



MARS & JANUS



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EDITORIAL

Dear Colleagues,

The executive board of the Archives Committee of the International Commission of Military History is exceedingly pleased to present the International Newsletter for Military Archives – MARS & JANUS No. 16 (2011).

Usually we publish our newsletter twice a year, namely the results of the CAM meetings in the fall/winter editions, and the reports of individual military archives in the spring/summer editions. Because of several circumstances it was, unfortunately, not possible to publish a fall/winter edition in 2010.

So the newsletter at hand – published in spring/summer 2011 – contains the minutes and papers of our last CAM meeting on Sunday, 29 August 2010 at the XXXVI International Congress of Military History in Amsterdam (Netherlands).

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Hans PAWLISCH
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**WELCOME TO THE CAM MEETING 2011 AT THE XXXVII INTERNATIONAL
CONGRESS OF MILITARY HISTORY IN RIO DE JANEIRO (BRAZIL)
BY PRESIDENT HANS PAWLISCH**

Dear colleagues,

You are cordially invited to attend the meeting 2011 of the Comité des Archives Militaires (CAM) during the XXXVII International Congress of Military History of the Commission Internationale d'Histoire Militaire Comparée (CIHM) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

As usual, we'll meet at the venue indicated in the invitation of the Brazilian Commission of Military History, on the Sunday starting the annual CIHM conference.

That is Sunday, 28 August 2011, 10:30 h in the Escola de Comando e Estado-Maior do Exército, located in Praia Vermelha, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

The website for the conference is: www.cihm2011.com.br

See also:

http://www.militariahelvetica.ch/fr/ashsm/documents/CIHM_Congress_2011.pdf

The core of the congress will be:

"Decolonization: colonial wars and independence from the 18th century to our days"

Lieutenant General Pinto de Moura has confirmed to me that two speakers from the Brazilian Commission on Military History will make presentations on Brazilian archives. I have requested that the speakers submit to me abstracts of their papers in English, the official language of the CAM. In the meantime if any other of our members has proposals, please submit them to me or the Secretary General as soon as possible and we will disseminate this information.

I am looking forward to seeing you this summer in Rio de Janeiro!

Dr. Hans Pawlisch
President of CAM / CIHM
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**MINUTES OF THE CAM MEETING 2010 AT THE XXXVI INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
OF MILITARY HISTORY IN AMSTERDAM (NETHERLANDS)**
BY LINN JONES STEWART (USA)

ICMH Military Archives Committee (CAM) Report

The ICMH Military Archives Committee (CAM) convened on 29 August 2010 in Amsterdam. The meeting was attended by representatives of 12 of the member nations. Some national commissions proved unable to attend on account of funding problems. President Hans Joachim Harder called the meeting to order and welcomed new delegates from Cyprus, Finland and Brazil.

Archives Committee Secretary General Dr. Christoph Tepperberg then delivered a 20th anniversary presentation outlining CAM's many accomplishments. He traced the committee's origins to an informal working group of Military Archives within the International Council on Archives in 1984. In 1990 the Working Group organized as the Military Archives Committee within the framework of the ICMH. Dr. Tepperberg also noted the revival of the CAM newsletter in 2002 as *Mars and Janus*, published twice a year since 2004.

The presentation was followed by election of a new CAM president, Dr. Hans Pawlisch from the United States Commission on Military History (USCMH) who will serve a five-year term from 2010 to 2015. Dr. Christoph Tepperberg from the Austrian Commission, was re-elected Secretary General for the same period.

Election of new officers was followed by a presentation from Dr. Jan Dahlström from Stockholm, Sweden entitled "The Enigmatic Silence of the Official Documents" relating to the absence of official documentation concerning military unrest in Stockholm during the summer of 1810.

There ensued a general discussion on the status of the CAM website. From 2003 until 2009, the Swiss Army hosted the website. Since discontinuation by the Swiss last year, there has been no web page. Finding a new agency to host the website will be a major challenge. But other issues have been raised: the need for updates particularly to the electronic Guide to Military Archives, and a need to encourage a greater range, standardization and quality of information. The general consensus was that such a site would be expensive and require substantial effort and coordination.

Dr. Pawlisch expressed regrets on behalf of Dr. Robin Higham who will no longer be able to record the committee minutes due to ill health. Dr. Lynn Jones Stewart from the USCMH has kindly agreed to take the minutes. There being no further business, the new President thanked Dr. Harder for his service as president and adjourned the meeting.



**HISTORY OF THE MILITARY ARCHIVES COMMITTEE (MAC)
OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF MILITARY HISTORY.**

**HISTOIRE DU COMITÉ DES ARCHIVES MILITAIRE (CAM)
DE LA COMMISSION INTERNATIONALE D'HISTOIRE MILITAIRE.**

BY CHRISTOPH TEPPERBERG (VIENNA, AUSTRIA)

On August 29th, 1990 at the International Congress of Military History in Madrid, the Military Archives Committee was founded. Now, 20 years later, exactly to the day, here in Amsterdam, we celebrate the 20th anniversary of our committee. So let us take the opportunity to reflect a little bit on the history of this professional board.¹

**Activities within the Framework of the International Council on Archives – ICA
(1984-1989):**

At the International Congress on Archives 1984 in Bonn (Germany) an informal Working Group on Military Archives was established on the initiative of German and Swedish military archivists.

The aim of this working group was to create a professional forum for questions concerning archival science in the military field and to promote research in military history.

Chairman was Colonel Dr. Manfred Kehrig, director of the Military Archives of the Federal Republic of Germany (Freiburg im Breisgau), secretary was Dr. Erik Norberg, director of the Royal Swedish War Archives (Krigsarkivet, Stockholm).

It was decided to constitute as a permanent working group, to draft provisional statutes and to ask for legitimation at the International Council on Archives.

Statutes and an application were submitted to the ICA whose executive board came together at the end of the Congress.

Some weeks later Colonel Kehrig was informed by a high-ranking employee of the German Federal Archives that the ICA had rejected the application and had proposed to continue the activities as an informal working group.

The Guide to Military Archives (1989):

The first special project of the working group was to publish a directory of archives or similar institutions with holdings of military provenience.

¹ The following descriptions are based on documents kept by the secretariat-general of the CAM, on the *Guide to Military Archives* (published by Erik Norberg, Stockholm 1989), on several issues of our *Newsletter*, and on a letter of the former CAM-president, Col. PhD Manfred Kehrig to the secretary-general (dated 16 May 2010, Sulzburg in Baden, Germany). Many thanks to Colonel Kehrig for his valuable informations! – A more comprehensive paper will be published in German in: *Beruf(ung) Archivar: Festschrift Mikoletzky* (= *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, Vol. 55, 2011).



So in 1989, the *Guide to Military Archives* was published by Erik Norberg at the Royal Swedish War Archives in Stockholm. The volume contains on 200 pages entries of 116 archives and similar institutions.

The Foundation of the Military Archives Committee – CAM (1990):

It was decided in Bonn to come together at regular intervals, preferably in connection with the meetings of the ICA.

So the working group met again in 1988 during the International Congress on Archives in Paris and it was decided to have a further general meeting in 1992 at the International Congress on Archives in Montreal (Canada).

But the meeting in Montreal did not come about. On the contrary, when all attempts to install the working group as a full section of the ICA had failed, in 1990 on the initiative of Colonel Manfred Kehrig the Military Archives Committee of the ICMH was established.

This happened because the majority of the working group held the opinion that military archivists would have better possibilities of development in the framework of the ICMH than in that of the ICA.

The solution was arranged between Colonel Kehrig and Dr. Schulten (longtime president, now president of honour of the ICMH).

The foundation of the CAM was on August 29th, 1990 at the International Congress of Military History in Madrid. The decision of the executive board of the ICMH was unanimous. Since that time the CAM exists within the ICMH and enjoys the same rights as the Bibliography and the Educational Committees.

First president of the CAM was Dr. Erik Norberg (Krigsarkivet Stockholm). Secretary-general became Colonel Igor Wenkow (Moscow).

The latter post has been held by Colonel Dr. József Zachar (Budapest, since 1993), Dr. Jaana Kilkki (Helsinki, in 2000), Colonel Prof. Dr. Rudolf Jaun (Bern-Zürich, since 2001), and Hofrat Dr. Christoph Tepperberg (Vienna, since 2003).

In 1992 Colonel Dr. Manfred Kehrig took over the presidency himself. During the following years he shaped the Archives Committee into a respectable international network of military archives and military archivists.

Tasks and Aims of the Military Archives Committee – The Statutes (1994):

Four years to the day after its foundation, the statutes of the CAM were passed on August 29th, 1994 at the International Congress of Military History in Warsaw. These fixed the tasks and aims of the CAM. The German draft of the statutes was created by Colonel Dr. Kehrig, the English version by Prof. Robin Higham (State University, Manhattan, Kansas).



The aim of the CAM was and is the exchange of professional archival information. On the other hand the CAM also had from the beginning the intention to support the community of military historians within the ICMH with special information on archival sources. This service should be provided through the network of military archives and archivists and through the Military Archival Newsletter.

The Military Archival Newsletter – MANL (1993-2000):

At the Congress of Military History 1992 in Torino (Italy) it was decided to publish a periodical: the Military Archival Newsletter (MANL).

The first items of the Military Archival Newsletter were published in English, French and / or German.

The Newsletter was published mostly twice a year: the first items (Nr. 1 and Nr. 2) in 1993, the last item (Nr. 13) in 2000.

Two Acting Bodies on Military Archives (1995-2002):

At the CITRA-meeting in Washington in 1995, it was tried once more to install a permanent working group on military archives in the framework of the ICA. This occurred on the initiative of Dr. Erik Norberg.

This time Norberg's efforts were crowned with success. So between 1995 and 2002 a Working Group on Military Archives was in existence within the ICA, in the end even as Provisional Section on Military Archives (SML). Thus until 2002 we had two acting bodies on military archives: the CAM within the ICMH and the SLM within the ICA.

The meeting 1995 in Washington was attended by about 30 military archivists. In the course of a rather controversial debate on both groups of experts a colleague from Israel proposed that we think positively: *„Now we'll have two acting bodies on military archives, one within the ICA, another with the military historians, – so we are actually in a lucky position!“*

But cooperation between these two panels did not work. They were unable to agree on how to share tasks. On the contrary, there were formidable irritations, especially in the years 1995-1997.

The situation changed when in 2000, at the International Congress of Military History in Stockholm, Hans Christian Bjerg (Rigsarkivet Copenhagen, Denmark) was elected president of the CAM as successor of Manfred Kehrig. Some weeks later, at the International Congress on Archives in Sevilla (Spain), he was, in addition, appointed chairman of the SML.

The CAM met every year at the International Congress of Military History, while the members of SML came together every four years only on the occasion of the International Congress on Archives. So Bjerg promised a joint CAM-SML-meeting for 2003 in Copenhagen.



But Bjerg ended his job at the Rigsarkivet in 2002. So the joint meeting did not come about, and in 2002, at the CAM-meeting of the International Congress of Military History in Norfolk (Virginia), Colonel Prof. Dr. Rudolf Jaun, chief of the Archival Service of the Swiss Department of Defense in Bern, took over the CAM-presidency.

When Bjerg left the Rigsarkivet, the SML of the ICA stopped working. Since that time the Archives Committee of the International Commission of Military History is the only worldwide acting organization of military archives and military archivists.

Internet Guide to Military Archives (2003):

On the initiative of president Jaun an interactive Internet Guide went online in 2003 under the domain (www.military-archives.org) „*Military Archives International*“ on the website of the Swiss Department of Defense.

In 2003 at the Congress of the ICMH in Bucharest and in 2004 at the International Congress on Archives in Vienna the Internet Guide was presented to the public. The new Guide was a rather useful tool containing the entries of 61 archives with detailed data on sources relevant for military history.

In 2005 Rudolf Jaun transferred from the Archival Service in Bern to the Military Academy of the ETH Zürich as professor for military history.

Thus at the CAM-meeting 2005 in Madrid, Colonel Dr. Hans-Joachim Harder, Kehrig's successor as director of the German Military Archives, was elected president of the CAM. With his new function Harder took over also the further administration of the Internet Guide.

In 2009, our Internet Guide was, unfortunately, withdrawn from the server of the Swiss Department of Defense. Currently the executive board of the ICMH is working on a global web solution.

This solution would include a portal for the Archives Committee that contains not only the actualized data of the Internet Guide but also additional buttons for the Newsletter MARS & JANUS and general news.

MARS & JANUS – International Newsletter for Military Archives (since 2002):

Since 2002, on the initiative of Rudolf Jaun, the Newsletter is published under the title MARS & JANUS – International Newsletter for Military Archives. The new title shows a symbiosis of ICMH (MARS) and ICA (JANUS).

In 2002 and 2003 MARS & JANUS was published only once a year, since 2004 again twice a year.

Fifteen numbers of MARS & JANUS have been published up to now. The next item (No. 16) will contain the minutes and papers of our today's jubilee-meeting.



The Annual Meetings of the Military Archives Committee:

Highlights of our work are the annual meetings which are held in the framework of the International Congresses of Military History. At these meetings papers on various topics are presented and organizational problems of the committee are discussed.

When choosing the topics for our meetings, the general topic of the congress is taken into account as far as possible.

Because of the high costs of attending, the president and the secretary-general have not always been in a position to be at the congresses. In addition, a native speaker of English was of great importance in keeping the minutes of our meetings.

So Prof. Dr. Robin Higham (State University, Manhattan, Kansas) functioned at several meetings as *“acting president”* (1996-2000), as *„acting secretary”* (2002-2003), and as *“recording secretary”* (until 2009). Robin Higham was and is one of the most valuable participants on our meetings.

During the first decade the CAM-meetings were multilingual including at least English, German and French. Today the meetings are held exclusively in English. Also the Newsletter – with a few exceptions – is published in the English language.

Under the presidency of Colonel Kehrig sometimes two CAM-sessions were held at one congress. Today we organize one session only, plus visits to local or regional archives. In addition, the members of our committee of course take part in the scientific program of the congresses.

Up to now, two extraordinary meetings have been held independently of the congresses of military history: the first in 1996 in Bucharest, the second – as mentioned above – in 2004 in Vienna at the International Congress on Archives.

To work with the CAM is in the first place the task of archivists and military historians who are at the same time members of one of the national commissions of the ICMH.

At present, our committee is in contact with members of 34 of the 42 national commissions that exist today.

The mailing list of our secretariat contains about 80 institutions or colleagues from these 34 commissions who receive our newsletter and are currently informed about our activities.

Delegates of 16 commissions are working continuously with our committee or participate in the annual CAM-meetings.

At our meetings we have an average number of 20 participants.



In 2009 at the International Congress of Military History in Porto, papers on archival topics were presented not only at the CAM-meeting but even at panels of the congress' general scientific program.

So today at our 20th anniversary, we have many reasons to be proud of our past work, and I am convinced that our committee will have many years of fruitful co-operation in the future.



**THE SOLDIERS DISTURBANCES IN STOCKHOLM 1810
AND THE ENIGMATIC SILENCE OF THE OFFICIAL SOURCES¹**
BY JAN DAHLSTRÖM (STOCKHOLM)

20th June 1810 is one of the notable dates in Swedish history- the day when the Marshal of the Realm, baron Axel von Fersen, was murdered on the street by an enraged crowd in Stockholm. The event appalled many people, but at the same time it came as a manifestation of conflict and moods that were current at the time. The murder and the riots that followed it are a fairly well-explored field, but many questions have yet to be answered properly, for example why the forces of order remained passive in connection with the murder. von Fersen was murdered more or less before the very eyes of the garrison guard, without their officers – senior or junior –ordering them to intervene.² This passivity contrasts starkly with the heavy-handed treatment meted out to the crowd during the riots that followed, later on the same day. During these disturbances the City Governor, Anders Fredrik Skjöldebrand, feared the garrison would make common cause with the mob. His fears were groundless: in the event, the soldiers did not hesitate to obey orders, opening fire on the angry crowd. But during the weeks that followed subversive ideas also began to spread among the rank and file of the garrison.³

The focus in this paper will be on the soldiers' disturbances occurring in July 1810, in the wake of the Fersen murder. These disturbances have occasionally been mentioned by historians, but unrelated to a context.⁴ The event in itself is a passing episode of political history, but seen in terms of social background of the various protagonists, it provides an interesting reflection of certain currents of opinion within the aristocracy and also of the position of the garrison soldiery in Stockholm at the time. The relative lack of archive material is also an important clue to answer the question why the soldiers involved in the disturbances were not accused for high treason.

I shall here compare narrative sources, mainly memoirs, with relics in form of official documents preserved in records of military authorities.

Memoirs and diaries convey a partly contradictory picture of these events. Using memoirs as historical source is always complicated, but for all the problems they present, memoirs can be consulted as a source to the protagonists own image of what happened. In this case the memoirs represent the image of the aristocracy.

One of the most important memoir-writer in this case is Anders Fredrik Skjöldebrand, the City Governor. In his description of the events of July 1810 Skjöldebrand associate the soldiers' disturbances with the funeral of Crown Prince Carl August, which took place on 13th July. Rumours of "intended disturbances" led the Governor to take precautions.

¹ This paper is a compilation made upon an essay "Schnapps, Freedom and Wenches – The Soldier Disturbances in Stockholm 1810") I wrote for the anthology "Between the Imperial Eagles. Sweden's Armed Forces during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars 1780-1820", Stockholm 2000.

² Nerman 1933, Hedman 1967, 1969.

³ Skjöldebrand 1904, pp. 31-32.

⁴ Nerman 1933, pp. 263-266, Staf 1950, p. 323, von Schinkel 1854, p. 425.



Nothing happened that day. “But”, Skjöldebrand writes, “the seduction had begun to take effect among the troops. Money was distributed; unknown persons entered in to conversation with guards that had been posted, seeking to persuade them to side with the people, should they rise ...”⁵ Skjöldebrand is not more specific concerning the matter of chronology. On the other hand, he is more categorical on the subject of participation of units involved, mentioning the Svea Life Guards whose rank and file one evening set about “dancing and bawling on their parade ground”. The Second Guards, the Horse Guards, the artillery and fleet is also mentioned. The ringleaders were identified and dispatched by the City Governor to Karlskrona workhouse in the south of Sweden.

Another memoir-writer, Count Gustaf Löwenhielm, belonged to the Life Regiment brigade, which had been ordered to the capital to reinforce the garrison after the murder of von Fersen. He is making no direct references to the soldiers’ disturbances, but mentions the strict discipline and how the common soldiers suffered from their enforced asylum, caused by a prohibition to leave the quarters.⁶

Two other memoir-writers, Counts Hampus Mörner and Magnus Björnstierna, were not present during the events in question but still have a number of things to relate. Mörner writes that there was much hatred of the garrison following the troops’ rough treatment of the crowd after the murder of von Fersen. The regular troops who arrived in Stockholm on 24th June were looked at as “enemies of their country”, and the guards were “greeted as fraticides”. Also, Mörner and Björnstierna state that certain people attempted to make “the garrison waver, perhaps with money, or by holding out the prospect of better times after breaking down the order of society”, and mentioning in more general terms of “intimations of mutiny” among the guards regiments.⁷

Bernt von Schinkel’s “Minnen ur Sveriges nya historia” does not really count as memoirs, but his description is based to a great extent on private collections of letters, verbal sources of his own time and individual persons’ notes and diaries. For the soldiers’ disturbances of 1810 von Schinkel refers to the notes of Skjöldebrand and the Kings first minister von Engeström, two persons with certain insight into the events concerned. von Schinkel mentions a number of soldiers in the guards and the artillery, who participated in the soldiers’ disturbances. He also gives us a brief, but also diffuse, description of how the mutineers actually acted. According to von Schinkel the soldiers were inspired by outsiders and mentions money having been doled out among the troops by a servant named Pettersson “for the purpose of promoting the triumph of rampant Jacobinism in Sweden”.⁸

⁵ Skjöldebrand 1904, pp. 129-131.

⁶ C G Löwenhielm 1927, p. 42. The memoir-writer Carl Gustaf Löwenhielm is not the same person as the commander of the Horse Guards, Colonel C G Löwenhielm, mentioned below.

⁷ Mörner 1848, pp. 101-102, and Björnstierna 1851, pp.180, 187. Björnstierna is referring to the strict military discipline of the Horse Guards, which is indirectly corroborated by a comparison of the disciplinary records of this regiment with those of the Second Guards. He also mentions the plans of the mutineers of the Horse Guards (i.e. to murder the NCOs and arresting the officers), which is concordant with the report of Colonel Löwenhielm quoted later on.

⁸ von Schinkel 1854, pp. 244-245. von Schinkel goes on to say that, when interrogated, the lad Pettersson said that he had received money from a cantinier at Kungsholmen (where the Horse Guards had their



Finally, let us take a look at the notes written down by Jöns Person Häggman, a regimental chaplain with the Archipelago Fleet, who has left a collection of hand-written memoir notes. His notes contain several interesting observations and the following paragraph is worth quoting:

“Several disturbances have occurred in various corps – and it is believed that they quite ardently desired some general rising with which to make common cause. The guard at Fredrickshof made a noise about being kept on duty and earning nothing at this time when all manner work was obtainable. And their wages were not being paid to them properly. The artillery is said to have grown turbulent for the same reason, and when threatened with the Dragoons to have answered; ‘They are welcome; we will greet them with grapeshot’. At Skeppsholmen too there was some commotion caused by a Frenchman who was a volunteer and is said to be good-looking. He is now under arrest, as are several Frenchmen in the second corps. The whole of this noise has put down the formerly so bushy feathers of the big birds, and if they still purpose to fluff them again, one notes with what caution and, as it were, circumspection they do so”.⁹

There are three things here which require comments:

- Firstly, the soldiers’ disturbances are here described partly as a desire for a general uprising and partly as widespread discontent among the soldiery, without any direct political undertones. In the former case we have to do with a supposition and in the latter with specific grievances.
- Secondly, the French ingredient is interesting when viewed in association with von Schinkel’s allegation regarding “rampant Jacobinism”.
- Thirdly, Häggman’s description of the fear entertained by “the big birds”, which is an allusion on the high nobility.

We may also note that, in conjunction with his description of the murder of von Fersen, Häggman writes that the soldiers in the garrison were plied with schnapps. I quote; “By this means the officers wished to make sure of their loyalty, in the event of subsequent clashes with the mass of the people”.¹⁰

All in all, the memoir-writers are describing the soldiers’ disturbances as a serious threat to the order of society. In some cases the reader is given rather precise information on corps involved and the number of participating soldiers, although some of these figures are contradictory. Information on how the soldiers were organised is very vague, and it is also unclear if the initiative to an uprising came from the soldiers themselves or if it was instigated by forces outside the military corps.

When one compare the information given in memoirs with archival sources it is obvious that the soldiers’ disturbances of 1810 have left relatively little trace in the records of the

barracks), “about whose person were fond 4 000 riksdaler, destined for distribution for the same purpose as the rest.”

⁹ Jöns Person Häggmans anteckningar, KB D 1408a, and Stängnäs stifts herdaminne III. Strängnäs 1899.

¹⁰ Ib.



military and civil authorities. Actually the source material sometimes is so scarce, that traces of these events have had to be searched for indirectly, for example as regards the identification of soldiers involved. When I investigated the archival sources, I had to work very systematically to be sure not to overlook anything of importance. Therefore, the account that now follows deals, one by one, with the various units involved, namely the Horse Guards, The Svea Life Guards, the Second Guards and the Svea artillery regiment.¹¹

The Horse Guards has generated the most extensive document concerning these events. One report made by the then commanding officer of the Horse Guards, Count Gustaf Löwenhielm, have survived - actually the only official record containing a more detailed description of the soldiers' disturbances. The most important section of it serves to be quoted. It describes trooper No. 14 Johan Adolph Jansson as the ringleader of "the conspiracy";

"1. Jansson. Admitted that, at Fredrickshof [i.e. quarters of the Svea Life Guards], where he had been detailed for picked duty, he had been committed by guardsmen of Svea Life Guards to incite the Horse Guards against their officers, which he endeavoured to accomplish; he spread the word in barracks that what have now happened at Fredrickshof was that the officers there were subdued and the men liberally provided with schnapps, wine and girls; and said that now was the time for the Horse Guards to follow their example and become as free and happy as the Foot Guards. The plan was to murder the NCOs during the night and arrest the officers if they would not recognise the revolution. He was denounced by his comrades and confessed immediately on being arrested."¹²

The report also mentions another three troopers of the Horse Guards, all of whom were implicated to a greater or lesser extent. Gustaf Löwenhielm dates these events to June 1810, but the guards room records of the Horse Guards show that the ringleaders in this corps were between 7th and 9th of July. In the guards room records there is also a note on Lieutenant Tersmedens servant Pettersson, who was arrested for "indecent utterances" somehow connected with the insurrection. Notes of the four Horse Guards troopers involved can also be confirmed in the regimental rolls, where they are recorded as dismissed and deleted.¹³

The source material for the Svea Lifeguards, where the soldiers' disturbances began according to the memoirs of Skjöldebrand and the report of Löwenhielm, does not contain any narrative relics. But one can find a regimental order listing all the Svea Guardsmen, all in all ten names, "who have rendered themselves unworthy to serve His majesty and the Crown". This order is dated 16th July and the General muster Roll variously gives 16th and 17th July as date when the guardsmen were struck off the rolls.

¹¹ The Archipelago Fleet and the Life Regiment Brigade have been omitted from this part of the inquiry for lack of source material.

¹² Generaladjutantexpeditionen, Tjänstgörande generaladjutanten för armén, serie F IV.

¹³ Ib, GMR, vol. 144, and Livgardet till häst, Supplement I, vol. 50. One of the ring leaders, Heyster, was awarded a medal for bravery after the action at Schalershön in Lauenberg during the Pommeronian war 1805-1807 (P.R. Ferlin 1858, Del II, p. 969).



Nine of these Svea guardsmen were entered in the police chambers records on 16th of July. The tenth “conspirator” had already been arrested by the police on 10th July for “suspicious speech at a place for refreshment” outside the barracks of the regiment.¹⁴

No documents have been found in the regimental archives of the Second Guards, although the General Muster Rolls do show that two privates, guardsmen Jägerholm and Struckert, in this corps who were struck off the rolls during this period. The two of them also figure in the police records of 11th July, where they are said to have been struck off the regimental rolls for petty thieving, drunkenness and “disrespect”. Although it is impossible to be sure whether this two guardsmen belonged to the conspirators, the charge in combination with the time of their deletion, suggests that they should be viewed in connection with the soldiers disturbances.¹⁵

The Svea Artillery regiment is mentioned by three of the memoir-writers. However, no official documents concerning participation by the artillery rank and files in these events have been traceable.¹⁶

Official records of the military authorities show that there was an attempt of an insurrection in middle of July 1810. The documents also indicate that the conspiracy was badly organised and that direct support from other troopers were weak. I have identified sixteen men who were struck off the rolls to be sent to Karlskrona Fortress and Workhouse, explicit forbidden to return to the capital by the City Governor. Also, one document mentions the servant Pettersson but without any references to money being doled out.

This paucity of official material may seem rather surprising, considering the “perilousness” ascribed to the soldiers’ disturbances by the memoir-writers. The intended coup was high treason in itself, but the matter was treated more as one of gross insubordination. Normally speaking, serious cases of insubordination were strictly treated, often forming subject of court martial proceedings. But a review of the court martial records shows that these events did not lead to the customary judicial proceedings. Nor have the soldiers’ disturbances of 1810 left any trace on the lower extra-judicial level.¹⁷ Apparently there were no judicial processes at all.

The main impression from the few surviving official documents is that the event was a result of ordinary discontent among the men, manifested at a time of unusual political tension. Regimental Chaplain Jöns Persson Häggmans recollections, quoted earlier, also suggest that the events can be interpreted in this light. A memorandum issued by the Adjutant General’s Office on 19th of July, seems to be a direct response of the discontent among the soldiers.¹⁸ The memorandum ordered the garrisons’ daily pay to

¹⁴ Svea livgarde, Majorsexpeditionen, serie B I: 10, GMR, vol. 1158, and Ö.Ä (Polisärenden I), Äldre poliskammaren, serie C I a: 1810.

¹⁵ Göta livgarde, vol. 109 (Struckert and Jägerholm were struck off the rolls on 12th of July), Göta livgarde vol. 1748, and Ö.Ä (Polisärenden I), Äldre poliskammaren, serie C I a: 1810.

¹⁶ GMR, vol. 1748, Svea artilleriregemente del I, vol. 156.

¹⁷ Krigsrättsprotokoll: Svea livgarde, Reg.exp, serie A I: 54, Göta livgarde, vol. 523, Svea artilleriregemente del I, vol. 157. No Horse guards court martial records exist for 1810.

¹⁸ Generaladjutantsexp, Tjänstgörande generaladjutanten för armén, serie B I b; 1810 (“Generalorder”).



rise to 8 shillings over and above the customary bread ration, and the soldiers to be issued “dry and plentiful bread”. At the same time, the relative silence of the official sources in this connection can be taken, indirectly, to indicate that discontent were more widespread than the military leadership was accustomed to. But the commander simply weeded out the troublemakers with the same alacrity and firmness as were displayed on the afternoon and evening of 20th June, when the troops were ordered to fire on the crowd with live ammunition. The guardsmen involved were struck off the rolls on relatively arbitrary grounds, without having been accused for any particular crime first. They were regarded “unreliable”, and that was sufficient. Once deleted they were judicially regarded as unemployed, without legal defence, and could be packed off to Karlskrona Fortress and workhouse, i.e. treated as simple vagrants.¹⁹

The actions of the military commanders in Stockholm 1810 are in many ways reminiscent of how the English authorities in the 1810s handled the Luddites, but on a much larger scale. In the English case the most vociferous reformist were singled out, convicted and deported to the colonies where their opportunities of taking part in English politics were practically nil.²⁰ The main purpose was not to indict and convict all those involved, but put to an end all the disturbances.

So, if the soldier's disturbances in Stockholm was a matter ordinary discontent, why did the appeal intended to incite the troopers of the Horse Guards to rebel against their officers contain elements as “schnapps, wine” /.../ girls” and freedom. I think it is because these elements can be described as key cultural symbols in the world of the enlisted soldiers.²¹ Two of them are “schnapps” and “girls”, the third is “freedom”. The former two are a matter of cultural symbols which were matched by the tangible content of the guardsmen's life, while the third concern, if anything, was the antithesis of their life, an independence aspired but seldom achieved. The strong position of alcohol in the guardsmen's culture has already been quite amply documented by historians. To some extent that applies for their relations to women also. (There were no romantic undertones to this whatsoever; the commodity was usually bought from prostitutes). The cry for freedom should not be put down to political strivings; rather it is connected with the guardsmen's tutelage in general and their desire to evade supervision by their officers, the NCOs in particular. You do remember Löwenhielms report, where trooper Johan Janssons plan was to murder the NCOs but the officers only to be arrested. If a revolution was really intended, it was the officers who should have been murdered, not

¹⁹ Roughly a hundred years later after the soldiers' disturbances in Stockholm there appeared what are commonly termed “The 1917 soldiers actions”. The two phenomena presents differences, but also certain similarities of interest for present purposes. Characteristics common to both of the include their brevity, lack of leadership and organisation and their primarily constituting manifestations of discontent – above all the food arrangements. Borell 1989, Karlsson 1994.

²⁰ Thompson 1991, e.g. pp. 635-636. Concerning other serious riots and insurrections in Sweden at this time, see Wibbling 1954, Karlsson 1967, Rosborn 1991 and Ericson 1993.

²¹ For a general description of the social structure of the enlisted troops in Stockholm at this time, see Personne 1965, pp. 227-232, Söderberg 1980, p.31, Dahlström 1988, pp. 106-109, Sörensen 1994. See also Artéus 1988, pp. 10-11. For references on the special culture of the enlisted soldiers, see Sörensen 1994 and Dahlström 2000. Many elements of this culture are also present in Swedish popular culture of this time, see Magnusson 1988 and Harnesk 1990.



the NCOs. “Freedom”, therefore, was an important symbol to the guardsmen, but not on a political plane.²²

Although discontent among the soldiers of the Stockholm garrison in July 1810 resulted in extraordinary events, it is arguable - as we have seen - that the memoir-writers exaggerated the danger and extent of the situation, by over estimating the possible connection between the murder of von Fersen and the soldiers’ disturbances. Also, the events after the murder of von Fersen can be seen as a breeding ground for an increasingly inflamed atmosphere in the Swedish capital where popular aristophobia and the aristocratic fear of “Jacobin” tendencies provides a key to the memoir-writers anxious interpretation of the soldiers’ manifestation of discontent.²³ One should also remember the general uneasiness in Swedish society at this time, following the Russian war 1808-1809 and the loss of Finland and the coup d’etat of 1809.

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²² Concerning popular cultural symbols during early modern conflicts, see Esptein 1989.

²³ Söderhielm, 1922. Concerning the political atmosphere in Sweden at the time, see Wibbling 1954.



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THE WEBSITE OF THE ARCHIVES COMMITTEE

BY ZUZANA PIVCOVÁ,

CENTRAL MILITARY ARCHIVES/MILITARY HISTORICAL ARCHIVES IN PRAGUE

First of all, I am convinced, the Archives Committee should have its own website and in general, it should be modernized and made more user-friendly with attractive graphic design.

My idea is to divide the website into 2 parts – scientific-educational and public-informative.

In the scientific part, special tasks or programmes would be discussed, such as the archives administration, digitalisation and processing of documents or topics of the next annual meeting. The informative part should inform not only the committee members, but public in general on single annual meetings inclusive a photo gallery of cities (countries) where the meetings took place, and pictures of present committee members. I would expect regular presentations of archives, in short intervals, 2 – 3 colleagues could present their archives, point out the most important parts or some specialities attractive or useful for researchers from foreign countries. Besides that, contacts to single archives and exchange of experience and points of view should be published there.

At the moment, we present ourselves in the meetings or in “Mars & Janus”, but we do not co-operate. The public part should also include news, congratulations, discussions, reports of various events. It should be entertaining and also attract the attention of those members of the archives, who are only registered passively and do not share the activities.

As to the technical side of the matter, the website must be significantly enhanced in line with optimal conditions for browsers, who should improve their search results and get basic or special information together with the chance to join various programmes.

Although I belong to one of the worst equipped archives, I feel ready to assist the preparation of the website of the Archives Committee, if there is interest.


SCHEDULE OF CONGRESS-TOPICS AND CAM-TOPICS 1990 – 2010, BY CHRISTOPH TEPPERBERG (VIENNA)

Year	No.	Meeting place	Congress-topic	CAM-topics
1990	16.	Madrid	Influence of military thought during the last five centuries	Foundation of the CAM
1991	17.	Zürich	War and Mountains	No special tropic discussed
1992	18.	Torino	The discovery of the New World and its influence on military history	The Military Archival Newsletter (MANL)
1993	19.	Istanbul	The study of the first and second World Wars 1918-1939 from the viewpoint of military history	Military Archives of Finland, Norway, Sweden, Turkey and Russia
1994	20.	Warsaw	National insurrections since 1794	Statutes of the CAM
1995	21.	Quebec	Peacekeeping 1815 to today	No special tropic discussed
1996	22.	Vienna	From Crécy to Mohács – Warfare in the late Middle Ages	No CAM-Meeting
1996		Bucharest	CAM-Symposium	Professional training of military archivists
1997	23.	Prague	The Thirty Year's War	Securing, accessioning, evaluation and storage of archival materials (paper files, sound recordings, photographs, films, digital information); The regulations to be adopted for the use of archival materials, including classified materials
1998	24.	Lisbon	War and the clash of civilization since the 16th century	Habent sua fata acta: The fate of those archival holdings which provide information about the lost territories of the Great Powers
1999	25.	Brussels	Fifty Years of NATO	Computers and electronic data processing in military archives
2000	26.	Stockholm	The Total War – The Total Defence during 200 years, 1789-2000	The Future of Military Archives – Their Position in the frame of Archival Science
2001	27.	Athens	Military Conflicts and 20 th Century Geopolitics	Common Purposes of the two Organs on Military Archives: CAM/CIHM and SML/ICA; Proposals for the new Guide to Military Archives
2002	28.	Norfolk	Coming to the Americas	Declassification of Military Records



2003	29.	Bucharest	War, military and media: From Gutenberg to Today	Sources of war, military and media; Internet Guide to Military Archives
2004	30.	Rabat	The Economic Aspects of Defense through Major World Conflicts	Sources of war and economy
2004		Vienna	XV. International Congress on Archives (ICA)	General information about CAM; Internet Guide to Military Archives
2005	31.	Madrid	Terrestrial and Naval Power at the age of Trafalgar	Appraisal of military records
2006	32.	Potsdam	Nation State, Nationalism and the Military	Military maps
2007	33.	Cape Town	Regions, Regional Organizations and Military Power	Military archives and the public
2008	34.	Trieste	Military conflicts and civil population: total wars, limited wars, asymmetric wars	Military conflicts and the civil population: Sources in the military archives; The task of records centers in the structure of military archives
2009	35.	Porto	Warfare in the Age of Napoleon. Precedents, Military Campaigns and Lasting Impacts	The national policies on archives and the military archives; The growing importance of digitalization for military archives
2010	36.	Amsterdam	Insurgency and Counterinsurgency: irregular warfare from 1800 to the present	The 20 years anniversary of the CAM; The enigmatic silence of the official documents; How to improve our website – military archives on the internet