

Wargame Design

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Fall 2017

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NAPOLEON'S RESURGENCE

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Wargame Design, Fall 2017

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Email questions will be answered promptly.
Important: Begin by stating the specific rules heading in question with its case number, if any.

A study in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* warns that 30 percent of all vertebrates are experiencing declining populations, and the prime drivers of the annihilation are, of course, human overconsumption, especially by the rich, habitat destruction, pollution and anthropogenic climate disruption. "Humanity will eventually pay a very high price for the decimation of the only assemblage of life that we know of in the universe."

"Men first feel necessity, then look for utility, next attend to comfort, still later amuse themselves with pleasure, thence grow dissolute in luxury, and finally go mad and waste their substance." —Giambattista Vico

On the cover:

Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher in Bautzen 1813
Bogdan Willewalde (1813—1903)

WARGAME DESIGN

• C • O • N • T • E • N • T • S •

Editorial: <i>Work in Progress</i>	2
Design Notes: <i>Retreating in TLNB</i>	3
Q&A: <i>Napoleon's Last Gamble</i>	8
Design Files: <i>Victory Locations on the map</i>	9
Players Notes: <i>Reorganization in the Campaign</i> Vince Hughes.....	11
Design Philosophy: <i>Accuracy is Not Enough</i>	12
Design Files: <i>Map Layouts—Maloyaroslavets</i>	14
Historical Notes: <i>III Corps Attrition in 1813</i>	15
Photo Essay: <i>Napoleonic Tour 2017—Spain</i>	18
Historical Notes: <i>Berthier Came to My Town</i>	22
Q&A: <i>Displacement, Arty, Crew Heat Fatigue</i>	23
Historical Notes: <i>The Emperor and the Rabbi</i> Barrie Pollock.....	25
After Action Report: <i>Smolensk Weekend</i> Andrew T. Fairnie.....	26
Design Files: <i>Leader Details in TLNB</i> Andrew Hobley.....	30
Historical Notes: <i>1815 Reinforcement Schedule</i> Tim Carne.....	35

Editorial

IN THIS ISSUE: We have major articles from Tim Carne and Andrew Fairnie, discussions of our upcoming work and a photo-essay on the recent Napoleonic Tour. Design Notes lay out our methods in mapping, troop counts, and VPs.

WORK IN PROGRESS

Napoleon [3] 10	Suult [1] 10	Ney [1] 10	Victor II (3) 6
Lauriston V (3) 6	Macdonald VI (4) 6	Oudinot XII (3) 6	Latour IC (4) 6

Napoleon's Resurgence counters are already in first draft art. Thanks Charlie! Jean Foisy has taken on the lion's share of the counter mix, while I

made a study of the attrition and combat losses between battles. Diégo Mané shared the results of his research to show us that we were on the right track. Christopher Moeller has agreed to be the artist/designer for the game's box. Paolo Scannapieco will be doing the layout of the maps to get them ready for the map artist.

We had to reorganize our box production, losing our box man of 13 years. Production will be shifted to Buffalo, NY. *The Last Success* just came back in stock, available at the Summer Sale price of \$87. We are reprinting the *Fleurus, 1794* Game Module. We made no substantive changes.—KZ

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DESIGN NOTES:

Retreats in TLNB

Why did we change the original CRT which had all retreats going just one hex? How does that effect the course of a battle? Isn't that just helping the troops retreating in a way? Retreats in Napoleonic warfare were impossible to control, even though attacks were also very hard to control because of the chaos of battle. Just sitting still on the battlefield was very hard for the infantry under fire. Sometimes for the French especially it was better to make them charge. They preferred attacking, even at low odds, to enduring the chaos and confusion of a retreat.

Retreating back too far can then remove those units from the fight as they watch helplessly from the sidelines. Their lack of initiative implies the unit is not in a condition to fight, a temporary lack of cohesion, or even just standing ready and waiting for an order that never came.

Not moving into the same hex twice

This one is kind of obvious, on the face of it, but someone might ask, "Why shouldn't they retreat to the same hex twice, with a different hex in between?" Perhaps their commander got confused, or perhaps it was some stratagem of war, or even entering a different side of the hex.

Anything in war is possible.

As game designers, we must resist the temptation to go into every detail. The design deep structure has to allow for "most of the time" behavior. The cards are good for special one-time events.

Most of the time, the troops are going to retreat in one, and only one direction. Once they have started to retreat, they may not be responsive to orders. They are going to retreat, most often, back the way they came.

The Prussians at Ligny retreated back toward Blücher's old HQ at Namur.

Prussian Losses were in two flavors

Those troops who retreated to Namur are what we would call PEU (permanently eliminated). They left the map. Other units, that Thielmann was able to rally and send toward Wavre, and many who rallied closer to the battlefield, are available for reorganization. On that night of Ligny, if Thielmann and his intact corps had not been near Gembloux, those men would have continued away toward Liege (off map).

So, with that insight, we can recur to the original question. A unit that retreats more than 4 hexes is too far away for the officers to keep up with them, and they are called "eliminated" —UAR or PEU. They need to be rallied and re-organized.

These are questions on how you guys intend retreats to be handled. We could not decide exactly what the intent was so I decided to play it the harsh way, but my curiosity got the better of me.

If a stack has to retreat, does it a, have to retreat as a stack or b, one unit at a time; or is it c, voluntary? I played it as a.

The reason I ask is that it makes a lot of difference for the Displacement rule if you either need to fit the whole stack at once or handle it piecemeal. It is of course especially important if you are like me and get yourself into poorly judged cavalry attacks and have to accommodate for the retreating cavalry by killing your own (guard) units.

Which brings me to a second question on intent: we have some rules and a few guidelines for retreat directions, could one imagine that choosing retreat direction is sometimes difficult if faced with either an empty hex that admittedly brings you further from your supply source or a hex that is closer but is fully stacked with a friendly wall of two brigades and artillery?

Retreat rules from "The Habit of Victory"

Compare the rules of TLNB with this detailed Priority of Retreat path found in the Campaign rules.

Priorities of Retreat

[174.] The following retreat path priorities are given in descending order. This list governs all retreats due to Combat and Repulse.

"Descending Priority" means that the lower-numbered items should be observed first, and never broken to accommodate higher numbered items. Generally, after observing all of the following priorities, there will be only a few possible retreat destinations.

- 1) (covered by 12.35 in TLNB)
- 2) The Force may not retreat into or through the same hex during any part of the retreat. No hex of the Path of Retreat may be adjacent to more than one hex already passed through by the retreating Force.
- 3) (covered by 12.36 in TLNB)
- 4) (covered by 12.31 in TLNB)
- 5) (covered by 12.35)
- 6) (covered by 12.35)

If a stack has to retreat, does it a, have to retreat as a stack or b, one unit at a time; or is it c, voluntary? I played it as a.

The rules do not limit you.

There is no rule that says you should prefer an empty hex, however see 12.36

But Habit of Victory is a different system on a different scale, n'est-ce pas?

Imagine an attacking stack that gets an AR result. It has two possible hexes to retreat to. The first brings it closer to both the supply source and train, but will cause displacement, the other hex will not, but is farther from supply.

How do I reconcile 12.35 "The retreat should shorten the distance to the formation's baggage train or to a friendly supply source" with 12.36 "If the only path available to a retreating force would cause it to exceed the stacking limits".

In my example "the only path available"? "only" means there is no other place to go.

Stacking is not something that exists in history. A stack represents a mutually-supporting group of units that may not be within the immediate confines of a single hex but are under the immediate orders of a single general.

When all are under one general, I don't see why they would go in a different direction. Even in a rout they would still probably go toward the supply source.

I don't want to burden the player with the whole question. When you are in the middle of play, you want to retreat and move on to the next combat. The simplest, and therefore best, way to handle that is to let the stack retreat together.

This probably gives the player a little more control than he actually should have. Retreating troops are difficult to corral. But we allow that because there is no benefit to adding chrome in this area.

You know, that's not something I ever considered... that retreating as a stack was a benefit. But it is a benefit! You don't have to re-stack the formation after a retreat.

Okay, I'm now considering some chrome.

Well, when it comes to displacement I can assure you that it is no advantage to retreat your boys in stacks instead of a unit at a time: it causes a lot more overstacking situations.

Displacement's not much of a penalty, is it? Usually, I don't mind it that much.

If you have painstakingly put together a divisional stack of all arms and during a retreat, were forced to disperse it... man, that would suck. I hate (as a player, not a simulator), when I have to advance away from my guns!

I did not think twice about displacement either until I attacked with cavalry in a stack that was forced to retreat through a hex where they could not stack, and then you must roll against

initiative or kill off the displaced unit(s). Lesson learned is obviously to not get cavalry crowded in like that but in some cases it is hard to avoid, ESPECIALLY if you keep a stack together.

The 12.36 sentence is here:

If the retreating force is cavalry the displacing unit must make an Initiative check: if it fails it is eliminated instead—place in the UAR Box.

So a retreating cavalry unit (or a stack that includes cavalry if you will) is a risk to its own side, unless I am very much mistaken.

True you are not mistaken.

So don't block cavalry.

Would a retreating stack of cavalry and other arms cause the same mayhem? Or is "retreating cavalry" meant to mean just cavalry?

Cavalry with other arms would still cause the same problem, maybe even worse! It's a good little rule. The Spanish cavalry as always riding over their own guys in 1809. They had a tendency to charge backward.

This talk of stacking and displacement

...made me go back to the latest rulebook, where I didn't see any mention of WHEN stacking limits are in effect, other than the Displacement rule. I don't see anything about over stacking being kosher or not...

...while moving units (only enforced at the end of the Movement Phase, I'd guess),

...until the END of a retreat (can you can over-stack while units retreat but at the end of the retreat they must be "legal" or else displacement takes effect?)

I was under the impression that the two examples above are OK, but if stacking restrictions are in effect for EVERY hex of a retreat, you better be careful about who is sitting behind those big forward attacking stacks!

I couldn't find any mention about splitting up a retreating stack, so I think I've been playing that wrongly. And if you may not split up a retreating stack, how would you handle a huge retreating stack with a Leader that goes belly-up? Use 3.23 and displace necessary units out of the hex after the last hex of the retreat is entered?

Stacking limits apply at all times. There are no exceptions that I can think of.

I don't think anyone would even think of keeping track of which units have moved through a given hex. (Although that would be more realistic, on the level of what a Berthier had to think about. But you don't!)

You cannot overstack during movement to get to your destination—that means sequencing the moves can be important.

Curiouser and curiouser!

Suppose you have two stacks that are already at their maximum. You move stack No. 1 into hex 0123. Would you be okay with stack No. 2 crossing through hex 0123?

3.1 General Rule

"It costs one Movement Point to stack one combat unit with another. You can move through a friendly unit's hex at no extra cost. Exception: Road March (3.3)."

According to this rule, you can move through the hex.

Chris: I've never paid attention to stacking while moving. You'll be able to filter units through crowded hexes individually, but stacks mostly won't be able to move through stacks.

Same here, haven't been paying attention to stacking while moving. When it comes to big stacks wanting to move through a big stack, the additional +1 MP cost to stack at the end of a unit's move will limit how far a large stack can move and remain stacked, since each unit (except the first) would have to pay +1 to end their move with a "stacking penalty."

3.1 General Rule

According to this rule, you can move through the hex.

*But no explicit mention of whether or not the stacking limitations are in effect **during** the moving. I didn't read "at no extra cost" to mean "ignore stacking restrictions."*

Right, it doesn't say that, only by omission, sort of. I like the rules in brief—almost telegraph style. That is something that Mark Simonitch contributed to shorten the reading time.

I kind of like how the RAW leaves it up to the player. The way I play, personally, is that individual units can move through each other freely, or through a stack, but a stack cannot move through another stack (in the hex where it is going to end its move).

But that is just the way I play it, and I don't think it really makes much difference, and to the extent that it facilitates play, I am happy if people play it the way Chris does.

As I see it, each stack represents a large body of troops spread out all over the place, at least while it is moving, and if you have two of these, you got a traffic jam.

You could House Rule a stack moving through another stack pays +1 MP just like stacking. I like the simple idea that stacking only matters when you *finish* a unit's (stack's) move. Considering that the games use hidden units, it adds an additional burden of having to closely monitor your own stacks while moving units through them, since you're the only one able to look at your own units.

Retreats and Improved Positions

Probably the ruling should be: (15.11) (add) "A unit which enters a fortified place that is adjacent to the enemy must stop moving."

I remembered this discussion on chateaux-fortified places and their capacity to void EZOCs and see that Kevin came to this conclusion which seems like a good, simple, but needed amendment. I recommend it be added to a future update.

Last night I encountered another interesting situation concerning a chateau near

Liebertwolkwitz. I cannot construct an image right now so will try to paint a general picture.

Imagine an infantry brigade starting its move in a chateau with an adjacent enemy unit on the lefthand side. There is no ezoc projected into the chateau. My brigade moves out of the chateau to the right, next to another enemy unit (thereby entering its ezoc but not that of the first enemy unit). So far so good.

Next imagine my brigade being involved in combat, but getting an AR result. Can it retreat back into the empty chateau hex? There is no ezoc into that hex, but my gut feeling was a bit dodgy about this.

I also need some assurance on retreat directions—it has been up before but felt inconclusive to me.

Can you confirm that a unit always retreats towards supply as its first priority? In other words, if faced with two retreat paths and one is closer to supply but in ezoc whereas the other is not closer and not in ezoc; must the former be chosen even though it results in going to the UAR box?

Related: Cavalry Retreat Before Combat. Is this a proper retreat governed by the full retreat rules (chief of which being towards supply)?

You have a good intuition about things, except for the Supply Source priority. That should be the "last" consideration, after all the others have been taken into account.

Cavalry RBC. Yes.

Summary of Retreat Priorities

Great, so with that fix this is how I think retreat handling can be summarized (and a change to #3: in NLB you just have to avoid overstacking, not friendly forces in general, right?).

1. End up that number of hexes from the enemy (KIA if impossible)
2. Not moving in the same hex twice (KIA if impossible)
3. Not cause overstacking (displaced if impossible)
4. Not through enemy ZOC (KIA if impossible)
5. Towards a supply source or the baggage train
6. Least number of MPs/best terrain

Lower-numbered items should be observed first, and never broken to accommodate higher numbered items. Finally, retreats have been recommended to be done by stack.

For more on this topic, see page 23—
“Q&A: Displacement”



LINES OF COMMUNICATION

I understand the supply concept is more abstract and not about “beans and bullets.” That is why it seemed a bit odd to me, especially in light of the penalty that 35.43 looks to impose for moving your trains forward while leaving units “un-organized,” that the trunk line back to the supply source/LOC would remain variable from turn-to-turn. I agree it needs to be changeable at certain times (once daily? each supply check?), but maybe not variable turn-by-turn. Using the Ligny situation, if you are applying 35.43 as written you could have baggage trains moving further from the SS/LOC they came from (Namur), while moving closer to another SS/LOC (Liege), thus nullifying the penalty/risk that 35.43 creates. Maybe the scale of the Library games is such that it doesn't matter, but LOC was important and as

you have pointed out troops tended to retreat back the same way the approached. Couple that with the thought that the baggage train is not a cluster of wagons per se, but more like a “safe zone” that panics troops when threatened, my thought was that by tightening the supply source rule a bit it would better reflect that reality. I also think 35.43, as it is written, impacts the French more than the Allies, so I am looking for a way to balance its effect, without adding too much chrome. I may be getting close to that point.

35.43 looks to impose for moving your trains forward while leaving units “un-organized,”

That is a new rule that allows us to get the concept of Rest and Refit in a very simple way. This rule forces you to stop moving forward (generally, depending on the situation) while you reorganize, which is the idea we wanted to convey. It is, again, only using that supply source as a general direction; i.e., not advancing. There were so many things that a unit had to do after a battle, even aside from beans and bullets (but they are important). It's just that whether the canteen even caught up with the men was hit or miss during an active fight. If an army marches off too soon after the battle then it will leave behind a portion of its strength.

35.43 Does impact the French more, no doubt. The French are moving away from their Supply Sources, the Allies toward theirs. But that is an inherent vice of being on the offensive.

I had wondered what the rule was seeking to reflect; knowing that is helpful. While the French have the burden of attack, the Prussians are going to be advancing in the face of casualties at some point, so it's not as if the rule won't impact the allies at all. The provision that subject each French cavalry reorganization to the risk of being PEU (since they have no baggage train) could be modified to more closely match the supply rules for units without a dedicated baggage train, if you felt play balance required it. Nappy needs any help he can get.

NLG Q&A

34.12 MODE CARDS AT START

Update #34 "34.12 Mode Cards at Start
Remove French Card No. 5, "Early Arrival," and
reduce Mode Cards to 2."

Question 1: Does this include or exclude the Late Start card?

"35.35 Remove Cards From Deck: The French start with all four Cards 29. On subsequent days, add back into the deck any cards listed as being removed on the first day except for Mode cards and any Card 29 that has been used."

Q2: Exactly what does this mean for Mode cards?

A) Not to use cards listed as removed in QB/Ligny (which is strange because there would be no replacements for the French for the entire Grand Campaign) or,
B) not to add back played Mode Cards (which seems to me to mean the French will run out of Mode Cards to play)?

Some time back you replied:

35.12 Mode Cards at Start: French 3, Coalition 1. French Mode Cards will be drawn again on the first day-light turn of 16 June, including French Late Start card in effect at daylight on June 16, 17 and 18. The French Late Start card is included in the 3 Mode cards drawn each day. Also, does the Coalition not draw Mode Cards after June 15? Rule 35.12 says this, I think. *YES. Correct.*

First, 2 or 3 mode cards, with or without Late Start? Secondly, is that really correct that the poor coalition should only play a single Mode Card over the entire Grand Campaign (1 card on the 15th I believe)?

I believe the mode card draw for the French is 2 cards each day, one of which is late start. See 35.12 in update 34. I think there

in 35.12; the reference to 32.12 should be 34.12, also in the Update. . . I don't have the study folder in front of me so I don't know what 32.12 refers to.

A lot of Mode cards are not things you want (Formation Scattered, late start). So actually, the fewer mode cards you get the better off you are (of course, there are Replacements, that's the exception).

35.37 Reculé in the Campaign Game



When any "Ae," "Ar," or "Ex" result is suffered by the Guard, the Demoralization levels of nearby formations are reduced (11.3). This "Garde Reculé" effect only lasts until the first daylight turn of the following day in multi-day scenarios.

NEW Additional Rule for Grand Campaign

There are two ways to remove Reculé status:
(1) the French Player plays the Napoleon card (special effect not mentioned on the card itself);
or (2) at the first daylight turn of the next day. If the Old Guard infantry, or the majority of the remaining SPs, are under the direct command of Napoleon, the Garde Reculé effect is removed at the first daylight turn (of the next day), for the rest of the game.

Victory Locations in TLNB

At one time I was against the use of location VPs. I thought they were a cheap and artless way to get the players to fight historically. Now, I have partly changed my mind, and I find them useful, when used sparingly in a larger formula as one of several factors.
—KZ

Victory Conditions are artificial, like endings in the movies: a neat and tidy way of winding things up (see sidebar). In real life, things are never this simple and clear-cut—events never cease happening and their effects linger long afterward.

The current Victory Conditions go back to the Days series game *1806*. I was having problems and turned it over to David Collins, the developer, who worked out the first draft of the idea—a list of 4 factors contributing VPs in a balanced way. From that game three things carried over to TLNB (26.11), and others joined, gradually, without disrupting overall balance.

As a player, your main way of influencing events is by the use of your combat units. Everything else plays into that ability to maneuver, attack and defend. The game will actually be won on the map, so no need granting a lot of VPs to the player over and above the inherent benefit of controlling the board. This is a Napoleonic precept—defeat the enemy army and in due time all secondary objectives will be obtained by default.

Most of the time the award for units eliminated will not be more than 10 VPs; there are more VPs at stake for captured places, baggage, and cards. A player will juggle all these factors to come up with a win, without focusing too much on any one category of VPs.

Victory conditions are based on a balance of 8 different factors (26.11). VP locations are only one of those 8. We added these additional dimensions to the victory evaluation as a way to double check who really won. These same victory conditions have worked well in all types of battles, delaying actions, meeting engagements, or all out attacks.

Naturally, if you have obtained no VPs from Enemy SPs Eliminated, or Enemy Corps Demoralized, or Captured Enemy Baggage Trains, then the control of VP hexes will take on a greater significance. But how did you get in that situation?

Napoleon had determined on taking Brussels, or had set about to threaten Brussels, hoping that the Coalition would fight a battle to preserve it. Our VP



Victory: Games & Reality

When designing a game we usually wait until the end of development to work out the Victory Conditions. Naturally we need to see what is feasible, what might be too simplistic. We want the Victory Conditions to reflect the actual strategic situation. Here we need to step out of the operational level and see the big picture. We say the French won the historical 1807 campaign because they defeated the Russians at Friedland and pursued them off the map. But what were the Tsar's goals? He succeeded in making life difficult for Napoleon, and cost him 100,000 men. Was he already looking toward the next campaign?

Webster's defines "Victory" as 'Final and complete supremacy or superiority in battle or war.' This situation rarely applies anymore; certainly it did not apply in July of 1807. In the ancient world, one big battle decided the war, and usually one army would fail utterly once its line was broken. So the term "Victory" had an objective correlative that was unambiguous.

How many times is "The Fall of the Enemy Capital" trotted out as a Victory Condition? Yet in 1805 and 1806 the Fall of Vienna and Berlin did not stop the fighting. We need to question this way of looking at Victory, and to foresee outcomes on the days after.

Hollywood has a schematic way of approaching endings devoid of real resolutions. In a video game, you shoot the terrorists, they fall down and you score points. In real life, those "terrorists" had a family, and now you have their hatred, more terrorists. Our cardboard troops march through a blank zone—where are the civilians?

I've heard it said that all movie endings are artificial; it is also said there can be only one natural ending, but that is still one more ending than real life has to offer. In the "typical" movie, the guy has an immediate goal. For her, that ending is just the start.

Victory conditions are susceptible to the same criticism as movie endings. In real life there are no endings, the camera keeps rolling, something else happens. We "win" the war and take Baghdad, but then what? The screen doesn't go dark, the people don't leave the stage. So we have a way of perceiving reality that is seriously distorted by the forms of entertainment that we have learned our habits of mind from. There is no closure, there is only a temporary hiatus.

locations in NLG were selected to place the players in a similar situation.

While orderlies may carry their commands on horseback, the command range is based on a visual (LOS) distance—roughly. In order to exercise effective tactical control of his units he needs to be able to see them, or hear them, or see them by moving a short distance.

A galloper can go 5.6 mph or 18 hexes in one hour. But in one hour, the turn is already over. The leader's order cycle is less than 15 minutes, and that means deciding, composing and dispatching the command. That means the real distance for the orderly to cover is only what can be covered in 10 minutes. (Unless we are talking about a pre-planned movement which could be dispatched hours in advance.)

VP Locations

Players will find themselves drawn to the VP locations and may expend much effort attempting to take them. The ideal would be 15 VPs for a half map, 30-35 VPs for a full map, total for locations. We have set the limit for VP locations of no than 35-40 points on a fullsize map.

The trick is to provide VPs for objectives of military value, such as a cross-roads, bridge, or church with a wide view of the countryside. You don't want to give them out just because a town has an important location. It should be a place that you want the players to fight over, in the contested zone between armies.



Mt. St. Jean

Tim Clayton, in his excellent treatment, reveals Napoleon's preferred scenario—"the Belgians would join him and eject the king of the Netherlands from Brussels and Louis XVIII from Ghent. This would bring down the hostile Tory government in London, the Whigs would make peace, and without British

finance the other allies would lose their enthusiasm for war." ¹ In other words, a strategic victory.



The opponents: Louis XVIII, Willem I, House of Lords



We placed VPs on and around important road junctions on the main highway to Brussels. That way, we can evaluate the French victory when just playing the 16-18 June. (*Spoiler alert:* we haven't heard from any French Player yet who has gotten into Brussels.)

Mont St. Jean, with its 10 VPs is the focus of the road net—five major routes focused on that hill just before the Fôret de Soignes. We have discussed elsewhere how the road net forces Wellington to concentrate his troops there. Mont St. Jean is important in VPs because it really is the key position on the battlefield, both to the defense and the offense.

VP locations are usually selected to portray the operational intent. On the NLG South map, they all lie in the path of a maneuver from QB to Ligny or vice versa. Having this lane of movement open would have given Napoleon the central position, and controlling the central position is the key to this campaign.

Napoleon's precept seems to tell us to let *battlefield losses* tell the whole story. The problem is, in most Napoleonic battles, losses on the battlefield were roughly equal. It was not *until one side retreated* that Pursuit off the map would bring the graveyard of armies (cf Abensberg, 1809). So, at a certain VP level, your strategic intent is judged thwarted, and concomitant unbalanced pursuit losses.

¹ Tim Clayton, *Waterloo*, p. 43



Reorganization in the Campaign Games Vince Hughes

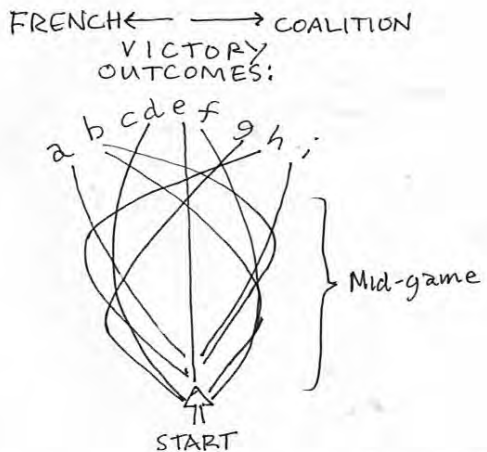
An interesting aspect of the games in campaign fashion has been the reluctance to try and reorganise units from demoralised formations. A 5 or 6 on a die-roll will PEU them where as a non-demoralised formation does not suffer this hazard. It can be a shrewd decision to leave them in the awaiting reorganisation box so that they return in the next battle/scenario. This however depends on the scenario and how long it may yet have to run.

As a result, we are seeing demoralised formations stay demoralised for longer periods and either exited to preserve them or posted to the rear out of harms way or guarding possible raiding routes. It effectively is an in-built happen-stance that is preventing the regular occurrence of the oft mocked wargame phenomena of the rubber-router. (those units routed and come back 2 or 3 times for more).

All units, dem or non-dem, first have to roll less than their initiative when in the Awaits Recovery box to get to the awaits Reorganisation box. Once there, non-demoralised units can be brought back on without a roll, whilst demoralised have to run the 5,6 gauntlet.

The reorganisation roll is only an in-game feature for these demoralised units and as I say they must avoid a 5 or 6 otherwise they will be PEU. In *La Patrie*, all units that are awaiting reorganisation at the scenario's end can come back in the next scenario in their reduced state and therefore will not have to roll. It can mean the formation is no longer demoralised when the figures are adjusted. The downside of this tactic can be if you needed these troops in the previous battle but instead left them in the re-org box to avoid that PEU chance.

I think so far that has served well. In a longer, say, two-day battle, it might be too long to leave them in the re-org box if they get there too early and therefore chances will have to be taken. But note the difference in a one off day of battle or approach to battle scenario. Players will roll every time for them as there is nothing to lose.



- a) French trending from the start
- b) Coalition loses early advantage
- d) French pulls a narrow victory
- e) Nothing happens (tie)
- f) Coalition narrow victory
- g) French loses early advantage
- h) French loses mid-game advantage
- i) Coalition trend throughout

For an explanation of the above diagram, see p. 13.

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Accuracy is Not Enough

Kevin Zucker

As a designer, part of my job is to explain why, in the course of design, certain choices are made. I often find out hidden assumptions and unexplored questions.

As a foundation-stone for building a good replica of a battle, having very accurate maps and Orders of Battle are indispensable. However, depending upon what kind of battle and what kind of game experience we want to create, we can design several kinds of structure on top of that foundation.

As the game project gets underway, for many months we are working just on creating the maps and counters. We want all of the details to be correct, and we want a true representation of the overall fighting ability of the two sides.

Since the TLNB series has a well-polished rules folder, you might assume that after the counters and the maps are created, you are ready to move on to playtesting and polishing. The fact is, you haven't designed the game yet at all. Correct numbers on the counters are just the start.

"Design" is the process by which you turn game components into a game. As the designer, you should know everything about the battle, the generals, and the armies. You should understand the strategic and tactical styles of the different generals. As designer, the actions of the opposing generals should be your guide.

Just like in music, every good composer re-invents the wheel, so each general re-invents his own path to victory. That path should be available to the player. That doesn't mean he necessarily has to follow the historical strategy used, but often we discover that the accidents of terrain and maneuver tend to limit the player's options to basic variations of the actual campaign, and not some wholly new departure. Usually, when players discover a completely new and different strategy, it is often an ahistorical one revealing a flaw in the design.

Because of accidents of history, each battle has its own "personality." As soon as you have a set of counters and a map, you can begin to explore the personality of the battle. Each design decision you make from this point on will hope-

fully bring out the critical details that make that battle unique. A meeting engagement should have a different feel from a delaying action, for example. But two different delaying actions, with different forces, generals, and terrain, will give a different experience.

Each battle has its own "plot twists" or key ingredients. Quite often intelligence on the forces available—even on one's own side—is subject to the Fog of War. (This was the case at Lützen, not at Bautzen three weeks later.)

Design Choices

A critical design choice for TLNB is the placement of VP locations. This choice should reflect real-world conditions—advantages such as a height, a view, or a cross-roads—usually, but not always, a town hex.

Framing the Battlefield: The alignment of the map is a critical design decision. Exactly how the map edge frames the terrain of the opening move and game to come, can make a big difference to the outcome. Placement of the map edges plays into the related factor of the starting and ending times. Usually the Approach to battle begins with one side entering the map.

"Personality" Traits

- Who won the battle
- Who had superiority of forces, of cavalry, guns
- Who started the battle
- Who held the initiative

Plot Twists

- Accidents of history, time, weather, and terrain
- Outside factors, impinging grand strategy
- Was either side in a "must win" situation?
- Special stratagems or ploys, tactics
- Special Skills of the opposing generals

Rules of Thumb

- An historical outcome should be possible
- Either side should have at least a one-third chance of winning
- The best game is a nail-biter, going down to the wire

Scenario Design has three focal-points:

1. The first turn
2. The middle-game
3. Victory conditions and goals

The First Turn

The first turn set-up is the most critical factor, and everything else flows from that starting place. Choosing the exact moment for the start of the scenario is the art. If you choose the wrong moment, the game can go off in un-historical directions. Assuming that we want our scenario to show the history, we will want to put the players into the situation just at the moment, usually, when the enemy has been discovered. Prior to that moment, the approach may have been expected, but both sides were in a fog as to exactly where the enemy was going. Now, the curtain has been drawn back, and it is the moment to drop the pieces onto the map.

You might think that it is enough to find a situation map showing this moment, but that map doesn't say who has the initiative and who should move first. Sometimes we need to adjust one side's position to place the forces into the right phase of the Igo-Ugo of events. Most historians narrate things with a natural stop and start in both armies, so we want these pauses to occur correctly. This will determine how you set the forces. Which side should be the one that blunders into the other? Which one was in motion at the time the two forces discovered each other?

To create a successful scenario, there should ideally be action right away. Not more than one turn where only one side is moving.

The Mid-Game

On the Victory Outcomes Chart on page 11, each line moving upward on the chart represents the shifting fortunes in one playing. Line "e" in the



middle, has very little drama, but a game where the advantage changes back and forth many times (*like a caduceus*) is a kind of ideal to shoot for that tends to make for a nail-biter.

The Special Rules are a good place to bring in the personality of the scenario. The Special Rules in TLNB always include:

- Damaged Bridges at Start
- March Orders at Start
- Map Area in Play

Additional factors may add command restrictions, combat modifiers, unit restrictions, reinforcement entry rules, set-up rules, exited units, demoralization, guard commitment, supply

sources, additional VP costs, Improved Positions at start, etc.

Victory Conditions

If one side is outnumbered, can VP locations give them a chance? Can they delay the enemy and prevent their reaching them? Are the VP locations in balance? Does one side have an advantage?

Rule of thumb: 15 VPs on a ½ map, 30-35 VPs on a whole map. Do the VP locations represent realistic goals and do they sway the action in the historic direction? (*see WDM Nr. 10, p. 6 for more*).

The Last Turn

Shortening the game may help the side on the overall defensive. Keep suspense 'til the last.

Scenario Design in Napoleon's Quagmire

The Spanish Armies were trounced repeatedly by the armies of Napoleon, and they are hands-down the worst army we've seen in the system so far. Are they TOO awful? They have the worst unit initiatives in the system, very weak combat strengths, terrible officer initiatives and minimal command. It's hard to imagine any nation having worse ratings than these. This is as low as the system can go in almost every category. The Spanish have the further disadvantage, because their formations are so small, that they demoralize quickly. It might take a French Corps all day to demoralize, while a Spanish division might easily demoralize after just a couple of turns of combat. Combined with the small size of the divisions and weak brigades, the game seems to show that the lack of any Corps structure was a major handicap.

These things hamstring the Spanish player, yet they are based on the historical facts on the ground. I assume that the Spanish troops and their leaders could not perform in larger packets. If there was a way to combine those brigades into larger formations, I presume they would have done it.

So it's not just the initiative ratings that make life so difficult for the Spanish player; the Spanish Army by nature is inferior in all these ways. But, I have to ask, how could they have won? Did I overlook something?

Later in the war, the Spanish eventually learned not to engage the French at all, but only to snipe, attack stragglers and reinforcement columns, and leave the main line battles to the British and Portuguese. However, they did win some battles in 1808, and several more in 1809. They had a string of victories in May-June, and also prevailed at Tamames, where they had a 2:1 advantage in numbers. Ney's Corps was commanded by a substitute officer, Marchand. They also fought a defensive battle. Fighting defensively is a key for the Spanish.

DESIGN FILES

Map Layouts

Kevin Zucker

Exactly how the mapedge frames the terrain of the opening move—and game to come—can make a big difference to the outcome. I've recently settled on a few rules of map layout:

1. The main highway the troops used should bisect the map longitudinally.
2. Failing that, the main obstacle (river or stream, etc) should run perpendicular.
3. Mountains and Rivers running along—or just off—the mapedge = always good.

The main thing to be avoided is that important battle where one side can anchor their flank on the mapedge. Unless there is some obstacle there, that can very easily warp the outcome of the fight. So when we don't have any obstacles of that sort, then we want to make sure that the mapedges are as far away from the center of the action as possible. That is why places like Quatre-Bras, Maloyaroslavets and Ocaña are all near the center-line of the map.

Maps that are flush with the compass grid are suspect. If we stick to an ordinal east-west and north-south mapedge, then obviously we cannot achieve the optimum layout. It is necessary to accommodate the battlefield front lines, as well as routes of advance.

I have been looking back over the 7 or 8 volumes, and at the half-size maps especially, to see how well they meet this criteria. Maloyaroslavets got a B+. It doesn't really meet the first criteria, and the town is just a little bit off of dead center. It is a very strange Approach to Battle since both sides are entering the same mapedge (with a river between).

Ocaña and Almonacid are very similar, with the Rio Tajo running along one end of the map and a major city close to the centerline.

Above is the original map concept for Maloyaroslavets. The concept was changed from full-size map (shown in sketch) to half-sized (as published). The approach to battle was first mapped as a full-sized map, with the two armies marching along parallel routes to the south. However, the two sides would be marching parallel for a long time. So we lopped-off the top half of that map corridor. By rotating the map 45° we could have arranged for the opposing entry hexes to be on different map edges.



Not only that, both French Exit hexes would be on the same mapedge. However, that would place the French exit hex a lot further away from the fighting. In this case I wanted to keep the exit hexes within easy reach. Either way there is substantial unused terrain in the corners. But that is preferable to have any edge too near the action.

In the published version, the main highway runs diagonally across the map, so that orientation maximizes the amount of that particular road that can be included. This is the road that the Russians used to enter the map, and the same which Napoleon wished to follow homeward. (For those who are not familiar with this battle, it was a fateful one for the French, at the outset of the retreat from Moscow (24 Oct 1812).

Another key question that I was never able to answer fully, is how far in flood the Luzha River was. Obviously, if it was depicted as a river as far upstream as Maloyaroslavets, would totally change the way the game plays out. According to photographs posted on the web, the river floods the whole valley in Springtime, but this was a dry Fall, so we made it 50% river, conveniently drawn to prevent action near the mapedge.

1. The marches made during each period.
2. The quality of the troops
3. Administration and Supply
4. Historical estimates

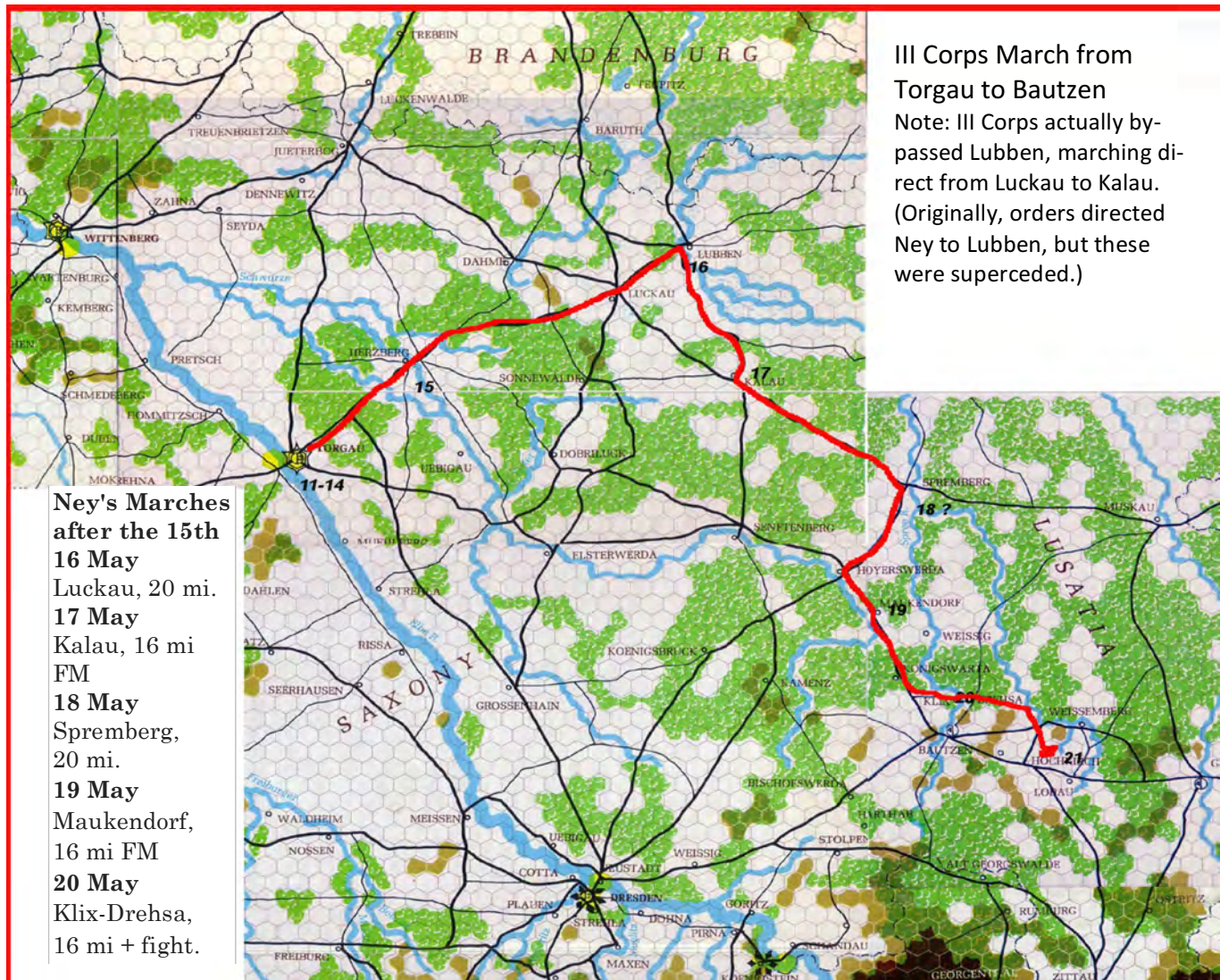
Von Cämmerer estimates French losses at Lützen as 22,000, including losses to Ney’s corps alone of 15,000. Lanrezac says a total of 18,000 and 12,000 of those in III Corps. We have said 19,194, with Ney losing 12,550 in his infantry and cavalry units. VI Corps lost 3,400, while the other corps were not on the battlefield or suffered fewer than 1,200 men.

We predict a further loss of 470 men on the march from Lützen to Torgau, and then another 3856 falling by the wayside on the quicker marches from Luckau to Klix/Drehlsa on the Bautzen battlefield. The Corps marched 88 miles in the run-up to Bautzen (avg. 18 mi/day) *see below*.

The best source for calculating attrition is the Attrition Quotient Matrix from *Struggle of Nations* (1982). I suspect the table gives too much attrition. It does not take into consideration the temporarily detached men. I usually plug them in under the replacements.

A rule of thumb I have used on the NAL strengths for the battle of Leipzig—considering the really big armies and exhausted depopulated zone of western Saxony in the Fall—was 1% per day. A total of 200,000 men to non-combat causes in two months. If we do 1% per day from 5 May on, then Ney had 26,677 men with his corps on the 20th, close to the 26,719 on the Spreadsheet.

Some of the men who dropped behind temporarily would have caught up with their unit, but not necessarily before the battle; Ney is marching directly into the fight. He probably has just



enough time to close up the road columns and form for battle. I would like to know if anyone joined on the eve of battle and of course during the 21st.

Ney's Estimated Attrition

16 - Luckau, 212 men
 17 - Kalau, 1,695 men
 18 - Spremberg, 212 men
 19 - Maukendorf, 1525 men
 20 - Klix-Drehsa, 212 men
 Tot 3,856 (Attrition 3)

Scott Bowden, in *Napoleon's Grande Armée of 1813*, has estimated III Corps Attrition between Lützen and Bautzen as 5,000. Our spreadsheet has 4,326 (Attrition 2 and Attrition 3). The estimate for "Attrition 2" is 470 and "Attrition 3" is 3,856.

Our sources tell us that the French Army lost over 15,000 men to attrition between Lützen and Bautzen. I have worked to incorporate Bowden's information about "strategic consumption" into the Table above. (Bowden, pp. 90-91)

Bowden cites statistics showing even the Guard suffered a lot in the first 10 days of the campaign (up to 5 May). He quotes Lauriston's letter to HQ. His V Corps "consisted entirely of the old cohorts (20-26 years old), more mature men than other corps, which had 18 and 19 year olds in their ranks." We adjusted V Corps attrition accordingly. "The regiments of my corps badly need a good night's rest. They are vigorous but they do not yet have the experience to undertake a long march."

Out of 10,581 men in the Young Guard Div.,

-1,069 were casualties at Lützen

-2,700 were suffering from exhaustion, malnutrition or illness during the same period.

The Young Guard may be not much different from the line conscripts. The rigors of campaigning knocked out the sick and the weak in the first ten days. Those who remain in the next two weeks are a hardier group, true; but they have outrun their supplies.

Keeping the armies in active operations for four weeks at a time goes up against the limitations of Napoleon's supply system. After 10-14 days the troops are all out of supply. They have to stop at the Elbe while the wagons catch up. Upon resupply on the 11th they march again. The Main Army gets to rest and recover prior to Bautzen, but Ney's wing does not. Therefore the

III, V and VII should have the worst attrition. But we left V Corps in better shape because of their troop quality and shorter marches.

Overall, we show that the French Army suffered attrition of 16,061 men between Lützen and Bautzen. The French lost 8.5% of their initial force in 18 days, and 10.5% over the 25-day period. The XII Corps suffered the least, which hadn't fought at Lützen. Ney received 400 reinforcements during the advance but no infantry or cavalry that we know of. The result is that Ney's III Corps arrived on the battlefield with 26,719 men (infantry and cavalry). Since no actual state exists from the 20th, we have to calculate based on the last count we do have, 5 May. Ney lost about 3,856 men going from Luckau to Bautzen. Marshal Ney's wing of the army, arriving at Bautzen, totaled 58,000 men instead of the 84,000 often cited. In all, the French had 168,500 on the battlefield with about 18,600 artillerymen for a total of 187,100.

Petre, on page 89, reaches the following conclusions:

"Von Cämmerer estimated the French losses at Lützen at 22,000, including 800 prisoners carried off by the allies. He puts the loss of Ney's corps alone at 15,000 men." Marshal Ney estimated 19,655 overall losses — 2,757 killed, 16,898 wounded. Our spreadsheet above arrives at 19,368.

"Lanrezac gives the French losses as 18,000, of whom 12,000 belonged to the III corps." Our spreadsheet agrees that III Corps lost 12,724.

"Lanrezac states that when the French crossed the Elbe a few days later, their army was weaker by 35,000 men than when it crossed the Saale, owing to the great number of stragglers and deserters." Our spreadsheet estimates a drop of 24,931 after bringing up about 6,000 replacements for a total loss of 31,000, based on a corps-by-corps evaluation of troops and marches.



Napoleonic Tour to Spain 2017

Northern Loop: Burgos and Salamanca

Southern Leg: Talavera and Lisbon



The first pictures, taken on day one at Somosierra, of the whole group.



Our local guide for this day was Gabriel Gonzalez Pavon (seen gesturing in the second photo).

This is the ground on which the Polish cavalry charged the first of four Spanish batteries at Somosierra. (Cavalry of the Vistula Legion – not lancers.)

Stephen Morgan, Spike Groves, Andy Ashton, Steven Price, Gabe, Miko and Peter Ainsworth



Evening of Day one, fortress of Burgos, besieged 19 September to 21 October 1812.

Day Two. Desfiladero de Yecla
(below)

Hideout of famous guerrilla leader Jerónimo Merino Cob, alias "El Cura Merino." The photo gives no sense of scale, but in fact the rocky-faced, very narrow gorge is hundreds of feet high. A stream and a pedestrian walkway run through the narrow base of the gorge. Though outside it is hot, the gorge is air-conditioned by a gentle breeze. Songbirds rest in the treetops singing.



Our local guide Diego Peña Gil in front of stone marker, Burgos. Steve Groves and Miko look on.





This view shows the steep 60' escarpment around the town of Ocaña. Jim Lauffenburger adjusts his glasses.



View of Toledo, renowned for its fine steel in Napoleonic times. Alcázar upper right.



Patio of Uclés Monastery, headquarters of General Venegas during battle of Uclés, 19th January 1809



Wellington's HQ at Pero Negro.



Fortress of Burgos



Consulting Nick Lipscombe's *Peninsular Atlas* at Fuentes de Oñoro. Pricy looks on thoughtfully.



Andy Ashton and Mikolaj



Kevin Zucker receiving a uniform patch from our local guide to Talavera, José Manuel Rodriguez Gomez. The River Tajo is in the distance. Overlook at the Atalaya de Segurilla. (continued on page 40)

When Berthier Came to My Town

In January 1781, Captain Louis-Alexandre Berthier was assigned to the staff of the French Army General headquarters in America. There was no job for him, but the army commander, Lt. Gen. Jean Rochambeau, allowed him to accompany the army as "*aide maréchal général des logis surnuméraire*." In this "supernumerary" capacity he accompanied the army and made a series of maps of the encampments of the army along the way. His sketch of the "Susquehanna Lower Ferry" shows the area where OSG IHQ now stands, online collection.

<http://findingaids.princeton.edu/collections/C0022>

The collection consists primarily of a set of handcolored, topographical, manuscript maps (111 of them), depicting the historic overland march of the French and American forces from Philipsburg, New York, to Yorktown, Virginia, in 1781 and their return march to Boston, Massachusetts, in 1782. Accompanying these maps is Berthier's journal (in French), providing a detailed description and explanation of the routes covered by the maps. In addition, there are documents and memoranda concerning French military events in America, Berthier's departure from France in 1780, and his return to France via the West Indies in 1782-1783.

In September 1781, two thousand troops, twelve hundred French infantry of the above force, and eight hundred Americans, embarked at the Head of Elk (a finger of the Susquehanna reaching northward toward the PA border) to complete the second stage of their journey by sailing down the bay. The French troops were one battalion of grenadiers from the Soissonois Regiment, one battalion from the Bourbonnois, and Lauzun's Legion.

"The American troops consisted mostly of a regiment of artillery. At the last moment it looked as if the Americans would not embark unless they received at least part of their long-overdue back pay. Washington was at his wit's end, but Rochambeau stepped into the breach by lending him fifty thousand livres."

FRENCH ARMY (4,240)

Lt. Gen. Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, comte de Rochambeau

Artillery

Lt. Col. Comte d'Aboville

Auxonne Regiment (239)

Metz Regiment (detached, 240)

Mineurs (23)

Workers (32)

Infantry

Maj. Gen. Baron de Viomenil

Brigade Bourbonnois Col. Marquis de Laval

Bourbonnois Regiment 2 battalions (787)

Royal Deux-Ponts Regiment 2 battalions (842)

Brigade Soissonois Col. Marquis de St. Maime

Soissonois Regiment 2 battalions (896)

Saintonge Regiment 2 battalions (851)

Lauzun's Legion infantry and cavalry (593)

While the infantry crossed in the few boats available, Washington and Rochambeau went on ahead to Yorktown, heading south on the 8th of September, crossing the Susquehanna near Conowingo, at the same ford used by the artillery and baggage 20 miles upriver, where the water was from three to four feet deep. Everything was rafted across with few accidents and by September 13 the army was reunited in Baltimore. From there the army marched to Annapolis where sea transport to Yorktown was arranged. "The troops were all embarked by September 21, heading down the Chesapeake for the landings nearest Williamsburg.

From the Head of Elk, the infantry were ferried to Havre de Grace, or Harner's town as it was then, and camped in a field along the old route to Baltimore (MD 7). The story goes, that Major General Marquis Gilbert de Lafayette also marched through earlier that year and wrote of the harbor at the mouth of a mighty river, which so reminded him of his home port, Le Havre, which in those days bore the full name "Havre de Grace."

Napoleon's Quagmire

Q&A: Displacement

Notes 4/6/2017

Retreating units that would overstack a hex displace units from that hex. We had a situation where both units from a hex were displaced, leaving only retreating units. The hex was attacked later in the turn... the attacker had to attack the retreated units. After being driven back, the retreated units advanced (!?).

KURT'S HOUSE RULE: THE RETREATING UNITS ARE THE ONES THAT DISPLACE, THAT WAY THE ATTACK GOES IN AGAINST THE ORIGINAL OCCUPANTS.

First off, I am open to the way things worked out without any house rule. There are two possibilities.

1) All attacks are considered to occur at once; or,

2) Attacks occur on the ground in a temporal sequence that you the player set off.

If you lean toward answer #1, then the house rule, or something like it, is needed.

If #2 suits you, then I think there is a possibility of troops being defeated and then victorious within a 30-40 minute time span.

I usually assume that (in reality) everything is all happening at once. The enemy is attacking, you are moving, people are retreating, allatonce.

In order to make this playable as a game, we have separated out like activities into phases.

Other designers handle this differently.

I incline to the belief that initiative did shift back and forth. First Napoleon did something, then the Allies said "Wow!" Then they got it together and did something in response. The one time this isn't true is when the enemy were unaware of each other's location, in a meeting engagement.

At least, this is how events are narrated. Narrative itself has a "one subject per sentence" structure that makes things appear more orderly than they actually were. Wellington says: the history of a battle = the history of a ball. Allatonce.

We have introduced this distorted picture of the timing of events in the SOP. But we know that things were really allatonce, with some eb and flow to battles. Guys charging here, retreating there.

But was there a case when troops suddenly turned around and threw back an attack after just being ejected from their old position?

Could this happen?

The House Rule brings up a very good question. Which way do you see time on the battlefield? By the time you deduct 20 minutes for your guys to move up into position, you probably have about 20 minutes to send in your attack and see the results.

I think there is a reason why the SOP works, and it creates nice narratives, similar to the battle narratives preserved in books, as it mirrors the structure of an hour of battlefield time. However, nobody should conclude that the enemy sat still and did nothing while we launched our string of attacks up and down the line. We even have cards that allow you to interrupt the SOP.

I am coming around to Kurt's displacement rule. Besides, the whole concept of displacement is a straight bookkeeping exercise anyway. If you look at action on the battlefield, I don't think you're going to find something similar happening.

In reality, all those men would just crowd into that hex, or they would flow past the unit already there, or they would get intermixed and become temporarily discombobulated or even worse. Retreating into your own guys could be a disaster.

Should a division commander see a friendly division rolling back toward his line, military practice says they should "receive" their comrades, opening up their formations to let them pass through, and then close-up again.

The "literal" size of a 525-yard hex would accommodate way more battalions than we allow. That would be standing shoulder-to-shoulder on a flat plain. There would be room for many more men in a hex than the stacking rules allow. But they wouldn't be usable, in a combat-able formation. Just a big horde.

So I think Kurt is right. Displace the retreating force. (If the force is demoralized, then maybe both the retreating and the displacing units are eliminated. Or maybe not.)

In our case, the complication arose from the play of a tactics card that allowed Chuck to retreat into one of my ZOC's. It just kind of got messy. This is cleaner and those sorts of issues shouldn't arise. I think it's the cards bending the rules that revealed the correct approach.

If we instituted Kurt's displacement rule, we dreamed up various penalties for units that had retreating units displace through them: no advance after combat? loss of initiative for shock?

Zero Artillery: *Can a unit with an attack strength of zero (because it's halved by range, or heat) bombard? Can it be used to soak off?* ANSWER: NO

Command: *Can a unit in range of an officer who takes himself out of the chain of command to recover units roll to move individually?*

ANSWER: NO

Can a unit in range of Joseph roll to move individually when he uses his command point to activate an officer? ANSWER: YES.

HOUSE RULES

Recon: reveal one light cavalry if probed, not all of it.

Roadblocks vs supply lines: We'll try using the CSW idea that they block supply lines and see if it breaks something. Need reference.

Guerillas vs baggage

Can a guerrilla destroy a baggage wagon?

ANSWER: THE RULES SAY NO, BUT WE DON'T LIKE IT. THAT WAS THE BIG FRENCH FEAR.

If they're hefty enough to take out bridges and set towns on fire, shouldn't they be able to destroy the baggage train?

That's true, they did that. However, a baggage train should have some chance of fending them off too, especially if they had an escort, and you know they did. So Escort vs. Guerrilla combat. What is the table for that?

At this stage of the war, the guerrillas were just learning how to grow long mustaches and say snidely things. They tended to decamp at the first sight of an actual military unit. So I am not sure if this rule should be necessary, because the Guerrillas, after all, can block the supply line.

Later on in the war, by 1813, the Guerrillas certainly would have the power to capture things, and even take on a small enemy force. At that stage the guerrilla units will have become combat units.

The Baggage Train is an abstraction. There could be a train park with wagons and horses gathered there, but most of its equipment is

in motion at any given time, so the unit just represents the visible "railhead" of a large network of wagons criss-crossing the countryside. How can you really capture that? You can **impair** its function if you burn the "railhead."

But let's forget about the actual wagons for a minute. The **most important** thing about a baggage train is its **psychological** importance as it symbolizes the rear area, the direction of base, the road home, and safety. Should the enemy arrive there in large numbers, this would become known in a short time and the soldiers might panic. However, if it is just a "raid" and not a strong force—and these soldiers know that the Guerrillas run at the sight of formed troops—they are not likely to be impressed.

Also, from a gameplay perspective, one should watch out for "chase the flag." That is not what the game should be about. We had the same problem, in the center of ops in the NAB series. In *Stratego*—yes; and here too, in a way, but just remember, the baggage train isn't always in one and only one hex. The guerrillas could burn half the baggage without compromising the troops.

Formed troops in the rear—yes; Guerrillas—no.

We had HEAT last night which reduces artillery that's engaged, but leaves them unaffected when bombarding. We had lots of speculation about why that might be. (Continued on page 29).

The Emperor and the Rabbi

Barrie Pollock

The mention of the Jewish merchant in the introduction to Highway to the Kremlin brought to mind the story of Moshe Meisels. Here is an account of the Jewish merchant who spied for the Russians while working at French HQ as a translator.

In 1812, as word spread about the impending French invasion, a passionate debate took place in the Jewish communities of the Russian Empire. There were those, particularly among the “Maskilim” (followers of the Enlightenment) who were prepared to welcome the invaders with open arms. After all, they pointed out, Napoleon emancipated Jews throughout his Empire and this meant greater opportunities for the persecuted minority. The great schools of higher learning and the communities which supported them would stay strictly neutral, trying insofar as possible to avoid both armies. One prominent leader, Rabbi Schneur Zalman of Liadi, Rebbe (leader) of the Chassidic Jewry of Lithuania and Byelorussia, and author of the philosophical work, *The Tanya*, had a different opinion. He disdained the gifts of the French Revolution, seeing spiritual devastation coming in its wake which would far outweigh any material advantages. Accordingly, he counseled his followers not only to pray for the success of the Czar, but to do what they could to help in the earthly realm as well—despite having been imprisoned for two months on accusations of treason in 1799.

One devotee, a successful young businessman from Vilna, Moshe Meisels, took up the Rebbe’s challenge. Since he spoke French, Polish and German in addition to Russian and Yiddish, he presented himself to French headquarters and offered his services as a translator and procurer of supplies. His offer was accepted and he made himself useful. His big chance came when he learned of Napoleon’s planned maneuver to trap the main Russian army in Vilna. Just in time, Meisels managed to get a warning to General Barclay.

"The High Command of the French army was meeting," related Reb Moshe "and hotly debating the maneuvers and the arrangement of the flanks for the upcoming battle. The maps were spread on the floor, and the generals were examining the roads and trails, unable to reach a decision. Time was short. Tomorrow, or, at the very latest, the day after, the battle on the environs of Vilna must begin.

"They were still debating when the door flew open with a crash. The guard stationed inside the door was greatly alarmed and drew his revolver. So great was the commotion, that everyone thought that the enemy had burst in in an attempt to capture the French Chief Command...



"But it was Napoleon himself who appeared in the doorway. The Emperor's face was dark with fury. He stormed into the room and raged: 'Have the battle orders been issued? Have the orders to form the flank guards been issued?'

" 'And who is this stranger?!' he continued, pointing to me. In a flash he was at my side. 'You are a spy for Russia!' he thundered, and placed his hand upon my chest to feel the pounding heart of a man exposed.

At that moment, the *aleph* of Chassidism stood by me. My mind commanded my heart to beat not an increment faster. In an unwavering voice I said: 'The commanders of His Highness the Emperor have taken me as their interpreter, as I am knowledgeable in the languages crucial to the carrying out of their duties...!'

As the invading army grew closer the Schneur Zalman and the people of Liadi fled, leaving the village in flames behind them. The town was torched, not as part of a systematic scorched earth policy, but to deny Bonaparte access to the *Alte Rebbe's* personal belongings since, as a presumed sorcerer, Napoleon might have used them to counteract the Rebbe's intercessions in the higher realms.

During the terrible winter that followed the old rabbi (aged 68) died and was buried near Kursk. The family and followers of Schneur Zalman did not return to the ruins of Liadi, but resettled in Lubavitch ("brotherly love" in Russian) after the war. This remained the dynastic seat until 1917 when war again forced their move to Rostov. The stay in Lubavitch gave the movement the name by which it is more commonly known today. As for Moshe Meisels, he survived and thrived, eventually emigrating to the Holy Land.

SMOLENSK

Battle for a Great Russian City**Andrew T. Fairnie**

Second Chance Games of Liverpool recently arranged a war game weekend which I attended. I pre-arranged a game of Smolensk (AtB scenario) with a gaming partner I had never met. None of us could have imagined beforehand the scale of the event we were both to become party to! Indeed I was so affected that afterwards I felt I had to put the 6-hour return train journey to use and so I wrote up the following narrative, in the form of 2 first person eye witness accounts.

I was with Uvarov in charge of the I corps cavalry. We were part of Barclay's first army. I was proud of our small corps of 2 battalions of Dragoons and a battery of horse artillery. The weather was very warm, it being August. The country side was readying for harvest and the fields and trees were lush with gold and greens. Early on 16th August we received orders to ride for Katyn, some 20 miles West and slightly north of Smolensk. We were to secure the ford there and stop any of Napoleon's scouting units from crossing. As we rode west we were surprised and dismayed to see the vast train of Bagrations 2nd Army moving slowly, endlessly to the east, We didn't communicate with them, their orders were for Moscow. How depressed we became when we heard this, as we rode to the west preparing to meet the French as this vast army trudged off east leaving us to meet Napoleon ourselves.

Some of my junior officers were totally disheartened when they realised their homes in Smolensk were to be sacrificed to Napoleon in this fashion. In the event it took us until the evening just to reach Ershi Nivirchi. There we spent the night of the 16th. This was some 5 miles short of Katyn, this was because we had only the small farm tracks at our disposal, the main road being given over to Bagrations retreating hordes. By midday on the 17th we finally made it to Katyn and the ford south of it across the Dnepr. I remember we were fed well by the local populace, our impending sacrifice for their safety being upper most in their minds perhaps! As we worked

forwards to the ford I placed my guns ready to cover us and duly we engaged a French horse unit, cavalry in light blue, we could see across the river. This unit appeared only to be a few companies strong and they soon retired in the face of accurate cannonade from our guns. At that moment Uvarov was poised to I fling our entire corps across the Dnepr but unfortunately we had to retire almost immediately in the face of strengthening opposition. Later we heard rumours from the populace that Murat was approaching from the South, and that Polish units had crossed the Dnepr east of us, cutting our route back to Smolensk. I rose to the challenge that the prospect of facing the great commander Murat would pose, although not clear how large his force was. Eventually, early in the evening as I recall, a magnificent force of French heavy cavalry fell upon us from across the great river. For some time shot and shell struck all around us from their horse drawn guns, and unfortunately our ranks were thinned out in the process. Near the end of the day we were forced back to the North East from our hold on the Dnepr as we could not resist further the weight of the enemy force. It was then that a runner arrived with the news of Napoleons capture in Smolensk which later proved to be untrue.

—o0o—

In August 1812 I was attached to the staff of General Barclay. I was present at Smolensk and witnessed the great imperial victory our army won over the invading French armies of Napoleon. Our orders were simple, hold the city at all costs and await the arrival of Bagration. Now I ask you how we were expected to feel hearing that our saviour was to be of all people the persona that was the arrogant and selfish upstart Bagration! The General was beside himself. If anyone was to go into the history books as the saviour of Smolensk then it would be he, Barclay du Tolly and he alone! Albeit with only a scratch force of light cavalry, vedettes and some artillery

to work with, we soon put ourselves to the task. The controversial Raevskii commanded the only corps available on the morning of the first day of battle. The units were spread out in camp to the west of the city.

All too soon we were to behold the most impressive sight of Napoleon's Grand Armee reaching out towards us in an array of blue and white and glittering breast plates as their column approached from the west. Soon our small force, and the few units of Raevskii's, were embroiled in a scrappy action to the west of the city in the woods and copses thereabouts. As we surmised, it was not long thereafter that a bedraggled rider arrived with the news that Raevskii had been captured in a last stand fight, and the remainder of his shattered force were falling back into the city. Barclay comforted us junior officers with the trust that help was on its way, not only in the form of Bagration, and again I ask you? But also from the north and soon Tellermans infantry corps and old Pahlen's cavalry arrived, together with Ogarov. The latter two cavalry units I myself dispatched on Barclay's order to the west to Katyn and to the ford there. This feint was later to be hailed as a stroke of strategic genius, deceiving the French into thinking their lines of communication were to be cut and thus causing them to deploy screens of cavalry and the Polish infantry far to the west, sorely stripping Napoleon's attack on the city of much manpower. Although of course we would easily have dealt with those Poles with a snort of distaste and a back hand blow.

We could hardly dwell on the polish however as a mighty task was at hand. To our west the endless columns of Frenchmen stretched endlessly to the far horizon. Not only that but to the south too, French corps began to appear in number. Barclay ordered a few regiments of Raevskii's south to form a barrier, whilst all remaining echelons were retired to the city and suburbs. I can still remember Barclay exclaiming that he personally would see to the payment in French blood for even the smallest square plot of Smolensk! Our gallant forces were only just assembled when the first French waves broke upon our defences. Firstly the French seemed determined to break into the city by the Krasnoya gate just south of the Dnepr on the western citadel. Here they paid a bloody price as they rushed forward, their columns being ploughed and furrowed by

shot from Raevskii's and Tellermans cannon perched on the battlements of the "enceinte". Then towards evening on the 16th Ney himself was spotted leading a desperate attempt on the mighty Korolevskiy citadel at the south west corner of the city. Try as they might, time and again our brave foes were driven back from the high battlements of Smolensk, heaps of their broken and gouged bodies lying wasted on the stony soil surrounding our positions. During all this we were additionally taxed to the deepest part of our Russian hearts when we beheld the sight of Bagration's entire army in road column marching past the city towards the east. How down heartened could we possibly be at the lamentable scene of our own countrymen forsaking us, and the great city of Smolensk, and retreating towards the East. Indeed the sight became so damnable to certain of the officers within our defences that murmurs of treason and treachery were rumoured to have been heard into the dark of night as the day ended, our nigh untenable fortress position protruding dark and foreboding against the skyline. What would the morrow bring? This was the question we all asked ourselves as we tried fitfully to rest in bales of fodder, in tiny attics and cellars hither and thither in the city, gun smoke and death all around us.

The 17th August dawned with the promise of hot weather and indeed hot comfort and a fate as yet unknown, heralded by our own cannonade bellowing out across the unflinching assaulting Frenchmen. From my position alongside Barclay we could see riders from Grouchy's cavalry trying vainly to pass through the cobbled streets of Krasnoye, the scene of so much grief for the French the day before. Even bolstered by what seemed like an endless army of infantry comrades, no dent in our defences could be made. Then, to our consternation, around midday a breach was made at the gates of the mighty bastion of Korolevskiy. That admirable hero Marshal Ney had himself led a regiment of Davout's eternal Corps to storm and breach the battlements. Whilst this news was barely received I caught a glimpse of blue French and Wurtemberg uniforms in the fields and meadows to the east of the city, in the bend of the Dnepr. What despair befell me when I realised we were doomed should the French manage to cross the river and surround us. But it was not to be, by the grace of our holy saviour, the gallant Platov

had arrived with his thousands strong Cossack cavalry. Soon the attackers were sent fleeing to the south again and our rear and flank were returned to a sense of normality. Alas no succour could however be found as the city itself erupted from within as floods of blue coats formed a tumultuous sea flowing through the narrow streets and over the cobbles that together formed mother Russia's third greatest city. Here, between the walls and in the rooms, no cannon could be brought to bear, a mans span being the range at which we fought. Ferociously, and without quarter, went the battle inside the city walls. Cries would go up the likes of "Gather around me men" or "Here, advance with me", and "Press forward men, we are all in this together" as the gallant commanders, famous amongst them the likes of Lebedev, Aleksandrov, Laptov, rallied and exhorted their grimy sweating men ever forwards into the enemy. All to little avail however, as our numbers dwindled, and fresh French hordes entered the city. Ground was lost, a tavern here, or a candle factory there, a stables, a hostel. Back our valiant fighters were pushed, towards the Dnepr and the last bastion on the city's north bank of the river. The day wore on.

In late afternoon we were surrounded by the Rechevka gate in the eastern wall. It was at the very moment of the brave Lebedev militia's undoing. Surrounded on all sides and at bay to the cries of "Vive l'Emperour", Lebedev and his comrades could not have found better fate, fighting to the last and heroes all, in the midst of overwhelming tide. Upon their demise a veritable wall of Frenchmen pushed towards our strangled den. For life itself Barclay and I dashed aloft, up around stairs to roofs of red baked tiles and here we clutched a perilous existence for nigh an hour as all was swept by under us. Thereafter we emerged to view in awe the city before us now, a Dante like sight of gory shambles.

Outside the mighty stone walls of the "enceinte" no easy battle raged either, in all its melancholy wonder. Cavalry charged and came to grievous injury on the bayonets of the French Guard. Here, canon fired at longer ranges and ranks and files were easier maintained in at least some fashion of parade like splendour, the sun without shade danced and glinted off the teeming rows of polished metal. Manoeuvres were assembled and enacted as period battle ebbed and flowed. Told eagerly to us later, a

drama had unfolded as Napoleon himself, on his white charger, had been seen to the south of the city. Osterman had not paused for a second and sent a daring attack forward to change our history and seize the very being at the cause of all our grief. Try as they might, the brave Russian infantrymen could not reach him however and they were repulsed back across the summer fields and gullies outside the suburb of Nikolski. Such a countryside adventure was however contrasted sharply by the timbers, tiles and mason work strewn in no fashion over the green and blue clad dead, laid silent at every corner in the Smolensk environs, their dark blood gathering in pools in the grey and dusty cobbles. To further confound mans senses, after all this tumultuous cataclysm, the death filled drama still would no end take. Indeed at this very moment of seeming lives twilight, our hearts were suddenly uplifted by cries in Russian tongue of "The Guards," and "Konstantin is here", which, between Barclay and myself, led to near tear filled emotion. Battle heightened yet again in the cities northern citadel and suburbs. Then as evening arrived we were joined by a bedraggled Osterman contrasted at his side by the form of the newly arrived Tuchkov, his corps complete and impressive, at last arrived to deliver us our victory. Then, to deflate the accompanying elation arrived with these reinforcements, did we not then witness with our very own eyes, Napoleon himself amongst the centre of his infantry in the very centre of Smolensk! Our very last hopes but soon put to flight as yet another attack was prosecuted relentlessly by the French. This time led by their Emperor they cast out all afore them, and an exodus from all of Smolensk south of the river took place, through gate and port, the wounded left trampled asunder in the most distressing scenes I have witnessed. So with this Barclay and myself found ourselves outside the fortress on its eastern side, Tuchkov broken by our side, his whole division dashed asunder and strewn over end in heaps around us.

Far over to the West, a mile from the city, unfolded a further act, seemingly made only to underline wars futility. Under our very eyes the bold French dashed forth and unfolded a pontoon bridge across the river. In the teeth of our canon they proceeded to make efforts to cross to the North bank, a move, if successful, which could jeopardise the entire city and with it the empire.

Prodigal by far was the French tactician who could have been responsible, as their brave soldiers were dashed to pieces by the blast and wrench of musket shot and canon ball. Although a few French boots touched the opposite bank no force could withstand the withering fire from the Russian defenders, their ranks now filled with Bagrations men. As the shadows grew long their courage waned and no more French attacks followed over their devilish homemade bridge.

Daylight dwindling was however not to mark our end nor that of the battle. In an act that no ancient Greek could have penned, our salvation was at hand. Firstly did we witness the conversion of Bagration and his army. From trudging mass of shameful betrayers, to suddenly an unshackled flow of comrades in arms, their leader having somehow heeded the plight of those of us in our darkest hour. The whole event was made manifest in the shape of the bear like Borozhdin entering the city at the head of his VIII Corps, to bolster our flagging hopes. But was it not too late. Were we not already cast out and riven asunder? Were we to be the defeated on this day, and left to history in the forlorn ranks of the vanquished? In answer to this event however, and to bring us to the very brink of what seemed to be our fate, the French, led personally from the front by their Emperor, mounted their ultimate assault on the last vestige of the bastion of Smolensk. No man could explain where from their valour could be brought, as days had passed since first they had stormed into the sacred city fortress. But still they came, a last and final claim to victory as the August day became burnished amber across the sky. Thus, in a scene the likes of which few men will ever live to see, and bade on by their own ensigns, battle cries and smoke filled volleys, did they swell as one across the Dnepr, at the bridge of Vorota. Long and loud crashed the opposing volleys from Udom and Konstantine's stalwart Guards on the north bank. Asunder were the gallant French torn, as row and row at first were halted and then gradually wavered and repulsed in the face of the unwavering Russian musketry. The tide on the bridge turned. The mass recoiled, leaving sombre payment behind them, just as Barclay's words

had predicted many hours before. The French fell back upon themselves and a tremor was sent all through the city. The sight of which beckoned the question what of their courageous, leader? A cry went up, "Victory is ours! We are delivered!" The guns fell silent. Men stood upright once again, taking in what lay before them, enduring the new emotion of victory, or at least the overwhelming sense of relief that follows when something very painful suddenly ends. We were delivered. The enemy were beaten. Our lives were saved and we would live on, perhaps only days or weeks, but we had prevailed for now and this deadly threat was at last behind us.



(Continued from page 24)

Crew Heat Fatigue

"High temperature affects stability of ammunition... It also reduces rate of fire greatly because of crew heat fatigue." —FM 34-81-1

"The major limitation in higher rates of fire arose due to the problem of heat."¹ Strong winds could clear the battlefield, blowing away the clouds of smoke obscuring the gunners' LOS and cooling the barrels. Presumably there were more gun fouls during very hot weather.

Heat in game terms means there is no breeze. The air movement needed to clear away the smoke of the guns is lacking.

This doesn't impact bombardment. The rate of fire is already reduced in a long range bombardment.

¹ http://napoleonistyka.atspace.com/artillery_tactics.htm#_artillery_combat

Leader Details in TLNB

FRENCH

Leader	Fleurus		Storm		Quagmire		Success		Russia		Lost		Leipzig		Danger		Gamble		Replacements	
	Type	Rating	Type	Rating	Type	Rating	Type	Rating	Type	Rating	Type	Rating	Type	Rating	Type	Rating	Type	Rating	Type	Rating
Arrighi											O	4	O	3						
Augereau			O	3									O	3						
Baillod																			O	2
Bernadotte			O	3			O	3												
Bertrand											O	3	O	3						
Bessières			O	5			O	5	O	5										
Bonet									O	2										
Champnet	O	4																		
Compans																			O	3
Curial							O	3												
Davout			OC	1			OC	1	OC	1							C	2		
d'Erlon																	O	3		
Dejean																			O	3
Doumerc															O	4	O	3		
Drouot													O	3						
Duhesme																				
Eugene							O	3	O	4										
Exelmans															O	4	O	4		
Foy					O	3														
Gerard									O	4					O	3	O	4		
Grouchy															OC	1	C	1		
Joseph					C	1														
Junot									O	2										
Jourdan	C	2																		
Harty	O	3																		
Kellerman													O	4			O	4		
Kleber	C	1																		
Lannes			OC	1			C	2												
Latour					O	4			O	4	O	5	O	4						
Lauriston											O	3	O	3						
Lebrun																			O	3
Lefebvre	O	4	O	3			O	4	O	3										
Lemarois																			O	2
Lobau																	O	3		
Macdonald							O	4			OC	1	O	4	O	4				
Marceau	O	3																		
Marmont							O	4			O	4	O	4	O	4				
Massena							OC	1												
Merlin					O	3														
Milhaud					O	4									O	4	O	4		
Montbrun									O	4										
Morlat	O	2																		
Mortier			O	3	O	3			O	3	O	3	O	3	O	3				
Murat			OC	1					C	2			C	2						
Nansouty									O	4			O	4	O	4				
Napoleon			C	3			C	3	C	2	C	3	C	3	C	3	C	3		
Ney			O	4					OC	1	C	1	C	1	OC	1	C	1		
Oudinot							O	4			O	4	O	3						
Pajol													O	5			O	5		
Poniatowski									O	4			O	4						
Rapp																	O	5	O	4
Reille																	O	3		
Reynier											O	4	O	3						
Ruffin					O	2														
Sebastiani					O	4			O	4	O	5	O	4						
Souham											O	2	O	3						
Soult	O	3	O	4	C	2											C	2		
Suchet																	C	2		
St Cyr											OC	4	O	4						
Valence					O	2														
Vandamme							O	4			OC	1			O	3	O	4		
Victor			O	3	OC/O	1/4							O	3	O	2				

ANGLO-ALLIED

Leader	Fleurus		Quagmire		Gamble	
	Type	Rating	Type	Rating	Type	Rating
Abercromby	O	3				
Brunswick					O	4
Chasse					O	3
Clinton					O	3
Collaert					O	2
Colville					O	3
Campbell			O	3		
Cooke					O	3
de Berry					O	2
Decken					O	2
Prinz Ernst	O	1				
Erskin	O	2				
Fox	O	2				
Frederik	O	3				
Hill			O	4	C	1
Lambert					O	2
Mackenzie			O	3		
Murray			O	2		
Olfermann					O	3
Packenham			O	3		
Payne			O	3		
Perpncher					O	3
Picton					O	4
Pz Wilhelm					O	3
William	C	1				
Pz William					C	1
Sherbrooke			O	3		
Stedman					O	2
Stewart			O	2		
Uxbridge					O	4
van Tuyll	O	2				
Villiers	O	3				
von Alten					O	4
Waldeck	O	3				
Wallmoden	O	2				
Wellington			C	3	C	4
Wilson			O	3		
York	C	1				

SPAIN

Leader	Quagmire	
	Type	Rating
Alba	O	1
Albrquerque	O	3
de Alos	O	2
Ariezaga	C	1
Bassencourt	O	2
Castejon	O	3
Copons	O	2
Cuesta	C	1
Eguia	O	1
Freire	O	3
Grion	O	3
Henestrossa	O	3
Iglesias	O	2
Jacome	O	2
Lacy	O	3
Manglano	O	2
O'Donnell	O	2
del Parque	O	3
Portago	O	3
Trias	O	2
Venegas	C	1
Vigodet	O	3
Zayas	O	3
Zerain	O	2

RUSSIA

Leader	Storm		Russia		4 Lost		Leipzig		Danger 1		Replacements	
	Type	Rating	Type	Rating	Type	Rating	Type	Rating	Type	Rating	Type	Rating
Baggavout			O	2								
Bagation	C	2	C	1								
Barclay	OC	1	C	1	C	1	C	1	C	1		
Bennigsen	C	3					C	1				
Borosdin			O	3								
Chernyshev											O	3
Constantne	OC	1	O	4	C	1	O	4				
Diebitch											O	1
Dochturov	OC	1	O	4			O	2				
Essen III	O	2										
Eugen					O	3						
Galitzin V	C	2			O	4			O	4		
Gortchakv	OC	1										
Kamenskoi	O	4										
Kapesevich									O	3		
Karpov			O	2								
Korff			O	3	O	4						
Kutaisov			O	3								
Labanoff	O	1										
Langeron					O	2	O	3				
Lieven									O	3		
Lowenstern			O	3								
Markov	OC	3										
Moeller			O	3								
Olsufief III	O	2							O	2		
Osterman	OC	1	O	3	C	1						
Ozharovsky											O	2
Pahlen			O	4	C	1			O	4		
Platov	O	5	O	3								
Raevsky			O	3	O	2						
Rajewski									O	3		
Sacken	OC	1			OC	1	O	2	C	1		
Scherbatov									O	2		
Sedmrtsky	O	2										
Sievers			O	4								
Somov	O	3										
St Priest					O	2	O	2				
Stroganov			O	2								
Toll											O	1
Tutchkow	OC	1	O	3								
Uvarov			O	3								
Vasilchikov			O	3					O	3		
Volkonsky											O	3
Wasiltchlov					O	4						
Wittgnstein			O	4	C	2	O	4				
Wnzgrode					C	1	O	4				
Woronzow					O	1						
Yermalov					O	2			O	4		

AUSTRIA

Leader	Fleurus		Last Success		4 Lost		Leipzig		Danger		Replacements	
	Type	Rating	Type	Rating	Type	Rating	Type	Rating	Type	Rating	Type	Rating
Alvinczy	O	3										
Baillet											O	2
Bellegarde			O	2 / 3								
Bianchi			O	4	O	1						
Bubna							O	3				
Beaulieu	O	3										
Charles	O	4	C	2								
Chasteler					O	3						
Colberg	C	2										
Colloredo					O	2	O	2				
Fresnel							O	2				
Frimont									O	2		
Gyulai							O	3	O	3		
Hadick	O	2										
Heldsnsfeld											O	1
Hiller			O	3								
Hohenlohe					O	3						
Holnzllern			O	2								
Homberg							O	3				
Johan			O	3								
Kaunitz	O	3										
Kienmayer			O	4								
Klenau			O	3			O	3				
Kolowrat			O	2								
Kray	O	4										
Langenau											O	2
Liechtnstn			OC	1			O	4				
Ludwig			O	2								
Meerveldt							O	2				
Nordman			O	4								
Nostlitz					O	3						
Prochaska											O	1
Quasdnivch	O	3										
Radetzky											O	3
Reuss-Plauen			O	2								
Rosenberg			O	3								
Schwznbrg							C	1				

NAPOLEON'S LAST GAMBLE

1815 Reinforcement Schedule

Tim Carne

I started looking into the deployment and arrival of the units in the Waterloo campaign after I had downloaded the proofs for the Southern Extension map realising that arrival information was not readily to hand. Over a couple of months in the Autumn of 2015 I had completed working out the arrival and deployment information for all the units involved in the campaign. Given that the same unit appears in different scenarios, some from the standard game and some from the extended game it has been necessary to create a matrix/spreadsheet containing all the units (combat and leader counters) and all the different scenarios. In some cases the route of march has had to be worked out so that the units can be placed at the correct arrival point and time. For example Anglo-Allied units arriving at Nivelles in the Standard campaign arrive at hex N0131. For these same units their arrival had to be set to S1302 one hour later on the QB map as that is the only map area in play for the QB and Ligny mini-campaign.

Anyone looking at older versions of this and other Waterloo games designed by Kevin and other designers may spot some units arrivals in theatre at times they may not have seen before. More than anything this reflects information that is now more accessible than in the past. The bicentennial of Waterloo has seen a mass of publication including some detailed work based on new translations of archive material. I have made extensive use of the excellent website created by Pierre de Wit as the primary source. That is not to say that older published material has no value, I have relied heavily for the British arrivals on Siborne, both his History and the Waterloo Letters. The Prussian information comes from Hofschroer's 2 volume work on the campaign and this is based heavily on Lettow-

Vorbeck. Finally the Osprey series by John Franklin is supported by a website providing information about the Brunswick contingent.

I will also mention Stephen Beckett's controversial work making a case for Soult being an active traitor steering Napoleon to defeat and replacement. In seeking to support his hypothesis he has documented who was where and when and which orders were being communicated in some detail which again helps to fix the location of the French forces.

A top-down approach is effective to locate the majority of the units in the campaign but this has been supported by a bottom-up approach based on reports, letters, memoirs etc. This latter has been somewhat time-consuming but it has been the only way sometimes to resolve inconsistencies between various sources. The example of Ompteda gives some idea of the conflicts of information that have arisen.

The draft setup and TRC information that I provided to Kevin is as good as I can make it but additional or conflicting evidence may emerge in the future. Any improvements would be well received via the CSW forum for this game. I have also worked on the premise that the TLBN game mechanisms will deliver a good game (or should that be great scenarios) based on the setup and arrivals information.

Prussians

These are relatively straightforward. Prussian I Corps was deployed along the Sambre to Thuin (off map) extending to the Anglo-Allied screen to the West. I Brigade had an outpost line centred about Thuin whilst 2 Brigade was centred about Charleroi. 3 and 4 Brigades were further to the East with some units south of the Sambre, the Corps reserves were concentrated at Sombreffe.

The advance of the French on the 15th caused the outposts lines to fall back with I brigade concentrating at Gossilies and 2 Brigade at Gilly. This was a pre-planned concentration to delay the French and allow the remaining three Prussian corps to concentrate.

As the French player is likely to read the setup for the Prussians as well as his own forces it has been decided to allow the Prussian player to redeploy the “tripwire” forces lining the Sambre in order to create uncertainty in the minds of the French player.

The historical Prussian concentration was slow with both 2nd and 3rd Corps arriving only on the morning of the 16th June after long marches. Historically 2nd Corps was between Mazy (S5624) and Onoz (S5428) on the night of the 15th/16th. The 21st regiment arrived late morning but this has not been represented in the game in the interests of avoiding excessive detail for the player. 3rd Corps managed to close up, arriving on the heels of 2 Corps in the mid-morning.

4th Corps was badly behind and the Prussian high command was not well informed about the movement of 4th Corps. Blucher probably decided to fight a battle on the 16th rather than a rearguard on the expectation that all the four Prussian corps would have concentrated. 4th Prussian Corps is treated as an ALT reinforcement allowing arrival earlier than historical but in line with the original command intent.

Historically having failed to arrive on the 16th 4th Prussian Corps was ordered to Dion le Mont on the 17th. The Brigades arrived during the mid-afternoon but had a difficult march due to the poor cross-country roads and the difficulties with mud. Bulow kept his corps concentrated and allowed his tired troops some rest as they waited for the 13th Brigade to close up after serving as rearguard. To prevent the Prussian player from acting beyond the capabilities of this force then 4th Corps has march orders to Wavre on the 17th.

French

This is again reasonably straightforward. The French arrive to the South of Charleroi in three columns. Reille’s II Corps seized the crossings at Thuin and elsewhere on the Sambre protecting the flank of the Corps as it advanced on Marchiennes au Pont. Vandamme has a late start meaning that the attack on Charleroi was made by the Young Guard rather than III Corps. The only new information concerns D’Erlon’s corps. Two divisions were left behind to guard the Sambre crossings, Quiot (Allix) at Thuin and Marcognet at Marchiennes au Pont overnight 15th / 16th June. The remainder of 1st Corps was at Gossilies . This means that 1st Division (Allix) had a significant march to make before closing up with the rest of the Corps on the 16th. Leaving these two divisions to guard the Sambre crossings reflects that Napoleon had a good idea of Wellington’s dispositions prior to commencement of hostilities but had concerns over where the Anglo-allied army might be concentrating.

The “What- if“ here is to consider Napoleon’s concern that the Anglo-Allied army might have concentrated at Nivelles and advanced on Charleroi whilst the main French thrust was against Blucher around Ligny.

Another “what –if” to consider for the 15th is the late start of Vandamme’s III corps. Better staff work should have ensured that this corps led the centre with Pajol’s cavalry and secured Charleroi earlier and without having to engage the young guard.

The French army lost a lot of time on the morning of the 15th June and arguably earlier. Beckett describes the initial French plan (10th June) as having II corps leading I corps on the left (this happened), a centre column on VI corps followed by the Guard and a right column of III corps followed by IV Corps, all rather similar to the battalion carre of 1806. Soult appears to have realigned the columns so that by 12th June the right column had essentially merged with the centre. Napoleon did order Soult to re-establish

the right column but III corps was already realigned so this was left in the centre. The right column was then just composed of IV corps and this was a day's march behind where III corps ought to have been had the original plan been followed. The creation of an optional alternative start to the campaign was discussed and sensibly rejected as this game has plenty of official scenarios. Should anyone want to try this original design of Napoleon then they need only remove III corps from the entry points and times on the TRC and bring these on as reinforcements at SX 2916 a division at a time starting at 11:00 at the start of the Grand campaign.

In this case VI Corps would enter on the entry points south of Charleroi a division at a time starting at 11:00

The French chain of command was restructured during the 15th with the arrival of Ney in the middle of the afternoon. Some sources report Ney having arrived earlier however the army was still subject to orders issued by Soult and reporting back to Soult until Ney had a functioning command HQ.

With all the French on the map area early in the game there is little to add in terms of the arrival of the units but much to be said for the alternative "what-if" questions based on ALT reinforcements.

I return to Napoleon's concern over a potential allied advance from Nivelles on the 16th. The arrival of D'Erlon's corps caused a shock to the French until it was determined that this was D'Erlon rather than Wellington. As a player of the game you will have a good idea if any Allied reinforcements have arrived early as ALT reinforcements. I suggest deploying unused vedettes in the same numbers as the first ALT reinf to give the impression of an early arrival in order to generate uncertainty in the mind of the French player. The same could be said for the arrival of Bulow to give the impression that IV Corps has arrived. Scouting by the French with light cavalry and their vedettes would be necessary to clear up the situation and take some

pressure off the 1st Prussian corps and the forces as Quatres Bras.

Anglo-Allied

This is where it becomes most interesting. The Anglo-Allied forces were established to the West and Southwest of Brussels with many units separated from their divisions. Wellington delayed issuing orders until he was convinced that the French advance on Charleroi was the serious thrust of the campaign and not a feint. Many British histories are heavily influenced by Wellington's correspondence and the de Lancey Disposition. More recent work has drawn some of this into question. By working through the various sources especially De Wit and leveraging the table drawn up by Hofschroer it has been possible to get a good idea of the locations and actions of the various commanders and their formations.

Wellington feared an advance on Mons and the uncertainty about this explains some of the decisions made not to simply rush all units to Quatre-Bras for the 16th. What I had not initially noticed until working out the movement from arrival into the battles was that Wellington's forces did have significant halts on the 16th of June which is not what you would expect a game player to do as they would march these to the point of any current crisis. This is I believe a consequence of the player having too much information about their own and enemy forces. The following is a summary based on the arrival of the units onto the map area. I have ordered this in order of arrival.

3rd British Division. ALTEN. The division first reached Nivelles at around 09:30 on the 16th. By 13:00 the whole division was assembled about half an hour's march East of Nivelles. At 15:00 the Division was ordered onto Quatre Bras but some way into this march Ompteda was detached to provide a flank guard at Arquennes. This is some 5 miles Southwest of Nivelles. Here it was further supported by a Dutch brigade who eventually relieved Ompteda at about 18:00 at

which time he marched back to QB arriving around midnight having been delayed at Nivelles by cavalry crossing the town. The game arrival has been set to allow the division to arrive at QB in line with the historic timings. Interesting that Ompteda's own writings put his Brigade on the field of battle of QB before it was detached and order to guard the flank.

1st British Division, COOKE. Hofschroer and De Wit place Cooke as halting less than a kilometre short (West) of Nivelles by 15:00 on the 16th then marching onto Quatre Bras following new orders arriving about 7PM.

Here we have two significant divisions taking time for a halt as the division allowed the rear units to close up. These waits and the detachment of Ompteda indicate continuing concern on the part of Wellington of a French thrust from Mons. The Grand Campaign and other scenarios feature French ALT reinforcements, Young Guard and Rapp. This is enough to give truth to Wellington's concerns if deployed with Ney.

5th British Division. PICTON. The movement from Brussels to Quatre Bras is well documented. Perhaps often overlooked is the break in the march that was taken mid morning at the exit to the Soignes forest. Given that the Nivelles road branches off soon after this point it is likely that this halt was taken to allow the clarification of information about the French advance before committing Picton to finish the march to Quatre Bras rather than on to Nivelles.

4th Hanoverian brigade (Best) marched with the 5th Division as these both started the day in Brussels. **5th Hanoverian brigade (V Vincke)** started the day near Halle and marched first to Mt St Jean before following the Genappe road to QB.

The historical record suggests that Picton and other parts of the Reserve marched faster than the movement rate allows especially when you factor in the break in the forest. This is partially due to these being small formations so the effect of extending the column as it marches is reduced.

The Chaussee can also be considered a freeway or motorway of its era, wide, well surfaced and lacking steep gradients and chokepoints.

The Brunswick contingent. The concentration point was at Laeken north of Brussels. Due to the dispersal of the contingent the Duke of Brunswick ordered the cavalry, leib and line infantry to march off as soon as ready whilst the light infantry continued to concentrate and wait for the artillery to come in from Asse/Asche. This second group only left Laeken around 11 am and took some hours to march to Quatre Bras. Several of the Franklin letters on the Osprey site refer to the absence or late arrival of the artillery. Traditionally the Brunswick contingent had been considered as arriving as a single formation but in fact this was not the case, the first units arrived at QB between 15:30 and 16:00 and the artillery and light infantry 19:00. It does appear that the first group also halted North of Waterloo for about an hour awaiting further orders from Wellington.

Nassau Brigade v Kruse. This brigade was centred on Woluwe (NX3106) and was directed to concentrate at the Port de Leuven (NX1709) before marching the 1st and 3rd battalions to QB with halts in Soignes forest and MSJ en-route. These two battalions arrived towards the end of the action with the final battalion arriving even later.

Once again we have these two formations halting to concentrate but also halting at a fork in the road where a decision would be needed before moving these formations forward to Quatre Bras or Nivelles.

Netherlands Cavalry division. Van Merlen had been brought across to Quatre Bras leaving the remainder of Collaert's division deployed to the South of Nivelles, originally Haine St Pierre and Haine St Paul, moving later during the 16th to Arquennes. On the 17th Collaert provided a rearguard to Chasse's division as it marched to Mt St Jean.

Given what we know from history it would make sense for the player to move the whole of

Collaert's division onto Quatre Bras but again we have this fear in the direction of Mons. This keeps the remainder of Collaert off the map until midday on the 17th.

British Cavalry except Dornberg. These brigades were first assembled and moved to Enghien to support the concentration on Nivelles. As the axis of the French advance was determined to be on Quatre Bras then Brigades were pulled further to the East through Nivelles arriving in the late afternoon and on to Quatre Bras.

British Cavalry Brigade Dornberg. For this one it is important to separate the movement of Dornberg himself from the movement of his brigade. Dornberg was responsible for gathering information through the outpost chain and moved to join Wellington at Quatre Bras on the 16th. The Brigade was split between the two KGL light dragoon regiments at Mechelen North of Brussels and the 23rd light dragoons at Gooik West of Brussels. The Cumberland Hussars were also attached to the Brigade. The evidence supports the KGL regiments taking the Brussels – Genappe route with 23rd Lt Dragoons and Cumberland Hussars going first to Enghien then on to Nivelles and QB. Give most of the cavalry arrives via Nivelles I had decided to give the Anglo-allied player the advantage of having some additional cavalry arriving by the Genappe route as the brigade is represented as a single counter.

2nd British Division CLINTON. De Wit reports the division assembled about Ath on the 16th marching first to Enghien and then Braine le Comte, the lead elements arriving at 21:00 and the division being concentrated by as late as 01:00 on the 17th. He has the vanguard at Nivelles, arriving at 07:00 and then marching on QB only to halt some three miles East of Nivelles. Around 9:00 the division is ordered back to Nivelles and then on to Mt St Jean in the wake of Chasse and Collaert.

2nd Netherlands Division, CHASSE. The division was close to Nivelles during the night of 16th/17th with d'Aubreme's brigade being to the

North of the town and Detmer's still to the South having been deployed near Arquennes to support the Cavalry. The Division was concentrated North of Nivelles during the morning of the 17th marching on Mt St Jean from about 11:00 followed by Collaert, Clinton and Mitchell. 4th British Division COLVILLE. The division was ordered to Enghien and then on to Braine le Comte and Nivelles but bivouacked near Braine le Comte on the night of the 16th/17th with Mitchell closer to Nivelles. Mitchell marched off around 10:00 only to be delayed in Nivelles by the Belgian cavalry passing through the town. The remaining brigades were stationed at Braine Le Comte (off map) until the 18th when they were moved to Hal.

Clinton, Chasse and Mitchell are pre-programmed to concentrate at Mt St Jean on the 17th June unless countermanded by Wellington. It is possible to envisage these divisions moving on to Quatre Bras if Wellington is not needing to retreat on the 17th but perhaps in that case the French would already be facing a strategic defeat.

6th British Division (Cole – absent). The two brigades of this division only joined together on the Waterloo battlefield on the 18th. Best's brigade marched with Picton as mentioned above and fought at QB on the 16th. Lambert (who commanded the division in Cole's absence) marched with his division from Ghent through Asse/Asche and onto Brussels. The brigade spent the night of 17th/18th at Petit Espinette in the Soignes forest some four miles North of Mt St Jean marching on to Waterloo by around 8AM where they spent time clearing the roads from the abandoned carts.

References

Pierre de Wit's website

<http://www.waterloo-campaign.nl/>

Hofschroer 1815 the Waterloo Campaign

Siborne The Waterloo Letters

Siborne History of the Waterloo Campaign

Beckett Waterloo Betrayed

(continued from page 21)

The tour guides were wonderful. At each battlefield, we had local experts that Gabriel Gonzalez knew. We were very lucky to meet and be guided expertly by Gabe's friends, and Gabriel himself shared many great details from his reenacting experiences. (*Guides not pictured*) Pedro Ruiz Jaén and Florencio Ontalba, authors of *La Batalla de Ocaña*, and Ana Maria Gálvez Bermejo in Ucles.



Rosa Garcia Llavador (2nd from left) and museum aides on the Albuera battlefield. The main French attack came across the field behind us toward the right.

A partial list of battlefields visited:

Somosierra

Burgos

Salamanca (Los Arapiles)

Ciudad Rodrigo

Fuentes de Oñoro

Madrid (Dos de Mayo)

Aranjuez

Ocaña

Ucles

La Albuera

Badajoz

Vimeiro

Sobral, Pero Negro, Lines of Torres Vedras

Talavera

Medina del Rioseco

Almeida & Fort Conception

MADRID IN THE GUERRA DE LA INDEPENDENCIA

There are **FOUR** different Madrid Tours related to the Gdl.

1. the Madrid of the "2 de Mayo Patriot uprising",
2. Battle for Madrid December 1808 -Napoleon had to assault the city ,
3. The occupied Madrid of Jose I, with many changes, not all of them negative,
4. Liberated Madrid (twice, with an 1812 battle).

A **high profile tour** can begin at the "Plaza de Oriente" where it all began around 9 AM in the "2 de Mayo" of 1808. Continuing to Plaza Mayor and Puerta del Sol (1 mile walk) seeing also the "Cárcel de Corte" (Court Prison) before going to the "2 de Mayo Square" / Monteleon Barracks, scenario of the desperate defense of 300 civilian Patriots and 49 Spanish soldiers disobeying direct orders vs 3800 French attackers. Prado Museum, Municipal Museum with outstanding miniature of early XIX century Madrid, "secret" true riverside residence of usurper King Jose I -connected to Royal Palace through "Bonaparte Tunnel"- and Plaza de la Villa, site of 1813's liberation speech, Naval Museum with captured French Eagle or Puerta de Alcalá with shrapnel damage. –Gabriel Gonzalez Pavon

On Day Four, after lunch on a very hot day, Gabriel took the group on a special tour of Napoleonic Madrid. The group got along very well ... even in the sweltering heat! Special thanks to Mikolaj Lenczewski for all of his help and navigating for four days!

Our Travel Agents, *Viajes Dos* in Madrid, arranged excellent hotels. We were usually right in the heart of the old cities and towns. On the Plaza Mayor in many places, including Madrid; and in Toledo our hotel was 100 yards from the main gate and actually surrounded by the old city walls. We often stayed in hotels that were located in historic official buildings, chateaux, and palaces. Spain has a network of such hotels called Paradors.

(*Next page, right*) Inside the courtyard of one such Parador, at Lerma, with Gabriel in his uniform of the 1st Madrid Volunteer Line Infantry (with shako of a French Grenadier of the 33^{me} Ligne).



Still fits!

At the Green Frog, overlooking the River Tajo. Gabriel pointing to our position at the bridge of Aranjuez.



Greater Arapil.



In the Plaza Alta inside the fortress of Badajoz with our local guides. John Jefferies (*at right*).