerhard' in *Svenskt biografiskt handlexikon. Senare delen*, publ. by Herman Hofberg, (Stockholm: 1876), 24; 'Meyer, Gerhard' in *SBL* vol. 25, (Stockholm: 1987), 462ff.

88 It must be repeated that all information on Isak Davidsson comes from the estate inventory made when the father died. What happened to him afterwards is not known. Neither he nor David Davidsson is however listed as a burgher in Stockholm at all. Stockholms stadsarkiv, *Register över borgare i Stockholm. 1689–1750*, 1919.

89 'Meyer, Gerhard', 1987, 462.

there are several examples of other officers related to the Mackays, Anna Gricilia's own brother Isak, for example.

David Davidsson became a civil servant and married a civil servant's daughter. The social distance between him and his father-in-law was negligible. While David became inspector of Danviken hospital in Stockholm, Anders Zetterberg was a bookkeeper at Stockholm's orphanage.<sup>90</sup> It is possible that the marriage helped David in his career. The wedding was held in 1733, the same year that David left governmental service for employment as a bookkeeper for Stockholm's city magistrate. Seven years later he became an inspector at Danviken and in 1749 councillor in Stockholm. Obviously the connection to the Zetterberg family did not immediately open every gate for David, but it is worth noticing that it coincided with his transfer from governmental service to a civic career, where he did very well for himself.

It is also probable that David benefited from his lineage, even though he did not follow in his father's footsteps. The Kammeckers were a prominent family in Stockholm, where David Mårtensson and his family lived. As mentioned before, he died early, which meant that David Davidsson had to make his career without direct fatherly support. Since he ended his days as councillor in Stockholm it is, however, hard to believe that he was not helped at all on his way by being a Kammecker as well as having married Brita Maria Zetterberg.

Finally, the parish minister Udde Isaksson Mackay had one son and one daughter with the priest's daughter Brita Leufstadia. The son partially followed in his parents' footsteps, but not the daughter:

Name	Profession	Spouse(s)	Spouse's Profession/origin
Anders Uddesson	Student		
Kristina Uddesdotter		Peter Evert	baker <sup>91</sup>

Table 9 (c.1690–1784). Children of Udde Isaksson Mackay with Brita Leufstadia.

Source: *Familjen Mackay*, table 13.

What became of Anders after his studies is not known, but he was probably married since he had a daughter who bore the name Mackay.<sup>92</sup> His status as a student shows at least that he was meant to follow his father in some way. Kristina married a baker, which meant that she left the social

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90 Östman et al., 1915, 215f.

91 Härnösands landsarkiv, Gävle rådhusrätts och magistrats arkiv HX:1, p. 272.

92 *Familjen Mackay*, table 14.

class of her parents. Strictly she moved downwards, but a baker could be both wealthy and respected – which is illustrated by the Kammecker family. An interesting detail is that the couple married in 1720 and Evert was accepted as burgher in the town of Gävle in 1722.<sup>93</sup> He was a German immigrant with no known local connections previously,<sup>94</sup> so the marriage may have been a way for him to establish a business. Marrying a Mackay probably meant the achievement of social capital in a town like Gävle – situated close to Hammarby – and the family was closely related to the rich Stockholm bakers Kammecker. There is no full proof that this is the explanation behind Evert's career, but if true it is striking that the Mackays in just two generations had become patrons for a new immigrant – just as Isak Rudolfsson earlier benefited from his connection with the Ödlas.

The overall picture is complex, yet uniform. Many cousins remained in a field close to their parents as adults. The exceptions are, however, too common to be overlooked. The daughters of the priest's and professor's wife Maria married clergymen, but the daughter of the priest Udde married a baker, while the daughters of the industrial clerk Rolf married a priest and a civil servant and the daughters of the *brukspatron* Isak Isaksson married officers. Symbolic or social capital seems to have meant more than economic in these marriages. The Mackays married people from different social spheres and different fields of business, but seldom or never common people. Among the sons only Vilhelm Isaksson is known to have followed strictly in his father's footsteps, while several others chose different careers. Social heritage carried some weight, sometimes even a lot, but did not always lead to complete social reproduction. It is worth noticing that these cousins grew up in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries when old class-structures were gradually disintegrating. It was still important whom one married, but not as strictly so as it had previously been.

### *Conclusion*

By comparing all the children from both generations we have shown that they all rose to good or at least fair social positions, either by career, by marriage or by material inheritance. Both contacts and material assets were used: i.e. both social and economic capital. Whether the Mackays had any symbolic capital of interest to society at large is hard to determine, but it

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93 Familjen Mackay, table 13; Härnösands landsarkiv, Gävle rådhusrätts och magistrats arkiv HX:1, p. 272.

94 Familjen Mackay, table 13.

cannot be ruled out, especially not in their dealings with economic entrepreneurs in closely related businesses.

Even though the social heritage was obvious, it did not strictly determine relationships. What seems to have been important was that the children achieved good positions in life, not that they all became industrialists. This also means that the variations were more pronounced in the second generation than in the first. More and more social groups were represented. Since this was a result not only of career choices, but also of marriages, it was probably a way to ensure bonds to a broader group of social positions, each in their own way representing useful contacts. The family's overall marriage strategy was clearly expansive. Due to lack of comparative research it is hard to tell whether this was typical or not. There is, however, enough done to point at other examples of expansive strategies among families of Mackays' social position during this era.<sup>95</sup>

Expansive strategy is also the best way of describing the Mackays from an ethnic angle. As far as it is possible to tell, there were no Scots among the marriage partners discussed. Of course, we do not know all the relatives of the husbands and wives. There may have been Scots just a step away kinship-wise.<sup>96</sup> Some Scottish names may also have been Scandinavianised or changed, making them hard to identify.<sup>97</sup> However, many of the spouses are known and they are all non-Scottish (Kammecker, Benzelius, Evert, just to mention a few). Furthermore, none of the names appear in Steve Murdoch's detailed survey of Scottish networks in Northern Europe.<sup>98</sup>

The Mackays actually had remarkably little to do with other Scots. They are mentioned a few times by Murdoch, doing business with William Petrie jr, for example.<sup>99</sup> This can, however, as easily be explained by the fact that Petrie owned *bruk* in the same Swedish region as the Mackays, as by the fact that both originated from Scotland. Petrie was only one among several iron entrepreneurs the family cooperated with. At the stage when the family fortune was made, the De Geers, the Ödlas and to some extent the Hööks seem to have been the most important partners – in business and, with the

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95 G. Andersson, 'Forming the partnership socially and economically: a Swedish local elite, 1650–1770' in *The marital economy in Scandinavia and Britain 1400–1900* (Aldershot: 2005), 70; H. Ågren 2006.

96 Henrik Insén was for example earlier married to Eva Leyer of the Lyall family. Elgenstierna 1998 (1928), 14. See also Grosjean and Murdoch 2005, 213.

97 Murdoch 2006, 219; Grosjean 2003, 138 gives examples of several such names: Bock, Rosenschmidt, Huppemfeldt, Leijonancker...

98 Murdoch 2006.

99 Murdoch 2006, 187f. and 245.

exception of De Geers, in marriage. None of these families were of Scottish descent.<sup>100</sup> The fact that the Mackays so quickly<sup>101</sup> were accepted by the Swedish nobility in the form of the Ödlas, by entrepreneurs like Hööks and De Geers (the latter later ennobled) and in the ecclesiastical world by various priests and Uppsala professors, may explain why their contacts with fellow countrymen were so rare.

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100 *Den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor IX* (Stockholm: 1998 (1936)), 202; Släkten Höök (Family catalogue compiled by Stefan Simander).

101 Granted that Rudolph actually arrived in Sweden in the late 1620s. His personal history is not fully investigated and there is a slight possibility that his father (or an ancestor even further back) moved to Sweden at an earlier stage.

- P. Englund, *Ofredsår. Om den svenska stormaktstiden och en man i dess mitt* (Stockholm: 1993).
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