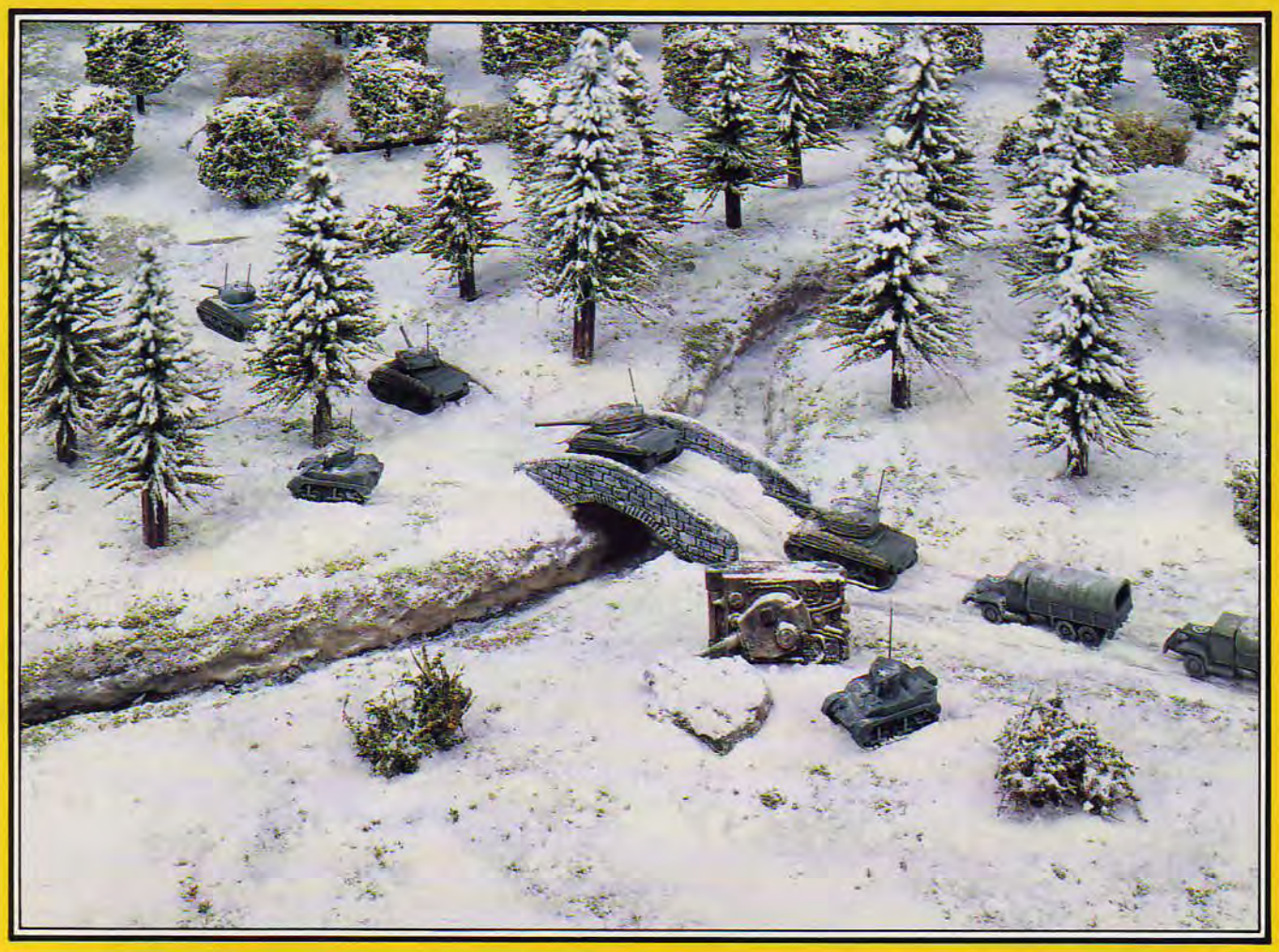
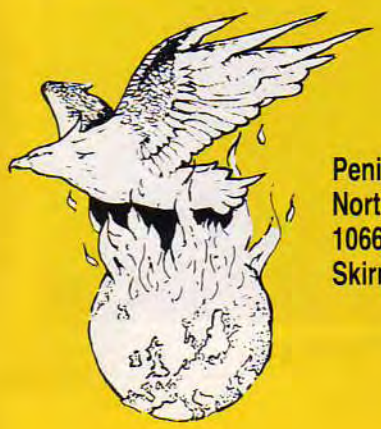
# Wargames World 2

Wargames Illustrated's Christmas Special





## IN THIS ISSUE

Peninsular War Scenario
North West Frontier Rules
1066 Campaign System
Skirmishing the Alamo

WWI Dardanelles scenario & rules
SYW Amphibious Ops
Normandy 1944
Wars of the Roses

**20 pages of colour (including the cover!)**

**£1.95 (U.K.)**

# INTRO

Don't panic! The fact that *Wargames World 2* has appeared only two months after the first issue does *not* mean we're a bi-monthly. From now on we'll be appearing at three monthly intervals. (A case of 'crying quarter in more ways than one!)

Many thanks to all of you who purchased the first issue. It's not 'off sale' yet, but the distributor's estimate of sales after the first two weeks is 50% higher than we'd predicted. In America WW1 has apparently been dubbed 'The *Playboy* of Wargaming' – no explanation was offered by our trans-Atlantic interlocutor, but I suppose it refers to the lavish colour photographs! ('The Staff Photographer' enjoyed taking them – but not that much!)

Perhaps this issue isn't quite as lavish, but there are still some interesting articles to stimulate the imagination, and several rule sets to try out. We re-introduce a few cartoons – a feature squeezed out of our monthly magazine by the hordes of advertisers trying to force their way in!

Contributions for publication are very welcome, and should be sent to the publishers at the address below. Now that we're producing two magazines your chances of getting published have obviously increased!

* The cartoons in this issue are by 'Seamus' and Ian Weekley of 'Battlements'.

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

An annual subscription to **Wargames World** (4 issues per year) may be had for **£9.00.**

**However, if you're a subscriber to our monthly magazine, Wargames Illustrated (£16.50 p.a.)**, then adding **Wargames World** to your sub costs only **£8.00.**

Pyment should be made to: **Stratagem Publications Ltd.** and sent to **18 Lovers Lane, Newark, Notts, NG24 1HZ.**



*Cover photos in this issue:*
*Front: Skytrex 1/200th scale WWII. The end of the Battle of the Bulge. The Americans in the Ardennes. Vehicles: Steve Cox's collection. Terrain by Foliage Factory, editor's collection.*

*Back:Franco-Prussian War Prussian Staff group. 25mm Wargames Foundry figures from the collection of London wargamer Tim Hall, who also scratch-built the ruined edifice. (Would Prince Charles approve!?)*

*And, since we forgot to include them in our first issue, (excuse: birth pangs) here are captions for cover photos in WW #1.*
*Front: Napoleonic action from Mike Ingham's Wargames Holiday Centre. French attack a Prussian position. Nostalgia note: the Irish battalion featured on the front cover of Wargames Illustrated No.1 can be seen debouching from the village.*

*Back: Two shots of 25mm Wargames Foundry figures from the collection of designers the 'Peritwinz'. Top: Thirty Years War troops. Below: Renaissance Polish Infantry. [Note: This photo was taken* **before** *Mrs Thatcher's visit to Poland – so don't surmise 'bout the target for these musketeers!]*

# Menu



**Editor:** Duncan Macfarlane. **Published by:** Stratagem Publications Ltd., 18 Lovers Lane, Newark, Notts. NG24 1HZ. Tel: 0636 71973
**Typeset by:** Quotable Ltd. **Printed** in England. **Distributors:** Magnum Distribution Ltd., Cloister Court, 22-26 Farringdon Lane, London, EC1R 3AU. Tel: 01-253 3135
**USA:** The Armory, 4145 Amos Avenue, Baltimore, Md. 21215. Tel: 301 764 8100. **Canada:** RAFM Company Inc., 20 Parkhill Road East, Cambridge, Ontario, Canada, N1R IP6
**Australia:** Gary Wells, Essex Miniatures Ltd., 9 Lowanna Place, Hornsby, NSW 2077. Tel: 02 214 7427

# SKYTREX
LIMITED

Mail Order Address:
28 BROOK STREET
WYMESWOLD
LOUGHBOROUGH
LEICESTERSHIRE
Telephone: 0509 213789

Barclaycard & Access Orders Welcome
Telephone Loughborough 213789
24-HOUR ANSAFONE SERVICE FOR CREDIT CARD ORDERS AND INQUIRIES OUT OF NORMAL WORKING HOURS

## THE MODERN SKIRMISH SCALE ACTION 200

**1/200 scale = 9mm figure height**

**The quality of these models has been shown at exhibitions. Over 350 models WW2 and Modern in the range already including infantry and aircraft with more new models every month.**

A791 - ZSU 23/4 SHILKA

### 1/200th MODERN AIRCRAFT

**U.S.A.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| GA890 | Huey Cobra | £2.00 |
| GA891 | Bell UH1D Iroquois | £2.00 |
| GA894 | CH47 Chinook | £3.95 |
| GA897 | AH64 Apache | £2.50 |

**BRITISH**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| GA794 | Lynx | £2.00 |

**U.S.S.R**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| GA992 | Mil Mi8 Hip | £2.50 |
| GA993 | Mil Mi24 Hind 'D' | £2.95 |

**MODERN RUSSIAN FORCES**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A70 | Infantry Section | 60p |
| AA71 | Mortar Section | 60p |
| A72 | HQ. Section | 60p |
| A77 | Sagger ATGW Team (x 2) | 60p |
| A702 | T54 | 60p |
| A703 | T55 | 60p |
| A704 | T62 | 60p |
| A705 | T64 | 60p |
| A706 | T72 | 60p |
| A707 | T74 | 60p |
| A732 | BRDM2 | 60p |
| A733 | BRDM2 - Sagger | 60p |
| A734 | BRDM2 - Sa9 | 60p |
| A735 | PT76 | 60p |
| A737 | BMD | 60p |
| A740 | BTR 152 | 60p |
| A741 | BTR 50 | 60p |
| A742 | BTR 60 PB | 60p |
| A742A | BTR 60 PK | 60p |
| A743 | BMP 1 | 60p |
| A744 | BMP-R 30mm. Recce | 60p |
| A745 | BMP 30mm. - Spandrel | 60p |
| A751 | ASU 85 | 60p |
| A753 | SAU 122mm. SPG | 70p |
| A754 | SAU 152mm. SPG | 70p |
| A762 | Zil 151 Truck | 60p |
| A765 | Ural 375D | 60p |
| A767 | BM21 on Ural Truck | 80p |
| A771 | BAV Zil 485 BAV Amphib. Truck | 60p |
| A791 | ZSU 23/4 Shilka | 80p |
| A798 | Sa6 Gainful SPAA | £1.00 |

### MODERN BRITISH FORCES

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A60 | NATO Infantry Section | 60p |
| A61 | NATO 81mm. Mortar Section | 60p |
| A62 | NATO HQ Section | 60p |
| A66 | MILAN ATGW Team (x 2) | 60p |
| A601 | Centurion | 80p |
| A603 | Chieftain | 80p |
| A604 | Challenger | 80p |
| A630 | Ferret Scout Car | 60p |
| A631 | Fox A/Car | 60p |
| A632 | Scorpion Recce Tank | 60p |
| A633 | Scimitar Recce Tank | 60p |
| A641 | Fv432 A.P.C. | 60p |
| A641A | FV432 - GP mg turret | 70p |
| A642 | FV432 with Swingfire ATGW | 70p |
| A643 | FV432 - Wombat AT | 70p |
| A644 | FV432 - 81mm. Mortar | 70p |
| A646 | FV432 - Raden Cannon | 70p |
| A648 | Spartan A.P.C. | 60p |
| A649 | Striker S.P. ATGW | 60p |
| A654 | Abbot 105mm. SPG | 70p |
| A655 | MCV-80 Warrior A.P.C. | 70p |
| A661 | Bedford TK 4 Ton Truck | 60p |
| A662 | ¾ Ton Landrover | 60p |

### MODERN U.S. FORCES

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A80 | U.S. Infantry Squad | 60p |
| A81 | U.S. Mortar Squad | 60p |
| A82 | U.S. H.Q. Section | 60p |
| A804 | M48A3 | 80p |
| A806 | M60A1 | 80p |
| A807 | M60A2 | 80p |
| A808 | M60A3 | 80p |
| A809 | M1 Abrams | 80p |
| A820 | Commando A/Car | 60p |
| A821 | Hummer Scout Car | 60p |
| A822 | Hummer RED-T 25mm. auto cannon | 70p |
| A823 | Hummer T.O.W. | 70p |
| A824 | Hummer Command | 60p |
| A832 | LAV 25 | 70p |
| A840 | M113 A.P.C. | 60p |
| A841 | ACAV A.P.C. | 70p |
| A842 | M125 81mm. SP Mortar | 60p |
| A843 | M163 Vulcan SPAA | 70p |
| A844 | M113 - TOW ATGW | 60p |
| A846 | M3 Bradley A.P.C. | 70p |
| A848 | M577 Command Vehicle | 70p |
| A854 | M109 A1 155mm. S.P.G. | 80p |

**U.S. AGENT**
**For Davco & F.F.20**
**S.G. Simulations Inc.**
**2071 Range Road,**
**Clearwater,**
**Florida 33575**
**Tel: (813) 443 3822**

**AUSTRALIAN AGENT**
**BATTLEFIELD**
**50 Clissold Parade,**
**Campsie, N.S.W. Australia.**

POSTAGE & PACKING
U.K. 10% order value
(min. 20p)
over £9 post free.
BFPO (Europe) as above
BFPO (Outside Europe) 30% order
Europe 20% order
U.S.A., Canada, N. Zealand, Australia 50% order

WE ACCEPT BARCLAYCARD, ACCESS, BANKAMERICARD, EUROCARD, VISA, CHARGEX, & MASTERCHARGE. JUST SEND YOUR CARD NUMBER AND EXPIRY DATE.

**HINCHLIFFE**
**Catalogue**
**£1.50 post free**

**SKYTREX CATALOGUE**
**£1 POST FREE**

## IDEAL WW2 SKIRMISH ACTION 200

**1/200th scale = 9mm figure height**

OVER 350 WW2 AND MODERN WHITEMETAL MODELS ON OUR FULL LISTS. ALL WELL DETAILED AND MANY MORE MODELS IN THE PIPELINE. AFV, SOFT SKIN VEHICLES, AIRCRAFT, HELICOPTERS, ACCESSORIES

**1/200th WW2 STARTER PACK £7.50**
**Rules & dice plus German and Russian infantry and tanks.**

## 1/200th REINFORCEMENT PACKS

**BRITISH BATTLEGROUP £5.00**
1 × Infantry pack, 1 × Heavy weapons pack
2 Daimler A/cars, 2 Churchills
2 Sharman, 1 Cromwell

**BRITISH ANTI-TANK PACK £5.00**
2 × 6 pdr, 2 × 17 pdr., 2 × 25 pdr.
2 bren carrier, 1 Crusader gun tractor
2 Quad + limber, 2 artillery crew strips

**BRITISH TRANSPORT PACK £5.00**
2 Bedford QL trucks, 2 Austin 3 ton trucks
1 Austin bowser, 1 Scammel Pioneer
1 Scammel tank transporter
1 Bedford Radio truck, 1 Damlier Scout Car

**RUSSIAN ASSAULT PACK £5.00**
2 × Assault Infantry packs
2 × Su85, 2 × KV2
2 × Su76, 2 × Su152

**GERMAN HEAVY ASSAULT PACK £5.00**
2 Elefant, 2 Jagdpanther
1 Sturmpanzer IV, 2 Stug III
1 Sturmtiger

**GERMAN ANTI TANK PACK £5.00**
**2 Stug III, 2 Hetzer, 1 Jagdpanther**
2 × 75mm Pak40, 1 × 50mm Pak 38,
1 × 88mm Flak 36, 2 artillery crew strips

**GERMAN TRANSPORT PACK £5.00**
2 × Sdkfz 251, 1 Sdkfz 7, 2 Kubelwagon
2 × Opel Blitz 3 ton trucks, 1 × Command bus
1 × Mercedes 8 ton truck, 2 Maultier ½ track lorries.

**AMERICAN BATTLEGROUP £5.00**
1 Infantry pack, 1 Heavy weapons pack
3 Shermans, 1 × M10, 1 × M18
2 × M8 A/cars.

***New 1/200th catalogue available send a stamped self-addressed envelope***

## TRITON 1/600th SCALE GALLEYS

**Superb whitemetal well detailed models for recreating the battles of the Greeks, Persians, Carthaginians and Romans. Ideal for tabletop games.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AG1 | Greek Trireme | £1.25 |
| AG2 | Phoenician Bireme (x2) | £1.00 |
| AG3 | Pentaconter | £1.00 |
| AG4 | Roman Quinquereme | £1.50 |
| AG5 | Carthaginian Quinquereme | £1.50 |
| AG6 | Roman Quadrireme | £1.25 |
| AG7 | Carthaginian Quadrireme | £1.25 |

STARTER PACK £7.50

### 1/200th WW2 DECALS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AD8 | British tank markings (for approx. 200 vehicles) | £2.00 |
| AD9 | Russian tank markings (for approx. 90 vehicles) | £1.00 |
| AD10 | British aircraft markings (for 3 aircraft) | £1.00 |
| AD11 | American aircraft markings (for 3 aircraft) | £1.00 |
| AD12 | Russian aircraft markings (for 3 aircraft) | £1.00 |
| **AD13** | **German Swastika Recognition flags (5)** | **£1.00** |
| **AD14** | **Aircraft numbers and letters RED** | **£1.00** |
| **AD15** | **Aircraft numbers and letters YELLOW** | **£1.00** |

**STOP PRESS**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | HINCHLIFFE 20mm WW2 | |
| 20/73 | Bren carrier with flamethrower "WASP" | £2.95 |
| 20/74 | French 25mm Anti tank gun as used by British Expeditionary Force | £1.95 |
| 20/75 | Early Bren Carrier as used by BEF and in Western Desert | £2.50 |

MORE NEW MODELS NEXT MONTH

# The Texas Navy in the War of Independence 1835 – 1843

*by D.W. Stewart*

1986 marked the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Republic at Texas. On March 2nd 1836 Texas declared its independence of Mexico and formed the Lone Star Republic, later to become the Lone Star State.

An interesting new sphere has been opened up for wargamers by the timely introduction and availability of figures for the Texas War of Independence. Who among us hasn't thrilled to the heroics of Davy Crockett and Jim Bowie (or was it John Wayne and Richard Widmark?) at the Alamo; and Santa Anna receiving his come-uppance from Sam Houston and his avenging Texans at San Jacinto? Stirring stuff for the intrepid wargamer to get his teeth into!

There is however another aspect to this particular war which might prove interesting to a jaded naval wargamer looking for something different, or indeed as a supplement to the land campaigns. It is the highly successful, if little reported guerre-de-course carried on by vessels of the fledgling Texas Navy against the modern steam and sail Navy of Mexico during the struggle for naval supremacy in the Gulf of Mexico.

**Background and Principal Events**

One of the main causes of the war was the insistance of the Central Government that goods entering the province of Texas should bear Customs duty. The province had been granted a ten year exemption from tariff duties by the Constitution of 1824, but when Texan representative Stephen Austin went to Mexico City in 1833 to plead for a five year extension, he was flung into prison.

Both Texans and to a lesser extent the Mexicans depended logistically on the neutral port of New Orleans. The Mexicans saw that it would be important to stop the flow of contraband from that port to the Texan ports on the Gulf of Mexico. Although under Santa Anna the Mexican Navy had virtually ceased to exist, they managed to send two small corvettes, the *Moctezuma* and the *Correo* in early 1835 to act as Revenue Cruisers off the Texas coast.

These vessels in the course of their patrols soon came into contact with US warships from Commodore Dallas's West Indies squadron which were pledged to maintain American neutrality and protect vessels sailing under the Stars and Stripes. In July of that year the American Revenue Cruiser *Ingham* engaged the *Moctezuma* and ran her aground at Matagorda after she had captured the American schooner *Martha*.

On land Texan militias had started to oust the Mexican garrisons, but by virtue of their unopposed command of the Gulf the Mexicans were able to transfer re-inforcements by sea. The actions of the *Correo* in convoying such re-inforcements caused alarm in Texan circles and a resolution was passed against her at a New Orleans Convention of Texans in mid August. It was suggested that the Texans should raise a Navy, but Sam Houston, who was to prove an implaccable opponent of the concept of a Texan Navy, quashed the suggestion. "Such a Navy without a State would be pirates," he said, "and would turn the pages back to Lafitte!" One of the representatives, Thomas Mckinney, felt that something should be done and he purchased and armed the schooner *San Felipe* for $8,965 and gave her command to a Captain Hurd.

On 1st September the *Correo* captured the American registered brig *Tremont*, but both ships were intercepted off Velasco by Captain Hurd in *San Felipe* flying the American flag. The ships, which were both armed with 9pdr guns, fought a spirited action until the wind dropped and they were becalmed out of range of each other. The Texans were not to be denied however. Manned by volunteer riflemen, the small paddle steamer *Laura* sailed out from Velasco and taking the *San Felipe* in tow, positioned her astern of the *Correo*. From this position the American ship could rake her opponent with impunity. The Mexican Captain seeing that resistance was useless struck his colours. Since Texas had no legal status and *San Felipe* flew the American flag it was decided to take the *Correo* to New Orleans as a prize. Her captain was put on trial for being unable to produce a commission from the Mexican Government, but was later acquitted.

This victory only provided temporary respite to the Texans. The refloated *Moctezuma* had been joined by the brig *Veracruzana* armed with twelve 9pdrs, in harassing shipping in the Gulf. To make matters worse, the *San Felipe*, in pursuit of a Mexican vessel, ran aground on Bird Island, Matagorda Bay and was lost. In an effort to counter this threat, the Texan Consultation of November 1835 agreed to issue Letters of Marque to privateers and laid down conditions. Applicants had to be men of skill and naval tacticians. No vessel to be under 80 tons or with less than four 12pdrs. Cruising was restricted to the Gulf of Mexico. Prizes only from vessels under commission of the Central Government of Mexico and vessels had to fly the Mexican flag with 1824 on the white.

One of the first to receive such a commission was Captain Hurd formerly of the *San Felipe*. The Committee of Public Safety of Matagorda authorised the purchase of a small 80 ton Baltimore schooner the *William Robbins*. They armed her with six 9pdrs. Under his command she recaptured the American registered ship *Hannah Elizabeth* which had been carrying a cargo of arms and provisions for the new Texan Army when she was taken by the *Moctezuma*. The subsequent auctioning of the cargo by the local Texan commander Colonel Fannin raised accusations of piracy in American circles. Such accusations were to dog the fledgling Texas Navy throughout its short existence.

Finally, the General Council of the Provisional Government of Texas on 25th November authorised the establishment of a Navy of two schooners of twelve guns and two of six guns each. The *William Robbins* became the first vessel of the new Navy and was renamed *Liberty*. In January 1836 the ex-US Revenue Cruiser *Ingham* came on the market and was purchased. A vessel of 125 tons she was armed with eleven 9pdr guns. Renamed *Independence*, command of her, and the new Navy, was given to a Captain Hawkins who had served with Porter in the Mexican Navy against Spain off Cuba. Two further vessels were added. A Baltimore schooner, the *Invincible*, armed with two 18pdrs, two 9pdrs and four 6pdrs, and a former privateer named *Brutus*, a vessel of 125 tons armed with a long 18pdr swivel gun and nine short 6pdrs. The uniform adopted for the Navy was – Officers, a cap of blue and white with gold braid trim, flaring white collar over neck of a blue coat with brass buttons and a deep blue tie in double bow against a white shirt. Bell-bottom white trousers and sword. The sailors wore white shirts and bell-bottom trousers, a wide-brimmed, single tasselled hat with the brim turned up, hiding the crown. A new flag was raised, a single star, white on union blue, complemented by 13 prolonged stripes alternately red and white.

Hawkins' first act was to send *Invincible* and *Liberty* to cruise off the Mexican coast. While there, *Liberty* captured the schooner *Pelicano* and exacted tribute from a coastal town under threat of bombardment and the landing of marines. The two ships then bombarded the fortress of San Juan D'Ulloa setting fire to the Mexican brig, *General Teran*, before returning to Galveston. This cruise and the bombardment of San Juan d'Ulloa is credited with having persuaded Santa Anna to march his army to San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande instead of to Matoramoros, indicating an expensive overland march.

The next month the news was received in Galveston of the Texan disasters at the Alamo and Goliad. The presence of the Texan ships in the Gulf served to protect the flank of Houston's retreating army. On the 3rd of April the *Invincible* captured the American brig *Pocket* out of New Orleans with contracts to carry Mexican troops and supplies for the Mexican Navy. The *Liberty* captured the *Durango* and the privateer *Flash* arrived in Galveston with refugees fleeing from the advancing Mexicans. The Texans waited anxiously, then on the 28th April the news of San Jacinto and the capture of Santa Anna was received by a 13 gun salute from the ships, one for each stripe.

Most commentators consider this victory as marking the end of the Texan War of Independence. However, the Mexican Government refused to acknowledge the Treaty of Velasco by which Santa Anna recognised Texan independence in return for his release to Mexico. It

was to be the continuing threats of Mexican invasion that eventually prompted the annexation of Texas by the United States.

In the meantime, in the face of such threats, the Texan Navy was in pretty bad shape. The ships, through lack of maintenance, were badly in need of repair and were ordered to New Orleans for refits. Whilst there the officers and crew of the *Invincible* were arrested and put on trial for piracy, on charges laid by the insurers of the *Pocket's* cargo. They were however, found Not Guilty and feted by the people of New Orleans; although Texas felt obliged to pay the United States $35,000 to appease public feeling. Their troubles were not over however. Sufficient money could not be found to pay for the repairs and *Liberty* was repossessed by her former owners. By dint of great efforts by supporters both in Texas and New Orleans, the remaining ships were eventually redeemed from pawn and ordered back to Velasco.

The timing was unfortunate, not to say disasterous. A revitalised Mexican Navy of three Brigs and two Schooners was blockading Galveston and in a sharp engagement two of the Brigs, the *Veracruzana* and the *Liberador* captured one of the returning Texan schooners with Texan Senator Tom Wharton on board. They also captured several American vessels laden with arms and sent them to Matamoros as prizes. This sparked off the second clash between Mexican and United States warships. On 16th April 1837 the US Corvette *Natchez* rescued one of these vessels at Brazos de Santiago and captured the Mexican Brig-of-War *Urrea*.

Taking advantage of the American pre-occupation with the Seminole War and political unrest in the Mexican province of Yucatan, the two remaining Texan schooners sortied out to the Mexican coast in an effort to persuade the Mexicans to release Wharton. Unfortunately they fell foul of the superior Mexican Brigs *Veracruzana*, *Liberador* and *General Teran* and were run aground on the Texan coast and lost.

Thus, somewhat ingloriously, ended the first phase of the naval hostilities between Mexico and the now independent Republic of Texas. The Mexicans were about to re-impose their blockade of Galveston and General Bravo had concentrated an army at San Luis Potasi to re-invade Texas and retrieve the surprise of Santa Anna, when fate took a hand.

The French and the Mexicans had fallen out over a supposed insult and a French fleet under Admiral Baudin arrived to demand an apology. On being refused, he blockaded and bombarded the Mexican fortress of San Juan d'Ulloa, using, for the first time, the new shell guns developed by Paxiahans. Santa Anna, who by this time had been returned to Mexico via the United States, reinstated himself in the Mexican people's favour by taking command of the Mexican troops at San Juan and repulsing the French landing, although he lost a leg in the process.

The French blockade lasted until April 1839 and left Mexico without a warship, its principal fortress in ruins, its government in revolution and $600,000 indemnity to pay. Although France and the US had recognised Texas, Mexico still refused to acknowledge that it had lost the province.

To meet the potential threat of re-invasion, the Texas Congress at last authorised the raising of a new Navy, the command of which was to be given to an experienced Naval Officer. Commodore Edwin Moore who resigned from the US Navy in July 1839 was given the post. The first vessel purchased for the new navy in July of that year was a side wheel paddle steamer of 569 tons named *Zavala*. She was armed with one long 9pdr and four 12pdr medium guns and was capable of a maximum speed of 9 knots. A contract was placed in Baltimore for three 170 ton schooners each armed with a 12pdr long pivot and four 12pdr medium guns. These vessels were named *San Jacinto, San Antonio* and *San Bernard*. They were delivered in June and August 1839.

Moores' new navy was completed by the purchase of three further Baltimore built ships:
The *Austin*, a Sloop of War of 600 tons, armed with two 18pdr long, two 18pdr medium and sixteen 24pdr medium guns, was delivered in January 1840; the *Wharton*, a Brig of 405 tons armed with one 12pdr long and fifteen 18pdr medium guns, was delivered in October 1839; and the *Archer*, a Brig of 400 tons, a sister ship to the *Wharton*, was armed with fourteen 18pdr guns and delivered in April 1840.

The schooners were described as being 'fast enough to outrun anything they could not outfight, with shallow draught to work close inshore, tricky as yachts with very tall masts raking aft, low freeboard and a saucy air.'

Moore was anxious that his navy be considered a well regulated force free from the rough and ready reputation of the 1835/38 organisation. In this however he was thwarted. Several officers of the


Old Navy were unhappy at losing seniority to Moore's new appointees. Because of this bickering Congress withdrew the list of appointees and officers in the new Navy had to serve for three years without Commissions. This gave rise to accusations of piracy similar to those which had blighted the exploits of the Old Navy.

Mexico at this stage was still in turmoil. Its Northern provinces under General Canales were in revolt against the Centralist Government. They asked for Texan support to establish a Republic of the Rio Grande but Texan President Lamar, still hopeful that he could achieve Mexican recognition by negotiation, refused.

Moore however, was convinced that he could, like the French, lay Mexico under tribute and that only military pressure would persuade them to withdraw the threat to reconquer Texas. In the Summer of 1840 he took his flagship *Austen* accompanied by the *Zavala*, the *San Bernard* and the *San Jacinto* on a show of strength off the Yucatan coast. He used the Aracas Islands as a base, an example to be followed by Raphael Semmes during the American Civil War.

The appearance of the *Austen* off the Rio Grande is credited with persuading the Centralist General Arista to retreat from his threatening position on the Texas border. On October 20th a Mexican shore battery fired on a boat from the *Austen* as she was collecting water off Tampico. The *Austen* returned the fire and Moore ordered his ships to start capturing prizes and commence hostilities.

Like the Northern provinces, Yucatan was also in revolt against the Central Government of Mexico. The Yucatan leader, General Anaya, requested Moore's assistance to capture the town of San Juan Bautista which was held by 600 Centralists. Although he had no authority from the Texan Congress to do so, Moore ordered the *Zavala* to tow the *San Bernard*, the *Austin* and a Yucatan brig the 80 miles up the Tabasco River. After a bombardment the town surrendered and Anaya paid the Texans $25,000, although Moore had to seize two Yucatan ships to get the money. This cruise, although it persuaded Britain to recognise Texas, ended somewhat disasterously when the *San Jacinto* ran aground at Aracas Island and was lost. Fever also decimated the crews of the other ships. Later that year the *San Antonio* carried out a successful *Guerre-de-Course*, capturing three Mexican vessels of Tampico. One of which, unfortunately turned out to belong to the US consul at Campeche, a fact which did not help the enhance the reputation of the Texas Navy!

At the beginning of 1841, Texas sent another Commission to Mexico to negotiate recognition, the third in two years. Moore used the lull to chart the Texas coast, a much needed exercise in view of the number of vessels lost by grounding in the shoal waters. When the negotiations broke down, Lamar decided that the time was ripe for

renewed pressure on the Mexican Government and he proposed a military alliance with Yucatan. The agreement reached was for three Texan ships to aid Yucatan against the Centralist Government. Tributed from blockaded cities and captured ships were to be shared 50/50 and Texas was to be paid $8,000 a month to keep the ships at sea.

By this time however, most of Moore's ships were badly in need of refits. Through lack of funds and neglect the *Zavala* was unseaworthy and *Archer* was virtually a wreck at her moorings. Her guns were subsequently removed as shore batteries at Galveston. Yucatan offered to repair *Zavala* at their own cost, but Houston who was now President and cool to the Yucatan Agreement of his predecessor, refused.

Mexico had not been idle during this time and had started to rebuild her Navy. They had acquired a schooner, *Eagle*, similar to the *San Bernard* and also a small steamer *Regenador*. That summer Moore cruised off the Yucatan coast capturing several Mexican vessels. He also tried unsuccessfully to entice the new Mexican warships out of Vera Cruz to fight. Later in the year, when the *San Antonio* was sent to New Orleans for repairs, lack of funds to pay the crew caused a mutiny in which three officers were killed. The mutiny was put down by the US Revenue Cutter *Jackson* and Moore subsequently hanged four of the mutineers at the yardarm.

By April 1842, lack of any serious activity on the part of Mexico persuaded Yucatan that the Texan ships were no longer required. When they sailed the Yucatan Navy of two Brigs and two schooners dipped their colours. On the way back to Texas the *San Bernard* sprang a leak and had to be beached at Galveston.

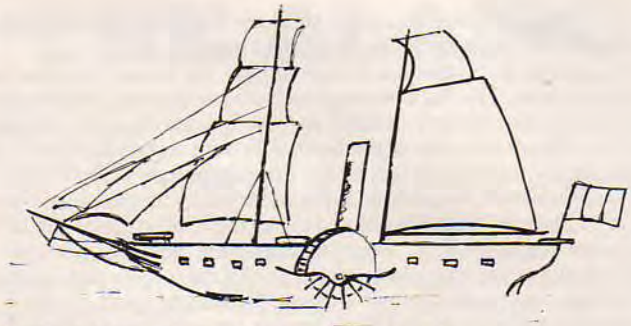
This action on Yucatan's part was premature and costly. In July of that year, a young Mexican Naval Commander, Tomás Marin, with fifty-seven men in a schooner, took the entire Yucatan Navy at Campeche and Carmen and captured them all by boarding. On September 11th Mexican troops crossed into Texas and sacked San Antonio. General Woll announced the start of a campaign to reconquer Texas. A prerequisite of any such reconquest was a peaceful Yucatan. Eight thousand men had already been landed at Campeche and placed it under siege and 3,000 more, plus a brigade of artillery, under General Ampmedia were sent to take the city and to complete the subjugation of Yucatan.

In August Moore had hurriedly sent *San Antonio* to assist the Yucateros but she was not heard of again and was assumed lost with all hands. In February 1843 a desperate General Anaya signed a new Agreement for help from the two ship Texan Navy. But although the Texas Congress had appropriated the funds for the refitting of Moore's ships at New Orleans, President Houston withheld the money. Moore had to resort to funds from Yucatan and money raised by sympathisers in New Orleans to provision the *Austin* and *Wharton* for sea. On 15th April when the ships sailed from New Orleans the crew of the USS *Ontario* manned the yards and gave three cheers for the gallant Texas Navy! On board the *Austin* Moore had shipped 600 shell projectiles he had perfected, a sort of poor man's *Paxhains*.

Moore arrived off Campeche on 30th April 1843 to find the city blocked by Mexico's entire Naval force under Commodore Lopez. This powerful force comprised two new 780 ton iron-hulled side-wheel Corvettes built in Britain to Admiralty specifications. They were the *Guadalope* armed with two 68pdr and two long 32pdr Paxhains, and the *Moctezuma* armed with two 68pdr and six 42pdr Paxhains. A third smaller steamer already mentioned,. the *Regenedor* (ex *City of Dublin*), had been armed with one long 32pdr and two long 9pdr Paxhains. The Schooner *Eagle* was armed with seven Paxhains, one long 32pdr and six 18pdrs. The squadron was completed by three ex-Yucatan schooners, the *Yucateros*, one long 32pdr and sixteen 18pdr carronades, the *Innan*, one long 12pdr and eight 6pdrs, and the *Campechico*, one long 9pdr and two 16pdrs.

The action which followed was unique in Naval history. It was the first occasion wooden-hulled sailing ships fought iron-hulled steamships and also the first use of shells between ships. This is usually credited to the Russians against the Turks at Sinope in 1853, but it is almost certain that Moore, ten years earlier used at least one of his shell projectiles, while the Mexicans expended practically all of their Paxhain shells.

To add to the strangeness of the occasion, the *Moctezuma*, which was crewed largely by Spaniards, flew the Spanish flag, and the *Guadalope*'s sailors, still largely Englishmen, refused to fight except under their own colours, and so flew the Union Jack! Moore broke out the Texas flag at his mastheads and the United States and British colours at the foretops!



**The Guadalope** – from a contemporary sketch.

As the Texan ships approached, a squadron of six small Yucatan gunboats came out to join them. Moore steered his ships into the gap between the Mexican steamers which were paddling astern, and the sailing ships. He engaged the steamers to port, exchanging five broadsides before turning his attention on the weaker sailing ships to starboard, or downwind. The sailing ships fled while the steamers came to their rescue, skirting outside Texan gun range.

After about an hour the wind dropped and the sailing ships lay to while the Mexicans stayed out of range. Moore anchored his ships on spring cables and when the Mexican steamers endeavoured to re-open the action by trying to pass under the sterns of the Texan ships, they sprung themselves round on their cables so that their starboard batteries could bear. The breeze freshened and slipping their cables the Texans bore down on the Mexicans. Broadsides were exchanged before the Mexicans drew off upwind leaving Moore free to enter Campeche. Although considerable damage had been sustained by all of the vessels no-one had been hurt on *Austin*, while *Wharton* had 2 killed and 3 wounded. *Moctezuma* had 13 killed and *Guadalope* had 7 killed including her British Captain.

Moore's arrival at Campeche was very timely as the Yucateros were just about to sign Articles of Surrender that very day. The unfortunate Commodore Lopez was arrested and sent back to Mexico to be court martialled for failing to capture the Texan ships and Commodore Marin was appointed to take command.

Lack of a suitable wind prevented any further action until the 16th May when in response to a challenge from Marin, Moore sortied out once more to engage the blockading squadron. He had borrowed two long 18pdr guns from the Yucateros to increase *Austin*'s range and a further 12pdr was put into *Wharton*. As the range gradually closed both sides scored hits. One shot from *Austin*'s 18pdr took away *Guadalope*'s colours causing the Texans to cheer. The Yucatan gunboats, except one commanded by a Frenchman, held back despite Moore's signals to join the action.

*Guadalope* and the *Moctezuma*, one on each quarter poured their heavy shot into the *Austin* until in the smoke and flash of battle only her three graceful masts were visible from *Wharton*. Moore traded broadsides and both steamers staggered under the blows of his solid shot. One of *Guadalope*'s paddles was put out of action. Enveloped in her own steam she floundered off under the other, still firing. The *Eagle* broke clear and did not return. *Austin* took up pursuit of the retreating Mexicans, sustaining three hits in the process and taking three feet of water in her magazine. She only gave up the chase after four hours.

In this action *Austin* lost 2 killed and 22 wounded. *Wharton* had 2 killed. Reports from the Mexicans said *Guadalope* lost 47 killed and had 32 amputations among the 64 wounded. *Moctezuma* had 40 killed and wounded. *Austin* fired 530 rounds, whilst *Wharton*'s 12pdr alone fired 64 rounds. On 26th May the Mexicans re-embarked their troops for Tabasco and the siege of Campeche was raised and with it the Mexican threat to Galveston and Texas

Like Jutland almost 73 years to the day later, both sides claimed victory. Mexico even struck a victory medal! There can be no doubt however that the action marked the end of the Mexican threat to the Republic of Texas. It was the first action between sail and steam and the only one in which sail prevailed. It is interesting to speculate that if the *Zavala* had been available to Moore it might have been the first action between steam ships. The action also proved to be Mexico's *Belgrano*! Her warships did not put to sea again and in the War with the United States they lurked in their ports under the protection of shore batteries until eliminated. Both *Guadalope* and *Moctezuma*

were caught in Cuba where they had been sent for repairs and were repossessed for non-payment by the British builders.

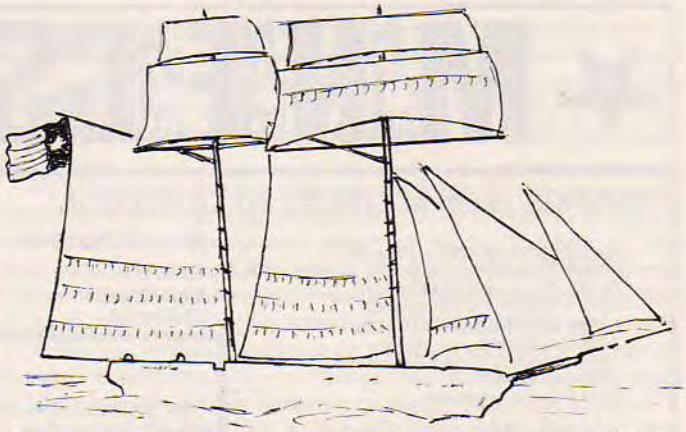
The value to Texas in her struggle for Independence, of the little navies of Hawkins and Moore was that they kept her ports open. In fact they were to a large extent all that stood between a Texas returned to Mexico and a Texas as part of the United States.

For Moore however there was not to be a happy ending. Houston, resolute enemy of the Navy, had him court martialled for treason for taking his ships to Yucatan without authority. Public opinion in Texas led to the charges being dropped, but Moore never recovered from the disgrace. His remaining ships were transferred to the United States Navy on Annexation and the Texas Navy faded into undeserved obscurity.

**Wargaming the Period**

Any of the Napoleonic sailing rules can no doubt be used with adaptions from American Civil War Naval rules to deal with the steam ships and the effect of shell. The Texans were undoubtedly the better sailors despite losing many ships by grounding. With Moore's charts they would have the advantage in the shoal waters of the Gulf. Allowance should be made for depletion of crews through fever if held off the Coast of Yucatan for any extended period. Ships are probably best scratch built.

Tactically the Texans had to get into close range for their solid shot broadsides to tell, whilst the Mexicans with the advantage of steam could stand off and pound with their Paxhains which appear to have caused more pyrotechnics than casualties. Undoubtedly the Naval side of the War of Independence can open up new possibilities to supplement a land campaign. So, as well as 'Remembering the Alamo!' why not remember 'Campeche'!



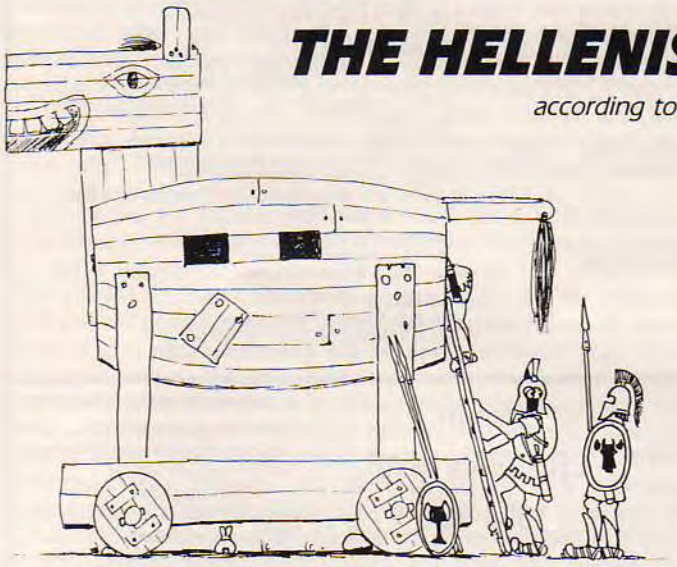
The Texan Schooner – **San Antonio** – from a contemporary sketch.

**Bibliography**

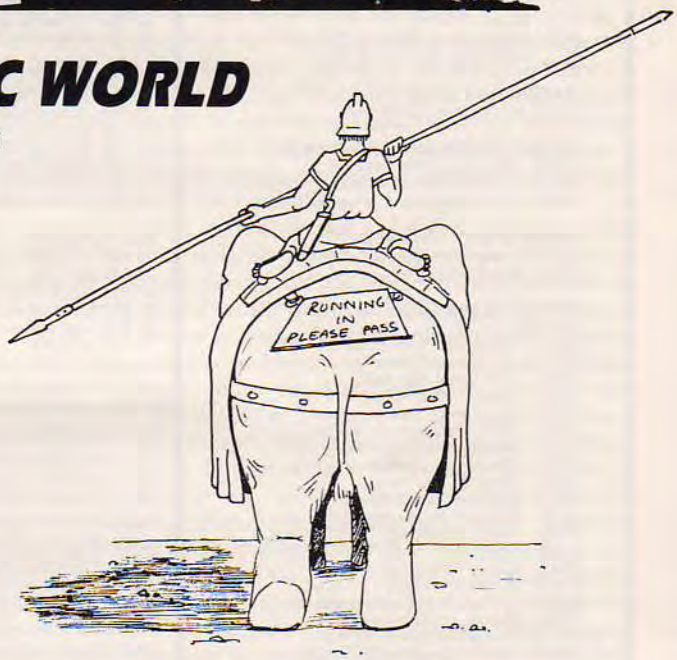
*The Texas Navy* – T Dan Hill.
*Commodore Moore and the Texas Navy* – Tom Henderson Wells USN.
*Command the Sea* – Reynolds.
*The Ship – Steam, Steel and Torpedoes* – David Lyon.
*Mexico and her Military Leaders* – Burns.
*Star in the Rigging* – Garland Roark.

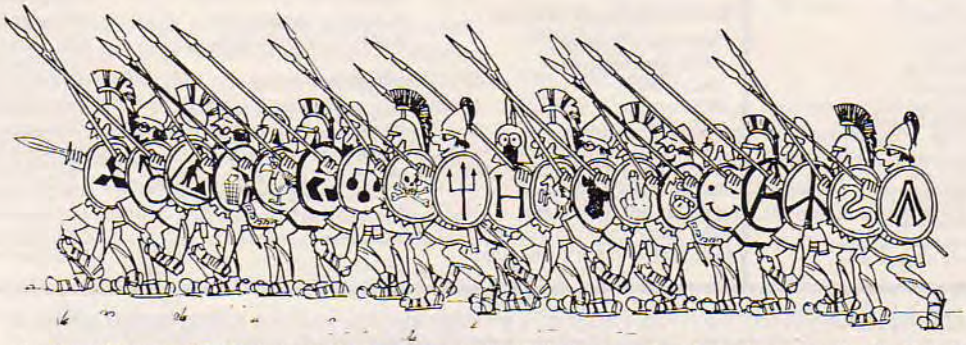
# THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

*according to Seamus*



***"Join the army and see the world they said . . . "***



***Ancient Greece, birthplace of democracy. "After all the speeches have been made the Greeks employ the traditional form of canvassing . . ."***

*The Conqueror's map reading hasn't been all that good! Normans vs. Byzantines. Most figures old 25mm.* ***Citadel*** *Dark Ages range, with a good smattering of many other ranges. Figures from the collections of members of Coventry's Scimitar Wargames Group.*

*Richard Brooks takes a look at*

# A CAMPAIGN WITH A VIEW or What the Conqueror Saw

More than one article in these pages has complained about the problems of map campaigns. They are anachronistic, expensive to run and unsatisfactory as a means of generating table-top games. Perhaps their main defect (commented on by Roger Underwood in *Wargames Illustrated* June 1988) is that they give players far too much information which would not have been available and simply slows the game down. It is possible to do away with maps entirely, as Roger suggests. It is also possible to start at the edge of a hexed sheet and explore it, filling in the detail as you go. This is alright for expeditions across trackless deserts, but it doesn't work where continuous pieces of geography like rivers or roads are needed. An approach is needed that has the logical consistency of a map while restricting the information immediately available to the players. This should allow the game designer to develop sensible terrain where the rivers only flow downhill and even to provide some limited information to the players. For instance they could be told there are mountains two days march to the North. For more recent periods, they could even have suitably censored or misleading sketch maps showing the relationship of major centres but omitting most of the intervening detail. On the master map however, the players should only be able to see the area literally under their noses.

One answer that I came up with was to have a small map (about a quarter of A4 size) which was overlaid by a larger piece of paper with a hole in the middle. This roughly represented the area visible to someone in the middle of the hole. The overlay would be moved about to show the changing view presented to the player as he moved. If you want to simulate the effect of hills or weather on visibility then overlays with different apertures can be used. In my case I wanted to follow the progress of a gang of Norman adventurers arriving on a bit of imaginary British coastline. It obviously does not do to use maps of terrain familiar to the players. Their landfall was diced for and the overlay placed accordingly. I then reconnoitred the coast road and took a fort near the river. Here I was told (under torture naturally) that there was a walled town lying upriver. So I trustingly marched up the river only to find the town was on the opposite bank. I was consequently forced to make an opposed river crossing in a way that could not have happened in a normal map game. However this must have been a standard problem for Crusaders or other invaders far from home with only unreliable locals for guides.

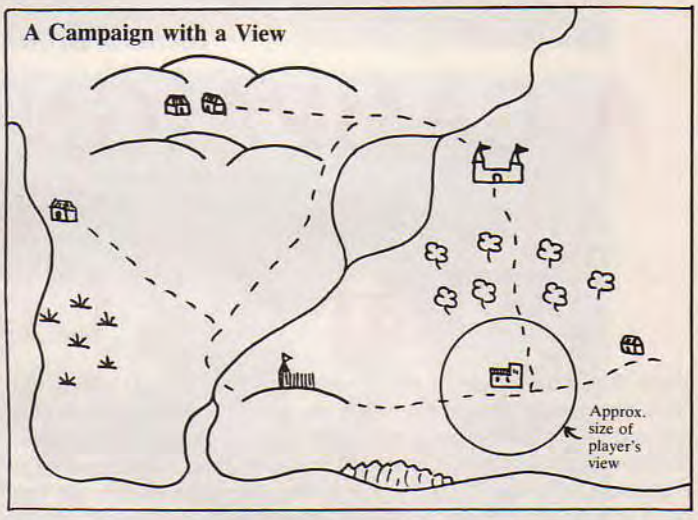
Obviously this was only a small example of a restricted map campaign but it produced several reasonable tactical engagements very cheaply. The map movement only took an hour or so,

including drawing the map. This was very simple using a pictorial representation of features rather than modern cartographical symbols, as shown in the attached map. The Normans were quite good at pictures, as can be seen from the Bayeux Tapestry. Roads should be scarcer than today, woods and swamps more plentiful. The number of distinct settlements would not be very much less than today, but of course they would be much smaller and would be separated by several miles of agricultural land or waste. Movement should be in terms of the day's march with penalties for not stopping to forage. Any area supporting an army for long would soon be devastated: the effect of William's march from Hastings to London was still apparent in the Domesday Book twenty years later. Consequently the map should be updated to show the advantages of feudalism for the agrarian economy. Another amendment to the original map would be the addition of motte and bailey castles which could be run up in a week or two if sufficient labour and materials were available locally.

Further technical improvements could be made to the method:

1) The map could be covered with clear plastic for chinagraph notes of names or damage done to villages or bridges.
2) Several adjacent segments of map could be drawn on postcards. These could be handled more easily than paper and hence more easily kept out of sight of the Players (Campaigns on the back of a postcard?).
3) Some sort of grid is needed on the map to help estimate movement rates. Hexagons don't appear appropriate for the 11th century. Perhaps rows of dots, offset in a triangular pattern would do the same job less obtrusively. However, I don't think too much stress should be placed on time or ground scales as Normans didn't have watches. (Presumably there are no pockets in chain mail waistcoats to put them in.)
4) The umpire should provide a certain amount of background information as the game progresses, such as misinformation from yokels or significant "noises off", like church bells.

Any appropriate rules or figure scale could be used to resolve the tactical actions. However, these should allow as much imprecision about enemy numbers and deployment as possible. There should also be penalties for players who get cold feet and refuse to fight. For instance, their troops might begin to desert or suffer a morale disadvantage in their next action. The campaign approach described above is best suited to periods where detailed topographical information was not available. However to some extent this could be true of any wargaming period before aircraft became popular. The keyhole approach to map reading is a cheap way of simulating the way early commanders had to find out about the ground the hard way by going and looking at it. Having seen it, they have to remember how it all fits together, as they did not normally take notes. It also provides a salutary reminder of how difficult it must have been to make sensible strategic decisions in the absence of proper information.



# Museum Miniatures

*15mm Super detailed gaming figures*

CATALOGUE 1988

SEND 2.00 for 25mm .50p for 15mm

VISA ACCESS

MAIL ORDER HOT-LINE

## SKYTHIAN

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 15/SC03 | Horse Archer | LC |
| 15/SE14 | Foot Archer | LI |
| 15/SE22 | Noble Cavalry | HC |
| 15/SE23 | Foot Spear | LMI |
| 15/SE24 | Foot Axes | LMI |
| 15/SE25 | Skythian Cav | EHC |

## BACTRIAN GREEK

| | |
|---|---|
| 15/RC03 | Archaain LI Cav |
| 15/RC06 | Cavalry HC |
| 15/CA1 | Cretan Archer |
| 15/SE05 | Hillmen |
| 15/IF02 | Indian Archers |
| 15/IC02 | Indian Cavalry |
| 15/SE26 | Phalanx MI |
| 15/SE04 | Pisidian Colonist |
| 15/SE21 | Bodyguard HC |
| 15/IE16 | Indian Ally Gen Elephant |
| 15/IE10 | Indian Elephants |
| 15/CT01 | Indian 4 Horse Chariot |

## THRACIAN

| | |
|---|---|
| 15/RC01 | Light Horse LC |
| 15/RC05 | Greek Ally General |
| 15/RC06 | Sub General |
| 15/SE04 | Greek Peltast LMI |
| 15/SE06 | Javelinmen LI |
| 15/SE08 | Greek Hoplite MI |
| 15/SE13 | Slingers LI |
| 15/SE14 | Archers LI |
| 15/SE15 | Peltast LMI |

## Later Hoplite Greek

| | |
|---|---|
| 15/SC03 | Athenian Horse Archer |
| 15/SC04 | C in C |
| 15/CA1 | Cretan Archer |
| 15/SE17 | Greek Ally General |
| 15/RC05 | Greek Cavalry |
| 15/SE08 | Hoplites MI |
| 15/SE05 | Javelinmen LI |
| 15/SE04 | Peltast LMI |
| 15/NS1 | Slingers LI |
| 15/SE17 | Spartan Sub General |
| 15/GL05 | Syracusan Gauls |
| 15/SI1 | Syracusan Spaniards |
| 15/SE15 | Thracians LMI |

Later Hoplite Greek Army 15.48

## AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

| | |
|---|---|
| AF1 | Iron Brigade First Uniform Firing |
| AF2 | Private Shell Jacket Kepi Shouldering Arms |
| AF3 | Private Shell Jacket Slouch Hat Advancing |
| AF4 | Frock Coat Slouch Hat Advancing |
| AF5 | Mounted Officer Full Dress |
| AF6 | Officer on Foot Service Dress |
| AF7 | Standard Bearer |
| AF8 | Musician Drummer |
| AF9 | Garibaldi Guard |
| AF10 | Zouave wearing Kepi Foot |
| AF11 | Zouave wearing Fez Foot |
| AF12 | Cavalry Greatcoat cape kepi |
| AF13 | Volunteer Cavalry |
| AF14 | Cavalry Dolman Jacket |
| AF15 | Mounted Trumpeter |

## COMPLETE ARMY PRICES

| | |
|---|---|
| MEDIEVAL FRENCH | 15.30 |
| ASIATIC EARLY SUCCESSOR | 15.12 |
| GALLIC | 15.21 |
| ANCIENT BRITISH | 15.03 |
| GALATIAN | 15.48 |
| INDIAN | 15.26 |
| WELSH 580ad to 1420ad | 15.48 |
| 100 YEARS WAR | 15.30 |
| SELEUCID | 15.57 |
| MACEDONIAN SUCCESSOR | 15.03 |
| REPUBLICAN ROMAN | 15.03 |
| LATER HOPLITE GREEK | 15.48 |
| LYSIMACHID | 15.30 |
| FREE COMP 1357ad–1390ad | 15.12 |

## Medieval French

| | |
|---|---|
| 15/MD20 | C in C Mounted |
| 15/MD04 | French Crossbowmen |
| 15/MD05 | Genoese Crossbowmen |
| 15/MD06 | French Archer LMI |
| 15/MD10 | Brigans HI |
| 15/MD20 | French Men at Arms |
| 15/MD21 | French Sergeants HC |
| 15/MD23 | French Mounted Archer |

## *15MM EQUIPMENT*

| | |
|---|---|
| 15/WG01 | Wood Sided 4 Wheel Wagon with spoked wheels and 2 Horse Team |
| 15/WG02 | Wood Sided 4 Wheel Wagon with solid wheels and 2 Horse Team |
| 15/WG03 | Water Wagon (3 Battels) Spoked Wheels and 2 Horse Team |
| 15/WG04 | Engineers Wagon (Building Materials) Spoked Wheels ans 2 Horse Team |
| 15/WG05 | Canvas Topped Wagon Spoked Wheels and 2 Horse Team |
| 15/WG13 | Extra Pair of Draught Horses 40p |
| 15/WG14 | Wood Sided 2 Wheel (Spoked) Cart with Two Horses |
| 15/WG15 | Wood Sided 2 Wheel (Solid) Cart with Two Horses |
| 15/WG16 | Water Cart (Large Barrel) Solid Wheel with 2 Horse Team |

*4 WHEEL WAGONS 1.50*
*2 WHEEL WAGONS .90P*

*PRICE INCLUDES WAGON DRIVER AND LOADS*

## ROMAN ARMY

| *INFANTRY* | | *CAVALRY* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 15/CA1 | Cretan Archer | 15/RC1 | Hvy Cavalry |
| 15/GI1 | Gallic Inf Running Nude | 15/Rc2 | LI Cavalry |
| 15/GI2 | Gallic Inf Running Nude | 15/RC3 | Numidian |
| 15/GI3 | Gallic Inf Running | 15/RC4 | Galic |
| 15/GI4 | Gallic Inf Running | 15/RC6 | Pergamene |
| 15/HP3 | Hastatus or Princeps | 15/RC5 | Illyrian Cavalry |
| 15/NS1 | Numidian Slinger | 15/RC7 | Spanish |
| 15/RT4 | Triarus | 15/IE14 | Elephant & crew |
| 15/RV1 | Velites | 15/RM1 | Musician |
| 15/SI1 | Spanish | 15/RO1 | Officer |
| | | 15/RS1 | Standard Bearer |

*Museum Miniatures and Q.T.Models*
*17 Hilderthorpe Road*
*Bridlington YO15 3AY*
*TELE 0262 670421*

*COME AND VISIT OUR SHOP*
*WE ARE OPEN 6 DAYS A WEEK*
*9.00 TO 5.30.*
*WE LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU*

## SHOWS

STOCKTON DEC 3RD

SHEFFIELD TRIPLES 18/19TH MARCH

SALUTE KENSINGTON APRIL 15TH

BEVERLEY MAY 20TH

| 15mm | | 25mm | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Infantry | 10p | Infantry | .30 |
| Cavalry | 20p | Cavalry | .70 |
| Elephants | 1.25 | Chariots..... | |
| Chariots | 1.25 | 4Horse | 4.00 |
| Cavalry 1 piece castings | | 2Horse | 2.00 |
| | | Elephants | 3.00 |

## POSTAGE

*UK CUSTOMERS PLEASE ADD 15% TO ORDER TOTAL*
*Minimum charge 30p*
*ORDERS OVER 20.00 POST FREE*

*EUROPE/USA PLEASE ADD 30% AIRMAIL*

*AUSTRALIA & N.Z ADD 50% AIRMAIL Minimum 1.00*

## American Civil War

12 pdr NAPOLEON
20 pdr PARROTT RIFLE
RODMAN RIFLE GUN
12 pdr WHITWORTH RIFLE

All Guns Come Complete with Crew with Ramrod....Pushing Wheel with Bucket.....Officer with Sword



*Scotish Stockest*
*Caledonia Models*
*21 Hyndland st*
*Partick Glasgow*
*C11 5QE*

See the photo on page 34 for **Museum Miniatures** in colour

# FROM THE WORLD'S LEADING WARGAMES TERRAIN .....

GEO-HEX™

## ....COMES A WORLD BEATING BOARDGAMES TERRAIN .....

BATTLESCAPE
A REVOLUTION IN GAMEBOARD DESIGN

Boardgamers using miniatures now have an exciting alternative to playing on the same old flat board. BATTLESCAPE combines the amazing versatility and realistic apperance of the acclaimed GEO-HEX system with a hex grid gameboard. You may now build hills, rivers, islands, valleys, coastline etc. in a countless variety of layouts while the 1.5 inch hex size grid allows you to use boardgame rules and movement systems. No longer are you limited to playing on featureless and rigid gameboard. Available in green or desert finish BATTLESCAPE and GEO-HEX offer endless possibilities in terrain simulation.

Further details are available:

**In the UK from,**

**BATTLE HONOURS**
5 Moors Lane,
Oreton,
Nr. Kidderminster,
WORCS DY14 8RH
074 632 627 or send an SAE.


**in the USA from,**

**GEO-HEX,**
528 NE HANCOCK,
PORTLAND
OR 97212,
(503) 288 4805
For a color catalog
of all GEO-HEX products send $3.00
check or money order. (US only)

VISA
Access
MasterCard

*Dave Thomas has acquired the WWII 1/76th collections of both Peter Gilder and Phil Robinson, probably giving him more men than Monty, more punch than Patton! A small part of the collection is shown here as Dave begins a slow liberation of Europe. Pictures posed by Dave & P.G. at Mike Ingham's Wargames Holiday Centre.*

# THE DEBACLE OF VILLERS-BOCAGE

*by Anthony R. Tucker*

The failure of Operation Perch has to rank as one of the worst of all the setbacks the Allies suffered during the 1944 Normandy campaign. In the space of just five minutes a handful of dreaded Tiger tanks destroyed the brigade spearhead of the 7th Armoured Division, saved the Panzer Lehr Division from encirclement, prevented the German line from being rolled up and stopped the Allies from breaking out to the south-west of Caen. In short this engagement could have speeded the conclusion of the Normany campaign. Instead bad planning and bad luck resulted in a major setback for the British Army.

**Opening Moves**

Following the D-Day landing both the Allies and the Germans knew the strategic ground lay in the east where the British Second Army was deployed before Caen. To the south-east lay open tank country that would facilitate the Allies' break out from their bridgehead. General Montgomery directed three frontal assaults against the city on 7 and 8 June with no success, so on 13 June the enveloping right hook attack at Villers-Bocage was launched. Its failure was to result in two more costly enveloping attacks with operation "Epsom" launched to the west on 25 June and "Goodwood" to the east on 18 July.

After the Wehrmacht had successfully blunted Montgomery's initial advances, rather than fight another bloody frontal battle for Caen he decided Second Army would launch its main effort to the west, towards Villers-Bocage and Evrecy, then south-east towards Falaise. Montgomery committed his two veteran divisions, the 51st Highland and 7th Armoured (the 'Desert Rats'), for two main flank attacks. The 51st would attack through the 6th Airborne east of Orne and the 7th would attack to the south-west. On 11 June the 51st's attack was crushed and by the 13th the assault had petered out. The 7th Armoured Division's advance was slow, but a hole in the German line between Villers-Bocage and Caumont had been detected.

On 13 June the advance elements of the 7th entered Villers-Bocage to be greeted by joyful locals, the scene was set for the Villers-Bocage debacle.

**German Defences**

The German defences around Caen were considerable, consisting of the 21st and 12th SS Panzer Divisions and the Panzer Lehr Division. The 21st was equipped with a large number of modified old French tanks, including 23 Somuas, 43 Hotchkiss and 45 Lorraine assault guns, but also had 98 PzKpfw IVs and 6 older PzKpfw IIIs. The 12th SS was better armed with 91 PzKpfw IVs, 48 Panthers and 10 Jagdpanzers. After some difficulty the Panzer Lehr had come into the line to the left of the 12th SS on 9 June. The division had driven 90 miles from Chartes losing 5 tanks, 84 self-propelled guns and other APVs, and 130 trucks to Allied air attacks. Under Generalleutnant (Lieutentant-General) Fritz Bayerlein, Panzer Lehr was one of the most formidably equipped panzer divisions in Normandy. It was also one of the few divisions at almost full strength. In June 1944 it had 97 PzKpfw IVs, 86 Panthers and 31 assault guns (by 1 August this had been whittled down to 15 PzKpfw IVs and 12 Panthers).

Panzer Lehr first went into action opposite the Canadians, but then side stepped to attack up the road towards Bayeux. The battle of Le Mesnil-Patry resulted in them halting just three miles from the city on 11 June. Lehr then went onto the defensive around Till-sur-Seulles and as the rest of its units arrived the British 30th Corps advance was blocked.

**Operation Perch**

This meant the British would have to move west from Caen to the flank of Panzer Lehr and the high ground beyond Villers-Bocage. The idea of a right hook movement was Major-General G.W. Erskine's, Commander of the 7th Armoured Division, and it had been first discussed at 30th Corps HQ on 10 June. It was hoped the move would break up the resistance in front of the British 50th (Northumbrian) Division and encircle the troublesome Panzer Lehr.

Villers-Bocage was of strategic importance to both sides. The road network for the whole region stemmed from the village, anyone controlling Villers-Bocage would control the network.

Sited at the head of the Seulles valley it dominated the approaches to Mont Pincon 10 miles to the south, the Odfon valley and Caen in the east.

When 50th Division drove against Panzer Lehr, 7th Armoured side stepped to the west driving three quarters of a circle into the American sector and then south through the gap in the German line, then eastwards behind Lehr at Villers-Bocage. The 22nd Armoured Brigade, consisting of the 4th County of London Yeomanry (the 'Sharpshooters') armoured regiment, 1st and 5th Battalions RTR, and half tracked-infantry of the 1st Battalion the Rifle Brigade, under brigadier Robert 'Loony' Hinde (a nickname gained whilst in North Africa), supported by the 8th King's Royal Irish Hussars and the 11th Hussars, was to spearhead the attack, followed up by the Queen's Royal Regiment of the 131st Infantry Brigade. Moving through the gap west of Aure on the evening of 12 June the leading elements reached the Caumont-Villers-Bocage road five miles west of the town. Hinde only had three hours of daylight left so rather than give the game away he halted for the night.

**Villers-Bocage Occupied**

At 0800 hours on 13 June 1944 a tank/infantry force led by the Sharpshooters and 'A' Company, 1st Battalion the Rifle Brigade, occupied Villers-Bocage almost unopposed. Two surprised Germans, probably from Panzer Lehr, sped off in a volkswagen. However, the 8th and 11th Hussars on the flanks were slowed. Colin Thomson an armoured car driver-operator in the 11th Hussars recalls: "My troops penetrated . . . as far as Cahagnes where . . . we saw a large concentration of enemy armour moving towards Villers-Bocage. Round the corner of a narrow lane came a German 8-wheel armoured car . . . Our lead car gunner let go. The Jerry vehicle went up in a cloud of smoke.

We heard another vehicle . . . 'Please God it's not a Tiger!' someone said. It turned out to be a huge self-propelled gun which we hit with everything we had, destroying it and its crew." The main body of 22nd Armoured Brigade was now 6 miles behind enemy lines.

At about 0900 hours Regimental Headquarters of the Yeomanry dismounted, while Hinde ordered their C.O. Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Cranley (also spelt Cranleigh) to reconnoitre the wooded road N175 to Caen and take hill Point 213 to the north-east, where the national highway led straight to Caen. Cranley was not happy about this, especially as some German armoured cars had been observed. They were the weak reconnaissance element from Panzer Lehr's reconnaissance battalion and ironically the previous day had been the only unit defending the gap. His request for more time to reconnoitre was refused by Major Lever, Hinde's Brigade major. So, as ordered, Cranley despatched 'A' Squadron of the Sharpshooters to seize Point 213 less than a mile to the north-east, while 'A' Company of the Rifle Brigade, which followed, parked on the highway. This column consisted of Cromwell tanks, Honey light tanks, two de-gunned OP tanks, Bren gun carriers and half-tracks.

Cranley then decided to inspect these new positions for himself. Hopping into his scout car he drove off, leaving the 4 tanks of the RHQ in town. What he did not know was that the 2nd (Vienna) Panzer Division had been alerted to move from Amiens to Normandy to establish blocking positions in this sector, and that two companies of the 1st SS Panzer Corps reserve had already arrived that morning. Nor did Cranley know that Point 213 was now occupied by the 101st heavy tank battalion under Obersturmfuhrer (Lieutenant) Michael Wittmann.

**SS Panzers**

Wittmann had already established himself as a tank ace. In July 1941 in the Balkans as an SS-Unterscharfuhrer (Corporal) he had been awarded the Iron Cross II Class while commanding an assault gun in the Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler Division (LSSAH), and in September hd gained the Iron Cross I Class on the Eastern Front. By December 1942 he had become an SS-Untersturmfuhrer (2nd Lieutenant) and the following year was given command of a Tiger I in 13 Kompanie of the Leibstandarte's SS-Panzer regiment. When he reached SS-Obersturmfuhrer on 20 January 1944 his kills stood at 117 vehicles. In April he took command of 2 Kompanie in the Schwere (Heavy) SS-Panzer Abteilung (Battalion) 101st.

The 101st was the heavy tank unit of the 1st SS Panzer Corps, consisting of the LSSAH and the 12th SS Panzer Division *Hitlerjugend*. The Schwere SS-Panzer Abetilung 101st (renumbered 501st in October 1944) commanded by SS-Obersturmbannfuhrer (Lieutenant-Colonel) von Westernhagen, had a theoretical strength of 45 (in fact 37) Tigers. Less than half this number were available at Villers-Bocage and by 1 July only 11 were serviceable. At the time of the invasion the 101st was stationed in the Beauvais area with Corps HQ at Septeuil, west of Paris. It reached Normandy on 12 June and 2 Kompanie found cover in a small wood north-east of Villers-Bocage, minus 4 tanks left with the workshop company under Obersturmfuhrer Stamm. 1 Kompanie under SS-Hauptsturmfuhrer (Captain) Mobius was deployed to their right. (It is unclear just how involved Mobius's tanks were in the coming battle.) Corps HQ had moved to Baron-sur-Odon between Villers-Bocage and Caen on 9 June.

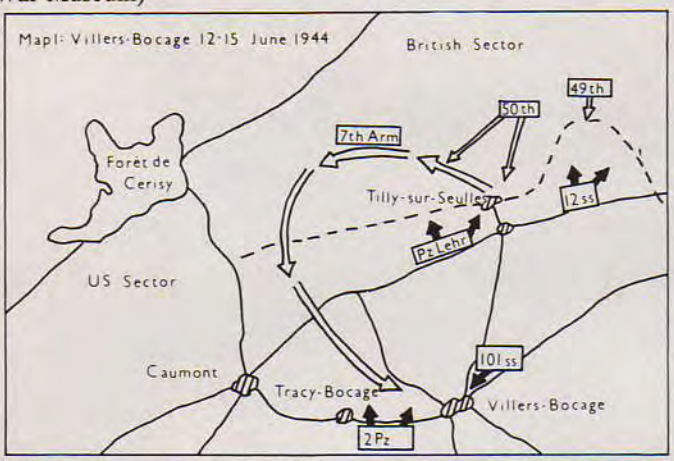
**Wittmann's Attack**

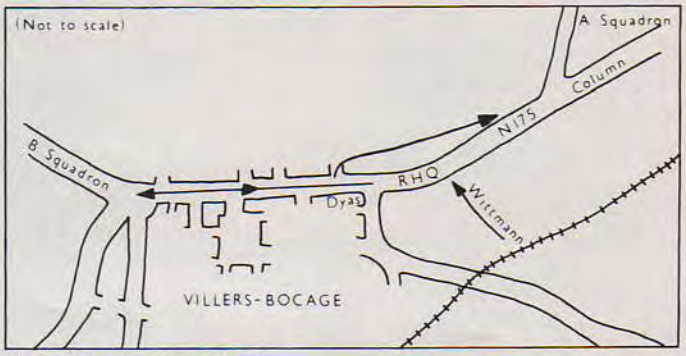
On 13th the Germans had planned to carry out maintenance, until the British column outside Villers-Bocage had been spotted. Wittmann decided to reconnoitre to the north-west between his position and Balleroy to see if the rumour that the British 7th Armoured Division had pushed into the left flank of Panzer Lehr was in fact true. With four, possible five, Tigers and one Lehr PzKpfw IV he fanned out and advanced on Villers-Bocage. Spotting the British armoured column moving east towards Point 213 Wittmann realised the road junction must be secured against the British.

In the meantime the British had halted on the hill past the junction with the Tilly road. At 0905 hours the lead elements of the Sharpshooters and units of 'A' Company had reached the base of Point 213. The main column of 25 vehicles had stopped several hundred yards away on the hedge lined highway, while most of the tanks, including 4 Cromwells and one Firefly, spread out to the north where Cranley was now checking on them. Wittmann's

(1) One of the 4th County of London Yeomanry's Cromwells knocked out in the shattered rubble of Villers-Bocage. (Imperial War Museum)

(2) Villers-Bocage after the RAF raid on 30 June. The two Tigers in the high street remain, Wittmann's is the one in the background, but the PzKpfw IV originally to the right of the Tiger in the foreground has been blown to pieces. (Imperial War Museum)




Map2: Wittmann's First Attack

gunlayer, SS-Oberscharfuhrer (Sergeant). Balthasar Woll, who had served Wittmann well in Russian, and whose own tank was now under repair, grumbled "They're acting as if they've won the war already." To which Wittmann replied "We're going to prove them wrong." It was not a hollow threat.

Two of three of the Tigers were spotted running parallel to the column, but Wittmann to the north decided to circle round and attack without waiting for the others. Heading from the east he rammed aside a Cromwell blocking his way and drove into the town's highstreet, rue Clemenceau. In the town square the RHQs tank crews had dismounted and were surprised to be confronted by a lumbering Tiger tank. Any six pounder anti-tank guns that had been deployed were useless as their shells just bounced off. First Cranley's tank was knocked out. Regimental Second in Command Major Carr fired point-blank range at the Tiger, to no effect. Wittmann halted and Carr's Cromwell exploded in flame, followed by the Regimental Sergeant-Major's tank. The fourth tank under Captain Pat Dyas reversed desperately out of the way into a garden, but Dyas and his gunner were outside their tank and could only watch helplessly as the Tiger drove by, presenting its side armour.

Wittmann then descended the slope down towards the river valley of the Seulles, past some bombed out houses. At the road junction he bumped into Major Aird's 'B' Squadron parked on the Caumont road. Sergeant Stan Lockwood, commanding a Sherman Firefly, had heard all the firing and was confronted by a scout car and its frantically waving driver. Lockwood drove round a corner to find side on 200 yards away Wittmann's Tiger firing down a side street. The Firefly poured four 17 pounder rounds into the Tiger which began to burn, but its turret rotated and a shell brought half a building down on Lockwood's tank. When he emerged Wittmann had gone.

The Tiger beat a hasty retreat back up the hill running into Dyas's Cromwell. Wittmann sustained two more hits before the Cromwell was brewed up and two of its crew killed. Dyas, with the help of a French girl, managed to reach one of 'B' Squadron's tanks. Lying to the left of and parallel to the highway was a narrow track, clanking up this Wittmann's first victim was a half-track at the base of the column. This was followed by an unsuspecting Honey tank. Further up the road a 6 pounder crew hurriedly swung their gun round, but a well placed shell hit the Bren carrier loaded with ammunition in front of it. Wittmann then proceeded to brew up the rest of the startled column, knocking out a row of Bren Carriers and half-tracks as armour piercing shells bounced off his impervious armour. British soldiers scattered in all directions, many taking shelter in the ditch behind the column. A tank tried to block his path on the track, so he drove onto the road, mangling everything in his path. Hinde who had apparently arrived to check on progress managed to extricate his scout car and sped back to town to try and organise its defence. Wittmann then withdrew to the woods to the south-east. In just five minutes he had reduced Cranley's advance to a shambles, destroying over 25 vehicles single handedly.

**Battle for Point 213**

Dyas made contact with Major Aird and radioed Cranley to inform him what had happened. Cranley, in his last radio message, replied he also was under attack from German Tiger tanks and needed help. The 8th Hussars, divisional reconnaissance regiment, to the north advanced to help, but were engaged by Wittmann's (possibly Mobius's) Tigers. They suffered heavy losses and were driven off. Colin Thomson of the 11th Hussars observed, "By the time we reached the outskirts reports spoke of extremely hard fighting there. We began to work up north and north-west and also to the south where, at Tracy-Bocage, the troops came under fire from 88mms."

In the early afternoon Wittmann, rearmed and refuelled, returned to join the rest of his forces, four Tigers, the Mark IV Special and possibly three other tanks (either from Lehr or 1 Kompanie), with infantry support, attacking the remnants of 'A' Squadron and 'A' Company trapped around Point 213. On the edge of the hill at least two Cromwells and one Firefly were knocked out, blocking the road. Not far away, in the woods on the crown of the hill, two more Cromwells were destroyed. The battle for Point 213 was a one-sided affair. With the Germans now pressing around Villers-Bocage attempts to reinforce Cranley failed. Major Aird


More vehicles & buildings from Dave Thomas's WWII collection.

despatched three Cromwells and a Firefly under Lieutenant Bill Cotton to try and make contact. They managed to cross the town, but were unable to get over the railway embankment and turned back to take up positions in the town square.

The survivors of 'A' Squadron were quickly overrun by Wittmann's *kampfgruppe*. Cranley and many of his men were captured, with only one making it back to town. The Rifle Brigade men were also mopped up. The Sharpshooters lost 4 killed, 5 wounded and 76 missing. At least 20 Cromwells, 4 Fireflies, 3 Honeys, 3 scout cars and a half-track were destroyed. 'A' Company lost 80 men, including 3 officers; about 30 infantry managed to escape.

By late afternoon both units had ceased to exist. This left only 'B' Squadron precariously holding onto Villers-Bocage.

**Wittmann's Return**

Supported by some units of the 2nd Panzer Division, Wittmann now turned his attention back on Villers-Bocage. But the British were not to be caught out a second time. The Sharpshooters were to wreak a small revenge on him for the huge disaster he had inflicted on them. 'B' Squadron had taken up defensive positions around the main square, with a Queen's Regiment 6 pounder enfilading the main street from a side alley. It was hoped they would catch the Tiger's side armour.

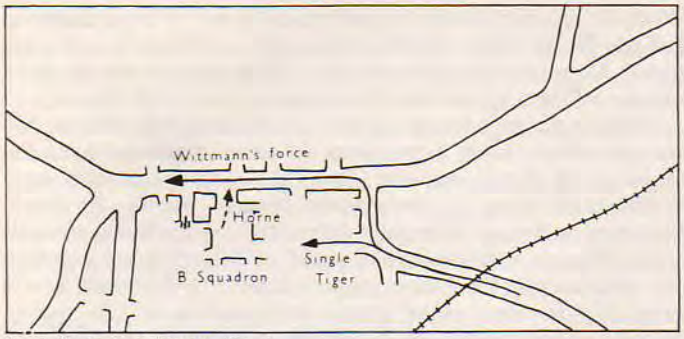
Wittmann, over-playing his hand, entered Villers-Bocage again, this time in strength, with two Tigers (possibly including Mobius) and a PzKpfw IV. Rounding the bend into the high street he drove straight into the ambush. His tank was struck by the anti-tank gun, the following Tiger by Sergeant Bobby Bramall's Firefly, Corporal Horne missed and the PzKpfw had driven almost past the second Tiger when Horne's Cromwell drove out behind the German and blasted him. It seems a third Tiger entered town but was also caught by 'B' Squadron a few dozen yards from the main street at the crossroads of rue Jeanne Bacon and rue Emile Samson. The German crews escaped because so few British infantry remained. Later, Lieutenant Cotton, armed with an umbrella, and Sergeant Bramall, equipped with some blankets and petrol, walked in the pouring rain to the German tanks and set fire to them to prevent recovery.

The ordeal for the defenders was not yet over. Oberstleutnant (Lieutenant-Colonel) Kurt Kauffman, Operations Officer Panzer Lehr, assembled three field guns, two 88mms and some rear echelon troops, which he led in a successful attack against Villers-Bocage, while the panzergrenadiers of the 2nd Panzer Division pushed up from the south. By 1600 hours the German attacks had been beaten off, with Bayerlein reporting the loss of six Tigers and several PzKpfw IVs.

**British Withdrawal**

The series of engagements fought on 13 June rendered it impossible for the British to hold onto Villers-Bocage.

Brigadier Hinde's men were split in two, with one group at Villers-Bocage and other at Tracy-Bocage several miles west. The 7th Armoured was strung out along the road from Villers-Bocage to Livry. Their intelligence estimated that up to 40 Tigers from 2nd Panzer were in the area, with which it was feared the Germans would cut the road between Villers-Bocage and Caumont, trapping 'B' Squadron. This estimate was not accurate, 2nd Panzer had no Tigers and its panzers did not begin to arrive from Paris until 18 June; nor did the 12th SS Panzer Division have any Tiger tanks. It is



Map 3 Wittmann's Second Attack

doubtful that the 101st battalion had any more than a handful of Tigers in the Villers-Bocage area on 13 June. Panzer Lehr likewise had no spare tanks, it was being held down frontally by 50th Division, and Kauffman's ad hoc forces showed what Panzer Lehr had in the way of reserves. The Panzer Kompanie (Fk1) 316th attached to Panzer Lehr had 6 Tigers (only 3 were serviceable), and 9 StuGs instead of its theoretical 14. Therefore the 7th Armoured Division even at this stage was still a threat to the German flank. Even so Erskine ordered Hinde to pull back at nightfall and hold Tracy-Bocage, concentrating on Hill 174.

At about 1700 hours, while the Germans were regrouping, the British withdrew to Tracy-Bocage two miles to the west, having lost 25 tanks and 28 AFVs. 'B' Squadron was ordered to time its withdrawal to coincide with a covering barrage that would be laid down on the town. Lockwood had driven his Firefly across the town square when it stalled. The driver yelled desperately "I can't start the bloody thing!" Fortunately Sergeant Bill Moore in the following tank humped down under small arms fire and attached a tow cable to Lockwood's tank towing him out just before the bombardment. Lockwood concluded "We felt bad about getting out, made it seem as if it had been such a waste of time."

On 14 June 30th Corps launched a new series of attacks, using 50th Division, against Tilly and Panzer Lehr's 901st Panzergrenadier regiment, in the hope of forcing Lehr back and enabling 7th Armoured Division to continue its own offensive. Lieutenant-General G.C. Bucknall, Commander of 30th Corps, failed to ask Second Army for direct infantry support for 7th Armoured's beleaguered tanks. Bucknall on visiting 7th Armoured's Tactical HQ had both his escort tanks knocked out by Tigers, and on returning to his own HQ concluded Erskine's communications were in danger of being severed.

Afterwards an American artillery 'serenade' broke up an attack by 2nd Panzer, knocking out 11 tanks, but the British tanks were still in serious danger of being cut off. The 2nd Panzer's divisional reconnaissance group on entering Villers-Bocage had found an almost intact Sherman, its turret was removed and it was pressed into service as a recovery vehicle.

50th Division's failure to get forward, the arrival of 2nd Panzer, which fanned out north-west of Caumont, north of Livry and north-east of Villers-Bocage, plus the two day delay in the British build-up, meant that 7th Armoured was in danger of being crushed. The Division formed a defensive box about 1,000 by 700 yards, which was attacked from three sides by enemy armoured forces on 14 June. Colin Thomson of the 11th Hussars witnessed "The 3rd and 5th RHA were firing over open sights into the woods 300 yards away . . . The result was unbelievable carnage. This battle lasted until 10.30pm when Jerry decided to retire and presumably regroup."

That evening Brigadier Hinde arrived with their orders to withdraw and provided a little light relief. Suddenly in mid-instruction he stared at the ground and asked "Anybody got a matchbox?" When Lieutenant-Colonel Carver RTR demurred over nature Hinde snapped "Don't be such a bloody fool, Mike! You can fight a battle everyday of your life, but you might not see a caterpillar like this in fifteen years!" Under cover of darkness and US artillery fire the brigade withdrew east of Caumont, while the RAF flattened Villers-Bocage. They had to wait for the additional armoured brigade, delayed by bad weather, before renewing the offensive. Had the 150 tanks and supporting infantry arrived on time the Villers-Bocage right hook might have succeeded.

**Post Mortem**

The British withdrawal conceded the battle of Villers-Bocage to the Germans by default. The village was to remain in German hands until August. The official historian called the results 'disappointing', Carlo D'Este in his excellent *Decisions in Normandy* scathingly says the official British history "sets a facile gloss over the significance of the setback to British aspirations . . . " The official view has pervaded to this day and has led to the impression that the débâcle at Villers-Bocage was of no consequence. The Germans on the other hand could not understand why Montgomery had not exploited the gap and were relieved when it was plugged on 13 June.

It had presented the closest thing to an open flank prior to the breakout, but the British lost their one great opportunity, leaving the slogging match to continue.

30th Corps and 7th Armoured Division failed miserably, while the Germans had reacted well. The gap between the British tanks and supporting infantry had been too great, allowing the German infantry to hold up the armour. The Sharpshooters were over confident, with poor tank-infantry co-operation and inadequate dispersion. The Tiger was a vastly superior tank to the light Cromwell, but this was no excuse for the shambles that Wittmann inflicted at Villers-Bocage.

Corps Commander Lieutenant-General G.C. Bucknall was blamed for not being flexible enough nor committing infantry reserves to help 7th Armoured exploit its position, the fialure to act while the tanks were exposed at Tracy-Bocage was also blamed on Bucknall. The general feeling was that Villers-Bocage should have been held. General Dempsey commanding the British Army said, "This attack by 7th Armoured Division should have succeeded. My feeling that Bucknall and Erskine would have to go started with this failure. Early on the morning of the 12 June I went down to see Erskine – gave him his orders and told him to get moving . . . If he had carried out my order he would not have been kicked out of Villers-Bocage. But by this time 7th Armoured Division was living off its reputation and the whole handling of the battle was a disgrace."

This is a little harsh, if Cranley had been allowed to be more cautious and not rushed, Wittmann would not have taken 22nd Brigade so completely by surprise. In total the brigade lost 225 men, 27 tanks, 14 half-tracks, 14 Bren carriers and a number of anti-tank guns. The only consolation for the British was that by 18-19 June Panzer Lehr had lost about 100 of its 260 tanks in the fighting in the Villers-Bocage area. Bayerlain claimed this had weakened the division so much it was incapable of launching an armoured thrust towards the sea.

Through a mixture of luck and courage Wittmann, largely single-handedly, halted a British armoured thrust that could have encircled Panzer Lehr or even rolled up the entire German Corps front. His prompt action in thwarting the British also enabled Villers-Bocage to be retaken later in the day by Panzer Lehr kamfgruppe and units of 2nd Panzer, thus plugging the gap. A few days later he was promoted to SS-Hauptsturmfuhrer.

Wittmann's luck finally ran out on 8 August 1944 during an attack near Cintheaux. He had destroyed two Shermans and immobilised a third, but five others got him. The shock of the Tiger though resulted in the later formulation of the rule of '4 Shermans or Churchills to one Tiger and expect to lose three of them'! At the time of his death Wittmann was credited with 138 AFVs, most of them were tanks, and 132 anti-tank guns which he had chalked up in under two years, but his greatest victory has to be inflicting the débâcle of Villers-Bocage on the British.

**Wargaming Notes**

Villers-Bocage makes an interesting armoured skirmish game. Little infantry was involved in the important parts of the battle. The basic layout of the town is easy to reconstruct (see maps 2 and 3) consisting of the main street and town square, with the road sloping up to Point 213 and the woods to its north. The railway line is also of importance in that the embankment prevented 'B' Squadron moving to the south-east.

Forces involved during the first phase consist of 4 Cromwells, just up from the town square, with another 6 tanks, 'B' Squadron's Cromwells, possibly including 2 Fireflies, at the bottom of the hill. A number of 6 pdr anti-tank guns may have been positioned at the

(3) A knocked out Sharpshooters' Sherman, the shell entered on the left side of the turret. Also note the 7th Armoured Division 'Desert Rat' shield on the left and the Browning machine gun lying in the road. The two Tigers are just visible in the distance. (Imperial War Museum)

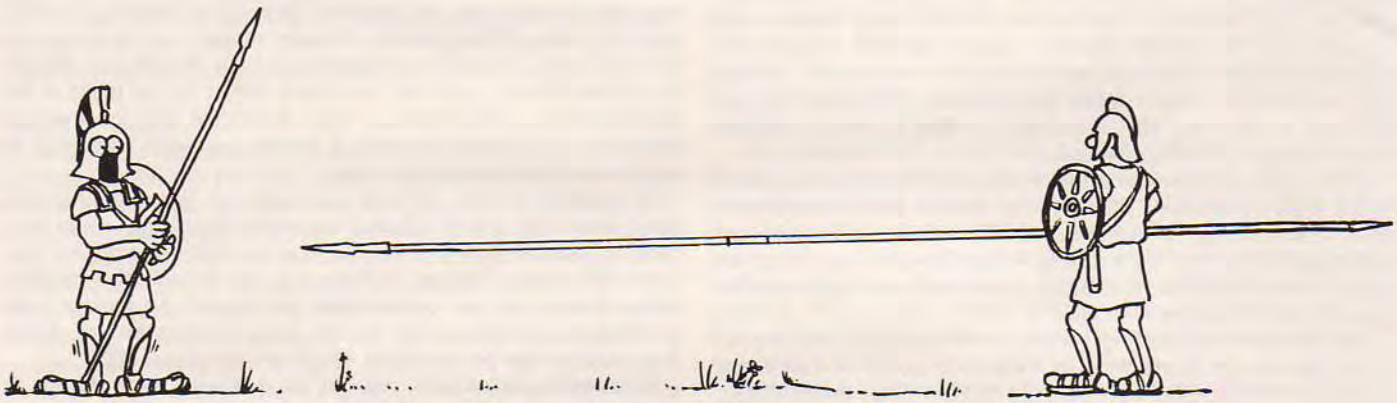
north-eastern end of town. The column on the hill included M2 half-tracks, bren carriers, at least one 6 pdr, 3 M3 Honey tanks, 3 scout cars, 2 de-gunned OP tanks and possibly several Cromwell tanks. About 10 tanks fanned out to the north, most likely Cromwells including 3 Fireflies, with another 3 on the brow of the hill consisting of 2 Cromwells and one Firefly. The German forces comprised of Wittmann's Tiger PzKpfw VI in the town and 2 or 3 Tigers with one PzKpfw IV to the north during the first attack. When he returned for the second phase he had 3 Tigers and one PzKpfw IV and some infantry, this attack was followed by Panzer Lehr's Kampfgruppe equipped with 3 field guns, 2 88mms and a number of infantry and the Panzergrenadiers of 2nd Panzer.

Dividing the engagement up into phases is slightly difficult. My account differs from most; there is some confusion over the sequence of events and the time scale. Most accounts have Wittmann brewing up the column before entering the town. Photographs though show the 6 pdr in the column facing towards Villers-Bocage, indicating a rear attack, so sticking to my approach one could divide the action up as follows: (1) Wittmann enters town, (2) his other tanks attack 'A' Squadron, (3) he leaves, brewing up the column, (4) he returns to finish off 'A' Squadron and the Sharpshooters and (5) he attacks Villers-Bocage again. Despite the fearsome power of the Tiger, Wittmann was heavily outnumbered and it is a miracle that he was not knocked out sooner.

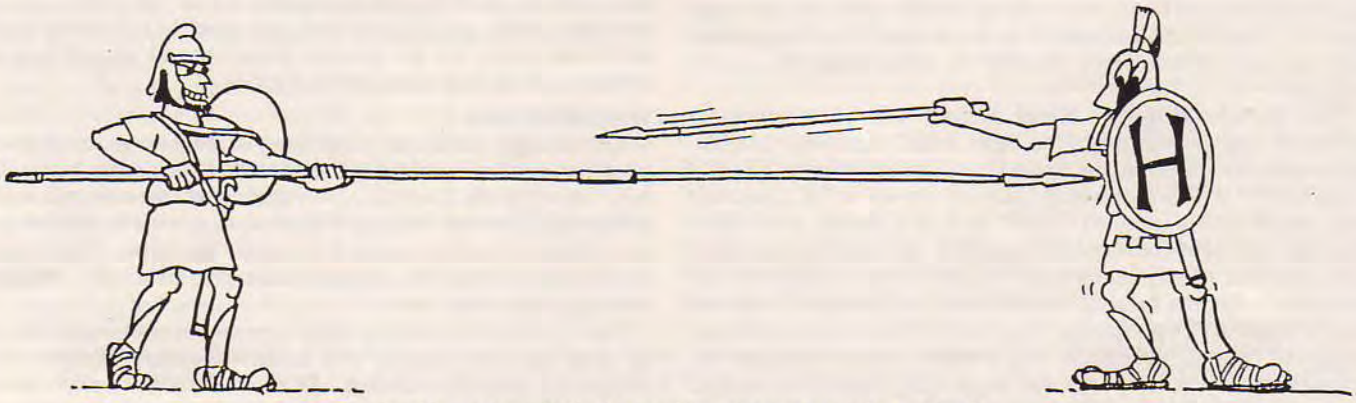
Gathering the necessary AFVs poses no problems, except for the Cromwell! No one seems to manufacture it, apart from possibly in resin, so unless using 1/300th scale armour this makes things a little difficult.

However, by scratch-building a new turret, it is possible to convert Matchbox's Comet tank relatively easily, but even so considering the tanks' significant role during the 1944-45 campaign this is a serious omission and it's about time someone produced it in 1/76th kit form.

As usual, to ensure the game is not simply a straight forward refight, numerous chance factors should be introduced, giving 'B' Squadron a chance to catch Wittmann, or some of 'A' Squadron time to return or escape from the column. At the end of the day Villers-Bocage has to be put down to extremely bad luck on the part of 7th Armoured Division.



***Underarm or overarm?***




***In the 4th century B.C. the problem became purely academic.***

# "DARDANELLES"

## An After Dinner Game for an Umpire and several players

*by Bob Cordery*

I am sure that most of the people who go to the annual Wargame Developments Conference of Wargamers (COW) at Knuston Hall intend, in the immediate after-glow of that experience, to come the next year with a game or workshop of their own to put on. However, as the time since the last conference grows longer and the time for the next quickly approaches, such intentions usually (and for good reasons) remain unfulfilled. I had such intentions – I had planned to put on a Spanish Civil War Game/Workshop using 20mm figures and a Naval Game using Jane's Naval Wargame Rules (1905 version) – but pressure of work and (more truthfully) lethargy put paid to all that. My conscience pricked, however, and two weeks before COW88 I resolved to put on a game. The problem was to choose what sort of game to put on.

I have always been a "model soldier" wargamer, although I am not averse to playing in other sorts of games and gleaning a great deal of fun from them. The time limit I had set myself precluded any attempt at a game with models and for the first time I designed a map-type game with the umpire taking on the role of "gamemaster" (viz. Dungeons and Dragons). **Dardanelles** was the result.

The game attempts to recreate the events in the Dardanelles in the months between September and December 1914. The players, who represent British submarine commanders, have an up-to-date map of the Turkish defences (provided by the recently ejected British Naval Mission to the Sublime Porte) showing the coastal defence gun batteries and searchlights; the map does not, however, show the Turkish anti-submarine minefields which were laid, with German assistance, after the departure of the Naval Mission. The players are also provided with a detailed brief (which includes information about the vessel they command and the basic "rules" of the game) and a Turkish vessel recognition chart. The Umpire has a map showing all the defences (including the ranges of the coastal defence gun batteries and searchlights), a very detailed brief (which includes the "rules" of the game), a set of ship silhouettes and a Record Chart which shows the current attackers "state" at the beginning of each "move".

The game was played at COW by 2 groups of players on successive nights; the groups were told that they were a submarine flotilla, and that a flotilla commander (Captain [S]) was to be appointed from within the group to co-ordinate their attacks. Once they had read their briefs they were to decide the order in which their submarines were to attempt to "enter" the Dardanelles and the routes they were to take *in case they were sunk*(!). Time was also given between attacks for "debriefing" of returned sub-mariners.

I acted as umpire (or "Gamemaster") for both games and, I think, had as much (if not more) fun than the players. For the first game I sat facing the attacking players, but separated from them by a screen; in the second game we sat facing in the same direction but with myself behind the player; this was done so that the player could not see the very detailed umpire's map and briefing. (On reflection it seems to me that the second method seemed easier to set up and was more comfortable for the player and umpire.) The other players sat in a different room during the attacks.

Certain important elements in the game were not told to the players; these they had to find out for themselves (at some cost!). These elements included the range of the shore batteries and searchlights, the location of the minefields and (most importantly) the tides! This latter factor played an enormously important part in the game as the tidal effect tended to push the submarine out of the Dardanelles at certain depths whilst having the opposite effect at others. This led to submarines running aground or coming to the surface in places where their commanders had not intended; this confusion had, at times, a dire effect on individual morale which was, in turn, communicated to the following attackers.

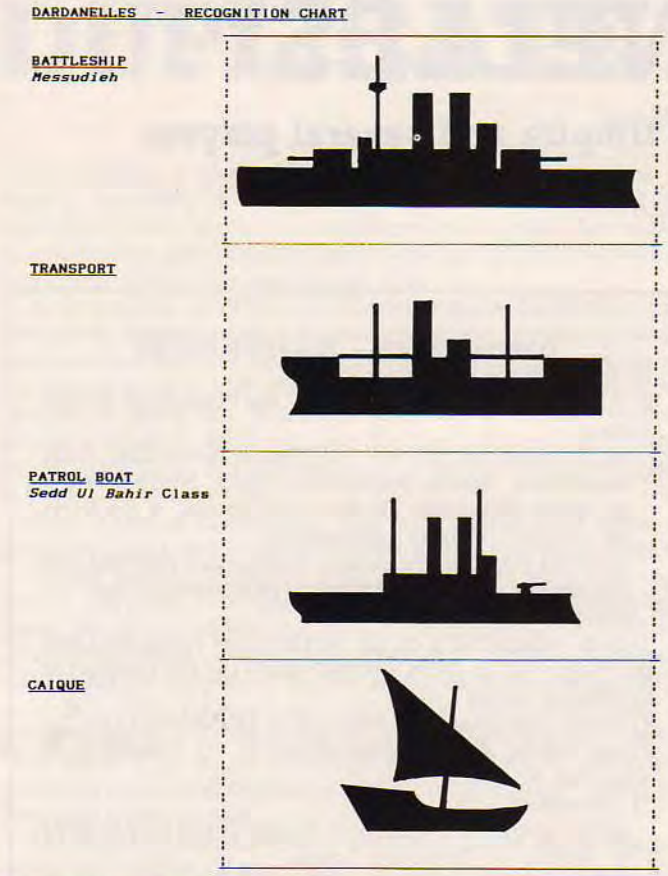
**DARDANELLES – PLAYERS NOTES**

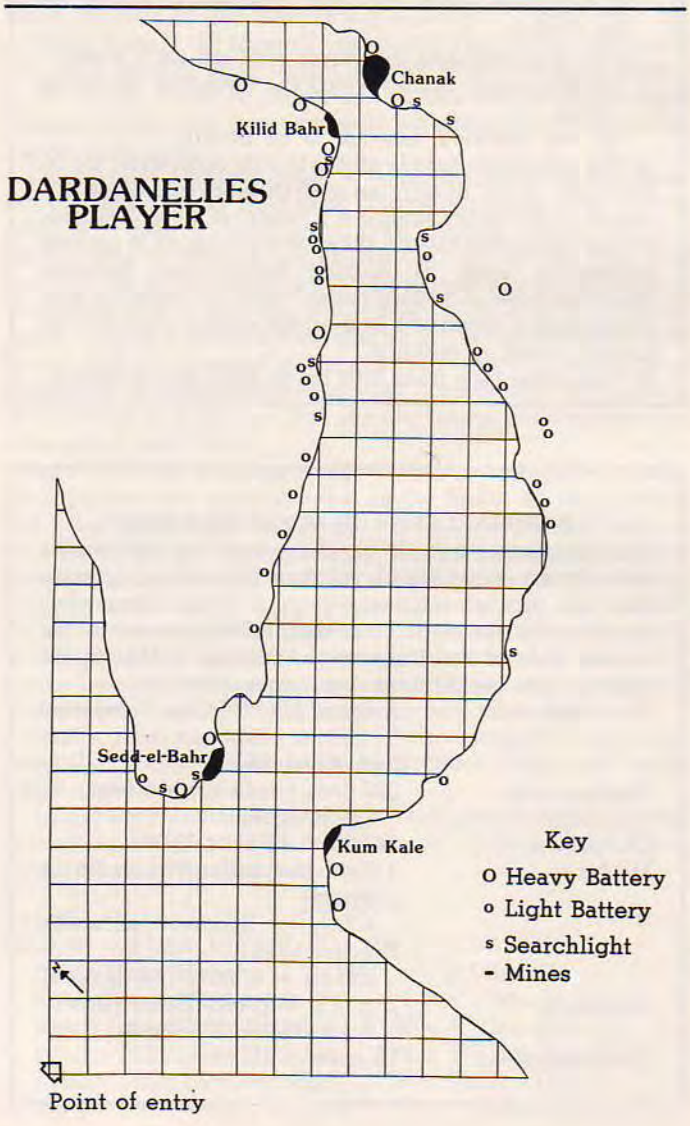
1) Each "move = 1 hour.
2) At the beginning of each "move" the Player must tell the Umpire –
   a) The direction of travel (i.e. North, North-East, East, South-East, South, South-West, West, North-West).
   b) Speed (Maximum Distance per "move" = 6 squares on surface/3 squares submerged).
   c) Level (Surface, Periscope, Submerged Bottom) and any change of Level (1 square of movement is "lost" for every change of Level).
3) If the submarine is on the Surface or at Periscope Level the Player will be given a verbal report (by the Umpire) as to what is visible.
4) If the submarine is Submerged or at Bottom Level the Player will be given a verbal report by the Umpire as to what can be heard.
5) Torpedoes -
   a) Torpedoes have a range of 3 squares and may be fired at Surface or Periscope Levels.
   b) Torpedoes may be reloaded – this takes 4 "moves" *on the surface.*
   c) To fire torpedoes the Player must tell the Umpire –
      i) The target against which the torpedoes are being fired.
      ii) The direction they are to be fired in.
6) The submarine has the ability to stay underwater for 20 hours (20 "units" of air) – air must then be replenished at a rate of 1 hour on the surface = 5 "units" of air replenished.
7) The submarine has the ability to move up to 36 squares underwater using its Electric Motors and batteries (batteries store 36 battery power "units") – batteries may replenished at a rate of 1 hour on the surface – 6 "units" of battery power replenished.
8) Night-time lasts from 2200 hrs to 0500 hrs (inclusive).

**DARDANELLES – PLAYERS BRIEFING**

Your task is to penetrate the defences of the Dardanelles and sink any enemy vessels you find. It is vitally important that you take all necessary steps to return from your mission with the most up-to-date intelligence as to the current state of the Dardanelles defences so that future missions can benefit from your experience.
The vessel under your command is a "B" Class Submarine

| "B" Class Submarine | |
|---|---|
| Displacement | 287 tons (surfaced)/316 tons (submerged) |
| Dimensions | 142′2″ × 13′7″ × 11′7″ |
| Machinery | 1 Shaft 16-cylinder Vickers Petrol Engine<br>600 hp = 12 knots (surfaced)<br>Electric Motor<br>290 hp = 6 knots (submerged) |
| Armament | 2 × 18″ Torpedo Tubes (Bow)<br>2 Loaded + 2 Reloads |
| Complement | 15 crew |




The resulting games were, to say the least, interesting! Some players were cautious (gently probing the defences at slow speed and at periscope depth, and avoiding any possible action which would draw the attention of the defenders) whilst others were more foolhardy (the latter included Wargame Developments' new Publicity Officer who unknowingly or uncaringly crashed through all the Turkish minefields *except the last* and hit a mine as he came to the surface less than a mile from the plum target – a Turkish battleship! He and his crew were picked up by the battleship's picket boat and he was notified of the award of a D.S.O. whilst in "captivity" [i.e. restricted to the bar; these Turks are hard on their prisoners!]).

All-in-all I was very happy with the way my first attempt at such a game came off. The system worked very well and I have already got plans to put on a similar game about the British Coastal Motor Boat attack on the Bolshevik Russian fleet in Kronstadt during the "Intervention" in 1919. The format would also work for a recreation of the X-Boat attacks on the *Tirpitz* or the Italian *Chariot* attacks on Alexandria. I suspect, however, that the designing stage for any of these games might not take place until two weeks before the next COW!

## DARDANELLES – UMPIRES NOTES

1) Each "move" = 1 hour.

2) At the beginning of each "move" the Player must tell the Umpire –

a) The direction of travel (i.e. North, North-East, East, South-East, South, South-West, West, North-West).
b) Speed (Maximum Distance per "move" = 6 squares on surface/3 squares submerged).
c) Level (Surface, Periscope, Submerged, Bottom) and any change of Level (1 square of movement is "lost" for every change of Level).

**If the submarine is within the Limit of Tidal Effect –**

a) If the submarine is on the Surface or at Periscope Level the submarine drifts *towards* the mouth of the Dardanelles at a rate of 1 square per "move".
b) If the submarine is Submerged or at Bottom Level the submarine drifts *away from* the mouth of the Dardanelles at a rate of 1 square per "move".

**If the submarine enters a Minefield –**

a) If the submarine is on the Surface or at Periscope Level and it enters a square which contains a minefield throw 2×d6 for each row of mines in the square –

| Score | Result | Modifiers | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3 or less | Submarine hits a mine and is SUNK | Submarine is at Periscope Level | –1 |
| 4-8 | Tell the Player that the submarine has entered a minefield | | |
| 9 or more | Do *not* tell the Player he is in a minefield | | |

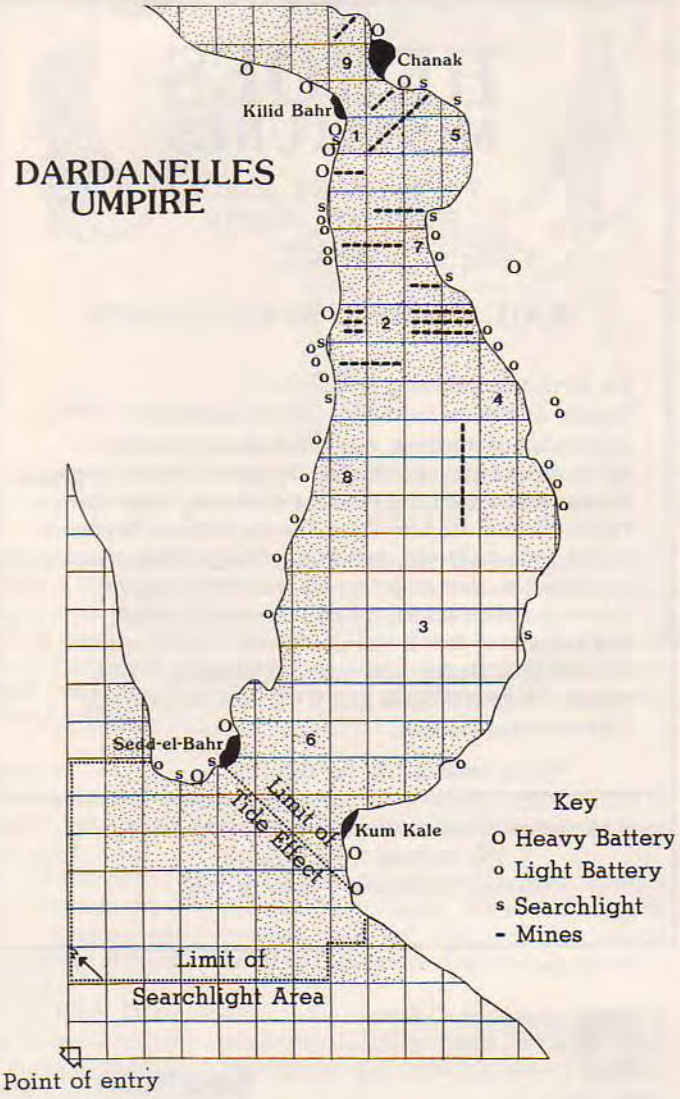
b) If the submarine is submerged or at Bottom Level and it enters a square which contains a minefield throw 2×d6 for each row of mines in the square –

| Score | Result | Modifiers | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 or less | Submarine hits a mine and is SUNK | Submarine is at Bottom Level | +4 |
| 5-9 | Tell the Player that he can hear the scraping of the mine mooring wires on the submarine's hull | | |
| 10 or more | Do *not* tell the Player he is in a minefield | | |

3) if the submarine is on the surface or at Periscope Level the Player will be given a verbal report (by the Umpire) as to what is visible.

**What can be seen?**

a) Limit of Vision = 4 squares during Day-time/2 squares during Night-time.




b)If any of the numbered squares marked on the Umpire's map fall within the submarine's Limit of Vision throw a d6 –

| Score | Result |
|---|---|
| 2 or less | Nothing is seen. |
| 3 or more | The Umpire displays a silhouette of the vessel in the numbered square to the Player and states the distance and bearing of the vessel from the submarine. |

c) The vessels in the numbered squares are –

| Square Number | Vessel |
|---|---|
| 1 | Caique |
| 2 | Caique |
| 3 | Caique |
| 4 | Patrol Boat |
| 5 | Patrol Boat |
| 6 | Patrol Boat |
| 7 | Transport |
| 8 | Tranport |
| 9 | Battleship |

**If the submarine is within the Limit of Searchlight Area –**
a) If it is Day-time throw 2×d6 –

| Score | Result | Modifiers | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2-6 | The submarine has been seen by shore-based Artillery Observers; If in range of Shore Batteries the submarine comes under fire | Submarine is at Periscope Level | +1 |
| 7 or more | No effect | | |

b) If it is Night-time throw 2×d6 –

| Score | Result | Modifiers | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3 or less | The submarine has been found by Searchlight; If in range of Shore Batteries the submarine comes under fire | Submarine is at Periscope Level | –1 |
| 4 or more | Submarine sees the Search-lights scanning the waters | | |

c) If the Submarine comes under fire and is in range of Shore Batteries (i.e. within the shaded area on the Umpire's map) throw 2×d6 –

| Score | Result | Modifiers | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8 or less | The submarine is hit by Shore Battery fire and is sunk | Submarine is at Periscope Level<br>Night-time | +1<br>+2 |
| 9 or more | Shell splashes erupt around the submarine | | |

4) If the submarine is Submerged or at Bottom Level the Player will be given a verbal report by the Umpire as to what can be heard.

**What can be heard?**
a) Range of Hydrophone = 6 squares.
b) If any of the numbered squares marked on the Umpire's map fall within the submarine's Hydrophone range throw a d6 –

| Score | Result |
|---|---|
| 2 or less | Nothing is heard. |
| 3 or more | The Umpire tell the Player that a vessel can be heard moving through the water and states the bearing of the vessel from the submarine. |

5) Torpedoes –
a) Torpedoes have a range of 3 squares and may be fired at Surface or Periscope Levels.
b) Torpedoes may be reloaded – this takes 4 "moves" *on the surface*.

DARDANELLES - UMPIRE'S RECORD CHART

TIME CHART

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| //0000// | //0100// | //0200// | //0300// | //0400// | //0500// |
| 0600 | 0700 | 0800 | 0900 | 1000 | 1100 |
| 1200 | 1300 | 1400 | 1500 | 1600 | 1700 |
| 1800 | 1900 | 2000 | 2100 | //2200// | //2300// |

DAY CHART

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| DAY 1 | DAY 2 | DAY 3 |
| DAY 4 | DAY 5 | DAY 6 |
| DAY 7 | DAY 8 | DAY 9 |

AIR LEVEL

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20 | 19 | 18 | 17 | 16 |
| 15 | 14 | 13 | 12 | 11 |
| 10 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6 |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

AIR IS REPLENISHED AT A RATE OF 1 HOUR ON SURFACE = 5 UNITS REPLENISHED

BATTERY LEVEL

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 36 | 35 | 34 | 33 |
| 32 | 31 | 30 | 29 |
| 28 | 27 | 26 | 25 |
| 24 | 23 | 22 | 21 |
| 20 | 19 | 18 | 17 |
| 16 | 15 | 14 | 13 |
| 12 | 11 | 10 | 9 |
| 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 |
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

BATTERY POWER IS REPLENISHED AT A RATE OF 1 HOUR ON SURFACE = 6 UNITS REPLENISHED

LEVEL

| |
|---|
| SURFACE |
| PERISCOPE |
| SUBMERGED |
| BOTTOM |

TORPEDOES

| | |
|---|---|
| TUBE 1 | TUBE 2 |
| RELOAD 1 | RELOAD 2 |

TORPEDOES TAKE 4 MOVES ON THE SURFACE TO RELOAD

c) To fire torpedoes the Player must tell the Umpire –
i) The target against which the torpedoes are being fired.
ii) The direction they are to be fired in.

**Firing Torpedoes**
a) A ship hit be a torpedo *sinks*.
b) Throw 2×d6 for each torpedo fired –

| Score | Result | Modifiers | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6 or less | Torpedo fails to hit the target vessel. | Range is 3 squares<br>Range is 2 squares | –3<br>–1 |
| 7 or more | Torpedo hits target vessel. | | |

6) The submarine has the ability to stay underwater for 20 hours (20 "units" of air) – air must then be replenished at a rate of 1 hour on the surface = 5 "units" of air replenished.

A submarine which fails to replenish its air is deemed to have been lost due to asphyxiation of the crew.

7) The submarine has the ability to move up to 36 squares underwater using its Electric Motors and batteries (batteries store 36 battery power "units") – batteries may be replenished at a rate of 1 hour on the surface = 6 "units" of battery power replenished.

A submarine which fails to replenish its battery power is deemed to have been lost due to loss of power whilst submerged.

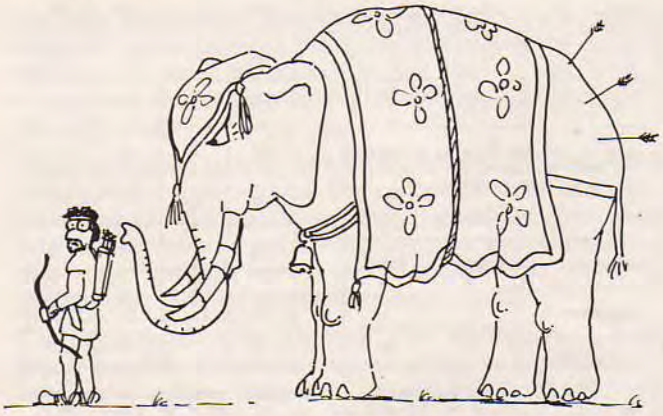
8) Night-time lasts from 2200 hrs to 0500 hrs (inclusive).

**If something comes up during the game which is not covered by the rules do not panic! – *Use Your Common Sense.***




***"Is Cleopatra mustered?"***
***"Mustard, Sire? She's bloody dynamite!"***

***"But sarge, I distinctly heard him say 'All Gauls to be divided into three parts'!"***



# VISIT The Guardroom

Beware of cheap imitations!

## The Ready Made Army Specialists

*WE NOW GIVE YOU A CHOICE OF TWO SIZES OF READY MADE ARMIES OR OUR STARTER PACK!*

**15mm STANDARD ARMIES**
**£17.50**
+ £1.50 P&P


**15mm JUMBO ARMIES**
**£26.50**
+ £2.00 P&P


**15mm STARTER PACKS INCLUDING FIGURES · RULES · DICE**
**£10.50**
INC P&P

## 15mm ARMIES USING CHARIOT MINIATURES

**STANDARD 15mm ARMIES**
**£17.50 + £1.50 P&P**

Han Chinese
Tibetan
Burmese
Sumerian
Old & Middle Kingdom Egyptian
Hittite Chariots
Hittite Inf/Cav
Nubian
New Kingdom Egyptian Chariots
New Kingdom Egyptian Inf/Cav
Early Assyrian Chariots
Early Assyrian Inf/Cav
Late Hebrew
Mycenean & Minoan Greek Chariots
Mycenean & Minoan Greek Inf/Cav

## 15mm armies using MINIATURE FIGURINES

*180 PIECE ARMIES*

***NAPOLEONIC*** – French; British; Prussian; Austrian; Russian; Brunswick; Saxon; Westphalian; Spanish; Dutch-Belgian; Bavarian; Wurtemburger; Polish;
***SEVEN YEARS WAR*** – British; French; Prussian; Austro-Hungarian; Russian;
***AMERICAN CIVIL WAR*** – Union; Confederate;
***ENGLISH CIVIL WAR*** – Royalist; Parliament; New Model Army; Scots Royalist-Montrose; Scots Covenanter;
***THIRTY YEARS WAR*** – Imperialist; French; Spanish; Swedish; Bohemian;
***ITALIAN WARS*** – Spanish; French; Milanese; Florentine; Venetian;
***RENAISSANCE*** – French Huguenot; French Catholic; Polish; Samurai; Swiss; Knights of St John; 16th Cent English; Moorish; Landsknecht Mercenaries;
***ANCIENT*** – Early Hoplite Greek; Early Achaemenid Persian; Thracian; Later Hoplite Greek; Later Achaemenid Persian; Syracusan; Alexandrian Macedonian; Indian; Alexandrian Imperial; Asiatic Early Successor; Lysimachid; Macedonian Early Successor; Seleucid; Armenian; Camillan Roman; Carthaginian; Parthian; Spanish; Early German; Marion Roman; Ancient British; Scots-Irish; Early Imperial Roman; Middle Imperial Roman; Late Imperial Roman; Pictish; Dacian; Gothic; Sassanid Persian; Early Frankish; Palmyran; Sub Roman British; Arab Conquest; Slav; Carolingian; Thematic Byzantine; Nikephorian Byzantine; Norman; Saxon; Viking;
***MEDIEVAL*** – Anglo-Norman; Feudal English; Feudal French; Anglo-Irish, 100 Years War English; 100 Years War French; Wars of the Roses-Yorkist; Wars of the Roses-Lancastrian; Seljuq Turk; Saracen-Syrian; Ayyubid Egyptian; Later Crusader; Teutonic Order; Theodoran Byzantine; Mongol; Mamluk Egyptian; Ilkhanid; Free Company; Early Burgundian;
***COLONIAL*** – Zulu War British; Zulu; Sudan War-British; Dervish; North West Frontier-British; Pathan; Boer War-British; Boer; French Foreign Legion; Arab;
***WORLD WAR ONE*** – British; German; French; American; Austro-Hungarian; Russian;

## N·E·W·A·R·M·I·E·S

***FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR*** – French, Prussian
***CRIMEAN WAR*** – British, Russian, French
***AMERICAN INDIAN WARS*** – U.S. Cavalry, Indians
Ottoman Turk, Muscovite, Moghul, Maharatta Indians
***MARLBURIAN*** – British, French
***NEW ASSYRIAN EMPIRE***
***NEW BABYLONIAN AND ALLIES***

**WE ALSO SUPPLY IRREGULAR MINIATURES 6MM ARMIES**

## 15mm armies using DONNINGTON MINIATURES

***ANCIENT*** – Camillan Roman; Carthaginian; Marion Roman; Avar; Gallic; Early German; Ancient British; Parthian; Scythian; Seleucid; Hellenistic Greek; Dacian; Saxon; Norman; Viking;
***LATE 17th CENT*** – Anglo/Dutch; French; Austrian/Imperialist;
***AMERICAN CIVIL WAR*** – Union; Confederate;

## 25mm ARMIES £49.95 INC P&P

*Armies using MINIATURE FIGURINES*

NAPOLEONIC – French; British; Prussian; Russian; Austrian; SEVEN YEARS WAR – English; Prussian; French; Austrian; Russian; ENGLISH CIVIL WAR – Royalist; Parliament; New Model Army; THIRTY YEARS WAR – Swedish; Imperialist; HUNDRED YEARS WAR – French; English; WAR OF THE ROSES – Yorkist; Lancastrian; AMERICAN CIVIL WAR – Union; Confederate; MARLBURIAN – British; French; COLONIAL – British; Zulu; Dervish; Pathan; ANCIENT – Alexanrian Macedonian; Camillan Roman; Carthaginian; Early Imperial Roman; Ancient British; Early Hoplite Greek.

## 1/300 MICRO TANK ARMIES

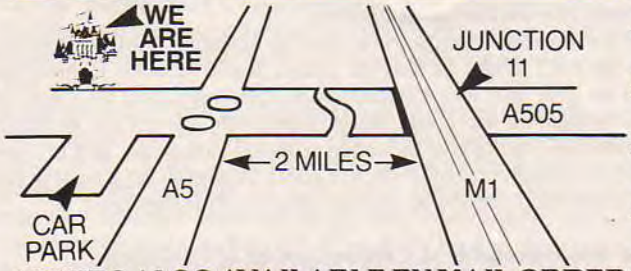
**£16.50 inc. P&P** OVERSEAS ADD £2.50

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| British | Dutch | Israel | USSR | WWII British |
| American | French | Libyan | Egypt | WWII German |
| West Germany | Belgium | Syria | South Africa | WWII Russian |

**UK Customers ordering three or more armies Pay postage for two only**

### OVERSEAS CUSTOMERS POSTAGE RATES

| EACH ARMY | EUROPE | U.S.A. | WORLD |
|---|---|---|---|
| 15mm STANDARD | £4.00 | £5.00 | £6.00 |
| 15mm JUMBO | £5.00 | £6.50 | £8.50 |
| STARTER PACK | £1.50 | £3.00 | £5.00 |
| 25mm ARMY | £5.00 | £7.00 | £9.50 |




**ARMIES ALSO AVAILABLE BY MAIL ORDER**

***PHONE YOUR ORDER THROUGH USING ACCESS OR VISA CARD***

*FOR FURTHER DETAILS SEND STAMPED ADDRESSED ENVELOPE OR IRC TO:*
**DEPT. 20 38 WEST ST., DUNSTABLE, BEDS. TEL: (0582) 606041**

# A SUDAN CAMPAIGN
## Part II

*by Peter Gilder*

Once I have decided to do a campaign I try to follow as near as possible a historical set up at its commencement. So, the date that we start is important, as this decides our 'orders of battle', positions and initial situation.

There are, of course, several areas where we have to move away from strict historical accuracy. One of those is in the organisation of our armies. Because of the necessity of using some sort of rules to play our games, some unit sizes are too small to work properly within those rules and so in this, and for that matter in most of my campaigns, I standardise the organisation to function within the particular rules I'm going to use. In our Sudan rules each figure represents 10 men. So, my company strength is 12 figures; this is the same for all the Imperial troops. The number of companies to the battalion varies with the actual strength of the unit as it was. A battalion of 490 men would, in our organisation, have 4 companies of 12, giving a total of 480. The cavalry units have a squadron of 12 figures split into two troops of 6 figures, each troop commanded by a named officer. Gatling and Gardner guns have 3 figure crews; artillery pieces have 4 crew figures to man them. That then is the organisation of our Imperial armies. They are based as follows: an Infantry company is based on two stands, each 45mm frontage and 40mm deep. Each stand has 6 figures mounted in two three man ranks. Cavalry have 2 figures to a base of 50mm front and 45mm depth. Gatling, Gardner and screw guns: frontage 45mm; depth as required for the crew and gun. Heavier artillery has a frontage of 60mm; once again as deep as required. A skirmish company (12 figures) will have three bases, each base 100mm wide, 45mm deep, with four figures on it. That then is the good guys. Now to the wild and woollies!

The Mahdist organisation is metric, or in our case 10 figures is the smallest unit we use. These for infantry are based on one stand 200mm wide, 45mm deep. There are three reasons for doing this with the Mahdist troops. The first is that it gives you the ability to move large forces in a very short time. Secondly it gives you the opportunity to make each base into a mini-diorama should you so wish, and the third, and maybe the most important, when raising the army in the first place, I only put 7, 8 or 9 figures onto the base rather than the full ten, although of course a base to all intents and purposes is still counting as 10. This gives a much better chance to give them that irregular look and allows you much more leeway in the scenic department when it comes to finishing the base off. Five cavalry are on a base with 75mm frontage and 90mm deep. The artillery follows the same as the Imperial basing. Having now based our troops I'll list the troops available at the commencement of the campaign. A point to note here is that I have listed the total command. You can get away with having less units, as fighting is on two fronts, the Eastern sector and the Nile itself, so in lots of cases one unit can double up as another.

In the Mahdist case they are killed in alarming numbers and can be 'recycled'. When we had the games at the 'Holiday Centre' the most we ever had was 450 sword and spearmen, and although on some occasions we could have done with more they certainly provided enough to give us some very good games. So, don't be put off by the numbers; but if you are going to plan it, do it right in the first place then see if you can get away with things later.

**Total troops available at Commencement of Campaign**

**Imperial Infantry**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1st Battalion Coldstream Guards | 6 × 12 |
| 2nd Battalion Scots Guard | 6 × 12 |
| 1st Battalion Gordon Highlanders | 5 × 12 |
| 3rd Battalion King's Royal Rifle Corps | 4 × 12 |
| 2nd Battalion Royal Irish Fusiliers | 4 × 12 |
| 1st Battalion Black Watch | 5 × 12 |
| 1st Battalion Yorks and Lancs | 5 × 12 |
| Royal Marine Light Infantry | 4 × 12 |
| 2nd Battalion East Surreys | 5 × 12 |
| 1st Battalion Duke of Cornwall's Light Inf. | 4 × 12 |
| 1st Battalion Royal West Kents | 5 × 12 |
| 17th Bengal Native Infantry | 6 × 12 |
| 28th Bangal Native Infantry | 5 × 12 |

**Cavalry**

10th Hussars 2 sqdns (12 figures/sqdn)
19th Hussars 2 sqdns
5th Royal Irish Lancers 2 sqdns
9th Bengal Cavalry (Lancers) 4 sqdns

**Camel Regts**

Guards 4 × 12
Heavy 4 × 12
(This includes, mounted, dismounted and kneeling camels when dismounted.)

**Naval Brigade**

3 Gardner guns plus crews
Escort for the guns (12 figures)

**Artillery**

6th Battery Royal Horse Artillery 3 field guns
5th Battery Scottish Div.R.A. 3 × 2.5 screw guns
1st Battery Southern Div.R.A. 3 × 2.5 screw guns
Note: Screw guns are carried on camels or mules dependent on terrain.

As well as the above we have several Egyptian garrisons already in the Sudan varying between 3 and 6 coys. As these are dotted about all over we have no need to collect all of these, so we will have:

2 Battalions of Sudanese, each of Five coys.
2 Battalions of Egyptians, each of Five coys.
4 Sqdns of Egyptian cavalry
2 Batteries of 9pr Krupp guns

**Mahdist troops available**

800 Dervish Sword & Spearmen
400 Fuzzy Wuzzy Sword & Spearmen
200 Riflemen
150 Dervish Cavalry
100 Dervish Camel Warriors

3 × 9pr Krupps guns plus crews
3 × Nordenfeld guns plus crews

This is the total amount of the Mahdist forces at the commencement of the campaign, as time progresses and if the Mahdi achieves greater territorial dominance then this force will increase accordingly. His artillery and riflemen depend on captured artillery and guns. How this is all achieved will be explained later.

The campaign itself will be organised with myself as co-ordinator and controller of the Mahdist forces. Several of my friends locally are taking part, each to be given a command. The decision on where to send the troops etc. will be made at a staff meeting at the onset of the campaign. Of course this cannot be held until all the intelligence reports have been gathered in and a general situation arrived at.

You will see from the map that the area has been divided into squares, each square approx. 60 miles across. The idea is for the

*Two shots of the swiftly snowballing Sudan set-up being built by rejuvenated veteran Peter Gilder. The figures are all* **Connoisseur** *25mm. designed by Peter, and painted by him and David Thomas. PG also scratch-built the Nile paddle-steamer and the mud-brick houses. The goats come in the 'Arabs of the Oasis' set. These caprine creations, coming hard on the hooves of the ovine objects from Wargames Foundry, are indicative of an ever-mounting challenge to the zoological hegemony enjoyed by Irregular Miniatures – but I think Ian & Ron boast more animals than Old MacDonald!*

*These shots were taken at Mike Ingham's Wargames Holiday Centre.*

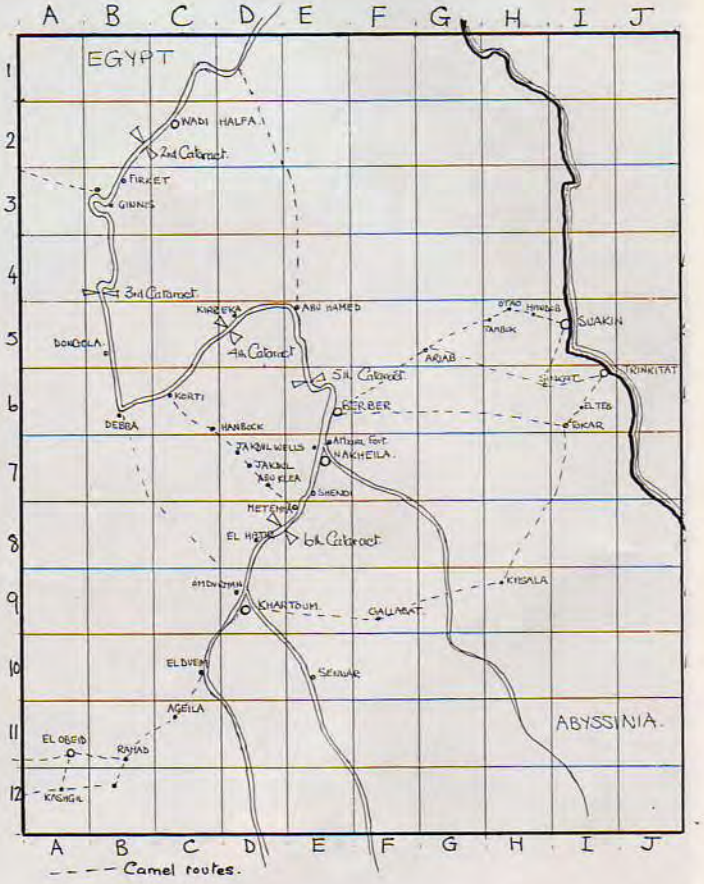
Mahdist to control squares and for the Imperial forces to break the Mahdist grip in the Sudan and so stop the 'Holy War' spreading. Each month of inactivity brings more of the tribes over to the Mahdi and so the number of squares he controls grows. Note: There are two grades of Mahdist influence over squares. **1. Control.** Absolute control over that square, usually a garrison in a town or village within that square. **2. Influence.** No Mahdist garrison within the square, but the tribes living within it are friendly to the Mahdist cause. Imperial troops could find enemy troops within that square. Squares adjacent to the Mahdist controlled squares always are designated 'squares of influence'.

When our campaign opens the control of 'The expected one' has spread over squares 11 & 12A; 10, 11 & 12B; 11 & 12C; 11 & 12D in the West; and in the East over 6F; 5, 6 & 7 G; 6 & 7H; and 7I.

The Imperial forces are assumed to be either on the Sudan-Egyptian border or may be landed at Suakin. A couple of things for the Imperial Commanders to bear in mind when planning: It takes a vast amount of supplies, water, fodder for camels etc. if you decide to go cross country. You are only sure of water on the camel routes. Squares with no Dervish influence are straightforward in movement, careful planning as regards supplies is important because if you are in the middle of a trek and run out of water fighting capabilities suffer and serious falling out on the march is experienced.

Well, that's about it for this Issue. In the next one we will describe the situation as the Imperial commanders get into their briefings and the plan they come up with, how the army is going to be organised and the first reports back from the front.

See you then!




If you'd like to learn more about the Sudan and other Colonial campaigns you should join the

**VICTORIAN MILITARY SOCIETY**

Why not send an s.a.e. to their Secretary and ask for details?

**Col. P.S. Walton, The Post House, Stoke, Andover, Hants. SP11 0ND**

# A SEVEN YEAR WAR AMPHIBIOUS OPERATION:
# ST. CAST

*by Jeff Fletcher*

General Bligh, emboldened by his success at Cherbourg, and still under orders to "carry a warm alarm along the French coast" made plans for another raid.

A number of targets were considered, including Morlaix and Caen, but as intelligence had been received of a major French concentration near Brest (too close to Morlaix for comfort) and there appeared to be difficulties in finding a suitable landing site near Caen, it was decided that a return visit to St Malo might well catch the French napping.

The fleet, commanded by Howe, set sail on the 18th of August and by the 4th September they were ready to land the army at the Bay of St Lunaire, to the west of St Malo. Opposition to the landings came from a French shore battery, but this was soon silenced by the escorting frigates, at which point the French infantry withdrew.

In view of what followed, this was fortunate as even without opposition – and despite earlier practice – the landings were chaotic. The infantry were landed, though 66 men of the 5th Foot were lost when barges were upset. The conditions continued to deteriorate and apart from the infantry, only some 60 light cavalry and 2 guns were able to get ashore, despite the best efforts of the fleet.

Detachments, including the few light cavalry were sent out in various directions though the main force remained in the St Lunaire area until the 7th of September.

As a result of the various reconnaissances it soon became clear that the planned attack on St Malo was going to be extremely difficult. In landing where they had, the army had placed the River Rance between them and their target. There were no easy crossings of the Rance, which was tidal. (It is now the basis of one of the largest tidal power generation systems in the world.) The French commander of St Malo, the Marquis de la Chatre, had anchored a warship and a number of privateers in the estuary to strengthen the defences. St Malo itself had strong defences and these had been improved during and after the earlier raids.

One success was achieved at this stage, however. A number of ships had been left in the small port of St Briac to the east of the camp and these could not be protected by the St Malo garrison. A swift raid by the Grenadiers took the port, and the shipping was burnt.

Meanwhile, the French were organising a counter attack. The Royal Governor, the Duc d'Aiguillon, was inspecting the troop concentration and the defences at Brest, when on the 5th the courier arrived bringing news of the English landing. He immediately left for Lamballe, giving orders that some of the troops at Brest should follow him and that the Gardes Cotes of the Treguir area, together with the 2nd Battalion of the Volontiers Etrangers should meet him at Lamballe.

On the 6th he arrived at Lamballe, reviewed these troops, placed them under the command of d'Aubigny and sent them eastwards towards Dinan, the most likely place for the English to try and cross the Rance if they still wanted to attack St Malo.

Having done this d'Aiguillon then moved towards the English position, arriving at Plancoet on the 8th, by which time d'Aubigny's force had reached Dinan. Other French troops were converging from all directions and the English, well served by their tiny cavalry force, were aware of this.

Bligh meanwhile was conferring with Howe about the possibility of moving the army east of the Rance but the latter, unhappy with the poor anchorage provided by the Bay of St Lunaire now the weather had changed, had been forced to move to a more sheltered position to the west, the bay of St Cast, whose wide sandy beaches (now a major holiday resort), would provide an excellent place from which to re-embark. By now Bligh had abandoned any plans to attack St Malo and so re-embarkation was uppermost in his mind.

St Cast, though ideal from the fleet's point of view, presented the army with two major problems. Firstly, as it was not the original landing place, it was not fortified, whereas in the earlier operations the re-embarkation point had been garrisoned and fortified by at least one Brigade. Secondly, though "nearby" in naval terms. St Cast was a long way away (see map 1) for an almost entirely infantry force, poorly provided with transport, ill provided with maps and facing the opposition, however ill organised, of the local Militia, who, being for the most part Catholic, were strongly anti-English and pro-Royalist, as was to be demonstrated in later wars.

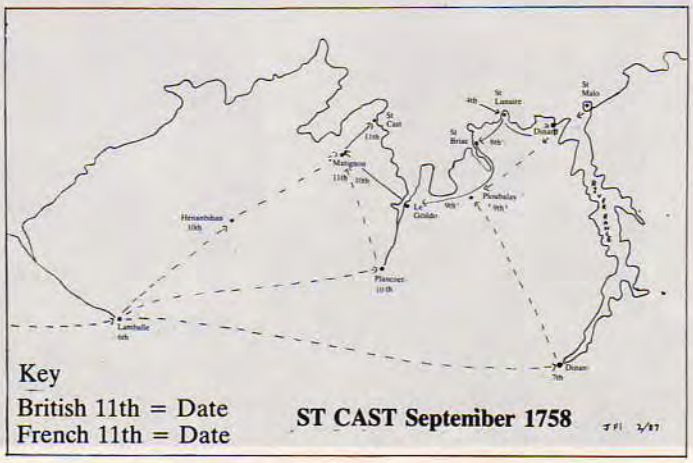
The English set off early on the 8th, moving south west and trying to stay close to the coast to retain some contact with the fleet.

D'Aiguillon, meanwhile was marshalling his strengths, ordering a strong force under d'Aubigny (consisting of two squadrons of the Marbeuf Dragoons; Infantry Regiment Brie, 1st Battalion; 1st Battalion, Volontiers Etrangers; Militia Battalion de Marmande and three battalions of Gardes Cotes) to move out from the Dinan area and threaten the English left. Now that the English were moving away, the garrison of St Malo could be "thinned out" and these forces were used to follow them up (one Battalion Boulonnais Regiment, Fontenay le Comte Militia and two Battalions of Gardes Cotes). From the West came the forces from the Brest concentration, set in motion by d'Aiguillon before he left there. This was the strongest force consisting of:

2 Battalions Royal des Vaisseaux
2 Battalions Regiment de Bourbon
2 Battalions Regiment de Brissac
1 Battalion Regiment de Quercy
1 Battalion Regiment de Bresse

Other units were coming from the South and some which had been dispersed were coming together.

For the English the essential thing was now to move as quickly as possible to St Cast, but their progress was soon checked when, at about 3 pm on the 8th, they reached Le Guildo. Here the river Arquenon formed a barrier which was defended by Gardes Cotes and local citizens. A sharp action ensued and the English were checked until the rising tide made the ford impracticable and they were forced to camp on the East side of the river. The following day muddled staffwork meant that it took until 3 pm on the 9th to organise a proper assault, spearheaded by the Grenadiers and supported by the force's artillery pieces (both of them). With the aid of a flanking force crossing by boats the English eventually succeeded in dislodging "the base Breton peasant defenders who had held up the whole English army for 24 hours." In view of the narrow margin by which the English were eventually brought to battle this little action may be seen to have been of crucial importance.



*Three shots of the Scimitar Group's rapidly growing SYW set-up. Picture above is my favourite: British and Hanoverians in line of battle. Below is the world's first ever Dulux paint commercial. The famous dog – a very young puppy in 1757 AD – and I believe the shade is Westphalian Weiss – the label on the tin is obscured by the paint running down. (No non-drip in those days of course). Opposite: The Wild Geese stand fast as French cavalry counter-charge Prussian Cuirassiers, supported by Hussars. All figures* ***Front Rank****. But, Dulux dog:* ***Wargames Foundry****. Farmyard Geese:* ***Irregular Miniatures****.*

Once the English did get across, they took their revenge, "ils mirent a feu et a sang tout ce qu'ils trouverent du cote du Guildo" according to one contemporary account. They then camped on the other side of the river.

On the 10th they moved on to Matignon, on the face of it, an illogical step as it took them inland, further away from the fleet and not really any nearer St Cast. On the other hand it was the only decent sized town nearby which could offer a reasonable base. Bligh detached the Coldstream Guards to St Cast to reconnoitre the area and prepare the ground.

Matignon was occupied by a small French force, two more squadrons of the Marbeuf Dragoons and some infantry. After a brief clash these were forced out, retiring to join d'Aiguillon and inform him of the latest moves of the enemy. He moved forward from his current HQ at St Potan to make his own reconnaissance.

He decided that the English position round Matignon was vulnerable on its left flank and by now he had a strong force at his disposal, all the units deployed at the battle of St Cast were within a few miles of Matignon by the evening of the 10th.

Blight, kept informed both by his limited and hard working cavalry and deserters from the Volontiers Etrangers, realised that it was time – possible well past time – for him to depart, as the French forces closing in on him were not only stronger, but better balanced.

He had a simple choice, either to try to slip away or to offer battle. If he were to fight, against odds and with negligible cavalry and artillery, a victory would be most unlikely. Even were he to win, without cavalry he would be unable to pursue a beaten foe and while he had no reserves to call on d'Aiguillon had further forces moving up. Bligh decided not to fight around Matignon but to retire. He had done at least part of his duty, the French coast was certainly "alarmed" and all that remained was to extract his force. However, because of his tardiness and the delay imposed earlier, escape was far from guaranteed.

On the 11th, the English broke camp earlier and more efficiently than had been their wont and moved to St Cast and began to re-embark on the waiting fleet. To protect this operation the English employed an earthwork on the beach. The accounts of the battle differ as to whether this was entirely an English construction or an "improvement job" on the existing sea walls.

The French force, according to their official account, was divided into 3 columns who were soon on the march and the heads of these columns reached the heights above St Cast by 9.00 am. Their substantial artillery followed soon after and by 10 am it was in action against the English boats plying between the beach and the transports. The French artillery was in its turn engaged by a number of English frigates anchored close to shore, though this counter battery fire seems to have been ineffective as there is no reference to any artillery casualty in the French casualty returns.

D'Aiguillon arrived as the artillery duel began and soon began to organise his attack.

His left column, commanded by d'Aubigny and consisting of one Battalion Regiment Brie (in the lead), one Battalion Regiment Boulonnais, the Battalion Marmade, Battalion Fontenay le Comte, and the 1st Battalion Volontiers Etrangers were ordered to debouch on the right of the English position near the hamlet of L'Isle.

The right column, under de Balleroy was to outflank the left of the English position by way of a protected approach. Their movements were to be concealed by hedges, sandhills and a gully leading down to the beach and they were to be shielded from observation and naval gunfire until they were quite close to the English. This column was much the strongest of the three and was organised as follows:

2 Battalions Regiment de Bourbon (in the lead)
2 Battalions Regiment de Brissac

1 Battalion Regiment de Bresse
1 Battalion Regiment de Quercy
2 Battalions Royal des Vaisseaux

The centre, led by the Marquis de Broc and required to advance directly on the English entrenchments, was composed of elite troops. There were 6-8 companies of grenadiers, 12 of piquets (light infantry companies of the line infantry), and the Marbeuf Dragoons, 400 strong and, in view of the terrain, dismounted. Precisely how this force deployed and attacked is not clear, but in view of its composition, role and casualties they may well have skirmished to some extent.

Supporting the centre was a reserve under the Chevalier de St Pern consisting of two regular battalions, (2nd Penthieve and 3rd Volontiers Etrangers) and an uncertain number of Gardes Cotes. Judging by the casualty returns this force was hardly committed at all.

The French artillery, thirteen guns and two mortars, which was under M. de Villepatour, occupied a series of battery positions on the heights, each closer to the English lines. During the battle they sank at least three of the barges ferrying troops to the fleet and claimed to have killed many more troops as well. They concentrated their fire on the barges throughout and did not intervene in the land combat. Given that one well placed ball could dump 60 troops in the sea this was probably a wise choice!

The battle proper may be said to have started at about 11.00 and when d'Aubigny's column, headed by some grenadiers and a party of twenty Breton Gentlemen, came under fire from the English. By this time much of the English force had already embarked and the departure of the rest was being covered by a rearguard consisting of the combined grenadier battalions of the Guards, and the infantry of the line, and a part of the 1st Guards, all under the command of Major General Alexander Drury.

At this stage the various accounts of the battle begin to differ in one significant and predictable way. The French account speaks of the "celebrity" with which their attacks were carried out and states that the pursuit had been conducted as quickly as possible. On the other hand, one English account suggests that the French deliberately delayed their attack until they had an overwhelming superiority.

D'Aubigny's column was initially hit hard by the English fire, both from the entrenchments and the warships and it was checked and forced back into the cover of the sandhills. He made a strenuous attempt to encourage his troops to advance again and eventually turned to the Breton Gentlemen asking them to "show the troops a good example". This they did, rushing forward, and their example inspired first the Grenadiers, then the rest of the column to advance once more.

Drury decided to launch a counter attack before this French column could deploy properly and moved out of the cover of his entrenchment to do so. According to Henvins account, they "formed a column on their centre" but as this is not referred to elsewhere and does not fit in with the normal English tactics of the period, it seems unlikely.

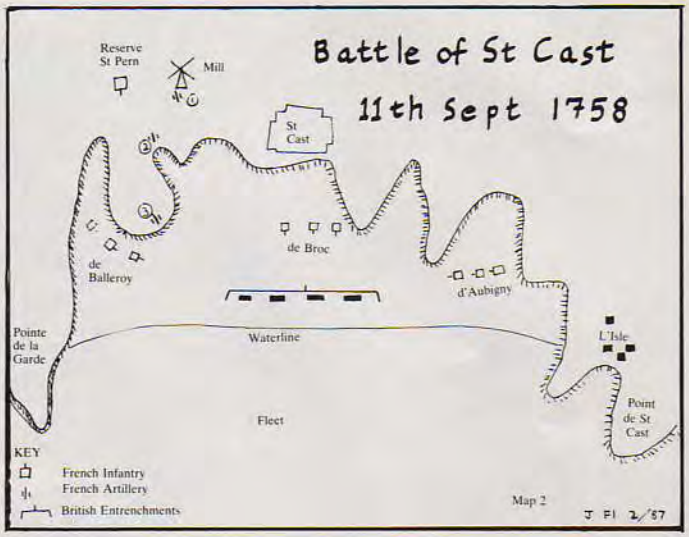
This counter attack was intially successful in driving the leading units of d'Aubigny's column back once again, but in fact began the process of defeat for two major reasons.

Firstly, the close mixing of the troops of the two sides made it impossible for the naval gunfire support to continue. This support had been very effective, the French account speaking with respect of the heavy casualties caused and the English had many ships available (see Appendix 1), though obviously only the lighter vessels and the bombs would be effective. Readers of "Hornblower" will doubtless recall Forester's account of the *Sutherland*'s destruction of a later French column, and even one frigate mounted more gunpower than the entire French battery at St Cast.

Secondly the English lost the protection of their entrenchments just as the other two French columns began to debouch and make their presence felt.

Drury's counter attack was now attacked in its turn, both by de Broc's forces and by the rest of d'Aubigny's column, and forced back into the entrenchments.

The battle now became a confused melee and as more French troops came up their strength became overwhelming. Though the rearguard fought on, they were gradually broken up into smaller and smaller parties who began to run out of ammunition and were




forced to surrender. The barges and ships' boats continued to take people off for as long as possible, all the time under bombardment from French artillery. Drury himself was killed at the water's edge while trying to reach one of the boats.

The battle came to an end at about 3 pm and the English fleet withdrew having rescued all they could and having observed that further and heavier French artillery was now coming into position on the heights.

The French were left in possession of the battlefield and a substantial number of prisoners. The French report speaks of having "taken 600 prisoners and 30 officers including some from the greatest families in the land, three or four Colonels as well as Lieutenant Colonels and a Naval Captain". Senior talks of 31 officers and 701 men taken prisoner including 4 Naval Captains. The English killed and wounded were over 1000, making a total of about 1800. The prisoners were exchanged in December.

French casualties were much lower, only half of those of the English and many of those were from the Militia. Henvin gives a detailed casualty return for them (see illustration for part of this) and from this it is possible to analyse their casualties by column. The left column was much the most heavily engaged and the Regiment Brie which led that column was hardest hit (killed: 2 officers, 33 men; wounded: 12 Officers, 59 men) both from Naval gunfire and in the actual fighting. (See table.)

Throughout the battle d'Aiguillon had directed affairs from the Headquarters in a windmill, the Moulin d'Ane, from which he could see the whole battlefield. This choice of command post, sensible though it seems, led to some odd comments: One scurrilous song current at the time made reference to his dalliance with the miller's pretty daughter! D'Aiguillon, as the representative of Royal power in a very independently minded province, was not universally popular and when someone commented in front of Le Chatolais (who as Attorney General of the Breton Parlement represented local power) that the Duke had "emerged from the Mill covered in glory" he added drily "and particularly with flour".

**The impact of the action**

Initially the Government attempted to suppress the news of the disaster for political reasons, but this was not possible, particularly as this expedition like the rest had been well bruited about in advance.

The news might possibly have been kept secret longer had only unfashionable regiments been involved but with many gaps in the Footguards this was impossible.

The year had been otherwise relatively barren of victories, what little good news there had been coming from the earlier raids. There was substantial parliamentary and public criticism, during which Pitt's opponent. Charles James Fox, described the raids as "breaking windows with guineas" – a singularly wasteful and foolish exercise.

Bligh's conduct in particular excited a great deal of criticism, he was snubbed by the King and he was not further employed. On the other hand, unlike Mordaunt, he was not court martialled. At the time, Field Marshal Ligonier, the effective Commander in Chief,

felt that Bligh should have offered battle on his own terms rather than in a situation created by d'Aiguillon and the conclusion of the relevant section of the 1884 QMG Branch *British Minor Expeditions* stated that "With the force at his disposal it was considered that the English Commander would have done better to have risked an action rather than attempt an embarkation with an enemy in force and so near".

On the other hand, some of the other reasons for not fighting were set out earlier and a recent study by Middleton suggests that the overall condition of the English troops was such as to make a battle unwise.

Certainly it is the case that Bligh had conducted his expedition in a rather carefree manner and there were a number of times when he could easily have been surprised, particularly with the minute cavalry force at his disposal.

This author's view is that while battle round Matignon was probably unwise, deploying the full force to give d'Aiguillon a bloody nose on the beaches of St Cast, could well have bought enough time to organise an ordered evacuation and finished the campaign on a "victory" in the style of Moore at Corunna.

This expedition was the end of the policy of Coastal Raids. From now on the French Coast was safe, though a later and more successful raid was mounted against the island of Belleisle. (But that, editor permitting, is another story.)

In any case by now the original aim of the policy, the diversion of French forces from Germany, was irrelevant because the French High Command was planning to gather forces in Brittany for an invasion of England! The secondary role of the Isle of Wight force, that of forming a mobile anti-invasion reserve was in future to be of more significance until late next year when French invasion plans, together with much of their fleet, vanished into the shoals and mists of Quiberon Bay.

The French were delighted with their victory and erected a triumphal column surmounted by the French Leopard trampling the English Greyhound.

**Some Gaming Possibilities**

This raid offers a number of possibilities. Perhaps the most elaborate is to conduct a campaign based on the whole series of raids that year, with the French Commander required to dispose his forces to protect a range of targets, each with a points value, representing the political impact of its destruction while the English Commander (or Commanders, one for the fleet and one for the amry, just to create the required degree of possible conflict) attempt to strike at them. The English should be provided with very limited intelligence and maps.

The opposed landings also present the possibility of a simple game, using for example the WRG movement rates for boats and disembarkation. Naval gunfire support could be represented by each frigate being considered as two batteries, while bomb ketches could be treated in the same way as unobserved artillery fire under their WWII rules. The bow guns fitted to some of the landing barges are "ultra light guns".

There are also two "what might have been" possibilities for interesting battles:

a) The situation before St Malo (see my article in MW November 1986) where both sides were roughly equal and with limited cavalry.

b) Fighting St Cast as a full scale battle deploying the full English force (see OOB).

**A note on sources**

The Sindicat D'Initiativ at St Cast publish a booklet on the area, by Daniel de la Motte Rouge, concentrating on this period. This contains a reproduction of the official report on the battle by Lieutenant General Henvin, written on 14 September. All quotations identified as Henvin are from my own translation.

For the English side the *British Minor Expedition* (newly republished by Bill Leeson) was used, as was *The Last British Raids on France and the Battle of St Cast* by Colonel HWR Senior published in the RUSI *Journal* in 1932 and *The Royal Artillery at St Malo and Cherbourg 1757* by Lieutenant Colonel Laws. The maps in the latter were particularly helpful.

A number of diaries and Regimental Histories were also consulted.

The Army Museum 1984 Report contains an excellent article on *The Origins of the Flat Bottomed Landing Craft 1757-58* by Hugh Boscawen.

Two modern volumes which deal with the political background are:

M. Peters *Pitt and Popularity* Oxford 1980.

R. Middleton *The Bells of Victory* CUP 1985.

**Appendix 1**

**The British Fleet at St Cast**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Essex* | 64 | (Howe's Flag) | | | |
| *Montague* | 64 | | *Success* | 20 | |
| *Rochester* | 50 | | *Saltash* | 20 | |
| *Deptford* | 50 | | *Swallow* | 16 | |
| *Portland* | 50 | | *Maidstone* | 28 | |
| *Jason* | 50 | | *Diligence* | 16 | |
| *Brilliant* | 36 | | *Speedwell* | 16 | |
| *Pallas* | 36 | | *Cormoran* | 14 | |
| *Active* | 32 | | *Salamander* | 8 | |
| *Renows* | 32 | | *Pluto* | 8 | Fireship |
| *Richmond* | 32 | | *Granada* | 8 | (Bomb) |
| *Tartar* | 28 | | *Infernal* | 8 | (Bomb) |
| *Rose* | 20 | | | | |

Plus store ships transports, etc.

**Appendix 2**

**British Order of Battle for St Cast Expedition**

**Guards Brigade** – Major General Alexander Drury
1st Guards
2nd Guards
Guard Grenadier Battalion
Composite Grenadier Battalion

**1st Brigade** – Major General Granville Smith
24th Foot
34th Foot
72nd Foot

**2nd Brigade** – Major General Mostyn
5th Foot
30th Foot
36th Foot

**3rd Brigade** – Major General Boscawen
33rd Foot
67th Foot
68th Foot

**Light Cavalry Brigade** – Brigadier General Elliot
Light troop of:
1st Dragoon Guards
3rd Dragoon Guards
1st Dragoons
2nd Dragoons
3rd Dragoons
6th Dragoons
7th Dragoons
10th Dragoons
11th Dragoons
(Though few were landed)

Three Companies of Artillery. (But only 2 guns were landed!)

**Table 1 French Casualties by Column**

| | Officers | | Men | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Killed | Wounded | Killed | Wounded |
| Left Column (1) | 6 | 20 | 36 | 70 |
| Centre Column (2) | 1 | – | – | 18 |
| Right | 3 | 17 | 35 | 47 |
| Reserve | – | 3 | 3 | 6 |

**Notes**

1 These figures do not include 'n ight" casualties of two Regiments.

2 These casualties are all from the Marbeuf Dragoons. It is probable that casualties to the picquets and grenadiers were shown under their respective Regiments.

*Museum Miniatures 15mm Medievals (see their ad elsewhere in this issue). Designed by Dave Hoyles, these figures – from the Q.T. Models display – were painted by the Red Triangle Painting Service in Doncaster.*

*Scratch-built buildings by Phil Robinson garrisoned by skirmishers of the 3rd. Swiss and Young Guard, with the Swiss in reserve behind. 25mm.* ***Essex Miniatures*** *painted by B.J. Harris for the collection of Trevor Syrad in Finland*

# 'HYDE PARK':

## A Game of the British Army on the March in Spain, 1808

*by Arthur Harman*

***". . . They talked of going into Spain as of going into Hyde Park; nobody seemed aware of what an arduous task it was; and the season of the year admitting of no delay, there was a necessity for beginning the march, and trusting to information and supplies as we go on."*** Sir John Moore to Lord William Bentinck, 21 October 1808.

**Introduction**

This game was devised to demonstrate the truth of Moore's description of the problems of moving and supplying a British army; the emphasis is upon logistics and finance – factors which are often ignored by wargamers, who prefer the roar of cannon on the battlefield to the scratching of quill pens in the Commissary's office. Yet if we concentrate upon our troops' tactics on the field of battle to the exclusion of the means by which they are fed, watered, paid and marched to the scene of combat, our perception of the nature of warfare is fundamentally false. Since armies in the Napoleonic Wars spent considerably more time in camp, or on the march, than in battle, we ought to pay some attention to this aspect of their life on campaign. Nor were generals solely preoccupied with fighting battles – first it was necessary to bring their armies to the battlefield in good order. I hope this game may persuade wargamers to devote more time to the neglected area of logistics which, I have discovered, has a fascination all its own. 'Hyde Park' has been played successfully as an experiment by members of Wargames Developments; this article contains amendments suggested by their experience, and alternative methods for dealing with the Commissariat if the number of players is limited. Baird's advance from Corunna to join the main army under Moore, making its way from Lisbon, was chosen since players were unlikely to have much prior knowledge of the details, the modus operandi seemed to be typical of British practice of the period, and the number of troops involved was small enough to prevent the calculations becoming too complex!

**Background (All Players and Umpires)**
The French invaded Spain and Portugal in an attempt to enforce the Continental System, an economic blockade of Britain; resistance sprang up in both countries and British help was requested. A British expeditionary force defeated the French army in Portugal in the summer of 1808, whereupon the enemy evacuated Portugal under the terms of the Convention of Cintra. This treaty proved so unpopular that the British government recalled the commanders of the victorious army (Dalrymple, Burrard and Wellesley) to face an inquiry. Command of the army in Portugal was then given to Sir John Moore, who was instructed to advance into Spain to assist the Spanish armies in expelling the invader.

**Scenario (All Players and Umpires)**
Sir David Baird's force (See Orbat), after fitting out in Ireland and at Falmouth, sailed for Spain on 8th October 1808, and arrived at Corunna on 13th October. His instructions were to report his arrival to Moore, lose no time in disembarking the troops, and, immediately on clearing the infantry transports, to send them to Lisbon to convey any troops Moore desired to send to join him. This done, he was to prepare his forces to march, with the object of establishing a line of operations and effecting a junction with the main army at some point to be subsequently decided upon by Moore. He was to receive great assistance from the Spaniards, and in reliance upon this was despatched with no money nor transport animals. Whilst co-operating with his Spanish allies, he was not to divide his force, nor to risk committing them to action until the junction with Moore's army was affected. The transports also carried considerable stores of provisions, clothing, arms and ammunition with which to establish a depot and assist the forces of the Marquess de La Romana, which were to join Blake's Army of the Left by disembarking at Gijon or Santander.

Baird's first task is to organise the disembarkation of his troops; the QMG must begin collecting information regarding roads and quarters, whilst his CG must hire transport to enable the army to move, and purchase supplies for the march. Sir John Moore is presently in Lisbon. Major-General Lord William Bentinck is currently the British representative with the Supreme Junta at Madrid. Each province has its own local junta; the Galician Junta is presently to be found in Corunna.

**The Game (All Players and Umpires)**
Since the purpose of the game is to recreate the administration of an army on the march, it will be necessary for players to represent Baird, and the heads of the three departments concerned in the day-to-day running of the army, the Adjutant General (AG) responsible for maintaining the daily states of the army, and collecting intelligence; the Quarter Master General (QMG) who issues movement orders and organises quarters for the troops; and the Commissary General (CG) whose duty is to purchase all necessary supplies, hire or buy transport, organise storage and the distribution of rations and fodder to troops and animals and keep detailed accounts for the Treasury, which is his employer, not Horse Guards, and may call him to account for any discrepancies after the campaign. For convenience, the AG may as well be responsible for issuing the troops' pay, rather than another player taking the role of Paymaster. These players form Army Headquarters, and should remain together in one room during the game; they may make personal visits to their subordinates, but must remember that paperwork will be building up at Headquarters in their absence!

The game organiser has several choices as how to portray the Commissaries who actually venture out to purchase supplies; if a large number of players and umpires are available, as was the case when 'Hyde Park' was first played, it will be possible to role-play individual Commissaries, each of whom will be taken through his daily experience by an umpire (in the manner of Fantasy Role Playing Games) and his purchases and expenditure reported to Headquarters; alternatively, one Commissary might be played in detail, from whose success or failure the umpires would extrapolate to determine the overall supply state of the army, or the entire process of obtaining rations and transport could be generated by the umpires, so long as an appropriate level of information – and paperwork – reaches Headquarters each turn.

All unit commanders, members of the local Junta, and Spanish merchants or other contractors must be played by the team of umpires, who must be prepared to change character from a wily moneylender to a superstitious peasant at a moment's notice. This should appeal to those who enjoy Role Playing Games or amateur theatricals, and it may be advantageous to have a stock of simple props, such as hats, sashes or false moustaches, if only to enable players to identify easily who an umpire is supposed to be at any one time! Naturally, a careful record must be kept as to which non-played characters are portrayed by which umpires, who remain responsible for their particular characters throughout the game.

The game organiser must also decide whether to play daily turns in order to simulate the routine procedures in full, or to make the turns represent several days or a week, so that real progress will be made in a day's play. In the latter case, much of the detail given in this article will need to be simplified. In either case, a turn should not, if at all possible, last more than about 30 minutes once the players have become familiar with the routine and game systems; all role-played negotiations and confrontations must be severely limited to prevent the game falling behind schedule – if necessary the umpires must adjudicate the results of unfinished activities, or find a plausible explanation for their continuation another day. All communication between players in their game-role must be in writing, using the forms provided where appropriate, and they are advised to keep copies. Letters of orders to other players or non-played characters (it may be a good idea to keep the players in ignorance as to whether particular roles are played or not) are sent via the umpires, who determine any delays and deliver them on the appropriate turn. The umpires will feed in intelligence and reports in suitable form when necessary.

**Routine for a Turn (Daily or longer turns)**
**Each turn Headquarters will receive the following:**
1. Any letters from any source received that turn.
2. The daily states of all units in communication with it (in the case of units over a day's ride from Headquarters this information will be out of date by the time of its receipt).
3. Any bills for hire/purchase of transport/supplies presented that turn (creditors may sometimes attend in person).
4. An account of any troops/transport/supplies arriving at Headquarters that turn.
5. Any reports from officers detached from the army/local rumours &c. received that turn.
6. Any other information the umpires consider appropriate.

**Each turn Headquarters must:**
1. Issue the Route (Movement orders and billets) for all units moving the NEXT turn specifying whether a 'pass order' or extracts are being sent (see explanation under 'Movement Orders').
2. Inform the Commissariat of such movements, or that units may be supplied.
3. File any bills received; maintain account of coin in the Military Chest in the light of any cash payments or receipts that turn.
4. Calculate pay due to troops that turn (adjusting for losses, hospital cases &c.).
5. Maintain lists of stocks in any supply depot at Headquarters.
6. Deal with any other correspondence, intelligence, personal visits &c.

See also the section on 'The Commissariat' for further details of that department's activities and the turn routine for detached Commissaries.

**Composition of Baird's Force**
Cavalry Brigade (Paget): 7th, 10th and 15th Light Dragoons
1st Brigade (Warde): 1/1st Guards, 3/1st Guards
2nd Brigade (Manningham): 3/1st, 1/26th, 2/81st Foot
3rd Brigade (Leith): 51st, 2/59th, 76th Foot
4th Brigade (Mackenzie): 2/14th, 2/23rd Foot
Light Brigade (Craufurd): 2/43rd, 1/95th (5 coys), 2/95th (6 coys) Foot
Artillery: 2 Troops Royal Horse Artillery
Transport: 3 Troops of the Royal Waggon Train (252 rank & file, 164 horses)
N.B. Only the artillery is already equipped with draught animals for its guns and vehicles. Bat mules and all other vehicles and animals must be obtained locally.

**Establishments**
**Cavalry:** A cavalry regiment comprised, on active service, 8 troops forming 4 squadrons. The nominal strength of a troop was 90 rank and file. A typical light cavalry regiment had the following officers: 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 8 Captains, 10-12 Lieutenants, 1 Adjutant, 1 Quartermaster, 1 Surgeon, 1 Assistant-Surgeon and 1 Veterinary Surgeon.

The light baggage of the regiment was carried by 14 Bat mules. The heavy baggage was carried in waggons: 3 waggons for the regimental staff, an Adjutant's waggon, a Surgeon's waggon, a Regimental Stores waggon, a Saddler's Store waggon, an Armoury waggon and a forge. In addition 1½ waggons per troop carried the men's baggage.

**Infantry:** A battalion comprised 10 companies, each typically of 1 Captain, 2 Subalterns, 2 Sergeants, 3 Corporals, 1 Drummer and 85-100 rank and file. The Headquarters consisted of a Lieutenant-Colonel, 2 Majors, 1 Adjutant, 1 Surgeon, 2 Assistant Surgeons, 1 Quartermaster, 1 Sergeant-Major, 1 Sergeant-Paymaster, 1 Sergeant-Armourer, 1 Drum-Major, 1 Corporal and 10 Pioneers.

The light baggage was carried by 13 Bat mules. Heavy baggage would presumably be carried by waggons on a similar scale to those of cavalry regiments, excluding those carried by waggons on a similar scale to those of cavalry regiments, excluding those peculiar to the latter arm.

**Artillery:** A Brigade of 6 guns was crewed by a Company of Foot Artillery, or a Troop of Horse Artillery. The teams in the former were driven by men of the Corps of Drivers. A Foot Artillery company comprised 145 officers and men, supported by 100 Drivers and 200 horses drawing the guns and limbers, 8 ammunition waggons, 3 baggage waggons, a forge and a spare wheel waggon. A Horse Artillery Troop comprised 106 officers and men, supported by 60 Drivers and 226 horses, 6 ammunition waggons, 3 baggage waggons, a forge and spare wheel waggon. A typical complement was: 1 Captain, 1 Second-Captain, 3 Lieutenants, 1 Surgeon, 3 Sergeants, 3 Corporals, 3 Bombardiers, 1 Farrier, 3 Shoeing-Smiths, 2 Collar-Makers, 1 Wheelwright, 2 Trumpeters and 80 gunners.

**Wives & Children:** 6 wives per company, and their children, were allowed to accompany their husbands, they were selected by lot and drew rations. Regiments had, therefore to include the number of women and children "on the strength" in their returns.

**Movement Rates**
The following are approximate rates for marching in English miles, but the figures are intended as a guide only: poor roads, exhausted troops and bad weather will all have an adverse effect on movement. These rates may be doubled by forced marching at the risk of increasing straggling and exhausting men and animals.

| Roads | Cavalry | Infantry | Artillery | Couriers &c. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Main Roads** | 25-30 | 10-15 | 10-15 | 30-40 |
| **Other Roads** | 20-25 | 5-10 | 5-10 | 25-35 |
| **Tracks &c.** | 10-20 | 2-5 | 2-5 | 20-30 |

Remember that these figures represent the perceptions of British officers arriving in Spain; a Spaniard's idea of a "good" road is not the same as a Macadamised turnpike in Southern England!

**Maps and Topographical Information**
At this time there were no really accurate maps of Spain; those that were available were more suited to the needs of travellers than of soldiers. It was necessary to obtain more detailed information from local inhabitants, mule drivers &c., and by reconnaissance reports and sketches from officers detached for the purpose from the QMG's Department. The maps issued to Headquarters and players in the game will reflect this lack of information.

There are four systems of measurement in use in Spain: 'Legales Castellana' are leagues equal to 2.63 English miles; 'Legales Espana' are equal to 4.21 miles; 'Legales Geograficas' are equal to 4 miles; whilst maritime leagues are equivalent to 3.49 miles. Clearly it will not always be possible to determine which measurement a Spaniard is using when he quotes a distance in leagues.

**Currency**
The standard unit is the Spanish gold dollar, subdivided into 20 *reales*, officially equivalent to 22p (4s 6d) in English coin, but this rate of exchange will inevitably change as a result of market forces. Paper currency or bills will be discounted at about 20%. For the purposes of the game, as a result of playing experience, I have decided to quote English prices/pay scales in decimal currency, rather than £sd, which proved an unnecessary complication for players already struggling to keep accurate accounts. Players are recommended to keep Commissariat accounts in dollars, and some time spent converting Army pay scales into dollars at the beginning of the game could well simplify recording the current state of the Military Chest.

**On the March**
Troops may carry up to 3 days' rations in their knapsacks – but beware! British soldiers are notorious for devouring all food and drink issued on the first day. Receiving several days' liquor ration at once is a temptation none can resist. A riding or draught animal can carry 3 days' fodder for itself in addition to its burden without affecting its movement.

Forced marches, failure of rations and poor quarters will contribute to the numbers of stragglers and sick. Stragglers may be carried on waggons if the regimental baggage is being transported with the columns. Sick men must be accommodated in hospitals and provided with full rations if their recovery is not to be delayed unnecessarily or prevented.

**Procedure for Hiring Guides**
A guide may be hired at any village or town by asking the umpire. A choice of guides will be offered, based on superficial impressions. Remember that a guide's knowledge decreases the further he is from his home town or village, unless he is a regular traveller like a muleteer or pedlar, and will only extend about a dozen English miles.

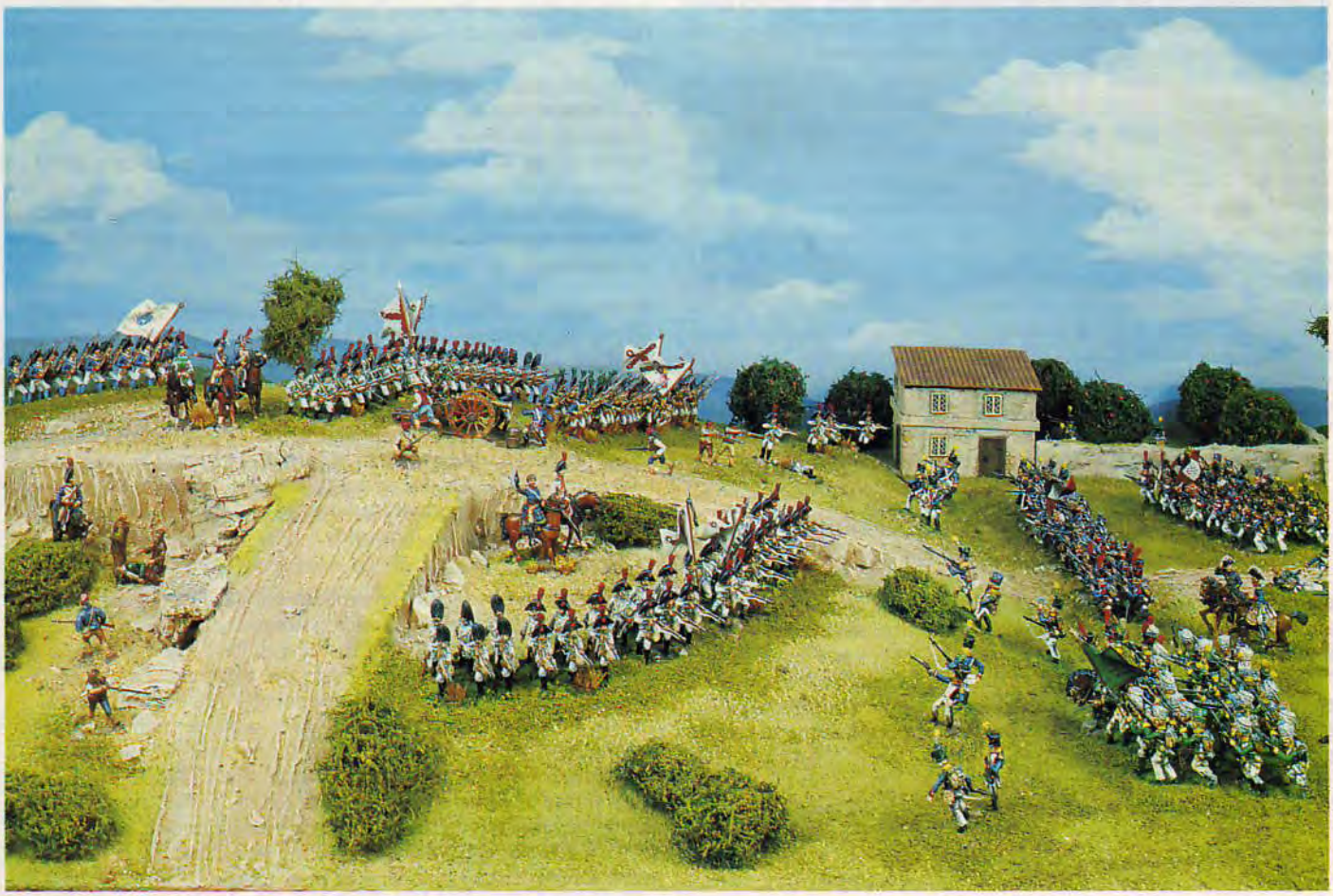
**Department Briefings**
Detailed information necessary to run the Departments at Army Headquarters is given in briefings addressed to the AG, QMG, and CG, together with examples of the forms and records they will have to keep. It is not necessary for the head of one department to have much knowledge of how another functions, except for the liaison between them. This is particularly true of the Commissariat, which is a civilian, not a military, organisation.

**Adjutant-General**
This officer's principal duty is to maintain the daily states of the army, which are used to keep the commander informed of the number of men present for duty, calculate pay, and enable the QMG and CG to arrange quarters and rations. Each game day, or turn if a longer period of time is represented by each turn, the umpires will give the AG returns from every unit able to report, from which he must calculate the total number present for duty or sick, and animals in the army. This information is given to the QMG so he may allocate quarters, and the total rank and file (officers make their own messing arrangements) and animals to the CG for calculation of rations. Although hardly in period, a pocket calculator will enable the AG player to complete this task each turn without the assistance of the numerous quill-wielding clerks he would have in reality. Examples of the daily return form and the AG's record are shown.

The AG fulfils his intelligence-gathering function by sending officers out on fast horses to visit towns and villages, interview leading citizens and report any news of the enemy. He will also receive any intercepted letters or documents that fall into the army's hands, and should take the opportunity to interview any Spanish merchants, officers or politicians who arrive at Headquarters. In this particular scenario, his duties will not be very onerous where intelligence is concerned. In this game the AG will also act as Paymaster; using the information from the unit returns he must calculate the army's wages for that turn. This does not mean, however, that pay will be issued each turn, or even each week; the shaky financial arrangements of a British army operating overseas meant that the Paymaster and CG were constantly involved in juggling competing claims for payment from the troops, supply contractors and those whose property had been requisitioned, the art being to delay having to pay any particular bill in coin for as long as possible. The solders' pay had to be issued in coin, to enable them to supplement their poor rations, although

*Four pictures of the absolutely superb Peninsular War collection of Bill Gaskin. Bill began by buying ready-painted Connoisseur figures, progressed to painting and converting them himself, and now often creates and drop-casts his own figures. Prominent here are the Spanish forces, supported by the omnipresent guerrillas; but that's Old Nosey himself haranguing the troops in square outside a Spanish village,*

*whilst Light Dragoon picquets guard against surprise. Last picture proves the Spaniards didn't always play second fiddle to the French! Buildings and terrain are also from the Gaskin collection, and a special mention for Bill's lovely wife, Judy, who made the orange trees! (How she managed to write 'Outspan' on all the oranges I'll never know!)*



officers could be paid half in coin and half in paper. Shortages of coin meant that pay overseas was frequently months in arrear. The AG must, however, keep meticulous accounts of the actual sums due in pay so the cost of the campaign can be accurately calculated.

For convenience the pay scales below represent the approximate net pay per week, converted into decimal currency, after deductions for food, 'necessaries', and washing in the case of the rank and file, and 'poundage' (agent's commission), and property tax in the case of officers.

**Pay Scales**

| Rank | Cavalry | Guards | Infantry | RHA |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lt-Col | £6.40 | £6.00 | £4.45 | – |
| Major | £5.35 | £5.15 | £3.90 | – |
| Captain | £4.05 | £3.50 | £2.65 | £4.45 |
| Adjutant (Second Captain) | £2.80 | £2.80 | £2.20 | £3.20 |
| Lieutenant | £2.50 | £1.65 | £1.50 | £2.80 |
| Cornet/Ensign | £2.20 | £1.40 | £1.25 | – |
| Surgeon | £2.80 | £2.80 | £2.65 | £2.65 |
| Asst. Surgeon | £2.20 | £2.20 | £2.10 | – |
| Paymaster | £0.50 | £0.45 | £0.45 | – |
| Quartermaster | £2.05 | £0.45 | £0.45 | – |
| Sergeant | £0.50 | £0.40 | £0.33 | £0.50 |
| Corporal | £0.30 | £0.25 | £0.18 | £0.30 |
| Private/Gunner | £0.20 | £0.13 | £0.10 | £0.20 |

**Quartermaster-General**

This officer issues all Movement Orders (The Route), allocates quarters, and liaises with the CG to ensure rations accompany moving troops, or are delivered to their new location. The Route must detail dates and halting places for each unit, especially if a game turn represents more than one day.

The usual practice observed during the whole of the Peninsular War was for marching orders to be issued in the evening previous to the match, at about 5 p.m., and the troops to start before dawn in order to avoid the full heat of the noonday sun. Most marches could be accomplished by midday, and the troops, on arriving at their destination and having received their camp-kettles or pitched their camp, would set about their dinner. To preserve this routine, the whole business of writing and copying the orders and carrying them to the different formations had to be done between the afternoon of one day and three o'clock the next morning. Speed was essential. Either the orders could be copied at the QMG's office and portions of them extracted for each subordinate commander before they were sent out; or a 'pass order' could be taken round each formation by one or perhaps two messengers, and each formation staff could copy from it the parts that related to itself. Which of these two courses was adopted depended upon the circumstances rather than any rule. The 'pass order' required fewer orderlies or officers; on the other hand, the time spent by the AMG's office staff in copying would equally be spent by the divisional staffs in making their extracts, and, unless the divisions were in close proximity to each other and Headquarters, the 'pass order' was probably not a great time saver . . . " (from Ward's *Wellington's Headquarters)*

**AN EXAMPLE OF A MOVEMENT ORDER**

Headquarters, Cuellar, 5/8/1812

"Colonel Ponsonby's Brigade of Cavalry to move at 3 o'clock tomorrow morning by its right to the River Piron, cross that river and encamp on its left bank near to the village of Mozoncillo. The Brigade is to proceed by the villages of Zarauela del Pinar and Fuentepelayo.

"The regiment of Light Infantry of the K.G.L. stationed near Cuellar to move at 3 o'clock tomorrow morning by its right through the village of Sanchonuno to Navalmanzano, where the regiment is to remain until further orders . . .

"The baggage to follow the columns.

"Headquarters 6th of August at Aldea Real or Mozoncillo.

J.W. Gordon, Q.M.G."

**A MEMORANDUM FOR THE COMMISSARY-GENERAL**

"The undermentioned troops having been ordered to march into Cuellar on the 6th inst., and to remain in quarters there until further notice, the Commissary-General will take the necessary measures to supply the troops with provisions:

the whole of the 6th Division
1/5th
1/38th
2/4th
1/42nd
1/82nd

making in the whole, about 6,000 men. The troops will be quartered in the Convent and the sick in the Castle.

J.W. Gordon, Q.M.G."

**Quartering**

Between 6 and 8 men may be quartered in each house of a typical village. More may be billeted in public buildings, churches, convents &c. Clearly on occasions it will be necessary to exceed these guidelines. The QMG's Department may discover the size of towns and villages by detaching officers for this purpose, hiring guides as laid down by the umpire, who will send back reports which may be used to allocate quarters. These officers may also examine roads to determine the practicability of proposed routes.

**The Commissariat**

The Commissary-General is responsible to the commander of the force for procuring supplies, hiring or purchasing transport, negotiating the purchase of specie, and to the Treasury for accounting for every transaction. The CG had been made the sole accountant, responsible for all his sub-accountants, and could be held personally liable years after the events concerned for any discrepancy. Basic information on ration scales and transport is followed by the procedure if detached Commissaries are played; otherwise the umpires generate all purchases and expenditure.

**The Ration Scales**

The Commissariat was obliged to supply daily:

Rank & File: 1 pound of meat,
1 pound of biscuit, of 1½ pounds of good wheaten bread
1 pint of wine, or ⅓ pint of spirits

Horses, Carriages & Saddle Mules: 10 pounds oats, barley or Indian corn
10 pounds hay or cut straw

Pack Mules: 5 pounds oats, barley or Indian corn
10 pounds hay or cut straw

Ration Cattle were not fed on the march, but relied on grazing en route.

The soldier's pay was subject to deductions for his food, but no refund was made if supplies were insufficient to provide the full ration, or non-existent.

**Bread**

To provide troops with fresh bread upon the march it was necessary to purchase an appropriate quantity of flour (¾ pound of flour will produce 1 pound of bread), transport it to a depot on the line of march, and there arrange for the baking to be done by local women in exchange for payment in their own homes. The umpires will simply *issue one receipt stating the cost of baking, which will be presumed* to take an entire day. The bread must then be delivered and distributed to the troops by the normal methods. Flour, grain and forage will be measured in bushels of 70 pounds.

**Meat**

Meat was issued by the simple expedient of slaughtering the necessary number of cattle from the herds accompanying the troops on the march at the end of their march for that day. The cattle were not provided with fodder, so forced marches which prevent grazing will result in loss of weight, and consequently reduce the number of rations they will produce. So long as a sufficient number of cattle accompany the troops the meat ration will be automatically distributed at the end of each day's march: the CG should deduct the appropriate number of animals from the herd. For the purposes of this game each Spanish bullock in good condition will be deemed to provide 400 pounds of edible (by Army standards!) meat, subject to some loss for forced marching or poor forage.

**Liquor**
Wine and spirits are purchased by the gallon, and must be transported to the troops for issue daily. Lack of liquor tends to cause poor morale amongst British troops, and also results in thieving and the selling of kit to make good the deficiency!

**Purchase of Supplies**
The commonest method of obtaining supplies was by ordinary local purchase on the open market. This might take the form of a contract by which a firm would undertake to supply, say, so many head of cattle at a specified price per head/pound, or a direct purchase from a merchant in a town near a depot or the army's cantonments. To supplement it, commissaries might resort to requisition, giving payment, or more usually receipts, on the spot. Such receipts could only be cashed at Headquarters; small farmers and traders tended to sell them at discount to financiers who could afford to visit the army in person to collect payment.

**Transport**
Supplies may be transported by pack-mule or ox-cart drawn by two bullocks. A pack mule can carry a 200 pound payload and 30 pounds of fodder for itself, sufficient for a 6 day journey; a cart can carry between 600 and 1,000 pounds payload.
Thus:
1 mule can carry: 6 days' biscuits for 33 men, or 200 daily rations
6 days rum for 100 men, or 600 daily rations
6 days wine for 33 men, or 200 daily rations
6 days food/fodder for 3 horses, or 20 daily rations
1 cart can carry: 600-960 biscuit rations
1800-2880 rum rations
600-960 wine rations
56-90 horse rations

The Commissariat has to transport supplies to depots, from one depot to the next, and thence to each brigade, cavalry regiment or troop of artillery. The commissary in charge of each depot was responsible for the transport of supplies to the next; if commissaries in charge of depots are not played, the umpires may simply fill in appropriate bills for hire of transport and insert into the paperflow. Each unit (as listed above) had a number of 'division' mules attached to it to transport its supplies from the nearest depot. The exact number of 'division' mules required varied with the distance from the depot. Assuming that a mule can travel 16 English miles per day, the following formulae may be used to calculate their numbers:

$$\text{Biscuit or Wine: } M = \frac{N \times D}{200}$$

$$\text{Rum: } M = \frac{N \times D}{600}$$

$$\text{Fodder: } M = \frac{H \times D}{20}$$

where: M = number of mules; N = rank & file; H = horses/mules; D = days' journey to and from the depot.
N.B. The 'division' mules should not be confused with the 13 mules per battalion, or 14 per cavalry regiment, used to carry camp-kettles, paymaster's books, tools and surgeon's panniers. These would, of course, be purchased by the Commissariat in the usual manner at the commencement of the campaign. The officers responsible for the upkeep of these animals were paid an allowance, Bat Money, twice yearly, on 1st March and 17th September, but this was often months in arrear. For the purposes of this game it will be convenient to regard Bat Money as having been paid already, or so long in arrear as to be irrelevant . . . .

**Commissaries Detached from the Army/In Charge of Depots**
If these junior Commissaries are represented by players, they must complete records to show supplies purchased and bills or cash paid per turn, which are then forwarded via the umpires to the CG at Headquarters. In this way he should be able to keep track of what supplies will be available for the army – particularly important when a movement is being planned. If they are not played, the umpires will simply generate appropriate paperwork for Headquarters themselves.

**Each turn Commissaries detached to purchase supplies or hire transport must:**
1. Plan their route for that turn.
2. Hire guides.
3. At each village negotiate for supplies &c to issue bills or cash in payment. Keep duplicates showing all purchases/hirings and personal expense for presenting at Headquarters in due course (players taking these roles may care to try to make a personal profit by fraud – Commissaries were said to "rob the King and starve the troops").
4. Note origin/destination of each convoy and send to umpires for calculation of time of arrival &c.
5. Deal with any other business.

**Each turn Commissaries in charge of depots must:**
1. Issue supplies to all units drawing upon that depot/forward supplies to other depots as required.
2. Hire any transport necessary to move supplies (or the depot) to another depot. Issue bills/cash as necessary, and send an account to Headquarters.
3. Maintain a list of stocks in the depot during that turn, and send totals at the end of each turn to Headquarters (or as often as instructed by the CG).
4. When setting up a new depot hire suitable buildings for storage.
5. Any other business.

Any paperwork not concluded by the deadline for the end of that turn will have to be completed and forwarded the following turn. Players whose reports/accounts are late are liable to be severely reprimanded by Headquarters, or receive an unpleasant personal visit.

**Umpires' Guide (Not to be shown to players)**
A game such as this depends heavily on its umpires: they must bring the raw material contained in this article to life; keep the players busy, but not present them with impossible tasks; and be prepared to improvise to deal with the unexpected (in the original game, one Commissary player, entrusted with a large sum in cash to buy supplies, refused to leave Corunna for fear of being robbed by brigands – a quick thinking umpire suggested that he hire some local desperados as a bodyguard; soon he had an efficient system of supply convoys running to and from Corunna whose safety was ensured by generous payments of protection money!) and the inevitable gaps that have been left in this article to keep it to a reasonable (?) length. Ideally they should be experienced in both 'free kriegsspiel' and role-playing. The umpires' principal role is to control the flow of reports, orders and bills between the players, and input emanating from non-played characters. A large-scale master map of Northern Spain will be useful for keeping track of the movements of the army, detached officers and supply convoys, and the location of depots. Maps reproduced in modern military history books will not have sufficient detail of villages and minor roads/tracks (see Glover's *Wellington's Army* pages 164-165 for reproductions of the contemporary maps by Lopez and Faden in use in the Peninsula), so you will probably have to produce your own. Use the road net shown in, say, Hibbert's *Corunna* for the main roads and then fill in the surrounding area with villages &c. using your imagination (in which respect you will be behaving very like early Spanish cartographers!), remembering that Galicia was a relatively poor, thinly populated area. Make smaller copies at your local copy shop for the players. Copies of the various forms required for record-keeping must also be run off.

## ROUTINE FOR A TYPICAL GAME TURN

**General Umpires**
1. Movement orders written and issued the previous day/turn by players are put into effect on the master map using the guides to marching rates, taking into account lack of supply, efficiency of guides &c.
2. Deduct stragglers/sick from units that are without supply/have forced marched, and complete unit returns accordingly. Check that supplies have been provided or transported to their new quarters.
3. Convoys of supplies purchased by Commissaries are moved; when they arrive at a depot the Commissary in charge is informed, or Headquarters after a suitable delay.

*Two more photos of the Young Guard and 3rd Swiss Essex – Harris – Syrad battalions, getting the support of a Cuirassier charge, with the troopers in Peninsular brown rather than the regulation blue. Keen-minded Napoleonic wargamers will instantly realise (by the basing and organisation of the figures) that rules in use are Barry Edwards' **Playable Napoleonic Wargame Rules.** They will also recognise the track as Total System Scenic rather than Kosher Catalonian.*



4. Returns and other umpire-generated documents are completed and forwarded to army Headquarters if due to be received that day/turn.
5. Outgoing orders from Headquarters to players/non-played characters are collected for delivery next day/turn.
At any time a turn may be interrupted by personal meetings between Headquarters staff and Spaniards/junior officers, where such contacts could reasonably take place. No meeting should continue more than a few minutes – if it looks likely to over-run adjudicate a result, or treat it as continuing another day/turn if appropriate.

**Umpires with Detached Commissaries &c.**
1. Commissaries plan their day's/turn's route and hire guides (see below). Those in charge of depots hire any transport necessary to move supplies forward. Supplies are issued to units as ordered by Headquarters.
2. Commissaries tour villages, hiring transport to carry the supplies they buy to the nearest depot, negotiating prices and issuing payment in cash or bills. It is up to the umpire to make this stage as interesting for the player as possible, using role-playing techniques, bearing in mind that broadly the same process must be repeated each turn. The umpire updates the village record chart to show the items purchased, and records this information on the central master map at the end of the turn so that it is available to all umpires.

**Special Effects** (which should not be over-used) could include:
Desertion by the guide – the player must hire another one at the nearest village. Theft of his money/horse/mule by guide/peasants/bandits overnight – umpire must create some chance for the player to retrieve his situation at least in part. Sickness of, or accident to, the player's horse/mule forces him to buy another – conduct a spirited negotiation with 'Honest Jose' the local horse dealer (see 'Nugget' 34 for an extremely entertaining system by Howard Whitehouse for this). Elopements with dark-eyed senoritas/fugitive nuns and the resulting vendettas with their outraged families are left to the umpire's discretion – and imagination! Memoirs by subalterns who served in the Peninsular War are a rich source of amusing incidents, and misunderstandings between British officers and the local population.
3. Commissaries complete their accounts, which are sent via umpires to Headquarters.
4. Those in charge of depots receive orders to supply units for the following day/turn. Others receive any communications arriving that day/turn.

**Village Records**
Before the game a list of the housing and supplies available at each village must be created, using some random system of generation (I began by dicing for the number of houses in each village, and made the supply state increase in proportion to its size). This is boring, but need only be done once. An extract from my list is shown. Ideally, every umpire should have, or have access to, a copy, and a master copy should be maintained beside the main map, or incorporated on it as shown in the diagram. This must be updated each turn, so that players do not end up purchasing non-existent supplies from villages whose stocks are exhausted.

**Guides** (based on the system devised by Paddy Griffith for *Euskadi* a megagame of the Pyrenees Campaign)
A series of cards is prepared; on the front of each card is a picture of a guide (you could cut out faces from magazines or mail order catalogues, or use cartoon characters) and a suitable name. Offer a player 3 or 4 of these when he arrives at a village and asks for a guide, trying to role-play them if possible. The player makes a choice. On the back of the card is the guide's true rating, which is used in conjunction with the definitions and die rolls below to determine his effectiveness. The guide also has a code number which can be noted against the village so that he does not reappear elsewhere later. Alternatively, the information may be simply presented to the umpire on a list, like this:
1. Jose, voluble shepherd with bad squint (D)
2. Manolo, stocky peasant with fearsome array of knives in belt (E)
3. Esteban, a young muleteer, much disfigured by smallpox (B)
and so on.

**Guide Ratings**
A: Excellent guide who will lead one to correct objective by shortest route. Very good knowledge of surrounding area.
B: Moderately good guide who will arrive at correct destination 90% of the time, taking 25% longer than A class guide.
C: Shifty character who constantly demands more money before he will do anything but may be A class (8/9 on d10), B class (6/7), D class (4/5), or E (0-3).
D: Confused but well-meaning guide loses his way 30% of the time, and takes 50% longer than an A guide.
E: He no spikka de Eengless so good! Communication problems or sheer incompetence cause him to lose his way anywhere off the main road.
Without a guide players will be delayed by up to 25% on main roads; lose way in bad weather or darkness for 0-1 on d10 on roads/tracks, where they may be delayed by up to 40%; cross-country lose way for 0-1 in good weather, 0-3 in bad, whilst being delayed by up to 50%. Delay is based on the time taken for the journey according to basic movement rates.

**Getting Lost**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| If lost a player takes a wrong turning: | 0-1 90 degrees | Right |
| | 2-4 30 degrees | Right |
| | 5-7 90 degrees | Left |
| | 8-9 30 degrees | Left |

The player will not realise he is lost until he arrives at a village. The umpire may at all times 'fudge' the results in the interests of realism, remembering that it is not his task to obstruct players unnecessarily.

**Straggling**
Straggling will be greatest during the first few days after disembarkation, and during forced marches. As a rough guide, throw 1d10 per regiment/battalion, and 1d6 per artillery troop, during ordinary marches, and 2 dice during forced marches. The result is the number of stragglers from that unit. Assume stragglers will rejoin units on the following basis: after a 1 day march, stragglers rejoin the next day; after a 2 day march they rejoin on the second day the unit stationary, and so on.

**Sickness**
During the first few days that the Army is in Spain there will inevitably be some sickness resulting from the after-effects of the voyage/foreign liquor &c. This will also apply to the horses brought from England (for liquor read forage!). There will be considerably less sickness after the weaker men and animals have succumbed, but lack of rations, prolonged forced marching and poor quarters will cause it to increase. Do not tell players this directly – let them discover it for themselves. In the trial game the CG had the bright idea of letting the Light Brigade carry 3 days' rum ration in their canteen – the discovery after the first day's march that over 25% of the troops had fallen out drunk, and the rest had failed to reach their quarters for the night, persuaded him not to repeat the experiment! Dice for the number of sick using a d10 to begin with, and thereafter a dAV, and don't forget the horses. Remember that a few men would collapse and die from heatstroke or the weight of their kit. Those who fall sick recover as follows: 75% if hospitalised, 50% if not. They rejoin their units by travelling in parties under the command of a subaltern, travelling at normal movement rates. Discover the time spent sick by 1 dAV weeks, treating all falling out sick on one day from each unit as a group for convenience.

**Prices**
This has proved difficult: memoirists often neglect to tell us the cost of basic items, so I have based the figures below upon contemporary English prices. They are intended as a guide for umpires when negotiating with players or generating bills for Headquarters. Remember that the presence of an army officered by foreigners unfamiliar with local markets would naturally tend to cause prices to rise, and offer an opportunity for profiteering.

| Item | Minimum | Maximum |
|---|---|---|
| Hire of mule | 15 reales/day | 25 reales/day (generally the British paid a dollar per mule per day) |
| Hire of bullock driver and team | 16 reales/day | 30 reales/day |

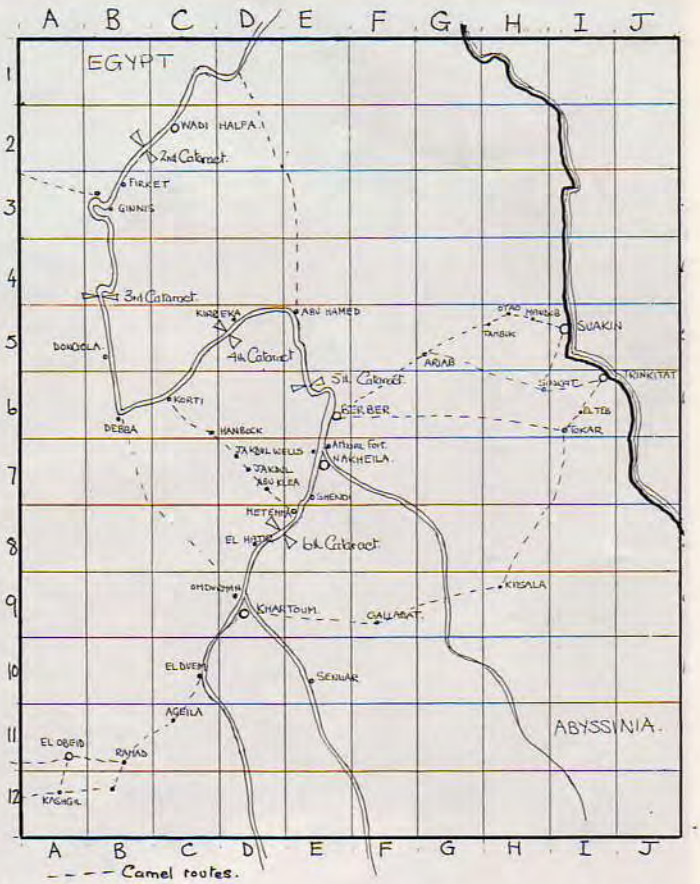
Mahdist to control squares and for the Imperial forces to break the Mahdist grip in the Sudan and so stop the 'Holy War' spreading. Each month of inactivity brings more of the tribes over to the Mahdi and so the number of squares he controls grows. Note: There are two grades of Mahdist influence over squares. **1. Control.** Absolute control over that square, usually a garrison in a town or village within that square. **2. Influence.** No Mahdist garrison within the square, but the tribes living within it are friendly to the Mahdist cause. Imperial troops could find enemy troops within that square. Squares adjacent to the Mahdist controlled squares always are designated 'squares of influence'.

When our campaign opens the control of 'The expected one' has spread over squares 11 & 12A; 10, 11 & 12B; 11 & 12C; 11 & 12D in the West; and in the East over 6F; 5, 6 & 7 G; 6 & 7H; and 7I.

The Imperial forces are assumed to be either on the Sudan-Egyptian border or may be landed at Suakin. A couple of things for the Imperial Commanders to bear in mind when planning: It takes a vast amount of supplies, water, fodder for camels etc. if you decide to go cross country. You are only sure of water on the camel routes. Squares with no Dervish influence are straightforward in movement, careful planning as regards supplies is important because if you are in the middle of a trek and run out of water fighting capabilities suffer and serious falling out on the march is experienced.

Well, that's about it for this Issue. In the next one we will describe the situation as the Imperial commanders get into their briefings and the plan they come up with, how the army is going to be organised and the first reports back from the front.

See you then!

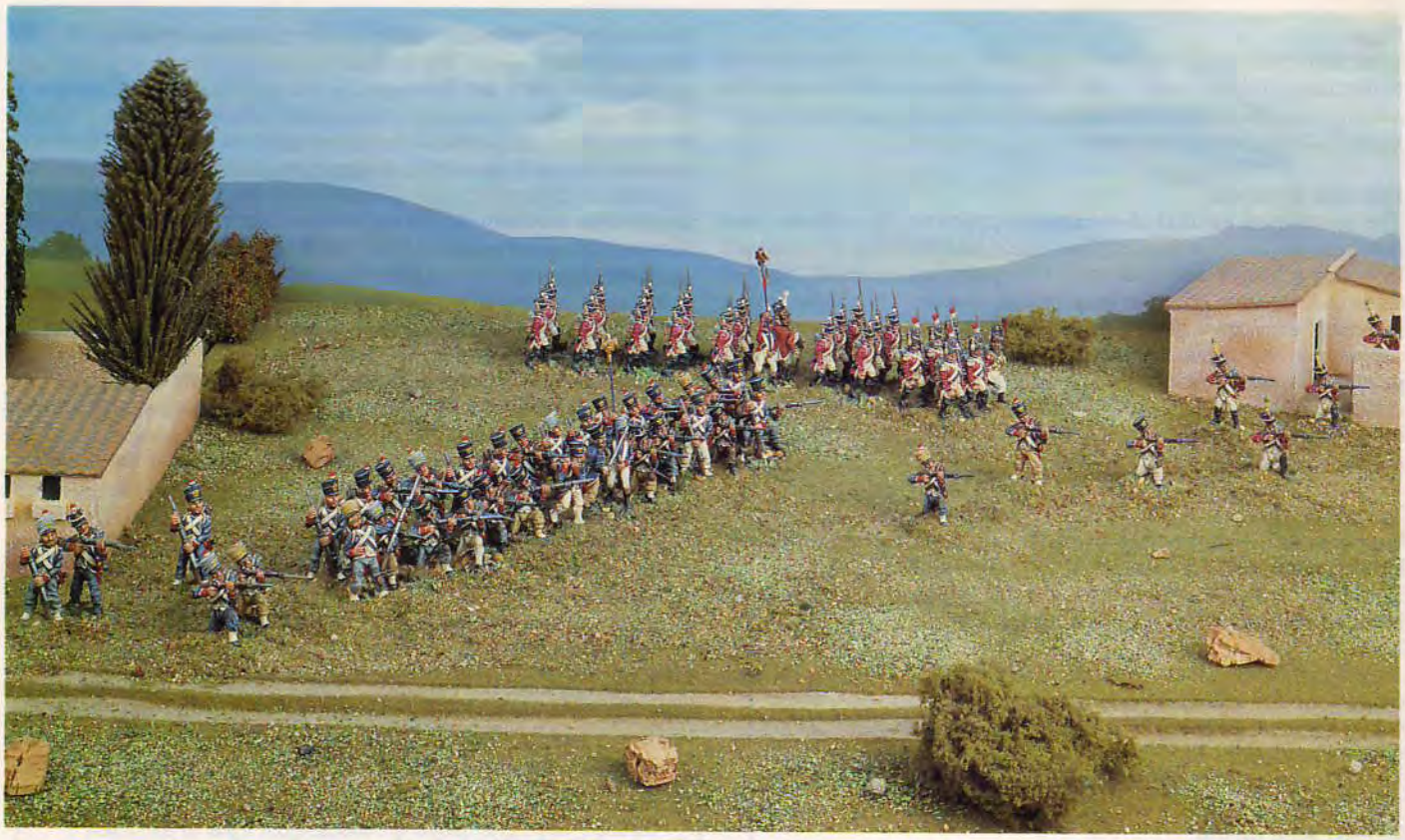



If you'd like to learn more about the Sudan and other Colonial campaigns you should join the

**VICTORIAN MILITARY SOCIETY**

Why not send an s.a.e. to their Secretary and ask for details?

**Col. P.S. Walton, The Post House, Stoke, Andover, Hants. SP11 0ND**



*Two more photos of the Young Guard and 3rd Swiss Essex – Harris – Syrad battalions, getting the support of a Cuirassier charge, with the troopers in Peninsular brown rather than the regulation blue. Keen-minded Napoleonic wargamers will instantly realise (by the basing and organisation of the figures) that rules in use are Barry Edwards'* ***Playable Napoleonic Wargame Rules.*** *They will also recognise the track as Total System Scenic rather than Kosher Catalonian.*



4. Returns and other umpire-generated documents are completed and forwarded to army Headquarters if due to be received that day/turn.
5. Outgoing orders from Headquarters to players/non-played characters are collected for delivery next day/turn.
At any time a turn may be interrupted by personal meetings between Headquarters staff and Spaniards/junior officers, where such contacts could reasonably take place. No meeting should continue more than a few minutes – if it looks likely to over-run adjudicate a result, or treat it as continuing another day/turn if appropriate.

**Umpires with Detached Commissaries &c.**
1. Commissaries plan their day's/turn's route and hire guides (see below). Those in charge of depots hire any transport necessary to move supplies forward. Supplies are issued to units as ordered by Headquarters.
2. Commissaries tour villages, hiring transport to carry the supplies they buy to the nearest depot, negotiating prices and issuing payment in cash or bills. It is up to the umpire to make this stage as interesting for the player as possible, using role-playing techniques, bearing in mind that broadly the same process must be repeated each turn. The umpire updates the village record chart to show the items purchased, and records this information on the central master map at the end of the turn so that it is available to all umpires.

**Special Effects** (which should not be over-used) could include:
Desertion by the guide – the player must hire another one at the nearest village. Theft of his money/horse/mule by guide/peasants/bandits overnight – umpire must create some chance for the player to retrieve his situation at least in part. Sickness of, or accident to, the player's horse/mule forces him to buy another – conduct a spirited negotiation with 'Honest Jose' the local horse dealer (see 'Nugget' 34 for an extremely entertaining system by Howard Whitehouse for this). Elopements with dark-eyed senoritas/fugitive nuns and the resulting vendettas with their outraged families are left to the umpire's discretion – and imagination! Memoirs by subalterns who served in the Peninsular War are a rich source of amusing incidents, and misunderstandings between British officers and the local population.
3. Commissaries complete their accounts, which are sent via umpires to Headquarters.
4. Those in charge of depots receive orders to supply units for the following day/turn. Others receive any communications arriving that day/turn.

**Village Records**
Before the game a list of the housing and supplies available at each village must be created, using some random system of generation (I began by dicing for the number of houses in each village, and made the supply state increase in proportion to its size). This is boring, but need only be done once. An extract from my list is shown. Ideally, every umpire should have, or have access to, a copy, and a master copy should be maintained beside the main map, or incorporated on it as shown in the diagram. This must be updated each turn, so that players do not end up purchasing non-existent supplies from villages whose stocks are exhausted.

**Guides** (based on the system devised by Paddy Griffith for *Euskadi* a megagame of the Pyrenees Campaign)
A series of cards is prepared; on the front of each card is a picture of a guide (you could cut out faces from magazines or mail order catalogues, or use cartoon characters) and a suitable name. Offer a player 3 or 4 of these when he arrives at a village and asks for a guide, trying to role-play them if possible. The player makes a choice. On the back of the card is the guide's true rating, which is used in conjunction with the definitions and die rolls below to determine his effectiveness. The guide also has a code number which can be noted against the village so that he does not reappear elsewhere later. Alternatively, the information may be simply presented to the umpire on a list, like this:
1. Jose, voluble shepherd with bad squint (D)
2. Manolo, stocky peasant with fearsome array of knives in belt (E)
3. Esteban, a young muleteer, much disfigured by smallpox (B)
and so on.

**Guide Ratings**
A: Excellent guide who will lead one to correct objective by shortest route. Very good knowledge of surrounding area.
B: Moderately good guide who will arrive at correct destination 90% of the time, taking 25% longer than A class guide.
C: Shifty character who constantly demands more money before he will do anything but may be A class (8/9 on d10), B class (6/7), D class (4/5), or E (0-3).
D: Confused but well-meaning guide loses his way 30% of the time, and takes 50% longer than an A guide.
E: He no spikka de Eengless so good! Communication problems or sheer incompetence cause him to lose his way anywhere off the main road.
Without a guide players will be delayed by up to 25% on main roads; lose way in bad weather or darkness for 0-1 on d10 on roads/tracks, where they may be delayed by up to 40%; cross-country lose way for 0-1 in good weather, 0-3 in bad, whilst being delayed by up to 50%. Delay is based on the time taken for the journey according to basic movement rates.

**Getting Lost**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| If lost a player takes a wrong turning: | 0-1 90 degrees | Right |
| | 2-4 30 degrees | Right |
| | 5-7 90 degrees | Left |
| | 8-9 30 degrees | Left |

The player will not realise he is lost until he arrives at a village. The umpire may at all times 'fudge' the results in the interests of realism, remembering that it is not his task to obstruct players unnecessarily.

**Straggling**
Straggling will be greatest during the first few days after disembarkation, and during forced marches. As a rough guide, throw 1d10 per regiment/battalion, and 1d6 per artillery troop, during ordinary marches, and 2 dice during forced marches. The result is the number of stragglers from that unit. Assume stragglers will rejoin units on the following basis: after a 1 day march, stragglers rejoin the next day; after a 2 day march they rejoin on the second day the unit stationary, and so on.

**Sickness**
During the first few days that the Army is in Spain there will inevitably be some sickness resulting from the after-effects of the voyage/foreign liquor &c. This will also apply to the horses brought from England (for liquor read forage!). There will be considerably less sickness after the weaker men and animals have succumbed, but lack of rations, prolonged forced marching and poor quarters will cause it to increase. Do not tell players this directly – let them discover it for themselves. In the trial game the CG had the bright idea of letting the Light Brigade carry 3 days' rum ration in their canteen – the discovery after the first day's march that over 25% of the troops had fallen out drunk, and the rest had failed to reach their quarters for the night, persuaded him not to repeat the experiment! Dice for the number of sick using a d10 to begin with, and thereafter a dAV, and don't forget the horses. Remember that a few men would collapse and die from heatstroke or the weight of their kit. Those who fall sick recover as follows: 75% if hospitalised, 50% if not. They rejoin their units by travelling in parties under the command of a subaltern, travelling at normal movement rates. Discover the time spent sick by 1 dAV weeks, treating all falling out sick on one day from each unit as a group for convenience.

**Prices**
This has proved difficult: memoirists often neglect to tell us the cost of basic items, so I have based the figures below upon contemporary English prices. They are intended as a guide for umpires when negotiating with players or generating bills for Headquarters. Remember that the presence of an army officered by foreigners unfamiliar with local markets would naturally tend to cause prices to rise, and offer an opportunity for profiteering.

| Item | Minimum | Maximum |
|---|---|---|
| Hire of mule | 15 reales/day | 25 reales/day (generally the British paid a dollar per mule per day) |
| Hire of bullock driver and team | 16 reales/day | 30 reales/day |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hire of muleteer | 15 reales/day | 25 reales/day (typical daily pay one dollar) |
| 1 Bushel Flour | 15 reales | 17 reales (English flour was 45p a bushel) |
| 1 Bushel Grain | 10 reales | 14 reales |
| 1 Bushel Hay/Straw | 5 reales | 7 reales (poor stuff will make English horses lose condition/become sick) |
| 1 Bullock | 35 dollars | 45 dollars (assume weight of c.400 pounds) |
| 1 gallon wine | 5 reales (horrid rot-gut) | 9 reales (right good vino) |
| Riding mule | 100 dollars (spavined ass) | 300 dollars (trusty steed) |
| Riding horse | 160 dollars | up to 600 dollars (the Army paid £40 to an officer whose horse was killed in action) |

In addition, remember that tradesmen will be suspicious of paper currency or receipts, and will increase prices to allow for the discounting of this type of payment by 20-25%

## CONCLUSION

I realise there are many gaps in the above guidelines; as in any umpired game, much is left to the discretion, imagination and inspiration of those unsung heroes of wargaming – the umpires. The solution is not to develop ever more complex sets of rules, replete with innumerable tables, charts and sub-paragraphs, until one arrives at the rule-book trilogy beloved of commercial role-playing gamers, but to immerse oneself in the memoirs and histories of the period for several weeks prior to the game, until one is able to reach decisions by instinct, rather than administering a mechanical arithmetical system. I hope readers will be encouraged to investigate the potentialities of gaming logistics in this, and other periods, to devise original and 'different' wargames of their own.

## Sources

### Modern Accounts

*Corunna* Christopher Hibbert. B.T. Batsford 1961
*Sir John Moore* Carola Oman. Hodder & Stoughton 1953
*A History of the Peninsular War* Sir Charles Oman. O.U.P. 1902

### Contemporary Accounts

*A Narrative of the Campaign of the British Army in Spain commanded by his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore*, James Moore 1809 (a mine of information, containing orders, letters and other useful documents; this volume would enable the umpires to send Baird's HQ Moore's actual orders and letters)
*History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France &c.* Sir William Napier 1882

### The British Army and its Administration

*Wellington's Army* Michael Glover. David & Charles 1977
*Wellington's Army 1808-1814* Sir Charles Oman. Edward Arnold 1912
*Wellington and his Army* Godfrey Davis. Basil Blackwell 1954
*Wellington's Headquarters* S.G.P. Ward. O.U.P. 1957 (essential reading on the staff and commissariat, much of the information is applicable to Moore's army)

### The Commissariat

*On the Road with Wellington, The Diary of August Schaumann.* Heinemann 1924 (the memoirs of a young German Commissary, full of useful information and incident)
*Memoirs of an Assistant Commissary-General* Sir George Head 1840

### QMG's Department

*The Peninsular Journal of Major-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban* Longmans 1930 (D'Urban acted briefly as Baird's Assistant-Quarter-Master-General, before discovering that his appointment was to the army in Portugal, not that at Corunna. His journal also contains useful notes on the roads and surroundings between Corunna and Salamanca)
**Sir David Baird** *Life of General, The Right Honourable Sir David Baird* Anon. Richard Bentley 1832

### Memoirs

The numerous memoirs of officers and men who served in the British Army in Spain all contain useful information and entertaining anecdotes; however, few served with Baird's force. Therefore, rather than present a lengthy list here, I recommend
*Life of Wellington's Army*, by Antony Brett-James, Allen & Unwin 1972, which is a treasure chest of extracts from letters, diaries and memoirs on all aspects of army life, and whose bibliography lists all the most useful sources.

## Forms and Records

**Unit Return:** This form is to be completed each day/turn in respect of all battalions, cavalry regiments and artillery troops acting ashore. The number present for duty of each rank is recorded in the upper box; the number sick in the lower. The Adjutant General must calculate the total rank and file (including wives and children 'on the strength') and animals for ration purposes, and the pay due for that turn, which he will use to compile the daily state of the army, and the army's pay.

UNIT RETURN

UNIT:..... PRESENT LOCATION:.....

| LtCol | Maj | Capt | Adjt | Lieut | Ct/En | Surg | A/Surg | Paym | Qtrm | Sergt | Corp | Pvt |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| Wives | Child | Total Rations | Total Pay |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |

| Riding Horses | Draft Horses | Riding Mules | Pack Mules | Total Animal Rations |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |

DEPOT/MAGAZINE RECORDS

LOCATION:..... COMMISSARY IN CHARGE:.....

| DATE/ TURN | RATIONS HELD AT DEPOT | | | | RATIONS ISSUED | | | | RATIONS PURCHASED | | | | UNITS SUPPLIED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Flour | Bread | Wine | Cattle | Flr | Brd | Win | Cat | Flr | Brd | Win | Cat | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| FORAGE AT DEPOT | | FORAGE ISSUED | | FORAGE PURCHASED | | UNITS SUPPLIED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Grain | Hay/Straw | Grain | Hay/Straw | Grain | Hay/Straw | |
| | | | | | | |

COMMISSARY'S ACCOUNT

COMMISSARY:..... DATE/TURN:.....

| RATIONS PURCHASED | | | | TRANSPORT HIRED | COIN ISSUED | | RECEIPTS ISSUED | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Flr | Brd | Win | Cat | Mule/Bllk Carts | Dollr | Reale | Dollr | Reale |
| | | | | | | | | |

| FORAGE PURCHASED | | COIN ISSUED | | RECEIPTS ISSUED | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Grain | Hay/Straw | Dollr | Reale | Dollr | Reale |
| | | | | | |

RECEIPT for PURCHASE/HIRE of SUPPLIES/TRANSPORT

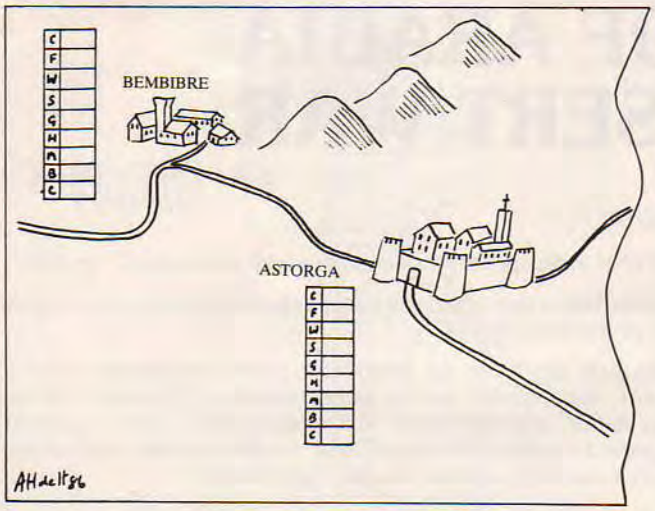
Received of .....(Name &c) of .....(Town/Village)
.....
.....
(description of items), in consideration of which has been paid the sum of .....
in coin, and ..... in bills drawn upon the Military Chest, to be settled at Headquarters on .....(date).
Signed for the Commissariat: ..... Date/Turn: .....

A receipt should be completed for the total transactions at each village/town visited by Commissaries detached from the army, and forwarded to Headquarters at the end of that turn.

VILLAGE RECORD SHEET (UMPIRES ONLY) AREA: (group by province/grid)

| VILLAGE NAME | CATTLE Number | FLOUR Bshls | WINE Gall | SPIRIT Gall | FORAGE Grain/Hay | MULES | BULLOCKS | CARTS | HOUSES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |

This record sheet is a simple grid with spaces for as many villages as are in each area or grid square of the map (thus saving poring over lists of places not required), covered in talc or held in a plastic envelope, so that the figures may be adjusted with a washable marker as they are purchased. The record must be updated at the end of each turn by the umpires.
Alternatively, each village on the master map may have a record of its stocks kept in a grid drawn beside it thus:






**Principal Events of the march to Mayorga** (For use by Umpires only) Whilst it is not the intention of this game to re-enact the campaign, this outline should be used to determine the current position of Moore's army, and intelligence of the enemy, for the purpose of sending communications from non-played characters. Remember to allow appropriate delays for the receipt of letters and information by courier or ship.

**October**

13. Baird's fleet arrived at Corunna. The Galician Junta refused to allow his troops to land until the Supreme Junta in Madrid has been consulted.
15. Baird hoped to raise £5000 on Treasury bills. An ADC, Captain Gordon, was sent in the *Champion* to Lisbon. Horses and waggons were disembarked. The Junta proposed that the army should assembly at Benevente, but Baird's orders confined his operations to Galicia.
19. Mr Frere, Plenipotentiary to the Spanish Government, arrived in the *Semiramis* frigate, and advanced £4000 to Baird. The Marquis La Romana's force sailed for Santander. Bat and forage money, and pay to 24 October were issued.
22. An express returned from Madrid: the army was to be cantoned in towns on the Leon and Castile roads. Moore sent Baird £8000 via the *Champion*. Baird's AQMG D'Urban discovered he should have been posted to Lisbon, not Corunna!
23. Disembarkation began.
25. D'Urban's replacement, Colonel Bathurst, arrived.
26. Frere at last obtained sufficient mules to draw his carriage to Madrid!
27. Moore had left Lisbon and arrived at Villafranca. A supply contractor failed to fulfil his engagement. Only 4 or 5 mulers had been obtained for the army. The rains set in.
28. Craufurd set out for Lugo.
30. Moore had arrived at Abrantes.
31. Lefebvre fought an inconclusive battle at Pan Corbo against Blake's Army of Galicia.

**November**

2. Moore arrived at Niza.
3. All the infantry except the 3/60th were ashore. The army began to move on Astorga.
4. Moore arrived at Castello Branco.
5. Blake fought Victor at Valmaceda, but was forced to retreat by Lefebvre. Moore was at Alpedrinho.
6. Moore arrived at Caria.
7. Baird estimated that his I Division would reach Astorga on the 13th. Moore was at Guarda.
8. The 7th and 10th Light Dragoons, 2 Troops RHA, and the Waggon Train arrived at Corunna. Moore arrived at Almeida.
9. HMS *Tigre* delivered $500,000.
10. The Battle of Espinosa began. Burgos fell to Soult after the Battle of Gamonal.
11. Blake was defeated at Espinosa. Moore was at Ciudad Rodrigo.
12. 15th Light Dragoons (Hussars) arrived at Corunna.
13. All the cavalry was ashore. Moore's army had reached Salamanca.
14. Soult defeated Blake at Reynosa.
15. The French entered Valladolid.
19. Baird arrived at Astorga.
22. News reached Baird of Espinosa and Gamonal.
23. Moore's army closed up at Salamanca. Lannes defeated and dispersed Castanos' and Palafox's Army of Aragon and La Pena's Army of Andalusia at Tudela.
29. Baird received orders to fall back.
30. Napoleon beat San Juan at Somosierra.

**December**

2. Moore asked for a cavalry regiment by letter.
3. Romana begged Baird to delay his retreat. The Supreme Junta fled to Badajoz.
4. Baird's HQ moved to Villafranca; his cavalry were still at Astorga. Madrid fell.
5. Moore ordered the retreat to stop.
6. All Baird's force except the cavalry was en route for Corunna.
7. Baird received fresh orders: to return to Astorga; establish magazines at Villafranca; send 2 cavalry regiments and a troop RHA to Zamora, and his corps to Benevente.
9. Paget's cavalry reached Zamora. Moore learned that Madrid had surrendered.
10. The cavalry joined Moore's army. Moore ordered a move on Valladolid, and the ammunition to be sent to Benevente.
13. Moore's HQ was at Alaejos. Two brigades of Moore's army united with Paget and the cavalry at Toro. A despatch to Soult was captured.
14. Moore decided to unite at Benevente/Toro.
15. Moore moved to Toro.
17. Moore was at Castro Nuevo. His advance guard met Baird at Villapondo.
19. Moore's HQ was at Valderas. Baird joined him there with 2 brigades.
20. Army HQ was at Mayorga. All Baird's brigades had joined with Moore's army, save for 3 regiments still at Lugo and Astorga.

# LAWRENCE OF ARABIA AND THE DESERT WAR

*by Steve Shann*

An article published in MW6 examined the war in Vietnam, with particular reference to the "Frustration Factor" experienced by the Americans. A re-reading of T.E. Lawrence's epic *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* led me to ponder on the war waged by the Arabs against the Turks during the First World War.

Although like most wargamers I spend most of my time fighting straightforward battles between regular armies, I have always been interested in the way guerrilla warfare is and has been conducted. The confrontation between a conventional military force and a (usually) less heavily armed but mobile and elusive opponent is full of possibilities for an interesting wargames campaign. Naturally one has to approach such an undertaking in the right spirit. Just as wave attacks on U.S. firebases were not typical of the war in Vietnam, neither did the Arabs indulge in mass attacks on Turkish outposts à la Beau Geste. Fortunately *Seven Pillars* gives a first hand and very illuminating insight into the war and the way it was conducted. It is full of Lawrence's almost messianic views on the nature of guerrilla warfare, and it is by reference to this book that I would like to examine them and the war itself, and to consider how this might translate onto the wargames table. (Note that all page references are from the Penguin Classics edition.)

**Leadership**

Lawrence recognised from the outset that this war would be fought and won not by a Napoleon or a Moltke, but by a prophet who could inspire a diverse and volatile people. In Feisal he found such a man. Even so when Lawrence first met him the revolt was not going well; Arab tactics were rudimentary and their weapons largely antiquated. He understood that much depended on the leadership qualities of those in command and had little time for the ponderous doctrines of contemporary European armies.

**Arab character**

The most obvious point was that the material with which the revolt had to be waged was very diverse. The separate tribes were often involved in blood feuds with each other which were a constant source of complaint and worry to Lawrence. One particular fight between the Ageyl and Ateiba resulted in two killed and thirty wounded, the two sides only being separated by Feisal and Lawrence beating them with the flats of their swords and firing Very lights at them! In another incident Lawrence himself had to execute a Moroccan tribesman who had killed an Ageyl, in order to avoid a blood feud developing between the two groups. In numerous operations the tribesmen showed a lack of discipline that ruined well-laid ambushes. Often they would just return home after a stint in the ranks and regarded this as perfectly normal and acceptable behaviour. This had understandable implications for the type of fighting they could be used for:

*" . . . members of one tribe were shy of those of another, and within the tribe no man would quite trust his neighbour . . . Consequently they could not attack. One company of Turks firmly entrenched in open country could have defied the entire army of them and a pitched defeat, with its casualties, would have ended the war by sheer horror." " . . . the tribesmen were good for defence only. Their acquisitive recklessness made them keen on booty, and whetted them to tear up railways, plunder caravans, and steal camels; but they were too free minded to endure command, or to fight in team"* (p.106)

They were, however, capable of improving. After a few months of continuous service they gained experience and, if not discipline, then at least some kind of routine:

*"Their attendance grew more regular as the distance from their homes increased."*

though:

*"Tribal independence of orders was still maintained."* (p.140)

Nevertheless they could still not be regarded as in any sense regular or professional troops:

*"In mass they were not formidable, since they had no corporate spirit, nor discipline nor mutual confidence. The smaller the unit the better its performance. A thousand were a mob, ineffective against a company of trained Turks, but three or four Arabs in their hills would stop a dozen Turks."* (pp.140-41)

It was largely with these men that Lawrence fought, though supported from time to time by regulars, both British and Native, armoured cars, aeroplanes and a few British instructors and advisors.

**Doctrine**

Throughout the period Lawrence was constantly in mind of the rules which governed the Arab war, though he affected to despise professional soldiers and their "principles". Inevitably these rules were tailored to the Arab character and are vital to any understanding of the nature of the war in the desert.

The taking of Wejh, a strategically placed town on the Red Sea exemplifies Lawrence's attitude to the fighting. The action was directed by one Vickery, a British staff officer, who succeeded in storming the town with a loss of less than 20 dead. He was happy with the result, but Lawrence could not share his satisfaction as he noted:

*"To me an unnecessary action, or shot, or casualty, was not only waste but sin. I was unable to take the professional view that all successful actions were gains. Our rebels were not materials, like soldiers, but friends of ours, trusting our leadership. We were not in command nationally, but by invitation; and our men were volunteers, individuals, local men, relatives, so that a death was a personal sorrow to many in the army . . . The two hundred Turks in Wejh had no transport and no food, and if left alone a few days must have surrendered."* (pp.168-69)

Time and again Lawrence returns to this theme, that an action should not be entered into merely for the sake of fighting. Even success has its price – even if only the encumberance of wounded and prisoners. He was quite clear that holding ground was no criterion of victory, even for the Turks, for if they could not bring the Arabs to battle, all their sophisticated weponry would be of no benefit. The use of time and space rather than force in order to harass and wear down the enemy was a vital weapon:

*"Most wars were wars of contact, both forces striving into touch to avoid tactical surprise. Ours should be a war of detachment. We were to contain the enemy by the silent threat of a vast unknown desert."* (p.200)

Lawrence also believed that whilst in the Turkish army men took second place to equipment, the reverse was true for the Arabs since nothing was more precious than the lives of his men. The willingness to defend a vital point (which in the desert were few) did not apply since:

*"We had nothing material to lose, so our best line was to defend nothing and to shoot nothing. Our cards were speed and time, not hitting power. The invention of bully beef had profited us more than the invention of gunpowder, but gave us strategical rather than tactical strength, since in Arabia range was more than force, space greater than the power of armies."* (p.202)

This strategy of course relied on good intelligence, a problem greatly eased by the passive support of the local population. By using speed and the element of surprise the Arabs were able to strike quickly and effectively, maximising damage whilst limiting casualties.

**Type of operations**

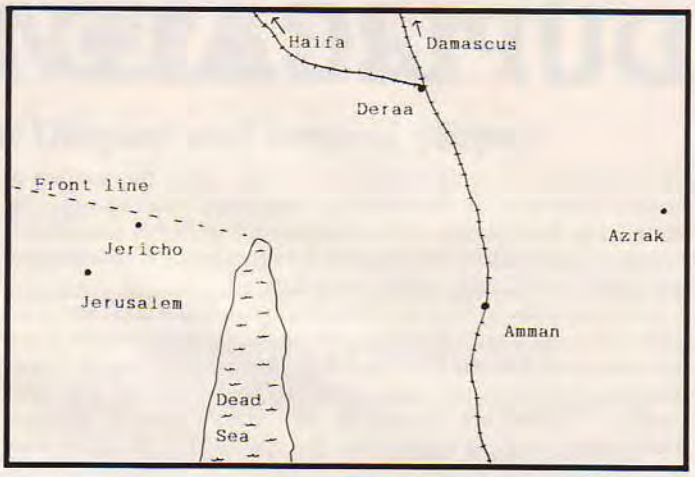
Isolated posts, bridges and especially railway track were prime targets. Lawrence's first raid consisted of a mere 35 tribesmen who attacked a well, guarded by a Turkish blockhouse and trenches. After firing a few rounds the whole Turkish garrison tumbled out of their tents and opened a rapid but wild fire on the hidden Arabs, who quietly slipped away. Such actions were very effective in harassing the Turks. A more serious encounter some time later shows an interesting combination. The attack was directed against the railway station of Aba el Naam, which was composed of two large two storey houses, a circular water tower and a few minor buildings, protected by a network of trenches and garrisoned by about 300 men. In order to keep the Turks awake a few snipers were told off to take occasional pot shots at the buildings. Meanwhile the Arabs slept. It had been originally planned to take the station, but when only 300 of the expected 8-900 men turned up, this was changed. Instead of attacking they decided to bombard it with their small guns whilst mining the line north and south of the station. This they eventually did, cutting the telegraph lines in passing. A train in the station attempted to escape but was damaged by a mine and ground to a halt. A machine gun team sited by Lawrence for just this eventually decided however that they didn't like their exposed position and withdrew, allowing the crew to repair the wheels and continue their journey. Meanwhile the action at the station had become hotter as the tribesmen closed in. Unfortunately they hadn't the discipline to charge home, and after inflicting about 70 casualties and taking 30 prisoners for the loss of one man wounded they withdrew.

**Wargaming the desert war**

Undoubtedly the best way to approach this is to fight a campaign. An interesting example might be the operations around Deraa in late 1918, in which a mixed force of Bedouins, regulars, armoured cars and aircraft cut the three main lines running to Damascus, Haifa and Amman (see map). Operating from Azrak in support of the imminent British offensive under Allenby that finally ended the war, they succeeded in pinning down large numbers of Turks at the critical period before and during the battle, materially affecting the outcome.

Alternatively an interesting skirmish action could be fought, based around a Bedouin attack on a railway station, bridge or train. Also you could try pitting a Turkish mobile column of cavalry, mounted infantry and machine guns, and perhaps some light artillery against an Arab held mountain pass or well.

It is obviously vital to reflect as accurately as possible the different characteristics of the troops involved. The Turks were usually brave enough, though badly led and not particularly good marksmen. Dug in they could be difficult to shift. In the open they were more vulnerable, especially considering the superior mobility of the Arabs. They were usually out-scouted, though the use of




German aircraft eased their position considerably later in the war. The Bedouin were excellent riders and good shots and often used their mobility to launch intimidating mounted charges. They were also adept in the use of ground and at sniping. They were however very indisciplined and did not co-operate as well as they might have. They often regarded orders as mere suggestions which could be followed or not as they deemed fit. Arab regulars became quite good under their largely Turkish trained officers, and were capable of launching more conventional attacks.

The use of armoured cars and later of aircraft were also a great boon. Rolls Royce cars were very effective in the desert and were often used in raids. The Turks had no real answer to them.

All in all this period has a great deal to recommend it – diversity of troop types and equipment, exotic locations and an interesting and challenging setting. Even if you don't try wargaming the period, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* is an excellent book and well worth reading.

**(For a particular scenario & rules based on the last stages of the campaign, see Richard Brook's 'Road to Aleppo) in Wargames World No.1.)**

**Interested in post-1914 warfare & wargaming?**
**Like to be an (honorary) editor?**

The embryo **SOCIETY OF MODERNS** has progressed someway further through its gestation period. Dave & Jim now tell me they have enough interested would-be members to put out a substantial quarterly magazine for a subscription of circa £8, all they need now is **AN EDITOR!**

Are you a literary Rambo? Volunteer to Dave at Hotspur Miniatures. See their ad last month for address.

# DUPLICATE WARGAMING

*by Paul Stovell*

The problems of competition wargaming, often the subject of heated discussion in wargaming magazines recently, can be summed up fairly easily. It is a combination of highly competitive people playing with forces designed to take maximum advantage of any quirks in the rules and/or army lists.

As an example, in W.R.G. 6th Edition Ancient Rules there is no limit to the number of friendly units charging or impetuous that a unit can count plus one for. Therefore an army consisting of a large number of good morale class units can be 'wound up' and once several of them are impetuous the army's morale becomes unreasonably high. In a long game this can backfire when the army begins to see routs, but in the generally shortish competition games it is a highly effective tactic.

Now critics of competitive play will dismiss such tricks as unhistorical and unreasonable, in which no self-respecting wargamer should indulge. However, if the options open are to use such tactics and stand a chance of winning or continually allow less scrupulous players to win (and bring more scorn down on the heads of those who enjoy competition games) most competitive players will opt for the 'loopholed' armies. Most competitive wargamers I have talked to, however, say they would much rather play in competitions with historical armies, given a fair chance of winning with them. That which follows is a method which guarantees historical armies and organisation and can be made to encourage historical tactics as well.

The first step requires players to enter in teams of two. Players would not be required to provide troops, the armies and army lists being provided by the competition organisers. (Most clubs can probably manage the required armies, but if not they could always ask other clubs to bring figures without giving too much away.) Each 'match' would be fought on two tables separated in some manner so that team members could not communicate during the course of the game.

On one table a player of team A would play with say a Byzantine army against a player from team B using Sassanids, while on the other table team A's other player uses Sassanids against team B's player using Byzantines. As in Duplicate Bridge the team that scored the most points over the two battles would win, e.g. Team A Byzantines win by 150 point whilst Team B Byzantines win by 50 points – Team A would be the winners by 100 points. Since both armies would be selected by the organisers they can be historical opponents in sensible organisations. Additionally the umpires could confer to make sure that any rule interpretations were also the same at both tables.

Apart from the advantages in giving both sides historical armies the organisers can make sure that all the figures are well painted and based. Since the terrain would be the same for both battles it would not matter so much, or even at all, if it was unbalanced, since on an unbalanced terrain it would be the player who lost by least or took most advantage of any favourable imbalance which would decide the winning team. In fact, since it is the relative performance of the teams that matters there would be no need to make both armies the same points count, and all sorts of interesting scenarios such as river crossings could be used.

Finally, from a spectator's point of view, it could be great fun being able to compare the tactics of four good players and seeing which worked best.

To give a more detailed idea of how Duplicate Wargaming works in practice, the following is a description of a Duplicate Napoleonic Game fought at the Bunshop.

**FORCES**

**French**

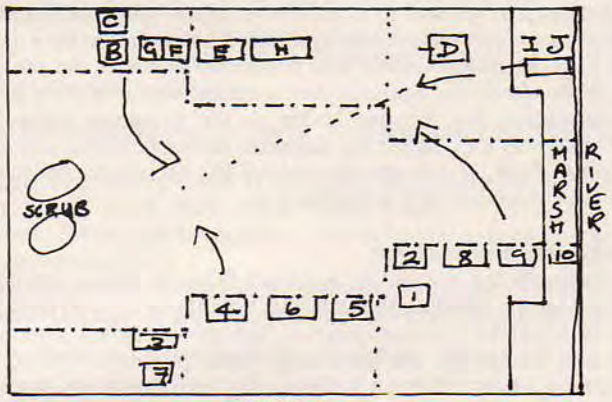
| | |
|---|---|
| General + 2 Sub Generals | |
| 1 2 Gun Horse Battery | B Class (A) |
| 2 Small Cavalry Squadrons | 4 × C Class (B,C) |
| 3 Strong French Line Battalions | 42 × C Class (D,E,F) |
| 1 Smaller Polish Line Battalion | 24 × D Class (G) |
| 1 Smaller Swiss Line Battalion | 24 × C Class (H) |
| 2 Detachments of Light Infantry | 12 × C Class (I,J) |

**British**

| | |
|---|---|
| General + 2 Sub Generals | |
| 1 2 Gun Foot Artillery Battery | (1) |
| 1 Strong British Line | 30 × C Class (2) |
| 3 Smaller British Line | 20 × B Class (3,4,5) |
| 1 Smaller Swiss Line | 20 × C Class (6) |
| 1 Detachment Grenadiers | 15 × B Class (7) |
| 1 Unit Lights | 18 × B Class (8) |
| 2 Detachment Lights | 6 × B Class (9) |
| | 9 × C Class (10) |

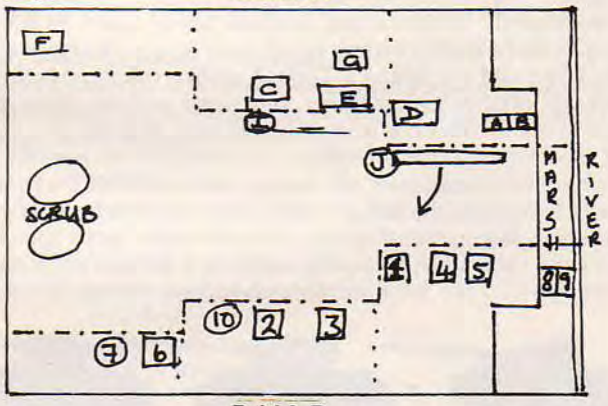
**Deployment**

**Table (1)** **French A**




**British A**

**Table (2)** **French B**




**British B**

Note: Players were forced to deploy approximately ⅓ of their forces plus one General in each sector.

**Plans**

All but French A intended to make use of the forward deployment on one flank and make an immediate attack in the expectation of overwhelming any opposition and rolling up the enemy's flank. French A decided to be more cautious, initially gathering all his forces together behind a skirmish screen with the view to fighting a drawish firefight whilst his more experienced partner won.

**The Battles**

**Table 1**

The French deployment spoiled the British original intent and the battle became a firefight. It was decided by the British Lights being wasted on their right flank, allowing the French Lights to slow down and snipe more British than the British close order volley could of the French Skirmishers. When the British Lights did try to get into play they were charged by the French Cavalry and routed, giving the French a respectable victory of 412 points.

# DUPLICATE WARGAMING

*by Paul Stovell*

The problems of competition wargaming, often the subject of heated discussion in wargaming magazines recently, can be summed up fairly easily. It is a combination of highly competitive people playing with forces designed to take maximum advantage of any quirks in the rules and/or army lists.

As an example, in W.R.G. 6th Edition Ancient Rules there is no limit to the number of friendly units charging or impetuous that a unit can count plus one for. Therefore an army consisting of a large number of good morale class units can be 'wound up' and once several of them are impetuous the army's morale becomes unreasonably high. In a long game this can backfire when the army begins to see routs, but in the generally shortish competition games it is a highly effective tactic.

Now critics of competitive play will dismiss such tricks as unhistorical and unreasonable, in which no self-respecting wargamer should indulge. However, if the options open are to use such tactics and stand a chance of winning or continually allow less scrupulous players to win (and bring more scorn down on the heads of those who enjoy competition games) most competitive players will opt for the 'loopholed' armies. Most competitive wargamers I have talked to, however, say they would much rather play in competitions with historical armies, given a fair chance of winning with them. That which follows is a method which guarantees historical armies and organisation and can be made to encourage historical tactics as well.

The first step requires players to enter in teams of two. Players would not be required to provide troops, the armies and army lists being provided by the competition organisers. (Most clubs can probably manage the required armies, but if not they could always ask other clubs to bring figures without giving too much away.) Each 'match' would be fought on two tables separated in some manner so that team members could not communicate during the course of the game.

On one table a player of team A would play with say a Byzantine army against a player from team B using Sassanids, while on the other table team A's other player uses Sassanids against team B's player using Byzantines. As in Duplicate Bridge the team that scored the most points over the two battles would win, e.g. Team A Byzantines win by 150 point whilst Team B Byzantines win by 50 points – Team A would be the winners by 100 points. Since both armies would be selected by the organisers they can be historical opponents in sensible organisations. Additionally the umpires could confer to make sure that any rule interpretations were also the same at both tables.

Apart from the advantages in giving both sides historical armies the organisers can make sure that all the figures are well painted and based. Since the terrain would be the same for both battles it would not matter so much, or even at all, if it was unbalanced, since on an unbalanced terrain it would be the player who lost by least or took most advantage of any favourable imbalance which would decide the winning team. In fact, since it is the relative performance of the teams that matters there would be no need to make both armies the same points count, and all sorts of interesting scenarios such as river crossings could be used.

Finally, from a spectator's point of view, it could be great fun being able to compare the tactics of four good players and seeing which worked best.

To give a more detailed idea of how Duplicate Wargaming works in practice, the following is a description of a Duplicate Napoleonic Game fought at the Bunshop.

## FORCES

**French**

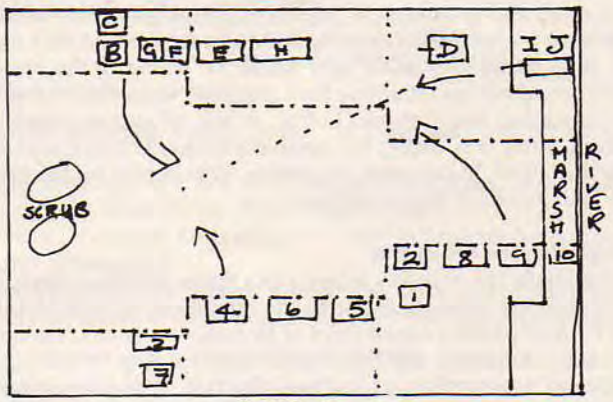
| | |
|---|---|
| General + 2 Sub Generals | |
| 1 2 Gun Horse Battery | B Class (A) |
| 2 Small Cavalry Squadrons | 4 × C Class (B,C) |
| 3 Strong French Line Battalions | 42 × C Class (D,E,F) |
| 1 Smaller Polish Line Battalion | 24 × D Class (G) |
| 1 Smaller Swiss Line Battalion | 24 × C Class (H) |
| 2 Detachments of Light Infantry | 12 × C Class (I,J) |

**British**

| | |
|---|---|
| General + 2 Sub Generals | |
| 1 2 Gun Foot Artillery Battery | (1) |
| 1 Strong British Line | 30 × C Class (2) |
| 3 Smaller British Line | 20 × B Class (3,4,5) |
| 1 Smaller Swiss Line | 20 × C Class (6) |
| 1 Detachment Grenadiers | 15 × B Class (7) |
| 1 Unit Lights | 18 × B Class (8) |
| 2 Detachment Lights | 6 × B Class (9) |
| | 9 × C Class (10) |

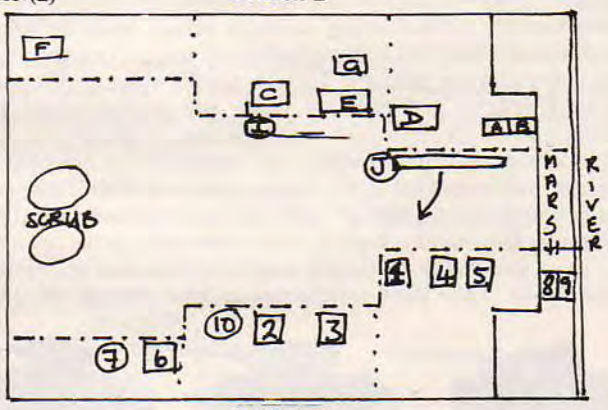
**Deployment**

**Table (1)** **French A**




**British A**

**Table (2)** **French B**




**British B**

Note: Players were forced to deploy approximately ⅓ of their forces plus one General in each sector.

**Plans**

All but French A intended to make use of the forward deployment on one flank and make an immediate attack in the expectation of overwhelming any opposition and rolling up the enemy's flank. French A decided to be more cautious, initially gathering all his forces together behind a skirmish screen with the view to fighting a drawish firefight whilst his more experienced partner won.

**The Battles**

**Table 1**

The French deployment spoiled the British original intent and the battle became a firefight. It was decided by the British Lights being wasted on their right flank, allowing the French Lights to slow down and snipe more British than the British close order volley could of the French Skirmishers. When the British Lights did try to get into play they were charged by the French Cavalry and routed, giving the French a respectable victory of 412 points.

**Table 2**

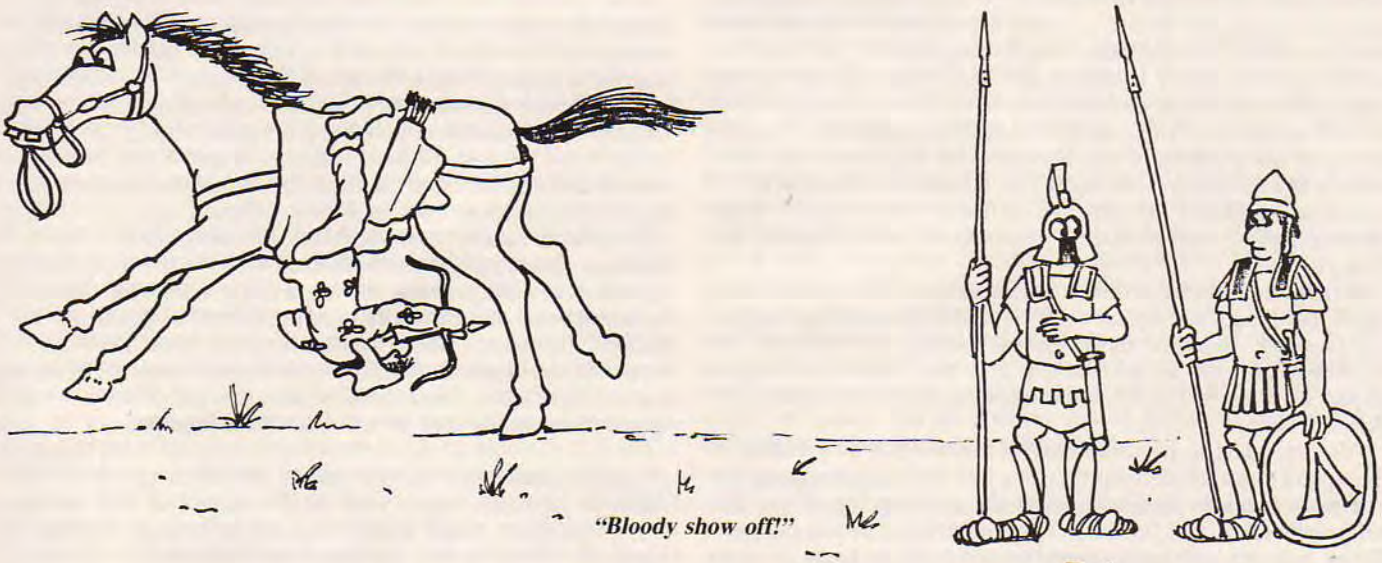
A much more exciting game. The British were forced onto the defensive as they hurriedly redeployed into line to face the French pell-mell attack. Unfortunately for the French their lead, full-strength Battalion was deployed opposite the British Battery and their initial attack, although forcing the Battery to evade, only managed to sweep away the end two companies of the quickly hardening British right flank. To try and slow up the British the French player threw his Cavalry in at both ends, but the British Infantry stood firm and all but annihilated it. In a final attack the Swiss Battalion attacked the weakened British Line while the lead French Battalion pushed towards the British Battery, the game still very much in the balance. The Battery, this time strongly supported by a Battalion on its left, held and together they poured enough fire into the head of the French Column to stop it and force it to retire. Meanwhile the Swiss charged in against the British Line shot at from front and right and although it pushed the British back it was too disordered to rout them. The British player had won, but freely admitted that it was a close run thing.

Since Team A won both games they obviously prevailed overall.

The design of the scenario and the forces involved did stop many of the convention tricks often used in Nationals games and I think gave a more enjoyable spectacle to watch. I enjoyed it anyway.

To anyone attempting to set up a duplicate game themselves here are some hints. Firstly, get the troops you intend to use sorted out before the day. Borrow them the week before if you can and get them organised; labelling movement bases for the troops will help speed things up and save confusion if players are using unfamiliar armies. Secondly, write down any instructions/special rules for the scenario and have a second party read them to see that the players will tend to draw the same conclusions as you intended from them. Finally, and perhaps most important, have some method to stop the players seeing the other game; this stops players suddenly going on the defensive if they learn that their partner is having a good win.





*"Bloody show off!"*

# PICQUETS & PATHANS

## Rules for North West Frontier Hill Warfare 1863-98

*by Edward Brown*

**Introduction**

For generations of Anglo-Indian Army soldiers The North West Frontier was the area where they were most likely to see action. Today the very name has a romantic ring, probably quite lost on the soldiers and tribesmen who fought there. Be that as it may the specialized hill warfare of the second half of the nineteenth century does offer us the opportunity for unusual and taxing wargames.

In this article I want to provide the reader with a guide to the highly specialized tactics of hill/mountain warfare on the N.W. Frontier and then provide wargame rules to allow its reproduction on the tabletop, Finally there is a further reading list that should serve as a good introduction to the subject.

**Background**

The N.W. Frontier stretches for about 500 miles between Afghanistan and what is today Pakistan. It runs from Baluchistan in the South-West up to Chitral and the foothills of the Hindu Kush in the North-East. It is a rugged country of hills and peaks. A land of heat, dust and hot rocks in summer and of snow and icy winds in winter. Here and there among the hills are remote valleys, some of them lush and beautfiful. The people of this land are the Pathans (pronounced *Patarn*) a warlike race of Mohammedans.

The British/Indian forces first came into contact with the Pathans during the First Afghan War of 1839-42. With the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, following the Anglo-Sikh Wars, British India found itself with the Pathans as subjects. Most of the wild hillmen were never reasonally brought under firm British rule, the tribal areas being kept as a kind of buffer between British India proper and the Afghan kingdom.

On the whole the British treated the Pathans with respect and in some cases even a rueful affection, while trying to impose a rough and ready law and order on the area. However from time to time the Pathans – who by long tradition would supplement hill farming with a little banditry – would overstep the mark and the Anglo-Indian Army would be called in . . .

**Tactics**

Between about 1862 and 1897 Queen Victoria's troops faced almost endemic war on the frontier, hardly a year passed without some kind of military action. These actions ranged from full scale war involving whole Army Divisions and even Corps like the Second Afghan War of 1879-81 and the Great N.W. Frontier rising of 1897, to small actions involving only a few companies of infantry. Perhaps the most common force was a reinforced Brigade of say three battalions of infantry – normally one British and two Indian – a squadron of Indian cavalry and a battery of six mule borne mountain guns, with perhaps a company of Indian Sappers and Miners.

Perhaps the best way to give an explanation of the tactics used by the Anglo-Indian and Pathan forces would be to describe a 'typical' day's march, followed by a 'typical' action. We will use our reinforced Brigade as an example and have them marching to punish a Pathan valley for some crime, perhaps the murder of a Political Officer . . .

After standing to just before dawn the troops wiill breakfast in the square entrenched camp they dug late the previous afternoon. The night picquets who have spent the night on top of any hills within rifle range will be withdrawn and replaced by day picquets. These picquets will have spent the hours of darkness in stone *Sangars* ((breastworks of rocks) trying to stop the Pathans from sniping at the sleeping camp.

The withdrawal of picquets is always a tricky business, since as the troops start to leave the hill the tribesmen may quickly occupy the hilltop and fire into the retiring soldiers. To combat this picquets always retire in two groups, one halting ready to give covering fire, while the other group moves.

When the column is ready it will move off in three main groups: Advance guard, main body, guns and baggage and rear guard. The column will move along the valley bottoms and to try to stop the Pathans sniping and making attacks on each side of the column's route. The picquets – anything from a dozen to fifty or more men each – will be drawn from the advance guard. They occupy each hill as the head of the column reaches it and then descend to join the rear guard as this draws level with them. Because of this the advance guard always starts the day much stronger than the rear guard. Occasionally, if the terrain allows, moving picquets might be used. In this case the picquets move along the hilltops in time with the column below.

Other than the picquets the troops most likely to see action during a march are the rear guard. The reason being that the Pathans would follow up any apparent withdrawal, even if this was simply the column moving from A to B. The picquet system does of course have the advantage of reinforcing the rear guard as the days march goes on. The Pathans will not only press the rear guard, but will look for any opportunity to get in between the rear guard and the main body, or better still into the baggage for the chance of some loot!

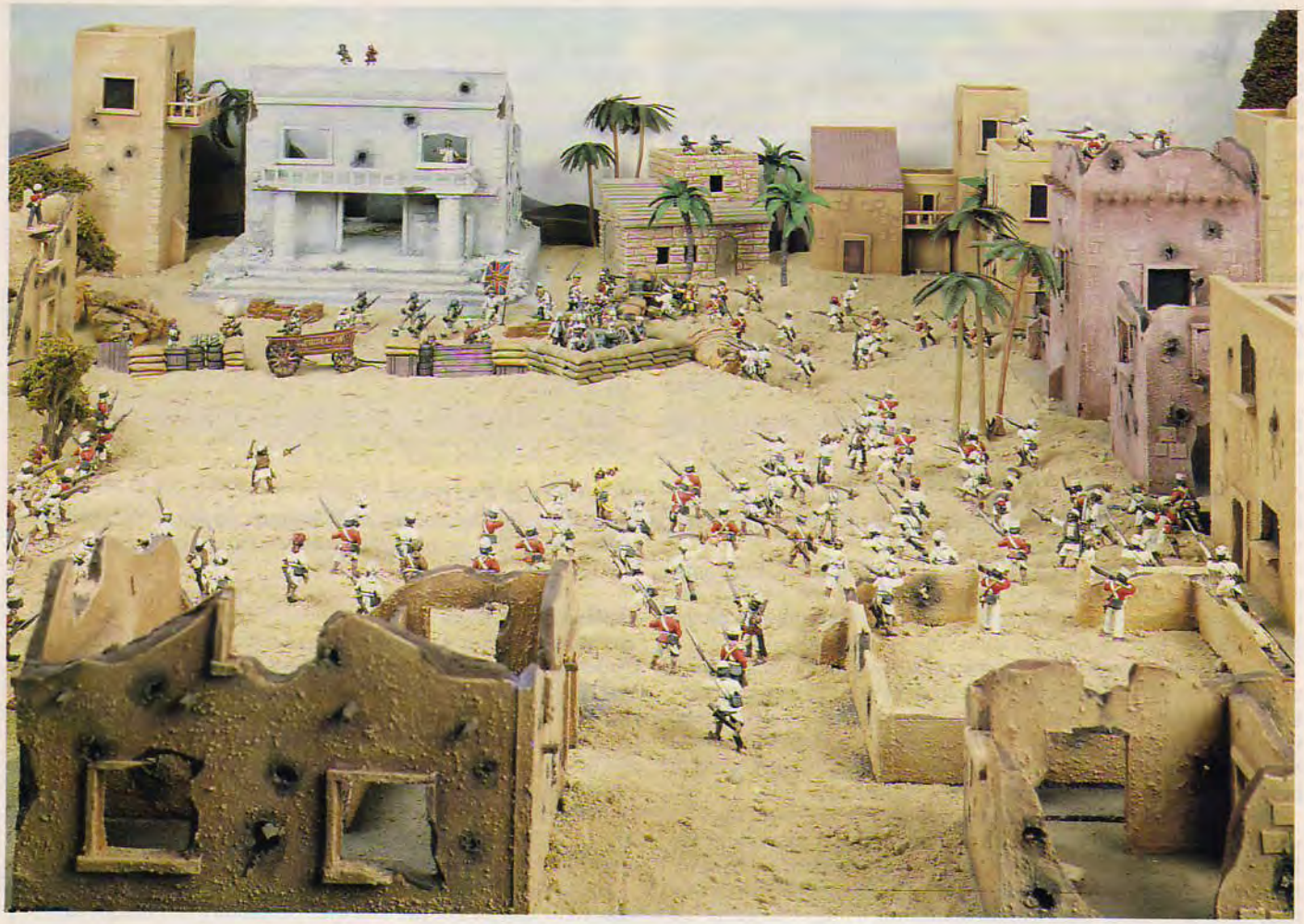
Each day's march must be short, say ten miles or so. This is to allow enough daylight to dig a fresh entrenched camp, for the rear guard to reach camp in daylight and for the night picquets to occupy their positions. Any troops out after dark run the risk of being cut-up unless they can halt and occupy a defensive position. More often than not the Pathans would give the entrenched camp a wide berth, but night or dawn attacks on camps did happen and sentries must remain alert. The night picquets might be attacked, but their Sangars gave them good cover and as they occupied hilltops the Pathans, who hated having troops above them would very often leave them be. Most nights would pass with only a little long range sniping.

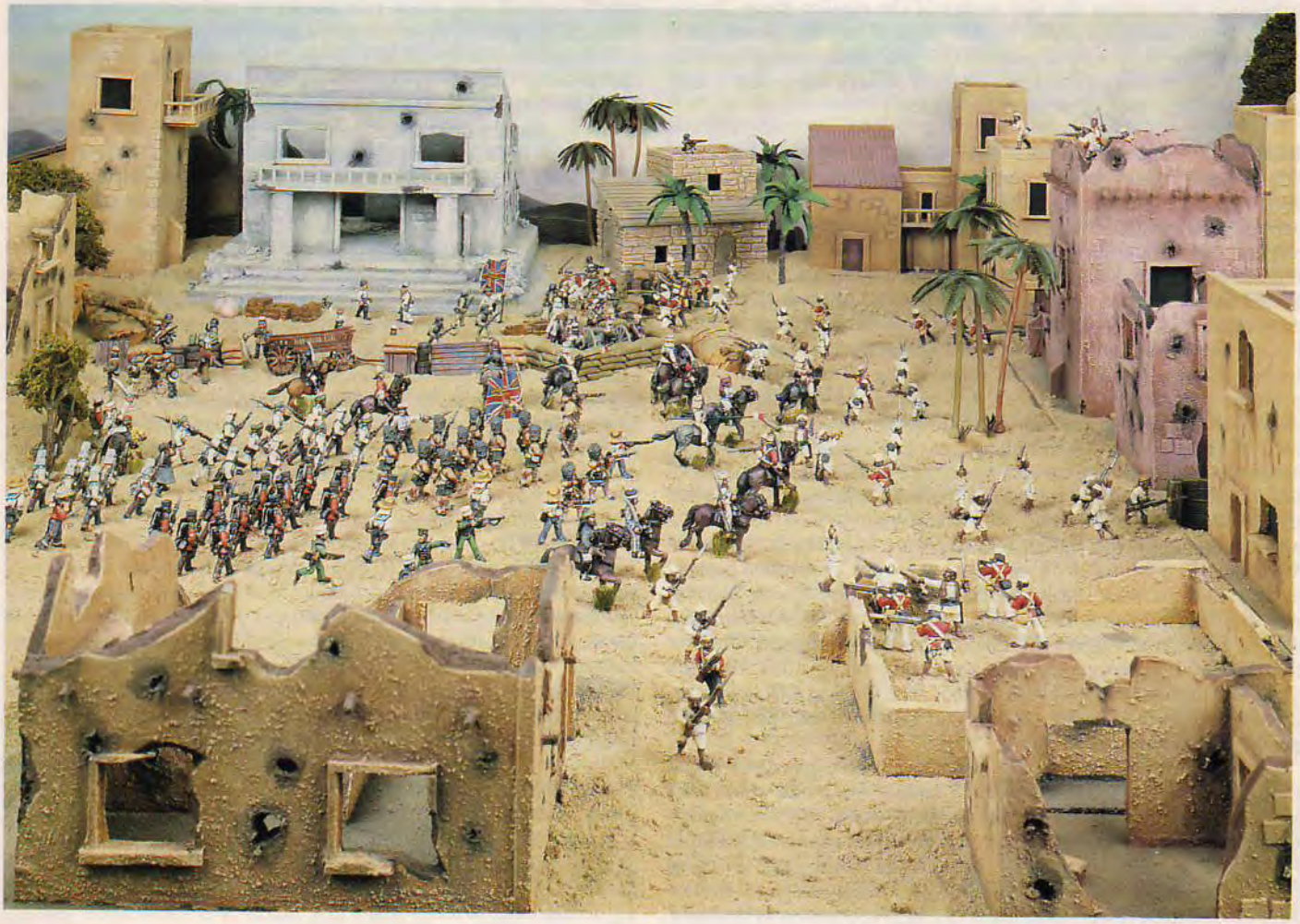
After a week or so of marching from one of the British garrisons (such as Peshawar, Kohat, Mardan, Nowshera or Rawalpindi) the column would reach its objective. A medium sized valley might have half a dozen or more villages. Each village made up of tough, fortress-like mud houses, a *Malik's* or headman's house, perhaps with a watch tower and a small mosque, surrounded by small fields, orchards and terraces. Pathan villages were sometimes built on the lower slopes of hills, but more often they would be tucked away in a re-entrant or even down a small side valley.

The British Commander might try for a bloodless settlement, holding a *dubar* together with his Political Officer and demanding of the Maliks a fine or the surrender of rifles. Sometimes this would do the trick, but more often the younger tribesmen, urged on by the *Mullahs* (Holy-men) would insist on fighting the *Feringhis*. If this happened the Anglo-Indian force would prepare to advance and destroy the Pathan villages and crops, this and the infliction of casualties being the only way to fight the tribesmen.

The British would set-up an entrenched camp in the middle of the valley. If opposition was expected to be heavy – such as when tribesmen from other areas came to the defence of their fellows – most of the force would march out each morning to destroy one village. If opposition was light the Brigade might be split-up into two or more 'task forces' each aiming to destroy one village. The Pathan *Lashkars* (War bands) would of course assemble on the hills to oppose the soldiers, having sent away their women and children, flocks and portable foodstuffs.

*In the absence (so far) of suitable NWF figures in the Staff Photographer's area of operations (– ever-widening, Bolton, Bath, Yeovilton don't despair!) these Indian Mutiny figures from the collections of Tim Hall & Roger Needham have been brought in to fill the gap. The talented duo also scratch-built the buildings and barricades. Figures are from Foundry. Britain's palm trees. A British relief column catches the Mutineers in flank at the Eleventh Hour. (Must be Errol Flynn in command!)*





In a typical attack the Anglo-Indian forces would advance and try to seize the hills around the village to be destroyed. The mountain guns would give fire support, shelling Pathan Sangars. However the guns were of little use against the villages, since the shells were too small to do much damage to the mud houses. The Pathans had little or no artillery – although the odd old smooth-bore gun did turn up – and little in the way of mounted men. Instead Pathan warriors relied on small arms fire, less often hand to hand fighting and sometimes rolling boulders down onto the troops.

Normally the infantry would advance in open order, only closing up if at all, just before a bayonet charge. The Anglo-Indian cavalry would help cover the flanks if there was open ground, or if the ground was broken or rising some of the horsemen might dismount and use their carbines. The Pathans often showed signs of fear of cavalry, even in smallish numbers.

The Pathans would defend Sangars and stone walls and houses in the village. They were liable to retire if troops got above them on the hills. Some tribesmen would take the vows of the *Ghazi* or fanatical religious warrior. Sure of paradise if he fell in battle the Ghazi only wanted to kill as many unbelievers as he could before he fell himself. A mass Ghazi charge was always possible in hill warfare.

Once the fighting troops had driven off the defenders, Engineers or Sappers and Miners would enter the village and blow-up the buildings with explosives. When this was done the troops faced the most difficult part of the operation; the withdrawal.

The Parthans would always press any force withdrawing in front of them, and as the troops left the village swarms of warriors were liable to attack them, while other tribesmen tried to get around their flanks and cut them off. To counter this the troops would fall back in two or more parties, one moving while others were in position to give covering fire.

Casualties could cause very grave problems at this stage, since no wounded man could be left to the far from tender mercies of the Pathans. If it was possible, even the dead were carried in. However this meant that each Anglo-Indian casualty became the centre of a little knot of three or even five men, offering a bigger target to the tribesmen and cutting the fire power of the regular force. Just a dozen or so casualties could negate most of the fire power of a company. The only way to combat this was close mutual support between the troops, units and sub-units always being ready and willing to go to the aid of their comrades.

**Weapons & Organisation**

Up to 1867 British troops were armed with the Enfield rifled musket, while Indian units would have carried 'Brown Bess' percussion muskets. From the end of 1867 British troops began to receive the Snider-Enfield breechloading conversion and the Indian soliders then began to receive the old Enfields. From about 1872/3 the British troops began to receive the Martini-Henry and once again the older rifles were passed on to the Indian troops. Finally 1888 saw the arrival of the Lee-Metford magazine rifle. Indian soldiers then began to receive the Martini-Henry and continued to carry it until after the turn of the century. British cavalry would only see action on the Frontier during a major war, such as the Second Afghan campaign and even then only light cavalry was used. Indian cavalry was armed more or less in the same fashion as British units (although their swords were said to be sharper!) with lance and/or sword and the carbine version of whatever weapon the Indian infantry were carrying at the time. Most of the guns used on the Frontier were mountain pieces, carried on mule back. All field and horse artillery was British; so was most of the mountain artillery, although not all. All batteries had six guns. In the 1860's rifled breechloaders were used. Then in the 1870's the artillery switched to muzzle-loading rifles. Breech-loaders were back to stay by the 1890's. The Gatling gun saw some little service in the second Afghan War and by about 1890 Maxim guns were in widespread use.

British and Indian infantry units were organised in eight company battalions. Each company should have had about 100 men, but seventy to eighty would have been more common. Cavalry squadrons would average about 100 troopers. All Field, Horse and Mountain guns were in batteries of six guns, forming three sections of two guns each. Royal Engineer and Indian Sappers and miners were organised into field companies of between sixty and ninety or so all ranks.

Until the mid to late 1870's the main Pathan weapons were the *Jezail*, a long barrelled match or flintlock weapon, supplemented with curved sword and shield and the deadly-sharp short sword known as the Khyber knife. As the 1870's wore on more and more Pathans obtained breechloading rifles. Some of these were stolen or purchased from gun-runners, but many were good copies made in tribal workshops. As the Pathans obtained better weapons they began to make less of sword and shield, although retaining the Khyber knife. The tribesmen made very little use of cavalry. Likewise they did not normally have artillery. However, just now and then the odd old smooth-bore piece would turn-up. The tribesmen were not good gunners.

The tribesmen had little organisation, each Lashkar would be made up of men from a particular village or clan, under their Malik and/or Mullah. Now and then a real leader would emerge, often a Mullah preaching *Jehad*, the Muslim Holy War and claiming the unbelievers' bullets would turn to water . . .

**PICQUETS & PATHANS**

**Being Rules for the conduct of Wargames on the N.W. Frontier of India, 1863-1898, or what the 'Soldiers Three' got up to on Active Service.**

**Explanation of Rules**

These rules are designed for Brigade and smaller sized actions. Under these rules an Anglo-Indian infantry battalion would number between 65 and 80 men in companies of from eight to ten strong. Cavalry will be in ten to twelve strong squadrons and guns in batteries of two. Pathans should be in Lashkars of between twenty and fifty figures. No Pathan force should have more than about ten mounted figures or more than one gun. After 1875 up to 20% of the Pathan force may have breechloading rifles. After 1890 this may rise to 70%, after 1895 up to 10% of breechloaders may be magazine rifles.

The philosophy behind the rules is that while bringing out the important features of hill warfare, playability should not suffer. I would contend that thick rule books do not necessarily lead to accurate wargames, indeed over-complex rules can lead players to spend too much time with their noses in the rules and not enough on the tabletop tactics!

SCALE: 1 figure = 10 men/1 model = 3 guns.
10cm = 100 yds.
1 turn = about 3 minutes.

PLAYING SEQUENCE: Turns should be alternate. Throw D6 per player higher may move first or second. Anglo-Indian player + 1 to D6 score.

Turn sequence is: Movement, firing, melee, morale.

Before starting game each unit & sub-unit must be given written general orders. If the commander wishes to change these during a game he may do so by flag or heliograph signal or by runner. All sub-units down to company/squadron/artillery section size are assumed to have someone who can read flag/helio signals until they fall below 50% strength. Flag and helio signals may only be sent by figures with this equipment. Sub-unit commanders on the Anglo-Indian side may go to the help of friendly units in trouble without orders, Pathans may do so in some cases, dice to decide. D6. 1/2/3 No. 4/5/6 Yes.

**MOVEMENT:**

| TROOP TYPE | NORMAL | CHARGE | |
|---|---|---|---|
| British foot | 10cm | 16cm | |
| Gurkha/Guides foot | 12cm | 18cm | |
| Other Indian foot | 10cm | 16cm | Charge move may |
| Pathans | 15cm | 20cm | only be used if |
| All cavalry | 20cm | 30cm | it will bring |
| Horse artillery | 18cm | — | base to base |
| Field artillery | 10cm | — | contact. |
| Mountain artillery | 8cm | — | |
| Transport (mule, camel, elephant, etc) | 8cm | — | |

RESTRICTIONS: Crossing low walls, fences, streams, etc ½ distance only.

MOVEMENT RANDOMISATION: D6 per sub-unit & alter movement as below. Anglo-Indian troops may move part or all of their distance. Pathans must move all.

PATHANS
D6 score: 1=−3cm. 2,3,4=no change. 5=+2cm. 6=+4cm.

ANGLO-INDIANS
D6 score: 1=−4cm. 2=−2cm. 3,4,5=no change. 6=+2cm.

**FIRING:**

**Small Arms:**

| Weapon | Close | Range Effective | Extreme |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jezail | 0-8cm | 9-15cm | 16-25cm |
| Smooth-bore musket | 0-6cm | 7-12cm | 13-18cm |
| Rifled musket | 0-10cm | 11-26cm | 27-45cm |
| Snider-Enfield | 0-12cm | 13-30cm | 31-50cm |
| Martini-Henry | 0-15cm | 16-45cm | 46-60cm |
| Lee-Metford | 0-20cm | 21-60cm | 61-80cm |
| Gatling Gun | 0-20cm | 21-50cm | 51-90cm |
| Maxim Gun | 0-30cm | 31-70cm | 71-100cm |

**Artillery:**

| Gun | Close | Range Effective | Extreme |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6pd smooth-bore | 0-15cm | 16-45cm | 46-80cm |
| 7pd rifled muzzle-loader | 0-20cm | 21-75cm | 76-150cm |
| 9pd rifled muzzle-loader | 0-24cm | 25-90cm | 91-180cm |
| 12pd breechloader (1860-72) | 0-25cm | 26-90cm | 91-200cm |
| 15pd breechloader (1890's) | 0-30cm | 31-150cm | 151-250cm |

Casualties caused per 5 figures/1 gun firing.

Anglo-Indians Close range: 4 Effective range: 3 Extreme range: 2
Pathans Close range: 3 Effective range: 2 Extreme range: 1
Modifiers
D6 per 5 figures/1 gun:
D6 score of 1/2=−1 casualty. D6 of 2/3=no change.
D6 of 5/6=+1 casualty.

| | |
|---|---|
| + 1 Pathans firing at troops in close order. | per 5 figures/1 gun |
| +1 target cavalry. | " |
| +1 Maxim gun at close/effective range. | " |
| +1 Breechloading artillery at extreme range. | " |
| +2 Artillery firing case shot (close range only). | " |
| −1 Gatling gun at extreme range. | " |
| −1 target in cover. | " |
| −2 target in buildings/trenches. | " |

**Sniping**
Up to 15% of the Pathan force may be used as snipers. D6 per sniper figure.
To hit target in the open:
Close range 4/5/6. Effective range 5/6. Extreme range 6 on a D6.
To hit target in cover:
Close range 5/6. Effective range 6. Extreme range not possible on a D6.
Only snipers may try to pick-off named figures, ie Officers, etc.

**MELEE:**
D6 per group of 5 figures in base to base contact, 50% of D6 score are casualties inflicted.
Modifiers
+1 charging to contact.
+1 behind sangar/low wall, etc.
+2 Ghazi.
+4 Cavalry (only if they advance to contact).
+1 charging enemy in flank or rear.
Melee may last a maximum of two turns, after that time test for morale & abide by result.

**MORALE:**

| Troop Type | Basic Morale Points | |
|---|---|---|
| British infantry/Elite Indians | 6 | Elite Indians |
| Indian infantry | 5 | includes: Gurkhas |
| All cavalry | 4 | Guides, infantry & |
| Pathan Ghazis | 7 | Cavalry, Bengal |
| Other Pathans | 3 | Lancers |



Modifiers: D6 per sub-unit/unit testing & as below

| | |
|---|---|
| Anglo-Indians advancing +2 | Pathans advancing +2 |
| Anglo-Indians with officer +1 | Pathans with commander +2 |
| Anglo-Indians in cover +1 | Pathans in cover +1 |
| Anglo-Indians friendly forces within 20cm +1 | Pathans attacked in flank −2 |
| Anglo-Indians attacked in flank or rear −2 | Pathans attacked in rear −3 |
| Anglo-Indians falling back −1 | Pathans attacked by cavalry −2 |
| For each 10% casualties −1 | Pathans falling back −2 |
| Anglo-Indians who are cut-off will fight on without checking morale. As will Pathan Ghazis. | Pathans with Anglo-Indians above them −1 |
| | For each 10% casualties −1 |

**Morale chart**
Morale score 6 or more = carry on as ordered. 4/5 = halt in nearest cover. 2/3 = retire one full normal move & halt in nearest cover. 0/1 = retire until out of small arms range. − 1 or lower route at charge speed until off table.
Snipers do not need to check morale, but will always try to avoid hand to hand fighting.
Pathans will always try to follow-up any Anglo-Indian force that retires within 50cm of them.
Morale should be checked.
a) When first under fire of any kind that causes casualties.
b) Before charging to contact.
c) If about to be charged. (Only if not in cover if Anglo-Indian).
d) At the end of two turns of melee.

**FINAL WORD:**
In general Pathan forces should be about 50% to 100% stronger in numbers than Anglo-Indian forces. Players should make every effort to set-up interesting and realistic scenarios. Set-up objectives for both sides, and use these to determine victory or defeat.

**Further reading:**
*The Frontier 1839-1947.* Maj-Gen. J.G. Ellliott. 1968.
*The Pathans 550BC-AD 1957.* Sir O. Caroe. 1957.
*Young Winston's Wars.* Ed. F. Woods. 1972.
*British India's Northern Frontier 1865-96.* G.J. Alder. 1963.
*Lockhart's Advance Through Tirah.* Capt. L.J. Shadwell. 1898.
*The Afghan Wars 1839-1919.* T.A. Heathcote. 1980.
*Playing The Great Game: A Victorian Cold War.* M. Edwards. 1975.
*Lord Roberts.* D. James. 1954.
*Armies Of The World, 1854-1914.* D. Woodward. 1978.
*Every Rock, Every Hill.* V. Schofield. 1984.
*The Indian Army 1822-1922.* T.A. Heathcote. 1974.
*The Problem Of The North-West Frontier 1890-1908.* C.C. Davies. 1932.

## 1002nd ARABIAN NIGHT COMPETITION

*Photo above is the kick-off point for you to write an adventure game scenario (& skirmish rules?), starting somewhere in the Baghdad – Isfahan – Cairo – Mecca area, somewhere in the sixth to sixteenth centuries era. (Sorry about the Christian dates!) You have six characters in the picture (seven including the camel!) and who knows who else is lurking just off camera?!*

*Side of the building (down the alley by the camel) is shown on the back cover of Wargames Illustrated #15, which may or may not be a help.*

*Whether you want to introduce Magic and thus make it a Fantasy scenario, or keep things plausible – an Adventure scenario – is up to you. Any fantastic element should be in the genre: a flying carpet would be OK; converting one of the towers to a rocket-ship and blasting off the whole scenario to some distant planet will probably blast-off your chances of winning!*

*One of the most important factors in a competition like this is the personal preferences of the judge(s)! Well, they're quite keen on the Legend of Robin Hood, Morte d'Arthur, the Brothers Grimm and Hans Christian Andersen; they've probably never read the Monster Manual or the Fiend Folio. Sensible chaps! (and Gal!)*

*What do you get if you win? Published, and paid our usual pittance of fifteen quid a page, plus £100 on top. No runners-up prizes, but you could still get published and paid our usual rate.*

*Closing date: The Sheffield Triples, March 1989.*
*Winners in Wargames World #4, May 1989.*

# WHIRLWIND FROM THE NORTH

## The Campaign and Second Battle of St. Albans, 1461

*by Anthony Clipsom*

**Prologue**

Dawn, Tuesday, 17th February 1461. Another cold grey day for the soldiers of King Harry's army. Men are milling about around the provision carts drawn up by the Great Cross in the centre of St. Albans. Many are still asleep in their billets. A company of 200 archers holds the town, the left flank position of the King's army. Their captain is in no real hurry to muster his men. They have already been here for four days waiting for the Northern rebels and latest reports say that the rebels are still a day's march away in Dunstable. However, the captain is an experienced soldier and, unlike the rabble that make up the rest of the army, his men have some kind of discipline. When he has finished breakfast he will detail pickets to man the town barricades. In the meantime he sends a lookout up the belltower by the Cross.

As a yawning soldier climbs the belltower in the town centre, a column of horsemen is approaching down Watling Street. They clatter past St. Michael's church, cross the River Ver by St. Michael's mill and round the corner into Fishpool Street. Their leader is Andrew Trollope, soldier of fortune and said by some to be the best soldier in England. The town barrier is unmanned and it takes only minutes to clear the road. As they remount, however, they can hear the urgent tolling of a bell. Surprise is lost and they touch spurs to horse, racing towards the abbey. A few bleary eyed archers are cut down as they stumble from their billets, but the horsemen press on. They pass the abbey and swing into St. Peter's Street. As they do so, a volley of arrows rips into their front rank . . . the Second Battle of St. Albans has begun.

**The St. Albans campaign – the Opening Move.**

At the beginning of December 1460, the Yorkist's star was in the ascendant. They controlled the king, who had been captured at Northampton in July, and the government. Admittedly Richard of York had failed to become king himself, but King Henry had been persuaded to sign an Act of Accord naming Richard his heir and disinheriting his own son. However, all was not well. Most of the North of England was under the control of Lancastrian sympathisers. There were also stirrings of revolt in Wales. The Yorkist command were finally forced into action by the news that the prominent Lancastrians the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Devon were marching North with their men to a rendezvous at York with the Earl of Northumberland and Lords Clifford and

Roos. Edward of March, Richard of York's son, was despatched to Wales, gathering men as he went. On December 9th, the main Yorkist commanders, York and Salisbury, marched out of London on their way north. On December 21st they reached York's castle at Sandal near Wakefield. The Lancastrians hovered menacingly nearby. York and Salisbury apparently negotiated a Christmas truce and settled down to celebrate the feast. On 30th December they emerged to do battle with the Lancastrians despite being heavily outnumbered. Details of the battle are lost but treachery was in the air. Perhaps foragers were attacked in breach of truce, drawing York into battle. Possibly some of York's new levies changed sides. Whatever the details, the Yorkists were defeated. York died on the battlefield. Salisbury was captured and executed. Suddenly, all was changed.

At the beginning of January, 1461, Margaret of Anjou, Henry's queen, crossed the border from Scotland with her young son Edward and a small force of Scots mercenaries. She rode to York, where her victorious lords lay. They took little urging to march on London to free the king. It took some time to gather together all their levies but around the 20th January the Lancastrian army set out for London. It was a massive army, ill disciplined and possibly undersupplied, meaning it had to forage as it went. All these factors meant it moved at a snail's pace. It was also remarkably destructive. It was called "a whirlwind from the North" and "the abominable army" by the Prior of Croyland. Armies of the Wars of the Roses usually did little damage to their fellow countrymen. This army was an exception and tales of its barbarity caused panic in its path. Exact details of its itinerary are not recorded but the fact that it marched down Ermine Street can be guessed from the trail of looted towns left in its wake – Grantham, Stamford, Peterborough, Huntingdon, Melbourn (Cambs) and Royston. At Royston, it turned west on the Icknield Way and on 15th February it was probably in the region of Luton.

What had the Yorkists been doing in the weeks since they heard the Northern host was on its way? They had not been idle. Commissions to array troops were sent out to East Anglia, Kent and the Home Counties. Leaders began mustering their retainers. Local supporters were put on the alert to prevent Lancastrian uprisings. Surprisingly, no attempts were made to raise troops in the Midlands, where Yorkist support was strong. It is possible that this was because the Midlands Yorkists were too busy keeping their Lancastrian neighbours from joining their main army. At the centre of this mass of military activity was the Earl of Warwick, in charge of the Yorkist government in London. Although Warwick has been accused of failing to take the offensive against the Northern army, it is hard to see why he needed to. He knew the Lancastrians were heading for London. If he marched to meet them, his army might lose enthusiasm as it got further from home. Also, if he set off North before he was sure Edward of March (or rather York as he now was, since the death of his father) had dealt with the Welsh Lancastrians, he risked being cut off from the capital or worse still from his bolt-hole, Calais. As it was, the second of these fears was groundless. On February 3rd, Edward destroyed the Welsh Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross. Secure in this knowledge Warwick finally left London at the head of a large army on 12th February. That evening they were encamped at St. Albans, where Warwick intended to make his stand. Unsure of security in London, Warwick had brought the pliant King Henry with him.

**The Armies**

The armies that fought the Second Battle of St. Albans were reasonably typical of those of the Wars of the Roses. The core of each army consisted of the retainers or *feedmen* of its lords. As a military term, the word retainer can be confusing. Some retainers were household men permanently in the service of great lords. A few of these were professional soldiers but most were civilian employees who could fight if need be. Militarily, the most important retainers were those contracted to serve in time of need, either as individuals or leaders of *fellowships* or companies of armed men. Overall, a great lord could muster several hundred retainers, the greatest over a thousand. Thus a look at the lords present on each side gives us a clue to the relative core strengths of the armies. The Northern army mustered two dukes (Exeter and Somerset), three earls (Devon, Northumberland and Shrewsbury) and eight lords (Clifford, Fitzhugh, Grey of Codnor, Greystock, Neville, Roose, Welles and Willoughby). Warwick's army contained two dukes (Norfolk and Suffolk), two earls (Arundel and Warwick) and four lords (Berners, Bonville, Montague and Fauconberg). Although the precise numbers of retainers of each lord is an unknown quantity and there was no direct link between rank and military power, it does seem that the Northerners mustered a stronger core of retainers. The estimate by the chronicler "Gregory" that the Lancastrians had 5,000 *feedmen* may be accurate, with Warwick having perhaps 3,000. This core of retainers was supplemented by a larger force of levies. These came from one of three sources; the tenants and minor supporters of the lords, militia arrayed by royal commission and urban contingents. In this instance, the majority of the Lancastrian army fell into the first category, while the Yorkists were probably more of a mixture. The number of minor supporters that a lord could muster varied like his retinue. In part it varied according to the size of his estate and in part according to whether he was fighting 'at home'. Some lords could also command more loyalty than others. The Percy Earls of Northumberland commanded great loyalty and large forces, for example. The militia could provide a large and well equipped force. Nationally, it was capable of supplying 13,000 well equipped men. Unfortunately, militia troops, with no real stake in the fighting, were scarcely reliable. The urban contingents tended to be well equipped and, where their towns had decided to take sides, often had the motivation that levies lacked. Town contingents tended, however, to be small. Among the larger urban contingents present at St. Albans were 400 troops from York in the Lancastrian army (York, contrary to popular myth, being a Lancastrian stronghold at this time) and 120 men from Norwich in Warwick's army. Warwick also had a considerable contingent of Londoners. How many is not known, but London and suburbs ware capable of mustering 1,137 men in 1458 (as against York's 152). Finally, both armies were supplimented by mercenaries. The Lancastrians had Margaret's small band of Scots. Warwick had a force of Burgundian handgunners and artillerymen. Much emphasis has been placed on this latter force in modern accounts of the battle, probably because they are so vividly described by 'Gregory'. However, they were a tiny part of the army, numbered in scores rather than hundreds.

In summary then, the battle of St. Albans was a struggle between two levy armies. That of the Lancastrians was stronger. Contemporary sources putting it at 30-40,000 men are probably exaggerated but it could well have exceeded 20,000 men as it left York. Desertion on the march was quite a common feature in these wars and many men probably turned back long before St. Albans, loaded down with Midland loot. All told, there may have been 10-15,000 in the Northern army as it left Luton. Warwick's army was smaller, but not by much. The lowest contemporary estimate is 9,000 and this may not be far from the truth. Only about a third of each army were retainers.

The motivations of the majoity of each army were decidedly mixed. Many of the Northerners seem to have been out to loot the prosperous South. Many of the Southerners were there to protect their property. The retainers were mainly involved in supporting their patrons and paymasters. Some 'Yorkists', like the chronicler 'Gregory', who probably commanded a London militia contingent in the battle, thought they were fighting for King Henry against oath breakers and rebels. Very few people seem to have been involved in this battle for political or dynastic reasons.

In terms of weapons, equipment and basic tactical doctrine there was very little difference between the armies. The majority of troops on both sides would be longbowmen. They may have accounted for up to 85% of the retainers, certainly over two thirds. The proportion of the levy archers was probably lower, perhaps slightly over half. The non-archers would have been mostly either heavily armoured men-at-arms if retainers, or billmen if levies. Some levies would have been armed with the staff, which in this context probably refers to a spear. Both armies contained some light cavalrymen called *prickers* or *scurriers* whose main role was scouting. These light cavalrymen were particularly common on the Northern borders and therefore the Northern army probably had more of them. We know that Warwick's army had field artillery and it is more than likely that the Lancastrians did too, though theirs would still have been on the march at the time of the battle. There

were also handgunners in the Yorkist army. As Warwick intended to fight a defensive battle, he had taken the trouble to equip his troops with all manner of fancy defences, such as pavises covered in nails, nets and trellises spiked with nails and iron caltrops.

**The Campaign – the Final Stages**

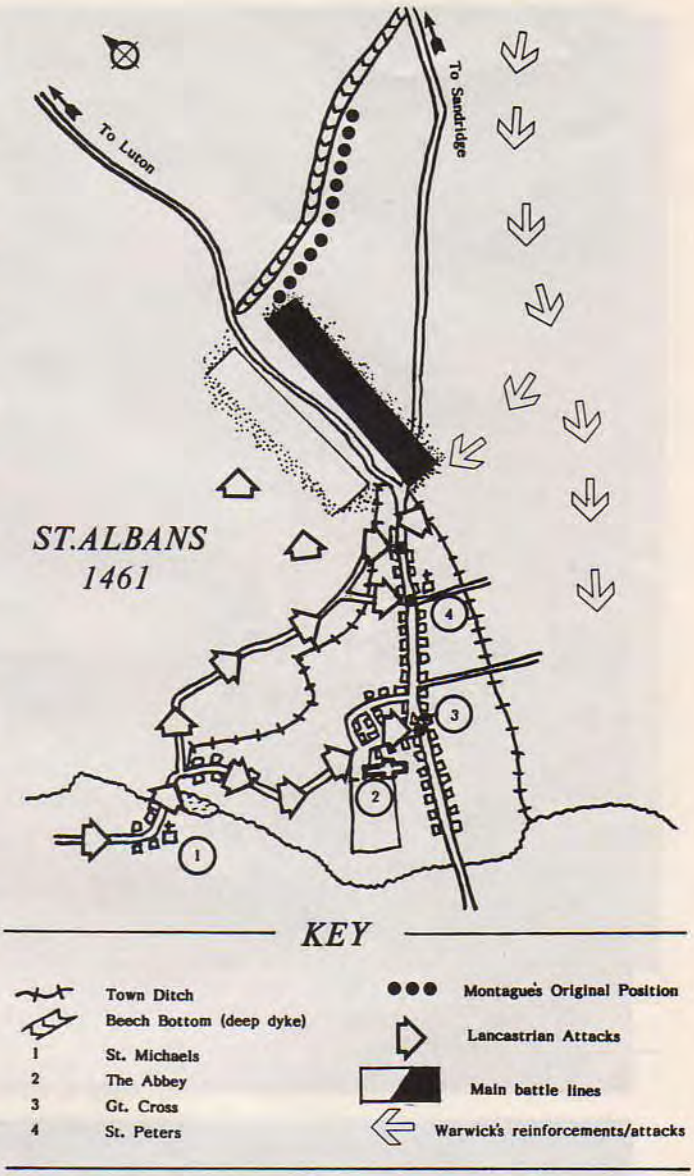
We left the Yorkist army encamped around St. Albans on 12th February. Some modern authors attribute to Warwick an initial plan to fortify St. Albans which he later abandoned in favour of a more northerly defence line. This seems to stem from a statement in 'Gregory's' chronicle that the Yorkist army changed its dispositions. It is more likely that 'Gregory' is referring to a later change. Warwick, after all, had more reason than most to think St. Albans indefensible, having stormed it 5½ years previously. We may therefore assume that the Yorkists began digging themselves in to the north of St. Albans on 13th February.

Warwick's plan was unorthodox, though well grounded in contemporary military practice. He spread his force over a front stretching from St. Albans on the left via Bernard's Heath and Sandridge to No Man's Land common (see map), a distance of three to four miles. He could not have held this line continuously and therefore it is likely he split his force with one division on Bernard's Heath and one or perhaps two divisions covering Sandridge and No Man's Land. The countryside, at least towards St. Albans and around Sandridge, was covered in small enclosures and copses. Among these the Yorkists dug in, scattering caltrops, laying out nets and in all likelihood digging pits and ditches and emplacing stakes.

Why did Warwick adopt this plan? The short answer is we don't know. Part of the reason is that English tactical theory for the last 130 years had emphasised the advantages of defence. Warwick was not just ascribing to some old-fashioned tradition, however. Contemporary continental thinking stressed the value of the *champ de guerre* – the prepared battleground complete with field defences. Indeed the concept would live on in Burgundy and Italy long after it had gone out of fashion in England. Another reason may have been that he wished to cover both roads from Luton to St. Albans. Whatever his reasoning, he had made a terrible mistake. His forces were too far apart to be mutually supporting. Given a good command structure and well-trained, disciplined troops this may have been surmountable. Warwick's army had neither. He had also begun to dig in days before his opponents arrived, effectively signalling his intentions. If he thought his opponents' chivalrous nature or just their tactical incompetence would make them attack his defences head on, he had another think coming.

On the 15th February, the Northern army was in Luton. According to 'Gregory' they had received detailed intelligence regarding Warwick's dispositions from a traitor called Lovelace. However, it seems likely that this is an after-the-event excuse. Such treachery was unnecessary. Unlike modern wars, there were no front lines and people wandered through armies going about their business. Quite likely, the Lancastrians received news of the Yorkist battle plan by nothing more sinister than traveller's tales, perhaps when they were at Royston.

The response of the Northern commanders to Warwick's challenge was to the modern mind obvious. They had changed their line of advance. Whether this was purely to bypass Warwick or whether they were trying to place themselves between Warwick's and Edward's army is unknown. If the latter, they need not have worried, as Edward was still mopping up Lancastrian resistance in Wales. Whatever the reason, on the 16th February the Northern army marched toward Watling Street. Sometime during the day, there was a skirmish at Dunstable with some Yorkist troops. For some reason, this skirmish assumes an unwarranted tactical significance in some modern accounts. The Yorkist troops at Dunstable become scouts who have to be neutralised by a special detour. In fact, it is more likely that they were local troops, perhaps on their way to join Warwick, who happened to fall in with the Lancastrian van as it passed through Dunstable, as it had to do to reach Watling Street. It may be that after this skirmish, the Lancastrians decided to halt at Dunstable or they may have pushed on a short way down Watling Street and camped there. Whether it was at this stage or earlier that the Lancastrian leaders decided on a surprise attack on Warwick's flank and rear, we don't know. Whenever the decision was taken, they now had to presume that




Warwick knew where they were. This meant a night march to hit the Yorkist army before it could reposition itself across Watling Street.

Overall, the Lancastrian plan was quite adventurous. Although flank attacks and night marches were not unknown at this time, neither were they common. This was in part simply because head-on clashes were the done thing and doing something different was considered unchivalrous. However, this was not the only reason, nor necessarily the main one. Given the command and control difficulties experienced by mediaeval armies, anything other than a straightforward attack in daylight was courting disaster. Which of the Lancastrian commanders was responsible for the plan is unknown, but it may have been Margaret of Anjou herself. She was intelligent, cunning, ruthless and seems to have had an interest in things military, so might have come up with such a plan.

Sometime in the early hours of February 17th, the Northern army set out for St. Albans. In the lead was the van or varward commanded by Trollope and Somerset. It was almost certainly a picked force of mounted retainers, both cavalry and mounted archers. The van as an elite striking force capable of independent action seems to have been a developing concept in English warfare in the 15th Century, although not always a successful one. Behind the van came the main battle made up of the majority of the army on foot. Finally, there would be a small rearward to protect the baggage and artillery.

As the Lancastrians approached in the darkness, the unsuspecting Yorkists were still in the attenuated line stretching northwest from St. Albans. Some modern authors have castigated Warwick for not having enough scouts out to warn him of the Lancastrian

approach. Judging from the fact that marches made at night during the Wars of the Roses were invariably not discovered until the morning, he is unlikely to have had any scouts out at night. However, his scouts will have been out the previous day. 'Gregory' notes that only one scout reported contact with the enemy and gave the apparently misleading information that the Northern army was "nine miles off". Given the inaccuracy of mediaeval distance measurement this may have meant that they were seen around Dunstable, in reality about twelve miles away. If the conjecture that the Lancastrians camped there is correct, this information may have been given by the scout, leading Warwick to expect the enemy late on the 17th. There is also nothing sinister about the single scout. Most of Warwick's scouts would have been covering the St. Albans-Luton roads and therefore have nothing to report. If we accept the possibility that Warwick was aware that the enemy were marching round his flank on the 16th, it may be that he gave his orders to swing the army round the following day, thus explaining 'Gregory's statement about the Yorkist's unwise change of position. Whatever his exact state of knowledge, Warwick was not expecting the arrival of the Lancastrian van in St. Albans at dawn on 17th February.

**The Second Battle of St. Albans**

Fortunately for our understanding of the battle, the initial fighting in St. Albans was described by an eye witness, Abbot Whethamstede of St. Albans Abbey. As dramatised in the prologue, the Lancastrian van forced their way through the unmanned barricades at the west end of the town. Surprise was not complete, however, and they were halted in the centre of the town by a company of archers. These men were probably a detachment from Montague's division on Bernard's Heath, possibly retainers as their fighting ability seems to have been high. It is tempting to see the collision between the Lancastrian van and the archers as a short interlude. However, the timetable of the battle, as far as it can be reconstructed, suggests that this was not so. Both sides were of good quality and the Lancastrians could not use their superior numbers to any effect in the narrow streets. Indeed, the men in the town may have been hampered by a pile up of reinforcements behind them. Fighting probably spilled into houses and gardens as attempts were made to outflank the other side's position. Control of the Lancastrians forces would have been difficult and any co-ordinated plan to outflank the Yorkists impossible to organise. Eventually, Trollope and Somerset managed to disengage and fall back to St. Michael's to regroup.

Meanwhile, the Yorkist army was in chaos. By now, it must have been obvious to Montague on the left that the attack on St. Albans was not a disruptive raid but a full scale assault. The news would have filtered through to Warwick at Sandridge. All the effort of fortifying the position was lost. It was now essential to turn the army about and realign approximately North West-South East with Montague holding the right. With a levy army in contact with the enemy trying to manoeuvre in close terrain, this was a very tall order. That even a semblance of success was achieved was due largely to the flank detachment in St. Albans. Their spirited resistance had presented the Northern army with a similar deployment nightmare. With the failure of the vanguard to precipitate the collapse of the Yorkist left, they were left to deploy from the march amongst the fields and lanes west of St. Albans. We can, therefore, justifiably imagine that the withdrawal of the Lancastrian van ushered in a lull in the fighting as both sides raced to deploy first.

The Lancastrians won. With fresh troops, they marched round the northern *backs* or garden fields of the town and tried to force an entry at the top of St. Peter's Street. As the attack was made, part of the army was still visible on Fishpool Street, causing the Yorkists to have to cover both ends of the town. Fortunately, they were now assisted by some fresh troops at the top of St. Peter's Street, either a detachment from or part of Montague's division.

Another fierce struggle for control of the town now took place and eventually the Yorkists were defeated. How long it took is open to question, but two accounts of the battle state that it began between noon and one o'clock. This can only refer to the start of the main engagement and means that, even allowing for further redeployment, it took the Lancastrians four or five hours to secure St. Albans.

With their right flank now secure, the Lancastrians could attack Montague's division, which had, however, succeeded in realigning itself and even repositioned some of its field defences. The Burgundians now came into action, but the winds and snow flurries rendered their weaponry next to useless. The fight became a typical Wars of the Roses slogging match with poleaxes, bills and mauls. Trollope was wounded standing on a caltrop, although he claimed to have killed fifteen men who attacked him. Constantly in the mind of Montague must have been the question "Where's Warwick?"

Where was Warwick? Can it really have taken him over five hours to redeploy? The answer can only be 'yes'. Warwick does not seem to have supported Montague at this stage in the battle. While it is possible he had decided to sacrifice Montague's division in the same way Montague had sacrificed his troops in St. Albans in order to buy time, Montague's troops must have represented at least a third of his force. Warwick must have known that he could not win that way. He must have been trying to reshape a compact fighting force from remaining troops, some of whom were perhaps three miles from the fighting, dug in and facing the wrong way. Warwick probably did send reinforcements to Montague and one account has him leading a cavalry counterattack late in the day, possibly to shore up Montague's left flank, which, though echeloned back, was probably in the air. However, Montague's troops could not be expected to hold indefinitely and late in the afternoon they collapsed. The catalyst was almost certainly that terrible fear of all armies in these wars; treachery. A company of Kentishmen under Lovelace, whom we have already met, changed sides. As troops don't readily change sides once they are actually engaged and the Kentishmen were commanded by Arundel and Norfolk, who were on the right with Warwick, these men are likely to have been a reinforcement despatched by Warwick. Whether Lovelace was already a traitor or saw which way the battle was going and took his chance we cannot be certain. The Yorkist sources imply the former but, if this were the case, he showed admirable patience and timing. Whatever the situation, the effect was catastrophic. Montague's division disintegrated. Montague himself was captured and his men hunted down by Northern horsemen.

By now it was getting dark. Warwick had at last got his forces in order but it was too late to do anything except escape. To Warwick's great credit, he did not abandon his men. Instead, he launched them in a final attack through the disorganised Lancastrian lines to the south of St. Albans and marched toward London. In the gathering darkness and chaos of victory, the Lancastrians were unable to pursue. Warwick is credited with escaping with 4,000 men, nearly half his force. Up to 7,500 men may have been killed, though a figure nearer 2,000 is likely. The majority of these will have been Yorkists, but casualties were probably quite even as there was no effective pursuit. No one of note died in the battle and few prisoners were taken. The Lancastrians had, however, regained King Henry. He had been found sitting beneath a tree guarded by Lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Kyriel, to whom he had promised their lives if they stayed by him. However, as Bonville and Kyriel discovered to their cost, it was not Henry, but Margaret of Anjou who made the decisions. They were both beheaded, though Montague and Berners, who had also been captured, survived.

**The Aftermath**

Warwick soon realised that he would not be able to hold London. His army was melting away round him. He decided instead to link up with Edward's army to the West. London was now at the mercy of the victorious Lancastrians. The city was paralysed with fear, expecting the Northern barbarians at any moment. All was not well

Opposite page: *Two more shots of Medieval mayhem from the Scimitar men. Lower shot has a vague affinity with the opening paragraph of Ant Clipsom's article – light horse vs. archers, and the two taverns (at least their sign boards!) are right for Fifteenth Century St. Albans. The* ***Hovels*** *butter-market seems to be a universal centre-piece for medieval market-places. (Any readers NOT got a Hovels' butter-market?) Old Scimitarian Pete Duckworth painted the backdrop – which has been in four countries and three centuries in two photo sessions!*

in the Northern army, however. Margaret and her lords were having difficulty controlling their forces. Despite a promise to spare St. Albans, the town was sacked. Clearly, it was politically important to enter London as a liberator rather than a conqueror. Margaret could not risk moving her army into the capital. Instead she sent on a small force and withdrew the majority of the army to Dunstable, perhaps to guard against the possible arrival of Edward's victorious army. She ordered the Londoners to send food and money to her army there. This move was to have disasterous consequences. The Londoners, the immediate threat of attack removed, began to show spirit again. The convoy carrying the food and money to Dunstable was mobbed in the streets and its contents looted. Meanwhile, in Dunstable, the Northerners, short on supplies and wages, were deserting in droves. If that were not enough, on 25th February Lancastrian scouts noted the rapid approach of Edward of March, who had joined with what was left of Warwick's army in the Cotswolds. Unable to face this new army, the Lancastrians began to retire northwards. On the 26th, the first Yorkist troops entered the city and on the following day the main body of the army arrived. London was saved. The St. Albans campaign was over.

**The Results of the Battle**

St. Albans, like so many of the battles of the Wars of the Roses, was not decisive. The campaign of 1461 would finish at Towton, the bloodiest battle ever fought on English soil, in March. The only immediate result of 2nd St. Albans was that the Lancastrians regained control of the king, scarcely a major practical advantage. Indeed, it was to prove a disadvantage. Without control over King Henry, Warwick needed a new man on the throne behind which he wanted to be the power. It was not difficult to persuade Edward of March to take up his father's claim. On the wave of euphoria that greeted Edward's "salvation" of London, it was also easy to persuade the people to declare him king by acclamation. On 4th March, 1461, Edward of March officially became king as Edward IV.

Another tangible result of the battle was that it finally discredited the *champ de guerre* concept in English warfare. There had been excuses why the tactic had failed at Ludford in 1459 and Northampton in 1460. There were none at 2nd St. Albans. Related to this was the demise of the "men of the war in France", those soldiers who had learned their trade against the French and Burgundians in the middle years of the century. By the end of 1461, most of the French veterans were dead. St. Albans contributed to this process with the death of Bonville and Kyriel. In their places came the "new men of war", men such as Edward IV, who learned their trade in battle with English armies.

A third result can indirectly be traced back to the battle. Among the Lancastrian dead was Sir John Grey. He left a beautiful widow, Elizabeth Woodville. It was Edward IV's secret marriage to Elizabeth and her subsequent nepotism which were a vital element in the later stages of the Wars of the Roses, leading to the eventual downfall of Warwick.

**The Second Battle of St. Albans and 15th Century Generalship**

Turning to what the St. Albans campaign can teach us about warfare during the Wars of the Roses, and in particular generalship, we must be aware of the amount of speculation and inference that is required to reconstruct it. As every historian knows, there is no such thing as objective history. All battle reconstructions have their built in biases, or to be more polite, perspectives. Some of these are created by sources or lack of them. St. Albans is a well recorded battle by Wars of Roses standards, yet reconstructing it involves a great deal of speculation. Hindsight can lead us to see plans where there were none and lack of records may obscure the real plans.

I apologise to any reader who felt the above account marred by too many "probablies", "seems to haves" and "may have beens". I believe, however, they were necessary to show how many of the "facts" taken for granted in some modern accounts are actually speculation. I was fed up with the clean, clinical feel that most reconstructions give of this battle. To me, it is an example of why tactical finesse rarely occurred on the mediaeval battlefield: not chivalry, nor stupidity but because command and control were simply not up to it. The Lancastrian army was unable to exploit the advantage gained by its outflanking manoeuvre while the Yorkists were unable to respond to it. The result was a chaotic and indecisive encounter.

There was, I believe, little generalship on a mediaeval battlefield. Instead there was a great deal of leadership. By this I don't just mean leading from the front. Rather, I would suggest that commanders were field officers, rather than staff officers; majors and colonels rather than generals and marshals. Generalship was practised and even studied in 15th Century England, but it was used on the march rather than on the battlefield. Some of that can be seen in the St. Albans campaign, but the best recorded example is the 1471 campaign, where the skilful use of scouts, feints and forced marches is readily apparent. When we look at the generalship involved in the St. Albans campaign, it is clear that the honours go to the Lancastrian command. They maintained the initiative and were to some extent unlucky not to roll up the Yorkists after a well executed surprise move. Warwick's plan, however, was seriously flawed. It surrendered the initiative to the Lancastrians days before the battle and was simply not practical with the army at his command. Taking an overview of Warwick's military career, he was not good at anticipating his opponents' actions and responded badly to surprise, as his performance in this campaign, at the siege of Alnwick in 1463 and the 1471 campaign demonstrate. He was, however, a popular and energetic leader of men. Little of this shines through at St. Albans, though the fact that he managed to extricate a large part of his army from the stricken field must count for his military ability.

**Wargaming the Battle**

**i) Troops**

The Wars of the Roses are a good period for the availability of wargames figures. In 25mm, there are over a dozen manufacturers offering ranges. Which to chose must be a matter of personal preference, but the **Wargames Foundry** range must be one of the best. **Essex** also offer a good range, if you like big figures. There are some very serviceable figures in the **Hotspur** mediaeval range and they promise a late 15th Century range sometime in the future. 15mm wargamers are not so well served, but there are a number of ranges. I have not seen all of these but the **Minifigs** range is good. It does have the odd quirk, however, such as 'Currours' i.e. light cavalry on fully barded horses.

**ii) Rules**

The Wars of the Roses are a classical case for period-specific rules, with a limited number of troop types and an even more limited set of tactical situations. It is surprising, therefore, that there are so few sets of Wars of the Roses rules. I know of only three published sets, though I confess that I have not made an exhaustive search. Of these three, one is a "back of a postcard" set by Peter Dennis published in WI.7, full of Wargames Development concepts but I think lacking feel. The other two sets are Ed Smith's venerable "Wars of the Roses" from the early 70's and Barry Slemming's "Bills, Bows and Bloodshed", produced in 1987. The Ed Smith rules are pre-WRG hegemony and therefore contain what are today unusual mechanisms. I use a modified version of them and find that they produce a good, quick game. Their biggest flaw is their lack of a real morale system, although their basic system of relating morale to divisions rather than units is very apt. I also found the combat system too predictable. Modifications to these areas, plus a revision of the troop types section and the introduction of ammunition limitations for longbows, are, I think, essential. The Slemming's rules are a home-produced set owing a lot to both WRG and Tony Bath. Although I have not tried them, they would seem to be capable of giving a good game. Their very poor layout counts against them, however.

It is, of course, also possible to fight the battle with one of the wider timespan sets. I am told that the 7th Edition of the WRG Ancients rules gives a good Wars of the Roses game. Other possibilities include WRG Renaissance, Newbury and "Lance".

**iii) Setting up the Game**

One of the problems of refighting a well known battle is that it is so well known. Given the terrain and the period, any mediaeval wargamer is going to know the battle. With a free hand, the Yorkist commander will deploy to counter a flank attack. Even if his

deployment is directly based on that of Warwick, he will know what is going on the moment the flank attack begins. To get round this, I recommend splitting the battle into two or three gamelets.

Gamelet I represents the battle between the Yorkist archers and the Lancastrian van for St. Albans. The Yorkist objective would be to hold on as long as possible, the Lancastrian to get a well-organised force through the town. Lancastrian reinforcements will be arriving all the time. The Yorkists might throw with a small chance of success each move for reinforcements from Montague. The Yorkists should be given good morale and organisation. While the Lancastrian morale should also be good, the potential for chaos and loss of control should be higher. This gamelet would be best fought with skirmish rules.

Gamelet 2 would be an organisation game representing the redeployment period after the Lancastrians had taken St. Albans and before they fought Montague's division. Depending on table size, number of players etc, this could include all the divisions on both sides or Warwick can be ignored except for possible occasional reinforcements. The basic idea of the game would be to attempt to assemble a viable fighting force first. Although this could be played according to the movement section in your chosen rules, I recommend a simple set of special rules.

The gamelet begins with the Lancastrians in column moving through St. Albans. The Yorkists are deployed in a line at right angles to them. The Yorkists should have a start in redeploying, either decided by playing Gamelet 1 or by the number of moves given by the throw of one average die.

Each unit is given a cohesion factor, between 2 and 5 for levies; 4 to 10 for retainers. Each time a unit moves or changes from march formation to battle formation or vice versa it loses one cohesion point. Crossing difficult terrain costs two cohesion points. Move distances can be as per your rules, but units in march order should be able to move in any direction, whereas units in battle formation can only move straight forward. Units can regain cohesion points by rallying. Levies can rally one point per move, retainers two. No movement or formation changes can take place during a rally move.

Any unit with a cohesion of 0 or less must throw a d6. A score of 5 or 6 means it may carry on as instructed, 2, 3 or 4 that it must halt and 1 that its members flee the field. The level of cohesion of each unit when fighting breaks out can be related to your rules to see whether it should be classed as disordered, uniformed or whatever.

The role of commanders can be built in by allowing each played division commander to throw an average die per move. To the score add one per subcommander. The total is the number of "actions" permitted his division that move. One "action" is moving a unit, changing a unit's formation or rallying a unit.

Gamelet 3 would simply be the refighting of the battle. Again the constraint of space or troops might mean dropping Warwick's division. Gamelet 3 begins when one of the players in Gamelet 2 decides he is ready to fight. Forces are positioned as they finish Gamelet 2, in the formations and level of order they had at that point and the battle commences.

Finally, before leaving the refight, I think the St. Albans scenario could provide an interesting game in another period. The keys to using it, I think, are average generals on each side, largely untrained armies and quite a low level of technology. The period that occurs to me is the early part of the English Civil War, but this is perhaps the latest one could go.

**Sources and Further Reading**

Original sources for the Second Battle of St. Albans are hard to come by unless you have access to a major public or university library. The only easily available source is 'Gregory's' account, which will be found in J.R. Lancer's *The Wars of the Roses* (it is amazing how many books of this title there are!). There are large numbers of modern reconstructions of varying value. The most analytical are those given in Gillingham and Goodman's books listed below.

For those interested in wargaming the Wars of the Roses generally, I would recommend the following introductory reading:
Malcolm Bradbury: *The Mediaeval Archer* – little specifically on the Wars of the Roses but useful on the role and effects of the longbow.
John Gillingham: *The Wars of the Roses* – good on battles, private warfare and logistics.



Anthony Goodman: *The Wars of the Roses* – the best book on military aspects of the Wars of the Roses.
J.R. Lander: *Crown and Nobility 1450-1509* – technical, but included for its useful appendix on who fought in each battle.
Ronald Welsh: *Sun of York* – a children's novel but contains good reconstructions of what it was like to be involved in close combat.
Terry Wise: *The Wars of the Roses* – basic, but with good illustrations and a useful table of livery colours.

Those wanting a little more depth on the social, political and economic aspects of the Wars could do worse than working their way through the books of J.R. Lander or Charles Rose.

# SKIRMISHING THE ALAMO

*Rules written by Peter Moles, Games Organiser*
*Introduced by Robin Hunt*

Setting out to create an original participation game that is at the same time fun, fast and furious to play and worthy of a competition prize for quality in aspect and authenticity is nudging the commitment of full time employment for the aspiring clubs on the show circuit.

Over the last three years, conventions, two–day thrashes and wargaming marathons take place every weekend somewhere in the country and even the smallest club seems to manage a big do in the explosion of events featuring wide ranges of trading potential bringing ever more members of the uninitiated classes into the hobby.

Along with the show expansion the quality and professionalism of the display and participation tables has grown in stature side by side with the increase in figure availability both in scale and range.

It is no longer enough to slap an old green cloth down and proceed to do what comes naturally on a normal club night, games must be presented on a level that would do justice to an up market advertising campaign in the real world, complete with audio–visual back up and a host of theatricals to put across the message of the day.

In October '85 The Warlords display team was in the middle of the season, having pioneered and laid the groundwork for succesful computer enhanced games in the periods of World War Two and the Spanish Civil War, using specially written programmes which had stood up well to development and battlefield conditions. To satisfy the insatiable appetite of the viewing public for something new every time you turn out required some careful thinking.

As in all movie plots the 'Angel' appeared on cue in the shape of Ahketon figures who offered free sets of troops in return for publicity. The new period planned was the Alamo, which seemed like a good idea as 1986 would mark the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the conflict down Texas way. We were already using the first class (and still expanding) range of Spanish figures and vehicles from '36–'39 in co–operation with Ahketon, so the logical move was towards a new computer programme to handle muskets, Mexicans and Texicans. The similarity of equipments and tactics to the Napoleoic period led to some research into the available products for the Spectrum to see if we could short cut. The Modern tapes had taken three years to get to the prototype stage so a re–write was out of the question.

Whilst the commercial sets of computer-enhanced Napoleonics were adequate for someone with a very good knowledge of the period, they were unsuitable for a quick and dirty participation game, which was what we envisaged as the end result of our labours.

Chewing the fat over a few decent bottles of wine stimulates the artist's juices and it was at this point that the complete U-turn was born. Why not, we thought, revert to the sort of living room scrimmage that we had all started out on-and most of us yearned for again. Even six sided dice suddenly appeared too high tech and ordinary playing cards became our modifier.

When I say ordinary of course these will work perfectly well with the rules printed at the end for all to try, but we were seeking the all singing, highkicking vaudeville act to bring smiles to the faces of the punters, possibly at the expences of our own dignity. Having the odd connection in Spain the use of Spanish cards looked promising, using similar suits to the Tarot it was discovered that there was no queen, but two kinds of Jack, with one or two other numbered cards not included.

Three general packs are available, shown on the book as 1, 20 or 21. Obviously of some significance the number 1 is best value as it has more cards than the other two. The faces are medieval in appearance and the suits of Coins, Cudgels, Swords and Chalices add a little zest to the performance. For those of you taking a winter break down South, look out for the cards in chain stores or little tabacs, they also come in circular form or 8″ × 6″ in the tourist traps.

Now the ball was in Mr Moles' court, and within a few weeks he had produced a very simple set of action rules that even I could understand. Rather than attempt to gain footage out of the invention we agreed to give away free sets to all comers, an idea which had paid of in the form of some correspondants who even now are using the system to plot out their own scenarios.

Any range of figures takes a while to complete, and when the first heroes started appearing it was obvious that our time plan could not include a totally authentic ratio of representative troop types. Divided up amongst club members, the painting was left to individual tastes, and after some months slaving over the hot paint brushes it was becoming more and more apparent that we were getting a set of toys closer to the John Wayne movie than could be ignored. 'Why not?'was again the concensus of opinion.

The arrival of anniversary year brought about a spate of experts who pontificated on colour and detail without actually having been there. We bashed on the shako roundels and all manner of colourful standards going for impact before pundits' precepts.

Two plans for the construction of the building linked by a common terrain concept were planned out. The game was to be introduced at our own open day,'Salute', but in a simplified form with a wooden stockade bearing no resemblance to the Alamo other than the gate, just to field–test the rules. In the event nobody noticed much as the play caused so much amusement to the participants. In the meantime the real version of the South Wall was under construction deep in Brixton.

The Ahketon models were as usual 'more metal for your money' and needed an equally larger than life set of walls to fight over. I have two reasons for building over-size, the initial aspect of the table must grab the passer by without fussy detail and need for explanation on a one-to-one level. Once the participant has been 'fly-papered' the kit must be rugged enough to take rough handling with plenty of space for figures to move and be placed upon or inside.

Construction utilised Daler art board, double-skinned with balsa spacers and gaps filled with tetrion. Enhanced with obeche and balsa strips to represent walkways etc, windows were cut large and roofs removable. No single element was larger that 18″ × 6″, enabling all sorts of combinations to be put together for future games in a different layout. Stockade sections and the lunette were made from rough dowel shoe stretchers provided by my wife's shop. The whole lot was coated in white emulsion and roughed up for texture. Then liberally splashed with various thin turps washes to conform to the specially tie dyed base cloths that provided the table cover for the whole scene.

At the far end the chapel provided no strategic need for the simple assault we planned, so a montage of the front with three inch wide supports was created to finish off the end neatly. This gave a frontage of six feet and a depth of three with plenty of room for troops and cannon.

You can rely on the BBC to trot out the same old movies every Christmas and 1985 was no exception, 'The Alamo' with John Wayne appeared as always to be snapped up on the old video. Those more in the know than me were aware that thirty five minutes are missing from the original version, but there was plenty to look at for our purposes. Although the terrain looked a little more lush than expected we stuck to the brightly coloured sandy look with extra grit and cat litter to highlight tracks and fortifications. The board was still a bit stark so some ex-Spanish peasant huts were rebuilt and, with the addition of the Cantina and that house where Crockett woos the lady, nicely reproduced the outskirts of San Antonio and contrasted with the purposeful and warlike frontage of the mission.

Further study of the film showed that French standards were featured in most of the infantry units, flying beside the Imperial Mexican flags. We are "archiving" this and have come up with a

reasonable explanation, but more information has just been discovered which would suggest this is a correct representation and not a Hollywood bodge up. Remember John Wayne put his life's work into this production and it was mostly authenticated (in the terrain and uniform departments of the relevant authorities), anyway it looks and sounds great, so who are we to look a gift horse in the musket.

After running the game at a few shows we were aware that it needed two umpires to run the business, due to the speed of the action and the constant need to replenish playing cards to the battle hungry players. Additions were created as we went along and gentlemens' decisions being made on the spur of the moment, the following points are of particular significance and may not be apparent on the first reading of the rules that finish the article.

1.The Mexicans in four ranks of four should advance two ranks at a time, and have one rank removed by successful Texan fire. Each unit is issued four cards and players can operate about three separate formations without becoming clumsy.

2.Likewise the Texans are placed in groups of four, no more that two units to any particular separate building, one figure is removed to successful Mexican fire. When the unit is down to one man, reinforcement can be motivated from the rear. If, however, the building is swept clean before they arrive, it cannot be re-occupied. The same applies to cannon.

3.Mexican reinforcements are activated at the Umpires' discretion and usually come on as the crowd increases.

4.As each player holds four cards they can all be played in a single bound: one to move, one to fire, one to suppress fire and one to buy an officer or personality figure if required. Best tactics are to waste low cards as soon as possible to get a chance to pull some big ones next time round.

5.We are currently using four packs, which is OK for around sixteen players, and at first thought we should have separate back colours for various needs but this was turned down by the player who enjoyed the confusion of what was fire suppression and what was attack. Movement cards are best placed behind the unit until the last phase.

6.It is now quite obvious that–perish the thought–it is possible to cheat !!!! This we think has enhanced the game rather than lost anything of the fun, and you only need to be within twenty yards of the table to realise that some incident is reducing the players to very uncompetitive noise and laughter.

These suggestions are of course our own 'make ups to suit the situation' and every game is producing different combinations of play and needs. You will probably shoot holes through it in no time, but keep in mind the fun aspect and you won't go far wrong.

The final note must go to the Loughton show where we used sound effects for the first time. I have never really liked marching music as it usually lacks relevance to the game. Making up a tape with action noises and the first class music from the original sound track changed my opinion. At some stages we were getting the game in 'sync' with the backing track, a fluke that we are now working on; it had a great effect on the players. Be careful though, as the adjacent trade stands got a bit"brassed off" with a whole day of cannon, musket, *The green leaves of Summer* and John Wayne shouting "TAKE' EM!", posing a small threat to the longevity of the old Ghetto blaster.

We invite you to copy and enjoy these rules and would love to hear of any suggestions from readers, any other queries or information to ROBIN T.W. HUNT, 1 OSTADE ROAD, LONDON, SW2 2AY.

## THE ALAMO

The Texas revolt which flared in October 1835 consisted of a few skirmishes climaxed by an episode of high drama

In the Battle of the Alamo a handful of heroic men, including **Bill Travis, Jim Bowie** and **David Crockett,** forged a legend of bravery as bright - if foolhardy - as any in American history.

The battle probably should not have been fought at all. In December, Texans stormed and took San Antonio, then the men gradually drifted away through inactivity. In Febuary, Mexican dictator **SANTA ANNA** marched against the town, whose garrison of Texans then numbered fewer that 200.

Instead of retreating the defenders stubbornly retired to the old mission of the Alamo. For 12 days they stood off 3,000 Mexicans, but the result was foredoomed. By the end every defender had been cut down. Texas had suffered a bloody loss. But the courage shown at the Alamo provided the inspiration that led the rebels to final victory, led on by the cry:

"REMEMBER THE ALAMO!"

---

## ALAMO ATTACK RULES

March 6th 1836

The Texan player(s) defend; the Mexican players have to attack the Alamo. Victory goes to the defenders if they repulse the attack (or kill Santa Anna); to the attackers if they succeed in penetrating into the Alamo.

All movement and fire effect is determined by playing cards. Each player will command groups of figures: Texian groups are made up of four figures;Mexicans have sets of four or more figures depending on the type of unit.

### CARD VALUE

Numbered cards: 2 through 9 allow suppressive fire to the Texians and movement to the Mexians. Movement is 1 inch per card number.

Face cards: Jack, Knave, King, Ace; can be used for target fire, placing or repulsing a ladder, or (for the Mexicans) movement.

Special values for the Ace: Mexicans, allows them to *add* Mexican officer/Mexican Cavalryman or Santa Anna; *add* ladder to group. For the Texians allows them to *add* Bowie, Travis or Crockett.

**Advance Movement**: distance each card permits one set of figures to advance in a bound;

***Suppressive fire*** :distance each card forces a set of Mexican figures to be pushed back by Texian fire;

***Target fire:*** select target to be fired at. Selected target may decide to save in bound by playing "firing" card in saving attempt. Hit is automatic if firing card higher value (plus modifier) and target is removed from play:

***Placing/Repulsing Ladder*:** as with Target fire, ability of Mexicans to lay ladder in place to climb walls. Higher value card (plus modifier) decides whether ladder is emplaced or pushed away;

***Mexican Officer/Bowie*:** add *one* to all card values for the one set of figures adjacent;

***Mexican Cavalryman/Crockett*:** add *two* to all numbered cards for suppresive fire or movement for the one set of figures adjacent;

***Santa Anna/Travis*:** add *two* to all face cards;

***Melee*:** for each set of figures, attackers and defenders, cut the pack; highest value wins: face cards mean a casualty, a numbered card means the distance repulsed, based on the number on the card. Remember to add modifier for personalities and Mexican officers/ cavalrymen.

### PLAYING SEQUENCE

1). Both sides declare any firing cards by placing their card face down against intended target.

2). Player fired at plays his card faced upwards over firing card.

3). Work out result.

4). Play "Advance Movement" cards.

Special features

*Artillery* fires with a "plus 2" effect on alternate bounds.

All guns must be crewed by at least three figures.

*Ladders*: all attacking groups of stands start with a ladder. One stand advances with ladder, if that stand becomes a casualty, ladder is left at that point. It may be picked up by a subsequent group with a 2 inch penalty for picking it up.

To place a ladder the attacking group must play a face card. In the following bound a movement card must be used to ascend the ladder, the ladder being considered 3 inches long.







Ian Weekley

# QUICK PRE-GUNPOWDER SKIRMISH RULES

*by Chris Peers*

The following rules are designed for those who want to dabble in the neglected area of pre-gunpowder skirmish games without getting too bogged down in details, or having to devote a lot of time to learning mechanisms for something which will probably be no more than an occasional break from "serious" wargaming. Obviously all sorts of refinements could be added to suit the particular period or scenario, but as a believer in the unfashionable notion that the laws of physics and of human psychology have not changed much through the centuries, I can see no reason why the same basic rules cannot be used for Sumerians one week and the Wars of the Roses the next. So having stirred up that particular hornet's nest I will take cover behind my shield and let you try it for yourselves.

**Scales**
1 figure = 1 man
1 inch = approximately 2 paces.
1 bound = approximately 3 seconds.

**Sequence of play**
Reaction.
Shooting.
General Actions.
Movement.
Melee.

Moves are simultaneous within these categories, but if there is a possibility of interaction between two or more figures, those with the highest current morale value move first.

**Protection Classes**
Unarmoured.
Lightly-armoured, i.e. helmet and/or greaves, token body protection.
Armoured, i.e. basic body armour, usually a helmet, but little or no limb protection.
Heavily-armoured, i.e. full armour of mail, lamellar or equivalent.
Plate-armoured, i.e. full or three-quarter steel plate.
Horses, camels and elephants may be unarmoured, barded or armoured.

**Melee Weapons**
**Class A:** Knife, club or similar, improvised farm tools (1 or 2-handed)
**Class B:** Short sword, one-handed axe (1-handed).
**Class C:** Long slashing sword, katana or similar (1-handed).
**Class D:** Two-handed sword or axe (2-handed).
**Class E:** One-handed spear or javelin (1-handed).
**Class F:** Halberd, naginata or similar (2-handed).
**Class G:** Pike or mounted lance (1 or 2-handed).

Only classes B, C, E and G may be used mounted. Class F used mounted counts as Class E.

| MISSILE WEAPONS | Max.range in inches. |
|---|---|
| Thrown knives, stones, firepots etc. | 4 |
| Javelins, darts, shuriken etc. | 12 |
| Slings | 48 |
| Staff-slings | 60 |
| Short self bows | 48 |
| Long or composite bows, light crossbows | 60 |
| Crossbows other than above | 80 |

All the above except knives, stones, javelins, darts and equivalent require two hands to load, aim and shoot. Only javelins, bows and crossbows can be used mounted.

**Basic Moves**

| | |
|---|---|
| Men on foot in full or three-quarter plate or otherwise very heavily armoured or loaded | 3″ |
| Others on foot | 4″ |
| Horses, camels, chariots | 8″ |
| Other animal or man-towed vehicles | 3″ |
| Elephants | 5″ |
| Dogs, predatory or game animals | 10″ |

**Action**
It normally takes one bound to complete an action, e.g. stand up, lie down, mount, dismount, draw or aim weapon, shoot or fight a round of melee. Any of these except aiming and shooting may be combined with half movement, and aiming and shooting javelins etc. on foot or any weapon mounted may be combined with full movement. Men with one or more weapon skill points for that weapon may draw a sword without penalty. A round of melee can be fought in the same bound as a man charges into contact, even if this took a full move. Shooting, fighting and observation is normally possibly only within 180° to a man's front, taking a full move to turn round, but mounted troops need not be looking the same way as their mount or vehicle is facing. Dogs, predators and game animals turn without penalty, other animals as for men, vehicles on a turning circle of 3″ radius – light chariots at full speed, other vehicles at half.

**Morale and reaction**
Each figure throws a D20 at the start of the game to determine his initial morale value, the score being modified as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Elite or fanatic troops | count scores under 15 as 15 |
| Veteran troops | add 10 to scores under 10 |
| Average troops | count under 8 as 8, over 15 as 15 |
| Poor troops | deduct 10 from scores over 10 |
| Armed civilians, levies etc. | count scores over 9 as 9 |

This value is modified during each bound by reaction and wounds, it being assumed that the main effect of a wound from a low-velocity pre-gunpowder weapon is either psychological or slow and progressive from loss of blood, and that a man's morale state will influence how badly a wound affects him. The table below gives the minimum morale value which a figure requires in order to undertake certain actions:

| | |
|---|---|
| Charge into contact with facing unwounded enemy* | 15 |
| Advance towards enemy or attack enemy who is wounded or not facing* | 10 |
| Normal movement not nearer to enemy within 12″, or into cover | 4 |
| Turn to face enemy threat | 3 |
| Aimed shot | 8 |
| Fight if already in melee | 3 |
| Other, including unaimed shot | 4 |

Optionally, the required scores for the actions starred may be reduced by 2 for troops carrying no missile weapons.

**Reaction Modifiers**
Add the score of 1 D6 to morale value in reaction phase for each of the following that apply:

1) Killed or incapacitated an enemy last bound, or seen enemy in flight.
2) First bound after one in which a wound was received or a reaction D6 deducted, if whole bound is spent reacting and no other action taken.
3) Encouraged by leader or officer within 12″. (A side may nominate one figure as a leader, who may encourage one man per bound as long as he takes no other actions apart from movement. Wounded men may not be encouraged.)

Deduct the score of 1 D6 for each of the following:

1) Mounted enemy seen within 24″ for the first time in the game, if on foot.
2) Enemy within 180° to rear, for the first time in the game.
3) Surprised last bound by an ambush, etc.
4) Each friend seen killed, incapacitated or in flight last bound within 12″.
5) Leader killed, incapacitated or in flight last bound.

If score falls below 0, unwounded men panic and flee the table by the quickest route not going closer to visible enemy. Wounded men whose score falls below 0 are incapacitated, and take no further part in the game; if they lost 8 or more from their morale value from wounds last bound, and their score falls below 0, they are killed.

**Melee**

The table below gives the score required on a D6 to convert a hit in melee into a wound, and the number of D6s deducted from the victim's morale score for each wound from that class of weapon. To resolve hits, each particpant throws a D6 and adds it to his morale value, plus any weapon skill points for the weapon he is using and a further 2 if using a longer weapon, and 3 if mounted versus foot in the first round. Deduct 3 if the opponent is using a shield. The man with the highest score only hits his opponent this bound. If a man is hit but the hit is not converted into a wound, deduct only 1 from his morale score, and he does not count as wounded for any purpose. If fighting two or more opponents, a man may split his morale value, adding dice scores, weapon factors etc. to each part, or fight one only, allowing others an unopposed hit. Weapons in order of length are:

Class G (first round only)
Classes F and E
Classes D and C
Class B, and Class G in subsequent rounds
Class A
Scores needed to convert hits to wounds:

| Weapon Class | Armour of target | | | | | Dice per wound |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | None | Light | Armoured | Heavy | Plate | |
| A | 3 | 3 | 5 | 6 | – | 1 |
| B | 2 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 2 |
| C | 2 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 2 |
| D | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 3 |
| E | 3 | 3 | 5 | 6 | – | 3 |
| F | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| G | 3 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 3 |

Add 1 to score needed if target is shielded. Shields may only be counted against one melee opponent per bound, and are of course not counted if the user is wielding a two-handed weapon, or against an attack from a 90° arc to the user's right rear.

**Shooting**

Throw 1 D6 per shot. Deduct 1 from score needed to hit for each weapon skill point for the weapon being used, and add 2 if the target is using a shield, and a further 2 for an unaimed shot. Aiming and shooting may be combined in one bound if morale permits, and no other action is taken.

| Range | Score to hit |
|---|---|
| Up to 6″ | 2 |
| Up to 12″ | 3 |
| Up to 24″ | 4 |
| Up to 36″ | 5 |
| Over 36″ | 6 |

If a shot misses, and other figures are in the line of fire or within 1″ of it or the target, whether friends or enemy, dice for them, nearest to the target first, until one is hit or all are missed. For shooting only, dice scores over 6 are obtainable as follows:
7 = 6, followed by a 4 or more
8 = 6 + 5 or more
9 = 6 + 6
Over 9, no hit is possible.

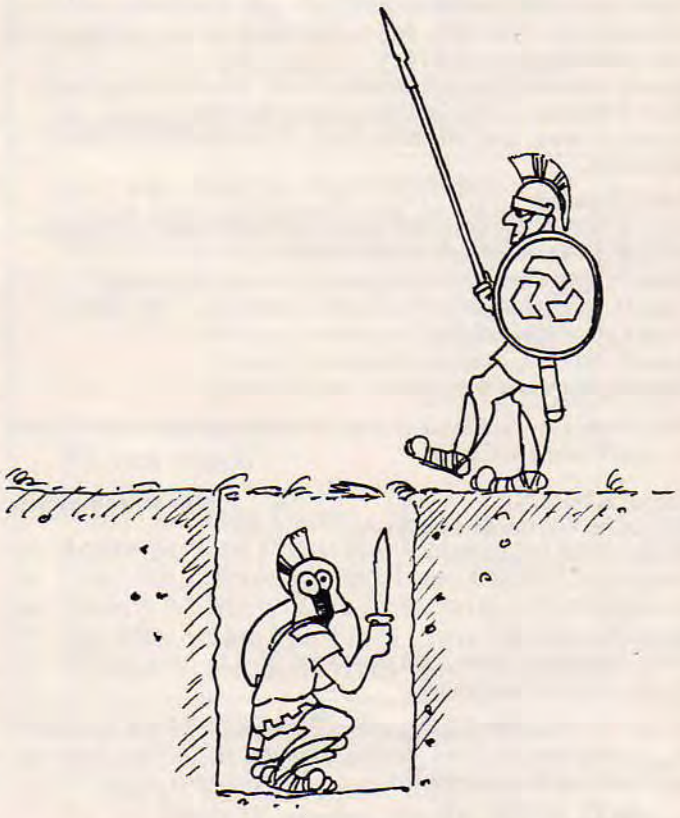
To convert a missile hit to a wound, use the following table (note that there is no deduction for the target unless a wound is inflicted):

| Weapon Class | Armour of target | | | | | Dice per wound |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | None | Light | Armoured | Heavy | Plate | |
| Thrown stone | 3 | 4 | 6 | – | – | 1 |
| Knife, javelin, dart etc. | 2 | 3 | 5 | 6 | – | 2 |
| Sling, staff-sling | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 2 |
| Firepot | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 3 |
| Short self bow | 2 | 3 | 5 | 6 | – | 1 |
| Long or composite bow | 2 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 3 |
| Light/ repeating crossbow | 2 | 2 | 4 | 6 | – | 2 |
| Heavy crossbow | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 3 |

Most weapons may be used each bound, but slings and staff-slings require one bound without any other actions to prepare or reload, firepots and non-repeating crossbows 3. Repeating crossbows are assumed to have a magazine holding 10 bolts, but cannot be reloaded once these are used.

**Hunting**

As hunting and war were often considered to be very similar pursuits by the ancients, it may be appropriate to use these rules for skirmishes involving various kinds of wild animals and human hunters. Each type of animal will have to be given an armour and melee classification depending on its characteristics, but most large game would attack at close quarters without needing to test, although it would be more inclined to flee before the hunters got within, say 12″. Animals such as lions, tigers, boars and rhinoceroses would probably find dismembering a man an easy task, even if he was wearing armour. If dogs are used against humans, treat them as lightly-armoured and knife-armed, with a morale value of 20.



***Great military failures of the ancient world No.27: The first anti-personnel mine.***

# The CONNOISSEUR Range

## Figures by PETER GILDER

## MORE NEW RELEASES

Join in the Sudan campaign, these superb figures rightly called "Connoisseur" are available now.
Can you thwart the 'Mahdi' or will Gordon die in the squalid city on the Nile?
Still to come to add to this excellent range: The Dervish Cavalry, British Lancers, Indian Infantry, Bashi Bazouks and many more, and of course the personalities of this era and more groups to populate your towns and villages.
See you on the Nile.

**25mm EQUIPMENT GROUP**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| EG 1 | Gardner Gun & Crew | £3.00 |
| EG 2 | 2 Mules, Handler & Loads (Sudan) | £1.75 |
| EG 6 | Arabs of the Market Place (Sudan) | £3.00 |
| EG 7 | Arabs of the oasis (Sudan) | £3.00 |
| EG 8 | Screw gun with British crew | £3.00 |
| EG 9 | Stallholder | £3.00 |
| EG10 | Corn merchant | £1.75 |

**COLONIAL SERIES – SUDAN**

*FOOT*

| | |
|---|---|
| C 1 | British infantry marching |
| C 2 | British infantry firing |
| C 3 | British infantry kneeling firing |
| C 4 | British infantry loading |
| C 5 | British infantry at ready |
| C 6 | British infantry officer |
| C 7 | British infntry bugler |
| C 8 | Scottish infantry marching |
| C 9 | Scottish infantry firing |
| C10 | Scottish infantry kneeling firing |
| C11 | Scottish infantry loading |
| C12 | Scottish infantry at ready |
| C13 | Scottish infantry officer |
| C14 | Scottish infantry bugler |
| C15 | Camel Corps firing |
| C16 | Camel Corps kneeling firing |
| C17 | Camel Corps officer |
| C18 | Naval landing party marching |
| C19 | Naval landing party at ready |
| C20 | Naval officer |
| C21 | Sudanese infantry marching |
| C22 | Sudanese infantry at ready |
| C23 | Egyptian infantry marching |
| C24 | Egyptian infantry at ready |
| C25 | Ansar swordsman |
| C26 | Ansar spearman |
| C27 | Ansar rifleman |
| C28 | Emir |
| C29 | Standard bearer |
| C30 | Fuzzie Wuzzie swordsman |
| C31 | Fuzzie Wuzzie spearman |
| C32 | British war correspondent |
| C33 | British lady |
| C34 | British officer firing pistol |
| C35 | British officer marching |
| C36 | Egyptian officer |
| C37 | Scottish bagpiper |
| C41 | British officer in fez |

**MOUNTED**

| | |
|---|---|
| CC 1 | British hussar |
| CC 2 | British hussar officer |
| CC 3 | British hussar trumpeter |
| CC 10 | Ansar camel rider with spear |
| CC 11 | Ansar camel rider with rifle |
| CC 12 | British camel corps |
| CC 13 | British camel corps officer |
| CC 14 | British mounted officer |
| CC 15 | Mounted Emir |
| CC 16 | Bengal lancer |
| CC 17 | Bengal lancer officer |
| CC 18 | Camel rider charging |

**CAMELS 60p**

| | |
|---|---|
| HC 1 | Camel corps camel walking |
| HC 2 | Camel corps camel kneeling |
| HN 3 | Dervish camel running |
| HC 4 | Dervish camel walking |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| PE 22 | Gordon of Khartoum on camel | £1.25 |
| PE 23 | General Graham | £1.25 |

*For the benefit of our customers in North America:*
*CONNOISSEUR FIGURES USA, 2625 FOREST GLEN TRAIL, RIVERWOODS, ILL. 60015 USA can now service your requirements.*

PRICES

| | |
|---|---|
| FOOT | 35p |
| CAVALRY | 35p |
| HORSE | 45p |
| CAMEL | 60p |

*Connoisseur Figures*
**20a Coastal Road, Burniston,**
**Scarborough, N. Yorks, YO13 0HR**
**Tel: (0723) 870741**

POSTAGE & PACKING – 10%

UK BFPO: Min P&P 30p
Orders over £15 post free

OVERSEAS
Surface 30% min £1.00
Airmail 60% min £2.00