

Leadership: Portrayals of Leaders in Civil War Strategic Games  
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Games of the American Civil War on the strategic level, that cover the entire war, differ from most other war games of similar scope in making leadership a dominating part of the game. In most of these games generals are explicitly represented as named markers, each having its own ratings of various sorts, characteristic of the abilities and idiosyncrasies of that general. In the same games, military units are often represented as "change": just some quantity of troops. This is quite a contrast to most wargames where it is the military units that are named and usually have important, and sometimes unique, characteristics, and explicit generals are seldom represented. Why is this the case? Was leadership really so much more important in that war than it has been since? What really is leadership, from a wargamer's perspective, anyway?

The first wargame to explicitly represent a leader was not a Civil War game; it was Avalon Hill's "Africa Corps" from the 60's. A unique "Rommel" marker gave an extra two movement points to any stack it was with. SPI's monster game, "Strategy I" (of 1971), that included scenarios for wars throughout history, included explicit leaders in its Civil War scenario but they were not "named" in sense of the later games described below. Later, in May 1972, SPI started to address this issue with more specifics. In an article in S&T #32, "Napoleon at War" by Albert Nofi, ratings from 1 to 10 were assigned to various French and selected allied leaders for 6 attributes: offensive and defensive strategy, offensive and defensive tactics, administration, and governance. But no use was made of this in a game yet (The issue included "Borodino", a tactical level game.). Two years later, explicit leaders showed up in a S&T magazine game, "The American Civil War," which set the pattern for representing military leaders and units that has been with us in games of the American civil war ever since.

Let us consider just what functions a leader has, and which of these we really want or need to portray in a wargame. Since in this article we are focusing on a strategic scale, we will call these leaders generals, since leadership below such rank will only show up in the ratings of military units rather than in explicit leader ratings.

1. Personal leadership in combat: This includes direction on the battlefield and, by personal example, inspiring the troops and in general influence of combat in a tactical sense. In a wargame of the scope of interest, this has to be a modifier to combat results table since strategic games aggregate a battle into a single die roll (or a structured series of die rolls) without representing the tactical details of a battle. During the Civil War, this type of leadership did happen, and was important. Generals, even generals commanding large armies, engaged in this type of leadership, with A.S. Johnston being a prime example of the hazard involved for even an army commander.

2. Planning and strategy on the campaign level: Generals in command of departments as well as others exercised considerable independence. They planned and conducted campaigns, and the talent with which they did so mattered, enormously. Movements at this level are explicit in the game. Players maneuver forces over the map. This is perhaps central to the playing, and enjoyment of, wargames. This kind of maneuver is done by the player, who takes on the role of the various army commanders and other commanders of forces for this purpose. To what extent do you want the player's skill to be expressed, and how much do you want the represented

commander's skills and limitations to be represented? As a practical matter, about all you can do to represent the limitations of a real general is perhaps limit a movement allowance, which only partially gets at this issue. The cardboard markers are not going to think for themselves, so the player must do this anyway. An important pitfall in game fidelity here is that the player, simultaneously playing the roles of several independent leaders, can synchronize and coordinate much better and more completely than the actual generals, especially of this particular war, could or would.

3. Initiative and reaction: This issue is related to that above but focuses on whether, rather than the skill with which, a general leads a force to maneuver, and potentially into combat. A general must not only plan, but then muster the initiative and drive to carry out that plan. Or, upon becoming aware of an enemy plan, must react. A general with less of this characteristic will find reasons to delay commencement of offensive operations, and may fail to react as the enemy maneuvers. During the War Between the States, the respective presidents were often frustrated by their relatively limited ability to influence this issue. The player in his role as the President needs to experience this as a limitation on that same player's ability to execute the maneuvers he may plan in his role as individual army leaders. Without explicit representation of this consideration, you simply do not have an acceptable game of this subject, whether you have explicit individual leaders or not. It is not just a crucial issue; it is the pivotal issue. In addition, there is also the possibility that the general will act when he ought not to, at least as seen from the president's perspective. Perhaps this would most often be a retreat rather than standing to defend a point the president considers to be of great importance.

4. Logistics: A general's ability to attend to the details of supply, of choosing routes for movement that are realistic and avoid traffic jams, and a host of other details fall into the general category of logistics. This has an effect on tactical combat, since adequately supplied and fed forces will be more effective than those which are not. That aspect of a general's ability can be reflected along with tactical leadership as a combat outcome modification of some sort. Planning for movement can be reflected as a movement allowance modifier. Effective organization of supply (as well as medical care, housing, and a host of other details) can be reflected as a general attrition modifier if that is explicitly represented. However, most wargames try to avoid explicit modeling of logistics as much as possible. Tracking supply lines (and effects from their interruption) is too important to omit, but the effect of an individual general's characteristics in this area simply isn't represented in any of these games (to my knowledge). Even movement rate variations seem to be more reflective of initiative than of logistics.

5. Diplomacy: Prior to this war, and the telegraph, this was an important function of a general. In the Civil War, this became limited to fixing, or proposing, terms of surrender. Early in the game, one could consider this as having import in the Fort Donelson campaign, but soon there really was no flexibility of importance here. This aspect of a general's ability can probably be safely ignored.

6. Recruiting: Again, in earlier eras generals played a more direct role in recruiting (or hiring) of their armies. The campaigns of 1862 into Maryland and Kentucky were at least partly motivated by hopes of effective recruitment in those states. It is hard to imagine, however, that

someone other than Lee and Bragg respectively would have changed the outcome significantly in this respect. In other respects, recruiting is a national function not directly influenced by combat leaders. So this, too, is a function that can be safely ignored. To the extent that a leader influences desertion (negative recruitment), that effect could be wrapped up with logistics, but is not represented in any games seen.

Of all of these issues, the matter of initiative and reaction is perhaps the most important, and yet the most difficult to represent. In a strategic level game, turns are typically months long. A military force, even though it is on foot, can in theory go a long way in a couple of months. Even taking into consideration logistics and rest, the amount of possible movement is still much more than is reasonable when you look at history. What accounts for the difference? Armies of that age spent most of their time in camp, awaiting the next movement and battle. For most of the war there would be months of encampment and drill while the generals organized, planned, schemed, argued, wrote anonymous letters to newspapers, put others generals under arrest, and pleaded for reinforcements. Eventually, either because a general was finally prodded to action or exerted initiative, or in reaction to the enemy, operations would begin. Perhaps a week or two of marching would be followed by a day or two of battle. Then one army would withdraw, both would go into camp, and the cycle would recur.

The basic issue here is that armies of the time were not organized, supported, or expected to conduct military operations continuously, in the manner we 21st century wargamers think of as the norm. The traditional wargame has alternating turns with all units moving and possibly fighting each turn. If a unit does nothing, it seems in some sense a wasted asset. The pattern described above prevailed for most of the war, but changed somewhat in 1864.

Over the course of about 6 weeks, Grant fought four successive pitched battles without any interval of rest and reorganization. The first two, the Wilderness and Spotsylvania, involved his whole force and resulted in high casualties that, earlier, would have resulted in a rest and reorganization before initiative would be exerted again. In neither of the last of the four battles, Cold Harbor and Petersburg, was Grant able to bring his whole force effectively to bear, and the effects of sustained operations were becoming evident. This remarkable departure from the norm perhaps reflected Grant's willingness to sustain operations beyond what would allow his army to stay fully effective. It helped that he had a large numerical superiority, received fresh reinforcements, and had excellent logistics support. (Smith's corps, which bore much of the brunt of the last two battles, joined after Spotsylvania, and other reinforcements were also received, making losses good in the sense of overall numbers.) For the remainder of the year, Grant reverted somewhat to the previous model, except that he maintained contact through the sustained siege of Petersburg. He committed only relatively small parts of his army to maneuver operations against the Confederate flanks in a succession of later battles. Perhaps also, the intensive use of entrenchments in 1864 permitted a much closer sustained combat than would have been practical for the Union earlier in the war.

Sherman's advance on Atlanta, in contrast, never featured a battle in which most of his force was committed. In most of the engagements in the immediate proximity to Atlanta, his force was defending and did not lose heavily. This campaign is not so different from some earlier ones such as Bragg's invasion of Kentucky, Rosecrans's advance to and beyond Chattanooga, and Grant's campaign to Vicksburg, that all involved lots of marching but engagements far smaller compared to the overall advancing force than those of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania, at least up until the final battles of the respective campaigns.

So, a game system must be able to force a usual pattern of only occasionally active forces with long intervals of inactivity, yet allow the occasional rapid maneuver campaigns. It must also permit the possibility of a Grant (or perhaps some other leader) breaking the pattern and sustaining operations as happened in 1864.

((Possible sidebar: The same problem of fast and far physical movement in a campaign game occurs in portrayals of naval combat at the strategic / campaign level. A naval battle is brief (a day at most if it is a surface engagement, a few days for an air battle). Yet a war takes years, during which, for much of the time, ships are in port or perhaps patrolling. It is noteworthy that Naval games of this era don't have leaders who must exert initiative to make things happen; the mechanics are very different from that of the Civil war games.))

Let us now take a quick look at how leadership is portrayed in a number of strategic scope Civil War games. Each game we will consider will be very briefly described.

"1863", Parker Brothers, 1961. This game is included because it is the first "wargame" of the subject. It has no leaders, and no leadership effects. All units move every turn, and players alternate, as with most early wargames. Each square represents about 40 miles, and each unit represents about 20,000 troops. It has nice plastic playing pieces and can be played quickly. But it has very limited fidelity; it is much more a game than a simulation. It is interesting as a contrast to what was to follow.

"The American Civil War", Dunnigan et. al., SPI, 1974. This game was an included game in the magazine "Strategy and Tactics." It is an innovative and effective game that uses hexagons (25 miles each), "change" troops (5000 per strength point) to make up armies and other forces, and has explicit (but unnamed) leaders. Player turns alternate, four per year, and units can move as much as 24 hexes if zones of control do not come into play. Each side has four leader counters, marked A, B, C, and Farragut (naval) for the Union and D, E, F, and G for the Confederacy. Except for the one Union naval leader, and an initial Confederate leader (Lee) both rated 2 (permanently for Farragut), all leaders appear as a result of a combat. These represent major army commanders. An interesting and important feature is that a leader will improve in ability with experience (enemy losses in battle) from a rating of 0 up to a rating of 3 if he survives that long. When a leader is killed (1/6 chance per battle, whenever a combat results table roll is a 6), the marker is recycled to represent some other leader who now has the opportunity to rise to command. A given force has only a fractional chance to become active in a given turn. The chances are 4 out of 10 in 1861 to eventually 7 of 10 by 1865 for the Union, and 6 of 10 up to 8 of 10 for the Confederacy. The leader modifies these odds by 1 chance out of ten per point of rating down to a best case of 8 of 10. The chance to move is not a separate die roll, for each force, but a roll to see which hex numbers become active, based on the last digit of the hex (a randomizing effect). Some hexes may have better odds than others, and one can coordinate an "all or nothing" tactic by coordinating force placements to some extent. This is an effective system for representing the initiative aspect of leadership. The leader ratings have no effect on combat. Leaders also can lead a force into unsupplied hexes, which represents to some extent both logistics and initiative, although their leader rating is not considered in this function. The game includes a mechanic that lets a sufficiently superior force sustain a series of engagements,

allowing a reasonable representation of the campaigns of 1864. This important game seems to have set the pattern for all those that followed.

"The War Between the States", Irad Hardy, SPI, 1977. This "monster" game has hexes of about 13 miles per hex and a relatively short turns of one week. Units were divisions and brigades; divisions might be as large as 10 S.P.'s or as small as 4 (1000 per S.P.?). It was the first to have explicit leaders who had ratings for initiative, command span, and combat rating. Leaders have varying numbers of stars to indicate rank (three to five) for leaders of roughly corps level on up, 41 for the Union and 34 for the Confederacy. There are also explicit army and corps headquarters, which enabled leaders to command a larger array of forces. A leader could command (to move or attack) the number of units and subordinate leaders equal to his command span, with additional benefits when in command of a headquarters. Leaders appear randomly; there is no guarantee you will ever get Lee or Grant, for example. Leaders each have only one marker representing their highest level. There is no promotion mechanism, nor is there relative rank. For the Union, Halleck, McClellan and Grant are the only five star generals; Meade, Sherman, Buell, Rosecrans, and Butler are the only ones with four. For the Confederacy Lee alone has five, Bragg, J. Johnston, A. Johnston, Smith, Beauregard and Price have four. Each game turn the players draw chits for initiative, and the highest number goes first, then the other player. The number of leaders that can be activated "free" is given by the drawn number, which can be as low as zero. but a player may try to activate more by rolling a die against the leader's initiative rating. A roll less than or equal to the leader's rating lets that leader move, at best a 2/3 chance for the best leaders. This mechanism can keep much of a side's force idle on a given turn, but if you get any nonzero draw, you can choose at least one particular leader of your choice to move, unlike the earlier SPI game. Leaders must pass an initiative roll to attack. (There is also a provision for attacking during movement at reduced odds.) Cavalry are explicitly represented, and there are lots of details that could not be managed in the earlier games. Many good ideas for Civil War campaign games originated or were further developed in this game, including the rated leaders, and the sequencing system where one player may have several chances to do something before the other can react. The scale and short turn length, however, surely make playing the war quite a project. (I never bought or played this game, since it seemed too impractically large and was expensive. Most of the description here is based on an article by Richard F. DeBaum et al., *Fire and Movement*, (fore ed: Date? Vol./Issue? I have only undated xerox copy supplied by Steve Rawling several years ago.) pp. 28-37.)

"Mr. Lincoln's War", MCLAUGHLIN, 3W, 1983. This is actually a composite of two games separately sold that can be joined to represent the entire war (Army of the Potomac and Army of the Tennessee). Turns are one month, with players alternating. Each hex is 12 miles, change strength points represent 2500 men, and there are explicit leaders, 32 for the Union and 28 Confederate. Most are "named" (Grant, Sherman, Lee, etc.) but some unnamed ones (A, B, C etc.) with ratings of zero are included for both sides. Each leader has a single rating ranging from 0 to 2. The leader is necessary for the movement of infantry (and in some cases cavalry). Each leader can move 10 points (25000 men). So, leaders correspond to corps (and army) commanders, and some division commanders. The leader rating affects forced marching,, reactive movement (interception of a moving enemy force is possible for leaders rated 1 or 2), and morale recovery (a representation of a force's ability to do things). Good leaders also may have a "pursuit" opportunity against a defeated foe. The representation of "interception",

movement and attack by forces of the non active player, is an interesting innovation. The game does not have zones of control; the reaction mechanism permits a force to exert an effect on a wider area, and the movement is relatively limited (10 hexes of clear per turn, in contrast to as much as 24 in the TSR game). There is no artificial mechanic that prevents most forces from being active every turn, but there is a morale system, and units must pause to recover morale on occasion, giving at least part of the effect desired.

"American Civil War", Shelly and Reiser, TSR, 1983. This S&T magazine game has hexes of 35 miles, 3 month turns, "change" troops representing 3500 to 5000 troops per point, and explicit named leaders. The leaders come with three different ranks, labeled one, two, or three stars (Grant only). These leaders thus correspond to army (\*\*) and corps (\*) commanders, although numerous actual generals of that level are not represented. (There are 18 different Union named generals, and 19 Confederate named generals. Some names have two markers because they are eligible for promotion, and Grant has three.) Getting promoted to more stars give a general a boost in the game's seniority system over all generals with fewer stars. This allows Grant (and only Grant) to thus rise to the top. A leader can command 6 points or an army, which represents staff and logistics, that can move up to 24 points and 4 subordinate leaders. The seniority system determines which of up to five leaders in an army is the commander. Each leader also has a "skill" (combat modification) rating ranging from -3 (Butler, Fremont, Burnside, and Pope) to +3 (Grant as a three star, Lee) and an initiative rating of 1 (most generals) or 2 (Butler, Pemberton, and several others). The "skill" rating also affects recovery from demoralization (which is a possible combat effect). Since some leaders have negative skill, their primary function in the game is to pop up at an inconvenient time, then be banished as soon as it is possible to do so. They serve primarily a nuisance function. This works because of a very interesting innovation that leaders first appear with the anonymous reverse side up. The general commanding a particular force or perhaps army has not, you might say, made a "name" for himself, until that army goes into combat and the name (and numbers associated with that leader) are revealed. Grant may appear in the East; Lee in the West. Or, if you would rather think of it this way, the leader who happens to command in the East (or West) is less or more skilled than was historically the case. This means that the war can easily go differently for just this reason. This is realistic in the sense that, at the beginning, Lincoln and Davis did not know who among their leaders would turn out to be effective. To limit activity, this game uses a "command point" system that has players draw command point markers and uses these points to "bid" for the right to go first, and use the command points to "activate" leaders. The players go through three "campaign phases" in which both move and attack, with the first player in each determined by the bidding process mentioned. Thus, unlike the earlier SPI game in which limited activations were determined randomly, the player can choose to activate particular generals (and the forces they command). It also "costs" the same to activate a whole army or one individual brigade (strength point) This mechanism also makes it possible for the same player to sometimes move and attack twice in succession with the other player not having responded, allowing successive battles and rapid movement within a turn. The command points are also used for things like constructing fortresses. Thus, the command points in a sense represent the attention and force the President must exert to get things done, and nothing gets done without that attention. The initiative rating is effectively a resistance to that force of attention.

"The Civil War", Eric Lee Smith, Victory games, 1983. This game was designed about the same time as the TSR game above, and shares quite a few characteristics. However, it was not limited by the format of a magazine game. It has more detail overall and has developed many of the leadership concepts more fully. Hexes are about 25 miles and the "change" strength points are 5000 men. Turns are 2 months (4 in winter). There are 37 named Union leaders (19 or 20 of whom can rise to army command, depending on the use of an option for Lyon). Three are naval leaders. There are 30 Confederate leaders (9 or 10 of whom are can rise to become army commanders, depending on whether you allow for Jackson). Leaders have markers with one (division commander) to three (army) stars, except Grant and Sherman who can get four. Obviously, only selected corps and division commanders are represented. There is a seniority ranking, and promotions for leaders who survive battles. Each leader has ratings for combat (-2 to +2), and initiative (2 to 4, with low numbers best). Generals not in command of an "army" can carry only 6 strength points (2 if a one star leader). As with the other game, some generals exist only to be a problem. There is simply no practical positive use in this game system for the likes of Huger, Sigel, and McClelland. They are not necessary for moving troops (there are others who can do that) and have a negative combat modifier that has a very bad effect. In this game, they can be sent to command a depot somewhere that is remote. (Bonham, Texas is my favorite destination for Huger.) A few like Buell are tolerable early in the game until a replacement can be found. Generals are anonymous when selected to be placed, so you are not completely sure where these worthies will pop up, but over time the relative wear on the marker becomes a pretty good indication. Unlike the TSR game, the owner can peek once the leader is placed to see who it is. Generals with three stars can command armies, representing staff and logistics, and allowing some maximum number of strength points, which varies with the army identity, not the general. (The Union gets 5 armies by the end of the game; the Confederacy gets as many as four.) Subordinate generals within an army affect combat; otherwise only the senior general present does. Three star leaders in command of an army use a separate army command rating (ranging from -3 to +3) rather than a direct combat modifier; the command rating allows the better generals (or opponents of the poorer ones) the option to reroll combat results some number of times. Generals get promoted after a combat, though it may take a turn or two before the promotion takes effect. The game uses a "Command Points" system to limit activity within a turn. At the beginning of a turn you do not know how long the turn will last in terms of how many command points you will get. Furthermore, the command points are allocated at least partially by theater. A general's initiative rating is the number of command points to activate him to move his force and perhaps fight. The same number of points must be expended to undemoralize a force after combat. The initiative rating also permits an army commander, and only an army commander, to react to an enemy force moving into an adjacent hex. Unlike Mr. Lincoln's War in which the reacting force must attack, in this game the reacting force may get there first and the moving force must attack it. Some generals are designated as "cavalry" leaders. There are no explicit cavalry strength points in the game; whatever force these leaders command is considered cavalry. (A cavalry general can only command as many points as he has stars. Sheridan can get three, but cannot command an army, interestingly.) It is even more possible in this game for one player to get a sequence of activations with some particular force before the opponent can react, due to the random mechanism for choosing which player is active. As in the TSR game, the somewhat artificial command points represent the President's attention, which must be used not only for activating generals but also for moving individual strength points and building fortifications.

"Grand Army of the Republic", Roger Nord, Task Force Games, 1987. In contrast to those above, this game represents the theater by geographic regions of typically 50 to 100 miles across rather than hexes or squares. Turn duration is not explicit; the game lasts 23 "battles".

"Generals" that appear on the map must be purchased (produced) and perhaps more closely represent the infrastructure of an army (staff, logistics, and such.) Such "generals" are not named, except by the unit they lead (if they have a "corps" number). Each side can have up to six such "corps" (really armies). Named leaders in this game are cards players draw that are assigned to lead (or be a subordinate within) a "Corps" that contain "change" troops (which can be infantry, cavalry, or artillery). There are 13 named leaders for each side. Most names were at some point in the war army commanders, but the cards also include Ewell, Stuart, Hardee, Polk, and A.P. Hill. Butler and Fremont are not included. Each leader has a rating for offense and defense (0 to 2, except Lee is 3 on defense) affecting combat., and a rating defining how many of the strength points within the force that modification affects (1 to 5). Each leader also has a number that defines how many strength points he can have in his "corps" (army) ranging from 12 (most of them) up to 15 (Grant) and 18 (Lee). Unnamed "generals" can command only 8 points. There is no mechanism to limit activity in the sense of an initiative mechanism or rating; each "general" (or commanded force) can do something each turn. But the number of "generals" is limited. Because the representation of time is not explicit, you can rationalize that early turns take longer. However, the production machinery is also exercised each turn, which seemingly ought to be governed by a calendar. Thus, this game really does not represent the critical influence of individual leadership effects on initiative and reaction effects.

"The War for the Union", Rob Beyma, Clash of Arms games, 1992. This game is of very similar scale to Victory's game, with 22 mile hexes and 5000 man strength points. However, a more conventional alternating turn sequence is used. Turns are one month. Unlike the other games above, this one features three different qualities of troops: militia, regular, and veteran. (This feature was also used in "House Divided" by GDW, another Civil War game that is not considered here because it does not have explicit leaders. The Civil War scenario of "Strategy I" by SPI also had this feature.) Cavalry strength points are explicit. Leaders represent corps level commanders and above. There are 48 Union named leaders (including 3 naval and 4 cavalry) and 30 Confederate leaders (including 4 cavalry). Jeff Davis can take to the field as another under an option. The leaders included are comprehensive of corps commanders on up: they are pretty much all there. In no other game of this scope do Heintzelman and Franklin show up. A few from early in the war like Patterson and Floyd are missing, but one could argue these are like having no general. Hunter also never shows up. Some from late in the war are missing also, such as Gordon, but by then Corps were much smaller and can be counted as being like divisions, so this is not unreasonable. Each general is rated with a Command rating that gives the number of strength points he can control (4 to 8, most are 4 or 6), a combat rating that modifies battle results (-1 to 2, most are 0), and a movement allowance (7 to 9; most are 8). The strength points have their own movement allowance (2 for militia, 3 for other infantry, 4 for most cavalry, so the leader's movement allowance comes into play only when forced marching or when doing other things than leading one force for the whole turn. A few generals have a "star" indicating aggressiveness; these can initiate a second attack and recover from fatigue more readily. The effect is somewhat related to initiative, but on a tactical rather than strategic scale. Certain of the generals are eligible for army command. These also have a "subordinate limit"



ranging from 1 (Hood, Banks) to 4 (Lee, Grant). Three of the Union leaders are automatically "promoted" to be potential army commanders during the game, and four others have their ratings improve by an increment to the subordinate rating and, in Grant's case, a better combat modifier. Leaders are necessary to move troops (except for cavalry, or by railroad) so even the lower rated leaders can be useful, if for no other purpose than to ferry troops to where they are needed. Furthermore, an army needs explicit subordinate commanders. The army commander extends his total army capacity by the command rating of each leader in the army. So an army commander with a subordinates count of 4, with 4 subordinate commanders with 4 ratings, can maneuver an army of 16 strength points plus his own command rating of up to 4 (for Lee or Grant as an army commander). With better than minimum subordinates the limit is well over 20. No other game among those examined explicitly represents the command hierarchy within an army. There is no limitation on activity by each side during a turn, other than the number of generals available, but the relatively low movement allowances (2 or more usually 3 for infantry) coupled with zone of control costs makes "reaction" movement (as in Mr. Lincoln's War or Victory's Civil War) less essential, and the game does not include such a mechanism. This game features 3 fatigue levels (similar to Lincoln's War) rather than just one level, which also gives reason for troops to wait a few turns in inactivity after a battle, and here the "aggressiveness" attribute of a leader makes a difference.

#### Table of Leader Ratings

Listed in order of seniority at highest rank in CW (Victory). Relative ranks in ACW given where these differ from the CW order. The relative ranks given are for the highest rank a given general may attain, which may differ from the relative ranks at a lower rank. For example, as a \*\*\* Grant ranks 4th, behind McClellan, Fremont, and Halleck. As a \*\*\*\* he is senior to everybody. as a \*\* he is 5th, behind Pope, Lyon, Curtis, and McClernand. In the ACW listing, the missing numbers are for the lower ranked markers of the promotable leaders. Other games do not have relative rank. Infantry listed first, cavalry below.

In the listing of WFTU leaders, many markers can be "flipped" to the reverse side to show army command. The tactical span (the first number) is generally halved, the other numbers usually stay the same, and a span of control (number of subordinate leaders) is added. For simplicity, this is shown by one set of numbers in cases which follow that pattern. For example, A.S. Johnson when not commanding an army is 8-1-9 \*. as an army commander, he is 4-1-9-3 \*. Note that the tactical span, the number of strength points, is halved, but his army will also include the strength points that can be carried by his subordinates. This halving is true for all of the leaders when flipped to their army command side. However, many of the leaders have other changes when flipped, usually a reduction in combat modifier (the second number) and often movement allowance. When this occurs, a second set of numbers is given, but the first number is left the same for the sake of consistency. For example, Hood is 4-1-8-- as a corps leader but 2-0-7-1 as an army leader. The numbers are given in the table as 4-0-7-1 for consistency with what is shown for leaders that conform to the usual pattern. The designer of WFTU has allowed for many leaders to be given army command, but most who did not historically get an army, and some who did, suffer reductions in combat and movement in a similar manner as Hood. (One could argue that Hood should not have gotten an army command, and what you get would be similar if you had promoted someone else that history tells us didn't get chosen. In contrast, CW simply does not let these others get promoted.

Key:

I=initiative rating (higher is good in WBTS, MLW, bad in ACW, CW) \*="aggressive" in WFTU

T=tactical (combat) modifier, applying to both attacks and defending. Higher is good in all games.

A=army command rating (number of re-roll options). higher is good.

atk/def= tactical modifier, with separate numbers for attacking and defending. Higher is better.

sp's= Number of strength points affected by the combat modifier. Higher is better.

S=Span of command: Number of units(WBTS) /strength points (WFTU) commanded.

(The second S in WFTU ratings is number of subordinates as an army commander)

M=Movement allowance (which also greatly helps forced marches). Higher is better.

\*, \*\*, \*\*\*, \*\*\*\*, \*\*\*\*\* shows "rank" in the game; leaders have multiple markers in ACW, CW

Confederate Leaders

	WBTS I-S-T rank	MLW (3W) I	ACW (TSR) I-T	CW (Victory) I-A-T	GAR (Task force) atk/def/sp's-S	WFTU (Co) S-T-M-S-I
A.S. Johnston	2-3-1 ****	2	1-0 **	3-0-0 ***	missing	8-1-9-3 *
R. E. Lee	4-5-3 *****	3	1-3 **	2-3-1 ***	2/3/5-18	8-2-9-4 *
J. Johnston	3-3-1 ****	1+	1-0 **	3-1-1 ***	1/2/3-14	8-1-8-3
Beauregard	3-3-1 ****	1	1-0 **	3-0-1 ***	1/1/3-12	8-1-8-3
Bragg	2-3-0 ****	1	1-(-1) ** 1-(-1) *	3-(-1)-0 ***	1/1/2-12	6-0-8-2 4-0-8
Van Dorn	2-2-2 ***	1	1-0 ** (9)	2-(-2)-(-1) ***	1/0/2-12	4-0-9--
Pemberton	2-3-1 ***	0	2-(-1) ** (11) 2-(-2) *	3-(-1)-0 *** 3-0 **	missing	4-0-8-2
Jackson	4-4-2 ***	2	1-2 ** (7) 1-2 *	2-2-2 *** opt 2--2 ** 2--2 *	2/2/4-15	6-2-9-- * o 6-1-8-2
E.K. Smith	2-2-1 ****	(2) cav	1-0 ** (8) 1-0 *	3-0-0 *** 3--1 **	missing	6-0-8-- or 6-(-1)-7-2
Hood	4-2-2 ***	1	1-(-1) ** (12) 1-1 *	2-(-1)-1 *** 2--1 ** 2--2 *	1/0/2-12	4-1-8-- or 4-0-7-1
Longstreet	3-4-2 ***	2	2-1 ** (6) 2-1 *	3--2 ** 3--2 *	1/2/4-15	6-1-8-- or 6-0-7-2
Polk	2-3-1 ***	-	2-(-1) ** (10) 2-(-1) *	3--(-1) **	0/1/2-12	6-0-7-- or 6-(-1)-6-2
Hardee	3-3-1 ***	1	missing	3--1 ** 3--1 *	1/2/3-13	6-0-8-- or 5-(-1)-7-2
Ewell	2-3-1 ***	1	missing	3--0 ** 3--1 *	1/1/3-12	4-0-8--
A.P. Hill	3-3-1 ***	1	missing	2--1 ** 2--2 *	2/1/3-13	4-1-9--
D.H. Hill	3-3-1 ***	1	missing	3--1 ** 2--1 *	missing	4-0-8--

Taylor	3-3-2 ***	missing	1-1 ** (13)	3---1 **	missing	4-1-9--
			1-1 *	3---1 *		
Early	missing	missing	1-1 * (26)	2---0 **	missing	4-1-9--
				2---1 *		
S.D.Lee	missing	missing	missing	3---1 **	missing	4-0-8--
				3---0 *		
Price	2-2-1 *****	missing	1-0 * (22)	3---0 **	missing	4-0-9--
				3---0 *		
Gordon	3-2-1 ***	missing	missing	3---1 **	missing	missing
				3---1 *		
Magruder	3-2-1 ***	missing	missing	3---1 *	missing	4-0-8--
Huger	1-1-0 ***	missing	missing	4---(-2) *	missing	missing
Hindman	3-3-1 ***	missing	missing	3---0 *	missing	4-(-1)-8--
Breckinridge	2-2-1 ***	0	missing	3---1 *	missing	4-0-8--
Cleburne	4-3-2 ***	missing	missing	3---2 *	missing	missing
Buckner	2-2-1 ***	missing	missing	missing	missing	4-0-8--
Cheatham	3-4-1 ***	missing	missing	missing	missing	4-0-8--
Stewart	3-3-1 ***	missing	missing	missing	missing	4-0-
Walker	2-2-1 ***	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing
Holmes	1-1-0 ***	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing
Floyd	1-1-0 ***	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing
Gardner	2-2-1 ***	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing
Pollard	missing	0	missing	missing	missing	missing
Stuart	3-3-2 (***)	(2) cav	missing	2---1 ** cav	2/1/3-12	4-1-9--cav
				2---1 * cav		
Forrest	4-4-2 (***)	(2) cav	missing	2---2 ** cav	missing	4-1-9--cav
				2---2 * cav		
Wheeler	3-3-2 (***)	(2) cav	missing	2---1 * cav	missing	4-0-8--cav
Morgan	missing	missing	missing	2---0 * cav	missing	missing
Hampton	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing	4-0-9--cav
Union Leaders						
	WBTS	MLW (3W)	ACW (TSR)	CW (Victory)	GAR (Task Force)	WFTU (Co
	I-S-T rank	I	I-T	I-A-T	atk/def/sp's-S	S-T-M-S-I
Grant	4-5-2 *****	2	1-3 ***	2-2-2 *****	2/2/4-15	8-2-9-4 * (€
			1-2 **	2-2-2 ***		8-1-9-3 *
			1-1 *	2---2 **		
Sherman	4-5-2 *****	2	1-2 ** (6)	2-2-2 *****	2/1/3-14	8-1-9-3 * (€
			1-2 *	2-2-2 ***		8-1-9-- * or
				2---1 **		8-0-8-2
				2---0 *		
McClellan	1-5-2 *****	1*	1-(-2) **(2)	3-(-1)-0 ***	0/1/3-14	8-0-7-3
Fremont	missing	missing	2-(-3) **(3)	4-(-3)-(-2)****	missing	4-(-1)-7--

Halleck	1-2-0 *****	missing	missing	4-(-2)-(-1)***	missing	4-(-1)-7-2
Banks	1-2-1 ***	missing	2-(-2) **(10)	3-(-2)-(-2) ***	missing	4-(-1)-7-1 (
Lyon	4-1-2 ***	missing	missing	2-1-2 *** opt	missing	4-(-1)-7--
				2--2 **		4-1-9--
				2--2 *		
Butler	0-1-0 *****	0	2-(-3) **(11)	4-(-2)-(-2) ***	missing	4-(-1)-7-1 (
						4-(-1)-7--
McDowell	2-2-0 ***	0	1-(-1) *	3-(-1)-(-1) ***	0/1/1-12	6-0-8-- or
						6-(-1)-7-2
Buell	1-3-1 *****	missing	2-(-1) **(14)	3-(-2)-(-1) ***	0/1/2-12	4-0-7-2
Rosecrans	1-3-1 *****	1	2-(-1) **(12)	3-(-1)-0 ***	1/1/2-12	6-0-8-2
			1-(-1) *			
Pope	1-2-0 ***	0	1-(-3) **(4)	3-(-1)-0 ***	1/0/2-12	4-(-1)-8--
				3--0 **		
Burnside	2-2-1 ***	0	1-(-3) **(13)	3-(-1)-(-1) ***	0/1/2-12	6-0-7-- or
			1-1 *	3--(-1) **		6-(-1)-6-2
Hooker	3-3-1 ***	1	1-(-1) **(15)	3-(-1)-0 ***	1/0/2-12	6-0-9-- or
			1-1 *	3--1 **		6-(-1)-8-2
Thomas	3-3-2 ***	2	1-2 **(8)	3-2-2 ***	1/2/3-13	6-1-8-3 (63
			1-2 *	3--2 **		6-1-8-- or
				3--1 *		6-0-7-2
Meade	3-4-1 *****	1	1-0 **(7)	3-1-1 ***	1/2/3-13	6-0-8-3 (63
			1-0 *	3--1 **		6-0-8-2
McPherson	3-2-2 ***	1	missing	3-0-1 ***	missing	6-1-8--3 (6
				3--1 **		6-1-8-- or
				3--1 *		6-0-7-2
Howard	2-2-1 ***	1	missing	3-0-(-1) ***	missing	6-0-8-- or
				3--(-2) **		6-(-1)-7-2
Curtis	2-2-1 ***	missing	missing	3-0-0 ***	missing	4-0-8--
				3--0 **		
				3--0 *		
Ord	2-1-1 ***	missing	missing	3--0 ***	missing	6-0-8-- or
				3--0 **		6-(-1)-7-2
				3--0 *		
McClerland	2-1-1 ***	0	missing	4--(-1) **	missing	4-(-1)-8--
Sedgewick	3-3-2 ***	1	missing	3--1 **	missing	6-1-8-- or
				3--0 *		6-0-7-2
Hancock	3-3-2 ***	1	1-1 *(26)	3--2 **	missing	6-1-8-- or
				3--1 *		6-0-7-2
Schoefield	2-2-1 ***	missing	missing	3--1 **	missing	6-0-8--
				3--0 *		
Steele	2-2-1 ***	missing	1-0 *(27)	3--0 **	missing	6-0-9-- or
				3--0 *		6-(-1)-7-2
Logan	missing	missing	missing	3--1 **	missing	6-0-8-- or
				3--0 *		6-(-1)-7-2

Reynolds	3-3-1 ***	1	missing	3---1 ** 3---1 *	missing	6-1-8-- or 6-0-7-2
Sigel	missing	missing	1-(-1) *(21)	3-(-2) *	missing	4-(-1)-8--
Blunt	missing	missing	missing	3---0 *	missing	missing
Slocum	3-2-1 ***	1	missing	missing	missing	4-0-8--
Porter	3-3-1 ***	1	missing	missing	missing	6-0-8-- or 6-(-1)-7-2
Franklin	2-3-0 ***	missing	missing	missing	missing	4-0-8--
Crittenden	2-2-1 ***	missing	missing	missing	missing	4-0-8--
Blair	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing	6-0-8-- or 6-(-1)-7-2
Hurlbut	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing	4-0-8--
Humphreys	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing	6-0-8-- or 6-(-1)-7-2
Heintzelman	2-2-1 ***	missing	missing	missing	missing	4-0-8--
McCook	2-2-1 ***	missing	missing	missing	missing	4-0-8--
W.F. Smith	2-2-1 ***	missing	missing	missing	missing	6-0-8-- or 6-(-1)-7-2
Warren	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing	6-0-8-- or 6-(-1)-7-2
Sumner	1-3-1 ***	missing	missing	missing	missing	4-0-8--
Wright	3-2-1 ***	missing	missing	missing	missing	4-0-8--
Keyes	2-2-1 ***	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing
Couch	3-3-1 ***	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing
Sickles	2-2-0 ***	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing
Sheridan 2*cav(64)	4-3-2 (***)	(2) cav	1-2 ** (9)	2---2 *** cav 1-1 * 2---1 ** cav 2---2 * cav	2/2/3-12	6-1-9- 4-1-9-- *ca'
Pleasanton	1-2-1 (***)	missing	missing	3---0 ** cav 3---1 * cav	missing	4-0-8-- cav
Wilson	3-3-2 (***)	missing	1-1 *(29)	2---1 ** cav 2---1 * cav	missing	4-1-9-- cav
Stoneman	missing	missing	missing	3---0 * cav 2---0 * cav	missing	4-0-8-- cav
Grierson	missing	missing	missing	2---0 * cav	missing	missing
Farragut	missing	(2) nav	missing	2---2 ** nav	2/1/3-6	+1 nav
Porter	missing	missing	missing	2---1 ** nav	missing	+1 nav
Foote	missing	missing	missing	2---1 ** nav	missing	+1 nav

Some observations:

The fact that a player knows the promotion scheme in the American Civil War (SPI) and Civil War (VG) games allows some ahistorical manipulation. Some generals are known to be better without being promoted. This is especially true for the Confederates. In Victory's Civil

War, Early, Hood, A.P. Hill, D.H. Hill, Ewell, and K. Smith all decline in ratings with promotion; only Taylor gets better. So the Confederate player may try to play in a manner to either take maximum advantage of these leaders before they get promoted, or try to avoid their promotions. This is, though, hard to do since not using them gives up their utility. Some generals get better ratings with promotion. This is especially true of the Union leaders. Sherman, Thomas, Sedgewick, Hancock, Schofield, Logan, and Sheridan are examples. Only Hooker gets worse. So a clever Union player may try to expose each of these improvable leaders just once at the \* or \*\* levels where they are most at risk in order to get them promoted and improved. The same issues can occur in the SPI game.

It is interesting how different game designers see the various leaders. While all treat Lee, Grant, and Sherman as superior leaders, the treatment of some of the others differs in interesting ways. Clash of Arms' game "War for the Union" shows much more respect for A.S. Johnston than does Victory's "Civil War", both in tactical ability and initiative / aggressiveness. The assessment of the army command potential for the slain leaders Lyon (Union) and Jackson (Confederate) also differs enormously.

In a few cases, a general's tactical rating seems to depend more on a general reputation than actual battlefield performance. This seems to be particularly true for Sherman. He is usually highly rated, often as highly as Grant. Yet his actual battlefield performance (at 1<sup>st</sup> Manassas, Shiloh, Chickasaw Bluffs, the assault on Vicksburg, Chattanooga, Resaca, Kenesaw Mountain, Atlanta, Jonesboro, and Bentonville) hardly seem to merit a large tactical bonus. Only the last three were particularly successful. Atlanta was a near contest in which Sherman himself played only a minor part, and in the latter two the Union had overwhelming strength and failed to do as well as they might have. There is no question that Sherman was successful in maneuvering advantageously against Joseph Johnston in the campaign to be examined later. But that would seemingly be better reflected by other attributes, such as initiative and movement effects. Possibly high ratings for various Union leaders who came to prominence late in the war unduly reflect success against a weakened Confederacy. At the same time, some Confederate leaders who came to high command late may be underappreciated. In particular, A.P. Hill's performance in 1864 was critical to the continuation of the war, but he is often stuck with ratings that reflect his less than sterling performance at Gettysburg.

It is also interesting to see which leaders the designers of the respective games chose to include. Keep in mind that "Mr. Lincoln's War" has 18 anonymous 0 rated leaders that would represent those labeled "missing" in the table above. Who "Pollard" is seems to be a mystery; there was a prominent journalist by that name, but I have found no general who this might be. "War for the Union" is reasonably comprehensive for Corps level, as is SPI's monster "War Between the States." The others are more or less comprehensive at the Army command level, but all omit a few of the less prominent army commanders. Only Victory's "Civil War" tries to portray division commanders, and theirs is primarily a sampling of the promotable and the ugly with no intent to be comprehensive.

Examples of Play: How the leadership attributes play out in a game

The examples of play used to illustrate how the leader attributes play out in a game is taken from Sherman's advance on Atlanta during May and June, 1864. This particular scenario has been chosen because it includes considerable maneuver, which is assumed to be more taxing of a game system's portrayal of command and leadership effects. The campaign really did not

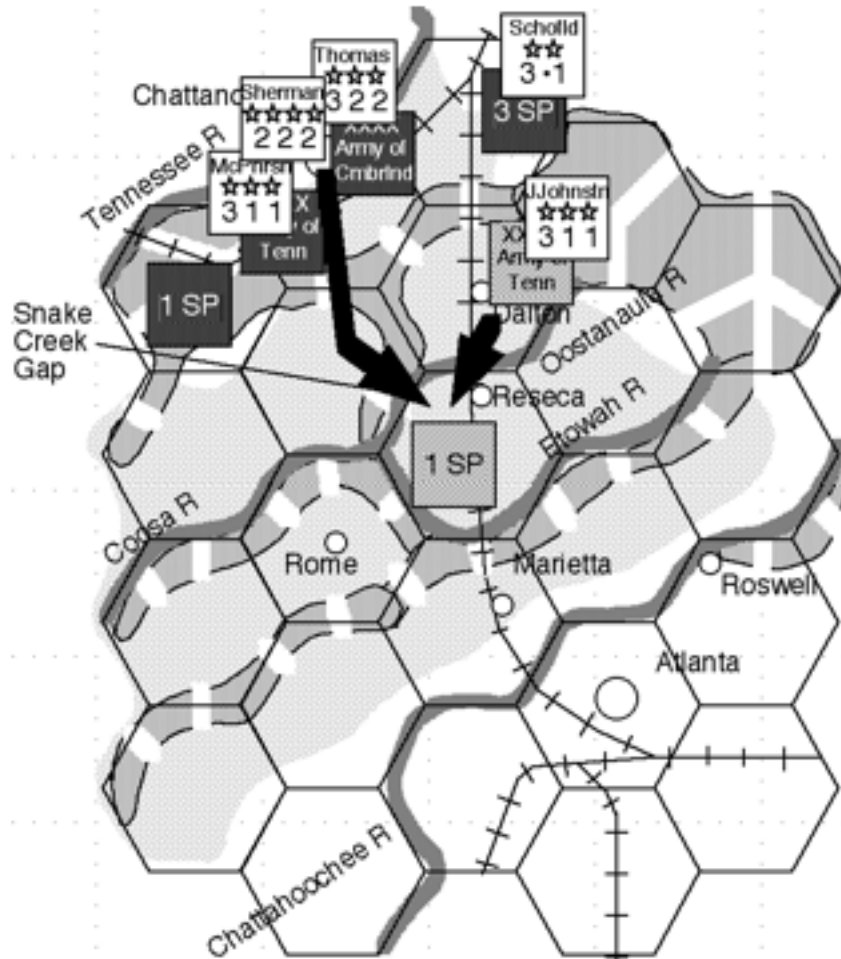
include any intense battles of the sort typical of the Virginia theater, or Shiloh or Chickamauga in the Western theater, where pretty much all forces available to both sides would be committed. Portrayal of such a battle is the function of the combat system, and for a theater game this occurs pretty much as a die roll for an attack against a particular hex, with leadership affecting the die roll in some manner. Grant's 1864 campaign would also be a challenge for any game system, but the indulgence of the editor is not going to be pushed so far as to include it as well. Hopefully the reader will get a good sense of the issues from the early Atlanta campaign maneuvering. To save space, the historical background is not described at length. The reader might want to review the campaign in a general Civil War history. One helpful source is the *West Point Atlas of American Wars* (Vol. 1) which with just 4 pages (maps 145, 146 and accompanying text) summarizes the action for these two months. For more depth and a good read on the subject, Albert Castel's *Decision in the West* is recommended. The two games chosen for this comparison are those that seem to me to do the best job of representing command for a theater game of the American Civil War. They have interesting differences, that will become apparent as these examples are developed below.

#### Atlanta campaign using Victory's "Civil War"

This is one turn in Victory Gamer's "Civil War." However, each turn has numerous pulses in which one side then the other has a turn to do something, with the order and scope of activity depending on initiative die rolls. The game designers provide a "1864" scenario that begins a turn earlier. Historically, the Union campaign started in May, after both sides spent some additional time in preparation.

Figure 1 below shows the terrain representation in the game, and the historical initial position in May 1864, as well as the first action (Union half of pulse) which is assumed to be taken by the Union. (If the Confederates had the firsts action, they might have moved reinforcements to Johnston. Indeed, perhaps that's how Canty's brigade (the 1SP in Reseca) got there. The diagram does not show the Union depot and fort in Chattanooga, or an initial Confederate fort in Atlanta. In addition, the Union actually would probably have a single SP left behind in Chattanooga.

The map shows for reference a number of smaller cities and towns not labeled on the actual game map, as well as naming the rivers. It is understood that the game really does not have the resolution to represent well such fine details, and some imagination is needed. For example, Altoona, if it was shown, would be in the same hex as Marietta, and Rome and Reseca are both shown a bit South of their actual positions. Reseca is shown on the wrong side of the Oostanaula River. Nevertheless, at the game's scale, the representation of terrain and its effects is very good. For example, the gapless hex side West of Dalton prevents Johnston from reacting promptly to the historical Union flanking maneuver, as actually happened. You could argue that instead, Johnston should have tried to react but missed on his reaction roll, and there actually should be a connection there (the Buzzard's Roost gap). But that is merely the kind of thing we wargamers like to argue about. Unpierced mountain hex sides are impassable, but units can move through gaps at the normal 1 hex per movement point rate.



Union force attacking Reseca:  
(Sherman in overall command)

Army of the Tennessee:  
(Commander: McPherson 3-1-1)  
Logan +1  
Stoneman 0 (cav)  
5 SP  
Army of the the Cumberland  
(Commander: Thomas 3-2-2)  
Hooker +1  
Howard -2  
12 SP

Total: 17SP, +5 to Union die roll  
+2 to Conf die roll  
2 rerolls (Sherman)

Confederate force defending Reseca:

Army of Tennessee  
(Commander: J. Johnston 3-1-1)  
Hardee +1  
Hood +1  
Cleburne +2  
Wheeler +1 (cav)  
10 SP + 1 already in Reseca

Total: 11SP, +5 to Conf die roll

Terrain effects:  
-2 columns (mountain gap)  
-1 column (river)  
-1 column (woods)  
Total: -4 columns

Combat resolution: -2 column, +5 to Union die roll, +7 to Conf die roll  
Sherman can take two rerolls; Johnston gets one

Figure 1 Initial Situation and Union Initial Action, Atlanta campaign, 1864 (Victory Games)



The initial situation is interesting. Units can move up to 4 hexes (assuming a supplied status), and there are no zones of control having effects on enemy movement. So, it would be possible for Sherman to actually march all the way to Atlanta via Rome on the first action he takes, leaving detachments to guard his communications in the hexes along the way. This would also put Johnston out of supply. (Hexes into which an army can react are interdicted for supply purposes, but an army cannot react into a hex already containing an enemy unit.) Supply radius is 2 hexes from a railroad, or 4 from a depot (Chattanooga). The effect might be to force Johnston to retreat into a hex near Atlanta (e.g. the Roswell hex) where Sherman can react to and defend against an extremely unfavorable (to the Confederates) attack. Or, Johnston could instead retreat to the hex east of Roswell, a rather unfavorable and disadvantageous position. Such a retreat is hampered by the fact that starting out of supply reduces movement to 3 hexes. Even these options assume that Johnston gets a chance to do something before Sherman acts again, far from a sure thing. (If the pulse has given Sherman 2 command points, or the Union moved last, then Sherman may get to go on the next pulse before Johnston, needing 3 command points, can do anything.) Johnston cannot react to this maneuver because the critical hex just South of Chattanooga is not one Johnston can react into, due to the impassable mountain hex side in between. Only armies can react, so the one lonely SP at Reseca serves only to maintain supply lines through that hex, which simply is not good enough if the Union army reaches Rome or beyond.

In the actual campaign as it unfolded, Polk was in the process of moving from Alabama, and would have gotten to Rome before Sherman. Indeed, Johnston initially thought that was where Sherman was headed. Polk got to Rome, and was then asked to come to Reseca when it was certain that's where the Union army had come. Perhaps that could be represented in the game by the Confederates actually getting the first action and moving Polk and two SP's to Rome, which should have been on a rail line (making such a move possible). Or, he could wind up at Marietta, a position also blocking a direct move to Atlanta by Sherman, and protecting Johnston's supply line.

Sherman actually sought to cut off Johnston at Reseca by moving through Snake Creek Gap. This is well represented by the mechanics of the game. Sherman moves with McPherson and Thomas to Reseca, in overwhelming (he hopes) force. Sherman figured he had a good chance to actually accomplish this before Johnston could react, precipitating a disaster for the Confederates. He was right, too. The retreat path Johnston would have to take (in order to avoid moving within Sherman's reaction radius from Reseca) would be NE 2 hexes then S two hexes, landing two hexes directly East of Reseca and leaving Atlanta completely uncovered. This could result in a decisive Union victory and a quick end to the war. It is worth a shot Against the Odds.

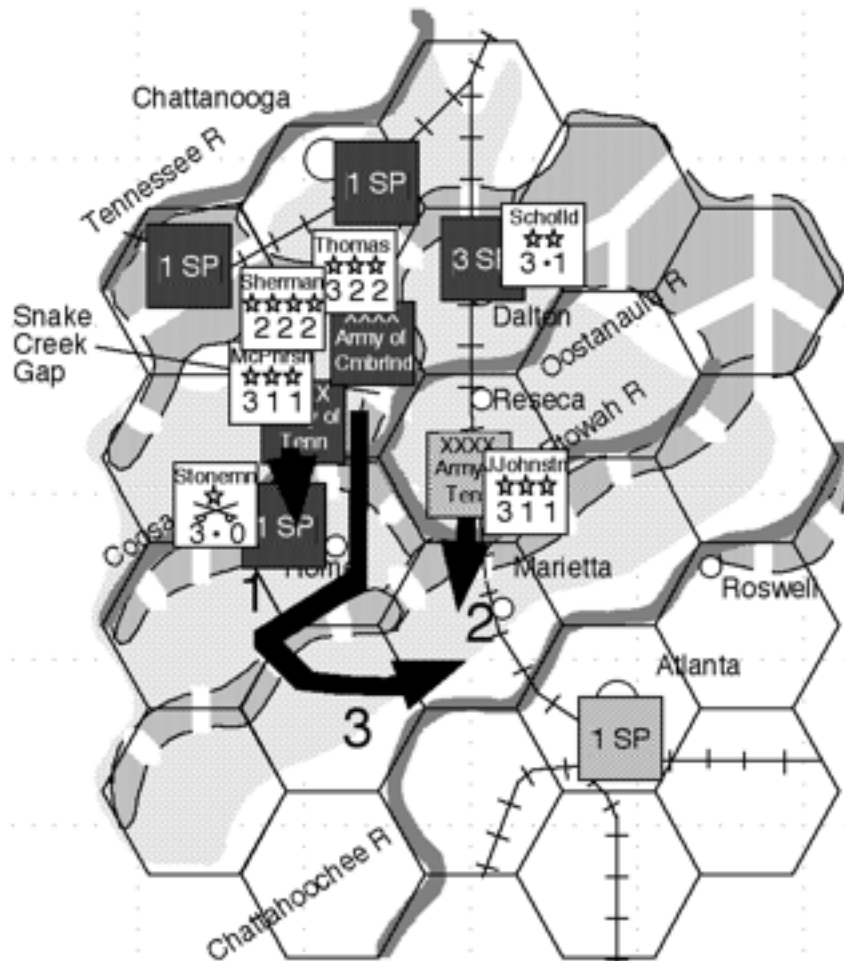
In the game system, Johnston has a 2/3 chance of successfully reacting to the attack on Reseca (3/6 for Johnston + 1/6 for Wheeler). Historically, Johnston succeeded in making this critical die roll. Barely. McPherson was actually moving against Reseca, and did not realize that he was opposed by merely a brigade. Taking counsel of his concern that Johnston might descend en masse upon him, he withdrew into the gap and allowed Johnston's army to reach Reseca unimpeded. At the battle of Reseca that followed, both armies were present (including Schofield and Polk) but the numbers of troops actually engaged were relatively small. In the game system, if Johnston's reaction roll fails, Sherman has a successful overrun versus the lonely 1 SP (Cantey's bde..) in Reseca and is on Johnston's communications, as described earlier.

When Johnston makes his reaction roll, he could choose to react with only part of his force. Historically, he withdrew the entire army to Reseca and was also reinforced by Polk. In the game system, Polk (if he is in the vicinity) cannot react since he does not command an army, and so cannot be present. (Technically, Polk commanded the Army of Mississippi, but that marker has been lost by the Confederates at Vicksburg in this game system.) Sherman cannot pick up Schofield on the way and bring him under the game rules. So the battle (as portrayed in the game) is between Sherman with the armies of the Cumberland and the Tennessee against Johnston and the Army of Tennessee. With 4 column shifts for terrain, this attack (which at less than 2 to 1 would be on the +5 column) gets shifted to the -2 column, which is a pretty lousy attack. Raw die roll odds (with the die roll modifiers for the various subordinates, including McPherson and Thomas for the Union) are that the attacker has 1/6 chance of losing 2 SP and being disorganized, and 5/6 chance of losing 3 SP and being disorganized. The defender has 1/6 chance of losing 1, 2/3 chance of losing 2, and 1/6 chance of losing 3 SP's and also is sure to be disorganized. Historically, both sides lost about 10,000 men (2 SP) for fighting up through the battle of Good Hope Church, somewhat later. So we will figure Sherman used his reroll advantage effectively to get a "tie" result at d2 (disorganized and 2 SP lost) for each side. Historically, there is no justification for either side to have been considered disorganized, and the losses should probably have been 1 SP each for this particular action. The game system simply does not provide the commander of either side the option to choose a lesser intensity of engagement. Since Johnston is not displaced, he remains in Reseca with 9 SP's, and Sherman ends up in the hex just to the NW (just South of Chattanooga).

At this point in the game, the next time he gets the chance to take an action, the Union player must choose between additional actions in this theater and taking action in Virginia with Grant. If he acts here, the agenda is to undemoralize Sherman, which takes 2 command points (CP's), moving up Schofield (3 CP's), and then maneuvering some more (2 more command points for Sherman), perhaps before Johnston can recover (3 CP's) and react. Assuming the West is not the top priority theater, he chooses to attack with Grant across the Rapahannock. Lee thwarts two attacks (the Wilderness), giving the Confederates time to sneak in some reinforcements to Johnston (Polk with 2 SP's) and undemoralize Johnston. Undemoralizing is a very important thing to do, since in a demoralized state the Army of Tennessee has a 1/6 smaller chance to react, and that can be disastrous (as it just nearly was!). We will assume that the next actions in this theater are as follows. In addition, each side will get a chance to add a reinforcement or two due to winning the initiative rolls. The command point (CP) expenditures are not even since both players are also attending to other theaters. Each "action" listed is actually half a "pulse" in the definition of the game, or might be part of two actions a player can do on one pulse if the dice difference is large enough. The order is not terribly important, except that the Confederate player needs to avoid Sherman being ready to move again before he is recovered.

2nd action	3 CPs	Confederates:	Polk and 2 SP's by RR to Resaca (This could also be three one cp actions if that is more convenient).
3rd action	3 CPs	Union:	Schofield moved to Dalton (and perhaps is reinforced).
4th action	3 CPs	Confederates:	Johnston undemoralizes
5th action	2 CPs	Union	Sherman undemoralizes
6th action	1 CPs	Confederate:	One SP of reinforcements is moved to Atlanta
7th action	1 CPs	Union	One SP of reinforcements added to Sherman's army

This brings us to the situation shown in Figure 2. Sherman's communications back to Chattanooga are safe. Schofield may appear vulnerable, since Sherman cannot react to reinforce him, but with two column shifts (river and woods) Johnston is hardly likely to risk attacking and being demoralized (5/6 chance before any rerolls) with Sherman ready to move. Yet, Sherman does not have quite as much of a superiority in numbers now that Polk (and his 2 SP's) have arrived, and does not want another attack at -4 columns, say, by moving to Rome and having Johnston react. A more circuitous route West of Rome would allow Sherman to arrive at Marietta, but he would be out of supply since Johnston's reaction radius blocks supply through the vacant Rome hex. That would be very bad should Johnston react and meet him there, and Sherman's force end up demoralized, as it would be immediately after the battle. A more shallow move to Rome via the hex to the SW is not ambitious enough to be satisfying to Sherman, since it would only advance Sherman's main body one hex and would not threaten Johnston with a catastrophe.



Union force attacking at Kennesaw:	Confederate force defending
Army of the Tennessee: (Commander: McPherson 3-1-1) Logan +1 4 SP	Army of Tennessee (Commander: J. Johnston 3-1-1) Polk -2 Hardee +1 Hood +1 Cleburne +2 Wheeler +1 (cav) 11 SP
Army of the the Cumberland (Commander: Thomas 3-2-2) Hooker +1 Howard -2 10 SP	Total: 11SP, +5 to Conf die roll +1 to Union die roll 1 reroll (Johnston)
Total: 14SP, +5 to Union die roll +2 to Conf die roll 2 rerolls (Sherman)	Terrain effects: -1 column (woods)
Combat resolution: -2 column, +5 to Union die roll, +7 to Conf die roll Sherman can take two rerolls; Johnston gets one	

Figure 2 Further maneuver by Sherman toward Atlanta

So, instead, Sherman tries a gambit. Stoneman with an SP of cavalry (under Stoneman) moves into the Rome hex, as shown in arrow 1. (Actually, Stoneman could go wider and arrive with only a 1- column shift against anything that might react, giving a bit better odds.) Historically, Sherman sent a column wide to the West through Rome headed by a cavalry division with an infantry division following; the move described here is as close as we get under the game system. Now, if Johnston reacts to Rome with part of his force, he can at best wipe out one strength point, and in the process divides his force into smaller pieces. Furthermore, if Wheeler is not in the force sent, Stoneman can simply withdraw before combat. Cavalry facing just infantry can do that. Johnston is unlikely to separate himself from Wheeler because of the +1/6 to his reaction chance from Wheeler's +1 tactical ability. If Johnston's army reacts with Wheeler, so Stoneman can't withdraw and his SP is eliminated, then Stoneman himself will simply bounce to the nearest Union stack, with Sherman, allowing the Union to maintain a cavalry presence. With Johnston in Rome, then Sherman can send Schofield around Johnston's right flank (since he can't react farther than one hex) and cut his communications. If Johnston sends less, say Hood and several SP's, Stoneman withdraws and Sherman will then have the option to attack whichever Confederate stack appears weaker, possibly approaching Rome from the SW to achieve an attack with only 1 column shift. Furthermore, each Confederate force would only be "Medium" strength, giving less damage on the game's combat results table.

Johnston is aware of all these perils, of course. Instead of dividing his force, he reacts, but by withdrawing to Marietta (actually, we can call this the Good Hope Church / Kennesaw Mountain vicinity). This is arrow 2 in the figure. This move has historical parallel also. Johnston had considered attacking a piecemeal part of the Union army, about the time Sherman was swinging through Rome. Schofield was the intended victim (and in the game as shown he is actually available for being attacked piecemeal in the opening situation). But when the situation did not develop as hoped and planned, Johnston instead withdrew to the South.

Now, as soon as the Union has two command points (CPs) available and the inclination to spend them in this theater, Sherman can get at Johnston with just one column shift. He does

so, in the maneuver shown by arrow 3. The route is chosen to avoid possibly having Johnston react while Sherman is crossing a river. Sherman can trace supply through Rome (since it is now Union occupied) back to the depot at Chattanooga. Sherman probably expects Johnston, if he succeeds in his reaction roll, to withdraw to Atlanta. But whether due to failing the roll or simply choosing to stand and fight, Johnston defends. The Union superiority is +3. Historically, Schofield was present, but did not participate in the attack at Kennesaw Mountain. (He was actually on the Union right flank instead of the left.) The one column left shift puts the attack on the +1 column. With +6 to the die roll (including +1 for Polk) the Union expects 1/3 chance of d2 (disorganized and 2 SP's lost) and 2/3 chance of d3. The Confederate roll, with +7, is 1/6 d2 and 5/6 d3. Historically the Union lost more, but the loss levels at Kennesaw Mountain were lower. In the game we get d3 for the Union, and Sherman's reroll advantage fails to make it d3 for the Confederates as well. Sadly, the losses also include Bishop Polk. The South will miss the inspiration of his service, and the Union will miss the +1 he adds to their die rolls. Also, now the Confederate army is "Medium" instead of "Large" and will accordingly have a bit more disadvantage on the combat results table in future battles.

To this point the Union player has expended 10 CPs, and the Confederates 7. (Each may have also used a CP or two to add reinforcements directly to their armies. This is more likely for Sherman than for Johnston.) Assuming this is the "Secondary" theater for both players, both sides are approaching the likelihood of the turn ending. We will assume that both recover from demoralization (2 CPs for the Union, 3 for the Confederates). To make the expenditures approximately equal, we will also assume the Union adds an extra SP of reinforcement, and that Johnston retires to the Atlanta hex before Sherman can flank him and get there first. He may even do that before demoralization recovery. (The Union might move Schofield to the hex North of Roswell, a somewhat daring move that should help Johnston decide to fall back to the South side of the Chattahoochee, which is what happened. However, that may wait for the next turn.

In the course of the battle resolutions, promotion counters were put on the agenda for introduction in the next turn for Wheeler, Hood, and Howard. The Union will be anxious to get Howard promoted and so reduce the penalty for his presence from -2 to -1. (Of course, a sane Union player would never have let Howard anywhere near the critical Atlanta campaign. He could be employed in an unimportant battle in the trans Mississippi the sake of getting him promoted, so that his \*\*\* marker would be around. That would be useful in case some army needed a "0" (reroll) commander, in which case Howard's -1 tactical value would not be exposed (unless he is in the hex with Sherman or Grant). On the Confederate side, Wheeler's promotion is welcome, but doesn't change much except to reduce somewhat his chances of being a casualty. If the Union army has any cavalry at all, and it does, Wheeler cannot perform the delaying function. He is most vital to give the Army an extra 1/6 chance to react.

The other promotion is Hood. This promotion to \*\*\* level does not change his tactical value of +1, but it does make him a potential army commander. This is an interesting possibility. As an army commander, Hood is a "2" initiative, better than Johnston's 3, and thus has a 2/3 chance to make a reaction roll (instead of 1/2), with Wheeler adding 1/6 to bring the odds to 5 out of 6. If Forrest (+2) rather than Wheeler (+1) can be made the army's cavalry commander, Hood would be certain to make his reaction roll (5/6 if demoralized). That will have to wait for the Franklin and Nashville campaign, though. In addition, Hood would recover from disorganization with only 2 CPs instead of three, reducing the risk that Sherman will be able to get moving while the Confederates are still disorganized. One down side for sending Johnston elsewhere and letting Hood take over command of the army is that Hood is no longer a tactical

commander. That's a +1 that will be lost. But if S.D. Lee \*\* (+1) can be added to the army (as happened somewhere into the next turn) that effect is canceled. More important, Hood gives up 1 reroll as an army commander. That means Sherman can make three rerolls of either side's die roll in a combat resolution, where earlier Sherman got two rerolls and Johnston got one. With the number of points added to the die rolls, all big battles will result in d2 or d3 for both sides. So, which is more important? Reduce the chance of a catastrophe, such as what almost occurred at Reseca? And maybe pull off a counter maneuver or attack? Or risk suffering greater losses, maybe 1/2 SP per battle? Early in the next turn, Jefferson Davis makes his choice. Johnston was sent away (necessary since he has a higher relative rank), and Hood takes command of the Army of Tennessee. In game terms, it is not an unreasonable choice. Davis's historical decision was based on a different criterion. He feared that Johnston would not stand and defend Atlanta, and believed that Hood would.

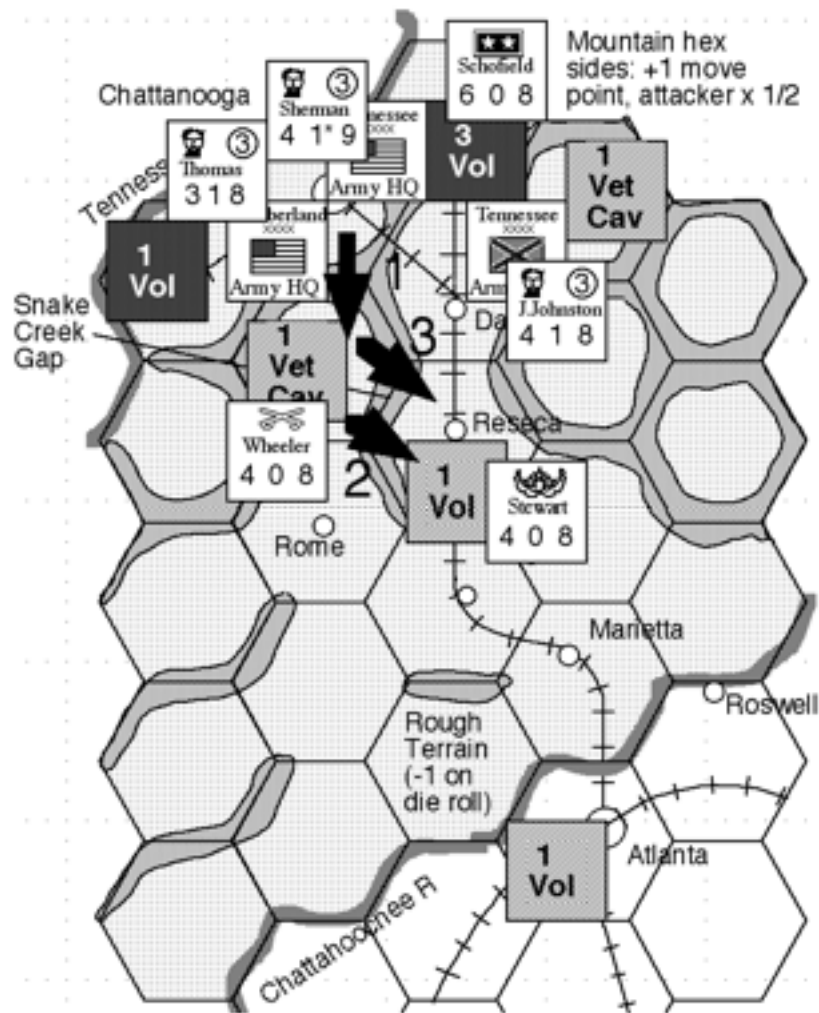
In summary, we find that the Atlanta campaign can be rationally explained in game terms, with the leadership effects playing an important and realistic role. The player provides the inspiration for the maneuvers taken, but these are conditioned by the army commanders' rated reaction rolls. One could argue that Johnston ought to get a bonus for reaction rolls that result in a retreat, but that kind of detail would add complexity. Minor quibbles one could raise include the certainty that forces other than armies do not get to react at all, the fact that associated and adjacent commanders (Schofield in the example above) do not benefit from an army commander's activation and act coherently with him, the inability to choose a level of intensity for a battle, and the way negative tactical values affect combat. The command point system is somewhat artificial, but seems to achieve the effect desired. The designer, Eric Lee Smith, must be credited with having come up with a very effective portrayal of army leadership.

#### Atlanta Campaign in War for the Union (Clash of Arms)

This game is more traditional in its sequencing, in that players alternate, each unit can (potentially) move, there are separate movement and combat phases, and units exert zones of control that impede movement by requiring an extra movement point when going from one zone of control to another. Most infantry have three movement points and most cavalry have four. Units can force march and get extra movement points at some risk of failing to get the desired distance, fatigue, and possibly even loss of a strength point. Being out of supply (judged before movement) reduces a unit's movement allowance by one. Leaders are generally needed to move units, with rail movement being an important exception. In the Atlanta area there are no prohibited hex sides. Units can move through mountain hex sides at cost of an extra movement point. Since zones of control do not extend through mountain hex sides, it may be possible that a force in practice can go through mountainous regions about as fast as through plain areas where there are zones of control. There is no reaction movement, except that cavalry can retreat before combat, and this is true even if the moving force has cavalry as well. (The moving player can have his cavalry fight the withdrawing cavalry though.)

The situation as the May 1864 turn starts is portrayed in Figure 3 below. The game's 1864 scenario starts a turn earlier, but the weather is bad and presumably both players simply gather forces and prepare for the upcoming campaign. In this game there is no particular benefit to putting the cavalry in the same hex as the army. Indeed, in the actual war both sides employed cavalry to screen the flanks for most of this campaign, and this is shown by the Confederates placing a cavalry strength point on either side of the main position at Dalton. One loose

Confederate strength point, Cantey's brigade, is shown at Reseca (assumed to be one hex South of Dalton). Perhaps this SP was moving up, but could not rail all the way to Dalton due to the zone of control exerted by Schofield. (Some leader being used to ferry troops to the front should have been left on this SP, since otherwise it cannot move. Perhaps Stewart, who was actually in the Army of Tennessee as a division commander at this time, and was not in fact where he is shown. But we need somebody there, and he will do.



**Union force under Sherman:**

Army of the Tennessee  
 Commander: Sherman (4-1-9\*-3)  
 McPherson (6-1-8) 3 vet inf (3-3)  
 Logan (6-0-8) 1 vet inf (1-3)  
 also: 1 vol cavalry  
 also under Sherman:  
 Army of the the Cumberland  
 Commander: Thomas (3-1-8\*-3)  
 Hooker (6-0-9) 6 vet inf (6-3)  
 Howard (6-0-8) 4 vet inf (4-3)  
 2 vol inf (2-3)  
 Stoneman 4-0-8 (cav) with 1 cav

Total: 18SP, +2 (most are vet)  
 +1 (Command bonus)

**Confederate force under J. Johnston**

Army of Tennessee  
 (Commander: J. Johnston 4-1-8)  
 Hardee 6-0-8 4 vet inf  
 Hood 4-1-8 2 vet inf; 2 vol inf

Total: 8SP, +2 (most are vet)  
 +2 (1/2 of troops get  
 +1 for Hood, and  
 +1 for Johnston)

If defending: +1 for rough terrain  
 +1 for entrenched

Notes: 4 to 1 odds needed for overrun  
 Cavalry can retreat from combat  
 One extra mp from one ZOC to another

Figure 3 Opening situation and initial moves, War for the Union, May 1864



Sherman has to decide what to do. If he was Grant, he would move to join Schofield and hammer away at Johnston at 2-1 odds, giving up a couple of points from the die roll. It would be bloody; he would have heavier losses, but the Confederate strength would be whittled away, and sooner or later the Army of Tennessee would be destroyed. Sherman seeks a more elegant solution, and sees an opportunity to move through Snake Creek Gap and cut off Johnston, force him to retreat into the mountains, and then perhaps utterly destroy his army. If Union troops can reach Reseca, Johnston will start his turn out of supply, and will have to force march (with some bad modifiers) to get out. Here's the plan: Advance with both armies one hex south of Chattanooga (at cost of 2 movement points) and overrun Wheeler, who will probably retreat south, then forced march (3 more movement points) over the mountain (actually, through Snake Creek Gap) with Sherman, McPherson, and 8 (to 12) strength points of the Army of the Tennessee to overrun the lonely SP (actually Cantey's bde. but we have Stewart there) in Resaca. At 4 to 1 and a couple of plusses to the die roll, Sherman is guaranteed to make this if he succeeds on his forced march roll to get the 2 extra movement points (With veteran troops and Sherman's "9" movement value, there are 4 chances in 6 of this coming off OK, 1 chance of fatigue but getting there, and 1 chance of falling short). Sherman does not have to commit to the forced march until he needs the movement points. So, the combined force marches over the mountains South of Chattanooga to "overrun" Wheeler (movement number one in the figure).

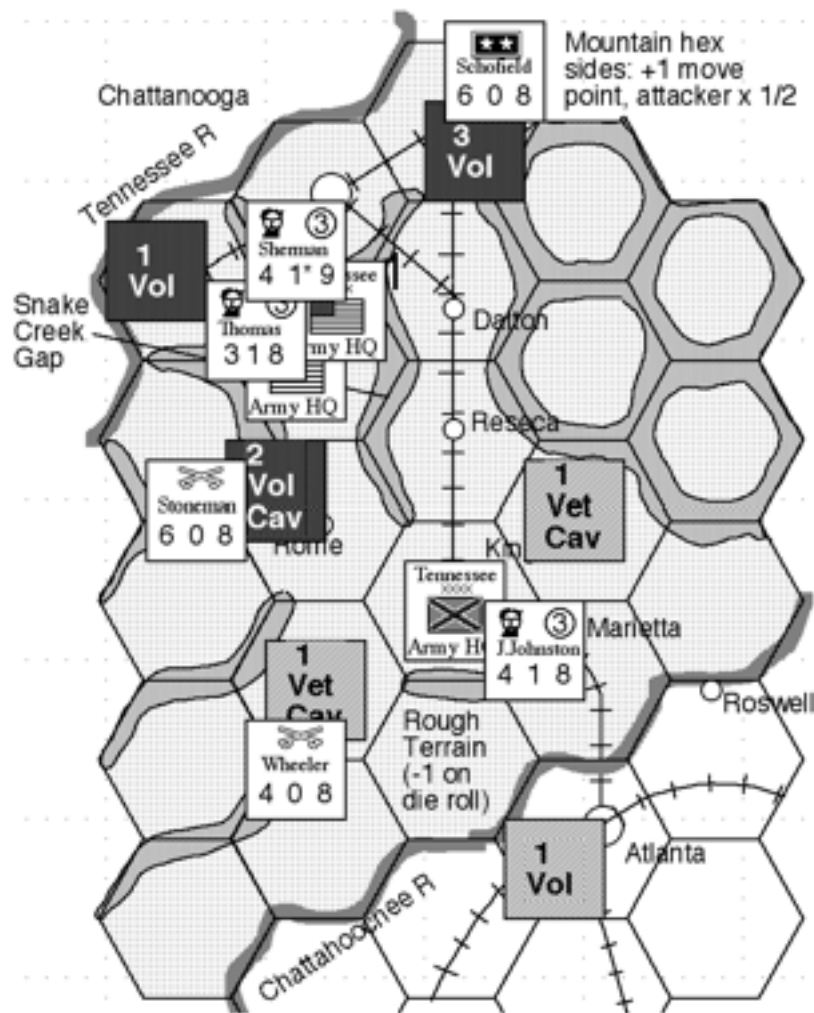
The surprise is that Wheeler and the veteran cavalry point he leads retreat to Reseca instead, as shown by arrow #2. (In fact, there was a regiment of Kentucky dragoons that fought at Reseca and helped convince McPherson that he ought not to attack.) That means that Sherman needs only one extra movement point, but he needs 16 strength points, his whole army, to get a 4 to 1 necessary for an overrun given the  $\times 1/2$  for going through the mountains. In addition, the defending force now counts as "veteran" (half of it is the veteran cavalry, now at fatigue level 1 from the retreat). Another consideration is that needing 16 SP's, Sherman does not have enough +1 leadership at the corps level to give him an overall +2; he will just get the +1 for himself, and that is canceled by the Confederates getting +1 for rough terrain. Also, he will need his regular infantry, not just the veterans, and they have a 1/6 chance of not getting the extra movement point needed. Finally, even against this small force, he could pick up a fatigue point for his entire army if the result gives his force "medium" losses, or one chance in 3 (1 in 2 if the Confederate infantry happened to be entrenched.)

So, instead Sherman decides not to overrun (and consequently there is no need to force march). The cavalry (Stoneman) proceeds on to Rome, and just the Army of the Tennessee will attack Reseca, leaving an undamaged Army of the Cumberland to pounce on Johnston next turn as he tries to escape around the blocked railroad. If he reallocated forces, Sherman could put together an attack with 12 points of mostly veterans under MacPherson and Logan, which gives a 3 to 1 over the mountains with a +1 modifier, and would be sure to succeed. But it would leave the Army of the Cumberland with only 4 sp's, not enough to attack Johnston should the Army of the Tennessee be "fatigued". In game terms this would still be the best approach. Sherman, deciding to minimize his risk, sends McPherson with only 6 points, as shown by arrow #3 (giving 3 to 2 odds with a +1). This gives only a 50% chance of forcing a Confederate retreat. Sherman rolls a "2" and both sides take light losses. No strength points are lost, but no fatigue is suffered either. Johnston has just managed to avoid being trapped. (Historically, Sherman sent only 4 or 5 points, but Cantey's brigade, even with help, was well below the 5000 troops in a

nominal strength point, and McPherson got through the gap unimpeded, only to pull back on encountering resistance.)

Note that if there had been no Confederate force in Reseca, Sherman might have reached the hex with a forced march, but could not have attacked into it in the combat phase as he does here. If Cantey's brigade had managed to entrench, the odds of Sherman succeeding or avoiding fatigue would be about 1/6 worse. Historically, the brigade had just gotten to the hex, and in the game system it would have to have "forced march" to entrain, detrain, and spend two movement points to entrench. Doing so might have been reasonable, but this was not historically the case.

Johnston, becoming aware of the gravity of the situation, uses his turn to retreat. He does not stop at Reseca because with federal cavalry at Rome his flank is already seriously compromised. He can reach Kingston easily. Wheeler can return to his station on the flank and, since he did not force march or attack, he can recover from fatigue. If Johnston force marched (to get 4 movement points) he would also be able to entrench, but the risk involved is judged not worthwhile. In addition, Polk arrives from Alabama with two more strength points, a welcome addition. The "extra" general (Stewart) after getting Cantey's brigade to Kingston, departs by rail to stack with another infantry unit that needs to move up to the front somewhere. (This "gopher" role is a practical use for unessential generals, and is necessary to get troops to points not on the railroad, or without using railroad movement points.) So, the situation at the end of the turn is shown in Figure 4.



**Union force under Sherman:**

Army of the Tennessee  
 Commander: Sherman (4-1-9\*3)  
 McPherson (6-1-8) 6 vet inf (3-3)  
 Logan (6-0-8) 1 vet inf (1-3)

**also under Sherman:**

Army of the the Cumberland  
 Commander: Thomas (3-1-8\*3)  
 Hooker (6-0-9) 3 vet inf (3-3)  
 Howard (6-0-8) 4 vet infantry (4-3)  
 2 vol inf (2-3)

(Stoneman)

**Total: 16SP, +2 (most are vet)  
 +1 (Command bonus)**

**Confederate force under J. Johnston**

Army of Tennessee  
 (Commander: J. Johnston 4-1-8)  
 Hardee 6-0-8 4 vet inf  
 Hood 4-1-8 2 vet inf; 2 vol inf  
 Polk 4-1-8 2 vet, 1 vol infantry

**Total: 11SP, +2 (most are vet)  
 +1 (<1/2 of troops get  
 +1 for Hood; all get  
 +1 for Johnston)**

**If defending: +1 for rough terrain**

Figure 4 Atlanta campaign, June 1864 in War for the Union

In this position, Sherman sees no obvious way of getting around Johnston, so he elects to take advantage of the lack of fortifications and make an assault at the best odds possible. Maneuvering to the south without having to use a forced march, he reaches the position shown in Figure 5 below. Using the span of control of both Sherman himself and Thomas as a subordinate who also commands three additional subordinates, Sherman can get 5 leaders into the attack without paying penalties. These will be McPherson, Logan, (Thomas), Hooker, Howard, and Schofield. The two cavalry are conveniently reallocated to the Army of the Tennessee, and Stoneman temporarily is an extra leader. This gives Sherman 21 points. Johnston has 11 in his hex. Not quite a 2-1. So, in the attack Sherman leaves out Schofield and the cavalry and attacks with 16, enough for 3 to 2 odds. Both sides are mostly veterans (which cancels) and each gets a +1 for leadership by the respective generals. (If Sherman reorganized to give, say, Howard an army and made both Thomas and McPherson subordinate corps commanders, he could theoretically get +2. But that leaves Howard commanding an army. Sherman prefers to leave McPherson in that role.) With leadership balanced, the Confederates get just +1 for rough terrain. Sherman gets the worst possible result (he rolls a 1) and suffers medium losses to light for the Confederates. Furthermore, his result calls for a retreat, leaving the attacking units in a 2 fatigue point state. Historically, this most closely corresponds to the Kenesaw Mountain outcome. Polk ought to have been a casualty, but that can only happen on a roll of 4, not in this case. Sherman will need a turn with no attacks or forced marches to recover from fatigue level 2 to unfatigued. In the game system, that would be the July 1864 turn, which means that the game has fallen behind history by 2 months by the time Sherman gets Johnston to fall back across the Chattahoochie during the August turn. Starting that turn with the situation shown in Figure 6, Johnston on his turn would fear again for his flanks and see the need for another retreat.

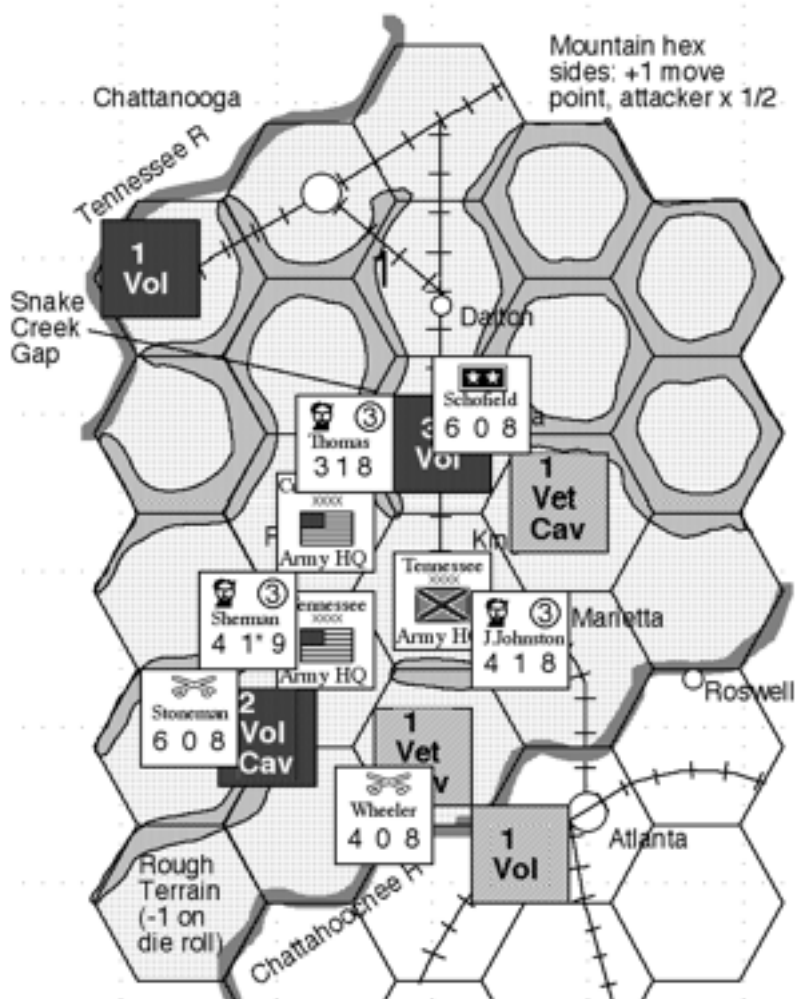


Figure 5 Battle near Kingston, June 1864, War for the Union

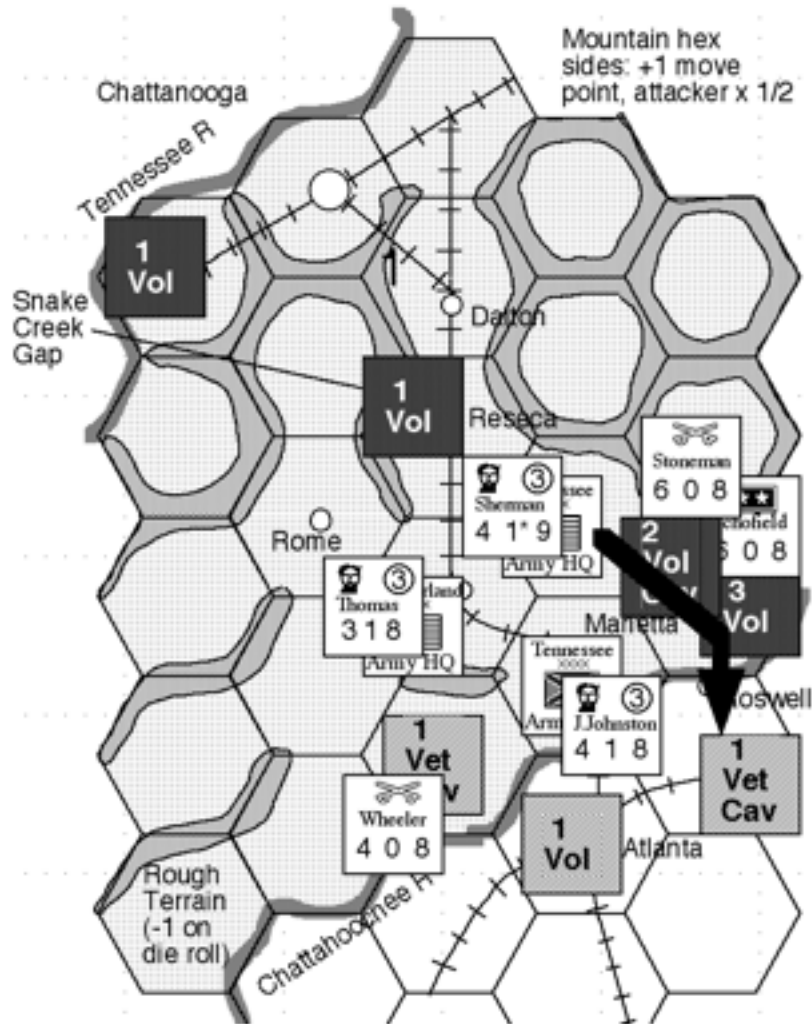


Figure 6 Subsequent operations, August 1864, in War for the Union

Subsequently, on the next turn, the Confederate player considering Sherman's maneuver South of the Chattahoochee will need to consider replacing Johnston. Hood perhaps? In this game system, there is simply no reason at all to choose Hood. Hood becomes a "7" speed army commander (in company with the likes of Banks, Butler, Buell, and McClellan, but better than Burnside and Polk). So he is much less likely to successfully force march than Sherman. He gives his army a net 0 combat modifier. If Johnston becomes a subordinate, he can cover 8 points with a +1, but this is at the expense of loss of his +1 as an army commander, a net wash., (This game allows such an inconceivable command relationship. Victory's system, by giving Johnston relative rank of 3 and Hood 19 at the \*\*\* level, means that if both are in the same hex Johnston must be in command.) Hood (2-0-7-1) is about the last leader you would select for army command, because he is a very useful +1 as a corps commander and many of the other potential army commanders are not. Pemberton, for example, is 4-0-8 as a corps commander (having marginal utility) and 2-0-8-2 as an army commander (Better than Hood in movement and command span). There are just three leaders that would be worse (Polk at 3-(-1)-6-2 and Hardee and Kirby Smith at 3-(-1)-7-2) but both at least have a greater command span. In short, there is no justification at all for choosing Hood; Davis is obviously misled or stupid, and a game player

would never make that decision. It is hard to swallow this. Hood ought to have something going for him. In his moves onto Sherman's supply lines in October he exhibited an ability to move his force pretty rapidly and was able to elude Sherman; perhaps a speed of 9 rather than 7 would be merited, and would give him at least some favorable attribute that would make him worthy of consideration.

This game system seems to fall short in allowing a rapid campaign of maneuver to be portrayed. One must in effect stretch the campaign out a few turns. This may be justified, in that both Grant and Sherman were fairly inactive for periods of approximately a month at times soon after reaching Petersburg and Atlanta respectively and fighting initial battles. This is a fair approximation of the non-combat turn that a Union player could use to recover from fatigue level 2 under these two "aggressive" (\*) generals. Bragg's invasion of Kentucky would also seem to be a challenge for this system, especially since Bragg as a "7" speed army commander is not very good at forced marches. Rosecrans's advance into Northern Georgia would also be tricky. On the other hand, the fairly complete coverage of corps commanders and the detailing of an army's command structure is very good. Making an army commander's command span (number of subordinates) an explicit rating is a very nice feature. The system allows an attack to be launched from multiple hexes, with different effects that depend upon command relationships, which is not possible in the Victory system. The ability of cavalry to screen even if the enemy has cavalry too is also an important plus in this system, and the combat results system does not produce problematic results when one force is "medium" and the other "small" as does the Victory system. Again, with this game, the designer has produced a very creditable game with a good and explicit treatment of leadership.

Some things that seem to be missing

Neither game considers the attachment of troops to leaders to be particularly important. When a new leader takes over at either Corps or Army level, there is no initial period of confusion and ineffectiveness that seemed to occur at important points in the war. At Shiloh, the various forces came together and the command structure was established just before the battle. The same was true at Chickamauga, and to some extent at the Seven Days as well. Grant's army picked up major new additions as he moved below the James in 1864, and this issue may have had some effect on operations before Petersburg. This viewpoint is perhaps implicit in any system that views troops as "change."

From another point of view, changing leaders, particularly at the army level, was not something lightly done, and was "expensive" to the president who tried to do this. In Victory's system, it would be reasonable to assess a significant cost in command points, to represent the political costs and hassles involved with relieving an army commander. In Clash of Arms's system, perhaps army paralysis for a term would be a reasonable representation. Some similar cost, though perhaps lower, might apply to removal of a leader from a smaller independent command.

The ease of making detachments and other shifting of troops from one leader to another at the corps level is inherent in the "change" approach to troop strength. But here, too, there seemingly would be command disruption, even though reassignment of divisions among the corps of an army was not at all unusual.

In Victory's Civil War, leaders subordinate to an army really fulfill no function other than contributing tactical modifiers. The player is tempted to shift these leaders around to points at which their modifiers are most needed, and this can be done rapidly and by rail without the need

to shift troops and use up rail capacity. Historically, very few changes of commanders at the corps level took place without there being an explicit removal or casualty. Division commanders typically stayed with their troops until killed, wounded, promoted, or removed for perceived incompetence. They typically did not leave to go take a division somewhere else.

Perhaps instead of change troops, two sided division markers with the commander's tactical rating should be used, with 2 strength points on one side and one on the other. Troops once committed to battle would be replaced with randomly drawn divisional markers, bringing particular divisional commanders to notice. A strength point loss by the attacker would allow the defender to flip one of the attacker's divisions from 2 to 1 point, reflecting that losses would most likely come in the units of leaders having the most leadership ability. For a defender, losses would likely come in the units of the least competent commanders, so the defender could choose these as well. Corps command span might be in number of divisions, so a more fragmented army needs more corps for a given strength. Divisions might be rebuilt/reorganized in quiet turns. The intent is that generally the division commander would not be separable from the unit. In a lower resolution game, this might be tried at the corps level. The intent is to tie leaders to their troops more tightly than these current systems allow. Perhaps there is some better way to do this.

Logistics and administrative ability is implied in the forced march ratings and command span ratings in the War for the Union system, but none of these ratings affects distance to supply sources. Perhaps that is a detail beyond the ability of the individual commander to affect significantly; perhaps it's an element of complexity too much for a playable game.

What about other eras?

The lack of similar treatment of leadership in other strategic level games is striking. When one reads accounts of the opening battles of World War 1, the leadership and decisions of particular generals is portrayed as having considerable impact. One is more likely to remember the name "Hindenberg" than "Eighth Army" and "Samsonov" than "Second Army" when recalling the events of the campaign in East Prussia of that year. In World war II, the names Rommel, Guderian, Zhukov, Patton, Montgomery, and many others are similarly attributed with considerable weight. But do we see them often enough in games?

An interesting example where these names do come up explicitly is "World in Flames" by Australian Design Group, which portrays all of World War II. It is a big game, having units that are corps size for the armies of Europe. Army group markers in the game bear leaders' names. For example, German markers are labeled Leeb (5-2-3; inf., 1933), Bock (7-3-3; inf., 1936), Rundstedt (7-4-4, arm., 1939), Rommel (6-3-5, arm., 1940), Manstein (8-5-5, arm., 1941), Kesselring (5-4-2, inf., 1942), and Model (6-3-2, inf., 1943). The numbers are combat strength (if the HQ is actually part of a tactical attack, something you don't usually want), a reorganizing rating (the number of units that can be reorganized during a turn to get a second action, sort of a command span effect), and movement. The year is the date the marker becomes available. So, are these a portrayal of leadership? Most of the army group commanders are represented. But the cost of these markers (much greater than a corps) suggests instead that these represent the logistics and support functions that a modern Army needs more than the particular leader, and as such the numerical values have as much or more to do with what Germany could produce at a given time than with the development of leadership. Notably absent is Guderian, who was never an army group commander, but was perhaps the leader having the greatest individual impact, at least in the early part of the war.



Perhaps what we have in games is a tendency to represent the most visible, physical attributes such as weapons and the physics of what they do, and less attention to the less tangible but real effects such as morale and leadership. Why is it Civil War games in particular have made a point of representing these? Perhaps it is because the forces and weapons of the two sides are so similar that one cannot represent the war creditably without them. No doubt they are just as important in most other warfare contexts.