

WARGAMES Illustrated



Number 6 February 1988

IN THIS MONTH'S ISSUE
Simple Pike & Shot rules
Hittite Campaigns in Arzawa
Kett's Rebellion

£1.20 (UK).



Front cover photo: *Connoisseur* French Napoleonic Carabiniers about to ride down some Prussian light infantry. The horsemen, painted and animated by Mark Allan, are from the collection of David Thomas. The stalwart sharpshooters are regularly on duty at Peter Gilder's *Wargames Holiday Centre*.

This Page: Two shots of Red Lancers, backed by a Dragoon regiment charging Russian guns. These *Connoisseur* figures are more of Mark Allan's work. (The "crashing" cavalry are his trademark!) The buildings on the background are resin models from *Hovels*.

Back cover: *Essex* 25mm medievals from the collection of Gallia designer Peter Buddle, painted by **Bill Brewer**. The tents are from rivals *Battleground*, painted by **A1 Painting Service**. The two footmen in the gully are "birding" for the cooking pot, not winking out any lurkers in Lincoln green!

Inside back cover: *Connoisseur* Peninsula mule train, painted by designer Peter Gilder, who also scratch-built the town. (And the orange trees.)



WARGAMES Illustrated



Opening Shot

Welcome to issue 6, in which we once more "dress up [the] wargame in the tawdry flummery of the tart". (Guy Farrish in *Nugget* 41, p.28. Though this verbal nebelwerfer was not aimed at W.I. it's too delicious a delicacy to let slip. We proudly appropriate it in preference to the plain "pretty pictures" tag of last month!)

Reaching issue 6 is a kind of landmark. 'The half dozen' doesn't quite have the ring of 'the half century' (- don't miss issue 50, out in September, 1991 -) but it's at least sufficient for us to have the confidence to produce a binder. (Details on p.23.) Your magnificent efforts on the writing front have given us a fair stock of articles; but don't stop - we're ever in need of more!

Also, if you have a T.F.T. collection (tawdry flummery, etc., remember?) of wargames figures (i.e. nicely painted ones) which you'd like to flaunt floozily for our photographer, drop him a line. Grimsby and Glasgow he should be able to manage; Buenos Aires and Bangkok he'll have to take a rain check.

FORTHCOMING ATTRACTIONS INCLUDE

Sudan War rules	More Seven Years War
WWII in Greenland (!)	Marlburian and Great
Wars of the Roses rules	Northern War uniform info.
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As for the basic product we will continue to use the best metal available, we shall carry on having them made by an outside company whose work is unequalled, we shall not attempt to produce them ourselves and risk a reduction in quality to achieve a reduction in costs. Such a programme of planned expansion obviously means considerable financial investment. To achieve this it is no longer possible to absorb things like V.A.T. therefore this now has to be passed on. We trust that we shall continue to have your support.

And now, after such weighty subjects, back to our normal flippant selves. Lots of people new to wargaming or Napoleonic ask us "What's a good army to start with?" We often suggest the French. They were everybody's opponent, there were lots of them, and some of them were very prettily uniformed. So listed below our gallant Gallic soldiers.

INFANTRY - FRENCH

PF01 Fusilier Advancing
PF02 Fusilier March Attack
PF03 Grenadier/Voltigeur Advancing
PF04 Grenadier/Voltigeur Firing
PF05 Grenadier/Voltigeur Loading
PF06 Grenadier/Voltigeur High Porte
PF07 Officer in Surtout
PF08 Grenadier - Bearskin Advancing
PF09 Grenadier - Bearskin Firing
PF10 Grenadier - Bearskin High Porte

PF11 Grenadier-Bearskin Officer
PF12 Voltigeur Officer
PF13 Line Eagle Bearer
PF14 Line Drummer
PF15 Deuxieme Porte Aigle
PF16 Voltigeur Hornist
PF17 Grenadier Drummer in Shako
PF18 Grenadier Drummer in Bearskin
PF19 Eagle Bearer - Bearskin
PF20 Officer Leading Charge

CONFEDERATION/LATER FRENCH

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CF02 Fusilier (French) Attack March
CF03 Grenadier/Voltigeur Advancing
CF04 Grenadier/Voltigeur Firing
CF05 Grenadier/Voltigeur Loading
CF06 Officer in Bicorne
CF07 Standard Bearer
CF08 Eagle Bearer
CF09 Drummer
CF10 Officer in Shako

BAVARIAN/POLES

CB01 Grenadier Advancing
CB02 Fusilier Marching
CB03 Officer
CB04 Drummer
CB05 Standard Bearer
CB06 Light Infantry Hornist
NP01 Fusilier - Czapska
NP02 Grenadier - Bearskin
NP03 Voltigeur - Czapska
NP04 Officer
NP05 Drummer
NP06 Standard Bearer

CAVALRY

FC01 Chasseur at Rest
FC02 Chasseur Officer
FC03 Chasseur Trumpeter
FC04 Hussar at Rest
FC05 Hussar Officer
FC06 Hussar Trumpeter
FC07 Dragoon at Rest
FC08 Dragoon Officer
FC09 Dragoon Trumpeter
FC10 Polish Lancer at Rest
FC11 Polish Lancer Officer
FC12 Polish Lancer Trumpeter

FC13 Cuirassier Trooper at Rest
FC14 Cuirassier Officer
FC15 Cuirassier Trumpeter
FC16 Horse Grenadier at Rest
FC17 Horse Grenadier Officer
FC18 Horse Grenadier Trumpeter
FC19 Chasseur Charging
FC20 Hussar Charging
FC21 Dragoon Charging
FC22 Polish Lancer Charging
FC23 Cuirassier Charging
FC24 Horse Grenadier Charging

FC25 Carabinier at Rest
FC26 Carabinier Officer
FC27 Carabinier Trumpeter
FC28 Line Lancer Trooper
FC29 Line Lancer Officer
FC30 Line Lancer Trumpeter
FC31 Guard Chasseur at Rest
FC32 Guard Chasseur Officer
FC33 Guard Chasseur Trumpeter
CBC1 Bavarian Cheveau Legere
CSC1 Saxon Kurassier

HORSES

CH01 Horse Standing
CH02 Horse Cantering
CH03 Horse Cantering Type 2
CH04 Horse Galloping
CH05 Horse Walking
CH06 Horse Galloping Type 2
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CH09 Heroic Horse
CH09 Heavy Horse Standing
CH10 Heavy Horse Type 3
CH12 Heavy Cantering Horse

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SS6 12lb Cannon with Loading Crew
SS6F 12lb Cannon with Firing Crew
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SS12F Howitzer with Firing Crew
SS13 Horse Artillery with Cannon

SS14 Horse Artillery with Howitzer
SS20 Six Horse Limber and Team
SS21 Polish 6lb Cannon and Crew
SS22 Polish 12lb Cannon and Crew
SS23 Polish Howitzer and Crew
SS25 6lb Cannon with Loading Crew
SS25F 6lb Cannon with Firing Crew
SS26 6lb Cannon with Confederation Crew

SS27 8lb Cannon with Confederation Crew
SS28 12lb Cannon with Confederation Crew
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8KC Hussars Command
9KC Lancers Command
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20K Line Infantrymen
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29K Algerian Command

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27KC Staff A.D.C. Mounted

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72X Moghul Levy Spearman
73X Moghul Levy Bowmen
74X Moghul Musketeers

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12K Line Infantrymen (Cap)
13K Heavy Infantrymen (Helmet)
14K Line Infantry (Cap)
Skirmish Order
15K Caucasian Light Infantrymen
16K Line Command
17K Heavy Command
18K Caucasian Command
19K Staff and A.D.C. on Foot

RUSSIAN CRIMEAN CAVALRY

12KC Heavy Dragoons
13KC Line Dragoons
14KC Hussars
15KC Caucasian Lancers
16KC Cossacks
17KC Heavy Dragoons Command
18KC Line Dragoons Command
19KC Hussars Command
20KC Caucasian Lancers Command
21KC Cossacks Command
22KC Staff and A.D.C. Mounted

TURKISH CRIMEAN INFANTRY

30K Line Infantrymen

TURKISH CRIMEAN CAVALRY

29KC Cavalrymen
30KC Cavalry Command

SARDINIAN CRIMEAN INFANTRY

32K Infantrymen
33K Infantry Command

SARDINIAN CRIMEAN CAVALRY

31KC Light Cavalrymen
32KC Heavy Cavalrymen
33KC Light Cavalry Command
34KC Heavy Cavalry Command

ARTILLERY PIECES

6KA British Light Cannon
7KA British Heavy Cannon
8KA British Howitzer
9KA British Limber
10KA Russian Light Cannon
11KA Russian Heavy Cannon
12KA Russian Limber

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64XC Lithuanian Hussars
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9MC Chasseurs Command
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11MC Mounted Staff Officers

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22M Bavarian Line Infantrymen
23M Wurtemberg Line Infantrymen
24M Silesian Riflemen

PRUSSIAN INF. COMMAND

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28M Wurtemberg Line Command
29M Silesian Rifles Command

PRUSSIAN ARTILLERYMEN

30MA Prussian Field Gun Crew

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(Topdjijs)

CAVALRY

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71XC Turkish Delli
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036	Praetorian Guard or Equites Singulares 2nd C. AD
037	Heavy: Late 2nd to 3rd C. AD
038	Scutarius: Mid 3rd to 5th C. AD
039	Promoti or Dalmatae mid 3rd to 5th C. AD
040	Heavy: Mid 3rd to 5th C. AD in Scale Armour
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043	Clibanarius: 3rd to 5th C. AD

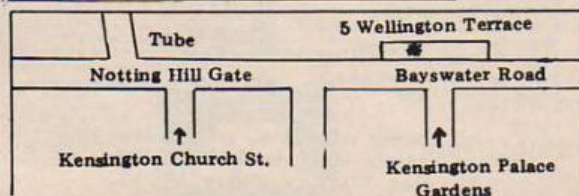
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- OC5 Command: Mtd. Inf/Staff Officers

SCOTS: (Kilt)

- OC6 Infantryman firing
- OC7 Infantryman at ease
- OC8 Command: 2 Officers, 3 Sergeants, 2 Pipers

CAMEL CORPS:

- OC9 Mounted Camel Corps
- OC10 Command: 2 Camel Corps Officers, 1 Mounted Bugler
- OC11 Dismounted Camel Corps
- OC12 Command: 4 Camel Corps Officers, 2 Dism. Buglers
- OC13 Kneeling Camel Corps camel (3 per pack)
- OC14 21st Lancers, charging
- OC15 Command: 2 Lancer Officers, 1 Bugler, charging
- OC16 Artillery crew (6 figs)
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- OC22 Spearmen attacking
- OC23 Spearman throwing
- OC24 Riflemen
- OC25 Command: Leaders & Std. Bearers
- OC26 Command: Gun crew (use cannon OCE1)

FUZZIE WUZZIES

- OC27 Spearmen
- OC28 Spearmen attacking
- OC29 Swordsmen
- OC30 Riflemen

EARLY PERIOD EGYPTIANS

- OC31 Infantrymen
- OC32 Command Pack: 2 Officers, 2 Standard Bearers, 2 Buglers
- OC33 Gun crew (6 figs.)
- OC45 Early Egyptian Dragoon
- OC46 Early Egyptian Lancer
- OC47 Early or Later Sudanese Gendarme Infantry

LATER PERIOD EGYPTIANS

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- OC35 Command Pack: 2 Officers, 2 Standard Bearers, 2 Pipers
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- OC49 Unmarried warrior attacking
- OC50 Married warrior thrusting and throwing
- OC51 Unmarried warrior wielding knobkerrie
- OC52 Riflemen
- OC53 Command pack: Chieftains in full regalia

BRITISH (Zulu Wars)

- OC54 British infantryman at the ready
- OC55 British infantryman loading
- OC56 British infantryman firing
- OC57 Foot command: 2 Buglers, 2 St. bearers, 2 Officers
- OC58 Command pack: Mtd. Brit. Off. Staff Off.
- OC59 Lancers
- OC60 Command pack: Lancer Off.
- OC61 Dragoon guards
- OC62 Command pack: Dragoon guards Officers
- OC63 Command pack: Artillerymen
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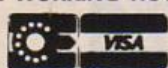
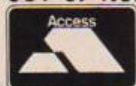
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Pike & Shot Rules c. 1600-1670

By Paul Trickett

A. Scale:

- 1" to 10 yards
- 1 figure to 50 actual men.
- 1 move equals 1 min.

B. Orders:

Each unit or sub-unit must have orders and objectives to take at the start of a game. Any changes in orders must be sent by messenger from the Commander-in-Chief. Orders take one move to read and after this the unit may act as needed. Formation changes are given by the Commander of a regiment and take no time to comprehend.

C. Movement Sequence:

1. Orders
2. Charges and counter charges.
3. Firing on Chargers (checking range of fire)
4. Morale on chargers and defenders.
5. Normal movement.
6. Firing, melees.
7. Morale checks on all troops
8. Compulsory Movement.
9. Rally attempts.

The movement sequence must be kept to.

D. Classifications:

a. Armour class

EHC: Cuirassier, full or $\frac{3}{4}$ plate armour, usually pistol or lance armed. Used for shock impact.

HC: Half armour and buff jacket underneath. Pistol or carbine armed. General purpose cavalry.

MC: Strong buff jacket, general purpose cavalry as above, there was no armour to hinder them in the second and subsequent rounds of melee.

LC: Unarmoured cavalry except possibly a helmet; pistol or carbine armed, rely on speed. Used for pursuit.

EHI: Three quarter or full armour, usually the pike men are armed this way.

HI: Half armour and leather jacket, once again they were usually pike armed.

MI: Leather jacket, used pikes or muskets.

LI: Musketeers with no armour except possibly a helmet. Best supported by pikemen, artillery crews also come under this classification.

b. Troop morale.

'A' Bodyguard troops, first class mercenaries, religious fanatics

'B' Veteran regulars and other mercenaries.

'C' Trained regulars and veteran irregulars

'D' Poorly trained regulars and irregulars

'E' Local militia and unpaid mercenaries.

Artillerymen count as 'B' or 'C' class troops due to the training.

E. Movement:

Formation→ 'Block' 'On the March' 'Line' 'Skirmish' 'Charge'

↓ Troop types:					
EHC	—	15"	12"	—	18"
HC	—	18"	15"	—	21"
MC	—	20"	18"	22"	23"
LC	—	24"	20"	24"	27"
EHl	4"	6"	3"	—	—
HI	6"	8"	5"	—	10"
MI	7"	9"	6"	9"	11"
LI	—	12"	10"	12"	14"

Definitions:

'Block' A solid block of pikemen, cannot be outflanked or charged in the rear.

'On the March' A column used to march over long distances. Cannot fight in this formation

'Line' General purpose formation. Cavalry may charge in this formation only.

'Skirmish' When a unit is widely dispersed.

Artillery Movement:

Light guns: manhandled = 4" Limbered = 5" (It takes one move to limber up.)

Medium guns: manhandled = 2" Limbered = 3" (Takes two moves to limber up.)

Siege and heavy guns may not be manhandled. Limbered they can move 2". (Takes three moves to limber up.)

Deductions on Movement:

Woods – All heavy troops may not pass through woods; others half movement.

Hills – Half movement for all troops.

Marsh – Normal movement except for guns and extra heavy infantry (EHl) who deduct half their movement.

Orchards – Infantry no deduction. Guns and cavalry half movement.

Hedges & Walls – No deduction for infantry, cavalry lose one in four men if they jump the hedges, artillery may only go through gaps.

F. Firing:**Small arms**

	<u>Ranges</u>		
	<u>SHORT</u>	<u>MEDIUM</u>	<u>LONG</u>
Musket	0-4"	4-8 "	8-16"
Pistol	0-4"	—	—
Carbine	0-5"	5-10"	10-15"

Loading:

At the start of a game every unit has its muskets and other small arms loaded. Units may load and fire or move and fire. Units *must* be stationary when loading. Pistols may be fired in a melee. If a unit is charged throw 3 six-sided dice. Consult the following table:

	3-6	7-12	12-18
A class	short	short	short
B class	"	"	medium
C class	"	medium	long
D class	medium	long	long
E class	long	long	long

LI in skirmish order and artillery crews always count as long range targets.

Cuirassier and single rank cavalry – ½ casualties
Hard cover and long range targets – ½ casualties

Casualties from small arms fire.

Procedure:

Throw 2 six-sided dice and add and deduct the following

First volley of the day	+4
Hard cover	-4
Soft cover	-2
Unit's disordered	-2
Rain	-2
Moved this period	-2
Short range	+2
Using pistols in melee	+1
Rested weapons	+2

E. After this consult the casualty table. The casualties are in model figures.

No. firing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Dice throw												
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
6	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3
7	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	4
8	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	3	4	4	4	4
9	1	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	5
10	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	5	5	5
11	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	5	5	6
12	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	5	5	6	6
13+	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	6	6	6

Bows

	<u>SHORT</u>	<u>MEDIUM</u>	<u>LONG</u>
Longbow	0-8"	8-16"	17-20"
Shortbow	0-6"	7-12"	12-15"
Crossbow	0-8"	8-16"	17-20"

Longbows and shortbows may fire every move, there is no deduction for loading. Crossbows count as muskets.

Procedure:

Throw 1 six-sided dice add and deduct the following:

Bows against shields	-1
Bows against plate armour	-2
Bows against hard cover	-4
Bows against soft cover	-2
Short range	+1

Now consult the casualty table shown above.

Artillery

Light guns have a range of 40"

Medium guns have a range of 50"

Heavy guns have a range of 60"

Medium guns may fire every move, light guns may fire twice per period. Heavy guns fire once every two moves.

Procedure:

To see if the pieces find their target throw 1 six-sided dice and consult the following table:

<u>Target is in</u>	<u>Dice throw needed</u>
Block	3,4,5,6
Line (6 or more men wide)	3,4,5,6
Line (6 or less men wide)	4,5,6
Skirmish order	5,6
Column of march	3,4,5,6
Buildings	3,4,5,6

If the target is hit throw 1 six-sided dice then add and deduct the following:

Target 4 ranks deep	+2
Target 6 ranks deep	+3
Hard cover	-3
Firing on skirmishers or artillery crews	-2

Now consult the casualty table, heavy guns count as 5 men, medium and light guns count as 4 men.

G. Melees:

a. infantry v infantry; infantry v cavalry.

Procedure:

Throw 2 six-sided dice, add on the following factor as appropriate. Three rounds of melee are fought every move.

	EHI	HI	MI	LI	EHC	HC	MC	LC
Cavalry with sword	1	1	2	3	-	-	-	-
Cavalry with lance	3	3	3	4	-	-	-	-
Cavalry with pistol	1	1	2	3	-	-	-	-
Infantry with pike	1	1	2	3	4	5	5	6
Infantry with sword	2	2	2	3	1	1	2	2
Infantry with others	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1

Add and deduct the following

Cavalry v pike (1st round only)	-4
Enemy disordered	+2
Charging (1st round only)	+3
Disordered	-1
Defending obstacle	-2
Caught in rear or flank	-3

In the first round front rank only counts, except pike units. Now consult the casualty table.

b. cavalry v cavalry

Procedure:

Throw 1 six-sided dice for each cavalry figure in melee and look at the following table under the appropriate troop type being used.

Troop type	1st Round	2nd Round
EHC	3-4-5-6 kill	4-5-6 kill
HC	4-5-6 kill	4-5-6 kill
MC	5-6 kill	5-6 kill
LC	6 kill	5-6 kill

In the first round of a melee there is no overlap for either side and only the first rank count. In the second round all the troops count. There are 3 rounds of melee per move. There is a 1 or 2 chance that one of the casualties is an officer, the winner of melee can either have him killed or captured.

H. Morale is taken in the following circumstances:

- During a charge
- Losing a melee
- Suffering casualties from small arms fire and artillery.

Throw 2 dice and add and deduct the following:

'A' class troops	+6	'C' class troops	+4
'B' class troops	+5	'D' class troops	+3
'E' class troops	+2		
Advancing	+2	Retreating	-2
Stand of pike	+4	Disordered	-4
Cut enemy down	+2	2:1 disadvantage	-3
2:1 advantage	+3	General killed	-3
In cover	+2	Unsupported	-2
General	+3	50% casualties	-3
Officer	+2	Charged in flank or rear	-5
25% casualties	-2	Broken by cavalry	-5

After adding and deducting these factors now consult the table below.

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Original size of unit	Casualties				
24	2-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	over 50%
20	2	3-5	6-8	9-10	" "
16	1-2	3-5	5-6	7-8	" "
12	1-2	3-4	5	6	" "
8	1	2-3	3	4	" "
6	1	-	-	2	" "

Units reaction	Dice Score				
OK	7	8	9	10	11
Retreat	4-6	5-7	6-8	7-9	8-10
Rout	0-3	0-4	0-5	0-6	0-7

Definitions

OK May do anything ordered.

Retreat hold a defensive position and may not attack; if in melee, retreat one move backwards; if already retreating, rout.

Rout charge move backwards, disordered.

Rallying

A Unit which has retreated will reform in one move regardless of its class or strength. A unit which has routed will reform in the time allocated below:

Class	Rout from melee	Rout from other causes
'A'	3 moves	2 moves
'B'	4 moves	3 moves
'C'	5 moves	4 moves
'D'	6 moves	5 moves
'E'	7 moves	6 moves

Troops may not rally if below 1/2 strength. If a routing unit is prevented from returning to its own baseline by a hostile unit it will surrender.

Mercenaries

To add a bit of interest to the game the players may wish to throw for a mercenary unit's behaviour.

Throw 3 dice every four moves and consult the following table.

3,4,5	- they refuse to fight and march off the field of battle.
6,7,8,9	- will fight as normal.
10,11,12	- hold a defensive position.
13,14,15	- will change sides.
16,17,18	- charge nearest enemy unit.

J. Quarter:

Lifeguards, religious fanatics and good quality mercenaries will refuse to take quarter. All others may surrender, there must be one guard to every five prisoners who must be escorted to the rear of the army.



DISASTER TO VICTORY STAMFORD BRIDGE

by Anthony R. Tucker

Introduction

On 20 September 1066 a major disaster befell northern Anglo-Saxon England. After the bloody battle of Fulford Gate, in which the Saxon army of the North was shattered, losing 1,000 of its best men, King Harald Hardrada of Norway looked set to secure half of England. King Harold Godwinson marching north was faced with the task of trying to retrieve the situation and snatch victory from disaster before the Normans invaded southern England. Having dragged most of his men 200 miles would they be up to defeating the numerically superior Viking army? Harold's subsequent victory at Stamford Bridge has since become a subject of some controversy.

The seeds of this northern invasion were partly sown in 1065, when Earl Tostig Godwinson was expelled from his Northumbrian Earldom. Harold did not spring to his brother's defence, an act that could have plunged England into civil war. Furthermore, Tostig felt that he should have been crowned King on 6 January 1066, rather than his brother.

Tostig has always been cast as the villain of the story, which is not necessarily true. He sailed first to Flanders and then Denmark seeking support. He hoped King Svein of Denmark would provide a Danish army, but the King was too preoccupied with defending Denmark against the Norwegians. So Tostig, legend has it, sailed to Norway to see King Harald Hardrada (Sigurdsson) at Oslo Fjord. Hardrada was initially reluctant to invade England; there is some evidence to suggest that his son, Magnus, had tried to invade England with a fleet from Norway, Ireland, Orkney and Shetland in 1058.

In Norway, rather surprisingly, it was felt in some quarters that one Saxon housecarl was equal to two Norwegian warriors. Finally though, Tostig convinced Harald of the merits of an invasion and in the spring of 1066 he sailed to Flanders to collect his English and Flemish troops.

Ill-Omens

The only contemporary sources are Snorri Sturluson's 13th Century *Heimskringla*, in particular *King Harald's Saga*, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. *King Harald's Saga* is the most detailed account of the whole campaign, but its accuracy is open to endless debate.

The Norwegian forces gathered at Solund Isles and Hardrada sailed from Trondheim to collect them. According to Sturluson while on ship two warriors had bad dreams bearing ill-omens for the coming invasion. Gydir saw an Ogress who told him they were sailing west to die. While Thord, on a ship near the King's, saw an Ogress riding a wolf prowling in front of the Saxon army consuming Norwegian corpses. The King himself dreamt he saw his dead brother who told him that death awaited him. In such superstitious times these omens were taken to heart.

Before leaving Trondheim Hardrada took the precaution of having his eldest son Magnus declared King and regent in his absence. Even so he took his wife and other children, including Prince Olaf. En route Hardrada sailed first to the Viking kingdoms of Shetland and Orkney to collect the forces of Earls Paul and Erlend, Godred of Iceland and an unnamed Irish King. He also left his wife and daughters in Orkney.

Invasion

The Norwegian fleet sailed down the coast of Scotland, by which time it numbered about 300 ships and some 9-12,000 men. Their invasion was unopposed; coming ashore in Cleveland they plundered the region. Scarborough was foolish enough to resist and was burned to the ground, while many of its people were massacred.

Hardrada then moved down the coast, landing at Holderness, where he engaged a Saxon militia force, easily defeating it. The Norwegians moved south again, sailed up the Humber landing at Riccall, ten miles from York, and marched on the city. On

Wednesday 20 September 1066 they found the northern Saxon forces under Earls Morcar, Edwin and Waltheof barring their way at Fulford Gate. In a bloody, but well executed battle the Saxons were cut to pieces.

York, fearing a repeat of Scarborough's fate, surrendered, offering its allegiance, men and hostages to Hardrada and Tostig. Hardrada demanded 500 hostages, who were to be gathered by the 25th, and withdrew to Riccall.

King Harold had left London on the day of Fulford Gate and arrived in Tadcaster ten miles from York on Sunday, 24 September. On arriving at Tadcaster Harold drew his army up in battle order, expecting an attack from York. When none came he marched into the city the following day.

Caution to the Wind

On reaching York at about 9am on Monday morning, Harold was faced with three courses of action; He could stay in York and await attack, march on Riccall or advance to Stamford Bridge, where the Vikings were to collect their hostages, and try to catch them by surprise. Harold's men rested briefly and then marched on Stamford Bridge.

After his victory at Fulford Gate Hardrada seems to have thrown caution to the wind, assuming that the north could not offer any more serious opposition. That Monday he disembarked his army and once again divided his forces as he had done prior to Fulford Gate. From each company two men were to go for every one that was left behind. Therefore Hardrada left about one third of his army with the fleet, about 3,000 men, while he probably took with him 7-8,000. Tostig accompanied him, as did *Stallari* Stykrar commanding his personal housecarls, possibly Godred of Iceland and Copsi, a Northumbrian ally of Tostig's. But Prince Olaf, *Stallari* Eystein Orre and Earls Paul and Erland were left behind.

It was a hot day, so Hardrada's men foolishly left their mail and leather armour on the ships, only taking their helmets, shields and weapons. After all, though, they were marching to a rendezvous with a defeated people, not to a battle – or so they thought. Stamford Bridge over the river Derwent is seven miles east of York. All the roads in eastern Yorkshire converged here and strategically it dominated the region. Upon arriving the Vikings strew themselves out in the grass on either side of the river, perhaps recounting their exploits at Fulford to each other.

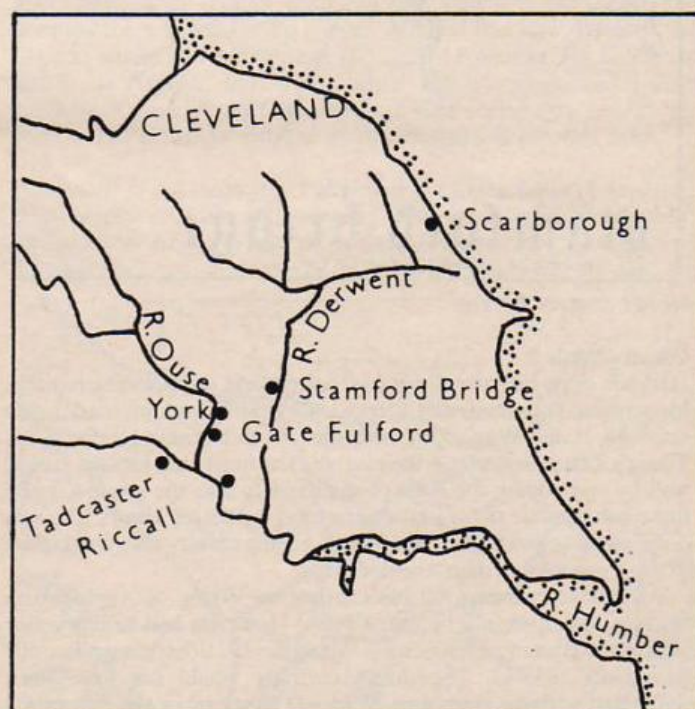
Glittering Weapons

The Saxons meantime marched along the old Roman road to Gate Helmsley. It was only when they were one mile away coming over the



brow of the gradual slope from Gate Helmsley to Stamford Bridge that the Norwegians spotted them. Hardrada summoned Tostig, who thought they looked hostile, but might be kinsmen coming to join them. Harald had arranged with York to provide him with men for the invasion of southern England, so there was a vague possibility that they might be rebels. The Norwegian King waited cautiously. Sturluson notes 'the closer the army came, the greater it grew, and their glittering weapons sparkled like a field of broken ice.'

When the 'Golden Warrior' standard came into view Hardrada rapidly realised it was King Harold Godwinson. Tostig counselled retreat to the fleet and the rest of the army, but most of the Norwegians were on the left bank, the wrong side of the river to be able to retire to Riccall. Also, to retire down the right bank would probably require a major rearguard action as the Saxons were so near.



The area of campaign

Battle of the Bridge

Instead Hardrada decided to send three men on horses to fetch the rest of the army, while he would fight a holding action. Harald would not have liked the idea of fighting with his back to the largely unfordable river, the slope on the right bank immediately above the bridge in an area now called Battle Flats was an attractive defensive position. Those Vikings on the left bank were ordered to delay the Saxons whilst the main body formed up on the right.

King Harold had marched north with about 3,000 housecarls, thegns and thanes many of whom would have been professional soldiers. Once north he was probably able to recruit about 2,000, but it seems doubtful that the bulk of Morcar's and Edwin's scattered army was retrievable. This means that Harold had an army of about 5,000, possibly 6,000, which was probably visibly outnumbered by the Vikings. But Harold was presented with the opportunity of defeating the Norwegians piecemeal. It is possible he knew of the 3,000 men still at Riccall. Even if he did not the army before him was unprepared, divided and not in a very favourable position.

Sturluson talks of cavalry attacks and it is most likely at this point that one occurred. The mounted housecarls, seeing the Vikings divided, spurred their horses towards the bridge. Some Norwegians withdrew, but others formed a semi-circular shield wall blocking the Saxon's way. Many of the Saxons must have dismounted to get to grips with their foe, who, under the weight of numbers, gave ground and eventually collapsed.

One solitary Viking wearing a mail coat and wielding a two-handed axe prevented the Saxons from clinching victory by straddling the bridge and holding everyone at bay or chopping them down. An arrow was shot at him, but glanced off his mail. Anyone who tried to rush him was hewn down; it is claimed some 40 men suffered this fate. Finally someone in a boat stabbed him from underneath the bridge and the Saxon army streamed across to find the Norwegian army formed up 200 metres away on the slight rise. Hardrada did not attempt further to prevent the Saxons from crossing.

people in western Europe to use the pike under Hardrada's guidance. Also, some of the Norwegians may have had kite-shaped shields, although the Varangian Guard is not recorded using them until 1122.

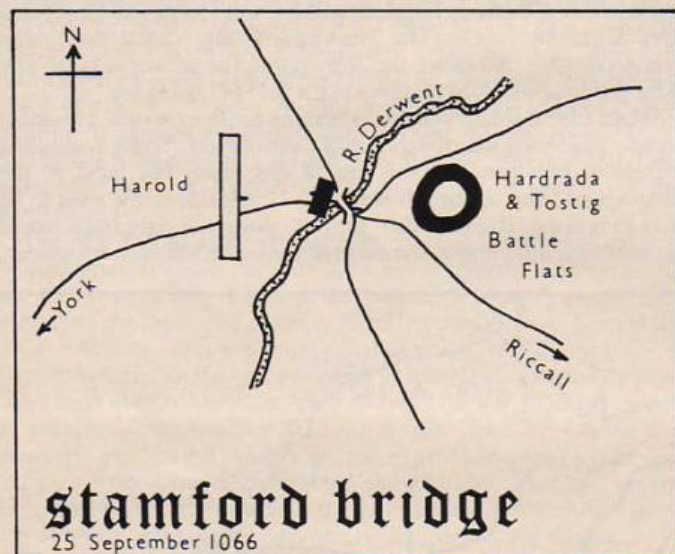
King Hardrada, whilst inspecting his warriors, fell from his horse as it stumbled. Harold, seeing this, was awe struck by his size. Shortly after this 20 Saxon housecarls, all in mail (including their horses according to Sturluson?), rode up to the Vikings' lines and asked to speak to Tostig. One rider offered him one third of England if he would join his brother. Tostig was insulted and asked what Hardrada would get. The rider replied 'King Harold has already declared how much of England he is prepared to grant him: Seven feet of ground, or as much as he is taller than other men.'

Hardrada asked who this man was, to which Tostig answered 'That was King Harold Godwineson.' The Norwegian greatly regretted missing the chance to cut Harold down, but Tostig said he would not be his brother's murderer. Hardrada also rued the fact that his men had left their armour behind, including his own *Emma*, his knee length mail coat.

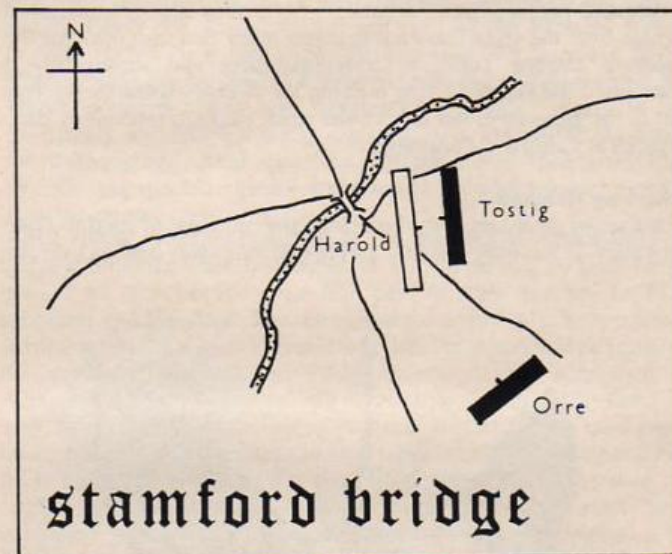
Struck by an Arrow

Snorri Sturluson says the Saxon cavalry now attacked, riding round the Norwegian shield wall, who in return shot their bows at the horsemen. The Saxons repeatedly charged, regrouped and charged again. At one point the Vikings pursued the retiring horsemen, but the Saxons turned and rode them down. (Sounds too much like Hastings.) King Hardrada enraged, charged to help his men and in full battle fury all gave before him. Many were slain and it looked as if the Saxons would be routed.

At this crucial moment in the battle Harald was struck in the throat by an arrow. He fell and all those around him were cut down, although some retreated under 'Land-Waster'. Tostig's forces rallied under this banner and both sides fell back to regroup. Harold offered the survivors (including his brother), quarter, but all refused, preferring to die with their King, and the battle resumed.



Map1: Initial Battle



Map2: Final Battle

Cavalry Battle?

Hardrada drew his army up in a circular shield wall, placing himself, his personal housecarls and *Merkismadr* Fridrek with his black raven standard, 'Land-Waster', in the centre. Both Harald's Hirdmen and Tostig's men were to act as the reserve. The front rank formed a spear wall by embedding the ends of their spears into the ground, while those behind were to thrust their spears at the horses' chests. This was done according to Snorri because the enemy cavalry always attacked in small groups and then wheeled away.

All this sounds very uncharacteristic of Viking or Anglo-Saxon warfare. But it should be noted Harald Hardrada had held a senior rank in the Byzantine Emperor's Varangian Guard, commanding 500 men circa 1035-44. Therefore Hardrada would not have been unfamiliar with the Byzantine *Kontos* (12ft spear) or the *Rhaptarion* (8-9ft spear). Byzantine infantry when attacked by cavalry had their front rank brace themselves by pushing their spear butts into the ground. Thus Tostig's Flemings may have been some of the first

Belated Reinforcements

It was about now that Eystein Orre arrived with his belated reinforcements, the 3,000 men from the fleet. They had force-marched the 12 miles from Riccall, crossing the Derwent to the south at Kexby.

Reaching Tostig's position, Orre seized 'Land-Waster' and his forces fell on the Saxons who at this new onslaught once again nearly broke. But Orre's men had run all the way from the fleet in their armour and most were exhausted. As the fighting progressed many of them threw off their mail, some collapsed, others even died of exhaustion. The result of this was that the force died out of Orre's attack and the Vikings were finally beaten. By the late afternoon it was all over; some remained to fight to the death, others fled.

Stallari Styrkar, commander of Hardrada's personal housecarls, managed to escape on a horse, murdering a local for his coat of route. Godred of Iceland also fled and escaped to the Isle of Man. In the Lincolnshire village of Barrow-on-Humber a legend persisted that

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NF2 Infantry advancing Gt/coat
NF3 Infantry Chasseur
NF4 Command pack
NF5 Artillery crew
NF6 Chasseur d'Afrique
NF7 Hussar
NF8 Generals
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Piedmont/Sardinian

NS1 Line Infantry
NS3 Bersagliere
NS5 Cacciatori

Russian

CWR1 Infantry at ready
a) in cap, b) in helmet
CWR2 Infantry firing in cap
CWR3 Infantry advancing in cap
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after the battle Hardrada lived there as a hermit. This is untrue, but may indicate that some Vikings fled there. The defeated Norwegians were pursued back to their fleet, where the fight continued.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* notes some of them were drowned, others burned, which may indicate that some of the ships were set alight.

Conclusion

King Harold gave quarter to those left on the ships, including Olaf and the Earls of Orkney. They were sent home in 24 of the original 300 ships. The Vikings are thought to have lost as many as 7,000 men, although this may be a little high. Certainly many of them would have been butchered in the surrounding countryside. Tostig's body was found on the battlefield with his head cloven to the chin by an axe blow, possible delivered by Harold. Hardrada lay surrounded by those he had slain. The nameless Irish King was also killed.

It was a whole generation before the Norwegians undertook another foreign expedition. Stamford Bridge was the last major battle fought on English soil in which a Viking army took part. Three years later the Danes arrived with a fleet of 300 ships to join the Saxon rebels resisting the Normans, but they were bought off.

King Harold's victory celebrations were cut short on 1 October when he heard that Duke William of Normandy had landed on the south coast on 28 September. A fortnight later Harold was dead on the field of Hastings and William was on the military road to becoming master of England. By retrieving the disaster of Fulford Gate with victory at Stamford Bridge Harold tragically undermined his chances of victory at Hastings, although it was to be a close thing.

Wargaming the Battle

Stamford Bridge is one of those 'near run things' fought in a number of phases that could have swung the battle either way, which provide variety and excitement for the wargamer. The controversy over the use of Saxon cavalry is intriguing. Personally I subscribe to the school of thought which argues the Saxons rode to war and fought on foot. Nevertheless the argument is quite balanced, so Stamford Bridge could be refought as cavalry versus infantry, infantry versus infantry

or a mixture. Certainly it would seem reasonable to use mounted housecarls in the attack on the bridge, followed by a dismounted attack on the Norwegians' main position.

Using a 1:20 figure scale the two opposing armies could be divided up as follows;

Viking Army	No. of	No. of
Commander:	Troops	Figures
Hardrada	4,000	200
Styrkar (Personal Hirdmen)	120	6
Godred	2,000	100
Tostig & Copsi	1,000	50
Orra	3,000	150
	Total	506

Saxon Army	No. of	No. of
Commander	Troops	Figures
Harold	2,700	135
Personal Housecarls	300	15
Select Fyrd	1,000	50
Greater Fyrd	2,000	100
	Total	300

The battle divides up into (1) the attack on the bridge, (2) the attack on Hardrada, (3) his counter-attack and death, (4) Tostig's defence and (5) Orre's battle. Also some of the fighting could take place in and around the fleet, although by then the Norwegians were defeated.

Variations of play could be to have the Vikings purposely block the bridge on the left bank with their army, and Orre could arrive earlier in the battle, rather than at the eleventh hour.

For Harold the battle is a race against time. If he had been unable to cross the Derwent and Orre had arrived sooner there is little doubt Harold would have had to withdraw to fight another day - and fight the whole of the Viking army. Fortunately for Harold, King Hardrada lacked a decisive superiority in numbers and the vast majority of his men had no armour, except for their helmets and shields, a situation that even the bravest Viking would have been uncomfortable in!



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'If I Advance, Follow Me; If I Retreat, Kill Me; If I Die, Avenge Me'

A Wargamer's Guide to the Vendéan War, 1793-1796

Part 3

by *Guy Halsall*

Vendéan Characters

1. Rebels

Charette, François-Athanase. (1763-1796)

The 'King of the *Marais*', Charette is without doubt the best known of all the characters of the Vendéan War and thus deserves to head this list of personalities. Previously having served in the Royal French navy, he abandoned this career with the first stirrings of the Revolution, emigrated briefly, returned to fight for the king at the Tuileries, and eventually settled down to the life of a country squire. In March 1793 the local peasants persuaded him to lead them in revolt and he soon became leader of the *Maraichins*. Charette was undoubtedly a charismatic leader, full of panache, who could lead his men anywhere. On the other hand, it has to be said that he was very easy to annoy and let personal grievances take precedence over the running of the war, so that it has often, not entirely unjustly, been said that the failure to destroy the *Mayençais* after Torfou, and the defeat at Cholet were brought about by his attacks of pique. He allowed old

jealousies to get the better of him when, after the *Virée de Galerne*, he refused to join up with La Rochejaquelein, another foolish move. Nonetheless, Charette remains a hero in the Vendée and the kind of colourful character who appeals to wargamers.

La Rochejaquelein, Henri, Marquis de. (1772-1794)

'Monsieur Henri', as he was known, was undoubtedly the most romantic figure of the war. Still 21 when the war broke out, he had served in the Royal cavalry, and like Charette, emigrated briefly before returning to the Vendée. He took up arms somewhat unwillingly, but served in most of the great battles of 1793. A gifted tactician, if a mediocre strategist, he was made commander-in-chief during the *Virée de Galerne* and won a notable victory over Kléber at Entrammes. Having managed to recross the Loire, he survived the disasters at Savernay, and attempted to carry on the war in Anjou. He was shot dead in an obscure skirmish near Nuaillé on 28 January, 1794, still before his 22nd birthday. La Rochejaquelein was the

Stofflet

AFTER A PORTRAIT



Lescure

AFTER A PORTRAIT



Charette

AFTER GUÉRIN



D'Elbée

AFTER A PORTRAIT

Marshal Ney of the rebels, everywhere leading from the front, inspiring his men by personal example. His younger brother, Louis, was killed in the Vendéan uprising of 1815.

Stofflet, Jean-Nicholas de. (1751-1796)

Stofflet was born in Lorraine, and having served the *Ancien Régime* in a Swiss regiment, he was a game-keeper in the Vendée in 1793 when the revolt broke out. He became a commander of Angevin troops, fought in most of the large battles of 1793 and was La Rochejaquelein's principal lieutenant in the *Virée de Galerne*. Surviving this disaster, he resumed the war in Anjou and eventually made peace in 1795. He took up arms again later and was eventually caught by the Republicans and shot at Angers on 24 February 1796. Stofflet was in many ways the greatest of the rebel leaders. He was a stern disciplinarian and had a good organisational sense, as well as being a skilful field commander and personally brave.

D'Elbée, Joseph-Louis (or Maurice-Louis-Joseph) Gigôt. (1752-1794).

Another old soldier turned country squire, D'Elbée succeeded Cathelineau as C-in-C of the *Grande Armée Catholique et Royale*, which he led with some success before the defeat at Cholet, at which he was wounded. Carried thence to the isle of Noirmoutier, he was captured when the Republicans retook the island. Still unable to walk, he was shot in an armchair, the episode becoming the subject for a brilliantly atmospheric painting by Le Blanc. D'Elbée was a very pious and serious man and some of his mannerisms appeared faintly ridiculous. Michael Ross, in his book on the war, however, paints a very fair portrait of him and shows him to be a fine, skilful and compassionate soldier.

Lescure, Louis-Marie de Salgues, Marquis de. (1766-1793).

The 'Saint of Poitou' was, yet again, an ex-officer of the Royal army and was the cousin of Henri de la Rochejaquelein. One of the most likeable figures of the war, Lescure took part in most of the major engagements, distinguishing himself at Thouars and Torfou, until mortally wounded at Cholet. It was said that, while he always led from the front and showed a fine example to his Poitevins, his only weapon was a whip. His wife, the future Marquise de la Rochejaquelein (she married Monsieur Henri's brother Louis), said he carried an old sword but he never used it. Another pious general who always made his men pray before battle.

Bonchamp (sometimes spelt Bonchamps but he spelt it without the final 's' himself), Charles-Melchior-Artus, Marquis de. (1759-1793). Another ex-officer, Bonchamp was the commander of a further corps of the *Grande Armée*, and fought at Nantes, Torfou and Cholet, where he was mortally wounded. Before he died he spared the lives of five or six thousand prisoners who were going to be executed as a reprisal for 'Patriot' outrages – an episode which is very famous in the

annals of the war. Bonchamp was efficient, popular and a strict disciplinarian.

Cathelineau, Jacques. (1759-1793).

A likeable merchant from the Mauges, Cathelineau, 'the Saint of Anjou' (who was also famous for sparing the lives of prisoners), was made the first C-in-C of the *Grande Armée*. Had he remained in charge some of the petty jealousies which helped undermine the Royalist cause later on might have been avoided but he was killed in the attack on Nantes.

2. Republicans

Kléber, Jean-Baptiste. (1753-1800)

'He speaks in German but he sabres in French', Napoleon said about Kléber, the skilful and humane Alsatian general. Kléber was theoretically second-in-command of the *Mayençais*, but in practice he was the real leader of the army. Beaten at Torfou he nevertheless inflicted the decisive defeat on the rebels at Cholet. During the *Virée de Galerne* his troops were those most used in pursuit of the rebels, and were again beaten at Entrammes. Kléber was sickened at the atrocities at Nantes and Savernay and, when the *Mayençais* were disbanded, he left the Vendée for the frontiers. He was eventually assassinated in Cairo, where he had succeeded Bonaparte as the commander of the French expeditionary force. He would doubtless have made a fine and trusted marshal.

Hoche, Lazare-Louis. (1768-1797).

Aged 25 in 1793, Hoche led the Army of the Moselle against the Austrians with some success before coming to the Vendée the following year. He was entrusted with pacifying the region, a task which he performed with great tact and skill. He destroyed the Emigré army at Quiberon and returned to the frontiers as commander of the Army of the Sambre and the Meuse soon after. He is credited as having introduced separate cavalry divisions into the French army (Rogers, p.38) and, had he not died of camp fever at Wetzlar on 19 September 1797, he too would have made a good marshal.

Westermann, François-Joseph. (1751-1794).

'The Butcher of the Vendée', Westermann is notorious for the slaughter of men, women and children which his columns carried out, particularly during the *Virée de Galerne*. A loyal *Montagnard*, Westermann was extremely brave, to the point of recklessness, but paid for this on several occasions when his hussars crashed headlong into Vendéan ambushes. He received his 'come-uppance' when Robespierre and the Jacobites fell from power. Summoned to Paris, he was executed on 6 April 1794.

Turreau, Louis-Marie, baron de Linières or de Garambouvill (?). (1756-1816).

Another bloodthirsty commander, Turreau was the creator of the *Colonnes Infernales*. He too was summoned to Paris to account for his atrocities, when the Jacobins lost power, but after a spell in prison, during which he wrote his memoirs, he was released. After fighting in Switzerland and Germany, he was made ambassador to the United States until 1811, and was thereafter employed in Germany.

WARGAMING THE VENDÉAN WAR

The Nature of the War

The most serious problem with wargaming a war like that of the Vendée is that of morality. The notion of the 'Black' wargame is something which has received a great deal of attention in the *Nugget* and *Slingshot* but the question of what can or cannot be wargamed tastefully is not new and awareness of it is certainly not the sole preserve of WD members. With *La Vendée* the problem is particularly acute, not only because we are faced with the old cop-out of 'it was a long time ago', but also because of the essentially paradoxical character of the war. Whilst on the one hand we can be faced with the stomach-churning accounts of the activities of the *Colonnes Infernales*, or of Generals Westermann and Turreau, or the massacres at Nantes carried out by the notorious Carrier, on the other hand it cannot be denied that there were many very chivalrous acts performed during the war, and the conflict, perhaps because of the 'amateurism' of both sides, was the scene of a surprising amount of dash and episodes of 'derring-do' – the sort of things which irresistibly attract the wargamer to a historical period.

The first thing to say is that the fact that the war took place almost 200 years ago is no reason for us not to remember, try to imagine, or respect the immense suffering which the region endured from 1793 to 1796. With this in mind I can only beg that any wargaming of the Vendéan war be done in as serious a frame of mind as possible. I would hate to see wargames set in this period being played with the same flippancy as one sees, for example, in some Vietnam skirmish wargames. It takes no more than a few minutes' contemplation of the realities of the return from the *Virée de Galerne* or of the massacres at Nantes or by the *Colonnes Infernales* to make one respect the victims of the war. And if contemplation of such acts leaves you with no compassionate feelings, then I suggest that you should not wargame the Vendée, and indeed you should not be wargaming at all. If all you want is a game, switch to chess, or Monopoly.

Secondly, I suggest that games or campaigns be set in the earliest part of the war, that is before the *Virée de Galerne*. The period after Turreau's replacement and the change in Republican policy might also be wargamed, but this period was one of essentially small-scale actions and was somewhat broken-backed. Nevertheless the exploits of Charette, 'the King of *Le Marais*', in this period will appeal to many. In theory, the period of the *Colonnes Infernales* presents a number of political, military and historical problems which the more serious might like to examine or explore but to do so, without descending to tastelessness and the 'grease the gooks' mentality of some modern games, would be difficult and I do not intend to propose any methods here.

The preceding paragraphs have been very 'heavy', but I felt that these points had to be made. Now I should like to move away from this and, assuming that you are still interested in recreating the battles of the Vendéan War on the table-top, outline what I feel were the main aspects of the character of such engagements – the things that a Vendéan wargame should aim to recapture.

The first point which should be made concerns the terrain. As has been said, the Vendéan *bocage* is extremely close country. The wargames table should be covered with hedges and trees. Roads should be narrow and sunken (bear in mind that in 1794 General Dalliach reported that the arrival of his column at Secondigny was greatly delayed because one of his ammunition caissons broke an axle on the way, blocking the road completely) and visibility into or out of them should be practically impossible except for those troops on the very edges.

Villages are small, somewhat ramshackle, and the red tile roofed houses usually plastered white. Half-timbered houses were also found, especially in the towns. So, usual 'Renaissance' buildings, or those of 'Mediterranean Climes' will do. Making your own is not difficult. A simple rectangular structure with two gable ends, very basic door and windows, and a gently sloped roof, made from card or

balsa and 'plastered' with Tettrion is easy enough to make. I make the tiled roofs by applying a thickish layer of Tettrion to the balsa surface. When almost dry, I incise the rows of tiles with a pin, and when completely dry I paint the roof, applying a dark red-brown first and then a series of progressively lighter and drier 'dry brushes', finishing with a light brushing of stark bright red. This has a very good effect. The walls offer scope for depicting chipped-off plaster and the brick wall underneath – allowing a really 'run-down' look.

The land is rolling but never very sharp in relief. Even in the *Collines Vendéennes*, the hills are nowhere very high. I am repeatedly disappointed in wargames terrain supposedly representing close country. Usually a concessionary two to four hedged enclosures, five trees and a cottage – the other twenty-two square feet left bare. If you want to see how *really* to do it, look at Steve Dunn's article in issue 12 of this magazine's predecessor.

Vendéan battles were quite unlike anything else in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. I have already described the tactics of the rebels, but it will be remembered that they relied on a very individual, loose way of skirmishing (not the very precise affair which Peter Hofschroer has shown that skirmishing was in the regular armies). Besides that, the close terrain meant that troops could not keep in formation very long. When we are assessing the 'good order' or otherwise of troops in the Vendée we are not, except on rare occasions, looking at the presence or otherwise of 'serried ranks' or approximations thereof, but at a far more 'mental' state of affairs, which we might loosely call 'cohesion'. This is the consciousness of, if not actually being in a well-drilled line or column, being in one body of men, still acting together towards the same end. In the Vendée this is very important, not only because the terrain puts innumerable obstacles in the way of physical cohesion but also because it, and the inevitable smoke from the guns, reduces visibility massively, making the 'mental' aspect of unit cohesion crucial.

In the Vendée close fighting was far more common than in other wars of this period. This was partly, of course, the result of the close terrain, which enabled troops to close with the enemy without having to cross vast stretches of open ground. It was also the result of the fact that a great proportion of the troops involved were armed with 'cold steel' only. At least one third of the rebels carried pikes, swords, axes and converted farm implements. On the republican side, apart from the many National Guards and local levies armed with pikes, the rest of the army was badly equipped so that ammunition was in short supply, leaving the *Bleus* to rely on their bayonets. A third contributory factor was the lack of training and skill of the bulk of both sides, sharpshooters and *chasseurs* aside. This meant that even where the troops were well-equipped with firearms and ammunition, the effect of their firing was unlikely to be devastating, except at very short ranges. Of course, this is not to say that the usual factors in the effectiveness of musketry did not apply. The terrible noise of gunfire, coupled here with the added audio-visual experience of hundreds of musket-balls smashing through trees or hedges, still played its role in reducing morale. In fact, as Richard Brookes has said, in close country the morale effect is greater in some ways since the rounds which would otherwise whistle past or over you without being registered, hit trees or hedges, making their presence much more noticeable. As in other theatres, morale would play its part in determining whether or not a charge would succeed – a larger part, probably, than the physical effect of musketry. Either the attackers would falter before the noise and effects of the defenders' volleys, or, if their morale was high enough, they would keep going and the defenders would break before the sight of a determined enemy bearing down on them. Nonetheless, in the claustrophobic terrain of the *bocage* similar morale factors would occur as in street fighting. When two bodies of troops come upon each other suddenly, almost unexpectedly and at very short distances the pressures of battle are as likely to drive them forward, since escape appears less plausible, to drive away the threat at all costs – what was later called the 'flight to the front'. All this meant that Vendéan battles were often decided in quite prolonged spells of fighting at murderously close quarters.

Now we have strayed on to the question of morale, a few other points need to be made. The first is that the morale of the troops on both sides was very brittle. In part two we mentioned that the Vendéan troops could be split into three types, and that the Republicans also varied considerably in quality. The lack of experience on either the *Blancs* or the *Bleus* part led to very common mass panics. More than once an apparently simple

manoeuvre led to a general flight. In one engagement the rebel artillery were moved, to find a better position, but the Catholic troops mistook Marigny's limbering up for a sign that the army was retreating and panic ensued. On another occasion the rebels decided to transfer troops from one flank to another, but as these men passed behind the centre of the Royal army the latter mistook them for a Republican attack on their rear and broke in rout. The *Patriots* too were susceptible to such bursts of panic. Obviously the lack of visibility and the fact that both sides were generally in rags helped bring about these examples of battlefield confusion. The second point concerns the role of the commanders. In situations such as I have just outlined the local commander was of vital importance. His charisma, skill and not least his ability to stay alive was a determining factor in whether or not his part of the line would hold. Here the rebels had a slight advantage in that captains and lieutenants were men well-known and respected by their men in civilian life. Generals also, if not more so, had to be up at the front most of the time, riding from one point to another, encouraging their troops. The Vendée is full of recorded battlefield speeches to the troops. These range from the heroic (which in other wars we might assume were invented by fawning biographers – here the amateurism of the antagonists dictates otherwise):

'If I advance, follow me; if I retreat, kill me; if I die, avenge me.' (La Rochejaquelein);

'Are there four hundred out there brave enough to come and die with me?' (Lescure);

'Soldiers of Mayence, the Republic is watching you. (Kléber);

to the desperate: *'He who loves me follows me.'* (Charette);

and finally to the kind of utterances one imagines were made by generals throughout history, albeit not recorded:

*'Now that that filthy bastard of a Bonchamp has turned up, we're completely f***ed.'* (Kléber at Torfou).

In terms of wargames rules, then, it is clear that commercial Napoleonic or 'Eighteenth Century' rules will not be satisfactory. The best hope will be to start with Bruce Quarrie's Napoleonic set and amend that. The 'national characteristics' which he uses will be the best framework into which to fit the varying troop qualities, their strengths and weaknesses, and the assignment of particular movement rates to different troop types in different formations will be especially valuable. However, his rules will need substantial modification nonetheless. The role of local commanders and the importance of cohesion may well lend this war to an adaptation of Andy Callan's Dark Age Infantry Slog system for troop cohesion and local commanders, and fitting this into the Quarrie framework. Republican artillery will also need a massive deduction when firing at Vendéan troops in open order – to represent the unorthodox tactic of lying down when the muzzle flashes were seen. I hope to publish a fairly simple set of rules for this war in this magazine in the future.

As for figures, this was the biggest problem for anyone wanting to wargame this war, until recently. Paradoxically, it used to be easier to model the rebels, using the Airfix Confederates and Cowboys, whereas the Blues had to be modelled using various tricky conversions from Washington's Army, Confederates and various Napoleonic sets. Fortunately, within the last few years various 15mm figures have appeared, to which we will turn later, but if you would prefer to use 20mm plastic figures, the Esci Austrians and Prussians are ideal for conversion to Republican troops – the Prussians wearing bicorne and the Austrians wearing helmets which can be converted to the French 'Tarleton'-style *casques*. Typically, these came out just after I had given up on plastics and invested in some 15mm metal troops. Airfix have also recently re-released their 'Washington's Army' and 'Waterloo RHA' (Very useful for their Tarleton helmets!). In metal, in 15mm, Peter Laing makes figures for Napoleon's expedition to Egypt, some of which will be just right for the Republicans of 1793. His ACW and Wild West ranges also provide a number of figures ideal to represent the Vendéans. At the moment most of my *Patriots* are Minifigs early Napoleonic in bicorne and their Spanish line infantry in similar head-gear. These paint up very nicely as Republicans. I have also used their French Gendarmes, early Heavy Cavalry and early British dragoons in bicorne, to represent the Republican cavalry. In fact, Minifigs have a Revolutionary Wars range in the pipeline at the moment (well, it's been in the pipeline for over a year, but I'm hoping they will be out by the time you read this) which will be perfect, Tarletons and

everything. The good thing about Minifigs is that you can, as I am doing, plan your army around a range before it comes out, since the figures are so predictable is quality (and pose!). My only gripe about Minifigs (Mr Dickinson please take note) is that apart from one or two figures standing with feet together, all their figures have their left foot forward. This means that no matter how much time you spend painting the figures in rag-tag uniforms, or mixing poses, you still end up with a unit in step! It's difficult to make Minifigs look like a rabble. I use the Battle Honours British Light Dragoons in Tarleton as French 1793 *Chasseurs à Cheval*. A simple paint conversion is all that is necessary. On the eve of submitting this piece I see (on the inside cover of *Wargames Illustrated* no.1) that Battle Honours are advertising a superb-looking range of Revolutionary Wars figures. These will obviously be ideal for the war.

As for the Catholic and Royal Army, I use Battle Honours Spanish guerrillas (ideal, but some poses are better than others; they are expensive and sold in packs containing all poses), some Donnington ACW figures, Minifigs Napoleonic naval figures (after the guerrillas, the next closest to the rebels, but again expensive and unfortunately the positions are somewhat limited, in a Vendéan context), ECW peasants (very easy to paint-convert and the only figures I have seen to have scythes with the blade turned 90° in Vendéan style. They also have ordinary scythes, cudgels and pitchforks and are eight-to-a-pack – great!) and X9 (a musketeer without 12 Apostles and musket rest, wearing a floppy hat – a very useful figure). I am hoping to buy some Peter Laing figures to complement these in the near future. ACW figures should have floppy hats and are better without too much battlefield impediments such as blanket rolls (on figures which do have these, I paint them up as rolled cloaks – the cloak being worn quite frequently in the Vendée). Then it is a question of painting them up convincingly. Obviously, some of the new Battle Honours Republicans will be suitable too (RF08 and RF09 especially, at a glance). The Rebel cavalry present a bigger problem. At the moment I am experimenting with Minifigs ECW dragoons and medium cavalry.

Guns do not present much of a problem. The French artillery pieces were of the Gribeauval system, as later in the Napoleonic wars. The rebels used captured guns of this type and many much older pieces. A mixture of up-to-date guns, ECW or TYW culverins and all things in between will give your army a very distinctive quality. I don't think Minifigs plan to bring out Revolutionary Wars French artillery crew, which is a pity (I may well be wrong), but early Prussian, or Austrian Napoleonic gunners in bicorne will do just as well. A mixture of these and ACW and ECW gunners will suit the rebels well. The rebel army will look good with a sprinkling of carts and civilians behind their lines, and the Republicans were similarly accompanied by masses of wagons and caissons.

If you decide to wargame the war in 25mm, there are now many figures available in bicorne and the comments made above about the troops which can be converted to rebels apply equally in this scale. In fact, although I chose 15mm, 25mm has the advantage of more ranges which can be used.

Other Options

Apart from straightforward tabletop figure games the Vendée presents a number of other possibilities. The first of these is the 'free kriegspiel'. In this the two sides each have a map, cannot see each other and the game is played as a mini-campaign, without the players being aware of such rules as do exist. The umpire has a master map and calculates the effects of each set of orders, and then feeds back to the players such information as they would have in real life. I have run two Vendéan kriegspiels, both of which have been a great success, not least because in the Vendée there were few rules of war, and many bizarre acts of derring-do (men dressed up as women spiking a garrison's guns the night before an attack etc.) so the player's imaginations have free rein without losing historical plausibility. For maps, the best things to use are the *Institut Geographique National's* 1:100 000 (1cm. = 1Km) *Cartes Touristiques* numbers (32, 33, 24, 25 and 39). These are available from most good book or map shops and are recognisable from the green rectangle, bearing the map number in white, at the top left corner of the cover. They cost about £2.35 each and you will need at least three of each area you want to cover, but don't worry, about 70% of the theatre of operations is covered by map 33 (Cholet-Niort) – the others cover the fringes (not counting the *Virée de Galerne* for which maps 24, 25, 16, 17 and 19 are needed).

These maps have contour lines and other detailed topographical information. For those who want especial detail, they also carry the local commune boundaries, which might help if you want to decide which local area would be threatened by a Republican force and would send troops to the rebel armies (the communes, though created at the Revolution, were based on earlier village units. Tilly says that the drawing up of their boundaries caused little friction, which suggests that they were older in origin). Such information will be of more use, probably, in campaigns, for which these maps will be equally useful. Should more detail of towns and so on be required, then the Michelin Green Guide of the area which has plans and other details on a number of the towns in the region will be needed. My copy of this is called *Côte de l'Atlantique* but I believe that this has now been superseded by one called *Poitou – Vendée – Charentes*. This costs about £4.65. For campaigns and kriegspiel purposes, all roads should be treated as narrow, sunken tracks with the exception of the D.949 from Les Sables D'Olonne to Pontenay-Le-Comte, the D.148 from Fontenay to Niort (these two roads are really the same) and the D.160 from les Sables D'Olonne to Cholet and Saumur (D.960 from Cholet to Saumur). These two routes were the only real roads in the area in 1793, and both have been greatly straightened out in Napoleon's reorganisation of the area. The larger towns should be reduced to their central cores but most other settlements have not changed much in size. La Roche-sur-Yon is a town planned by Napoleon to dominate the potentially rebellious area and was only a small village in the 1790s. Incidentally, I noticed recently that the IGN are publishing a 1:25,000 Blue series, which includes details of field boundaries and field names etc. These will be invaluable for really detailed information (and useful, I imagine for students of all eras of warfare in France, particularly WWII) but I have not seen them in England yet and they cost 36 francs (ie. the best part of £4) in France.

For fully fledged campaigns, as already mentioned, these guides and maps will be invaluable. If you do plan a campaign you will need to establish rules for the permanent state of flux in the numbers of the rebels and detailed systems for the raising of troops will also be necessary. The I.G.N. maps give the population of settlements and these will be a good guide towards fighting strength. Apart from the towns this was probably about the same in 1793 as it is today (perhaps a growth of about 10% should be allowed). Bear in mind that throughout the Vendée there were a significant number of *patriots* who would not fight. The time of year also affected the rebel army, harvest draining their manpower, and you should also remember that the religious motive was that which guided 80-90% of the rebels. Thus if the *Bleus* offer religious toleration and show signs of keeping this promise, there will be a drop in the enthusiasm for the war. Campaigns should involve many players, to command all the different local forces on both sides. Communication between players should only be allowed via letters through the umpire, unless, in the Republicans' case, their divisions have joined forces, or, in the rebels' case one of the periodical 'Councils of War' has been called. Personality clashes between generals were important factors on both sides in the war and these can easily be built into a campaign.

Another kind of game to which this war is suited is the 'Committee Game' in which a number of players take on the characters of historical commanders and try to force each other to adopt their plan. In the Vendée opportunities for this are provided by the various elections of Rebel commanders-in-chief, or by situations such as that after the crossing of the Loire when the Vendéans had to decide what to do next – some wanting to attack Nantes and return to the Vendée, others preferring the advance on the Channel ports. Similar factors can be built into Kriegspiels and campaigns by assigning different players different personal jealousies and motives.

Conclusion

The discussion of the other wargaming possibilities offered by the Vendée rounds off this three-part article. I have tried to follow what I feel are the essential characteristics of an article on wargaming a historical period. Thus I have given a brief historical, social and geographical outline based on fairly thorough research, followed this up by looking in more detail at the armies and tactics of the war and giving brief character sketches of the war's leading personalities and finally devoted a lot of space to wargaming the conflict – setting out the characteristics of the war which ought to be recreated, detailing the available figures, maps, guides and so on and finally discussing ways of wargaming the Vendée other than straightforward tabletop

encounters. I hope, therefore, that I have kept within the framework outlined by Richard Brooks in 'Down with History' (MW41) and (if this is not too big-headed) that this approach might be followed by more writers who intend to discuss historical eras in this magazine. I am sure that I am far from being the only one who is sick and tired of the article on no matter how obscure a period, which gives a mediocre historical narrative based on one or two books and finishes off with a short bland paragraph on wargaming the war – or worse, has no wargaming paragraph at all. I have also provided another thing which I believe is a *sine qua non* of a good historical wargames article, that is a bibliography of all the sources used in the preparation of this work. I would be very interested to hear the views, either privately or via this magazine, of anyone who can add information to this article or correct any errors in it, being, as I am, all too aware of areas where my knowledge is very basic. Finally I do hope that some of the readers of *Wargames Illustrated* will take up Vendéan wargaming. I am sure they will find it worthwhile. If so, treat this war with the respect it deserves, but do still enjoy your games!

Bibliography

If you cannot read French, there are few books which can help you, but I would recommend for the first part of the war (since it stops at the end of the *Virée de Galerne*) Michael Ross's *Banners of the King. The War of the Vendée 1793-4*, pub. London (Seeley Service and Co./Leo Cooper) 1975. Older, and covering the same limited period, but still useful is *The Tragedy of an Army. La Vendée in 1793*, by I.A. Taylor (London, Hutchinson's 1913). For general information on the armies an obvious place to start is Philip Haythornthwaite's *Uniforms of the French Revolutionary Wars, 1789-1802*, London, Blandford, 1981, and *Napoleon's Army* by H.C.B. Rogers (London, Ian Allen, 1974). More detail can be found in R.W. Phipps' *The Armies of the First French Republic* (Vol.3) Oxford (University Press) 1931. The best book for the background to the war is Charles Tilly's *The Vendée* (London, Edward Arnold, 1964). For general background I used Norman Hampson's *The French Revolution* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1975), Jacques Godechot's *The Counter-Revolution. Doctrine and Action*. (English edition New York 1971) and finally, interesting not least for its vehemently anti-Vendéan stance, J.M. Thompson's *The French Revolution* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1944). To my knowledge there is nothing on the war after the *Virée de Galerne* in English but perhaps a reader can point out some references here?

In French I would recommend the following:

General Introduction

A. Billaud *La Guerre de Vendée*. Fontenay-Le-Comte, Lussaud, 1945. (A good read but incredibly biased to the Rebels – Chanoine Billaud had a great-great-grandfather killed at Chantonnay.)

J. Rouille *Le Grand' Guerre de Vendée et les soulèvements de 1815-1832*. Nantes, Reflets du Passé. (Good. Not much detail but loads of pictures.)

If you can get hold of a copy, *Histoire Magazine* no.7, Août-Septembre 1980 contained a 'dossier' on the Vendée which included the following items: 'Les Croisés en Sabots' by Georges Bordnove; 'La Révolution en péril' by Albert Soboul; 'La "Virée de Galerne"' by Jean-François Chiappe; 'mgr d'Agra, espion ou mégalomane?' by Esmerelda de Belgique; 'Chronologie de la guerre de Vendée'; 'L'Armée du Bocage' by Philbert Doré Graslin; 'L'épopée des "Moulins qui parlent"' by Georges Bordnove; 'L'holocauste vendéen' by Paul-Henri Hansen-Catta; 'Balzac et les Chouans' by Philippe Sémichon; 'La débarquement de Quiberon' by Jean Kappel; 'Victor Hugo et la Vendée' by Philippe Sémichon; and 'La guerre des géants' – an interview with Michel de Saint-Pierre (novelist and author of a biography of Charette – which I haven't read!).

Michelin *Guide Vert – Côte de l'Atlantique*, Clermont Ferrand 1977.

Institut Géographique National. 1.100,000 *Cartes Touristiques*.

Biographies and further detail

R. Bittard de Portes *Charette et la Guerre de Vendée*. Paris 1902.

R. Blachez *Bonchamps et l'insurrection Vendéenne* Paris 1902.

R. Merlin *Merlin de Thionville* (vol 1), Paris 1927.

L. Saurel *Hoche*, Paris 1947.

+ de Belgique in *Histoire Magazine* above.

The Armies

R.C. Cobb *Les Armées Révolutionnaires. Instrument de la terreur dans les départements.* (2 vols). Paris 1961-3.

E. D'Hauterive *L'Armée sous la Révolution* Paris 1894.

A. Soboul *Les Soldats de l'An II* Paris (?) 1959.

+ Doré Graslin in *Histoire Magazine* above and Billaud 1977 p.52-6.

Memoirs

M. Boutiller de Sainte André *Une famille vendéenne pendant la Grande Guerre.* Paris 1896.

Guerres des Vendéens et des Chouans contre le République Française, par un officier supérieur des armées de la République. (4 vols) Paris 1824-5.

Mémoires sur la Vendée. Les mémoires inédits d'un ancien administrateur militaire des armées Républicains, et ceux de Madame de Sapinaud. Paris 1823.

Mémoires de Mme la Marquise de Bonchamps et de Mme la Marquise de la Rochejaquelein Paris 1823.

Mémoires inédits de Bertrand Poirier de Beauvais, Commandant Général de l'artillerie des armées de la Vendée. Paris 1893.

I also consulted more general French and English histories of the Revolution, but found that they added little new information.

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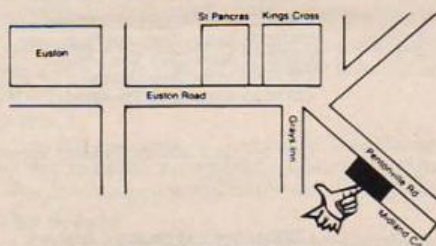
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THE CRIMEAN WAR

— a military watershed

by Stephen Allen

The declaration of war on Russia by Great Britain and France on 31st March 1854 marked the end of an era of peace that had lasted almost forty years. Not since the fall of the first Napoleon in 1815 had the Great Powers of Europe fought amongst themselves. True, the intervening years had been punctuated by what would now be termed 'internal unrest' and 'counter-insurgency operations', but it was the 'shooting war' in the Crimea that marked a turning point in the history of Europe even for those who lived through it.

War was greeted with popular acclaim by most people in Britain and France. Indeed, it may be argued that, in the case of Britain, the strength of popular feeling impeded the freedom of movement of the Government and helped make open conflict inevitable. In Britain attention was focussed upon those officers who had served in the Napoleonic Wars under 'the Duke' and who, it was expected, would lead 'Old England' to victory once again. Foremost of these was Lord Raglan, the Duke's former ADC and his successor at Horse Guards, to whom fell the task of commanding the British Expeditionary Force to the Crimea. The last occasion he had seen action had been at Waterloo, but in this he was by no means unusual. Of his ten most senior officers (Airey, Brown, Burgoyne, Cambridge, Cardigan, Cathcart, De Lacy Evans, England, Lucan, and Scarlett), only two had been on active service since Waterloo and four had no experience of it whatsoever. It was natural, therefore, that veterans of the Peninsula and the Low Countries should look back to the early years of the century, to the time when they had learned the art of soldiering.

An observer, watching the pageantry of the allied armies, British, French and Turkish, marching south in line and column from Calamita Bay in September 1854, might have been forgiven for thinking that little, if anything had changed at all since 1815. The events of the next twelve months would show just how wrong he was,

for, if military thinking had stagnated between these two dates, industry and technology had not.

The two most illustrative examples are the improvements in weaponry, particularly in infantry small arms, and the advances made in communications.

The replacement of the flintlock mechanism by the percussion cap produced marked changes in the use of the infantry musket by eliminating the greatest uncertainty: the act of firing itself. Whereas flintlock weapons had misfired approximately once every seven rounds, percussion caps reduced this to about one in two hundred rounds. However, even more revolutionary was the development of the cylindro-conoidal bullet, in the form of the Minié round, which finally made practicable the replacement of the inaccurate, short-ranged smoothbore musket by the greatly more accurate, much longer-ranged rifle. In fact, it may be claimed that the introduction of the rifled musket and the conoidal bullet between 1850 and 1860 had one of the greatest impacts on war of any weapon, before or since.

Infantry armed with such a weapon now had much less to fear from enemy artillery, whose range they could match, or from enemy cavalry, which could be repelled without recourse to forming square. As for the infantry itself, the day of the attack column was over – or at least it should have been. There were now three choices open to opposing infantry units, even if they were similarly armed: to withdraw from a frontal attack, to engage in a firefight that would do little to resolve the action, or to attempt to cross the fire zone quickly, thus reducing the number of casualties suffered, to come to grips with the enemy. Of all the European Powers, only the French Army had modified its infantry tactics to take account of the increased effectiveness of the rifled musket. Although still manoeuvring in column, French troops now deployed beyond effective small arms

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range and adopted the '*pas gymnastique*' to cross the fire zone. The success of this was nowhere more clearly demonstrated than at the storming of the Malkoff.

In general, however, armies responded slowly to these developments in weapon capabilities largely because they demanded much greater dispersal of troops on the battlefield. Professional soldiers feared and mistrusted this as inevitably leading to loss of control. The developments were, nevertheless, discussed thoroughly in military circles in many nations. But mainly due to their concern over battlefield control, most of them agreed that no basic changes in either organisation or tactics were required and even that the traditional rôle of the cavalry would not be affected. There were, of course, to be disastrous consequences.

Whereas control on the battlefield was lessening at the tactical level, at the strategic and political levels it was soon to become tighter. The electric telegraph which had come into commercial use about 1830 was first used for military purposes during the Crimean War. Communications between the theatre of war and the seat of government ultimately responsible for its conduct were now reduced from days, or even weeks, to a matter of hours. It put great strain upon the politicians and the commanders in the field, both of whom wished to have the final say over the conduct of the campaign. Perhaps the most extreme example of this were the frequent changes of strategy transmitted by Napoléon III to the long-suffering Canrobert who, as a result, resigned his command.

The Crimean War also saw the application to warfare of two new physical means of communication: the railway and the steamship. The completion of the former in March 1854, linking Balaklava with the allied siege lines around Sevastopol, greatly alleviated the problems of supply experienced by the British Army since the beginning of the campaign. No longer would a 'modern' army have to rely solely upon animal traction to maintain it in the field. Within ten years, railway networks had become central to strategic planning.

The navies of the world had begun to experiment with steam propulsion in the 1830's. Early efforts had been hampered, however, by the paddle-wheel drive and the need for frequent refuelling. The introduction of the screw propeller in 1837 provided a partial solution to these problems. New weapons technology enhanced sea power as it did for land based forces. The most important development in naval warfare in the first half of the 19th century was the hooped or built-up gun which effectively solved the problems of rifling. The new power of naval ordnance was graphically demonstrated at the battle of Sinope – the last fleet action to be fought between wooden ships and the first in which high explosive shells were deployed. So great was the impact of the total destruction of the Turkish fleet that within two years the world's first ironclad warships went into action. A startling contrast between the attitudes of army and navy.

In the final analysis it was communications of a quite different nature which were to have a far greater impact on the conduct of the war and on the way in which war in general was viewed by the public as a whole. The Crimean War was the first to be reported officially, as it happened, and the first to be photographed*. William Howard Russell's 'Despatches' brought the war into the homes of many thousands of people in a manner which aroused their enthusiasm, anger and compassion. Roger Fenton's photographic studies gave it an entirely new dimension. Public indifference and hostility were swept away by them. For the army itself, there were two major results: the effects of years of neglect and official penny-pinching were at last recognised and measures undertaken to rectify them; and the overall process of reform was accelerated, aiming at a rationalisation of the military administration and the improvement of the soldier's lot.

If the Crimean War can with some degree of justification claim to mark the military watershed of the 19th century, its lessons went unheeded to a great extent. Perhaps the circumstances that dictated its conduct were too narrow to prevent this. The only nation which seemed to have learned anything was the United States. Europe was obliged to wait until 1870.

*Ed. note: Photographs were taken during the second Burma War, pre-dating the Crimea. But Stephen rightly regards this as a "backwater". The Crimea was their "world premier". (I note this to forestall your letters!)

Next month we begin a series on small actions in the Crimean War – great scenarios for those new ranges of figures from Minifigs, Pioneer, & Wargames Foundry.



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THE CONVENTION SCENE

by our man at the Conventions (at the Bar) Keith 'Genghis' Benson

Welcome to (hopefully) a regular column, it has been unavoidably delayed in getting going, so it is now just in a position to review the '87 season, but should be "full steam ahead" for '88 – well that's the plan, sobriety and the Editor permitting.

As the title suggests this column is about Conventions, of any size, but limited to those having a wargaming content, or that are useful to wargamers. There are three main objectives (good military term that), to give advance notice of them, to report on them – critically if necessary and to discuss general organisational points – objectively I hope. In addition it should be witty, entertaining and useful. It is also open to gossip, scandal, etc!

To fulfil these objectives, and to be a representative forum, does require a bit of co-operation from you, the reader (hello, mum). I need Convention organisers to write to me with full details (and I mean FULL) as early as possible, a minimum of three months before the event is suggested. It is also clearly impossible for me to get to every Convention (the liver canna take much more), so independent reports and grouses about Conventions are welcome – anonymity guaranteed unless I'm bribed. Helpful suggestions on the 'how to', and equally the 'how not to', of organising, running and attending them are also wanted. It is not just comments from the organisers that are wanted. How often have you grumbled at a Convention? Well, now you have a forum for your grouses – so use it.

Correspondence can either be addressed via the Editor, or write direct, which (GPO permitting) is probably quicker to: 152, Cedar Road, Balby, Doncaster, S. Yorks DN4 9EX. If you expect a reply please enclose an sae, or you won't get one.

In the remainder of this first column I shall look back over last year's shows. Don't be upset if your show is not mentioned, this is a personal view. As always the season started with the best of the Northern shows in the form of the Sheffield Triples.

This was followed shortly afterwards by one of the big Southern shows, Salute, and for the first time I went down.

The next series of Conventions were all linked into one. Yes folks, love 'em or hate 'em: the Nationals. The first of these, Bridgehead, was the N.E. Regionals, this year under the supreme command of the N.E. politburo in the shape of the Northern Association of Wargames Clubs. This was held on the 30th May, at an inspired venue, the Army Transport Museum at Beverley. It led to a somewhat fragmented show, with trade stands and displays dotted about the exhibition area, although all the competition tables were tucked away in a single room. Due to a last minute hitch, the competition terrain was a bit below standard, but the actual organisation and running of the competition was smooth and efficient. There was a good range of trade stands, and an even bigger range of demonstration games, all of fair-to-good standard. The exhibits in the museum stole the show. They are superb and well worth a visit. The facilities for catering, both solid and liquid were also very good. The only major failing was with the control and charging for admission, or rather the lack of it. This must have meant lost revenue and that is bad news. All in all, a promising start; Bridgehead '88 is to be looked forward to.

The next regional I went to was the West Midland one, jointly presented by Birmingham Wargames Society and the October (revolutionaries?) Wargames Association as Midland Militaire, held 4/5th July at the Students Union, Birmingham University. Nice to see another example of two Clubs working together in co-operation to put on, as usual, an excellent show. The competition itself ran smoothly, and there were some interesting games. There was a wide variety of display games, including several participation ones, the one that looked the best to me was a WWII infantry action on the Eastern front, very *Cross of Iron*-ish, but the terrain was absolutely first class. Another excellent game, both visually and for joining in, was the Western Gunfight (now that would make an interesting Nationals comp). Something for everybody. The catering at this show is worthy of special note, no not just the bar, the food is served hot, fast and at a bargain price. (Ed. note: except for salt in my coffee!)

The next, and final, regional I attended was at Bath on the 11/12th July, this being the S.W. regionals. The venue was a school, and the

actual event was split between two separate halls. This was very much a regional, there was one fantasy demonstration game and one participation game. There were only a few trade stands, all in all not a lot for the non-participating wargamer and nothing for the general public. The fantasy game was well worth inspection, superb terrain, well painted figures and the players were only too pleased to talk to people, nearly got me converted. The participation game was also interesting, 1/300 ancient, representing Alexander (the Great) besieging Tyre. Everything was there, the armies, the navies, the city walls and the mole. The participants took each side, nice simple set of rules and visually impressive.

Not so impressive was the competition, the draw had been pre-done and some competitors told not to turn up to the afternoon, or even the next day. The result of this was predictable, other people did not turn up and the end result was that it was impossible to rearrange the draw. This resulted in a lot of frustration and wasted time. A prime principle of any competition is to have all players report at the beginning, this gives maximum flexibility and enables optimisation of table space.

Unfortunately, due to a somewhat unexpected business commitment, I was unable to get to the National finals in Sheffield on 22/23rd September, but ample intelligence reports were obtained. The venue is familiar from the Triples, and the Sheffield Club provided good organisation and terrain.

The competition game organisation ran smoothly enough, with only minor problems (such as the absence of period umpires – SORRY), and threw up the usual quota of surprises. The trade was well represented, virtually all of the recognised traders being in attendance. Add a sprinkling of excellent demo and participation games, and you have the Nationals – a good representation of all that is best in the hobby. The only disappointing bit was the attendance, this was well down on expected. It probably reflected the weather and the time of year rather than any more sinister development. Overall, despite some minor confusion and disorganisation, the Sheffield Club made an excellent job of organising the whole thing, they are one of the best Clubs around at putting on and organising this sort of event, and no – I am not a member. On behalf of all participants, a big thank you to their members who have worked very hard, at some considerable expense and inconvenience to themselves.

Just space and time left to mention two other Conventions. The first of these was F.I.A.S.C.O. held at Pudsey Civic Centre on 20th June. The format had been changed this year, and (sorry chaps) I thought it was a poor show. The competition games, and this competition has a justifiable reputation for being the freindliest and most fun one going, had been shunted off into a very poorly signposted side room. There were no actual participation games that I could find, and every show needs something. The trade stands were of the usual wide variety, and not too cramped. The demonstration games were a bit like the curates egg, good in parts. There is no really obvious reason why, but for some reason this show seemed a bit off this year, purely a temporary aberration I'm sure.

The final show was the York Club's 'Call to Arms', held at the De Grey rooms on 29th August. This show has been held for several years now, and it is perhaps time that a different venue is considered, it is a little cramped, and, worse than that, the bar downstairs has lost its licence, so inadequate food and drink facilities (well, non existant really). For the size of show there was a lot of trade present. It is nice to see so many traders supporting one of the smaller shows. There was a range of wargaming on display, with good terrain and nicely painted figures in the majority of cases. What was lacking was public presentation and communication, the over riding effect was that the game mattered and the public were an inconvenient intrusion. I feel that the show needs a larger venue, more publicity and a lot more attention to how the games are presented, with a greater emphasis being placed on communicating to the public, the potential is most definitely there, and so is the public interest.

Well, that's it for this month, please send in comments, advance notice and general insults. See you at the Conventions!

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THE MISSOURI OUTLAWS

Part One The Civil War

by Mike Bell

The Missouri outlaws operated in the border states of Kansas and Missouri during and after the American Civil War. In a sense the Civil War began early in Kansas. At issue was the question of whether the territory of Kansas would enter the Union as a slave state or a free state. The pro-slavery activists in western Missouri were determined that slavery should be permitted, while the Kansas Free staters, the abolitionists, were equally determined that the evil of slavery should not be allowed to spread to a new state. In 1854 the Kansas-Nebraska Act placed the resolution of the question squarely in the hands of the population of Kansas, a move which all but guaranteed trouble. Both factions began to flood the territory with their supporters in an attempt to win the ballot. Inevitably the two sides clashed and the extremists on either side could not be restrained. During 1855 two hundred people were killed in the feuding and the cycle of raid and counter-raid continued unabated until it merged with the greater conflict of the Civil War.

Long before the Civil War broke out the Free Staters had become known as Jayhawkers, while the pro-slavers were known as Bushwhackers. Many of the leaders of the various armed bands simply continued their raids under cover of the Union blue or the Confederate grey. At the start of the war the Jayhawkers probably had the upper hand, led by men such as Dr. Charles Jennison and Senator James Lane. The former led a band known as the Red Legs because they had once captured a large supply of red sheepskins in a raid on Independence, Missouri and used them as boot tops.

The most notorious of the wartime guerillas was William Clarke Quantrill, who rode for the Confederacy. Quantrill, frequently misspelled Quantrell, soon became even more infamous than Lane or Jennison, but when the war broke out he was little known outside his own small circle. He was born in Canal Dover, Ohio, on July 31st, 1837 and went west to Kansas when he was twenty years old. For a time he was employed as a school teacher, but he also engaged in less laudable activities, riding with both the abolitionists and the pro-slavers in a dangerous double life. Under the alias Charley Hart he posed as an ardent abolitionist, riding with James Montgomery's band from Lawrence, Kansas. At the same time he was in league with southern sympathisers in Missouri. In Kansas he kidnapped negroes to sell into slavery in Missouri; in Missouri he stole horses to sell in Kansas.

The Morgan Walker raid

Quantrill's double life could not go on indefinitely and the moment of decision came in December 1860 when he and five other abolitionists crossed into Jackson County, Missouri, to attack the home of Morgan Walker, a prosperous planter and slave owner. The main purpose of the raid was to free slaves, but any additional plunder was always welcomed by the raiders. Quantrill was in a difficult position. He had been spending time with Walker's daughter, Anne, and had to throw in his lot with one side or the other or be placed in an impossible position. He was sent ahead to scout out the position and decided to side with Walker. He warned Walker of the impending raid and then rejoined his unsuspecting colleagues.

Walker gathered together some of his friends and concealed them in his house. When the Jayhawkers burst in they were fired on. One was killed instantly and three were wounded. The only ones left unscathed were Quantrill and Charles Ball. Ball managed to help one of his wounded friends into some nearby woods but the following day both men were hunted down and killed by Quantrill and Walker's son, Andrew.

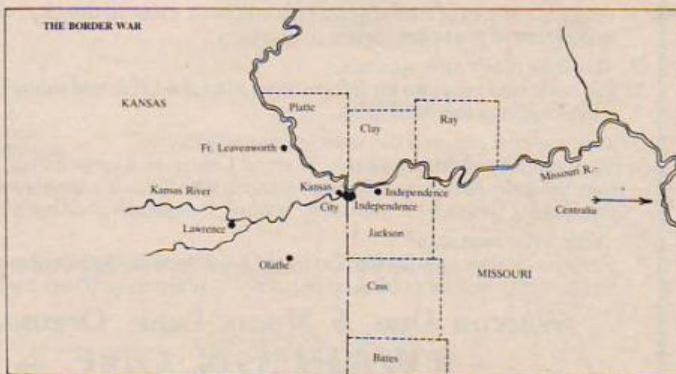
Quantrill's action in betraying the Jayhawkers made him a hero to most Missourians, and to those who still had suspicions as to what he was doing with them in the first place he said that they had killed his brother some years earlier and he had joined up with them to seek revenge. Popular he may have been with the Missourians, but he was now hated by the Jayhawkers, who actively pursued him. For some months Quantrill managed to elude his pursuers until late March 1861 when he was captured by a posse from Lawrence. There was angry talk of lynching the turncoat and an enraged Jayhawker shot point blank at Quantrill only to have his gun misfire. Before the Jayhawkers finally decided upon their former colleague's fate he was released by a pro-slavery judge. On April 3rd Quantrill rode out of Lawrence as fast as he could go. Nine days later the Civil War broke out.

Civil War and outlawry

Quantrill served briefly with Cherokee irregulars in the Indian Territory and then joined the regular Confederate army. He fought under General Price at the battle of Wilson's Creek during the invasion of Missouri in August-November 1861, but when the Confederate army withdrew to the south Quantrill went back to Jackson county. In December 1861 he joined a small band of about a dozen guerillas led by Andrew Walker. Almost immediately the band was involved in skirmishes with the Union guerillas who were sweeping across the state. On September 22nd Jim Lane's band had sacked Osceola, Missouri and on 14th November joined forces with Jennison's unit to sack Independence, the county seat of Jackson county.

Quantrill quickly established himself as a charismatic leader and a force to be reckoned with. Walker faded from the scene to leave Quantrill in command of the growing band of guerillas, which attracted recruits such as George Todd, William Anderson, Cole Younger and Frank James, all of whom would make reputations for themselves during or after the war. Inevitably Quantrill and his men were accused of committing outrages and some of the accusations were undoubtedly true, but it seems unlikely that he was any better or worse than Lane and Jennison, whose activities soon became an embarrassment to the Federal authorities.

By the spring of 1862 Quantrill's guerillas had all but cut off Jackson county from the outside world. In an attempt to undermine support for the guerilla bands the Federal authorities issued orders outlawing them and instructing that they be hung as robbers and murderers.



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by Peter Gilder

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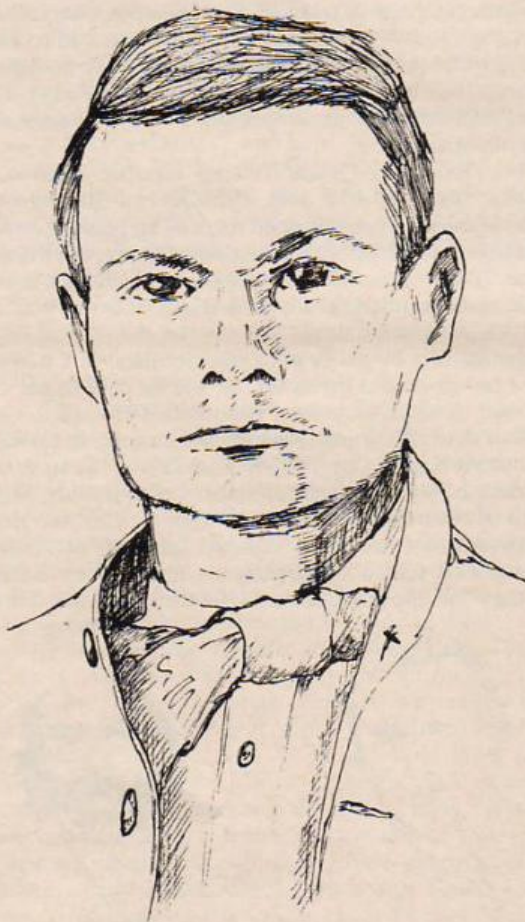


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William Clarke Quantrill. 1837-6th June 1865.

This simply provoked Quantrill into launching more ambitious raids. On August 11th, 1862 he recaptured Independence and a few days later his unofficial status ended when he was made a captain in the Confederate army by General Thomas Hindman, commander of the Trans-Mississippi District.

Although the day of the massed cavalry charge against formed infantry units had been brought to an end by the introduction of the rifled musket with a far greater effective range than its smooth bored predecessor, Quantrill still used the cavalry charge to great effect. He relied on his mobility to take him from place to place and catch his opponents off guard. He would then strike swiftly and ferociously, his men firing from the saddle as they charged, disorganising and scattering the Federal troops. At a time when Federal cavalrymen were still equipped with sabers or single shot, muzzle-loading, carbines Quantrill's men carried several revolvers which were ideal for the close-range combat they engaged in. For a long time Quantrill had a formula for success which could not be beaten - strategic mobility coupled with the support of the local population and tactical surprise and firepower.

The Lawrence raid

It did not take the Federal authorities long to realise that stronger measures were needed to deal with the Confederate raiders, who could always rely on the support of the local population. On August 18th General Thomas Ewing, commanding general of the District of the Border, issued General Order No. 10, ordering the wives and children of known guerillas to leave the district and the state of Missouri. In fact the Federal authorities had already taken steps to deprive the guerillas of their local support, steps that had tragic consequences. During the summer Ewing's men had rounded up and gaoled the female relatives of several notorious guerillas and imprisoned them in Kansas City. On August 14th the building in which the women were being held collapsed, killing five and injuring several more. One of those killed was Josephine Anderson, sister of William who was becoming known as 'Bloody Bill' as a result of his ferocity. The Confederates accused the Federals of deliberately bringing down the building; the Federals said that it collapsed because the women had tried to tunnel their way out. Neither charge appears to have any foundation in truth. The building was old and poorly

maintained and simply collapsed in a storm.

Ewing's tactics were typical of later attempts to combat guerilla or outlaw bands. During the Ned Kelly outbreak in New South Wales in the late 1870s the police resorted to the widespread arrest of sympathisers. Similarly during the Boer War the British resorted to the imprisonment of the families of Boer commandoes in an attempt to deprive them of support. Both of these later attempts were just as unsuccessful as Ewing's measures.

For some time Quantrill had been trying to persuade his lieutenants, Anderson, Todd and Younger, to agree to a raid on the Federal base in Lawrence, Kansas. From this town, which Quantrill had left hurriedly in 1861, operated the 7th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, the wartime designation of the Red Legs. Anderson and Todd argued that the town would be too heavily defended. They had also been challenging Quantrill's leadership in general as they began to realise that there was no reason why they should not strike out on their own to pursue their various military and criminal objectives. In the emotional atmosphere immediately after the news of the deaths of the women, however, Quantrill's men rallied behind him and agreed to take their vengeance into Kansas.

On 18th August, the day Ewing issued General Order No. 10, Quantrill and four hundred and forty-eight men set out for Lawrence. His band was now at the height of its power, united in the face of the Federal measures to eliminate the guerillas. For the time being the growing divisions within the band were forgotten as the raiders moved towards Lawrence. As they approached the town the guerillas took hostage several Kansas citizens who were unfortunate enough to cross their paths. At least one of these prisoners was brutally battered to death by George Todd. Small Federal units scattered in the face of the approaching guerillas but word of their movements does not seem to have reached Lawrence.

As dawn broke on the morning of 20th August Quantrill's men swept through the sleeping town. After more than a century it is impossible to separate fact from fiction concerning the events of that day. All that is certain is that at least one hundred and forty two men were killed by the guerillas for the loss of only one of their own, said to have been killed by a Delaware scout who was more awake than many other Federals. A party of twenty two Federal soldiers camped in the town square was routed as the guerillas rode through them. Seventeen were killed and the remaining five took to their heels. Several accounts tell of unarmed men being shot down and although some are undoubtedly exaggerated others are certainly true.

Quantrill had been after Jim Lane, but as the guerillas charged into the town the senator took to his heels, fleeing into a cornfield dressed only in his nightshirt. Later he borrowed some clothes and a plough horse and made his escape. His house, however, suffered in his absence and was burnt to the ground.

Order No. 11

It had been said that Quantrill hoped that the daring raid would win him a colonelcy, the rank he had been refused by Secretary of War James Seddon on a trip to Richmond in late 1862. Quantrill's extreme views on how the war should be pursued without mercy had shocked the Secretary and the guerilla leader had left the Confederate capitol still a captain. It seems likely that Quantrill's motives were more complicated than a simple desire for recognition. To this must be added his desire to kill or capture Jim Lane, his desire to quash Todd and Anderson's challenge to his authority, and his desire for plunder.

The result of the raid was to lose Quantrill a great deal of Confederate support outside of Missouri and to bring down even harsher measure on his head from the Federal authorities. General Ewing realised that his earlier attempts to curb the activities of the guerillas had failed, but even he was reluctant to take the steps now demanded by Jim Lane. Still smarting from the humiliation of his ignominious flight from Lawrence, Lane met Ewing the day after the raid and accused him of being a weak administrator and threatened to complain to Washington. Lane's senatorial rank gave weight to his demands and Ewing acquiesced. On 25th August 1863 he issued Order No. 11 which ordered the population of Jackson, Cass, Bates and parts of Vernon counties to leave their homes and either leave the state or report to the nearest Federal garrison town and prove their loyalty to the Union.

The order was enforced with a vengeance. The population of Cass county was reduced from ten thousand to six hundred and even fewer remained in Bates county. The Red Legs and other Federal irregular

units moved across the empty area, burning crops and abandoned farms. The devastation was so complete that the area was known for years after the war as the Burnt District. The Federal tactics were only partially successful in driving out the guerillas but they were completely successful in creating a climate of support for Quantrill which lasted for years after the end of the war and embraced his successors, the James gang.

In the autumn of 1863 Quantrill led his men south into Texas for the winter. Now the simmering discontent within the band finally boiled over. Anderson and Todd openly challenged Quantrill's leadership and the band split into partisan groups, each man having his own group of supporters. Quantrill was also having trouble with the Confederate authorities because of his refusal to submit to their commands and the flagrantly criminal activities of his men during their stay in Texas. On at least one occasion the guerillas shot up a pro-Confederate town and killed several regular Confederate soldiers.

This proved too much for General Ben McCulloch, who summoned Quantrill to his headquarters on 31st March 1864. He placed Quantrill under arrest, ordered him to remove his guns and left his office, leaving behind two soldiers to guard the guerilla leader. Quantrill did not remain under arrest for long however. Within moments he had snatched up his revolvers, disarmed his surprised guards, and made his escape.

Now the guerilla band finally fragmented. As Quantrill fled out of town he was pursued by Bloody Bill Anderson's supporters. Quantrill made the safety of his camp where he met up with George Todd. For the time being Todd remained loyal to Quantrill and the two led their followers in a series of skirmishes with Anderson's men. The end was obviously near when guerilla fought guerilla.

Quantrill led his men back to Missouri and here Todd left him. Quantrill accused his lieutenant of cheating at cards and the unthinkable happened. Todd whipped out a revolver and faced down Quantrill. He then left the camp, taking his own men with him. Quantrill now had only a few men left with him, including Frank and Jesse James and Jim and Cole Younger.

Although the guerillas were now split into several groups they still continued their campaign of raids against Union positions and despite the personal animosity of their leaders they co-operated to a certain extent. Bloody Bill Anderson achieved infamy in his own right when in September 1864 he and his men massacred twenty-two Federal soldiers in a raid on Centralia and then killed over one hundred of the force sent out after him.

Anderson, Todd and Quantrill came together again on 11th October 1864 when all three met with General Sterling Price at Booneville, Missouri. Price informed them of his plans to invade the state again and ordered them to create chaos to prepare the way for his advance. The three men led their respective bands back into battle but the tide of the war had already turned against them. Within days Todd and Anderson were dead.

Todd was the first to go. Leading his command in a raid on the outskirts of Independence, Missouri, he was hit by a sniper's bullet and was killed outright. Days later Bloody Bill was killed. On 26th October, four days after Price's invasion was stopped at the battle of Westport outside Kansas City, Anderson and about twenty-five of his men were camped in a small stand of timber in Ray County, Missouri. A local federal sympathiser told Major Samuel P. Cox, commanding elements of the 51st and 33rd Missouri infantry, of Anderson's whereabouts. Cox sent a small party commanded by Lieutenant Baker to draw out the guerillas and lead them into the rest of the



George Todd,
?- 21st October 1864.



William 'Bloody Bill' Anderson,
1837-24th October 1864.

Federal force. The militiamen, who were a mounted infantry unit, dismounted and crept up on Anderson's camp. Baker gave the order and a hasty volley rang out before the militiamen turned and fled. Anderson and his men leapt into the saddle and gave chase. Baker's men burst out of the trees and passed through Cox's line before regrouping. Anderson's men came charging out into the open in hot pursuit. Too late Anderson realised that he had fallen for a trick that he had used himself in the past. The first volley from Cox's line crushed the guerillas' ragged charge before they had time to realise what was going on. Several men were killed, others wheeled their horses and fled.

Anderson and his second in command, Captain Rains, were too close to the Federal line to turn back. The two guerillas broke through the line firing as they did so. Rains kept going and disappeared, but for some reason Anderson slowed and appeared to be about to turn back. The second volley threw him out of the saddle with two bullets in the head. Bloody Bill's short career was over.

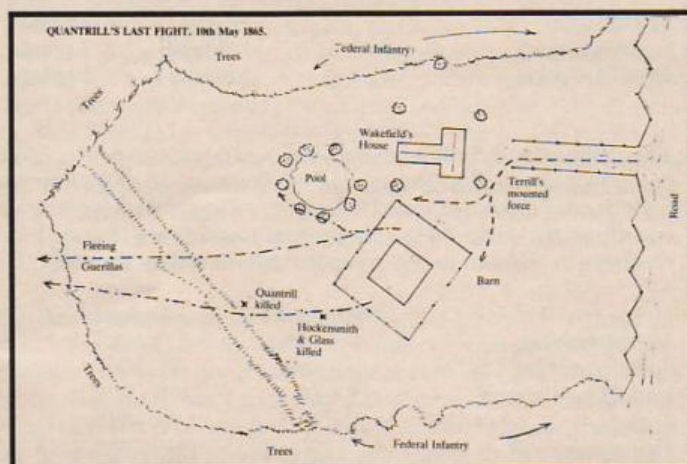
The end for Quantrill

The deaths of Anderson and Todd broke the back of the guerillas in Missouri. Although Quantrill was still at large and the remains of Anderson's men were now commanded by Fletcher Taylor they were no longer the force they had once been. Once again they went south to Texas for the winter, but Quantrill was restless. At some time in the winter he led his tiny command back north into Kentucky, disguised as Federal troops. Once again the cycle of raids on Federal positions began, with the guerillas retreating to the safety of the Kentucky hills when the fighting was over.

Sometime in the spring of 1865 Quantrill's band shrunk even further. Jesse James and Cole Younger left him to go to Arkansas and then into the Indian Territory. Frank James and Jim Younger stayed with their leader who continued to lead his men in lightning raids. The end was clearly not far away however; on at least two occasions the tiny band was nearly wiped out when they were caught by Federal troops and had to flee for their lives.

On 16th April news reached the band of Lincoln's assassination but for the guerillas the war went on. On 10th May Quantrill and his men arrived at the farm of James H. Wakefield. Quantrill and eleven others stopped to rest while the rest of the command moved on to another farm a few miles further on. Wakefield's farm was near Bloomfield, Kentucky, about thirty miles south of Louisville. The eleven men who stayed with Quantrill were John Ross, William Hulse, Payne Jones, Clark Hockensmith, Isaac Hall, Dick Glasscock, Bob Hall, Bud Spence, Allen Farmer, Dave Helton and Lee McMurtry.

Shortly after the guerillas arrived at Wakefield's farm it began to rain heavily. The rebels took shelter in a large barn about fifty yards from the main house and some, including Quantrill, tried to catch up on their sleep, not realising that they were in grave danger. A local blacksmith had seen them arrive and went to pass on the news to Federal troops. The troops he found were a party of twenty-eight men from Company B, 15th Kentucky infantry (actually a mounted infantry unit) commanded by the notorious Federal guerilla Edwin Terrill. Ironically, Terrill had himself been a Confederate soldier until he realised that the tide of the war was changing. He promptly deserted and changed sides.



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Terrill's men made their way to the Wakefield farm where they split into two groups. One group dismounted and slowly began to surround the barn in which Quantrill's men were sheltering. The other group remained mounted just over a rise out of sight of the barn waiting for the firing to begin. Some of Quantrill's men were still asleep, others were engaged in a mock battle with corn cobs. Glasscock was standing in the barnyard talking to Wakefield. Through the rain he caught sight of some of the mounted troopers moving into position on the rise. He turned and ran for the barn yelling 'Here they come'. Terrill's men had not quite surrounded the barn when they were spotted, but they opened fire anyway. The guerillas dashed for their horses but only some of them made it. Others fled from the rear of the barn towards the wood behind the farm while others took cover in the brush surrounding a nearby pond. A few made it into the saddle and thundered out into the yard and away towards the cover of the trees. By this time the mounted part of Terrill's force was charging down towards the barn firing as they came. Quantrill had been asleep in the hayloft when Glasscock gave the alarm. He slid down into the barn and then dashed out into the yard towards his horse. He almost made it into the saddle, running beside the animal as it fled for the woods, but at the last moment it either panicked or was hit by a bullet and broke free from Quantrill's grasp.

Quantrill stumbled but regained his balance and ran for the shelter of the woods. Glasscock and Hockensmith had almost reached the trees when they glanced back and saw their leader running for cover. Both men turned their horses and spurred back towards the Federal troops, firing as they did so. As Glasscock drew level with Quantrill his horse was hit and began to rear. Glasscock struggled to retain control of the maddened animal, but a volley of fire from the infantrymen now occupying the barnyard threw him from his saddle, dead. Quantrill turned as if to fire at his pursuers but at that instant Hockensmith reached him. He reached down for his chief but he too was killed by fire from the barnyard. Quantrill turned and fled, running for the shelter of a deep gully that ran across the field behind the barn. Just before he reached it Private John Langford, one of the charging Federal horse soldiers, snapped a shot at him. The chances of hitting a running man from the saddle of a galloping horse with a revolver are minimal, but Langford was lucky that day. The bullet

caught Quantrill in the back and he went down. Although he was seriously wounded he still managed to put up a fight. He brought down two horses, throwing their riders, before the shock of the wound hit him and he dropped his revolvers.

The Federal soldiers closed in around him, demanding if he was Quantrill. The guerilla probably believed that if he admitted who he was any of his men who were captured would suffer so he denied that he was Quantrill. "No", he said, "I'm Captain Clarke of the 4th Kansas cavalry, U.S. Volunteers", (or Colorado cavalry depending upon which account you believe). Later, when he was certain that the rest of his band had got away, Quantrill admitted his identity. Langford's bullet had paralysed him from the neck down so he was carried back to Wakefield's house where he spent the night. For some reason Terrill did not place a guard over the wounded guerilla leader. In the small hours several of his men returned, including Frank James. These men wanted to carry their leader away, but he refused to allow it. Some accounts say that Quantrill wanted to spare Wakefield from the wrath of the Federal troopers which would almost certainly have come down on him had the wounded man disappeared. This may be so, but it seems more likely that Quantrill knew that he was dying and that further flight was pointless. Frank James and his comrades left Wakefield's house and vanished into the night. The following morning the Federal troopers returned and took Quantrill into Louisville in a wagon. Here he died on 6th June 1865, but his legacy lived on. The men who had ridden with him formed the backbone of the outlaw bands that plagued Missouri and the Midwest for another fifteen years.

Edwin Terrill did not live much longer than Quantrill. In the summer of 1866 he was jailed for murdering a soldier, but broke out of the jailhouse. Some time later he got drunk and shot up the town of Shelbyville, Kentucky. During the course of this drunken escapade he killed an old man. The posse that caught up with Terrill decided to save the courts some time and shot the ex-guerilla to death.

The Game

The guerillas' raids make ideal skirmish games although the numbers involved mean that we need to depart from our usual scales. Unless you have a very large table 54mm is probably too large for the figures. 25mm or 30mm is more convenient and there are plenty of figures available. Even 15mm would do at a pinch given the quality of some of today's ranges.

Although figure manufacturers tend to divide their ranges into Union and Confederate, by 1865 there was little to distinguish Federal and Rebel irregular cavalry units. Although Quantrill and his men sometimes deliberately disguised themselves as Federal troopers, from about the middle of the war onwards they took to wearing items of Federal dress as a matter of necessity and convenience rather than as a matter of choice. Furthermore, both sides' irregulars were even more cavalier in their approach to uniform regulations than their regular comrades. The result was that by the end of the war it was difficult to tell the two sides apart by dress alone.

An examination of the two forces' firearms would have revealed some differences. As indicated above, at the start of the war the Confederate guerillas outgunned their Federal counterparts through the extensive use of revolvers for close quarters fighting. By the end of the war, however, both sides were similarly armed as regards revolvers and indeed Federal troopers now had a distinct advantage in firearms. The vast majority of Federal cavalry units were equipped with single-shot breech loading carbines, of which the Sharps was the most common. Some units even had the seven shot Spencer which could lay down an awesome weight of fire in a few seconds. A few units and individuals privately purchased fifteen shot Henry repeating rifles and carbines, forerunners of the famous Winchester series. Although the Henrys were underpowered by military standards their hand size and rate of fire made them ideal for close range fighting.

Confederate cavalry troopers, on the other hand, still had to rely on single-shot muzzle loading carbines for any sort of long range work, usually the Enfield 1853 musketoon. Although the weapon was handy and slightly outranged some Federal carbines it was slow to load. While a Sharps might fire upwards of a dozen aimed shots in a minute, an Enfield or similar weapons would be hard pressed to achieve three or four. There were Confederate copies of Federal breech loaders, but some were poorly made and exploded when fired. The result was that all Confederate copies were distrusted. In addition to their musketoons, Rebel cavalrymen often carried a shotgun for point-blank work.

The difference in firearms meant that a Federal unit could quickly be distinguished from their Rebel opponents – if you got close enough. However, in wargames terms there is nothing to stop you from mixing figures from both sides. By combining figures from both sides and several manufacturers it is possible to build up a very varied but authentic guerilla unit.

The discrepancy in rates of fire between the long arms of the north and the south in the guerilla war calls for a revision to the rules we usually employ for skirmish games, in which we go for the shortest possible moves because of the split-second timing involved in gunfights. If we were to stick to a one second move, however, most games would be over before muzzle loaders could be reloaded after their first shot. The alternative is to use a longer move which allows us to use smaller figures with reasonable move distances and specifically caters for muzzle loading weapons as well as repeaters. Skirmish Wargames' *Flintlock and Ramrod* rules are useful if you can get hold of them. They use a five second move and although originally designed for games up to about 1850 they are easily adapted to cover the Civil War.

The change to a smaller figure scale and a longer time scale means that it is necessary to make some sacrifices to individuality. In a large skirmish game it is usually too time-consuming to keep track of each figure's individual characteristics. I suggest therefore that you simply categorise figures as veteran, average, or novice and allocate each category a single set of skills and characteristics. This makes keeping track of things a lot simpler.

Quantrill's last fight makes an enjoyable skirmish game and presents both sides with interesting tactical problems. As mentioned above, Terrill's men were split into two parties, an infantry force which attempted to surround Wakefield's barn, and a cavalry force which charged the guerillas and almost gave the game away too soon. It is not clear what the Federal commander was trying to do. It seems likely that he intended to surround the barn with his infantry and then use the mounted reserve to pursue any guerillas who managed to break through the cordon. In the event however, the mounted troopers seem to have charged too soon, giving the guerillas a chance to get away before they were completely surrounded.

In recreating the skirmish the Federal commander has the choice of keeping all his force mounted and launching a charge against the

QUANTRILL'S LAST FIGHT. THE GUERILLAS.

William Clarke Quantrill	Veteran	10 points
John Ross	Average	2 points
William Hulse	Veteran	3 points
Payne Jones	Average	2 points
Clark Hockensmith	Average	2 points
Isaac Hall	Veteran	3 points
Dick Glasscock	Average	2 points
Bob Hall	Average	2 points
Bud Spence	Novice	1 point
Allen Parmer	Average	2 points
Dave Helton	Novice	1 point
Lee McMurtry	Veteran	3 points

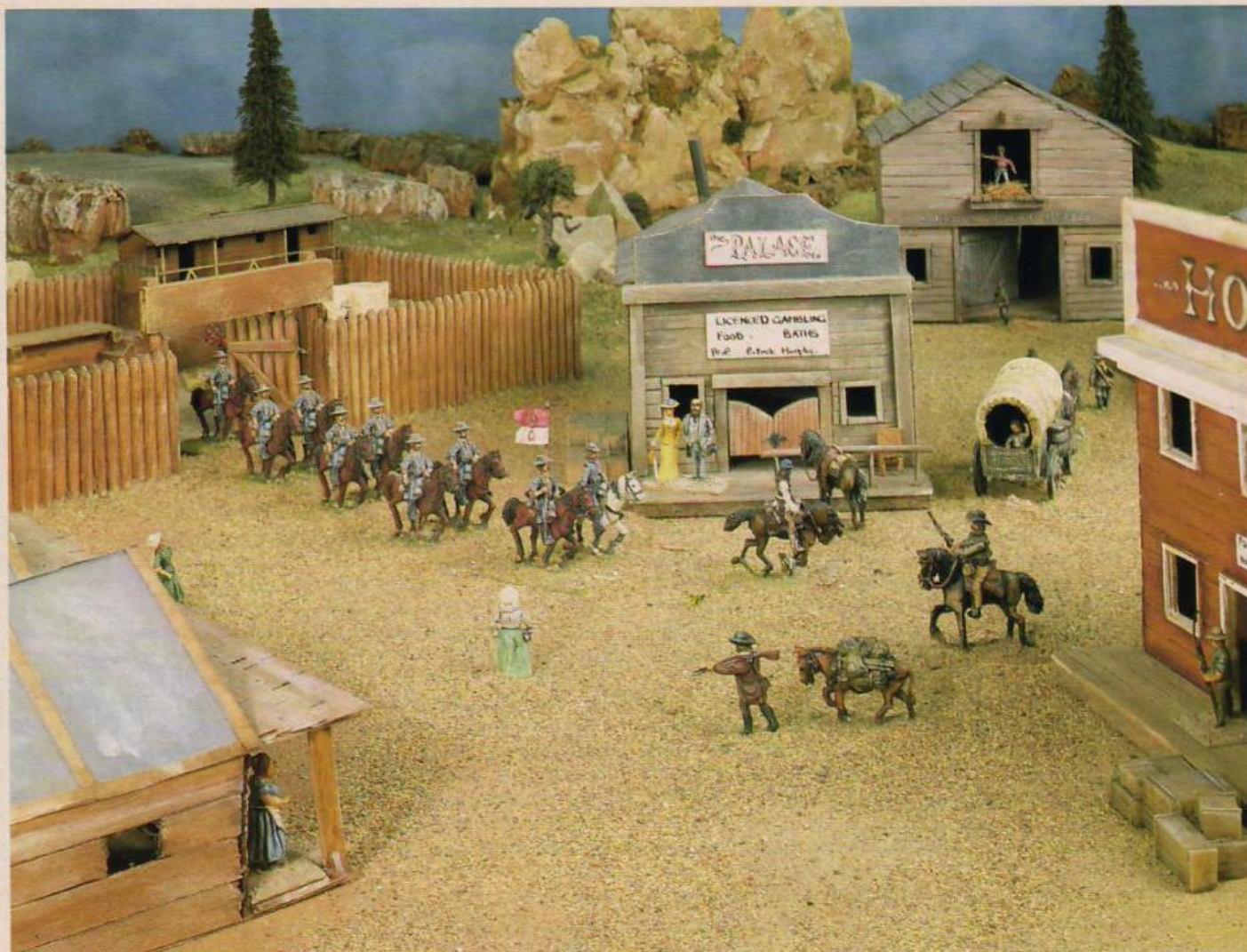
Optional Characters

Frank James	Veteran	3 points
Henry Porter	Average	2 points
John McCorkle	Veteran	3 points

The quality of each Federal character should be determined by rolling percentage dice: 1-30% Novice, 31-70% Average, 71-100% Veteran.

Both sides should be armed randomly, rolling percentage dice and consulting the table below. Every man carries two cap and ball revolvers in addition to any weapons determined by the table.

	Confederate	Federal
Sharps carbine	0 – 5%	0 – 70%
Spencer carbine	6 – 10%	71 – 90%
Enfield musketoon	11 – 60%	91 – 92%
Shotgun	61 – 70%	93 – 94%
Henry rifle	71%	95 – 97%
Extra pistol	72 – 100%	98 – 100%



This scene is probably a few hundred miles north-west of Quantrill's stamping ground, where the deer and the buffalo roam. Figures from the collection of designer **Peter Gilder**, who also made the buildings.

guerillas in the barn, dismounting all his men and trying to surround the barn before attacking, or dividing his force as was the case historically, keeping a mounted element in reserve. If the Federal commander goes for the historical option there should be a chance of the guerillas spotting the infantry before they get into position, and a chance of the mounted reserve breaking cover too soon as seems to have happened. To speed things up I suggest that the Federal commander selects his tactics and if they involve any risk of detection before his men are in position this is diced for. If his men are spotted by the guerillas the game starts at some agreed point before they are in position, if they are not spotted it starts when he is ready.

The guerilla commander has the choice of standing and fighting or making a break for the cover of the nearby woods. Either is risky. If he stays to fight he has the advantage of the cover of the barn but is outnumbered nearly three to one with only eleven men in his command and twenty-eight in the Federal force. Add to that the possibility that the Federal troopers may have Sharps or Spencer carbines and he may well be outgunned. On the other hand if he chooses to run without the advantage of having seen the Federal force before it took up its final positions there may be no easy way through their cordon. Even if there is a way through there is always the risk of being caught by any mounted reserve as happened to Quantrill.

Regardless of the tactics selected by the guerilla commander there should be a chance of each individual guerilla panicking and simply running for cover without even trying to mount up as actually happened. Obviously this chance will vary according to the calibre of the troops—I suggest a 10% chance of panicking for veterans, 30% for averages and 50% for novices. There must also be some possibility that guerillas will attempt to rescue their leader if he is hit. Therefore if Quantrill is hit every guerilla who can see him should dice to determine whether they will attempt to rescue him—say 10% for novices, 30% for averages and 50% for veterans, the men who had

ridden with him for the longest time.

Winning the game should depend upon the damage done to the guerilla force. I suggest that you award points for each guerilla killed, captured or seriously wounded, one point for a novice, two for an average and three for a veteran. Quantrill himself should be worth ten points. The Federal total should be reduced by one for each of their own men killed or seriously wounded. The accompanying table gives the experience ratings for the guerillas involved in the fight and their points value. The table also includes several men who were not present at the fight but might have been had Quantrill not sent them to another farm. A variation on the basic game would be to add one or more of these men to Quantrill's party to increase the guerillas' chances of winning. However, if we say that the Federals need a net points total of ten to win the basic game, this total should be reduced by one for every additional character the guerillas add to the historical order of battle.

Next time—Jesse James and the Northfield disaster.

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CAMPAIGNS OF THE CHARIOT ERA (1)

ARZAWA 1330–1329 BC

by Ian Russell Lowell

What king will march to battle against another king, without first sitting down to consider whether with ten thousand men he can face an enemy coming to meet him with twenty thousand? If he cannot, then, long before the enemy approaches, he sends envoys, and asks for terms.

Jesus of Nazareth (St Luke 14.31,32)

Introduction.

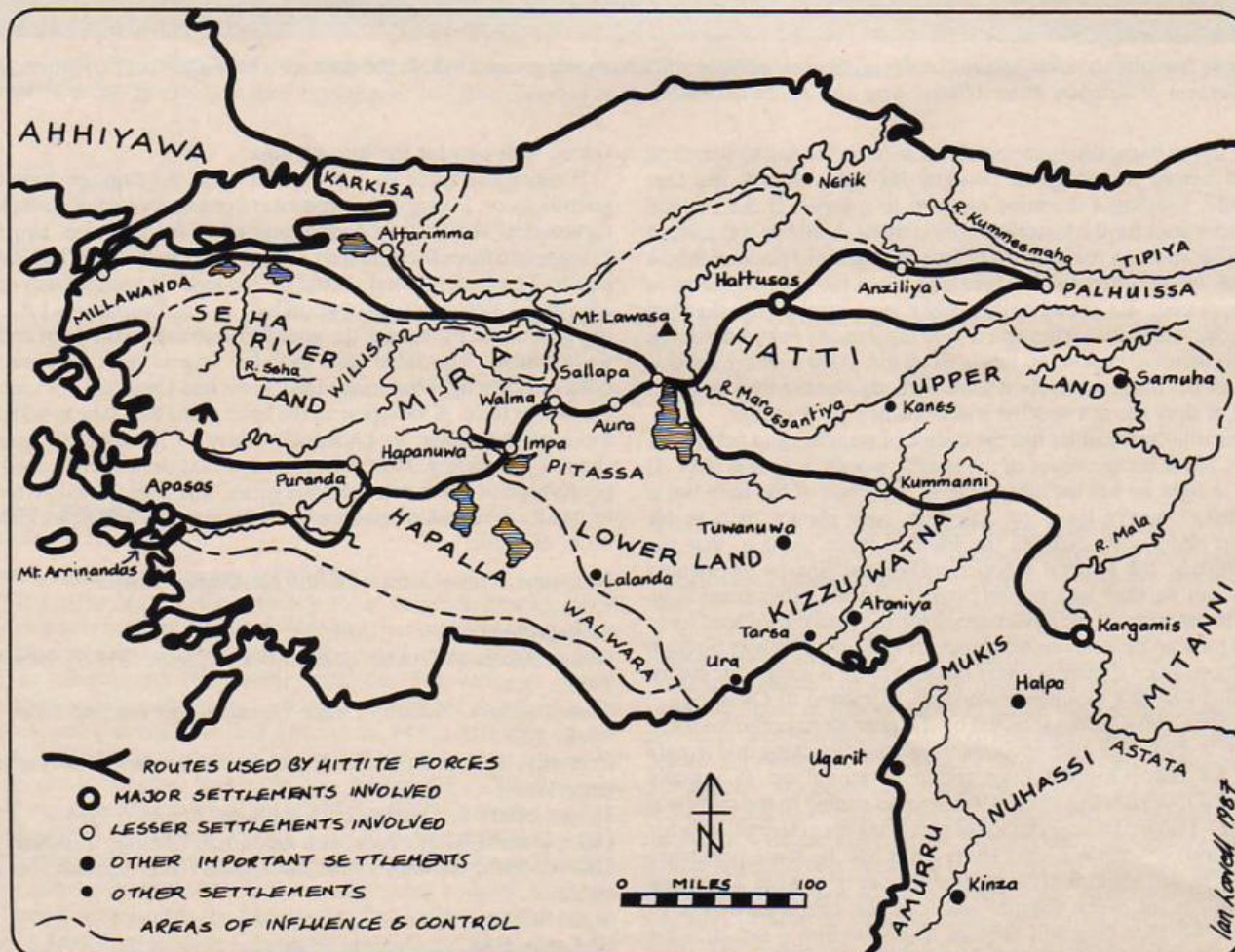
The one battle or campaign that knowledgeable wargamers can associate with the Hittites is that of Kadesh in 1286BC, where the might of Egypt under the Pharaoh Ramesses II clashed with that of Hatti under the Great-King Muwatallis. It was an important battle as it delineated the boundary between the two imperial powers, although that was not officially stated until 1269BC in a treaty between the then aged Ramesses and Hattusilis III, brother and successor of Muwatallis. The details of this battle (taken from Ramesses' own temple inscriptions) are often assumed to be the only record of Hittite military achievement, but this is not so. There are very many Hittite documents whose subject is almost totally military, but they are not readily available to the wargamer. The following article is an attempt to correct the balance. Based on the *Ten-Year Annals* and the *Detailed Annals* of Mursilis II, Muwatallis' father, this article retells Mursilis' two-year campaign against the Hittites' rival Anatolian state of Arzawa.

Please note that the original *Annals* date events by noting the beginning and ending of each year, but do not give details of months or days during each year. Also, two points about the Hittite language

should be noted. The first is that the Hittites adopted the syllabic cuneiform script of the Sumerians and the Akkadians, and often used Sumerian and Akkadian words as shorthand for their own words. In the article Hittite words will be written in *italics* (e.g. *lahhiyatar* "campaign"), Sumerian words (following convention) in **CAPITALS** broken into syllables (e.g. **NAM.RA.MES** "prisoners", "refugees"), and Akkadian words in **ITALIC CAPITALS** (e.g. **ABI-YAR** "my father"). Secondly the Hittite pronunciation of "s" and "h" was probably like the "s" in *sure* and the "urgh" sound of the "ch" in *loch*: Hattusas, the Hittite capital, would be pronounced Khattushash, and so on. All dates are BC.

"Even before I sat on the throne of my father. . ."

Mursilis' father, Suppiluliumas, gained the Lion Throne of Hatti through a military *coup* in ca 1372. For the first twenty years of his long reign (ca 1372–1334), Suppiluliumas concentrated on bringing nearly all of Anatolia under Hittite control. This was achieved in the west by smashing and fragmenting the Greater Arzawan Empire into small independent states of (Lesser) Arzawa, Hapalla, Mira, Kuwaliya, Seha River Land and Wilusa, and in the north by breaking the confederacy of the Gasgan tribes. In two later campaigns (ca 1352, 1339–1334), Suppiluliumas also extended Hittite power into Mesopotamia once again. This was achieved by destroying the Empire of Mitanni (with Assyrian help) and in crushing Egyptian control north of the Lebanon by taking Kinza (Kadesh). By ca 1339, two of his sons (Telipinus and Piyassilis) could be installed as the sub-kings of Halab (Aleppo) and Kargamis to protect and further Hittite interests in the northern Levant. In this role they supported Kurtizawa as a puppet ruler in Mitanni: he was the son of Tusratta, the king Suppiluliumas



overthrew. A third son, Zannanzas, was requested as consort by Ankhsenamun, the widow of Tutankhamun. He was murdered *en route* to Egypt, probably on the orders of Ay, who married Ankhsenamun himself to become pharaoh. As pharaoh, Ay launched an attack ca 1338 against the Hittites to recover Kinza and the northern Levant. Assyria under King Assur-uballit supported the rival Mitannian King Suttarna III, and a vicarious war was fought from ca 1337 on between Assur and Hatti. Mursilis' other brother, Arnuwandas, was Crown Prince (DUMU LAGAL), and it was he who defeated the Egyptians in ca 1338. But unfortunately the captives whom he brought back to Hatti carried a plague, and this "Egyptian sweat" became pandemic. The death toll rose, and in ca 1334 Suppiluliumas fell victim to it and died.

Arnuwandas then ascended the Lion Throne. When his father Suppiluliumas was campaigning against Mitanni, there were a series of Anatolian revolts against Hittite rule from ca 1337 onwards. In the west there were raids from Hapalla on the Lower Land (one of the Hittite "Home Counties"), the King of Mira, Mashuiluwas, was overthrown and had to seek sanctuary from Suppiluliumas, and Manapa-Tarhuntas, Prince of the Seha River Land, was exiled by his brothers. The first of these was dealt with by Hannuttis, Marshal and Governor of the Lower Land, who counter-attacked Hapalla. Suppiluliumas welcomed Mashuiluwas and gave him his daughter Muwattis to wed, while (the then) Crown Prince Arnuwandas and his brother Mursilis found Manapa-Tarhuntas a fiefdom in the tribal land of Karkisa. While these Arzawan troubles were contained, in the north the people of Ishupitta headed a new revolt of all the Gasgan peoples. Arnuwandas sought to deal with this northern crisis in his first campaign (ca 1333) as great-king. Unfortunately, he also fell prey to the pandemic and died on campaign.

Therefore in that same year (ca 1333), Mursilis found himself GAL LUGAL Hatti: the Great-King of the Hittites. Up to that moment it would appear that his main work had been writing the *Deeds* of his father Suppiluliumas, but, by ca 1332, he was leading an army on campaign against the Gasgan rebels. During the same time, he also secured Manapa-Tarhuntas in the kingship of the Seha River Land, and gave Mashuiluwas lordship of the Miran marchlands, based at Impa. By his second campaign (ca 1331), he was fighting against the leaders of the revolt, the people of Ishupitta, but while defeating this Gasgan army he lost Hannuttis, the Marshal. For the third campaign (ca 1330), Mursilis had planned to push further into Gasgan territory on a "search and destroy" basis, penetrating the north-easterly lands of Palhuissa and Tipiya. As soon as the Spring *Purullis* or ANTAH.SUM ("crocus") Festival had been celebrated the army would move north.

"Then came the Spring. . ." Year One (ca 1330).

And with it came the intelligence that all was not well in the west. Uhhazitis, the King of Arzawa, had been conspiring with the King of Ahhiyawa. Also involved was the state of Millawanda, which perhaps acted as the intermediary between the two kingdoms. This presented Mursilis with a dilemma: he was already committed to the Gasgan campaign in the north, but he could not let this western threat develop unchallenged. He decided on a bold stroke. He delayed his advance into Gasgan territory and sent a fast-moving column under the officers Gullas and Malazitis to raid and raze the Millawandan countryside. This *razzia* succeeded, and the King of Ahhiyawa [unnamed] withdrew. The column also brought back the usual prisoners (NAM.RA.MES), oxen and sheep to Hattusas, the Hittite capital.

"Because Mashuiluwas, King of Mira, was holding Impa. . ."

While Mursilis decided on his course of action regarding Millawanda, Uhhazitis was also carefully planning his moves. The Arzawan king had sent his son, Piyama-Inaras, to Hapanuwa in Mira, and from this base he marched to attack Mashuiluwas at Impa. He needed to show the weakness of the Hittites to sway the Miran people over to the Greater Arzawan cause. The attack seemed to go badly for the Arzawan prince, Mashuiluwas pursued the Arzawan forces and counter-attacked Hapanuwa. But this must have been a feint, for Piyama-Inaras then defeated the ex-king at Hapanuwa. ". . . part of the Land of Mira sided with Mashuiluwas. . . . and it went over to the land of Hatti." Piyama-Inaras controlled Mira up to the Hittite border. Mashuiluwas was meanwhile isolated at Impa.

While the news was good from Millawanda, it was definitely bad

from Impa. Mursilis therefore wrote to his brother Piyassilis, the King of Kargamis, ordering him to raise an allied army from the Levantine dependencies. He had already levied a depleted population for the Gasgan campaign: the plague had been a constant killer for eight years (and it was to last at least another twelve). He would need a larger army to defeat Arzawa. The brothers were to join up at Sallapa.

"They went to the Land of Arzawa. . ."

The Hittite ruler also led a second flying column himself against the towns of Attarimma, Suruda and Hursanassa. The records are badly damaged at this point, but it is clear that an enemy retreated rather than join battle, and a town ending in "-sa" was razed. The most probable "enemy" was either the Ahhiyawan king who had decided to interfere in spite (or because) of the Millawanda raid, or Manapa-Tarhuntas, the king of Seha River Land, who joined with Uhhazitis in the rebellion and captured 4,000 Hittite prisoners (NAM.RA.URUKUBABBARTI) [see below]. It probably was the town of Hursanassa that was burnt. However, the outcome is clear in the records: refugees from these settlements fled into Arzawa to seek the protection of Uhhazitis. Mursilis obviously regarded these townships as Hittite possessions (perhaps part of the fief of Manapa-Tarhuntas), and he sent a messenger to the Arzawan ruler with the demand: "These men of mine. . . have come over to you. Hand them over to me!" The Arzawan king quickly replied: "I am not handing over anyone to you, since they are not under my authority." It was all but the declaration for war.

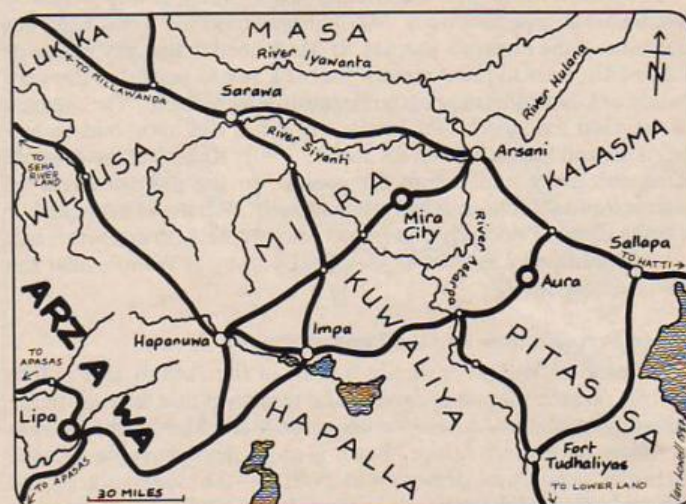
"Since the town of Palhuissa had rebelled against me . . ."

Mursilis could not delay the Gasgan campaign any longer: it would be both a sign of weakness and an invitation for further Gasgan rebellion. But the proposed campaign had to be shortened and carried through quickly and successfully. Forced marched, the army reached Palhuissa to discover an allied Gasgan army from Pishurus encamped nearby. The Hittites must have surprised the Gasgas and the tribal forces were beaten and Palhuissa was sacked. Mursilis based himself at the site and ordered the army to destroy all the fields and crops in the district. As the area of destruction grew, the Great-king knew the Gasgas would be forced to come out to meet him. Intelligence soon confirmed that the enemy was amassing at Kuzastarina, and Mursilis marched out to meet them.

As soon as the Hittite army moved towards them, the Gasgan army executed an outflanking march and moved behind Mursilis, cutting him off from Hatti. Once he had realized the situation, the great-king swung his army around and counter-marched towards the Gasgan host. The speed of his outmanoeuvre must have caught the tribesmen, as the Hittite army not only defeated the Gasgas but pursued them to the Hittite border. Mursilis had now defeated two Gasgan armies and laid to waste the land of Palhuissa. He decided to march on Arzawa, thus the Land of Tipiya was granted a short reprieve: it would be part of his seventh year's campaign, ca 1326. He returned to Hattusas with the usual prisoners, sheep and oxen.

". . . and in the same year I marched out to the Land of Arzawa."

Having arrived back at the capital Hattusas, Mursilis immediately raised a new army. He also wrote back to Uhhazitis: "You have not handed back my subjects (IR.MES) who came over to you, and





New 15mm Ancient Indians from *Museum Miniatures* (– a Q.T. Model by any other name would smell as sweet –) painted by their designer Dave Hoyles. Dave's not just Keen on Indians – he dhoties on them. (ouch!)

whom I demanded be returned. You have talked to me as a child (DUMUlan), and it has belittled me. Come! Now let us go to battle! Let my Lord God pass judgement!" Uhha-zitis had obviously provoked the younger ruler of the Hittites by referring to him as being petty and acting "like a spoiled brat" over the refugees from Attarimma, Suruda and Hursanassa. But Mursilis was able to use this refusal as a justification for his declaration of war. The decision of the heavenly Court of Appeal would be shown in victory on the battlefield.

The new Hittite army set out from Hattusas, marching towards Sallapa where it would join with the allied army from the Levant. As the army was passing the River Sehiriya, near Mount Lawasa, they witnessed the flight of a meteor, travelling east to west, from Hatti toward Arzawa. This was interpreted as a sign from the heavens, a fortuitous omen for the battle to come. It would prove more than this, as Mursilis would discover at Aura. Meanwhile, the allied armies met at Sallapa, where Mursilis held the review (*uwatar*). During this general inspection the troops were regimented company by company in their brigades under their captains and colonels to swear the oath of allegiance (*ishiul*) to the great-king and his family, after which there would be the rites of purification and the prayers for victory.

The united army then marched to Aura, where it was joined by Mashuiluwas and his troops. Mashuiluwas reported to his liege the outcome of the meteor's journey. It had landed in the very palace of Uhha-zitis, near to the Arzawan journey. It had landed in the very palace of Uhha-zitis, near to the Arzawan king himself: "The thunder of the God has struck Uhha-zitis, and it has laid upon him an evil sickness, and he has broken his knees . . .". "Knees" in the *Myth of Kumarbis* are a euphemism for gonads, so the passage could be interpreted as "Uhha-zitis has lost his spunk". Whatever happened, it was the Crown Prince Piyama-Inaras who led the Arzawan force, and it was encamped 2 leagues (1 GAS.KID) away at Walma, near the River Astarpa.

"Then I crossed over into the Land of Arzawa . . ."

The Battle of Walma is simply treated in the *Annals* as a Hittite victory, no other details are given. The result was that the road to the Arzawan capital of Apasas was unguarded, and Mursilis made haste to follow up this advantage. But it is more than probable that the Arzawan army was demoralised both by the supernatural and physical effects of the meteor's landing. It was both a sign of the gods'

anger and the effective loss of their monarch. It perhaps can also be assumed that the Arzawans did not prepare for Mursilis having brought such a large army. The Arzawans would be aware of the effects of the plague (in his *Plague Prayers* Mursilis states that the Hittite population has been decimated by twenty years of the pandemic), and also the continuing campaigns against the Gasgas in the north and against the Assyrians in Mitanni. These two factors plus Mursilis' unexpected, though now obvious, strategic talents helped to rout the enemy army.

The Hittite monarch therefore forced marched to Apasas only to find it abandoned when he reached it. Uhha-zitis and his family had crossed to "the islands", the first part of their journey to find sanctuary in Ahhi-yawa. The remains of the army had split into three parties, some accompanying their king, but the others had rallied into two groups. The first had made for the nearby peninsula of Arinnandas, while the second had moved inland to the rocky fastness of Puranda. The chill winds of Autumn were blowing, and both enclaves probably felt secure that the Hittite army would have to soon retire to winter quarters. But the Hittite ruler was determined to crush one or other of the Arzawan refuges, especially since they contained some of the renegades from Attarimma, Suruda and Hursanassa.

" . . . they split up, one half to the top of Mount Arinnandas . . . "

The *Annals* record that Mursilis wrote to his brother about his plan, therefore Piyassilis must have remained at Walma to keep the line of communication open to Hatti. The great-king stated that: "The refugees have fled and they have gone into the high mountains. The year is drawing to a close: come! let us march to the one or the other and we will bring them down!" Mursilis decided upon Mount Arinnandas, which was close at hand. "This massive Mount Arinnandas, jutting into the sea, was also very high and inaccessible. And it was rocky and impossible to ascend by horse. The refugees held it completely and the troops were all on the top."

Although seemingly secure, the Arzawans had failed to ensure that they were self-sufficient in their coastal fastness: when Mursilis invested the craggy peninsula, he successfully starved the defenders of water and food. Because of the physical roughness of the refuge, the Hittite monarch mentions that he "ascended Mount Arinnandas by foot (GIRit)", going "forth in front of the army", and when the defenders finally relented "suffering from hunger and thirst", Mursilis twice recorded that "they knelt at my feet (GIR.MES)". The



More of the same army, which appears because of a temporary dearth of the Khatti in our film crew's orbit. The editor used to have some Hittites (which once thrashed John Norris's Carthaginians – well, OK, it was a draw [just in case John's reading this!]) but they've now "migrated", so these excellent Indians, designed in Bridlington (Parisii territory of old) will have to do as a stop-gap.

juxtaposition of the great-king's ascent "by foot" and the fact that the normal act of obeisance is mentioned twice is more than fortuitous. Mursilis has made sure posterity appreciates the irony.

"... the other half up to the town of Puranda"

The *Annals* state that 15,500 were captured at Mount Arinnandas, and that these were duly taken back to the palace at Hattusas. As they were taken back to Hatti, it is likely that Piyassilis also began his journey back to Kargamis. But Mursilis moved on towards Puranda, and when he arrived at a settlement on the way [name missing], he wrote to the Purandans. "You were my father's vassals and my father accepted you, and yet you went in fief to Uhha-zitis. He then rebelled and joined with the King of Ahhiyawa. Return to me and serve Uhha-zitis no longer! And hand over my vassals, the peoples of Huwarsanassa, Suruda and Attarimma!". They replied that they would hold fast, and protect the refugees, and that they would still serve Uhha-zitis, it did not matter that he had sailed away.

Such a reply meant that the campaign would have to be concluded the next year. Since "it was already turning cold", Mursilis returned to his base camp near the River Astarpa to overwinter. There he celebrated the autumn Festival of the Year. His sound strategy of calling up an allied Levantine army had led to the destruction of the main Arzawan army. Unfortunately, the failure to take Puranda that year had left a pocket of resistance which would prove to be the focus for a renewed Arzawan struggle. It would have to be dealt with quickly come the Spring.

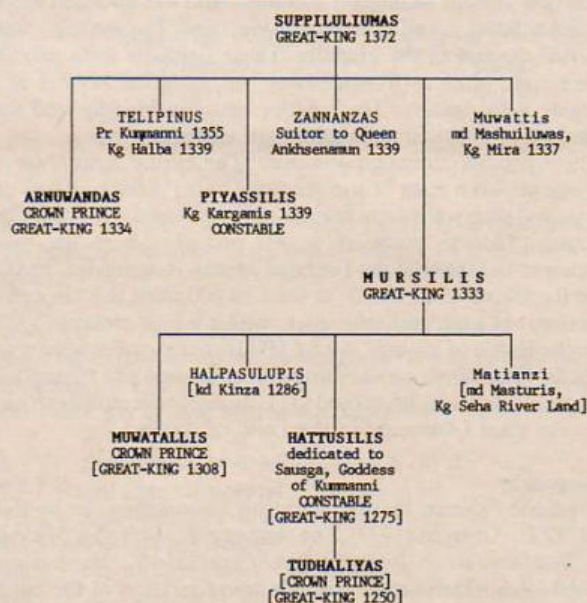
"As soon as it turned Spring " Year Two (1329)

Whatever sickness it was that befell Uhha-zitis, he was too ill to journey to Ahhiyawa, and the *Annals* note that he died "in the midst of the sea". Of the remaining two sons, one [unnamed] stayed in the islands, but Tapala-zunawalis, returned to the mainland to take up the flight. Came the Spring, and the Arzawan prince marched towards Puranda with a new army. Mursilis also raised new troops and marched to Puranda. There he found the Arzawan army arrayed in the fields below the high city, and he attacked and defeated this new Arzawan force. Tapala-zunawalis escaped to the city, but Mursilis had prepared for a siege and invested Puranda. The great-king also engineered the diversion of the river serving the besieged city, or as he wrote: "I put pressure on it: I took away its waters".

The Arzawan prince realised then that he was cornered and one

night made a bid to escape with his sons. This was spotted by the Hittites, and the first pursuit captured the prince's family. The same troops were again sent out after Tapala-zunawalis himself, and succeeded in capturing him also. The people of Puranda would by then have realised that they were isolated, and the city was captured after an assault. The *Annals* claim that over 15,000 of the enemy were captured here, and they, together with the usual sheep and oxen were dispatched to the palace at Hattusas.

THE FAMILY TREE OF MURSILIS II



Notes

GREAT-KING: Sumerian GAL LUGAL, Hittite *hassus sallis*.

CROWN PRINCE: Sumerian DUMU LUGAL, Hittite unknown.

CONSTABLE: Sumerian-Akkadian GAL MESEDI, Akkadian TURTANU, Hittite Tuhkantis. This important military and political post was always held by a member of the Royal Family, usually the brother of the Great-King.

MALE and Female members of the Royal Family.

Kg = King (of), Pr = Priest (of), md = married (to), kd = killed (at).

[]: events that happened after Mursilis' death.

The next section in the *Annals* is badly damaged, but there seems to have been further attacks on various Arzawan cities by Mursilis. The only extant name is that of the city of Lipa, but at least another 10,000 Arzawans are captured from this "mopping up" operation. Also the other son of Uhha-zitis [name damaged] is mentioned as having sailed to Ahhiyawa, where he is given sanctuary, but Mursilis then sent messengers to the Ahhiyawan ruler with the request that the prince be handed over. The Ahhiyawan king relented and the Arzawan prince was brought before the Hittite monarch. This prince may well have been Manpa-Inaras who is mentioned as the ruler of Arzawa in an early treaty of Muwatallis, Mursilis' son and successor.

"Then I went to the Seha River Land . . ."

Although the main Arzawan threat had been destroyed, Mursilis needed to reassert Hittite sovereignty over all the Arzawan Lands. Manapa-Tarhuntas had been supported by Mursilis and Arnuwandas (then prince and crown prince, respectively) when his brother had exiled him, and he had been reinstated as King of the Seha River Land when Mursilis became great-king. But Manapa-Tarhuntas had betrayed the Hittite ruler's trust by siding with Uhha-zitis. As soon as he heard that the Hittite army was moving towards his country, this Arzawan king sent a message to Mursilis: "Lord, do not kill me! Take me into vassallage, Lord! And those people who came over to me, I present them to my Lord!" The Hittite great-king rejected his plea, and as the army was about to enter the Land of the Seha River, Manapa-Tarhuntas sent his mother to plead before Mursilis, then his wife and the old men and women of the land. The Hittite king relented with this and accepted the Arzawan as a vassal again.

He also accepted 4,000 Hittite captives who were turned over to him. It is unclear whether these were some of the renegades, or captives from a border raid or battle that the *Annals* do not mention [see above]. These were sent back to Hatti, and Mursilis turned towards the land of Mira. In return for Mashuiluwas' support he gave him the fief of Mira together with Kuwaliya. He also reformed the townships of Arsini, Sarawa and Impa and garrisoned them with Hittite troops, as well as garrisoning Piyama-Inaras' one-time base of Hapanuwa. He further assigned 600 guards (ERIN.MES.SAG.DU) to protect the life of Mashuiluwas with these strict instructions: "These men of Mira are treacherous! Look, you are six hundred lifeguards! Keep apart from the Miran people! You must not become involved with them!"

"Then I arrived at the town of Aura . . ."

Mursilis then returned to Aura, and he held court there for the arrival of the new vassals: Manapa-Tarhuntas, who was awarded the fiefs of the Seha River Land and Appawiya, and Targasnallis, who was awarded the fief of the Hapalla. These fiefdoms were awarded on Hittite soil, whereas Mashuiluwas was awarded his fief at Mira, because of his loyalty. The treaties between Mursilis and some of these kings (and their successors) are extant.

The Arzawan campaign was over. The Hittite army took in new contingents from each of the renewed fiefs ("I took charge of their troops and they joined my regular soldiers") and it marched back to Hattusas. Mursilis numbers 66,000 prisoners from the two year campaign: 15,500 from the Battle of Mount Arinnandas, 15,000 plus from the Battle of Puranda, at least 10,000 from the "mopping up" operations at Lipa and other cities, which leaves around 15,000 plus from the Battle of Walma. Also 4,000 Hittite captives were returned. Mursilis' final words on the campaign: "As soon as I triumphed over the Land of Arzawa, I returned to Hattusas. I accomplished this in the one year since I wintered in the Land of Arzawa."

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Wargaming the Campaign

I have based two wargames on the Arzawan Campaign, one a **committee game**, the other a **mini-campaign**. But obviously there are many other possibilities, for example: a **siege** dealing with either Mount Arinnandas or the city of Puranda; a **logistics game** dealing with the journey of the allied army from Kargamis to Sallapa; or a **board game** which involves the whole geo-political spectrum, with players representing Hatti, Arzawa, the Gasgas, Egypt, Assyria and Kargamis. The list could go on, but I will stop there and discuss briefly the two games mentioned above.

Lahhiyatar

This committee game was designed for and played at the *Society of Ancient's* second conference at Knuston Hall last October. I acted as umpire and general purveyor of information, while two groups, containing a handful of people each, independently assessed the information they were given and made decisions as if they were the Great-King Mursilis and his General Staff. Initially the groups were given four sheets of information: (1) *The Life and Times of Mursilis II* containing similar background material to "Even before I sat on the throne of my father . . ." [see above]; (2) *The Family Tree of Mursilis* [as illustrated]; (3) *The Geo-Politics of the Day*, which gave more detailed information about the contemporary states and rulers; and (4) *The Army: Organization and Strategy* [see below]. They also had an A3 sized map of Anatolia.

After twenty or so minutes to familiarise themselves with these sheets, further information was fed into each group. These extra pieces of information "played in" the events of the actual campaign: the conspiracy between the kings of Ahhiyawa and Arzawa, the attack on Impa and the (disastrous) counter-attack on Hapanuwa, the rebellion in the settlements of Attarimma, Suruda and Hursanassa, and the encampment of the Arzawan army at Walma. The extra information was given in the form of telegram-like intelligence reports from, for example, Mashuiluwas at Impa.

Both groups decided to pursue the planned Gasgan campaign, but equally failed to produce any "pre-emptive strike" against the Arzawa-Ahhiyawa axis. There was no raid on Millawanda nor against the three townships, and therefore Ahhiyawa was given a fuller involvement in the war. In the final debriefing, both sets of "kings" realised that they had neither been bold nor ruthless enough in their strategy. As umpire my final thought was that if I'd been a Hittite under either of these "great-kings" I would have shortly ended up an Arzawan.

Border Guards

The second game was a mini-campaign based on garrisoning the Hittite-Arzawan border. It was played at the Grimsby Wargames Club some two years ago, with four players and myself as (again) umpire and purveyor of information. The two Hittite players were given a map [as illustrated] marking out the border, the forts and the main lines of communication. They were also given a force of 1,000 foot and 100 chariots. The two Arzawan players received the same map and estimates (dependent on a D6 roll) of how many troops they could raise initially for an attack. The aim of the Arzawans was to succeed in showing the weakness of the Hittite garrison force by defeating it, which would then lead to a popular rebellion.

The Hittite players allocated their forces between the five garrison posts, and, as soon as they heard that there was an Arzawan army on the march, they levied (dependent again on a D6 roll) extra men to defend the border. Unfortunately the Arzawans outsmarted the Hittites, and managed in two sieges to destroy most of the Hittite forces. The Hittite players meanwhile had sent off for reinforcements which were on their way, but, as such, the Arzawans won the campaign. The Arzawan main force numbered about 7,000 (in real

terms), with a subsidiary force of 2-3,000. The Hittites had, in addition to their original "brigade", also some 2-3,000 levies. The mini-campaign was played with 15mm Peter Laing figures using my chariot warfare rules *Maryannu* and my siege-warfare rules *UR.SAG*. Overall it was played on three club nights to the enjoyment of all.

Numbers

The *Annals* note some 66,000 Arzawan prisoners taken during the two-year campaign. According to Egyptian records, the Hittite army at Kadesh numbered 37,000 foot and 3,500 horse (chariotry). In a Hittite treaty with the kingdom of Kizzuwatna, the latter is expected to supply to any campaign the great-king enters upon a "brigade" of 1,000 foot and 100 chariots. If this is the normal contingent from allied or federated states, 4 such brigades would come from Kizzuwatna, Pitassa, Kalasma and Kassiya. The Hittite "Home Counties" (Hatti itself and the Upper and Lower Lands) would each supply something like 5 brigades. Therefore without the Levantine allied army, Mursilis could have mustered some 19,000 foot, and some 1,900 chariots. (It is worthwhile remembering that two such armies would have been raised that same year.) The state of Kargamis could also muster some 5 brigades, and we can assume a brigade from each of the major dependencies, Ugarit, Mukis, Mitanni, Nuhassi, Astata, Amurru and Kinza: some 7,000 foot and 700 chariots. At Sallapa, Mursilis might well have held a general inspection of some 30,000 foot and 3,000 horse.

Arzawa itself could easily raise the same five brigades as Hatti, but would most probably have levied all the troops it could muster. We can guess at some 15,000 foot and 1,500 horse from Lesser Arzawa, with another 5,000 foot and 500 horse from Seha River Land, and perhaps 2,000 foot and 200 horse from Mira (which had split loyalties), and a brigade each from Kuwaliya and Appawiya (and Hapalla?). The other Arzawan Land, Wilusa, appears to have remained neutral. Thus Piyama-Inaras could have marshalled an army of some 25,000 foot and 2,500 horse. With the devastation caused by the plague, and one army having already been raised for the Gasgan campaign, the Hittite army without an allied support would

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have fared badly against such at Walma. But as it was, the Hittites probably had the edge on numbers, and definitely on morale.

Allowing for a large number of casualties on the Arzawan side once they had routed, the estimate of some 15,000 plus captives at Walma is reasonable. It is also understandable why Mursilis needed Piyassilis at Mount Arinnandas, where there were 15,500 captives. Though many of these may well have been non-combatants.

A final word about distances. When the treaty between Ramesses and Hattusilis was signed in 1269, messengers travelled between Hattusas and Per-Ramesses (the Egyptian capital) in a month, some 900 miles by road. An army encumbered by supplies would probably march between 8-10 miles a day, making the same journey in 3 months. A flying column could well move at near messenger speed, or at least 15-20 miles a day if horsed. These figures were noted down for reference in *Lahhiyatar*, but could also prove useful for other wargames based on the same campaign.

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THE COMMOTION IN NORFOLK:

Kett's Rebellion of 1549

by Robin P. Jenkins

In an issue of this magazine's predecessor an account was given of the rising in Cornwall and Devon of 1549. This Western Rising was principally against the imposition of a new Prayer Book: the latest stage in the by no means universally accepted movement of England towards Protestantism under the infant Edward VI. The new Book of Common Prayer however was by no means the only grievance against the English government, nor was the West of England the only area affected. Indeed if anything a far greater threat arose in East Anglia where a vast army of rebels not only organised themselves into an effective fighting force within one hundred and twenty miles of London, but also occupied the second city of the kingdom and defeated a royal army sent against them. Now known as Kett's Rebellion the outbreak of disorder was most frequently described by contemporaries as "the commotion in Norfolk".

Unlike the events in Devon and Cornwall the rising in Norfolk seems to have had little to do with religion. The grievances of the rebels in fact centred, initially at least, upon the enclosure of common land. At the beginning of the 16th century the countryside of Norfolk must have seemed as open as it does today, with hedges a comparative rarity. For centuries the peasantry had farmed in co-operation with their neighbours, with widely distributed holdings and commonly held rights to graze cattle or sheep on the common, to crop woods and so on. By the 1540s however the greater profits to be had from sheep farming had led to a measure of enclosure, and while hedges and fences became increasingly often seen, common rights of the poorer peasantry were ever more scarce.

The first indication that the peasants of Norfolk did not intend to accept in silence the loss of their ancient common rights occurred at Attleborough, a town now known to the world for its sleepy railway station and accident blackspot of a by-pass. On the night of 20 June 1549 the fences of a local manorial lord were uprooted and an area of common grazing land re-opened. A few weeks later when the local peasantry gathered at Wymondham to celebrate the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas Becket, the 'raid' on the fences and the 'injustice' of enclosure were almost certainly widely discussed. As a result instead of returning peacefully to their homes at the end of the festival, the countrymen went on a rampage of destruction, tearing up hedges and casting down fences wherever they could find them.

The rising might have subsided even then had it not been for the discovery by the rebels of a born leader in a well-to-do local landowner: one Robert Kett or Ket. The involvement of Kett is particularly odd, for he himself was an early encloser of common land. Indeed his vigour in that respect had led him into rivalry with another local landowner. That rival, John Flowerdew of Hethersett, was soon visited by the rebels, but succeeded in diverting their wrath in Kett's direction by a shrewd offer of forty pence that they leave him in peace and attack Kett instead. Kett however, seemingly an opportunist and realist, gleefully assisted the rebels to rip up his own hedges before leading them back to Flowerdew's land, where, no doubt, they did considerable damage. From that moment the rebels seem to have regarded Kett as their leader. As the chronicler Holinshed observed some forty years later:

"Hereupon was Ket chosen to be their capteine and ringleader, who . . . willed them to be of good comfort, and to follow him in defense of their common libertie, being readie in the common-welths cause to hazard both life and goods". (page 964)

The events that followed the selection of Kett as the rebels' leader seem, to judge from the surviving accounts, to have been a strange mixture of pantomime and astute military manoeuvre. News of the revolt had spread widely through East Anglia by this time and as Kett's followers marched towards Norwich they were joined by bands of peasants and yeomen anxious to make known their grievances to the government of the Protector, the Duke of Somerset, in London.

Three attempts were made to halt Kett's swelling company. On 9 July the Mayor of Norwich, Thomas Codd, tried unsuccessfully to persuade the rebels to disperse. On the following day the Sheriff of

Norfolk and Suffolk also tried, declaring in the King's name that the gathering was treasonable. His tone was offensive to many however and Windham, the sheriff, escaped only by galloping the two miles into Norwich. Sir Roger Wodehouse, who made the next attempt, was not so fortunate. He attempted to placate the rebels with two cart-loads of beer and one of food but was attacked, stripped and thrown into a ditch for his pains. Kett's followers, perhaps, had come too far to turn back.

Having spent one night at Bowthorpe on the western side of Norwich, on 11 July the rebels moved slowly around the city to camp on Mousehold Heath: a broad area of rough ground high above the city of Norwich, just across the River Wensum from the grounds of the cathedral. Kett's men swiftly began to build huts for themselves while their prisoners or hostages, including the unfortunate Wodehouse, were lodged in the nearby Mount Surrey house. The position itself was a commanding one, looming intimidatingly over Norwich.

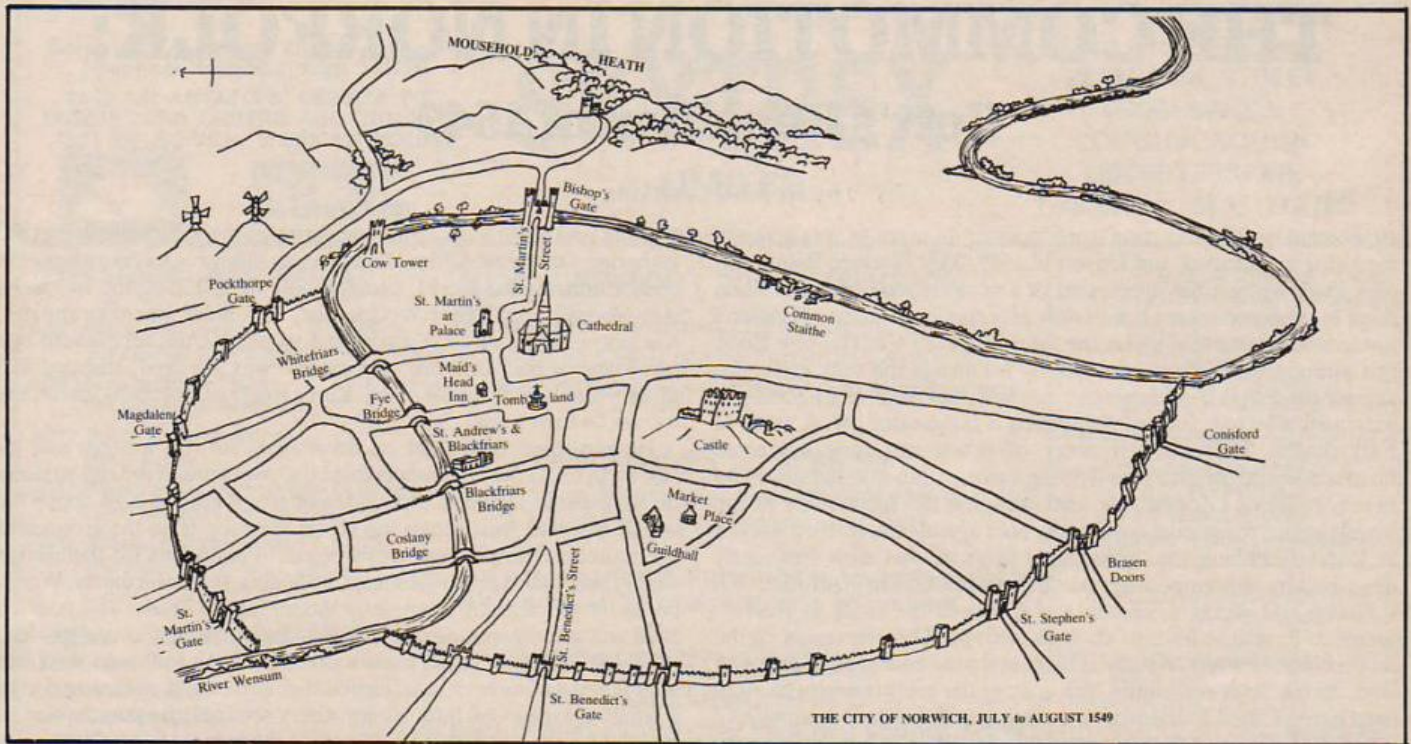
Whilst on Mousehold Heath moreover Kett's followers were not idle. Some, as has been said, busied themselves in the construction of a small township of huts while others scoured the countryside in search of weapons and food. Flocks of sheep were soon driven onto the Heath while yet more rebels arrived with arms full of weapons or food. From the nearby Old Paston Hall and other places the rebels brought cannon and before long a considerable arsenal was created on Mousehold Heath.

For all this time the citizens of Norwich had played a somewhat equivocal role in the rising. Indeed, Edward VI himself recorded a suspicion in his journal that Kett and the city were "confederate" (p. 15), and there was almost certainly more than a note of truth in the idea. Indeed most of the rebels' food, notwithstanding their active foraging, must have come through Norwich. It might be more charitable however, and no less accurate to attribute the inaction of the Mayor and leading citizens to the simple fact that there was nothing that they could do. For a week or more they kept Norwich safe although a potentially hostile force sat just outside the walls. Besides, only one attempt had been made to attack the rebels by any of the Norfolk gentry. Sir Edmund Knyvett had had some initial success in scattering some rebels near Hingham but shortly afterwards he had been bottled up in his castle of New Buckenham.

On 21 July, the eve of St. Mary Magdalen's Day, matters took a far more serious turn when the York Herald, bearing instructions from the court at Windsor, clattered travel-stained into Norwich. Almost immediately the Herald rode up onto the Heath to address the rebels. His offer of a pardon proved popular and many of the rebels were collecting their belongings to go home when Kett reminded them that they had done no wrong and therefore needed no pardon. At this the Herald seems to have lost his temper and furiously declared Kett a traitor. The mood of the gathering instantly changed for the worse and as the Herald hastily withdrew, all hope of a peaceful end to the rising went with him.

Until that moment the preparations for the defence of Norwich seem to have been limited to the repair of a few locks on the city gates. On the return of York Herald however the atmosphere in the city changed. The accounts of Robert Raynbald, the City Chamberlain (or Treasurer) show clearly that he was one of the most active in Norwich during the night that followed. His accounts, incidentally, are also a most interesting and useful source for a study of mid-sixteenth century warfare.

Faced with the threat of attack, Chamberlain Raynbald seems to have taken a special interest in the preparation of a sufficient stock of artillery equipment. One cannon was found and carried to the Old Common Staithe, while two other 'gret Gonnys' were moved to the castle. None of the guns seem to have had equipment with them and they may have been of considerable age. Consequently Raynbald busily organised not only the manufacture of ladles and sponges, paying 3 shillings and 6 pence for the necessary "plates, nails, staves and lambs' skins" but also the melting of lead for six score "pylettts of Gonshots". Other men were sent scampering about the city carrying



THE CITY OF NORWICH, JULY to AUGUST 1549

bundles of brown paper and match, bowls, shovels and staves, to be divided among the gunners. Clearly the night was a warm one and amongst the more warlike items paid for there are frequent references to the provision of drink. Other weapons were not neglected either and the wife of one Butfield was given 9 pence for two dozen bowstrings that were needed for the bows stored in the city Guildhall.

The activity of Raynbald is proven too by a payment for three horseshoes needed by his horse at midnight. More ominous however is the very small number of men, mostly the household servants of Norwich's prominent citizens, upon whom Raynbald could call in that time of crisis. It is likely that the shortage of reliable men played a considerable part in the events that followed the next day: Mary Magdalen's Day, 22 July 1549.

The events of 22 July began quietly with two envoys approaching Norwich from Kett's camp under a flag of truce. The envoys, James Williams and Ralph Sutton – both tradesmen of the city, made clear that all the rebels wanted was to be permitted once more to buy provisions in the city. Upon Mayor Thomas Codd's reply that the gates would remain closed against them the envoys retired and soon afterwards an all out attack on the city began.

On the Eastern side of Norwich, the side facing and overshadowed by Mousehold Heath, the River Wensum formed the principal defence of the city, with the isolated towers of Bishop's Gate and the Cow Tower standing at either end of a broad area of flat grazing land. There, with a startling disregard to the gun and archery fire coming from the towers, the rebels swarmed over the river. Writing his eye-witness account of the rising, Nicholas Sotherton described with disgust how the youngest of the rebels disdained the fire from the city and instead ran gleefully amongst the arrows, picking them up for their own use. "When", wrote Sotherton,

some of the seid arrows stack fast in theyr leggs and other parts . . . [they] . . . did therewith most shamefully turne up theyr bare tayles agenst those which did shoote, whych soe dismayd the archers that it tooke theyr hart from them . . ." (p.87)

Shortage of powder and desertions from the defences led to slackening of fire, which according to Sotherton was particularly inaccurate anyway, and within minutes the rebels were swarming over and around the barricades that had been built to protect the Bishop's Gate. The morale of the defenders which was already weak, now collapsed and as they fled the city was opened to the rebels.

Norwich also seems to have suffered from the efforts of a powerful fifth column. That there were traitors in the city even before the rebels broke in is made clear by the Chamberlain, who declares in his accounts that his activities in supervising the preparation of the defences was swiftly communicated to Kett by a certain John Fyshman. Immediately upon the fall of the city therefore, some eighty

rebels came to Raynbald and forced him to surrender the powder and shot that remained in the Guildhall. Raynbald also lost personal belongings, including a considerable store of weapons and armour and then he found himself carried off towards Mousehold Heath. Raynbald, fearing that his captors intended to hang him there, managed to buy his freedom for the seemingly modest sum of 3 shillings and 4 pence. The intimidation of Raynbald appears to have been the only act of violence however, for it seems that there was little other looting and York Herald (who might have expected ill treatment) was permitted to escape. The rising still seems to have had a carnival air and besides, the high proportion of Norwich citizens amongst the rebels would mean that they'd have been looting their own or their neighbours' property.

It might be appropriate at this point to consider the rebels themselves and in particular their equipment and weapons. Kett's followers, as might be imagined, consisted of a broad section of Tudor society from the poorest agricultural labourers and vagabonds to urban tradesmen and well-to-do yeomen. It is likely therefore that this variation in lifestyle and status was reflected to some extent in the military appearance and activities of the rebels.

Undoubtedly the majority of Kett's followers joined the host on Mousehold with whatever they could find or had to hand. Consequently it is not surprising to read Sotherton's account of the rebels rushing into Norwich on 22 July armed with

" . . . Halber[d]s, spe[a]rs, swerds, and other weapons, and some wyth muck forks, pych-forks et cetera . . . " (page.87)

Others would have had longbows, and perhaps a few with crossbows, while a smaller, select band manned the cannons that were available on the Heath. Some of the latter, as will be seen, achieved an astonishing degree of accuracy too, using their guns at times as though they were snipers' rifles.

Bows, bills, halberds and clubs all feature in the list of goods taken by the rebels from Raynbald as well as "a jacke of fustyan" and two "almayn Ryvetts as fayer as any in Norwiche". No doubt many of the rebels already wore 'jacks' or lightly armoured leather jackets and it would be tempting to imagine that the two 'almyn' or German-made suits of armour also found wearers amongst the rebels. All the booty, with at least six cannon seized from the city was withdrawn up onto Mousehold Heath.

York Herald meanwhile had wasted no time in returning to make his report to the Council. Faced with a simultaneous rising in the South West, Somerset was by no means well provided with troops. Nevertheless an expedition was hastily prepared and William Parr, Marquis of Northampton selected to command. The choice of Northampton, whose sole qualification seems to have been that his sister had been Henry VIII's last wife, was not an inspired one. Nor

indeed was his army ideal for the purpose, for unable to rely upon more usual sources of levies, the government provided Parr with an heterogeneous mixture of Italian mercenaries, commanded according to Holinshed by a soldier of fortune named Malatesta, a strong troop of Spanish heavy cavalry led by Captain Carlos de Guevara, and two hundred men of Captain Drury's English professionals. Parr also brought with him a troop of horse raised from the gentry about his own estates in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire and from Norfolk. There were also eleven guns. In all, the entire force numbered only just over one thousand men, Edward VI noting in his journal that there were 1,060, mostly horsemen. Scarcely a sufficient force to face Kett and his fifteen thousand or so rebels.

On the last day of July 1549 the Marquis of Northampton's tired force reached Norwich, halting within sight of the city. Not knowing how matters stood there, Parr sent his herald Sir Gilbert Dethicke, Norroy King at Arms, to demand the surrender of the city. A brief delay followed while the citizens conferred with Mayor Codd, who was by then held in loose arrest by the rebels. Then the deputy mayor, Augustine Steward approached Northampton's waiting army taking with him Norwich's state sword as a symbol of submission. Entering by St. Stephen's Gate, the royal army trooped into the city.

The first stage of Northampton's mission had successfully been achieved and it was not long before he and his captains had joined Steward for supper at the Council Chamber. Shortly after however the supper was abandoned when news was received that one of Malatesta's Italians had wandered too far from the Magdalen Gate of the city and been captured and taken by the rebels up onto the Heath. There, according to the chroniclers, he had been hanged by one Cayme of Bungay. Kett's men, perhaps, had little regard or respect for foreign mercenaries.

Warned by the capture of the Italian that the rebels were active beyond the city walls, great precautions were taken to forestall a surprise attack. Sentries were stationed along the walls, a watch-word chosen and great bonfires lit around the walls and in the market place; all at a cost of 33 shillings paid out by Raynbald. Finally Parr and his staff settled down to sleep in their armour.

They awoke, if they had slept at all, at midnight when the rebels opened fire on the city with the largest of the guns that they had up on the Heath. Tired, irritated and probably not a little apprehensive Parr and his colleagues hastened to the market square where they found the reserve troops huddled around the fires and their officers talking together in one of the market stalls. After a brief conference the suggestion of Lord Sheffield, Parr's second in command, that earthworks be constructed along the river and around the gates as an extra defence to the city, was agreed upon and Augustine Steward left to find the labourers. That done, Parr and his captains retired to the Maid's Head on Tombland (in those days the market place), for their breakfasts.

Then, suddenly, all was pandemonium. The rebels were pouring in hundreds down from Mousehold and in no time at all the troops guarding the Magdalen, Pockthorpe, Bishop's and Ber Street Gates were fighting for their lives. Parr's officers rushed to the defences. Norroy King at Arms and Steward rode northwards over Whitefriars Bridge towards Pockthorpe Gate where it was rumoured that hundreds of rebels had appeared offering to surrender in return for a promise of pardon. Once there they found only hostile rebels while behind them smoke curled ominously upwards as Kett's men tried desperately to set the Bishop's Gate alight.

At length they succeeded and hordes of rebels surged up the narrow street that ran along the wall of the cathedral close. Across the street, near the church of St. Martin at Palace, the rebels found another strong government force drawn up. There Lord Sheffield had mounted a strong battery of cannon, protected by infantry and a few horse. For a time there was stalemate as the heroic ferocity of Kett's Norfolk peasantry was held in check by the no less brave but better equipped and armoured gentry under Sheffield. Contemporary accounts relate with horror how the rebels seemed unperturbed by wounds, as men with near severed limbs or deep sword cuts pushed further into the melee in the hope of cutting down their enemies. Ultimately, as more and more rebels entered Norwich from north and south, Sheffield's company was borne down by weight of numbers and forced to give way. Caught in the press, as the royal troops fled up St. Martin's Street, Sheffield's horse stumbled, throwing its rider into a ditch. No doubt expecting to be held for ransom, Sheffield removed his helmet – only to have his head crushed by one Fulk; a butcher by

trade as well as inclination.

Seeing his infantry being overwhelmed in the narrow city streets and with no room to deploy his cavalry, Parr had no choice but to retreat. As the royal army fled the city they left behind all their baggage and guns as well as perhaps one hundred dead. The earliest parish register of St. Martin's recording the burial of Lord Sheffield and 35 of his men, their corpses no doubt being carried the short distance from Bishop's Gate and St. Martin's Street.

Once again Norwich had fallen to the rebels, and a royal army had been decimated in the process. This time however the rebels had themselves suffered heavy casualties and were not so well disposed towards the citizens. Many fled from Norwich but others stayed, finding themselves pushed aside as the rebels searched for fugitive royalists or loot. Much of the city was burnt too as the fires begun by the rebels spread. The government of the city was in ruins, corpses of men and horses littered the streets and the magnificent cathedral was taken over as a barracks by rebels weary of their life on the Heath.

Although the predominant feelings in the rebel camp must have been a mixture in roughly equal parts of pride and astonishment at their victory, the atmosphere as Kett conferred with his advisers (who represented the men from the different parts of Norfolk and Suffolk) was undoubtedly tinged with concern. One royal army had been defeated but another would assuredly come. To await it on Mousehold Heath would be to surrender both the initiative and tactical advantage, as the new commander could hardly be expected to repeat Parr's error in occupying Norwich. The only alternatives were either to march on London, which was unthinkable, or to attempt to spread the rebellion throughout East Anglia and perhaps into the Midlands.

It was probably to widen the scope of the rising therefore that Kett and his captains decided upon an attempt to capture Great Yarmouth. On 5 August a column of about one hundred men left the Mousehold Heath camp to demand the surrender of the port. That so small a force was sent suggests perhaps that little difficulty was anticipated.

Once at Yarmouth the rebels found that the citizens were determined to resist. Moreover as they gazed at the port's impressive walls it became clear to Kett's emissaries that the townsmen could easily do so. Nothing daunted however the rebels continued their march to Lowestoft, half a dozen miles to the south, where six cannon were obtained. Without delay the rebels returned to Yarmouth and from Gorleston, just across Breydon Water, began to bombard the town. The magistrates of Yarmouth conferred and decided upon an attack to neutralise the rebels' cannon: their only effective weapon. A large haystack to the windward of the rebels was set afire and under cover of the smoke, a strong party rowed across to Gorleston. The attack was a complete success, the rebels being caught completely by surprise, and no fewer than thirty prisoners taken if Manship (the early historian of Great Yarmouth) is to be believed. The most valuable capture was the battery of six guns abandoned by Kett's followers in their haste to return to Mousehold. The guns were to provide a much needed addition to the town's arsenal. *"The whole town of Yarmouth" recorded Manship, "rejoicing and giving God thanks for so great a victory, thought they should have rested in quiet; but these rebels, like bears robbed of the whelps, sent out new forces . . ."* (p.96)

This time Kett despatched a larger force which, having reconnoitred the area, attacked the town across the Denes: a sandy area to the north of Yarmouth. This time however the advantages of artillery lay with the townspeople. A lucky shot from a demi-cannon brought down a horse and rider in the midst of the rebels; they lost heart and retired. Before departing completely however, the rebels set fire to a large pile of building materials ready for repair work at the docks in Yarmouth. No further attempts were made against Yarmouth and a few days later reinforcements arrived, making possible extensive arrangements for the defence of the town. With his attempt to extend the rebellion and thereby to force concessions from the government foiled, Kett had little choice but to await the approach of a new royal army.

For a time Kett remained in control of the city of Norwich, organising a model community amongst his followers. The government's available forces were temporarily exhausted or engaged elsewhere. In my second article I shall continue this account of the rising of 1549 and the events that occurred when, at last, Somerset's government was able to act.

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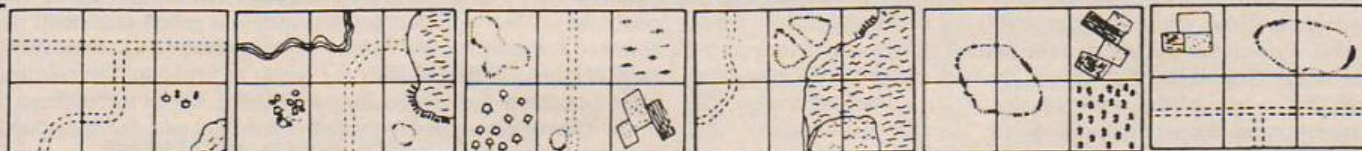
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B/PRUSSIAN CAVALRY DIVISION: (5th Cavalry Division), 2 Cuirassier Regts, 2 Uhlan Regts, 2 Dragoon Regts, 3 Hussar Regts, 2 Horse Batteries and Brigade/Divisional Command.

C/PRUSSIAN CAVALRY DIVISION: (1st Cavalry Division), 2 Cuirassier Regts, 4 Uhlan Regts, 1 Horse Battery and Command.

D/PRUSSIAN ARMY: 54-20-figure '2 Bns, 2 Jager Bns, 1 Hussar Regt, 1 Uhlan Regt, 15 Artillery Batteries & Limbers plus Brigade/Div/Corps Command and Garde Cavalry Division of 2 Cuirassier Regts, 2 Uhlan Regts and 2 Dragoon Regts.

E/SAXON CORPS: 54-20-figure '2 Bns, 2 Jager Bns, 2 Cavalry Regts, 16 Artillery Batteries & Limbers plus Command and including 12th Cavalry

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F/BAVARIAN CORPS: 40-20-figure '2 Bns, 5 Jager Bns, 2 Lt Cavalry Regts, 15 Artillery Batteries & Limbers plus Brigade/Div/Corps Command.

G/BAVARIAN CAVALRY DIVISION: 2 Cuirassier Regts, 2 Uhlan Regts, 2 Lt Cavalry Regts, 2 Horse Batteries and Command.

H/WURTEMBERG DIVISION: 24-20-figure '2 Bns, 3 Jager Bns, 3 Cavalry Regts, 9 Artillery Batteries plus Command.

I/BADEEN DIVISION: 25-20-figure '2 Bns, 3 Dragoon Regts, 9 Artillery Batteries and Command.

FRANCE: Due to inadequate mobilisation systems, French Line Unit strength fell well below the 800 Bn figure strength, sometimes to as low as 500 men. Incorporated below are Units with average strengths of 650 men (26 figures), Cavalry at 24 figures and Batteries of 8 guns. However, Guard Units are at full strength.

J/FRENCH IMPERIAL GUARD: 23-26-figure Bns, 1 Gd Chasseur Bn of 30 figures, 6 Guard Cavalry Regts, 10 Artillery Bys & Limbers, 2 Mitrailleuse Bys & Limbers plus Command.

K/FRENCH CORPS (1st): 48-26-figure Bns, 4 Chasseur Bns of 25 figures, 3 heavy Cavalry Regts, 2 Lancer Regts, 2 Lt Cavalry Regts, 16 Artillery Bys & Limbers, 4 Mitrailleuse Bys and Command.

L/FRENCH CORPS (7th): 36-26-figure Bns, 3 Chasseur Bns of 25 figures, 1 Dragoon Regt, 2 Lt Cavalry Regts, 2 Lt Cavalry Regts, 12 Artillery Bys & Limbers, 3 Mitrailleuse Bys and Command.

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XT6 (L) Dragoon Command

XT7 (C) Musketeers in Tricom

XT8 (C) Musketeer Command

XT9 (C) Grenadiers in Mitr

XT10 (C) Grenadier Command

XT11 (L) Grenadier & Limber

XT12 (L) Gallioyer Gun, Crew and Horse

XT13 (L) Mortar and Crew (Hanging type)

XT14 (L) Large Siege Gun with 6 Crew

XT15 (L) Ammunition Wagon

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FOOT
ECW1 Armoured officer (5)
ECW2 Officer (3)
ECW3 Ensign (3)*
ECW4 Sergeant (5)
ECW5 Drummer (3)
ECW6 Musketeer firing (5)
ECW7 Musketeer at porte (5)
ECW8 Musketeer loading (5)
ECW9 Musketeer advancing (5)
ECW10 Armoured pikeman at charge (5)*
ECW11 Armoured pikeman at porte (5)*
ECW12 Medium pikeman at the advance (5)*
ECW13 Unarmoured pikeman at the advance (5)*
ECW14 Dragon advancing (5)
ECW15 Unarmoured pikeman or artilleryman (5)*
ECW16 Preacher
ECW17 Casualty (unarmoured)
ECW18 Artilleryman with tool box (3)
ECW19 Artilleryman walking (3)*
ECW20 Master gunner, priming gun (3)
ECW21 Artilleryman with bucket (3)
ECW22 Gentleman walking
ECW23 Villager with staff
ECW24 Farmer with pitchfork
ECW25 Peasant with club
ECW26 Female civilian
ECW27 Forester with fowling piece
ECW28 Staff officer with telescope
ECW29 Engineer in siege armour
ECW30 Straggler/Casualty
ECW31 Dismounted cuirassier, drawn sword
ECW32 Dismounted heavy cavalryman, firing pistol
ECW33 Dismounted medium cavalryman, thrusting with sword
ECW34 As ECW33 but lobster pot, defending with sword
ECW35 Musketeer at the ready (5)
ECW36 Musketeer marching (5)
ECW37 Musketeer using musket as club (5)
ECW38 Pikeman at receive cavalry charge (5)*
ECW39 Heavy pikeman advancing (5)*
ECW40 Open-handed soldier (5)*
ECW41 Artilleryman with mallet for mortar
ECW42 Artilleryman with telescope
ECW43 Dismounted heavy cavalryman throwing grenade
ECW44 Artilleryman, running, holding down hat
ECW45 Artilleryman, carrying petard stretcher, lobster pot
ECW46 Artilleryman, carrying petard stretcher, morion
ECW47 Sapper with shovel
ECW48 Miner swinging a pick

ECW50 Dead (hat)
ECW51 Dismounted Cavalryman Firing Carbine
ECW52 Dismounted Cavalryman with sword/pistol (loose arm)

LOWLAND SCOTS

CWS1 Officer in half-armour
CWS2 Officer
CWS3 Ensign
CWS4 Sergeant
CWS5 Drummer
CWS6 Musketeer marching (3)
CWS7 Musketeer firing, without rest (3)
CWS8 Musketeer firing with swinefeather (2)
CWS9 Musketeer loading (3)
CWS10 Musketeer advancing with swinefeather (3)
CWS11 Musketeer advancing (3)
CWS12 Musketeer with sword and targe
CWS13 Medium pikeman at porte (2)*
CWS14 Medium pikeman at the advance (3)*
CWS15 As CWS14, pike secured
CWS16 Unarmoured pikeman/artillery standing (2)
CWS17 Levy, charging with sword and targe
CWS18 As CWS17 but in skull cap
CWS19 Infantryman with lochaber axe
CWS20 Casualty
CWS21 Musketeer at ready a) clean shaven b) bear
CWS22 Musketeer using clubbed musket (2)
CWS23 Open-handed soldier, bonnet & small plaid
CWS24 Gunner with limstock
CWS25 Gunner with rammer
CWS26 Gunner officer, sighting

LOWLAND CAVALRY

CWSC1 Officer (2)
CWSC2 Trumpeter (2)
CWSC3 Lancer (3)
CWSC4 Heavy cavalry (3)
CWSC5 Medium cavalry with pistol (3)
CWSC6 Different medium with sword OR pistol (4)
CWSC7 Dragon (3)

CAVALRY

ECWC1 General (2)
ECWC2 Officer (4)
ECWC3 Standard bearer (2)*
ECWC4 Trumpeter (2)
ECWC5 Cuirassier (4)

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ECWC6 Heavy cavalry with carbine (4)
ECWC7 Heavy cavalry with pistol (4)
ECWC8 Medium cavalry with raised sword (4)
ECWC9 Medium cavalry with sword at side (4)
ECWC10 Dragon (4)

HORSES

ECWH1 Rearing or jumping, pistol holsters
ECWH2 Walking, head lowered, pistol holsters
ECWH3 Walking, head raised, pistol holsters
ECWH4 Standing, pistol holsters
ECWH5 Walking, neck arched down, front leg raised, pistol holsters
ECWH6 Cantering, head level, pistol holsters
ECWH7 Cantering, head arched, legs gathered, pistol holsters
ECWH8 As horse 4 but no pistol holsters
ECWH9 As horse 5 but no pistol holsters
ECWH10 As horse 6 but no pistol holsters
ECWH11 As horse 7 but no pistol holsters

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HR2 Piper (2)
HR3 Clansman with musket at ready, targe & sword (3)
HR4 Clansman firing musket, targe & sword (3)
HR5 Clansman firing pistol (3)
HR6 Clansman with bow firing arrow (3)
HR7 Clansman charging with lochaber axe (3)
HR8 Clansman charging, sword raised (3)
HR9 Clansman standing, sword resting on shoulder (3)
HR10 Clansman standing, plaid over head (3)
HR11 Clansman, in shirt, attacking with claymore (2)
HR12 Irish Musketeer, in trows, advancing (3)
HR13 Irish Musketeer, firing (3)
HR14 Irish/Highlander Officer with awl pike (3)

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Infantry Line
S1 NFR1 Fusilier adv
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S1 NFR3 Inf Drummer
S1 NFR4 Inf Officer
S1 NFR5 Inf/Eagle Bearer
S1 NFR6 Light Inf adv
S1 NFR7 Light Inf Drummer
S1 NFR8 Light Inf Officer
S1 NFR9 Light Inf/Eagle Bearer
S1 NFR10 Carabinier adv
S1 NFR11 Elite Light inf. in Colpack adv
S1 NFR12 Dismounted Dragon adv
S1 NFR13 Dismounted Dragon Drummer
S1 NFR14 Dismounted Dragon Officer

S1 NFR15 Dismounted Dragon Eagle Bearer
S1 NFR16 Dismounted Dragon Elite Comp.
S1 NFR17 Sapper
S1 NFR18 Rifleman
S1 NFR19 Sergeant, Porte fannion

Guard

S1 NFR19 Old Guard Gren. adv
S1 NFR20 Old Guard Gren. Drummer
S1 NFR21 Old Guard Gren. Officer
S1 NFR22 Old Guard Chasseur Bearer
S1 NFR23 Old Guard Chasseur adv
S1 NFR24 Old Guard Chasseur Drummer
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S1 NFR27 Middle Guard Fus. Gren. adv
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RM17 BRDM2 Rch
RM18 BRDM2 with sagger
RM19 SA-9 GASKIN AAGW
RM20 BRDM3 with Spandrel
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RM23 PMP Ferry Bridge
Ramp section
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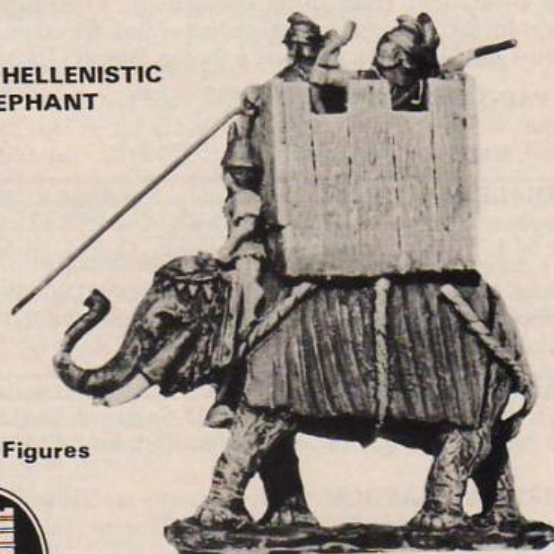
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THE BRACKNELL WARGAMER CLUB is seeking more colleagues. Normally we meet on the 1st and 3rd Sundays in the month at the Coopers Hill Centre in Bracknell. However in February the meetings will be on the 2nd and 3rd Sundays, from 1 pm until 6 pm. Periods covered range from Ancients to Super Modern including Napoleonic and ACW. Due to the strength of interest in Napoleonic a mini campaign is in progress. Rules used include WRG, Hard Cover, Newbury, Squad Leader and Challenger with a present emphasis on figure games using realistic terrain. Our intention is to get away from point counts and terrain which has to be diced for. New members first visit is free and they are encouraged to join in ongoing games. For further information contact Steve Legrange on Wokingham 780966.

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PLYMOUTH ASSOCIATION OF WARGAMERS presents "Paw '88" Wargames Convention, February 6th & 7th, 1988. Abbey Hall, Catherine Street, Plymouth. 9.30am to 11pm, Saturday, 12

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THURROCK ARMADA '88. Thurrock Council are planning a very large scale series of events over the weekend of the 6th and 7th August 1988 which is the anniversary of Elizabeth's visit. Amongst these events are included: Tudor Fayres, Ox Roasts, Ale Tents, Period Banquets, Mummers Plays, Sports & Games, Bands & Music, Archery, and much, much more. All this is aimed at entertaining an expected crowd of upward of 80,000 people throughout the day and late into the evening. However the centre piece of the whole event will be the visit of 'Queen Elizabeth I' played by a well known actress*, and of course the massed troops of her army! Thurrock Council and their sponsors are prepared to supply the equipment, uniforms, weapons, etc. What is needed is the 'stout hearted men' (i.e. min. 16 years old) to form Elizabeth's army. As a chance to experience what it must have been like for the Tudor soldier, carrying his pike, musket or longbow in massed formation, and at practically no cost to the participants, this must rank as a golden opportunity for those interested in 'living history' as well as studying it (should be fun as well!). All in all this event promises to be the largest of its kind in the country and the 'Army' will be at the heart of the celebration. Do YOU want to be involved? If so, contact Steven Payne for more details at: 98 Suffolk Road, Barking, Essex or on 01-594 9958.

* [Ed. note: Will it be Miranda Richardson!]

TUNBRIDGE WELLS WARGAMES SOCIETY OPEN DAY 1988 will take place on the 28th February, 1988, at St Gregory's School, Reynolds Lane, Southborough, Kent. There will be ten paintings and modelling classes including large scale figures, vehicles and dioramas as well as wargames units and equipment. Enquiries should be addressed to C. D. Mcleod at 25 Royal Avenue, Tonbridge, Kent.

REVEILLE '88. Date: Saturday and Sunday 5th & 6th March 1988. Venue: Students Union, Queens Road, Bristol.

THE WEST MIDLAND MILITARY MODELLING SHOW. Now in its 9th year, next years show will take place on Sunday, March 13th, 1988, at the Alumwell Community Centre, Primley Avenue, Walsall, West Midlands (5 minutes from M6 Junction 10). The show includes WARGAMES – display and participation games. MODELLING – displays and competition. UNIFORMED SOCIETIES. Food and bar facilities will be available throughout the day.

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